

INFORMATION TO USERS

This material was produced from a microfilm copy of the original document. While the most advanced technological means to photograph and reproduce this document have been used, the quality is heavily dependent upon the quality of the original submitted.

The following explanation of techniques is provided to help you understand markings or patterns which may appear on this reproduction.

1. The sign or "target" for pages apparently lacking from the document photographed is "Missing Page(s)". If it was possible to obtain the missing page(s) or section, they are spliced into the film along with adjacent pages. This may have necessitated cutting thru an image and duplicating adjacent pages to insure you complete continuity.
2. When an image on the film is obliterated with a large round black mark, it is an indication that the photographer suspected that the copy may have moved during exposure and thus cause a blurred image. You will find a good image of the page in the adjacent frame.
3. When a map, drawing or chart, etc., was part of the material being photographed the photographer followed a definite method in "sectioning" the material. It is customary to begin photoing at the upper left hand corner of a large sheet and to continue photoing from left to right in equal sections with a small overlap. If necessary, sectioning is continued again — beginning below the first row and continuing on until complete.
4. The majority of users indicate that the textual content is of greatest value, however, a somewhat higher quality reproduction could be made from "photographs" if essential to the understanding of the dissertation. Silver prints of "photographs" may be ordered at additional charge by writing the Order Department, giving the catalog number, title, author and specific pages you wish reproduced.
5. PLEASE NOTE: Some pages may have indistinct print. Filmed as received.

Xerox University Microfilms

300 North Zeeb Road
Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106

78-7663

NATHAN, Michele, 1952-
GRAMMATICAL DESCRIPTION OF THE FLORIDA SEMINOLE
DIALECT OF CREEK,

Tulane University,
Ph.D., 1977
Language, linguistics

University Microfilms International, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106

© 1977

MICHELE NATHAN

ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

GRAMMATICAL DESCRIPTION OF THE
FLORIDA SEMINOLE DIALECT OF CREEK

A DISSERTATION
SUBMITTED ON THE EIGHTEENTH DAY OF NOVEMBER, 1977
TO THE DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY
OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF
TULANE UNIVERSITY
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
BY

Michele Nathan

Michele Nathan

APPROVED: Thomas C. Smith-Stark

Thomas Cedric Smith-Stark,
Chairman

Munro Sterling Edmonson

Munro Sterling Edmonson

Arden Ross King

Arden Ross King

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

The following abbreviations and symbols are used in this grammar.

affirm.	affirmative mode	
ag.	agentive nominalizing suffix	
ai.	alienable	
aug.	augmentative suffix	
caus.	causative suffix	
comp.	comparative suffix	
cond.	conditional mode	
cont.	continuative aspect	
dec.	declarative mode	
detrans.	detransitivizing suffix	
dim.	diminutive suffix	
dir.	directional verb prefix	
dis.	distant	
dis. I	short distance	} verb directional prefixes
dis. II	middle distance	
dis. III	long distance	
disj.	disjunctive suffix	
distr.	distributive suffix	
dl.	dual number	
DO	direct object	
Eng.	English word marker	
f.t. theme	falling tone verb theme	
fut.	future tense	
ger.	gerund	
h. theme	h. verb theme	
immut.	immutative aspect	
imp.	imperative mode	
inal.	inalienable	
incumb.	incumbent mode	
indef.	indefinite pronoun	
inf.	infinitive	
	(inf. I and inf. II are two forms distinguished)	
instr.	instrumental prefix	
int.	intransitive	
intens.	intensive aspect	
intent.	intensive mode	
interrog.	interrogative mode	
IO	indirect object	

iter.	iterative aspect
loc.	locative verb prefix
l. theme	lengthened verb theme
m. v.	middle voice
neg.	negative mode
nom.	nominal suffix
obj.	object
obl.	oblique case
part.	participial suffix (part. I and part. II are two forms distinguished)
pass.	passive voice
pastI	recent past tense
pastII	middle past tense
pastIII	distant past tense
pastIV	remote past tense
pl.	plural number (pl. I, pl. II, and pl. III are three noun plural suffixes distinguished)
poss.	possession
pot.	potential mode
pres.	present tense
quot.	quotative-distant past
recip.	reciprocal pronoun
refl.	reflexive pronoun
r. t. theme	rising tone verb theme
sg.	singular number
s. r.	secondary root
subj.	subject (or subject case)
subjunc.	subjunctive mode
tr.	transitive
verb.	verbalizer
∅theme	null verb theme
1S	first person singular
2S	second person singular
3S	third person singular
1P	first person plural (where a distinction is made, E is added for exclusive and I for inclusive)
2P	second person plural
3P	third person plural (where number is not specified, 2=second person and 3=third person)
-	morpheme boundary
()	optional element
{ }	choose one item within the brackets

CONTENTS

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS.	page ii
1. INTRODUCTION.	1
2. PHONOLOGY.	8
I. Phonemes.	8
A. Consonants.	8
B. Vowels.	13
C. Tone.	19
D. Sentence Intonation.	21
II. Sequence Restrictions.	22
III. Phonological Rules.	26
3. NOUN STEM FORMATION.	37
I. Diminutive Suffix, -oci.	38
II. Augmentative Suffix, -lákko.	39
III. Nominal Suffix, -wa.	39
IV. Gerund Suffix, -ka.	40
V. Infinitive Suffix, -ita.	41
VI. Agentive Nominalizing Suffix, -a.	41
VII. Nominalizing Prefix, nâ:k-.	42
VIII. Instrumental Prefix, is-.	42
IX. Participial Suffixes/Nominalizers.	44
X. Compound Nouns.	45
XI. Borrowed Nouns.	46
XII. Summary of Noun Derivation.	47
4. THE SEMINOLE NOUN PHRASE.	49
I. Seminole Pronouns.	49
A. Pronominal Prefix Set I.	49
B. Pronominal Prefix Set II.	50
C. Inalienable Possession.	54
D. Alienable Possession.	55
E. Independent Possessive Pronouns.	56
F. Other Independent Pronouns.	57
II. Noun Inflection.	58
A. Number.	58
B. Case.	61
C. Possession.	62
D. Summary of Noun and Pronoun Inflection.	63
III. Compound Noun Phrases.	63
A. Conjoined Nouns.	63
B. Disjoined Nouns.	64

IV.	Noun Modifiers	65
	A. Verbs as Modifiers	66
	B. Participles as Modifiers	67
	C. Comparison	70
	D. Numbers	72
5.	VERB STEM FORMATION	74
	I. Causative Suffix, -eyc (˜i:c)	75
	II. Detransitivizing Suffix, -k	76
	III. Locative Prefixes	77
	A. Water or Low Ground, ak- (˜akk-)	77
	B. Ground, tak- (˜takk-)	78
	C. On, oh- (˜oho-)	79
	D. Away From, a-	82
	IV. Directional Prefixes	83
	A. Long Distance, ɫih-	83
	B. Middle Distance, ɫa:- (˜ɫa:h-)	84
	C. Short Distance, a:- (˜a:h-)	84
	V. Verbalizer, -t	86
	VI. Summary of Verb Derivation	87
6.	VERB INFLECTION	89
	I. Verb Themes	89
	II. Pronominal Inflection	93
	III. Number Inflection (Including the Distributive)	96
	IV. Instrumental Prefix	104
	V. Aspect	105
	A. Intensive and Continuative Aspect	105
	B. Iterative Aspect	106
	C. Immutative Aspect	107
	D. Completive Versus Incompletive Aspect	108
	VI. Secondary Roots	109
	VII. Tense	110
	A. Present Tense	110
	B. Future Tense	111
	C. Recent Past Tense	112
	D. Middle Past Tense	113
	E. Distant Past Tense	114
	F. Remote Past Tense	114
	G. Aorist	114
	H. Quotative-Distant Past	115
	VIII. Mode	115
	A. Declarative Mode	115
	B. Interrogative Mode	116
	C. Affirmative Mode	118
	D. Negative Mode	118
	E. Subjunctive Mode	119
	F. Imperative Mode	120
	G. Intentive Mode	120
	H. Conditional Mode	121

I.	Potential Mode	122
J.	Incumbent Mode	122
IX	Voice	123
A.	Middle Voice	123
B.	Passive Voice	124
X	Summary of Verb Inflection	124
7.	POSTPOSITIONS	129
8.	ADVERB-EQUIVALENTS	131
I.	Place	131
II.	Manner	132
III.	Time	133
IV.	Other Adverbial Concepts	134
9.	SEMINOLE SYNTAX	135
I.	Simple Sentences	135
II.	Clause Chains	140
III.	Word Order	143
	APPENDIX	146
	BIBLIOGRAPHY	150
	INDEX	153

INTRODUCTION

The Seminole Indians of Florida, despite their common name, actually consist of two distinct language groups, speaking Mikasuki and Seminole.¹ The majority speak Mikasuki, which is a dialect of the Hitchiti language, and this dialect has recently been investigated by several linguists. Seminole, on the other hand, is spoken by a much smaller number of people, those who traditionally have been

1. Mikasuki and Seminole are closely related languages, a fact that is recognized by the Seminoles themselves. However, there is no doubt that they are, in fact, distinct languages; that is, they are mutually unintelligible. Unfortunately, the lack of published sources on Mikasuki makes it impossible to document syntactic and morphological differences here. However, there is phonological and lexical data available for comparison. For example, Mikasuki lacks the e and ŋ phonemes found in Seminole, while it has a b phoneme not present in Seminole (Trammell unpub. ms. :5-8). (Further phonological comparison can be found in the chapter on Seminole phonology which follows this introduction.) More important, however, are the lexical differences between the languages, which the following list indicates. (Mikasuki examples are taken from Trammell unpub. ms. Tone, although phonemic, is not indicated in his examples, so it is omitted here in the Seminole examples as well. Explanation of the symbols used can be found in the chapter on phonology below.)

<u>Mikasuki</u>	<u>Seminole</u>	
pakti	pato	"mushroom"
ciki	coko	"house"
sanci	sampa	"basket"
la:li	la:lo	"fish"
fayti	pinwa	"turkey"
wala:ki	palakna	"plate"
fo:ci	foco	"duck"
cinti	cikto	"snake"
lokfi	sakpa	"arm"
aspi	aci	"corn"
fo:si	foswa	"bird"

As this list illustrates, words are often obviously cognate, but rarely

called the Cow Creek Seminoles, and it is a dialect of the Creek language. Seminole had been largely ignored by trained linguists until this author decided to undertake an investigation of it. This dissertation is a grammatical sketch of Seminole which has resulted from this project. ²

In order to understand the forces that have shaped the Seminole dialect, knowledge of Creek's genetic relationships and the history of the Seminole people is essential. The Creek language belongs to the Muskogean family, which was recognized as a genetic group in the first half of the nineteenth century by Gallatin and included in the Powell classification (Powell 1891:94). Specifically, along with Hitchiti-Mikasuki, Apalachee (now extinct), and Alabama-Koasati, Creek-Seminole belongs to the eastern branch of this language family; Choctaw-Chickasaw is a group of dialects belonging to the single language which forms the western branch of Muskogean (Haas 1941a; Haas 1973:1211-1216). Swanton (1924) was early to recognize Muskogean's close affiliation with Natchez. While Sapir (1929:139) placed Natchez-Muskogean in his Hokan-Siouan superstock, more recently Haas (1958) has included it in what she calls the Gulf stock, which many linguists have accepted as a valid grouping. As the name indicates, Gulf is a language grouping of the southeastern United States; it includes the language isolates Tunica, Chitimacha, and Atakapa, besides Muskogean and Natchez. The following diagram illustrates the genetic relationships within this stock:

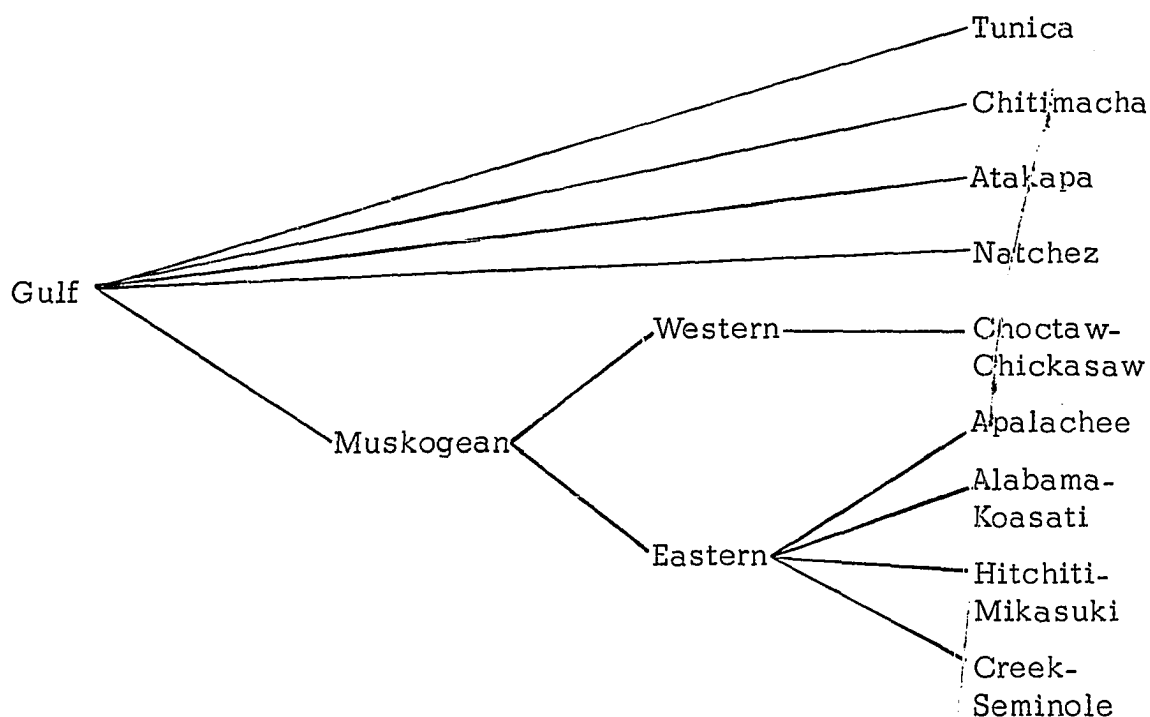
does one come across a word that is identical in both languages. A comparison of full sentences shows even greater differences:

Mikasuki: alá:co:mis

Seminole: apî:tó:s

"They went (recently)."

2. A grant from the Phillips Fund helped to make this project possible.



Thus, the genetic facts indicate that the ancestors of the Creeks first entered the Southeast in the rather distant past, since there are no known languages located elsewhere which are closely related to Creek. Haas does propose, though, that the Gulf and Algonkian languages are distantly related.

The Seminole group originated in the eighteenth century when Creeks and Hitchitis broke away from the Creek Confederacy and moved south into Florida territory that had recently been vacated by the Apalachee Indians. It is probable that a small number of Indians from other Southeast groups (such as the Yuchi) were incorporated into the developing Seminoles (Forbes 1937; McReynolds 1957:11; Mooney 1910:500; Wright 1951:288-289). This new political group found unity in their common need to protect land, life, and property, which were constantly threatened by white settlers eager to claim the fertile land of north Florida and reappropriate runaway slaves who were living there. The Seminoles were pushed southward by these settlers and eventually sought the protection of the Everglades. Attempts to "remove" them to Indian Territory, as was done with other Southeast

Indians around the same time, were ultimately fairly successful, but not without the bloodshed of the Second Seminole War, 1835 to 1842 (McReynolds 1957:23-239; Wright 1951:229-232). As a result of this "removal," most Seminole Indians today live in Oklahoma, as do their Creek relatives. There was, however, a small population of Seminoles who refused to leave their Everglades retreat, and this small group has grown until there are now approximately 1500 Seminole Indians living in Florida (personal communication, Human Resources Division, Seminole Indian Agency, Hollywood, Florida, 1975).

Most of the Florida Seminoles live in four reservations set aside for them in the southern part of the state. They are divided into two separate tribal organizations. The Miccosukee Tribe is the smaller one, consisting of Mikasuki speakers living on the Tamiami Trail. The Seminole Tribe is comprised mainly of people living on the Hollywood, Big Cypress, and Brighton Reservations. Most residents of Big Cypress speak Mikasuki, while Brighton is the center for the Seminole-speaking Cow Creeks. Hollywood, the site of the tribal agency, has served as a magnet drawing people from the other reservations to work in its offices. As a consequence, Hollywood has a substantial Creek-speaking population, although it is primarily a Mikasuki-speaking community. It is important, however, that these language differences among the Seminoles not be over-emphasized. For a long time the two language groups have had close social ties, including inter-marriage, and they are essentially a single cultural group; even the language differences are bridged by a high frequency of bilingualism.

Although exact statistics are not available, a generous approximation would place the total number of Seminole speakers in Florida at under 500. This is not a particularly small speech community for an Indian language today, but it is significant to note that in the near future Seminole in Florida will be spoken only as an occasional language by bilinguals. The children all attend public schools, where

they speak English, and there is a strong tendency for them to speak English even when at home; a large percentage of the adults speak English on a regular basis, too. Data on the status of Seminole in Oklahoma have not been published; Wright (1951:228) says that there were 2070 Seminoles in Oklahoma in 1950, but she does not discuss their language background. Chafe (1965:346) says that there is a total of 10,000 Creek speakers, but he does not specify how many speak the Seminole dialect. From this point on, the term "Seminole" will be used here to refer to the Florida dialect only, contrasting it with all Creek dialects spoken in Oklahoma.

Haas (1973:1214) notes that Creek is the Muskogean language best known to modern linguistics, yet it is nonetheless true that the available material on it is quite limited. The best work available is a series of articles by Haas (1938; 1940; 1941b; 1941c; 1945; 1946; 1948; 1950; 1977a; 1977b), but unfortunately these are on specific topics and many aspects of the grammar are left untouched. Literature that is specifically on Seminole is scant and of an unsystematic nature, consisting almost entirely of place-name studies, lists of personal names, and short vocabularies. This neglect of Seminole is somewhat surprising in view of the political distinctiveness and historical significance of the Seminole Indians. Even more important, Seminole possesses interesting differences from other Creek dialects due to its isolation from the Creek mainstream for 200 years and the possible influences exerted by the closely affiliated Mikasuki speakers and the remnants of other groups absorbed by the early Seminoles. A study of Seminole is also of potential interest to North American linguistics due to the gaps in our knowledge of Creek as a whole, as well as the fact that the Seminole data touch on topics, such as classificatory verbs and the distinction between active and stative verbs, that are significant in the study of comparative Amerindian linguistics. These considerations, plus the declining vitality of Seminole in Florida, led to the present study.

This description of Seminole is based on field work conducted on the Brighton and Hollywood Reservations from late 1975 through summer of 1977. Several informants ranging in age from 29 up into the fifties provided the data.³ The focus of investigation was the morphology and syntax of Seminole, but a preliminary phonological analysis was completed as well. The description of Seminole will begin with that phonological analysis and then proceed to discussion of morphology and syntax. The major parts of speech in Seminole are nouns and verbs. These occur as roots, stems, and words. In addition, a theme level for verbs is distinguished, the verb theme consisting of a verb stem to which certain inflectional categories have been added. There are two classes of verbs distinguished on every level--stative and active. Besides nouns and verbs, there are also independent pronouns at the root, stem, and word levels. A special subclass of pronouns are the demonstratives. The status of postpositions is problematical; some take verbal derivational prefixes, yet a postpositional phrase is structurally equivalent to a genitive noun phrase. They are here treated as a distinct class of roots, stems, and words, although alternative analyses are possible. Finally, there are a few morphemes with adverbial function that are syntactically treated as if they were embedded verbs; it is assumed that they are verbs, although they never occur as main verbs in the elicited data.

3. The principle informant for this project was Geneva Shore, a resident of the Hollywood Reservation. Her invaluable assistance is gratefully acknowledged. Because some members of the tribe would disapprove of teaching Seminole to an outsider, all other informants remain anonymous. All, however, are native speakers of Seminole who learned English at an early age, and they have varying degrees of competence in Mikasuki.

Speaker	Age	Residence
A	53	Hollywood
B	38	Hollywood
C	38	Hollywood
D	29	Hollywood
E	30	Brighton
F	39	Brighton

In the description to follow, a distinction is made between inflection and derivation. Derivational morphemes combine with a root to form a stem, and then inflectional morphemes are added to form a word. To make this distinction the traditional criteria were used; morphemes changing grammatical class or meaning were classified as derivational, while those which only add meaning or relate to agreement or government were classified as inflectional. The distinction is a natural one to make in describing nouns, since most of the noun derivational morphemes convert verb roots into noun stems and are therefore quite distinct from inflectional morphemes. In addition, most of the time derivational morphemes are positioned closer to the root than inflectional morphemes in nouns. One really does sense that there are two distinct stages involved in the formation of a noun. With verbs, however, the situation is rather different. There is only one morpheme that forms a verb stem from a root of a different class, and in other cases in order to distinguish derivation and inflection one must rely on the rather subjective difference between "changing" and "adding" meaning. Further, morphemes that seem derivational are not always positioned closer to the root than those that seem inflectional in verbs. Despite these difficulties, it was decided to follow the traditional format and distinguish the two kinds of grammatical morphemes. Where classification of a morpheme was not clear-cut, the traditional placement of the category in other languages was followed.

Thus, the grammatical chapters to follow are: Noun Stem Formation, The Seminole Noun Phrase (noun and pronoun inflection, noun modifiers), Verb Stem Formation, Verb Inflection, Postpositions, and Adverb-Equivalents. In addition, a concluding chapter summarizes Seminole syntax.

PHONOLOGY

I. Phonemes

The analysis of Seminole phonemes which follows describes the autonomous phonemes of the language; reference will occasionally be made to the differences in analysis that would result if systematic phonemes were isolated instead.

A. Consonants

Let us begin the discussion of Seminole phonemes with a description of the consonants. Following is a chart of the consonant phonemes

		Labial	Dental	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Obstruent	{ Stops	p	t	c	k	
	{ Fricatives	f	ɬ	s		h
Sonorant	{ Liquids		l			
	{ Nasals	m	n		ŋ	
	{ Glides	w		y		

First, there is a series of four voiceless stops. Phonetically-speaking, of course, the palatal stop, c, is an affricate. It is placed with the stops for several reasons. First, like the other stops, it has a lenis pronunciation. Second, all four stops may be geminated, and when c is geminated this is produced phonetically in the same manner as the other stops, that is, by lengthening the amount of time during which there is complete occlusion. Third, these geminate stops show free variation and dialectal variation with sequences of stop plus k (in either order). (Obviously, this has no effect on geminate k.) Examples

are:

íkpočí, íppočí	"his son"
hátki:cít, hátti:cít	"to make white"
niktá:, nittá:	"day"
-íck, -ícc	2S active subj. suffix

Lenis pronunciation causes the stops to sound very much as if they were voiced, but generally they are not. However, occasionally when a stop is flanked by two voiced phonemes, the voicing does carry over to the stop.

Thus, p is a lenis, voiceless, bilabial stop. t is a lenis, voiceless, dental stop. It has an unexploded allophone, [t̚], which occurs in word-final position. c is a lenis, voiceless, palatal affricate. (It is symbolized by c rather than č for typographical reasons.) Phonetically c is a combination of the stop t plus the fricative s, so it is not surprising that it has allophones corresponding to the allophones of the phoneme s. Thus, like s, c has both alveolar and palatal allophones, [ç] and [č] respectively, which are in free variation. Finally, k is a lenis, voiceless, velar stop. Like t, it has an unexploded allophone [k̚] which occurs in word-final position. (p and c do not show parallel unexploded allophones because p does not occur in word-final position and c is an affricate phonetically.) The following words illustrate the occurrence of the stop phonemes.

pókko	"ball"
hompít	"to eat"
sokpá:cka	"cape"
taló:fa	"town"
hoktí:	"woman"
cófi	"rabbit"
cihî:stõ:hó:yimác	"You were seen."
ka:kít	"to sit (dl. subj.)"
kolapâ:k	"seven" (a shortened form)

The fricative series in Seminole likewise has four members. All fricatives are voiceless and fortis. All also occur in geminated form; phonetically, gemination involves lengthening the amount of time for partial occlusion. f is pronounced with labiodental articulation, although historically it is derived from a bilabial fricative (Haas 1940:

149). As of the 1930's, according to Haas, older speakers of Creek in Oklahoma were still pronouncing this bilabially, but younger speakers were not. All of the speakers consulted for the present study use the labiodental pronunciation, [f]. f is a phoneme that is uncommon in North American languages, but it occurs relatively frequently in the Southeast, being found in Yuchi, Ofo, and Tuscarora, as well as in all Muskogean (Sherzer 1973:777). ɬ is a lateral fricative articulated in the dental position. It is pronounced by positioning the tongue as for the sound l and forcing air out along the sides. The fricative s, as already mentioned, has alveolar and palatal allophones, [s] and [ʃ] respectively. These allophones are in free variation, but overall the palatal variant is more frequent. The fourth fricative, h, has glottal articulation, although it is occasionally pronounced in velar position by the oldest speaker consulted for this study. In the environment sonorant__C, it becomes barely audible and consists of a pause. The following words illustrate the usage of Seminole's fricatives.

fo:tkít	"to whistle"
catósfoccéycka	"typewriter"
pá:sayō:f	"when I sweep"
lál o	"fish"
o:lít	"to reach, arrive at (sg. subj.)"
sóli	"buzzard"
ísti	"person"
amónayás	"Tell me. "
honánwa	"man"
lomhít	"to lie (pl. subj.)"

The stops and fricatives make up the class of obstruents; all other consonant phonemes are classified as sonorants. The obstruent-sonorant distinction is very significant in Seminole's morphophonological rules, as explained below in this chapter and in the discussion of morphophonological changes in verb themes.

First among the sonorants there is the liquid l. It is voiced and has dental articulation. An unvoiced allophone, [L], however, occurs in the environment h__C, as in i:fóhkin, "He returned and

then. . . "l also has a lengthened nasal allophone that occurs in some verbs in the r.t. theme (see the chapter on verb inflection).

Examples of words with this phoneme are:

slá:fka	"knife"
li:tkít	"to run (sg. subj.)"
si:plít	"to drip"

Seminole has three nasal consonants. All are voiced except when followed immediately by the sequence hC, in which environment voiceless allophones usually occur. m is bilabial, n is dental, and ŋ is velar. The phonemic status of ŋ is somewhat problematical because it occurs only preceding k. (In some words it is separated from this k by the infix -h-.) At first glance it might seem that ŋ is an allophone of another nasal which has assimilated to the velar position of k. However, a closer inspection shows that there is a small number of words in which m and n also immediately precede k. While this investigation has uncovered no minimal pairs, the following examples indicate that ŋ is not in complementary distribution with either m or n:

tamkít	"to fly (sg. subj.)"
ímka	"gift"
hámki	"one"
hopánka	"dance"
ahópankít	"to be broken, break"
cájkit	"my hand (subj.)"
cíŋkit	"your hand (subj.)"
píŋka:lít	"to be afraid"
íŋkaná	"ground"

The situation is slightly complicated by the fact that ŋ is related by morphophonology to both m and n. For example, the ŋ in the root soŋk, "lost," is converted into an m when the infix -éy- is added:

1. ɬ cannot be considered to be the sequence hl, despite the phonetic resemblance. It is, actually, phonetically distinct since the friction in ɬ lasts for the duration of the consonant while hl has friction only in the h segment. Also, this analysis of ɬ would result in some anomalies in sequence restrictions. ɬɬ would become hlhl, while all other four consonant sequences begin with sonorants and, since this sound occurs in word-initial position, hl would be the only word-initial two consonant sequence that does not begin with s.

somêykin, "It got lost." Also, the n in the stem acank, "pour into something (int.)," becomes ŋ under certain conditions: acanŋktó:s, "It's pouring into something." Despite these relationships, the above list makes it clear that ŋ is distinct from both m and n on the level of autonomous phonemes. At a deeper level of phonology, however, n and ŋ are in complementary distribution, with n occurring before k only when a morpheme boundary separates the two and ŋ occurring when there is no morpheme boundary before the k. It is interesting to observe that, historically, ŋ is derived from m (Haas 1940:150; Haas 1970a:194), while in Seminole it is currently related to both m and n.

With the nasal consonants, we come to the first case of a Seminole consonant that cannot ordinarily be geminated. Not surprisingly, this consonant is ŋ, which occurs only before k and hk. (In the r.t. theme a sonorant is sometimes nasalized (vacuous in the case of a nasal consonant) and lengthened, such that a verb-final sequence [ŋk] becomes [ŋŋk]. This is not a phonemic change, however, since this theme is also signaled by the use of rising tone in this syllable. Thus, all three nasal consonants have lengthened allophones which occur in syllables with rising tone.)

Finally, there are two glides in Seminole. Like the nasal consonants, they have both voiced and unvoiced allophones, the unvoiced occurring in the environment preceding hC. w has bilabial articulation, while y is palatal. w is the second Seminole consonant that ordinarily is not geminated. (Like the other sonorants, both w and y have lengthened nasalized allophones occurring in the r.t. theme.) One informant consulted for this project, however, does use geminated w, which is produced by an obligatory rule converting the sequence Vm into Ṽ:w when followed by w. The following words are examples of the occurrence of glides in Seminole.

a:wít	"to come (pl. subj.)"
weyyít	"to sell"
apís wa	"meat"
yeycít	"to arrive (pl. subj.)"

B. Vowels

The vowels in Seminole present an excellent case for the cumbersomeness of the autonomous phoneme model. On the level of the autonomous phoneme it is necessary to posit ten vowel phonemes, although on the level of the systematic phoneme (or morphophoneme) only six are required.

First, let us consider the ten autonomous phonemes. In contrast to Seminole, Oklahoma Creek has only seven vowel phonemes (Haas 1940:149). The difference lies in the fact that the Florida dialect has three nasal vowel phonemes lacking in Oklahoma Creek. In Seminole, as in Creek dialects of Oklahoma, there are four phonemic vowel qualities. The total of ten phonemes in Seminole results from the fact that, for three of them, long, short, and nasal variants are phonemic. (The fourth vowel quality is always short, and its nasalized variant may be placed with another nasal vowel with which it is in complementary distribution.) The following chart illustrates the occurrence of the ten vowel phonemes. Examples have been selected so as to demonstrate the phonemic status of each; whenever possible minimal pairs are listed for phonemes possessing the same vowel quality, and at the very least the examples indicate a lack of complementary distribution. Whenever possible, each phoneme is shown in word initial, medial, and final positions.

	inéywa	"his wife"
i	cihíca:lí:s	"I'll see you."
	iheyká:nikotó:	"He isn't going to sing."
	háti	"just now"
	í:hicás	"Look at yourself."
i:	iheyká:ni:kotó:	"We (E) are not going to sing."
	hoktí:	"woman"
ĩ:	ĩ:hopánas	"Dance for them."
	ɔf:hi cá:li:s	"I'll look for you."
	hí:sto:míccimátĩ:	"Did you see it (long ago)?"

a	áhópóyas onáyali:tĩ: lóca	"Look for it." "Will they tell it?" "turtle"
a:	á:hópóyas onáya:li:tĩ: pocá:	"Look for it near me." "Will I tell it?" "grandfather"
ã:	ã:hópóyas apí:ya:nã:	"Look for it for me." "Are they going?"
o	osá:fki acóli: sókca cokó	"sofkee" "man" "bag" "house"
o:	ó:wa acó:la sokkó:ska matô:	"water" "husband" "soap" "thank you"
õ:	kõ:wakotõ: î:stõ:	"I don't want it." "He is holding it."
e	eymít pala:téy tiní:peycít	"to give" "I just spilled it." "to iron"

The phoneme *i:* has little phonetic variation. Its single allophone is [i:], a high, front, tense, unrounded vowel, held slightly longer than the contrasting phoneme *i*. It is thus pronounced much like the vowel of the English word "see," except that there is no *y* off-glide. In fast speech it is difficult to distinguish *i:* from *i* on many occasions because the added length becomes difficult to perceive. (Nasal allophones of this and other oral vowels will be discussed separately below.)

The phoneme *i* has two allophones. One of these has the same vowel quality as *i:* but is not held for quite so long a time ([i]). The more common allophone, however, is a high, front, lax, unrounded vowel, also of short duration, [ɪ]. This second allophone is pronounced like the vowel in the English word "bit."

ĩ: is a high, front, tense (rarely lax), unrounded, nasal vowel (as in "bean"). As with all nasal vowel phonemes, length is not phonemic. There are short and long allophones of ĩ:, but the long

variant is by far the more commonly used.

The allophonic variations of the other vowels closely follow the patterning found in the three high front vowels. Thus, a: has a single allophone, the low, back, unrounded vowel with added length, [a:]. This is the same vowel as is found in the English word "pop." a has two major allophones. First, it may be pronounced just like a: except for a slightly shorter duration ([a]). Second, it may be the central, low, unrounded vowel [ʌ] (as in "but"). These two allophones are in free variation. ǣ: also has variable pronunciation. Frequently it is a low, back, unrounded vowel with added length and nasalization, just as the symbol for this phoneme indicates. (An English word with this sound is "don.") As with ɪ:, however, length is not phonemic, and there is a short allophone of this vowel, [ǣ̃], which occurs optionally in word-final position. Yet a third variant of this phoneme is the central, low, unrounded, short vowel with nasalization ([ʌ̃]). This, too, is optional in word-final position. Also, front, mid, tense or lax allophones [ǣ̃] and [ǣ̃] occur in the environments t__y and __y#.

o: is the only long oral vowel with two allophones. By far the more common one is the mid, back, tense, rounded vowel with added length, [o:]. This is much the same sound as in "toad," except that the w off-glide does not occur in Seminole. However, in some morphemes, particularly when followed by the sequence Ck, this phoneme is pronounced as the high, back, lax, rounded vowel with long duration, [U:], as in English "could." o likewise has two allophones, short variations of the two allophones of o:-- [o] and [U]. Finally, ǫ: also has two allophones-- [ǫ:] and [ǫ̃]. Like the other nasal vowel phonemes, length is not phonemic for ǫ:, but ǫ: shows the greatest tendency of all to be pronounced with length. ǫ: is pronounced as a mid, back, tense, rounded, nasalized vowel (similar to that in "bone").

In this discussion of the nine major vowel phonemes of Seminole, there has not been a complete description of the distribution of the various allophones of each phoneme. Generally-speaking,

except where otherwise noted, allophones are in free variation.

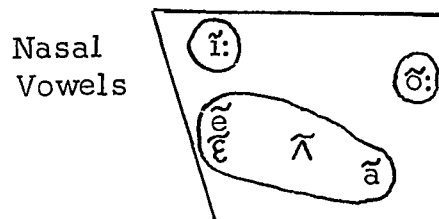
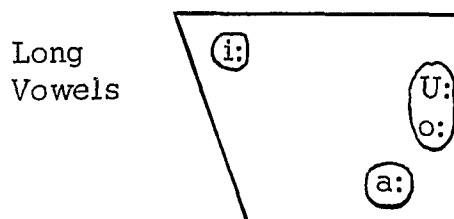
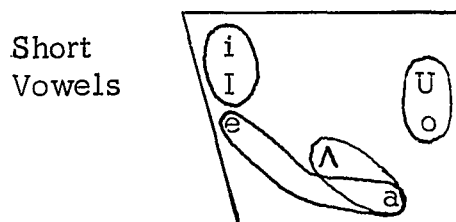
Seminole's tenth vowel phoneme, e, requires special discussion because its status as a distinct phoneme is difficult to determine. The first unusual fact about this vowel is that it occurs only in the position immediately preceding y (although in fast speech this y may be deleted in surface phonology). The situation is further complicated by the fact that e is frequently pronounced as [a], rather than the front, mid, tense, unrounded vowel expected ([e]). It is therefore necessary to determine if e is simply a phonetic variant of a that sometimes occurs in the environment before y. A close look at Seminole phonology indicates that e is indeed a separate autonomous phoneme, but it may be merged with a as a single systematic phoneme. If we look at surface phonology, there are no minimal pairs that contrast ey and ay. Neither is there free variation between them, since segments assigned to a are never pronounced [e]. There is, however, a strong tendency for complementary distribution. The sequence ay is always followed by a vowel, while ey is almost always either followed by a consonant or in word-final position. In fact, the only time when ey occurs immediately before a vowel is when it occurs as the first person singular active subject pronoun suffix. Interestingly enough, Haas (1946:330) notes that this suffix in the dialects she has studied is pronounced as ey before a consonant and ay before a vowel. If this were the case in Seminole, too, there would be no need to set up e as a separate phoneme; it would simply be the allophone of a that occurs before consonants and in word-final position. However, on rare occasion this subject suffix is pronounced as ey before a vowel, so that any attempt to describe complementary distribution between e and a would have to be rather contrived. On the other hand, this situation is very easily handled in deeper phonological levels. A single morphophoneme a would be specified as optionally being realized phonetically as [e] in the environment immediately before a consonant or at the end of a word or when it is part of the first person singular active subject

suffix. (The nasal variant of e, [ẽ], is in complementary distribution with other allophones of ǣ:, so it may be classified in that phoneme.)

Haas (1940:149) explains that e is historically derived from a, which helps to explain their close relationship in the Seminole dialect. She further says that their contrast as distinct phonemes is due to mixture of dialects which differed in whether or not they had raised ay into ey. It is significant to note that some of the words which Haas has recorded as including the sequence ayC have been elicited in Seminole, and they are invariably pronounced as eyC. Thus, Seminole is similar to the Creek dialects studied by Haas in that e and a are closely related, but it shows a much stronger tendency toward complementary distribution between them.

The convention has been adopted that [ay] is transcribed as ay when followed by a vowel, but as ey in all other environments. [ey] is always transcribed as ey.

The following vowel charts diagram the distribution of the allophones of Seminole's ten vowel phonemes.



Before concluding the discussion of Seminole's segmental phonemes, it is important to take a further look at the status of the nasal vowel phonemes. Each of the seven oral vowels in Seminole has a nasal allophone, although this has not yet been mentioned. These allophones occur when the vowels are immediately followed by a nasal consonant. Nasal allophones also occur when conditioned by the presence of rising tone (the intensive or continuative verbal aspect marker). However, there are situations in which a nasal vowel cannot be explained by such conditioning and does contrast with the corresponding oral vowels, so it is necessary to set them up as separate phonemes. For example, sometimes an underlying nasal consonant conditions a preceding vowel but is later deleted by a phonological rule. The result is a nasal vowel, without apparent conditioning, which contrasts with oral vowels. A second source of nasal vowel phonemes is found in the interrogative verbal suffixes, $-\tilde{a}:$ and $-\tilde{i}:$, for which there is no nasal conditioning environment at all. Finally, a phonological rule (Nasal Coalescence) that eliminates syllables with nasal consonants nasalizes the vowel in the syllable following the deleted one. The phonological rules that result in the phonemic status of nasal vowels are specified in the section below on morphophonology.

It should be noted that it is not possible to analyze nasal vowel phonemes as consisting of the sequence vowel plus nasal consonant on the level of surface phonology. This is because, regardless of which nasal consonant were used, there would be no way to predict when this sequence is pronounced as a nasal vowel and when it is pronounced as a vowel plus nasal consonant.

Because oral vowels do have nasal allophones, the Seminole phonemic system has considerable overlap. In order to deal with this, it is necessary to have a rule for classifying vowels that are phonetically nasal in the appropriate phonemes. The simplest method for doing this is to classify them in the nasal phonemes except when the conditioning environment is present in surface phonology. So, if the vowel is followed by a nasal consonant, it is placed in the oral vowel phoneme.

Also, if it has rising tone (intensive or continuative aspect), nasality is conditioned by this tone and is not phonemic. In all but these two environments, however, a phonetically nasal vowel is classified in the corresponding nasal vowel phoneme.

It is very important to realize, however, that at the level of systematic phonemics no nasal vowels are required. The preceding discussion shows that the environment causing nasality is most often present in the underlying phonological representation. The only exception is the interrogative suffixes, for which it would certainly be possible to posit an underlying nasal consonant obligatorily deleted by phonological rule. Thus, while ten vowel phonemes must be distinguished if we follow the autonomous phoneme model, Seminole's vowel system shows considerably greater simplicity at a deeper level of phonology, where we can posit only six phonemes. By merging \tilde{e} , \tilde{a} :, \tilde{i} :, and \tilde{o} :. with the appropriate systematic phonemes, not only is the total number of phonemes reduced, but the resultant phonemes do not have the peculiar restrictions on their distribution that the nasal vowel phonemes do. In short, Seminole presents some rather important evidence regarding the inadequacies of the traditional phonemic model and the advantages of more recent phonological theory, which calls for the application of morphological information to a deeper level of phonological analysis.

C. Tone

The list of Seminole phonemes is completed by the three tone phonemes. High ($\acute{}$), falling ($\hat{}$), and rising ($\tilde{}$) tone are all phonemic in Seminole.² Phonetically, high tone is a level pitch slightly higher than that of syllables with no tonal accent. Falling tone begins at a pitch equal to or greater than that of high tone and descends to the

2. These symbols are those used by Haas in her work on Creek and were selected to be used here for the sake of consistency with her.

level of syllables without tone. Rising tone may be realized in either of two ways. First, it may be a level pitch slightly higher than that of high tone. Second, it may be a rising pitch that begins at that level and increases. The pitch increase may be increased for emphasis. Absolute pitch of any of these tones depends on position within the word, however, since the level of pitch decreases from one tone to the next in a word.

This very brief description of the phonetics of tone takes into consideration only the more basic features. Actually, the phonetics of tone in Seminole is a very complicated subject that merits investigation in itself. For a detailed description of tone in the Oklahoma dialects of Creek, see Haas (1977b).

The following words illustrate the phonemic status of high, rising, and falling tone.

kǎ:weysikotǎ:s	"I <u>really</u> don't want it."
kǎ:weysikotǎ:s	"I really don't want it."
mǎ:witǎ:s	"It's happening."
mǎ:witǎ:s	"It happened."
mí:ca:lís kó:mit	"He thinks, 'I'll do it.'"
*mí:ca:lís ko:mít	
ko:mít	"to think, want"
yíkcín atótka:lís	"I will work hard."
yíkcín atǎ:tká:lís	"I will keep on working hard."
hakéyhkitǎ:	"He is crying."
hakéyhkitǎ:	"He cried (recently)."

As these words demonstrate, the tone phonemes function most importantly in verb inflection. High and falling tone do occur in lexical morphemes as well, but rising tone is limited to verbal inflection. Tone phonemes may occur with short or long vowels.

A comparison of Seminole's phonemic inventory with that of Oklahoma Creek (Haas 1940:149-150), shows that the differences are relatively minor. The list of consonants, as well as their phonetics, are identical, although the vowels show some differences. One distinctive trait found in Seminole is that short vowels have variable

pronunciation. Another is that nasal vowel phonemes must be distinguished. A third is that the e phoneme may be eliminated on the level of the morphophoneme. Many of these differences show a very interesting parallel with the phonology of Mikasuki, as described by Trammell (unpub. ms.:9-14). Thus, in Mikasuki short vowels also have variable pronunciation, nasal vowel phonemes are present, and there is no separate phoneme e. These parallels indicate the possibility of some phonological diffusion between Mikasuki and Seminole, a process that seems quite feasible given the close association between speakers of Mikasuki and Seminole in South Florida. Further investigation, however, is needed in order to determine if diffusion from Mikasuki actually did play a role in the phonological differentiation of Seminole or if, perhaps, it is the Oklahoma dialects which have changed rather than than the Florida one. At any rate, these differences between Seminole and other Creek dialects should not be over-emphasized, since on a deep phonological level all but the question of the status of the vowel e disappear.

D. Sentence Intonation

The most important use of pitch in Seminole is for the tone phonemes rather than for sentence intonation, and although there is a typical pattern for sentence intonation, the presence of tone phonemes may interfere with this. Typically, a Seminole sentence does not make use of a rising intonation either for questions or statements. Rather, all sentences tend toward lowering pitch at their conclusion, although the presence of high tone on the final syllable in the sentence gives the effect of level intonation. The fact that successive tones in a word are lower in absolute pitch does contribute to the lowering pitch at sentence end, since sentences end in verbs and verbs typically have several tones. When a sentence consists of several clauses, each clause tends to have its own falling intonation at its close.

II. Sequence Restrictions

A wide variety of syllable structures occur in Seminole. A syllable may be open or closed and, if closed, occasionally there are two or three consonants following the vowel instead of just one. Thus, the simplest syllable type that occurs in Seminole consists of a single vowel, long or short. The longest syllable that occurs in Seminole consists of the sequence CVCCC. Most syllables, however, fall between these two extremes.

The general formula for syllable structure is (C)(C)V(:)(C)(C)(C). However, depending on position in the word, some options become impossible or almost obligatory. For example, the three-consonant sequence at the close of a syllable is possible only in word-final position; elsewhere two consonants are the maximum. Also, in word-final position it is extremely rare to find a syllable beginning with a vowel, in word-internal position it is slightly more common, and in word-initial position this occurs frequently. The result of this, or course, is that it is uncommon to find two vowels adjacent in a word.

The following words illustrate syllable types in Seminole.

V	<u>a</u> píswa	"meat"
V:	<u>a:</u> léykas	"Get up."
CV	<u>c</u> okó	"house"
CV:	<u>la:</u> léycas	"Put it over there."
VC	<u>anfí:</u> kas	"Pay me."
V:C	<u>á:</u> kla:tkít	"to fall into water"
CVC	<u>ipá</u> fko	"his lungs"
CV:C	<u>pífa:</u> tkít	"to run (pl. subj.)"
CCV	<u>swaná:</u> ka	"rope"
CCV:	<u>swá:</u> las	"Cut them with it."
CCVC	<u>scí</u> fkitá	"spear, spur"
CCV:C	<u>spá:</u> ska	"broom"
CVCC	ta <u>klóm</u> haks	"Lie down (pl. subj.)"
CVCCC	ya <u>heyká:</u> <u>kt</u> anks	"They sang (a few days ago)."

Theoretically possible syllable structures which do not occur in the data are:

CV:CC
 CV:CCC
 V(:)CC
 CCV(:)CC
 CCV(:)CCC

The absence of examples, however, is not conclusive evidence that they are not allowed, since consonant clusters closing syllables are relatively uncommon to begin with; these particular sequences would be fairly rare if they do in fact occur, and they might be uncovered by further investigation.

A Seminole word may consist of a single syllable, but most words are longer, and words of four and more syllables are very common, largely due to derivational and inflectional processes to be discussed in chapters below. There are very definite restrictions on the phonological structure of words which may be summarized here:

1. If two syllables are adjacent in a word, there is usually at least one consonant separating the vowels, and frequently there are two, one closing the first syllable and the other opening the second. The section below on morphophonology includes rules that prevent vowels from being adjacent in a word, but there are occasions when derivational and inflectional processes bring together two vowels and the vowels are neither merged, nor separated by a consonant, nor affected in any other way. Most commonly this happens when at least one of the vowels in question is long.

2. As already discussed, consonant clusters may occur within a single syllable, but they are also formed through the juxtaposition of a syllable ending with one or two consonants and a syllable beginning with one or two consonants. In the data elicited, there are only two four-consonant sequences that are formed in this manner; all others consist of only two or three consonants. The vast majority of the three- and four- consonant clusters that occur begin with a sonorant.

3. Whether they occur within a single syllable or bridging two syllables, two-consonant clusters are quite common. If we exclude from consideration the consonant η , which can occur only before k or hk , the majority of possible sequences of two consonants occur. As already discussed, these two-consonant sequences include

geminated consonants, although geminated w does not ordinarily occur. (Haas (1977a:202) notes that those dialects that do have geminate w reflect a Koasati or Alabama influence.) Although a large number of two-consonant sequences occur in Seminole, in word-initial position only clusters beginning with s are allowed. Such clusters are produced by the deletion of i in word-initial position, according to the rule of i Deletion.

The following chart summarizes the specific sequences permissible in the various positions of a word.

Position	Possible Phonemes
Word-Initial	Any vowel (There is no example of õ : in the data, but this is believed to be accidental.) Any single consonant except η Two-consonant clusters beginning with s
Word-Internal	Any phoneme may occur in this position, although there are restrictions on possible sequences Of 170 possible sequences of two consonants (excluding η), 108 are attested in the data. ³ Undoubtedly, at least a few possible sequences, simply by chance, do not occur. k and h are the most combinable consonants, occurring both before and after almost every other consonant. s, n, and y are also very combinable, especially before other consonants.

3. These CC sequences are: pp, pt, pc, pk, ps, p ł , ph, pl, tt, tk, th, cc, ck, ch, cw, kp, kt, kc, kk, kf, ks, k ł , kh, kl, km, kn, kw, ky, ft, fk, ff, f ł , fh, fl, fn, fy, sp, st, sc, sk, sf, ss, s ł , sh, sl, sm, sn, sw, sy, łp , łt , łk , łł , łh , łw , hp, ht, hc, hk, hf, hs, h ł , hh, hl, hm, hn, hw, hy, ip, it, lk, lh, ll, lw, mp, mt, mk, mh, mm, np, nt, nc, nk, nf, ns, n ł , nh, nl, nm, nn, nw, ny, wt, wk, wh, ww, yp, yt, yc, yk, ys, y ł , yh, yl, ym, yn, yw, yy.

Position	Possible Phonemes
Word-Internal (contd.)	<p>Sequences of two vowels are uncommon, but possible. For example, a:a:, ai:, and a:o: occur. Sequences of more than two vowels are not permissible.</p> <p>A large number of three-consonant sequences occur, over 80% of which begin with a sonorant. ɭ is the only phoneme that does not occur in these clusters. These sequences can include geminates.</p> <p>Four-consonant sequences are the longest that occur, and they are rare. These sequences are ŋksc and ŋkss. In the r.t. themes lengthened sonorants may combine with other consonants, resulting in a phonetic four-consonant cluster, but phonemically there are only three consonants.</p>
Word-Final	<p>Any vowel</p> <p>t, c, k, f, s, h, n, and y are the only single consonants attested. Of these, only t, c, s, y, and n occur frequently.</p> <p>ks, nt, ŋks, ŋk, yt, ys, and yn are the only consonant clusters possible.</p>

Placement of tone in words is very complicated. There are certain morphemes that have an inherent tone pattern which is constant regardless of what other morphemes combine with it in a word. For example, the o: in tolô:si, "chicken," always receives falling tone. More commonly, however, the tonal pattern of a morpheme is variable. These variations depend on the phonological structure of the words in which it occurs, as well as the inflectional morphemes that may be present, since tonal changes are an important part of verb inflection. Sometimes the placement of tone in a word is predictable based on

these phonological and morphological considerations, but there are some words that have variable tone placement (cf. átas and atás, "Come (sg. subj.). ").

A single word often has more than one syllable with tone, different kinds of tone may combine in a word, and consecutive syllables may be marked for tone. The following words illustrate these facts about tone placement.

ciyá:ci:tâ:tô:s	"You need it."
hã:tí:mac	"We used to build them."
áncatokná:wa	"my money"
alã:ktô:s	"He arrived. "
á:cicákkatás	"Come with me. "
ili:stó:matí:s	"He killed him (long ago)."

The rules of tone placement are too involved to be dealt with thoroughly in this monograph, but they will be discussed from time to time when they relate to questions of morphology. All Seminole words will be marked for tone, even though some of these tones are predictable, because it was not possible to perform a thorough analysis of the rules of tone placement as part of this project.

III. Phonological Rules

This section attempts to explain the most important phonological rules in Seminole. No claim is being made that this set of rules is complete, or even that it is the most elegant possible. However, the rules do represent the phonological changes that occur with any great frequency, and they do correctly predict the phonological form of the words to which they apply.

As already explained, there is a strong tendency in Seminole to prevent two vowels from being adjacent to one another in a word. Derivation and inflection of both nouns and verbs often bring two vowels together, and there are several phonological rules that apply in many (but not all) such cases to restore normal phonological structure to the word. Rules (1) through (7) are the most common such rules.

(1) Noun Vowel Deletion (obl.)

$$V(:)_1 \longrightarrow \emptyset / _ - V_2$$

conditions: where V_2 is initial in a
noun suffix

Examples:

isti-oci \longrightarrow ístocí
person-dim. baby

honan-wa-alki \longrightarrow honanwâlki
man-nom. -pl.II men

hokti:-aki \longrightarrow hóktakí
woman-pl.III women

kona:-wa-oci \longrightarrow koná:wocí
bead-nom. -dim. little bead

lało-oci \longrightarrow lałóci
fish-dim. baby fish

(2) y Epenthesis (obl.)

$$\emptyset \longrightarrow y / V(:)_1 _ V(:)_2$$

conditions: where $V(:)_1$ is final in a verb
root or stem

(This rule also applies optionally where
 $V(:)_1$ is the vowel of the passive suffix,
-ho:.)

Examples:

\emptyset -ha:-as \longrightarrow há:yas
3DO-make-subjunc. 1,2sg. Make it.

a-ita \longrightarrow ayíta
go sg. subj. -inf.II to go (sg. subj.)

\emptyset -nafk-ho:-ahi-s \longrightarrow nafkho:yáhis
3DO-hit-pass. -fut. -dec. He will be hit.

The following four rules prevent the final vowel of a direct object prefix from being adjacent to an initial vowel in a verb stem or postposition. In order for them to produce the correct forms, it is necessary to assume that certain verbs lack their initial vowel in underlying form. If there is no prefix added to the verb, or if the prefix added has \emptyset form, rule (6) inserts an initial vowel.

(3) Pronoun Vowel Inversion (obl.)

$C_1V_1 \longrightarrow V_1C_1 / _ V(:)_2$
 conditions: where C_1V_1 is a pronominal prefix and $V(:)_2 \neq i:$

Examples:

ca-ałahka \longrightarrow acaláhka
 1SDO-for for me
 ci-oh-at-it \longrightarrow icóha:tít
 2DO-on-come sg.subj. -inf.I to come toward you

(4) Pronoun Vowel Assimilation (obl.)

$\begin{bmatrix} a \\ a: \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} i \\ i: \end{bmatrix} / iC _$

conditions: where iC is an inverted pronominal prefix
 (This rule appears to be optional for the verb a:kkít, "to bite," a fact which cannot be explained by phonological conditioning.)

Example:

ci-afó:pki \longrightarrow ic-afó:pki \longrightarrow icifó:pki
 2DO-next to beside you

(5) Pronoun Vowel Deletion (opt.)

$V_1 \longrightarrow \emptyset / \left\{ \begin{matrix} \# \\ V: \end{matrix} \right\} _ C_1V_2$
 conditions: where V_1C_1 is an inverted pronominal prefix
 (This rule may be obligatory $/V: _ C_1V_2.$)

Examples:

cifó:pki, "beside you" (Produced by applying rule (5) to icifó:pki, the example for rule (4))
 ca-afó:pki \longrightarrow ac-afó:pki \longrightarrow cafó:pki
 1SDO-next to beside me

Because Pronoun Vowel Assimilation applies with the postposition afó:pki, the loss of the initial vowel does not mean that "beside you" and "beside me" are homonymous. However, if there is no vowel

assimilation, the loss of the pronoun vowel means that the first and second person cannot be told apart. (For example, *cóhmillít* could mean "to point toward me" or "to point toward you.") One solution to this problem is that the rule is generally applied only for the second person pronoun, so a verb or postposition that has undergone Pronoun Vowel Deletion probably, but not always, has the second person direct object.

(6) Initial *i* Epenthesis (obl.)

$\emptyset \longrightarrow i/\# _ C$

conditions: this is a minor rule applying only to verbs specified in the lexicon as requiring it

Examples:

law-it \longrightarrow *ila:wít*
 hunger-inf.I to be hungry

l-it \longrightarrow *i:lít*
 die sg. subj. -inf.I to die (sg. subj.)

Rule (6) must apply before the morphophonological rules that alter verb themes, since in some verbs it is the epenthetic *i* that is affected by those rules. Thus, in the *-ít* infinitive form (inf.I), the vowel in the final syllable of the verb is frequently lengthened. In the case of the second verb above, the vowel in the final syllable of the verb is the epenthetic *i*, and it is lengthened. There is one exceptional verb in the data which requires an epenthetic vowel, but instead of *i* it is *e* (along with the *y* that is required to follow any *e*). This verb is *eymít*, "to give."

A final rule preventing two vowels from being adjacent in a word is:

(7) *t* Epenthesis (obl.)

$\emptyset \longrightarrow t/V(:) _ \text{interrog.}$

The interrogative suffix cannot be given phonological expression until after the application of this rule, because this suffix is $\tilde{y}/t _$

but \tilde{a} : elsewhere. Examples of the application of t Epenthesis are:

\emptyset -ona-a-ali:-interrog. \longrightarrow onáya:li:tí:
 3DO-tell-1Ssubj.-fut.-interrog. Will I tell it?
 (Note that y Epenthesis applies.)

pifa:tk-ak-i:-interrog. \longrightarrow pifá:tka:kí:tí:
 run pl.subj.-distr.-pot.-interrog. Can they run?

We turn now to the morphophonemic alternation exhibited by the indirect object/alienable possession prefixes in Seminole. As will be explained in the section on pronouns, the indirect object pronominal prefixes are essentially the direct object prefixes given the suffix -m. This final nasal consonant, however, is conditioned in certain environments to become n, η , and nasalization of a previous vowel. These rules show considerable variation from one speaker to the next. The following four ordered rules describe the pattern of alternation for one of the speakers consulted.

(8) Vowel Nasalization (opt.)

$$Vm \longrightarrow \tilde{V}:/_ \left\{ \begin{array}{l} y \\ s \\ h \end{array} \right\}$$

conditions: this rule is obligatory / $_h$

(9) Nasal Dentalization (obl.)

$$m \longrightarrow n/_ \left\{ \begin{array}{l} t \\ c \\ \eta \\ n \\ l \\ y \\ s \end{array} \right\}$$

(10) Nasal Velarization (obl.)

$$m \longrightarrow \eta/_k$$

(11) w Gemination (obl.)

$$Vn \longrightarrow \tilde{V}:w/_w$$

Examples:

\emptyset -im-nis-a	→	ínnisá
3DO-3IO-buy-subjunc.1,2sg.subj.		Buy it for him.
cim-kona:-wa	→	ciŋkoná:wa
2al.poss.-bead-nom.		your beads
am-s-noi-eyc-ka	→	ǎ:snoléycka
1Sal.poss.-instr.-cooked-caus.-ger.		my pot
im-wa:ci	→	í:wwâ:ci
3al.poss.-mother		his mother

A second speaker shows some variations on these rules. Vowel Nasalization applies before f, ɫ, and h. Nasal Dentalization is optional before p and m and obligatory before f. Nasal Velarization is unchanged, and w Gemination does not occur at all. Work with a larger number of speakers would be required to determine the full scope of the variations that occur, and whether they are dialectal or idiolectal.

Following are two miscellaneous phonological rules.

(12) Stop Dissimilation (obl.)

$c \longrightarrow s / _ t$

A large number of verb stems end in c and frequently the stem is followed by a suffix beginning with t. As a result, this is a frequently-applied rule. Examples are:

im-aneyc-to:m- \emptyset - \emptyset -s	→	imáneystó:s
3IO-help-s.r.-3subj.-pres.-dec.		They are helping them.
\emptyset -keyc-to:k-ey- \emptyset -s	→	kéystóhkeys
3DO-tell-s.r.-1Ssubj.-pastI-dec.		I told him.

(13) s Gemination (opt.)

$sc \longrightarrow ss$

Example:

oy-s-caw-ka	→	oyssáwka
water-instr.-grasp pl.DO-ger.		bucket, pail

The vowel i has a special place in Seminole phonology. It is

used epenthetically to break up consonant clusters, but it is also frequently deleted by rules of abbreviation. The following five rules illustrate more precisely the behavior of this vowel.

(14) Initial i Deletion (opt.)

$$i \longrightarrow \emptyset / \# _ \left\{ \begin{array}{l} s(C)V(:)C(C)V(:) \\ mV(:) \end{array} \right\}$$

This rule produces the only consonant clusters that occur at the beginning of a word in Seminole. The initial i before an s is deleted only if the word is at least three syllables long. Examples of the application of this rule are:

isti-oci	→	istoci	→	stocí
person-dim.				baby
is-pa:s-ka	→	spá:ska		
instr. - sweep-ger.		broom		
im-atok-it	→	máto:tkít		
3IO- work- subj.		working with them. . . .		

(15) i Deletion (opt.)

$$i \longrightarrow \emptyset / V(:) _ s$$

This rule is required to eliminate the i that is initial in the instrumental prefix is- and the declarative suffix -is. Following are a few words in which the rule of i Deletion applies.

fo:tk- \emptyset -i:-is	→	fo:tkí:s
whistle-3subj.-pot.-dec.		They can whistle.
la:-is-caw-as	→	lá:scawás
dis.II-instr.-grasp pl.DO-subjunc.1,2sg.subj.		Go get it.

(16) i Epenthesis (obl.)

$$\emptyset \longrightarrow i / \left\{ \begin{array}{l} o:m \\ \text{obstruent } C_1 \\ C_2 t \end{array} \right\} _ t$$

This rule is responsible for inserting an i before the secondary root -to:m or -tò:k in many Seminole verbs. No matter how this rule is written, there will be many exceptions to it, primarily because certain verbs undergo it optionally. It is therefore necessary to specify in the lexicon those verbs which undergo it although they do not include the

phonological sequences which normally condition it. Examples of verbs that undergo i Epenthesis are:

pifa:tk-to:m-i:-∅-is → pifá:tkito:mí:s
 run pl. subj. - s.r. - IPEsubj. - pres. - dec. We are running.
 (Note that i Deletion applies.)

hont-to:m-∅-∅-is → hóntitō:s
 grow-s.r. - 3subj. - pres. - dec. It is growing.
 (Note that Labial Deletion applies (see below).)

soŋk-to:m-∅-∅-is → sōŋkitō:s
 lost-s.r. - 3subj. - immut. - dec. He was lost.
 (Note that Labial Deletion applies again.)

The last verb in the list above, soŋkít, "to be lost," is an exceptional verb which must be specially marked as optionally undergoing i Epenthesis although it does not fulfill the normal phonological requirements of the rule.

(17) Negative Assimilation (opt.)

o:mi — oŋ/_k

conditions: where the sequence ik is the beginning of the negative suffix

Examples:

mo:m-∅-iko-∅-is → moŋkós
 do-3neg. subj. - neg. - pres. - dec. No, it's not
 (Note that i Deletion applies.) happening.

∅-ko:m-∅-iko-∅-is → koŋkós
 3DO-want-3neg. subj. - neg. - pres. - dec. He doesn't want it.
 (Note that i Deletion applies.)

(18) Syllable Coalescence (opt.)

(a) i:mi → in/ $\left. \begin{matrix} \# \\ p \\ c \end{matrix} \right\} _t$

(b) ani → an/#_t

(c) o:mi → on/ $\left. \begin{matrix} t \\ k \\ m \end{matrix} \right\} _ \left. \begin{matrix} t \\ c \end{matrix} \right\}$

Each of these three sub-rules involves a similar change, that is, the loss of an i and the shift to dental position of a nasal consonant if it is not already dental. The environments in which they apply are

similar, too, but they are different enough to require that three separate sub-rules be written. This rule is responsible for, among other things, abbreviations of Seminole's independent pronouns and the second person singular active subject suffix, as illustrated in the following words.

i:mi-ta:ki → ínta:kí
 3-pl.I they

ci:mi-teys → cín-teys
 2-disj. you or

ani-t-a:t → ánta:t
 1S-verb.-part.I me

∅-ko:m-ick-∅-ã: → kônckã:
 3DO-want-2Ssubj.-immut.-interrog. Do you want it?

The following three rules alter and abbreviate the secondary root to:m.

(19) Nasal Movement (opt.)

o:m → õ:w

This rule applies not only to -to:m, but also to other morphemes with the proper phonological sequence. Examples of its application are:

ko:m-it → kõ:wít
 want-inf.I to want

yaheyk-to:m-i:-∅ → yahéyktõ:wí:
 sing-s.r. - 1Psubj.-pres. We are singing.

(20) Labial Deletion (obl.)

$\left. \begin{matrix} \{ \text{õ:w} \\ \text{o:m} \} \end{matrix} \right\} i \rightarrow \text{õ:} / _ \text{s\#}$

Examples:

∅-ko:m-a-ko-to:m-∅-is → kõ:wakotõ:s
 3DO-want-1Sneg.subj.-neg.-s.r.-pres.-dec. I don't want it.
 (Note that Nasal Movement applies.)

tokok-to:m-∅-∅-is → tokó:lkitõ:s
 run dl.subj.-s.r.-3subj.-pres.-dec. They (two) are running.
 (Note that i Epenthesis applies.)

Labial Deletion thus serves to reduce the combination of secondary

root -to:m and declarative suffix -is. A rule which inserts the infix -h- in the secondary root -to:m in order to inflect a verb for the recent past tense must apply before this rule in order to block its application. -h- infixation must apply after Nasal Movement, however. Thus, -to:m in the recent past tense becomes either -t^hhw or -t^hhm (a long oral vowel is shortened when -h- is added), and Labial Deletion cannot apply to this sequence.

The final rule affecting -to:m is:

(21) Nasal Coalescence (opt.)

$o:mV(:) \longrightarrow \tilde{V}:/t_C$

conditions: where $V(:) \neq i$; where C is nasal, the resultant vowel phoneme is oral, but phonetically nasal

The most common application of this rule is to shorten the combination -to:m plus the first person singular, first person plural, or second person plural active subject suffix. The nasal vowel which results from the rule sometimes receives falling tone. Falling tone is always present when the verb is in the middle past tense and always lacking when it is in the present tense, but tone appears to be variable in the distant past tense. Examples of the application of this rule are:

ci- piŋkal-i:c-to:m-a:cc-∅-is \longrightarrow
 2DO-frightened-caus.-s.r.-2Psubj.-pres.-dec.
 cipíŋkali:stā:ccis
 You (pl.) frighten me.
 (Note that Stop Dissimilation applies.)

api:-to:m-ak-aŋk-s \longrightarrow apī:tā:kāŋks
 go pl. subj.-s.r.-IPsubj.-pastII-dec. We went (a few days ago).
 (-s is an allomorph of the declarative suffix.)

(22) Consonant Apocope (opt.)

$C \longrightarrow \emptyset / N(:)_ \#$

This rule is responsible for the loss of the final s in the declarative, subjunctive, and imperative suffixes, as well as the final n and t of case suffixes added to verbs.

∅-asl-i:c-as → aslí:ca
 3DO-go out-caus. - subjunc. 1,2sg. subj. Put it out.

∅-cim-mo:l-i:c-a-ali-is → címmo:lí:ca:lí
 3DO-2IO-boil-caus. - 1Ssubj. - fut. - dec. I' ll boil it for you.
 (Note that i Deletion applies.)

NOUN STEM FORMATION

The term "noun root" will here be used to refer to a single morpheme that is a noun. The term "noun stem" refers to the form that results after a verb undergoes rules of noun derivation or after a noun root has undergone the rules of noun derivation and/or compounding, as well as to a noun root that is going to be used without any processes of derivation. Rules of noun inflection apply to the noun stem.

All noun roots in Seminole end in a vowel, with the exception of a few nouns that take the derivational suffix -wa whenever they occur in non-compounded forms (see below). The very simplest form for a noun root is CV(:). However, most roots consist of two or three syllables: (C)V(:)C(C)V(:)C(C)V(:). Most, but not all, noun roots begin with a consonant but, as this formula illustrates, roots do not normally begin with consonant clusters. A small list of nouns taking inalienable possession are exceptions to this rule; these roots begin with the sequence CC, but they never occur in isolation, since a possessive prefix is required to precede them. Each syllable in a noun root is separated from the next by one or two consonants. Rarely, a noun root may consist of more than three syllables, but the phonological pattern for these longer roots always follows the rules just specified.

The production of a noun stem can alter the form of a noun or verb root considerably, but always within the restrictions that the stem end in a vowel and one or two consonants separate each vowel within

the stem. (Some participles are exceptions in that they end in consonants.) As the examples below will illustrate, a noun stem may begin with a two-consonant cluster, and stems of four or more syllables are common.

Let us begin by considering derivational morphemes that change the meaning of nouns and then proceed to derivational morphemes that change verbs into nouns.

I. Diminutive Suffix, -oci

The diminutive suffix, -oci, indicates small size and emotional attraction. It is thus particularly appropriate to form names for young animals:

istóci, "baby"; ísti, "person"
 ifóci, "puppy"; ífa, "dog"
 hóktocí, "little girl"; hoktí:, "woman"

The diminutive is also found in a variety of nouns referring to small items, usually in contrast to larger varieties of the same things:

koná:wocí, "little bead (the kind strung in intricate patterns on wire)"; koná:wa, "big bead (the kind strung in the traditional Seminole necklaces)"
 yokkó:fkitóci, "small shirt, blouse"; yokkó:fkitá, "shirt"
 nâ:konákocí, "little story"; nâ:konáka, "story"
 tapó:ckocí, "pistol"; tapó:cka, "gun"
 kitóci, "cat" (<kitty)

A distinct use of the diminutive is in several kin terms:

íłkocí, "uncle (FaBr)"; íłki, "father"
 íckocí, "aunt (MoSi)"; ícki, "mother"

As these examples, show, the diminutive is added to a noun by deleting the final vowel of the noun, according to the Noun Vowel Deletion rule.

II. Augmentative Suffix, -lákko

Seminole also has an augmentative suffix, -lákko. Its use is somewhat obscured by the fact that the root meaning "big" is almost identical. In different contexts, both lákki and lákka are used as noun modifiers meaning "big," and the difference between these forms and the closely related augmentative is not clear to all speakers. All undisputed cases of the augmentative in the data indicate that it is not used indiscriminately as a description of the size of items. It does refer to large size, but it generally changes the reference of a noun.

hómpitalákko, "dinner"; hómpitá, "food, meal"
 cokolákko, "big house built for the Green Corn
 Dance"; cokó, "house"
 yalá:halákko, "grapefruit"; yalá:ha, "orange"
 topalákko, "big table, platform of chickee";
 topá, "table, platform"

The word for horse, cilákko or colákko, is probably historically derived from the augmentative form of "deer," íco (Haas unpub.ms.:77), a fact recognized by some, but not all, speakers. As these words show, addition of the augmentative suffix involves no morphophonemic changes.

Some speakers also use -lákko as a mere description of size, but in such uses the noun occurs out of a sentence context and is used simply as a name:

wá:kalákko
 (That' s a) big cow

While the diminutive is a frequently employed suffix, the augmentative has much more restricted use.

III. Nominal Suffix, -wa

There is some evidence for the existence of a noun derivational suffix -wa. There are a suspiciously large number of nouns that end in this syllable, and when these nouns enter into compounds in non-final position, the -wa is omitted. This suffix's original meaning has

been lost, if it was ever more than a noun marker. The evidence today does not indicate that it is a nominalizing suffix, since these nouns are not related to any verbs. Following are some examples of nouns with this suffix, paired with compounds in which they occur.

- hilíswa, "medicine"
 found in hilishá:ya, "doctor" (há:ya means
 "maker")
- tólwa, "eye"
 found in tolhíssi, "eyelashes" (híssi means
 "hair, down")
- nókwa, "neck"
 found in nokní:lki, "tonsils" (iní:lka means
 "seed")
- cókwa, "mouth"
 found in cokhíssi, "whiskers," and cokháłpi,
 "lips" (háłpi means "skin")

Although most of the nouns in the above list refer to body parts, a large proportion of the total number of nouns which take the nominal suffix do not.

IV. Gerund Suffix, -ka

The -ka suffix converts a verb root or stem into a noun that best corresponds to the English gerund. In combination with the use of this suffix, the vowel in the final syllable of the verb is sometimes lengthened. Gerunds are utilized both as simple nouns and as members of compound nouns.

- anéycka, "help"; áneycít, "to help"
 atiló:ka, "meeting"; atílo:yít, "to gather (tr.)"
 hopánka, "dance"; hopa:nít, "to dance"
 hásakí:lka, "glass, clock"; hási, "sun," and
 ki:lít, "to learn, know"
 nískacóko, "store"; ni:sít, "to buy," and
 cokó, "house"
 lálópá:pka, "Fish Eating Creek"; láló, "fish,"
 and pa:pít, "to eat"

Gerunds may also be utilized when a verb is the object of another verb in a sentence, paralleling the usage of infinitives, as in the following pair of sentences.

l-aklóp-ka-n ci-yá:c-Ø-ǎ:
 dis.III-swim-ger.-obl. 2DO-want l.theme-pres.-interrog.
 Do you want to go swim?

l-áklop-íta-n ci-yá:c-Ø-ǎ:
 dis.III-swim Øtheme-inf.II-obl. 2DO-want l.theme-pres.-
 interrog.
 Do you want to go swim?

V. Infinitive Suffix, -ita

One kind of verb infinitive (inf.II) can be recognized by its ending in -ita. Any infinitive may function syntactically as a noun in certain constructions (as in the example sentence immediately above; for further information see the chapter on Seminole syntax). However, there are also certain infinitive forms that are nouns rather than verbs that may function as nouns. These nouns in infinitive form closely parallel Seminole's nouns in gerund form, just as the syntactic use of verbal infinitives parallels the syntactic use of gerunds in sentences such as those in the section immediately above. For example, the word for "exhibit, circus" can be either hícka or hicíta, the gerund and infinitive forms based on hi:cít, "to see, look." Other nouns in infinitive form are:

hómpitá, "meal, food"; hómpitá, "to eat"
 ískitá, "drink"; ískitá, "to drink"
 pifá:tkitá, "race"; pifá:tkitá, "to run (pl.subj.)"
 yahéykitá, "song"; yahéykitá, "to sing"
 ohwákkitá, "bed"; wákkitá, "to lie (sg.subj.)"
 (oh- is a verbal derivational prefix meaning "cn.")
 óhyakápitá, "sidewalk"; yakápitá, "to walk"

VI. Agentive Nominalizing Suffix, -a

The nominalizing suffix -a, when combined with an active verb root, results in a noun stem meaning "the one who verbs." The vowel in the final syllable of the root is lengthened if i, a, or o, according to the l.theme formation rule (see the chapter on verb inflection). Following are examples of the use of this suffix.

yahéyka, "singer"; yaheykít, "to sing"
 í:ska, "drinker"; i:skít, "to drink"

fá:ya, "hunter"; fa:yít, "to hunt"
há:ya, "maker"; ha:yít, "to make"
found in: capo:fhá:ya, "farmer," from
capó:fa, "garden," and hilishá:ya, "doctor,"
from hilíswa, "medicine"
pá:pa, "eater"; pa:pít, "to eat"
found in: itopá:pa, "beaver," from íto, "wood,"
and istipá:pa, "lion," from ísti, "person"

VII. Nominalizing Prefix, nâ:k-

The prefix nâ:k- may be added to a verb or a nominalized verb. nâ:k- is clearly derived from the pronoun nâ:ki, which means "something, anything." On rare occasion the final i will be pronounced when the pronoun functions as a prefix, but generally it is omitted. In several cases, the prefix nâ:k- is an optional addition to a word that may function as a noun with the same meaning without it.

When nâ:k- is prefixed to an active verb root, the resulting noun stem means "that which verbs." With a stative root the noun means "that which is verb." The diminutive suffix, -oci, is frequently added to noun stems with nâ:k-.

nâ:khisá:ki, "animal"; hisa:kít, "to breathe, live"
also nâ:khisá:kocí, "insect"
nâ:kcámocí, "candy"; campít, "to be sweet"
nâ:ktámkocí, "small flying insect"; tamkít, "to
fly (sg. subj.)"

Some nouns are formed by adding nâ:k- to a noun stem. In these cases, the prefix adds no new meaning. It is simply that nâ:k- is added to some nominalized verbs and not to others. Examples are:

nâ:konáka, "story"; ona:yít, "to tell"
nâ:katíhka, "package"; ati:hít, "to put in (pl.DO)"
nâ:kahócka, "garden, plant"; aho:cít, "to plant"

nâ:k- is not a particularly common prefix. It is found with only a handful of nouns other than those already listed.

VIII. Instrumental Prefix, is-

A large number of noun stems are formed with the instrumental prefix, is-. In a few cases, this prefix is added to the verb infinitive

ending in -ita. These stems mean literally, "the instrument by means of which to verb." Examples are:

stámkitá, "airplane"; támkitá, "to fly (sg. subj.)"
 scífkitá, "spear, spur"; cífkitá, "to poke"
 síccitá, "arrow"; íccitá, "to shoot"

More commonly, however, the instrumental prefix is added to a gerund. The resultant noun stems have the same meaning as those where the instrumental is added to an infinitive although, literally-speaking, these stems would be translated instead "the instrument by means of which verbing." Once again we have evidence of the very close relationship between infinitives and gerunds in Seminole. Examples of instrumental nouns based on gerunds are:

spá:ska, "broom"; pa:sít, "to sweep"
 snoléycka, "pot"; noléycít, "to cook"
 stini:péycka, "iron"; tini:peycít, "to iron"
 sókkopánka, "toy"; ókkopa:nít, "to play"
 swaná:ka, "rope"; wana:yít, "to tie"

Note that the initial i of the instrumental prefix is frequently omitted, resulting in a noun stem beginning with a consonant cluster. If the noun is inflected for possession, two options are possible. Sometimes the possessive prefix is placed before the instrumental prefix, in which case the i of the instrumental prefix is often retained.

pím-is-lá:f-ka
 1Pal. poss. -instr. -cut-ger.
 our knife

At other times, however, the possessive prefix is inserted between the instrumental prefix and the verb root.

s-ín-tini:p-éyc-ka
 instr. - 3al. poss. - smooth-caus. -ger.
 her iron

There seems to be no way to predict which morpheme order will be followed, although the second alternative is by far more common when the possessor is in the third person.

In only two cases discovered is the instrumental added to a kind of construction other than an infinitive or gerund. In these two cases, the verb root is followed by the suffix -a alone, although in

only one of these nouns does this suffix truly refer to an agent as it should.

slopó:tta, "needle"; lopo:ttít, "to go through"
 simahá:ya, sístimahá:ya, "teacher"; aha:yít, "to
 teach" (im- and istim- are the third person
 and indefinite indirect object prefixes,
 respectively.)

IX. Participial Suffixes/Nominalizers

In Seminole there are participial suffixes that may be added to a verb so that it can be utilized as either a noun or an adjective (noun modifier). In English we distinguish present and past participles on the basis that there is a different suffix to express each concept, but in Seminole the situation is a little more complicated. In Seminole the tense of participles is indicated, for the most part, by the same infixes, internal changes, and suffixes that indicate tense in any verb, and then separate suffixes are added to form the participles. There are several different suffixes that may be used, but their usage is governed by the particular tense. The formation of participles will be discussed further in the section concerning noun modifiers; here we are concerned only with the fact that one usage of these participles is as nouns, and in this sense the participial suffixes can be viewed as nominalizers. With an active verb the participle means "the one that verbs," while with a stative verb the participle means "the verb one." Participles may show the varied categories of inflection that any verb may show. Following are some examples of participles translated as nouns. They illustrate the usage of the two most common participial suffixes, -a:t (part.I) and -i: (part.II), both alone and in combination.

píŋkalí:, "the frightened one"; píŋka:lít, "to
 be frightened"
 cipása:takí: fóllanŋkí:, "the one that has been
 killing you all around"; pasa:tít, "to kill
 (pl.DO)," and follít, "to be around (pl.subj.)"
 (This is a sequence of two participles, the
 second being in the middle past tense, as

indicated by the suffix -aŋk. Literally, this could be translated as "the one that kills you all, the one that was around.")
 lókca:tí:, "the ripe ones"; lo:kcít, "to be ripe"
 ilípa:t, "the dead one"; i:lít, "to be dead (sg. subj.)"

X. Compound Nouns

A large number of Seminole nouns are descriptive compounds whose etymologies are perfectly transparent. This set of nouns includes words of everyday occurrence, such as foods and body parts, as well as words referring to new cultural items introduced during the Post-Contact period. Many of the lists above include such descriptive compounds, since verb roots occurring in compounds frequently receive nominalizing suffixes. The following list illustrates some more compounds.

- (1) wá:ka-apís-wa
cow-meat-nom.
beef
- (2) tó-tapíksi
wood-flat
board
- (3) takleyk-cámpa
bread, biscuit-sweet
cake
- (4) í:kana-hálwi
ground-high
hill
- (5) ya-nok-cáпки
this one-neck-long
giraffe
- (6) wi:- sókha
water-hog
hippopotamus
- (7) hálwi-taló:fa
high-town
heaven
- (8) fó:- nihá:
bee-grease
honey, beeswax

(9) ito-pá:p-a
 wood-eat-ag.
 beaver

Noun compounds typically consist of two nouns (1, 6, 8, and 9 above) or a noun plus verb (2, 3, 4, and 7 above). If a verb is active, it must be nominalized before being included in a compound noun. For example:

nís-ka-cóko
 buy-ger.-house
 store

Compounds can be idiosyncratic regarding the order of their constituents. There is a tendency, however, for the following orders:

noun-stative verb (2, 3, 4, and 5 above)
 modifier noun-head noun (1, 6, and 8 above)
 DO noun-subj.noun (a noun root, agentive verb,
 or gerund) (9 above)

XI. Borrowed Nouns

During the Post-Contact period those Indian languages that survived had to deal in some way with cultural items that had been borrowed from the white settlers. Sometimes indigenous morphemes were used to label these items, and other times words were borrowed from European languages instead. Seminole did a little of both. Words for such things as "store," "sheep," and "silk" were formed through descriptive compounds, the noun formation process just described. Less frequently, it seems, words were borrowed. The two European languages involved in lexical borrowing were Spanish and English. wá:ka, "cow," and asó:kolá, "sugar," for example, come from the Spanish words vaca and azúcar, respectively (Haas unpub.ms.:14, 30). Examples of borrowings from English are (n)o:mpí:li, "automobile," and má:ci, "match." Today, with a high degree of English-Seminole bilingualism, it is sometimes difficult to determine whether a word has diffused from English into Seminole or whether it is an English word that is being borrowed momentarily for a particular sentence.

Many people speak a Seminole-English mixture at times, and the

English words used would not be considered Seminole. One grammatical fact that could be used to help distinguish true borrowings from momentary borrowings is the fact that words which are considered to be English optionally receive the suffix -ki. This suffix appears to have no meaning other than signaling the presence of an English word. The most frequent use for it is with proper nouns, because English names are generally given to children and have been for some time now. When English words are used, they typically retain their English sounds, even when the sounds involved are foreign to Seminole. Borrowed words typically receive vowel length and falling tone on the syllable that is accented in English, although there is no lengthening if the vowel in question is a diphthong. Below are a few sentences illustrating the treatment of English words. Their transcription involves a few symbols for sounds that are phonemic in English but foreign to Seminole-- U, I, u:, b, r. They are pronounced approximately as they would be by a native speaker of English.

ma fUrst yî:r skû:l a:-t-éy-mac
 that one first year school go sg.subj. l.theme-s.r.-
 lSsubj.-pastIII dec.
 I went there for the first year of school.

traîb-ki-n m-áto:tk-ít a:l-t-â:y-Ø
 tribe-Eng.-obl. 3IO-work l.theme-subj.
 be around sg.subj.l.theme-s.r.-lSsubj.-pres.
 I'm working with the tribe.

sû:-ki-n a-híc-as
 Sue-Eng.-obl. away from-look Øtheme-subjunc.1,2sg.subj.
 Look toward Sue.

XII. Summary of Noun Derivation

There are three basic patterns for forming noun stems:

1. If an English noun is borrowed for usage in a Seminole sentence, the derivational possibilities are limited, as described in the following formula.

noun root (Eng.)(dim.)

It may well be that the augmentative suffix is possible, too, but

there are no examples of this in the data.

2. When a Seminole noun root is selected, derivational possibilities are also limited.

noun root (nom.)(aug.)(dim.)

The nominal suffix is allowed only with a small subclass of noun roots and with them it is obligatory unless followed by another stem in a compound noun. (Some also drop this suffix when the plural suffix is added.)

3. Noun derivation is most complex when the stem starts out as a root.¹

$$\begin{array}{cccccc} \left(\begin{array}{c} \{ \text{na:k} \} \\ \{ \text{instr.} \} \end{array} \right) & \text{verb root} & \left(\begin{array}{c} \{ \text{inf. II} \} \\ \{ \text{ger.} \} \\ \{ \text{ag.} \} \end{array} \right) & (\text{aug.})(\text{dim.}) \\ 1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 \end{array}$$

Although this formula indicates that the agentive suffix can be followed by another derivational suffix, no such nouns occur in the data. At least one affix from position 1 or 3 is required in order to convert a verb root into a noun stem.

The latter two formulas above treat the augmentative and diminutive as combinable rather than mutually exclusive. This procedure was followed on the basis that forms with this etymological sequence occur; for example, *ciłákkó*, "horse," which derives from the augmentative of "deer" may take the diminutive suffix. Unfortunately, the data do not show if this combination can be used productively. Semantically the two categories are not direct opposites because the augmentative refers to more than size. If the augmentative generally changes the type of item referred to, it is certainly conceivable that the diminutive could be added to refer to a small member of that type.

1. Participles are described in the following chapter, so they are omitted from consideration here.

THE SEMINOLE NOUN PHRASE

I. Seminole Pronouns

Active subject pronouns are marked by verbal suffixes closely associated with categories of tense and mood and will therefore be discussed in the section on verb inflection. The discussion here is limited to pronominal prefixes and free-standing pronouns in Seminole. Seminole has two pronominal prefix paradigms, the second being derived from the first.

A. Pronominal Prefix Set I

The paradigm for the first set of pronominal prefixes is:

1S	ca-	1P	pi-, po-
2S	ci-	2P	ci- (-ak)
3S	∅-	3P	∅-
	Reflexive	i:-, yi:-	
	Reciprocal	ti-	
	Indefinite	ísti-	

These prefixes serve a variety of functions. Following are examples of their use to indicate the direct object of a verb.

íco-t ca-hi:s-tó:-∅-∅-s
 deer-subj. 1SDO-see 1.theme-s.r.-3subj.-pres.-dec.
 The deer sees me.

ci-hí:s-to:m-ak-éy-∅-s
 2DO-see 1.theme-s.r.-2PDO-1Ssubj.-pres.-dec.
 I see you (pl.).

hóktal-áki-n ∅-hí:s-to:m-éy-∅-s
 woman-pl.III-obl. 3DO-see 1.theme-s.r.-1Ssubj.-pres.-dec.
 I see the women.

í:-wa:l-to:m-á:ck-∅-is
 refl.DO-cut pl.DO 1.theme-s.r.-2Psubj.-pres.-dec.
 You just cut yourselves.

stó:w-o:fa-n tí-ki:l-á:ck-imát-ŕ:
 WH-time-obl. recip.DO-learn l.theme-2Psubj.-
 pastIII-interrog.

When did you meet each other?

s-ísti-nâ:fk-itó:-∅-∅
 instr.-indef.DO-hit f.t.theme-s.r.-3subj.-immut.
 He hit someone with it.

Besides serving as direct objects, these prefixes serve as objects of postpositions and, with slight modification, as inalienable possessive pronouns (see below). They also sometimes function as subjects of verbs, as in the following sentence.

nâ:ki-n ci-yá:c-∅-ã:
 something-obl. 2DO-want l.theme-pres.-interrog.
 Do you want anything?

This function of these pronouns will be more fully discussed in the chapter on verb inflection.

B. Pronominal Prefix Set II

The second prefix paradigm is clearly derived from set I. The prefixes in this set can be viewed, perhaps, as the prefixes from set I inflected for the oblique case (see the section on Seminole's case system), if *m* is considered a non-final variant of the oblique suffix *-n*. The prefixes in set II are:

1S	am-	1P	pim-, pom-
2S	cim-	2P	cim-(-ak)
3S	im-	3P	im-
	Reflexive		i:m-, yi:m-
	Reciprocal		tim-
	Indefinite		ístim-

These prefixes serve as indirect object pronouns, expressing the concepts of "to," "for," and "from." The particular verb involved and situational context are necessary information in order to determine which meaning comes into play in a particular sentence. Following are some sentences in which these prefixes are used to indicate the indirect objects of verbs.

pim-ónay-ícc-ahi-s
 1PIO-tell ∅theme-2Ssubj.-fut.-dec.
 You will tell us.

∅-an-nf:s-tō:-∅-∅-s

3DO-1SDO-buy f.t.theme-s.r.-3subj.-immut.-dec.

He bought it for, from me.

í:m-anéyc-a:n-éy-∅

refl.IO-help-intent.-1Ssubj.-pres.

I am going to help myself.

tím-poná:-ho:-to:k-í:∅

recip.IO-talk-dl.subj.1.theme-s.r.-1PEsubj.-pres.

We are talking to each other.

s-im-aha:y-âlki-n ím-po:h-éy-t

instr.-3IO-teach-pl.II-obl. 3IO-hear 1.theme-1Ssubj.-subj.

I ask the teachers (and. . .)

As several of the above examples illustrate, these pronouns exhibit a morphophonemic alternation in the final nasal. This alternation is described in the section on phonological rules (rules (8) through (11)).

As should be expected, the list of verbs that take indirect objects in Seminole does not always correspond to the list of such verbs in other languages. For example, *po:hít*, "to hear"; *cokópleycít*, "to visit"; and *áneycít*, "to help," take indirect objects, although in English they would take direct objects. Transitive verbs in Seminole may thus be divided into two classes according to whether they take direct or indirect object pronouns. Certain verbs, such as "to buy," obligatorily take direct objects and optionally add indirect objects as well.

This pronominal paradigm is used not only to express indirect objects, but also to express alienable possession. Indirect object pronouns are also used in comparative and superlative constructions, and there are a few verbs that take prefixes from set II to express their subjects. These other uses of this paradigm will be described in the appropriate sections of this grammar.

Both of the prefix paradigms discussed above show two forms for the first person plural. The difference is a dialectal variation that is consciously recognized by speakers of Seminole. *pi-* and *pim-* are the more common variants. Although the active subject pronouns distinguish inclusive and exclusive first person plural, these prefixes

do not.

The differences between these two prefix paradigms are minor. Based on the form in set I, one would expect the first person singular prefix in set II to be *cam-*, rather than *am-*. It is conceivable that the initial *c* has simply been dropped in the derived prefix, but there is probably a better explanation. It is instructive to compare these prefixes with the free possessive pronoun *áncanâ:ki*, "mine." *nâ:ki* is the root used in the independent possessive pronouns, so the first person singular marker in this pronoun is *ánca-*, obviously a combination of the two variants for the first person singular in these prefix paradigms. A comparison of these forms with parallel ones in other Muskogean languages ought to help clarify the relationship of these different forms to one another.

Another interesting difference between the two prefix paradigms occurs in the third person. On the basis of the set II form, *im-*, one would predict that the form in set I is *i-*. A plausible explanation for the discrepancy would be that the *i* is epenthetic in the form from set II; many Seminole roots begin with consonants, so insertion of *i* would convert the impossible word initial sequence of *mC* into *imC* when a root receives this prefix. However, a better explanation is available. The inalienable possessive prefixes are, as already mentioned, almost identical with the set I prefixes. In fact, the main difference is that the third person prefix is *i-* rather than \emptyset -. Further, in certain instances where the third person direct object prefix is expected, we find the prefix *i-*:

ya:stó:s, iya:stó:s

He wants it.

(As illustrated above, this verb expresses the subject with set I prefixes.)

hóma, ihóma

in front of him, her, them

(A postposition takes set I prefixes.)

It is only with the verbs *ya:cít*, "to want," and *ho:sít*, "to forget," as well as with certain postpositions that this occurs, but this fact,

coupled with the evidence from the inalienable possession paradigm certainly indicates that the prefix *i-* is in some way incorporated into the set I paradigm as the form for the third person. This looks very much as if the system of prefixes is in a period of transition, with the set I prefix *i-* apparently being lost (if we can trust Speck's (1907:477) chart of the set I paradigm, which lists *i-* for the third person). It remains to be explained why *i-* occurs in the particular constructions that it does in modern speech.

Some description of the reflexive, reciprocal, and indefinite prefixes is in order. The reflexive pronoun, as indicated, does not change according to person. The alternation between *i:-* and *yi:-*, on the one hand, and *i:m-* and *yi:m-*, on the other, is a case of free variation, with the forms beginning in *y* being rather infrequent. The reflexive prefix is not used when reflexivity is otherwise expressed in the sentence. For example:

**cí-ŋki-n í:-ta:s-to:m-íck-Ø-is*
 2inal.poss. -hand-obl. refl.DO-cut sg.DO 1.theme-
 s.r. -2Ssubj. -pres. -dec.
 You just cut your hand.

In such a sentence the reflexive pronoun is grammatical only if the body part is not inflected for possession by the subject of the sentence. In other words, reflexivity is dealt with much as it is in English; the required use of the pronoun with certain verbs, such as is found in the Romance languages, is uncommon in Seminole, and the prefix is never used when the reflexivity of the action is already obvious from context.

The reciprocal pronoun indicates that two or more subjects are doing something to each other. It occurs almost always with the verb "to talk," even though the reciprocity of talking is understood. With plural subjects, the difference between the reciprocal and reflexive pronouns appears to blur.

The indefinite prefix *ísti-* is homophonous with the noun meaning "person" and may well be historically related to it. It usually translates as "someone," but it sometimes is used when the speaker is the object

of the verb.

ísti-nól-ey-s-tõ:-∅-∅-s-cá:
 indef.DO-cooked-caus. 1. theme-s.r. - 3subj. - pres. -
 dec. - emphatic
 It is burning (me)!

In place of the indefinite prefix, an indefinite person may be expressed by using "one person," ísti hámkí, as an independent noun phrase.

ísti hámkí is-∅-ná:fk-itõ:hw-∅-∅-i
 person one ∅theme instr. - 3DO-hit f.t. theme-
 s.r. h. theme- 3subj. - pastI-dec.
 It hit someone (recently).

ísti hámkí may also be used as the subject of the verb, unlike the indefinite prefix.

The indefinite prefix is appropriate only if a person is being referred to. The independent pronoun ná:ki is used to express indefinite things. According to its particular usage, ná:ki translates as either "something" or "anything."

ná:ki ∅-cím-poh-â:n-éy-∅
 something 3DO-2IO-hear-intent. - 1Ssubj. - pres.
 I'm going to ask you something.

C. Inalienable Possession

Seminole maintains two distinct categories of possession, which are generally termed "alienable" and "inalienable" possession. However, it is important to bear in mind that these terms are somewhat imprecise, as will become apparent.

Nouns that refer to things that cannot be transferred as property generally belong to the category of inalienable possession. As already explained, the inalienable possession prefixes are as follows:

1S	ca-	1P	pi-, po-
2S	ci-	2P	ci-
3S	i-	3P	i-

The only difference between this and the set I paradigm that has not yet been mentioned is the fact that there is no option for expressing plurality of the second person possessor using the suffix -ak. Body parts and many kin terms are inflected for inalienable possession.

cacókwa
my mouth
cikéysi
your hair
picíłwa
our brother (female ego)

D. Alienable Possession

The set II pronominal prefixes express alienable possession. The only change when these prefixes are used to indicate possession is that the suffix -ak cannot be used to express plurality of the second person. Transferrable property comes under the category of alienable possession, as do some kin terms.

íncokó
his, her, their house
pomífa
our dog
antá:ta
my father

Curiously, not only are many kin terms in the alienable possession category, but some kin types that are in this category are also in the inalienable category when referred to by different terms. Compare antá:ta and cáłki, both of which mean "my father." Thus, use of the terms "alienable" and "inalienable" is somewhat arbitrary, although the semantic implications are more often correct than not.

Sometimes alienable possession is indicated by attaching the pronominal prefix to the verb instead of (or in addition to) the noun.

yokkó:fkitá-n Ø-am-ókkos-íck-i:-tĩ:
shirt-obl. 3DO-1SIO-wash l.theme-2Ssubj.-pot.-interrog.
Would you wash my shirt? (=Would you wash the shirt
for me?)

The singular versus plural distinction for second and third person is usually not made explicit for possession. In some cases, of course, the presence of the possessor as a compound noun phrase or a plural noun expresses plurality of the third person. Also, for the second person plural, the free pronoun (see below) may be used,

optionally inflected for the subject case (-t), and the possessed noun is inflected for the third person possessor. For example:

cín-ta:ki-t im-pílo
 2-pl. I-subj. 3al. poss.-boat
 your (pl.) boat

Finally, for both second and third person, speakers occasionally use the noun plural suffixes, -ta:ki and -âlki, to express plurality, by adding them to the possessed noun.

cín-coko-âlki or cín-cokó-ta:kí
 2al. poss.-house-pl. II 2al. poss.-house-pl. I
 your (pl.) house(s)

However, these two methods for specifying plurality are used only rarely.

E. Independent Possessive Pronouns

Another manner in which possession is expressed is by independent possessive pronouns which are related to the prefixes described above. They are formed by prefixing the inalienable possessive pronouns to the pronoun nâ:ki, "something." These free pronouns are:

1S	(án)canâ:ki	1P	pinâ:ki, ponâ:ki
2S	cinâ:ki	2P	cinâ:ki(ta:ki)
3S	inâ:ki	3P	inâ:ki(ta:ki)

Note the optional presence of the noun plural suffix, -ta:ki, to express plurality in the second and third person. These optional forms are used only by some speakers. When the possessed noun is plural, this may optionally be expressed by adding the noun plural suffix -âlki to the possessive pronoun.

When used as modifiers, these pronouns follow the possessed noun.

bî:i-ki-t hása-kí:l-ka i-nâ:ki-n
 Bill-Eng.-subj. sun-know-ger. 3inal. poss.-something-obl.
 Ø-hopo:-tô:-Ø-Ø-s
 3DO-look for 1.theme-s.r.-3subj.-pres.-dec.
 Bill is looking for his watch.

These pronouns may also be used as predicate nominatives.

po:socí lá:ni Ø-hátk-Ø-a:t ci-nā:ki-t-Ø-Ø-í:
 cat yellow 3DO-white Øtheme-pres.-part.I 2inal.poss.-
 something-verb.-3subj.-pres.-interrog.
 Is the brown and white cat yours?

These free possessive pronouns are typically used only with nouns in the alienable possession category. Nouns requiring pronouns of inalienable possession cannot occur without specification of possession except in unusual situations, such as when a part of an animal is being cooked or eaten and is no longer really part of that animal. Apparently these independent possessive pronouns are not intimately enough associated with the nouns they accompany to indicate an inherent quality of possession, so they are used for alienable possession only.

F. Other Independent Pronouns

There are three demonstrative pronouns, representing three categories of distance, in Seminole. Something present at the location of the speech event is represented by híya (frequently abbreviated to ya). ása refers to something further away, while ma refers to something that is distant. Of these three, ma is the only one which is also used as a personal pronoun, occasionally being used to represent the third person, "that one."

ma Ø-isêyk-icc-Ø-a:t
 dis.that one 3DO-drink h.theme-2Ssubj.-pastI-part.I
 the one that you drank (recently)

The uses of the demonstrative pronouns will be further discussed in the chapter entitled "Adverb-Equivalents."

Seminole also has free-standing pronouns that are used for emphasis and to specify compound noun phrases. They are:

1S	aní	1P	pí:mi, pí:mita:ki
2S	cí:mi	2P	cí:mita:ki
3S	í:mi	3P	í:mita:ki, máta:ki

Again we find that the noun plural suffix -ta:ki is used for plural pronouns, although for the first person plural, which is unambiguously plural regardless, this is optional. The plural forms are optionally

referents almost never receive number inflection. The primary use for number inflection is with human nouns, but occasionally non-human animals receive it. Despite this occasional use, these suffixes are interpreted as referring to humans whenever possible. A word like *foswâlki*, "birds," tends to be interpreted as having human referents, for example, by assuming that it refers to members of the Bird clan, although in certain contexts it does actually refer to birds.

The two most common plural suffixes are *-ta:ki* (pl.I) and *-âlki/-^(s)ÿki* (pl.II). (The variants for the latter suffix represent dialectal variation; for the most part the same individual does not use both.) Meaning distinctions between these two suffixes are not clear. Certain nouns occur almost always with one or the other suffix, but there is no obvious semantic difference between nouns that take one suffix and those that take the other. Further, any noun may take either of these suffixes and still be grammatical, even if it usually occurs with a particular one. There is, however, a slight meaning difference that speakers acknowledge, even though they cannot describe the difference. Investigation thus far has not uncovered any difference in the over-all contexts in which the two suffixes occur.

There is also a third plural suffix, *-aki* (pl.III), that occurs only with a small group of nouns in the data. These are:

acóli:, "man"
hoktí:, "woman"
cí:paní, "boy"
hóktalí:, "girl"

The other two suffixes can never occur alone with these four nouns, although they may occur in combination with *-aki*. Because these combinations do occur, there is some question whether this suffix is really the same kind of plural as the others.

Use of the suffix *-ta:ki* requires no morphophonemic adjustments, except that nouns ending in the nominal suffix *-wa* usually drop that syllable. *-âlki* and *-aki* require that the final vowel in a noun be dropped, according to the rule of Noun Vowel Deletion.

The following examples illustrate usage of the plural suffixes.

istâlki, "people"; ísti, "person"
 honanwâlki, "men"; honánwa, "man"
 hóktakí, "women"; hoktí:, "woman"
 acólakí, "men"; acólakitá:ki, "men"; acólakâki,
 "men"; acóli:, "man"
 fós wata:ki, "birds"; fós wa, "bird"
 hopoytá:kocí, "children"; hopóywocí, "child"

The final example illustrates the combination of plural and diminutive suffixes. Although in this case the plural comes first, it is more common for the diminutive to precede the plural suffix. Rules regarding this, however, show a great deal of flexibility, and speakers sometimes differ in opinions regarding which order is correct.

Although in the examples above words that lack the plural suffix are translated as singular, they may be used as plurals, since number inflection is optional for nouns. This fact combined with the fact that only a small class of nouns may be inflected for the plural number at all results in the low frequency of use of number as a category of noun inflection. Number is often expressed in other ways, however, such as through modifiers of number and quantity, modifier inflection for number, and number-defined verbs. (These processes are discussed in the sections on noun modifiers and verb inflection.) Still, not all of these grammatical processes involve obligatory rules and there is not occasion to utilize them in all sentences, so it is not uncommon to find sentences where number is ambiguous out of situational context. For example:

po:socí Ø-hí:s-to:m-éy-Ø
 cat 3DO- see 1. theme- s.r. - 1Ssubj. - pres.
 I see a cat, I see the cats.

This ambiguity is possible because third person pronouns do not distinguish number. Thus, although number is certainly an important category of inflection in Seminole, it does not have the kind of pervasive use that is found in languages such as English and other Indo-European tongues.

B. Case

Seminole has a very simple case system in which a noun or independent pronoun may be uninflected, inflected for the subject case by the suffix *-t*, or inflected for the oblique case by the suffix *-n*. (Pronominal prefixes show case somewhat differently, as has been described.) The subject case is used only for the agent of an active verb and the experiencer of a stative one. The oblique case suffix, however, is used to express a variety of case relations. Although pronominal prefixes distinguish direct and indirect objects, the oblique case suffix is used for a noun functioning as either kind of object. When nouns express both direct and indirect objects in a sentence, they do not have a fixed order; semantic context must be relied upon to distinguish their functions, which is usually a simple process.

íst-ocí-n ácc-itá-n ín-nis-íta
 person-dim.-obl. cover-inf.II-obl. 3IO-buy Øtheme-inf.II
 Ø-kôn-t-ŷ:-Ø
 3DO-want f.t.theme-s.r.-1PEsubj.-immut.
 We want to buy a blanket for the baby.

There is no true ambiguity in such a sentence. "We want to buy a baby for the blanket," for example, is clearly nonsensical.

Another common use for the oblique case suffix is to inflect nouns in the locative case.

hácci-n ílalomakwéyy-ak-áhi
 river-obl. fish Øtheme-1P1subj.-fut.
 We will fish in the river.
 osá:fki-n íŋkaná-n Ø-pala:t-to:m-ícc-Ø-i
 sofkee-obl. ground-obl. 3DO-drop pl.DO 1. theme-
 s.r.-2Ssubj.-pres.-dec.
 You are spilling sofkee on the ground.

The oblique case suffix is also used with nouns that are in the instrumental case. (See the section on verb inflection for examples of sentences with the instrumental.)

Thus, semantic interpretation of a noun inflected for the oblique case requires consideration of the verb and other nouns and

pronouns in the sentence to see what semantic relationships are possible. Situational context is probably also an important factor.

As mentioned, independent pronouns also receive case suffixes, as in the following sentence.

áni-t yahéyk-an-to:m-éy-∅-s
 1S-subj. sing-intent. - s.r. - 1Ssubj. - pres. - dec.
I will sing.

Words that have been borrowed from English receive case inflection just like any other noun.

ca-cí-wa-t tã:m-ki-n
 1Sinal.poss. - brother-nom. - subj. Tom-Eng. - obl.
 ín-cokopléyc-an-tó:-∅-∅
 3IO-visit-intent. - s.r. - 3subj. - pres.
 My brother is going to visit Tom.

In many sentences meaning is unambiguous due to context, so case suffixes are very often omitted. Both the semantics of the nouns and verbs involved as well as typical word order contribute to the lack of ambiguity.

ása nã:k-hoccí ∅-is-ás
 that one something-written 3DO-grasp sg.DO ∅theme-
 subjunc. 1,2sg. subj.
 Carry that paper.
 ífa sôŋk-itó:-∅-∅-s
 dog lost f.t. theme- s.r. - 3subj. - immut. - dec.
 The dog was lost.

Case inflection is not restricted to nouns and pronouns. The other uses of the oblique case will be described when relevant in the succeeding sections on other parts of speech.

C. Possession

Inflection of nouns for possession has already been described in the section on Seminole pronouns. Under normal circumstances, nouns that belong to the category of inalienable possession must obligatorily be inflected for possession. On the other hand, inflection for possession is optional for nouns belonging to the category of alienable possession.

D. Summary of Noun and Pronoun Inflection

Inflection applies to the noun stem or pronoun in the following manner.

$$(\text{poss. pronoun}) \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{pronoun} \\ \text{noun stem} \end{array} \right\} (\text{pl. III}) \left(\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{pl. I} \\ \text{pl. II} \end{array} \right\} \right) \left(\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{case} \\ \text{disj.} \end{array} \right\} \right)$$

If the noun stem ends in the nominal suffix, that suffix is frequently deleted if followed by pl. I. Also, if the diminutive suffix is present, it sometimes follows a plural suffix. Finally, pl. III is permissible only with certain nouns, in which case it is obligatory if another plural suffix occurs. If the noun is not a disjunct in a compound noun phrase, the use of a case suffix will depend on how the noun is used in the sentence. In sections below it will be explained that there are certain uses in which a noun rarely or never expresses case.

Note that this analysis of pronoun inflection treats the independent possessive pronouns as based on the indefinite pronoun *nā:ki*. (This is the only pronoun which may be inflected for possession.) *nā:ki* may be classified as inalienable since it takes the inalienable prefixes, but it must be specified that, unlike inalienable nouns, this pronoun may occur without a possessive pronoun. When plural suffixes are added to possessive pronouns their meanings are affected; pl. II is used if the possessed noun is plural, while pl. I refers to the number of the possessor.

III. Compound Noun Phrases

A. Conjoined Nouns

As in English, compound noun phrases are grammatical in Seminole, but the structure of such phrases differs between the languages. If the nouns are conjoined, that is, if they take the conjunction "and" in English, they are frequently simply listed one after another in Seminole without any kind of grammatical marker indicating their relationship to one another. (Speakers occasionally insert the English conjunction "and," however, in sentences that are otherwise entirely

aci-ní:k-ocí Ø-lopóck-Ø-a:t-teys
 corn-seed-dim. 3DO-small pl. subj. Øtheme-pres.-part. I.
 móŋ-k-Ø-Ø-a:t
 disj. do Øtheme-neg.-3subj.-pres.-part. I.
 Ø-laklá:k-Ø-a:t-teys
 3DO-big pl. subj. f.t. theme-immut.-part. I-disj.
 ak-Ø-tíhh-ick-ín
 water-3DO-put in pl. DO h. theme-2Ssubj-obl.
 You put either small or big grits in the water and then. . .

cin-tá:ki-téys móŋ-k-Ø-Ø-a:t
 2-pl. I-disj. do Øtheme-neg.-3subj.-pres.-part. I.
 pín-ta:ki-méyteys s-áy-Ø-álí-s
 IP-pl. I-disj. instr.-go sg. subj. Øtheme-3subj.-fut.-
 dec.
 He will take either us or you (pl.).

These two sentences illustrate the combined usage of these two disjunctive markers. Either one of them may occur alone, however, in order to express the disjunction of nouns.

IV. Noun Modifiers

There are no adjectives in the Seminole lexicon. Instead, verbs are used to modify nouns by embedding sentences as noun phrases. If the embedded sentence does not include a noun that is serving as an object or subject in the matrix sentence, the verb must be converted into a participle, and the noun phrase will consist solely of that participle. The fact that participles may function as nouns has already been discussed in the chapter on noun derivation. On the other hand, if the sentence embedded as a noun phrase does include a noun serving as a subject or object in the matrix sentence, two options are available for dealing with the verb. First, it may be converted into a participle, in which case the participle is serving more the function of a noun modifier than a noun. Second, the verb may be left unaltered and given appropriate case inflection, according to whether the embedded sentence is the subject or the object of the verb in the matrix sentence. Thus, if the entire sentence is "I want it [it is red] ," there is no noun in the embedded sentence ("it is red" consists only of an inflected verb), so the ultimate sentence is "I want the red one," in which "the red one" is

a participle serving as the object of the verb.

∅-cá:t-∅-a:-n ca-ya:s-tō:-∅
 3subj.-red ∅theme-pres.-part.I-obl. ISDO-want I.theme-
 s.r.-pres.
 I want the red one.

In this section, however, the concern is with embedded sentences that include a noun, with the result that the verb serves as a modifier of that noun.

A. Verbs as Modifiers

As explained, the terminology being used is that a noun modifier that is unaltered except for case inflection remains a verb, while one that receives a participle suffix becomes a participial modifier. A verb may be used as a noun modifier only if it is stative. The structure of embedded sentences in which a verb modifies a noun is quite simple. In normal sentence nouns precede the main verb in a sentence, and this is true of an embedded sentence as well. Thus, a verb always follows the noun that it modifies. In such a construction, the noun is generally left uninflected; on the rare occasions when the noun receives case inflection, case is selected according to its function in the matrix sentence, rather than its function as the subject of the embedded sentence. Thus, if the embedded sentence serves as the direct object of the verb in the matrix sentence, the noun may be inflected for the oblique case even though it is functioning as a subject in the embedded sentence.

When a verb modifies a noun, it generally undergoes none of the theme changes involved in inflection for tense, aspect, and mode (see the chapter on verb inflection). Rather, it remains in the so-called ∅theme form, meaning that its phonological form is not altered by any of the theme-formation rules. The verb is, however, inflected for plural number when relevant. If the verb is one which expresses number through suppletion or a plural suffix, the correct plural form of the verb is selected. If not, number inflection depends on the verb's phonological form. A verb with the form $C_1V_1C_2k$ expresses plurality by

a rule of partial reduplication which is identical to the rule for the formation of the iterative aspect. The plural, reduplicated form is $C_1 V_1 C_2 C_1 V_1 k$. If the verb does not have the correct form for this rule of reduplication to apply, plurality is expressed by means of the distributive plural suffix, -ak. After the verb is inflected for number, case suffixes are added according to whether the embedded sentence is functioning as a subject or object of the verb in the matrix sentence.

The embedded sentence may be compound, if the subjects of the conjoined sentences are identical. In such a case the repeated subject is deleted and the resultant noun phrase consists of a noun followed by two verbs. The final verb always receives the appropriate case inflection, and sometimes the first verb will, also.

The following sentences illustrate noun phrases that include verbs as modifiers.

íco hámk-in Ø-ili:s-tó:m-Ø-ayk-s
 deer one Øtheme-obl. 3DO-kill f.t.theme-s.r. -3subj. -
 pastII-dec.
 He killed one deer (a few days ago).

hása-kí:l-ka lopóck-in pi-ya:s-tó:-Ø-s
 sun-learn-ger. small pl.subj. Øtheme-obl. 1PDO-
 want l.theme-s.r.-pres.-dec.
 We need small glasses.

tó:tkafalkí-n cá:t-in lá:n-in
 material-obl. red Øtheme-obl. yellow Øtheme-obl.
 Ø-án-nis-ícc-ahí
 3DO-1SIO-buy Øtheme-2Ssubj.-fut.
 Buy me some red and yellow cloth.

B. Participles as Modifiers

Participial modifiers may be likened to relative clauses in English, as they tend to have a particularizing effect on the noun they modify. Thus, many noun phrases including them would be translated into English using the determiner "the." When the verb in an embedded sentence becomes a participle, that participle may be modifying a noun that serves either as a subject of a stative verb or object of an active verb in the embedded sentence. Put another way, only patient nouns

may take participles as modifiers. This fact is of special interest because it runs contrary to Keenan and Comrie's (1977) proposed universal that every language can relativize a subject; in Seminole only subjects functioning as patients may be relativized. The same holds true for use of nouns with verbs as modifiers (see above), which may also be viewed as relative clauses.

When a noun is modified by a participle, normal word order for clauses is followed, with the noun preceding its verb (in this case a participial modifier). As is true with the usage of verbs as modifiers, the modified noun is normally uninflected. Several participles may occur as modifiers if the embedded sentence is compound and each conjoined sentence contains a noun with identical reference. Also, verbs and participles may be combined as modifiers in a noun phrase.

Participles are given full verbal inflection, unlike verbs used as modifiers. They also receive participial suffixes which are selected according to tense and aspect.

1. Immutative Aspect-- If the embedded sentence consists of a subject and its verb, a participial construction appears to be possible only if the verb refers to a quality of its subject. With other kinds of verbs, these sentences are not embedded, but rather are conjoined with the other clause in the sentence (see the chapter on syntax). A participle referring to a quality is usually inflected for the immutative aspect by applying the falling tone theme formation rule. Then the participial suffix -a:t is added.

sáto-lákkó Ø-likw-â:k-Ø-a:t
 apple-aug. 3DO-rotten-distr. f.t. theme-immut.-part. I
 Ø-a-palâ:t-t-â:y-anj-k-s
 3DO-away from-drop pl. DO f.t. theme-s.r.-I subj.-
 pastII-dec.
 I threw out the rotten apples.

This kind of participle is also used for certain kinds of activities.

st-ocí palákna Ø-f:s-Ø-Ø-a:t
 person-dim. dish 3DO-grasp sg. DO f.t. theme-
 3subj.-immut.-part. I
 the dish the baby is holding, has picked up

2. Present Tense--A participle in the present tense consists of a verb inflected for the present tense (lengthened theme and no tense suffix) and the participial suffix -a:t. If the noun phrase in which the participle occurs is an object of the verb in the matrix sentence, the participial suffix may drop the t so that the oblique case suffix (-n) may be added.

hónna Ø-á:cc-Ø-Ø-a:t
 dress 3DO- wear l. theme- 3subj. - pres. - part. I
 Ø-lā:st-os-tō:-Ø-Ø-s
 3DO-black r.t. theme- comp. - s.r. - pres. - intens. - dec.
 The dress she is wearing is really dirty.

Although there are no future tense participles, this concept may be approximated by using a present tense participle in the intentive mode.

ísta-n no:mpí:li Ø-nis-â:n-ay-Ø-á:t
 WH-obl. car 3DO-buy-intent. - 1Ssubj. - pres. - part. I
 Where is the car I'm going to buy?

3. Recent Past Tense--A recent past participle is formed by converting the verb into an h. theme and adding the suffix -a:t.

ací a:-cí-hm-ay-Ø-a:t
 corn dis. I-2DO-give h. theme- 1Ssubj. - past I- part. I
 Ø-sakp-í:c-icc-ahi
 3DO-dry-caus. Øtheme-2Ssubj. - fut.
 Dry the corn I gave you.

Alternatively, the recent past suffix -êys and the participial suffix -i: may be added to a lengthened theme.

foś-wa Ø-hí:c-ay-êys-i:
 bird-nom. 3DO-see l. theme- 1Ssubj. - past I- part. II
 the bird I saw

These two recent past participles are not identical; the difference between the two methods of forming the recent past tense is discussed in the section on tense inflection for verbs.

4. Middle Past Tense--If the activity referred to by the participle took place a couple of days or weeks ago, the middle past participle is appropriate. It is formed by adding the middle past suffix -aŋk and the participle suffix -i: to the falling tone theme of

the verb.

ya hónna Ø-ahô:l-icc-aŋk-í:
 this one dress 3DO-sew f.t.theme-2Ssubj.-pastII-part.II
 Here is the dress you were sewing.

5. Distant Past Tense--This participle is appropriate for activities that occurred a month or more ago. It is formed by adding the suffix -(i)ma: to a lengthened verb theme. This participial suffix is obviously related to the distant past suffix -(i)mat.

nâ:k-oná-k-ocí Ø-ki:l-ícc-ima:
 something-tell-ger.-dim. 3DO-learn l.theme-2Ssubj.-
 Ø-pim-ónay-ás
 pastIII part. 3DO-IPIO-tell Øtheme-subjunc. 1,2 sg.subj.
 Tell us the stories you learned.

nokósi Ø-lá:h-Ø-imá:
 bear 3DO-shoot l.theme-3subj.-pastIII part.
 lítk-i:t-t-í:-mac
 run sg.subj.-m.v. l.theme-s.r.-3subj.-pastIII dec.
 The bear that he shot got away.

Thus far, all examples show participles as modifiers of nouns. They may also, however, modify interrogative pronouns.

istô:w-ô:fa-n ay-ân-tón-ck-Ø-a:t
 WH-time-obl. go sg.subj.-intent.-s.r.-2Ssubj.-pres.-
 ay-a:-lí
 part.I go sg.subj. Øtheme-1Ssubj.-fut.
 When you go I will go.

C. Comparison

Whether a verb is functioning syntactically as a verb or a noun modifier or participial noun, it may be inflected to express comparison. Although it is possible to distinguish the comparative and superlative, these do not have quite the same meaning as they do in English grammar. In Seminole the comparative applies whether two or more things are being compared, while the superlative applies only when more than two things are compared. The superlative is based on the comparative, adding markers that intensify the concept of comparison.

The simplest way in which the idea of comparison can be expressed is through the suffix -os. Verbs with this suffix are not

always translated as the comparative, but the concept of comparison is implicit even when it is not explicit.

∅-taskoc-ós-∅-a:t
3DO-thin ∅theme-comp. -pres. -part. I
the thin one

A second kind of comparative construction is formed by prefixing the verb with the indirect object representing the reference for comparison and with the instrumental.

tó:tkafálka s-ín-taskô:c-∅-∅-a:t
material instr. - 3IO-thin f.t. theme-3subj. immut. - part. I
cá-hic-éyc-as
1SDO-see-caus. ∅theme-subjunc. 1,2sg. subj.
Show me the thinner, thinnest material.

s-an-yî:kc-itón-ck-∅-is
instr. - 1SIO-strong f.t. theme-s.r. - 2Ssubj. - immut. - dec.
You are stronger than me.

tâ:m-ki-t bî:l-ki-n s-in-câ:pk-itô:-∅-∅-s
Tom-Eng. - subj. Bill-Eng. - obl. instr. - 3IO-long f.t. theme-
s.r. - 3subj. - immut. - dec.
Tom is taller than Bill.

If three or more things are being compared, this can be made explicit, if desired, by adding the word omálka, "all," to a comparative construction. (Note that the comparative suffix -os may be used in combination with the instrumental-indirect object construction.)

lálô omálka s-in-cótk-os-∅-∅-a:t
fish all instr. - 3IO-small ∅theme-comp. - 3subj. -
ca-ya:c-∅-í
pres. - part. I 1SDO-want 1. theme-pres. - dec.
I want the smallest fish of all.

ísta-t omálka s-in-lâ:kk-itó:m-∅-∅-ā:
WH-subj. all instr. - 3IO-big f.t. theme-s.r. - 3subj. -
immut. - interrog.
Which is the biggest?

An alternative manner for forming an explicit superlative construction is to add the suffix -ma:hi, "very," to the comparative or superlative.

ísta-n hónna ∅-lást-os-má:h-∅-a:t
WH-obl. dress 3DO-black ∅theme-comp. - very-pres. - part. I
Where is the dirtiest dress?

D. Numbers

Numbers in Seminole are expressed by stative verbs. Because they are most frequently used as modifiers of nouns, they are described here. Numbers "one" through "ten" are partially based on a quinary system, with higher numbers following a decimal system. Numbers "one" through "ten" are:

hámkin, "one"
 hokkô:lin, "two"
 toccî:nin, "three"
 ô:stin, "four"
 cahkî:pin, "five"
 i:pâ:kin, "six"
 kolapâ:kin, "seven"
 cinapâ:kin, "eight"
 óstapâ:kin, "nine"
 pâ:lin, "ten"

The quinary basis for these numbers is somewhat obscured. "Seven" through "nine" are built up with the morphemes "two" through "four," yet the latter morphemes are not added to "five" to form them; instead, a new morpheme, pâ:ki, occurs. Also, on analogy with the others, the expected form for "six" would be hámkapâ:kin, and not i:pâ:kin.

The decimal system for higher numbers is more clear-cut. Thus, "twenty" is pá:lihokkô:lin, "thirty" is pá:litocci:nin, and so on until "one hundred," cókpi, is reached. Numbers "eleven" through "nineteen" show the pattern that is used for adding units to these numbers.

pá:li hámkin fâ:nin, "eleven"
 pá:li hokkô:lin fâ:nin, "twelve"
 pá:li toccî:nin fâ:nin, "thirteen"
 pá:li ô:stin fâ:nin, "fourteen"
 pá:li cahkî:pin fâ:nin, "fifteen"
 pá:li i:pâ:kin fâ:nin, "sixteen"
 pá:li kolapâ:kin fâ:nin, "seventeen"
 pá:li cinapâ:kin fâ:nin, "eighteen"
 pá:li óstapâ:kin fâ:nin, "nineteen"

The word fâ:nin is the verb fa:nít, "to pass by," inflected for the immutative aspect. Literally, these phrases mean "ten, x past." In some dialects fâ:nin is pronounced ho(y)â:nin instead. There is a

certain amount of variation found in how these numbers may be built up. For example, the numbers used to express units may take the subject, instead of the oblique, case.

For numbers over "one hundred," the number of hundreds is expressed, then the number of tens and units, followed by *fâ:nin* (or *hoyâ:nin*). For example, "110" is *cókpi hâmkín pâ:lit hoyâ:nin*. "Thousand" is the augmentative of "hundred," *cókpiákko*.

VERB STEM FORMATION

The term "verb root" is here used to refer to a single morpheme that is classified as a verb in Seminole's lexicon. A verb root undergoes optional rules of derivation, resulting in the formation of a verb stem. Rules of verb inflection apply to the verb stem.

The phonological form of Seminole's verb roots is slightly different from that of its noun roots. First of all, a verb root may end in either a vowel or consonant, a consonant being the more common alternative. Second, the shortest verb roots in Seminole consist of a single vowel or a single consonant, unlike nouns, which consist of at least the sequence CV. (It is interesting to note, however, that these single-phoneme roots are often transformed through phonological rules to two-phoneme sequences; if the root consists of a single vowel, the rule of y Epenthesis applies if the following syllable begins with a vowel, while if the root consists of a single consonant, the rule of Initial i Epenthesis inserts an epenthetic i if no prefixes have been added.) In general, verb roots are shorter than noun roots. There are a large number of one-syllable roots and few contain more than two syllables. In multi-syllabic roots it is rare to find consonant clusters in medial position, although in final position clusters of up to three consonants are possible. As with noun roots, consonant clusters in initial position are not allowed. Also like noun roots, there are never two vowels adjacent. The majority of verb roots are thus described by the following formula: (C)V(:)C(C)(V(:))(C)(C)(C)).

Verb stems basically follow these same phonological rules.

The main difference is that verbs which have received derivational morphemes are often longer than two syllables. Also, on rare occasion, derivation will produce an uninterrupted sequence of two vowels in a verb stem.

The opening paragraph of this chapter implies that all verb stems are produced from verb roots. There is, however, an exception to this rule. There is a single verbalizer in Seminole which will be discussed following a description of the more common derivational morphemes, the ones that change the meanings of verb roots.

I. Causative Suffix, -eyc (~i:c)

The causative is the most productive derivational morpheme in Seminole. When it is suffixed to an intransitive active verb, it turns it into a transitive verb in which the action of the agent causes the direct object to perform the action described by the original intransitive root. On the other hand, if the root is stative, the agent of the resultant causative stem performs an action that causes the direct object to have the quality referred to by the original root. The causative suffix has two slightly different phonological representations, -eyc and -i:c. As the list below demonstrates, there is no semantic difference between these suffixes; rather, choice between them is phonologically conditioned. -i:c is selected when the vowel in the immediately preceding syllable of the verb is a, a:, or e. With rare exceptions, -eyc occurs when any other vowel is found there. Following is a list of verbs employing the causative, each paired with the intransitive verb from which it is derived.

tiní:peycít, "to iron"; tini:pít, "to be smooth"
 nókkeycít, "to hurt (tr.)"; no:kkít, "to hurt (int.)"
 hómpeycít, "to feed"; hompít, "to eat"
 áklopeycít, "to bathe (tr.)"; áklo:pít, "to swim, bathe"
 yamási:cít, "to tame"; yama:sít, "to be tame"
 cálli:cít, "to roll (tr.)"; callít, "to roll (int.)"
 tá:ki:cít, "to ready (tr.)"; ta:kít, "to be ready"

Since this suffix is very productive, this brief list is only a very

small sample of its use, but it is representative.

There are, however, a few verbs in which what appears to be the causative suffix takes on a different twist of meaning.

apíleycít, "to laugh at, about"; api:lít, "to laugh"
 akíleycít, "to remember, think about"; ki:lít, "to
 learn"
 ahíceycít, "to watch"; hi:cít, "to see, look"
 opóneycít, apóneycít, "to talk about"; opóna:yít,
 "to talk"

A look at the initial vowel in these verbs raises the possibility that a prefix a- has been attached to them in addition to the causative suffix. This may well constitute a metaphorical use of the locative prefix a- (discussed below), which indicates location leading away from a point of reference. This would help to explain the unusual use of the causative suffix in these verbs. In such verbs this suffix still produces a transitive verb when the root is intransitive but, in any case, the agent does not cause action on the part of the direct object; instead, the agent performs some action with particular reference to the direct object. In a certain sense, the direct object is related to the action in a causal manner because it is an event, thing, or person that inspires the subject's action. Although this is obviously not causation as it is normally conceived of, it does represent a kind of indirect causation.

II. Detransitivizing Suffix, -k

There is a second derivational process that pairs transitive and intransitive verbs. Although not so productive as the causative suffix, it is found with a fair number of verbs. Specifically, the addition of the suffix -k transforms certain transitive verbs into intransitive ones.

i:hkít, "to hide (int.)"; i:hít, "to hide (tr.)"
 pasa:tkít, "to die (pl. subj.)"; pasa:tít, "to
 kill (pl. DO)"
 atílo:kít, "to meet"; atílo:yít, "to gather (tr.)"
 acankít, "to pour into (int.)"; aca:nít, "to pour
 into (tr.)"

As these examples illustrate, this suffix does not change the activity referred to by the verb other than converting what would be the direct object of the root into the subject of the derived stem.

III. Locative Prefixes

In Seminole there are four locative verbal prefixes. They are semantically similar to the directional prefixes described in the section immediately below, but they differ in that they refer to the nature of the place of location rather than distance, and they are positioned closer to the verb root than the directional prefixes.

A. Water or Low Ground, ak- (akk-)

This prefix refers to location in water or on low land, or similar locations such as in a sink or swamp.¹ Its specific use, however, depends on the particular verb to which it is affixed. The final k in this prefix is geminated when it is immediately followed by a vowel. Following is a description of the varied uses of ak-.

1. With some verbs, the addition of ak- indicates that the action referred to takes place in water or on low land.

ákyaka:pít, "to walk in water"; yaka:pít, "to walk"
 ákka:lít, "to be around in water (sg. subj.)";
 a:lít, "to be around (sg. subj.)"
 ákkata:lkít, "to hang in water (int.)"; ata:lkít, "to
 hang (int.)"

2. With other verbs, a stem with ak- means that the action results in something being in such a location.

áкта:skít, "to jump into water"; ta:skít, "to jump"
 ákla:hít, "to shoot into water"; la:hít, "to shoot"
 ákleycít, "to place in water (sg. DO)"; leycít, "to
 place (sg. DO)"
 sákkafallít, "to throw into water"; sáfallít, "to throw"
 ákla:tkít, "to fall into water"; la:tkít, "to fall over"

3. With verbs referring to vision, the addition of ak- means that the gaze is directed toward water or low ground.

1. Throughout this grammar, the meaning of this morpheme is glossed in abbreviated form to refer to water only.

ákhopo:yít, "to look for in water"; hopo:yít, "to look for"

ákhi:cít, "to look in water"; hi:cít, "to look"
sákhi:cít, "to find in water"; íshi:cít, "to find"

4. With the verb "to grasp," the addition of ak- means that the action removes something from water or low ground.

ákca:wít, "to take out of water (pl.DO)"; ca:wít, "to grasp (pl.DO)"

Whenever a stem with prefix ak- is used, the location of the action may also be specified by the appropriate lexical morpheme, which receives inflection for the oblique case. For example: ó:wan sákkafallít, "to throw into water."

B. Ground, tak- (~takk-)

The prefix tak- refers to location on or near the ground, excluding location on low-lying ground, which is referred to by stems with ak- instead. As with ak-, the final k is geminated when a vowel follows immediately, and the prefix has slightly varied meanings depending on the verb to which it is attached.

1. Sometimes stems with tak- refer to activity that takes place on or near the ground.

tákyaka:pít, "to walk on ground"; yaka:pít, "to walk"
tákwa:kkít, "to lie on ground (sg.subj.)"; wa:kkít, "to lie (sg.subj.)"

2. The use of tak- can also mean that the activity of the verb results in location on or near the ground.

tákla:tkít, "to fall"; la:tkít, "to fall over"
tákleycít, "to place on the ground (sg.DO)";
leycít, "to place (sg.DO)"
tákweykít, "to drop onto the ground"; weykít, "to leave"
stákkafallít, "to throw onto the ground"; sáfallít, "to throw"

3. With verbs referring to vision, the prefix tak- indicates that the gaze is directed toward the ground.

tákhi:cít, "to look on the ground"; hi:cít, "to look"
stákhi:cít, "to find on the ground"; íshi:cít, "to find"

4. As with ak-, when tak- is affixed to the verb "to grasp," the resultant verb stem is semantically anomalous. It means that something is removed from the ground or floor.

tákkí:sít, "to pick up from the ground (sg.DO)";
 i:sít, "to grasp (sg.DO)"
 tákca:wít, "to pick up from the ground (pl.DO)";
 ca:wít, "to grasp (pl.DO)"

5. In certain uses, the addition of tak- to a verb means that the activity takes place around a house rather than on the ground. Perhaps this intermingling of the concepts of normal ground level and the home is due to the historical fact that Seminole camps are built in the hammocks amidst the low-lying swamps of the Everglades. At any rate, tak- occurs optionally in the expression meaning "to stay at home," and with a few other verbs it also refers to a house.

tákkata:lkít, "to hang in house (int.)"; ata:lkít,
 "to hang (int.)"
 tákfollít, "to be around near house (pl.subj.)";
 follít, "to be around (pl.subj.)"
 tákka:kít, "to stay home, sit down (dl.subj.)";
 ka:kít, "to sit (dl.subj.)"

6. Activities involving the modern stove require the prefix tak-, probably since cooking was originally done in fires on the ground. Thus, although tákleycít would be defined as "to place on the ground (sg.DO)," this verb is also used for putting something on the stove.

As with the locative prefix ak-, when a sentence includes a verb formed with tak-, the location may also be indicated by the appropriate lexical morpheme inflected for the oblique case.

tó-tapíksi-t íŋkaná-n tak-wâ:kk-itô:-ŋ-ŋ-s
 wood-flat-subj. ground-obl. ground-lie sg.subj. f.t.theme-
 s.r.-3subj.-immut.-dec.
 The board is on the ground.

C. On, oh- (oho-)

This prefix refers to location on something above normal ground level. What the item (or items) is on need not be specified in the

sentence, but it often is. oh- is optionally pronounced oho- when followed by l or w. ²

1. Certain verbs using oh- refer to activity that occurs on something.

- óha:lít, "to be around on something (sg. subj.)";
 a:lít, "to be around (sg. subj.)"
 óholeykít, "to be, sit on something (sg. subj.)";
 leykít, "to sit (sg. subj.)"
 óhaki:kít, "to move on something (int.)";
 aki:kít, "to move (int.)"

The concept of location on something includes location on high ground, as shown in the following sentence.

tâ:m-ki-t í:kaná-hálwi-n óh-a:l-tó:-Ø-Ø-s
 Tom-Eng.-subj. ground-high-obl. on-be around sg. subj.
 l. theme- s.r. - 3subj. - pres. - dec.
 Tom is around on the hill.

2. oh- is used with other verbs if the action of a sentence results in an item being on something.

- óhtamkít, "to fly onto something (sg. subj.)";
 tamkít, "to fly (sg. subj.)"
 óhta:skít, "to jump onto something"; ta:skít,
 "to jump"
 óhpala:tít, "to drop on something (pl. DO)";
 pala:tít, "to drop (pl. DO)"
 óhka:yít, "to place on something (dl. DO)";
 ka:yít, "to place (dl. DO)"

3. When oh- is prefixed to verbs referring to vision, the resultant stems indicate that the gaze is directed toward location on something.

- óhhopo:yít, "to look for on something"; hopo:yít,
 "to look for"

4. With the verb "to grasp," the addition of oh- means that the agent of the verb is standing above something that he picks up.

- óhca:wít, "to pick up from over (pl. DO)"; ca:wít,
 "to grasp (pl. DO)"

2. Although oh- has high tone in all of the examples below, there are occasions when this syllable receives no tone, so its underlying phonological representation in the Seminole lexicon should be oh-.

5. With a small set of verbs, *oh-* is best translated as "toward."

óha:yít, "to go toward (sg. subj.)"; *a:yít*, "to go (sg. subj.)"
óha:tít, "to come toward (sg. subj.)"; *a:tít*,
 "to come (sg. subj.)"
óhmillít, "to point toward"; *millít*, "to point"

Verb stems cannot be formed by using any of these three locative prefixes in combination, as they divide the world into three mutually exclusive horizontal levels. The lowest has as its central meaning "below normal ground level." This is referred to by *ak-*. The middle level, referred to by *tak-*, is normal ground level. Finally, *oh-* refers to above ground level. This analysis perhaps implies that *ak-*'s reference to water is a metaphorical extension based on the observation that low-lying ground has potential for collecting water (particularly in the Everglades, although this connection may predate the Seminoles' retreat into South Florida). Historically, of course, water may have been the original meaning with reference to below normal ground level emerging as a metaphorical extension. In either case, the net result of the system is a tripartite division of the world. Thus, although *oh-* is usually translated as "on," if something is on the ground, either of these three prefixes could be used, depending on the level of the ground. It should be noted that these prefixes do not cover all possible horizontal locations. *oh-*, for example, is not used for all locations higher than normal ground level, because it only refers to location directly on (or occasionally above) something. (Also, if the location involves water, even if it is on a hill, the prefix *ak-* takes precedence over *oh-*.) Finally, this investigation has not yet been able to clarify whether or not *ak-* refers to location underground.

These prefixes generally combine with verb roots and stems in semantically parallel ways. To a certain extent it is possible to predict these combinations based on certain verb categories, although it appears that some verbs must be marked individually in the lexicon in order to correctly describe the semantics of their combinations with

the locative prefixes. Thus, with intransitive roots, the prefixes often add that the activity occurs in a certain kind of location, as many of the above examples illustrate. On the other hand, if the intransitive root refers to action that covers distance, such as "to jump" or "to fly," the stem with locative prefix means that the activity results in location in the appropriate horizontal level. Exceptions to this rule for intransitive verbs can, however, be found. Most transitive verbs utilizing these prefixes refer to locations that are the result of the action described by the verb. As illustrated, however, the verb "to grasp" is anomalous. Also, verbs referring to vision, such as "to see" and "to look for," take these prefixes according to the location in which the gaze is directed.

D. Away From, a-

This last locative prefix has rather restricted use compared to the others. It refers to location leading away from a particular point of reference, usually the point of origin of an action. Its meaning is thus rather different from the previous three locative prefixes (and more like the directional prefixes described below), but it is here classified in the same category with them because of its position in a fully inflected verb; all four locative prefixes are positioned between the indirect object prefix and the verb root.

The following verbs illustrate the usage of this prefix. As some of them indicate, the addition of a- to a verb often involves only a slight nuance of meaning.

aleycít, "to place on the side of something (sg.DO)";
 leycít, "to place (sg.DO)"
 ahi:cít, "to look away"; hi:cít, "to look"
 amillít, "to point at"; millít, "to point"
 ahópo:yít, "to look for"; hopo:yít, "to look for"
 awaykít, "to throw, throw away"; weykít, "to leave"

The rules governing the usage of locative prefixes in Seminole are rather complex. Sometimes their presence merely clarifies or reiterates concepts expressed elsewhere in the sentence, while at

other times they add new information to a sentence. To a great extent a general rule can predict the particular meaning of a given locative-verb combination, but there are many cases in which the meaning can only be described as idiomatic. Another troublesome area is to define rules specifying what locative-verb combinations are grammatical, a problem that in itself requires extensive investigation.

IV. Directional Prefixes

The directional prefixes are deictic categories that, when added to a verb, refer to direction or distance from a particular location.

A. Long Distance, *lih-*

This prefix refers to relatively large distances, distances that it would take at least a few minutes of walking to cover. It generally includes the idea of movement to that location prior to the action specifically referred to by the verb root. The distance is measured from the original location to the location where the action is completed. The original location is the location of the speech event, or else it is defined as something else by context.

lihweykít, "to take a distance and leave it there"; *weykít*, "to leave"
lihleycít, "to take a distance and place (sg.DO)";
leycít, "to place (sg.DO)"
lih̄ta:skít, "to jump a distance toward the speaker";
ta:skít, "to jump"

lih- is in complementary distribution with the prefix *l-*. *lih-* occurs only immediately before consonants, while *l-* occurs only immediately before vowels. For this reason, *l-* is here classified as an allomorph of this directional prefix, although speakers frequently define it as referring simply to distance, and not necessarily the long distance normally referred to by *lih-*.

lókopa:nít, "to go play"; *ókkopa:nít*, "to play"
látho:yít, "to come back from a distance (dl. subj.)";
átho:yít, "to come (dl. subj.)"

B. Middle Distance, la:- (~la:h-)

la:- has uses parallel to those of lih-, but it generally indicates smaller distances, such as across the room or street. The distance must be at least several steps away, however. It could perhaps be argued that this prefix is actually a combination of the prefixes lih- and a:-, "short distance" (described immediately below). In other words, this could be l- plus a:-, and the meaning of medium distance could be viewed as a compromise between the meanings of long distance and short distance.

When this prefix occurs immediately before an o or a:, an h is optionally inserted to prevent two vowels from being adjacent. When it occurs immediately before an a, that a is deleted.

- lá:ta:skít, "to jump back toward the speaker";
 ta:skít, "to jump"
 lá:leycít, "to take a little distance and place (sg.DO)";
 leycít, "to place (sg.DO)"
 la:ókkopa:nít, "to go play"; ókkopa:nít, "to play"
 la:tímpona:yít, "to talk to each other long distance";
 tímpona:yít, "to talk to each other"

C. Short Distance, a:- (~a:h-)

Verbs utilizing this prefix refer to actions that cover short distances of at most a few steps or to actions directed toward the speaker (or another specified person or persons). Semantically there is not much difference between these two uses; in the former, distance is stressed while, in the latter, closeness is in focus, but in either case proximity is in some way being indicated. When a:- is followed by a:, a, or o, the same phonological rules apply as were described for the directional prefix la:-.

1. When a:- is combined with verbs describing dropping and falling, the resultant stems refer to dropping or falling a short distance. In this usage, a:- is often combined with a locative prefix that indicates the nature of the location after the item falls.

- á:pala:tít, "to drop a short distance (pl.DO)";
 pala:tít, "to drop (pl.DO)"

á:kweykít, "to drop into water (sg.DO)"; weykít,
 "to leave"
 a:tákpala:tít, "to drop onto the ground (pl.DO)";
 pala:tít, "to drop (pl.DO)"

Similarly, the idea that a short distance is covered by the action is found when a:- is added to the verbs "to place" and "to grasp." When stems with a:- are formed from these verbs the stems indicate that the agent must walk a few steps or stretch to perform the action.

2. The most common use of a:-, however, is to indicate activity that occurs near or in the direction of someone or something. Frequently it is understood that this means near or toward the speaker unless otherwise specified, but with other verbs toward whom must be explicitly stated whether it is the first person or not.

a:- is the only directional prefix that may be added to postpositions, and it may be added to only a couple of them. Directional-postposition combinations always follow this semantic use of a:-.

Following are a few examples of stems where the speaker is understood to be the point of reference unless otherwise indicated.

á:safallít, "to throw toward speaker"; sáfallít,
 "to throw"
 á:hi:cít, "to look toward speaker"; hi:cít, "to
 look"
 á:hopyít, "to look for in the speaker's direction";
 hopyít, "to look for"
 á:ha:lít, "to be around near the speaker (sg.subj.)";
 a:lít, "to be around (sg.subj.)"
 á:paláŋki, "on this side of"; paláŋki, "on the other
 side of"

However, if a:- is added to the postposition afó:pki, "next to," or the verb óha:tít, "to come toward (sg.subj.)," the point of reference has to be specified by the appropriate direct object prefix on all occasions. a:tít is representative of several verbs which optionally take a combination of a:- and oh- to mean toward."

3. With several verbs the addition of a:- is equivalent to the addition of the particle "up" in English, as in "stand up" or "sit up." Some of these stems could also be translated as referring to actions occurring near the speaker, so they are actually ambiguous out of context.

á:leykít, "to get up (sg.subj.)"; leykít, "to sit (sg.subj.)"
 á:sapa:klít, "to stand up (pl.subj.)"; sapa:klít, "to stand (pl.subj.)"

Etymologically, the verb á:honi:cít, "to wake up," may also derive from this directional prefix.

The three prefixes lih-, la:-, and a:- form a related set referring to three degrees of distance from a point of reference, usually either the position of the speaker or the point of origin of an action. With intransitive verbs implying no directed movement, such as "to sleep" or "to be around," they usually refer to how far away the activity occurs. If an intransitive verb implies directed movement, however, such as "to fall," they often indicate how much distance is covered. With transitive verbs involving the movement of something, they describe how far it is moved. As with locative prefixes, however, each of these prefixes has idiomatic uses which are not predictable by general rule.

Thus, the rules governing the usage of directional prefixes are as complicated as those governing the usage of locative prefixes. In both cases the prefix has a constant core of meaning that is shaped one way or another depending on the verb to which it is attached. The semantics of the resultant stems are often predictable based on certain semantic features of the roots and any other derivational affixes present, but idiomatic uses are common. With both locative and directional prefixes, the question of what prefix-verb combinations are possible is a most difficult one and cannot be handled here.

V. Verbalizer, -t

The suffix -t may be added to a noun or independent pronoun

so that it can receive verbal inflection. This verbalizing suffix does not change the meaning of the noun or pronoun; it simply makes it possible to deal with it grammatically as a verb. Its most common usage is for predicate nominative constructions.

s-ístim-ahá:y-a-t-ân-t-á:y-∅-s
instr. - indef. IO-teach-ag. - verb. - intent. - s.r. - 1s subj. -
pres. - dec.

I' m going to be a teacher.

ci-nā:ki-t-tó:-∅-∅-s
2inal. poss. - something-verb. - s.r. - 3subj. - pres. - dec.
It is yours.

The verbalized noun does not undergo normal rules of verb theme formation (see the section on verb themes). An alternative analysis might therefore be to consider this suffix the subject case suffix and specify that nouns in the subject case might be used as predicate nominatives by omitting a verb and having verb suffixes alone serve as a verb. Unfortunately, a second use of this suffix cannot be dealt with in this manner. Nouns to which this suffix is added may also be made into participles which function as nouns. The semantic result of this rather curious conversion is a kind of emphasis on the noun, sometimes with a particularizing effect.

ifá-t-a:t ca-ya:s-tó:-∅
dog-verb. - part. I 1SDO-want 1. theme- s.r. - pres.
I want that dog.

fá:y-a-t-a:t
hunt-ag. - verb. - part. I
what a hunter

The procedure followed here is to call -t a verbalizing suffix, despite the fact that the verb stems produced do not behave identically with verb stems based on verb roots.

VI. Summary of Verb Derivation

A noun stem may be converted into a verb stem by the addition of a verbalizing suffix: noun stem-verbalizer. Usually, however, verb stems are formed from verb roots, according to the formula below.

(dir.)(loc.)verb root $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{caus.} \\ \text{detrans.} \end{array} \right\}$

VERB INFLECTION

By far the most complicated aspect of Seminole grammar is verb inflection. Several factors contribute to this complexity. First, there are a very large number of inflectional categories: pronouns for subject, direct object, and indirect object; several categories of aspect; even more modal categories; five different tenses; and a few miscellaneous categories. These categories of inflection are expressed by prefixes, infixes, suffixes, tonal changes, suppletion, internal vowel changes, and reduplication. Further, the expression of certain categories depends on whether the verb is active or stative and whether certain other inflectional and/or derivational categories are present. Seminole's system of verb inflection could be described as consisting of an inventory of affixes and morphophonological rules that are mixed and matched to express a large number of inflectional concepts. The fact that a large number of different categories may be combined in a single word should indicate the scope of the problem. To this it may be added that there are a variety of methods for forming sentences with multiple verbs. Verb inflection is so involved that it is hardly possible to discuss any category of inflection without describing all categories of inflection.

I. Verb Themes

Before discussing specific categories of inflection, it is necessary to define the term "verb theme," as it will be used below. The term "verb theme" refers to the form that results after a verb stem is inflected for whichever of the following will be present in the fully-inflected verb--number, distributive plural, middle voice,

iterative aspect, and intentive and incumbent mode. Several morphophonological rules apply to the verb theme when the remaining categories of inflection are added. Haas (1940) describes five Creek "stems," as she calls them, and these same five verb formations are present in Seminole; they are here referred to as "themes," however, so that the term "stem" may be reserved for a verb root that has undergone derivation only. Although Seminole has the same five verb "stems" that Haas describes for Creek, the rules for their formation are not identical. (Although these rules apply primarily to themes, they also apply to certain affixes as well; these other uses will be described as they become relevant.) The five theme formations and their rules are:

1. Øtheme--The Øtheme is formed by making no changes in the verb theme.
2. Lengthened Theme--The lengthened theme (hereafter abbreviated as l.theme) is formed by lengthening a short vowel in the final syllable of the verb theme. (No change occurs if that vowel is already long.) This rule is blocked if that vowel is followed by the sequence of a sonorant plus any other consonant; therefore, the l.theme of a theme ending in this sequence is identical to its Øtheme. It does not matter whether this sequence is completely contained within the verb theme or whether it is formed by the addition of a suffix beginning with a consonant to the verb theme; in either case the vowel is not lengthened.
3. Falling Tone Theme--The falling tone theme (hereafter abbreviated as f.t.theme) is formed by applying the same lengthening rule as used for the l.theme, plus adding falling tone to the vowel in that syllable.
4. Rising Tone Theme--The rising tone theme (hereafter abbreviated as r.t.theme) is formed by applying the same lengthening rule as for the l.theme and adding rising tone to the vowel in that syllable. In addition, the vowel is nasalized. If the vowel is followed by a sonorant plus another consonant, the sonorant is

nasalized (if not already a nasal) and lengthened. Nasalization of the vowel and nasalization and lengthening of a sonorant are phonetic changes, rather than phonemic changes, since the presence of rising tone unambiguously distinguishes an r.t. theme.

5. H. Theme-- The h. theme is so named because with many verbs it is formed by adding the infix -h- to the final syllable of the theme. The rules for h. theme formation are rather complicated and show a certain amount of individual variation.

a. If the theme ends in a single consonant, the -h- infix is inserted before that consonant, and this syllable receives high tone. If the vowel in this syllable is long, it is shortened. (If the verb theme ends in a vowel, y is inserted by the rule of y Epenthesis before -h- is infix.)

b. If the theme ends in a two-consonant sequence beginning with a sonorant, -h- and high tone are also added to the final syllable. The position of the infix, however, shows some variation. All speakers appear to place the -h- before an l and after a y, but with the other sonorants there is disagreement as to whether the -h- comes before or after. Regardless of the position of this infix, it causes devoicing of the sonorant immediately next to it; this is a phonetic, rather than a phonemic, change. Although this rule describes the typical formation of an h. theme when a theme ends in the sequence sonorant plus consonant, there are other options available which are rarely utilized. If the sequence is, in fact, a geminated sonorant (other than yy), it is permissible instead to apply the rule for geminated consonants (rule c immediately below). If the sequence is not a geminate, the rule for other two-consonant clusters may apply (rule d).

c. If the theme ends in a geminated consonant, the consonant is degeminated and a suffix added. Here again there is some speaker variation. The principle informant consulted uses two suffixes-- -êyk and -êyy. Depending on the verb, only one of

these suffixes may be permissible, or there may be a choice. The rule regarding which suffix is correct is not phonologically conditioned, as far as can be determined. Another speaker, however, follows a simpler rule, adding the suffix -êyk to all verbs after the consonant is degeminated.

d. If the theme ends in a two-consonant cluster other than a geminated consonant, the infix -êy is inserted between the two consonants.

e. It is difficult to formulate a rule for the formation of the h. theme when the theme ends in a triple consonant cluster because such clusters are rare. From the few examples available, it appears that the suffix -êyk is added. If the cluster ends in a k, that consonant must be deleted before the suffix is added.

The following chart illustrates the application of the theme formation rules.

meaning	∅theme	l. theme	f. t. theme	r. t. theme	h. theme
see	hi:c	hi:c	hî:c	hî:c	hîhc
make	ha:	ha:	hâ:	hâ:	hâhy
sit	leyk	leyk	lêyk	lěyk	lěyhk
(sg. subj.)				[lěyŷk]	
fall over	latk	la:tk	lâ:tk	lă:tk	latêyk

In Seminole there are two infinitive forms for a verb. When a speaker gives the word for a verb in isolation, he invariably uses the form produced by adding the suffix -ít, to the l. theme. However, when a verb is used as an infinitive in the context of a sentence, the infinitive is produced by adding the suffix -ita to the ∅theme. Thus, the two infinitive forms for pap, "eat," are pa:pít and papíta.

We will return to this discussion of themes when we discuss categories of inflection that are expressed by them in part. First, however, let us turn to verbal inflection that is not affected by these processes of theme formation.

II. Pronominal Inflection

Most of the pronominal paradigms used for verb inflection have already been described in the chapter on the Seminole noun phrase, so it will suffice here to summarize them. There are two pronominal prefix paradigms, one derived from the other. The first set of prefixes is used to indicate direct objects, while the second is used to inflect a verb for an indirect object. These paradigms include prefixes not only for first, second, and third person, singular and plural, but also for reflexive, reciprocal, and indefinite objects. As was explained, most transitive verbs obligatorily are inflected for a direct object; the remainder take indirect object prefixes. In addition, indirect object prefixes are optional for those verbs that take direct objects. However, not all combinations of direct object and indirect object occur. When the direct object is in the third person, any indirect object is permissible, but if the direct object is in another person (and therefore is a non-zero form), only the reciprocal indirect object has been found to co-occur with it. All attempts to elicit other direct object-indirect object combinations failed, indicating that they are very rare, if indeed they occur at all.

Every verb, whether transitive or intransitive, is inflected for its pronominal subject. How this is done depends on whether the verb is active or stative. From time to time, in discussing derivation, it has been necessary to refer to the active-stative distinction, and at this point it is useful to explain it more thoroughly. Stative verbs are a special subclass of intransitive verbs; they refer to states that the subject is in and frequently would be translated into English as predicate adjectives. Examples of stative verbs are:

hoto:sít, "to be tired"
 pófya:kít, "to be lonely"
 píŋka:lít, "to be frightened"
 i:lít, "to die (sg. subj)"

The presence of derivational morphemes can affect whether a verb is active or stative. It is possible for the detransitivizing

suffix to convert an active verb into a stative one.

pasa:tít, "to kill (pl.DO)" active
 pasa:tkít, "to die (pl.subj.)" stative

Similarly, the causative suffix changes a stative verb into an active one.

píŋkali:cít, "to frighten" active
 (from píŋka:lít, above)

Thus, all verb roots in the lexicon must be marked as either active or stative. So, too, must verbs derived with the detransitivizing suffix be marked. Verbs with other derivational affixes are predictable, however; the causative always results in an active verb (regardless of whether the root was stative or active), and the other derivational morphemes do not change a verb's classification.

Stative verbs generally use the set I pronominal prefixes to express the subject.

ci-píŋkâ:l-aŋk-ã:
 2DO-frightened f.t.theme-pastII-interrog.
 Were you afraid?
 pí-hotós-ak-íp-ali-s
 IPDO-tired-distr.-m.v. Øtheme-fut.-dec.
 We will be tired.

Active verbs, on the other hand, are inflected by suffixes that express the pronominal subject. These suffixes are affected by mode categories that are present. The paradigm for affirmative sentences is:

1S	-ey (optionally -ay/___V)	1PE	-i: (-iy/___V)
2S	-ick (~icc)	1PI	-ak
3S	-Ø	2P	-a:ck (~-a:cc)
		3P	-Ø

léyk-a:n-éy-Ø
 sit sg. subj.-intent.-1Ssubj.-pres.
 I am going to sit.

The paradigm for the negative mode is similar.

1S	-a	1PE	-i:
		1PI	-i:s
2S	-ick (~-icc)	2P	-a:ck (~-a:cc)
3S	-Ø	3P	-Ø

leyk-á:n-a-ko-tō:-∅-s
 sit sg. subj. - intent. - lS neg. subj. - neg. - s.r. - pres. - dec.
 I am not going to sit.

Not only are some of the suffixes themselves changed in the negative mode but, as illustrated here, their position in the word is changed, a fact that will be described below. Finally, in the subjunctive and imperative modes these suffixes are always lacking.

These pronominal suffixes show interesting similarities and differences in patterning compared to the prefix paradigms. In both the suffix and prefix paradigms, there is no number distinction made in the third person. The second person suffixes obligatorily express number, unlike the pronominal prefixes, but the two suffixes are quite similar in form. Finally, the distinction between inclusive and exclusive first person plural is peculiar to the two suffix paradigms.

The distinction between active and stative verbs is, however, not quite so clear-cut as the discussion thus far would indicate. For example, a few verbs optionally may use either the prefixes or the suffixes to express their subjects. For the most part such verbs behave as stative verbs in forming the intensive or continuative aspect (see below), although semantically most seem more akin to active verbs (for example, la:tkít, "to fall over"). (In comparative and superlative constructions all stative verbs use the active subject suffixes.) Also, there are some verbs that express the subject with the set I prefixes but otherwise behave as active verbs (for example, ya:cít, "to want"). Finally, some verbs express their subjects with the set II prefixes. They are divided as to whether they otherwise behave as active or stative.

A typical stative verb has the following characteristics, although a number of verbs that would be classified as stative lack one or two of them.

1. A stative verb refers to a state, such as a quality or emotion, as opposed to an activity.
2. A stative verb normally is inflected for its subject by a direct object (set I) prefix or, occasionally, an indirect object

(set II) prefix. (If the subject is also expressed by a noun phrase, subject case inflection is used.)

3. A stative verb forms the intensive (or, rarely, the continuative) aspect by adding the comparative suffix -os to the rising tone theme. (An active verb uses the r.t. theme alone to signal the continuative aspect.)

4. A stative verb may modify, in either verbal or participial form, a noun that is its subject in an embedded sentence. (An active verb may do so only as a participle, and only if the noun is its direct object.)

III. Number Inflection (Including the Distributive)

Many Seminole verbs are number-defined. That is, they specify number of the subject, if intransitive, or number of the direct object, if transitive. There are, to be sure, numerous verbs that have constant form, regardless of number, but there are also quite a few that have singular and plural forms, and a fair number have singular, dual, and plural forms. Following are some examples of number-defined verbs.

Intransitive:	<u>sg. subj.</u>	<u>dl. subj.</u>	<u>pl. subj.</u>	
	leykít	ka:kít	apo:kít	"to sit"
	a:lít	wila:kít	follít	"to be around"
	li:tkít	toko:lkít	pifa:tkít	"to run"
Transitive:	<u>sg. DO</u>	<u>dl. DO</u>	<u>pl. DO</u>	
	leycít	ka:yít	apo:yít	"to place"
	i:sít	-----	ca:wít	"to grasp"

The above sets illustrate the large number of cases in which the number of a verb is expressed by suppletion. However, there are also several verbs for which the forms for different numbers are clearly related. For example:

Intransitive:	<u>sg. subj.</u>	<u>dl. subj.</u>	<u>pl. subj.</u>	
	acoŋkít	acónho:kít	acómi:cít	"to climb"
	tamkít	támho:kít	tami:cít	"to fly"
	hakeyhkít	hakéyhho:kít	haká:hi:cít	"to cry"

Transitive:	<u>sg. DO</u>	<u>dl. DO</u>	<u>pl. DO</u>	
	lita:fít	-----	litáfi:cít	"to tear up"

As these examples illustrate, the dual infix is -ho-. It is inserted immediately before the final consonant of the verb root or, if the root ends in a vowel, it follows that vowel. The plural is formed by the suffix -ic (or, in at least one case, the related -eyc). If it is added to a verb ending in a k, that k is dropped. It is tempting to speculate on the possible etymology of these dual and plural affixes. -ho could be derived from the word hokkô:lin, "two," but only historical study could confirm this. Thus far, no morpheme that might be related to -ic has been uncovered by this investigation.

There are some verbs formed by partial reduplication which are translated by informants as referring to plural direct objects. Added to the verb is a suffix consisting of the first consonant of the verb plus the sequence ic: aho:lít, "to sew," and ahólhi:cít, "to sew (pl. DO)." Although these verbs are translated as plurals, they are probably related to verbs that indicate repetitive activity by a similar rule. For example, pá:speycít, "to sweep back and forth," is formed from the verb pa:sít, "to sweep," by a closely related rule of partial reduplication. The relationship between these various forms is one that speakers find difficult to discuss. That verbs such as ahólhi:cít are probably not true plurals, however, is indicated by the fact that the verb lita:fít has a reduplicated form litáfli:cít (or litáfleycít) which is considered to be similar to, but not identical with, the plural form of the verb, litáfi:cít. The relationship between the concepts of plurality, distribution, and repetition in Seminole is a rather complicated one involving slight nuances of meaning. Description below of the distributive plural suffix and iterative aspect is related to this problem, and it may well be that the differences between the various plural suffixes for nouns also revolve around these same concepts.

As the lists above illustrate, there are many number-defined verbs which lack a dual number. In such cases the plural subsumes that category. The lists also correctly indicate that distinction of

a dual category is much more common with intransitive verbs than transitive ones.

There are a few verbs that combine these two processes for the formation of dual and plural. They have dual forms using the infix -ho-, but the plural forms are suppletive.

<u>sg. subj.</u>	<u>dl. subj.</u>	<u>pl. subj.</u>	
a:yít	aho:yít	api:yít	"to go"
wa:kkít	wákho:kít	lomhít	"to lie"

All examples of this combination of processes that have been discovered are intransitive verbs.

Finally, although the infix -ho- is clearly a marker for the dual category, a very few verbs that do not distinguish dual and plural use this affix to form the plural.

ma:kít, "to say (sg. subj.)"; má:ho:kít, "to say (dl., pl. subj.)"

A glance at the above lists shows that many verbs that do vary according to number are common verbs. The verbs "to stand," "to come," "to sleep," and other common verbs could have been included in those lists as well. It would, however, be a mistake to over-emphasize the correlation between frequency of use and number inflection. Many common verbs, such as "to make," "to cook," and "to eat" do not have number-defined forms, while not all verbs with varying forms could be considered everyday words.

The dual verbs are treated grammatically as plurals, as verb inflection does not otherwise distinguish between dual and plural.

For example:

tokólk-aks
run dl. subj. Øtheme- subjunc. 2pl. subj.
Run (dl. subj.)

pifá:tk-aks
run pl. subj. Øtheme- subjunc. 2pl. subj.
Run (pl. subj.)

These number distinctions in verbs are no longer obligatory in Seminole. In today's speech, they are optionally neutralized on rare occasion, with the singular, unmarked member of each set used

regardless of actual number

cítko só:lk-i tákk-a:l-tó:-Ø-Ø-s
 snake many Øtheme-subj. ground-be around sg.subj.
 1.theme-s.r.-3subj.-pres.-dec.
 Many snakes are crawling on the ground.

The principle informant for this study indicated that she believes this to be a modern rule, that in former times number distinctions were obligatory. If this is in fact an ongoing trend it can be viewed as a tendency to harmonize with rules that contribute to the general de-emphasis of number as a grammatical category in Seminole noun phrases.

There is another way of expressing number in verbs that should be briefly discussed here. Haas (1940:143) illustrates the presence of a distributive suffix, -ak, in Creek. This suffix is used in Seminole, but speakers tend to think of it primarily as a plural marker rather than as referring to distribution in time or space. Whenever they wish to indicate plurality of a subject for a verb that does not show number inflection through either of the processes described above, they simply add this suffix. (It cannot distinguish dual from plural.) -ak may optionally combine with almost any verb to indicate a plurality of the subject.

í ska:kít	from i:skít, "to drink"
fó:tka:kít	from fo:tkít, "to whistle"
aklópa:kít	from áklo:pít, "to swim, bathe"
tini:péyca:kít	from tiní:peycít, "to iron"
apí:ca:kít	from api:cít, "to dream"
yahéyka:kít	from yaheykít, "to sing"
píŋkalí:ca:kít	from píŋkali:cít, "to frighten"

However, although speakers conceive of this as a plural suffix primarily, it is used occasionally in a manner that belies its specifically distributive meaning. For example, verbs that show plural number of the subject either through suppletion or the plural suffix -ic may take the suffix -ak in addition. Speakers often say that this only emphasizes plurality, but sometimes these verbs are translated as referring to actions distributed in space.

tak-lómh-a:k-tó:-Ø-Ø-s
 ground-lie pl. subj. -distr. 1. theme- s. r. - 3subj. - pres. - dec.
 They are lying down scattered.

Another telling example occurred when a speaker volunteered a new form meaning "Did they hit him (a few days ago)?" The verb was *nafká:káŋkã:* (from *nafk*, "hit"), and the speaker remarked that one would use this word to indicate that "each one hit him."

In certain cases Seminole's number-defined verbs do not refer to the actual number of subjects or objects, because they are involved in Seminole's classificatory verb system. Classificatory verb systems are found in several North American languages; this term refers to the fact that certain verbs encode the shape or texture of the subject for intransitive verbs and of the direct object for transitive ones. Thus, sometimes the dual and plural verbs in Seminole refer to the form rather than the number of the subject or direct object. The languages best known for having classificatory verbs are the Athapaskan languages. For example, in Navajo, the verb meaning "to drop a round object" differs from the verb meaning "to drop a long, thin object," and there are yet other verbs referring to dropping various other kinds of objects. In fact, Navajo distinguishes twelve different kinds of objects, which are: round object, long object, living being, set of objects, rigid container with contents, fabric-like object, bulky object, set of parallel objects, a mass, wool-like mass, rope-like object, and mud-like mass (Hoijer 1945:15-16). In general, the classes distinguished by the various Athapaskan languages are similar to one another; all have rather developed systems in which a large number of form categories are distinguished (Davidson, Elford, and Hoijer 1963).

Classificatory verbs are not restricted to the Athapaskan family, however, or even to the western half of the continent, where neighbors of the Athapaskan peoples might have borrowed this grammatical concept. Cherokee, an Iroquoian language of the Southeast, for example, has a very similar kind of semantic patterning in its verbs, which has been briefly described by Haas (1948:244) and

Walker (1975:208). The form categories that Cherokee distinguishes are similar to the Athapaskan categories, though fewer in number: round object, long object, flexible object, liquid (or liquid in container for some verbs), and living being (some verbs distinguish whether the living being is human or not).

In languages with classificatory verbs, only a small subset of the language's verbs are involved. In Cherokee the verbs that distinguish form classes of nouns are listed by Haas as being "to lie," "to give," "to put," "to pick up," and "to bring." Likewise, in the Athapaskan languages it is verbs of handling, dropping, falling, and being in a state of rest that are classificatory verbs.

In contrast to the Athapaskan languages and Cherokee, Seminole's classificatory verbs are rather anomalous. First of all, the system is less developed, since fewer categories of form are distinguished. Seminole also differs in that the verbs that distinguish form are not defined by this usage, but rather are defined by the number of the subject or direct object. That is, the distinction of singular and plural, or singular, dual, and plural, is the basic function of these verb sets; the use of the sets to distinguish the form of subjects or objects is secondary, a fact that is consciously recognized by speakers of the language.

Depending on how one views the facts, one could say that Seminole distinguishes either two or three form categories. The first category is for cloth-like items, the second for liquids, and the third consists of all other items. Nouns in this third category take verbs according to their actual number, unlike nouns in the other two categories. It is therefore debatable whether this catch-all category actually constitutes a third form category.

Cloth and articles made of cloth are treated as if they were dual in number.

honná-t cim-óho-léyk-itá-n oh-kâ:k-tõ:-Ø-Ø-s
 skirt-subj. 2al.poss. -on-sit sg.subj. Øtheme-inf. II-obl.
 on-sit dl.subj. f.t.theme-s.r.-3subj.-immut.-dec.
 The skirt is lying on your chair.

pouring of a liquid.

jæk-ki-t ó:-wa-n Ø-pala:t-tó:-Ø-Ø
 Jack-Eng.-subj. water-nom.-obl. 3DO-drop pl.DO
 1.theme-s.r. -3subj.-pres.
 Jack is pouring the water.

Haas (1948:246) says that liquids in Creek usually take the singular verb if the verb is intransitive, with the use of the plural occurring mainly with transitive verbs. There is no evidence of this in Seminole; liquids always call for plural verbs in Seminole. Thus, it is a curious fact that liquids, which may or may not take the plural in Creek, invariably take it in Seminole, while cloth, which invariably takes the dual in Creek, may or may not take the dual in Seminole.

The third, miscellaneous category of all non-cloth and non-liquid items is obviously the largest category in Seminole's classificatory verb system. Because this is the largest category, and because verbs are selected according to actual number for this category, the number distinctions of verbs remain primary in Seminole, and the form distinctions remain secondary.

The Seminole verbs which have been found to be used classificatorily are: "to fall," "to drop," "to sit," "to put in," "to put," "to grasp," and "to pick up" (which is derived from "to grasp"). This list corresponds rather closely to the list of classificatory verbs in the Athapaskan languages and Cherokee. It is true that there are several verbs which are classificatory in the other languages but not in Seminole, but these are verbs that do not make number distinctions in Seminole, so that there is no way that they could be used classificatorily.

It is clear that there are some rather striking parallels and contrasts between classificatory verbs in Creek-Seminole, Cherokee, and the Athapaskan languages. One parallel is that verbs referring to the same kinds of activities are involved. A second parallel is found in the kinds of form categories that are distinguished. Some of the unusual features of Creek-Seminole's classificatory verbs are that so few categories of form are distinguished and that the categories are

distinguished by verbs that refer basically to number. The fact that the Creek-Seminole system is both very similar to and very different from the other languages with classificatory verbs poses some interesting questions regarding their origin and development in this language. Logically, of course, there are two possible explanations for the presence of classificatory verbs in Creek-Seminole. Either this grammatical feature was independently developed or it was borrowed from another language. The facts are consistent with either explanation, but further research is needed in order to determine the likelihood that borrowing took place. If it should turn out that Creek did borrow this concept from Cherokee, or even another Southeastern language, this would still leave open the question of why this Southeastern pattern so closely resembles the Athapaskan one. If it could be concluded that borrowing is responsible, this would provide us with new information on the prehistory of North America, while if borrowing could be ruled out, the similarities of these languages would say something about universals of human cognition. Thus, investigation of classificatory verbs in North America is of wider significance than it might seem at first glance, and Creek-Seminole is an important language in such an investigation.

IV. Instrumental Prefix

The instrumental prefix *is-* (*is-*) refers to the fact that the action of the sentence is performed by means of some instrument. The instrument, if it is specified, is represented as an object of the verb. One of the most frequent uses of this prefix is for actions performed when an object is contained in something; such actions are considered as being performed by means of an instrument, the container. Following are examples of the use of instrumental inflection.

ís-waná:-ka s-lá:f-ka s-∅-wá:l-a
 instr.-tie-ger. instr.-cut-ger. instr.-3DO- cut pl.DO
 ∅theme- subjunc.1,2sg. subj.
 Cut the ropes with the knife.

yilá:ha s-∅-oh-léyc-as
 orange instr.-3DO-on-put sg.DO ∅theme-
 subjunc.1,2sg.subj.

Put the oranges on it.

(Note that the oranges are in something, so there
 is instrumental inflection and a verb for sg.DO.)

The sentence immediately above illustrates the fact that, most often,
 a number-defined verb which is used with an instrumental prefix is
 selected according to the number of the instrument. This is not an
 invariable rule, however.

With intransitive verbs of movement, the instrumental takes
 on comitative meaning; this only happens, however, with this
 restricted class of verbs. For example:

sa:yít, "to take (sg.subj.)"; a:yít, "to go (sg.subj.)"
 sa:tít, "to bring (sg.subj.)"; a:tít, "to come (sg.subj.)"

V. Aspect

A. Intensive and Continuative Aspect

The categories of intensive and continuative aspect are
 mutually exclusive in that a given verb can take only one of them. An
 active verb may be inflected for the continuative aspect, which
 indicates that the action continues over a long period of time, while
 most, but not all, stative verbs take instead the intensive aspect,
 which indicates that the state is a very intense one.

Both aspects are expressed by applying the rule of r.t.theme
 formation to the verb. For an active verb this is the only marker
 necessary; a stative verb requires the addition of the comparative
 suffix -os as well, regardless of whether it is in the intensive or
 continuative aspect. Examples of verbs inflected for the continuative
 aspect are:

atok-ĩ:p-á:-li:-∅-s
 work-m.v. r.t.theme-1Ssubj.-fut.-cont.-dec.
 I will keep on working.

cokó ∅-hă:-t-í:-∅-mac
 house 3DO-make r.t.theme-s.r.-1PEsubj.-cont.-pastIII dec.
 We used to build houses.

The following verb illustrates the intensive aspect.

pi-hotō:s-os-tō:-∅-∅
 IPDO-tired r.t.theme-comp.-s.r.-pres.-intens.
 We are really tired.

Emotional overtones may be added to a verb in the intensive or continuative aspect by drawing out further the final syllable in the theme or putting extra rising contour in the tone. For example, in the last sentence above, if these phonetic cues were added, the sentence would mean "We are really tired." These phonetic cues are thus equivalent to the expressive use of stress in English.

The intensive aspect may apply to words used adverbially.

měy^hma, "way over there"; mēy^hma, "over there"

The only other usage of the r.t.theme discovered is for what might be called diminutive mode. It is expressed by the prefix i- with the r.t.theme rule applied to this prefix. It means that the action referred to is considered to be unimportant. For example, a possible response to the question "What are you doing?" would be:

ĩ:-a:l-t-ā:y-∅
 dim.-be around sg.subj. l.theme-s.r.-lSsubj.-pres.
 I'm just around (I. e. , Nothing much.)

B. Iterative Aspect

The iterative aspect is expressed by reduplication. It seems, however, to be passing into disuse, as it is a singularly unproductive inflectional category. Reduplication, according to Speck (1907:475), is used in Creek to indicate "distribution or frequency in time and space." He provides examples showing that a color term reduplicated refers to something that is spotted with that color. The picture in modern Seminole, however, is somewhat different. First, reduplication does not indicate spotted color at all. On the other hand, a few verbs do indicate a distributive plural or repeated action in this manner. The use of reduplication as a kind of plural marker was mentioned in the section on noun modifiers; a participle based on a stative verb or a verb functioning as a noun modifier, if it has the correct phonological form, can express plurality through reduplication. For example:

Ø-háthak-Ø-í:
 3DO-white iter. Øtheme-pres.-part. II
 white ones

Examples of active verbs showing reduplication are:

tásta:kít, "to bob up and down (as a typewriter
 key)"; ta:skít, "to jump"
 sípsi:lít, "to drip over and over"; si:plít, "to drip"

The majority of verb stems that do undergo reduplication are formed according to the following rule, which applies to the verb root.

$$C_1 V_1 C_2 C_3 \longrightarrow C_1 V_1 C_2 C_1 V_1 C_3$$

Note that this consists of partial reduplication, only the first consonant and first vowel being copied.

Another rule of partial reduplication, mentioned in the discussion of verb inflection for number, copies the first consonant of a verb and adds the suffix -eyc. For example, waná:weycít, "to rope (an animal)," is formed in this manner from the verb wana:yít, "to tie." At the very least, this kind of verb formation is related to the iterative aspect, and it could be a variant rule for verbs which do not have the correct phonological form for the rule written above.

C. Immutative Aspect

Haas (1940:146-147) mentions "immutative durative" aspect in Creek, and this term is borrowed from her. Stative verbs, which indicate a quality of the subject, frequently are inflected for this category of aspect. With active verbs, it indicates that a present action or situation is the result of a previous action. In either case, it has a kind of timeless quality--some event in the past has produced a present situation but there is no indication that the situation is truly tied to the present time, and there is no indication of when the present situation first came about. A good example of the meaning of immutative aspect is found in the verb kî:lley, "I know it." This fully-inflected verb is based on the verb ki:lít, "to learn." Put in the immutative aspect, as it is in kî:lley, the verb means that the subject has learned

something and is in the resultant state, that is, the state of knowing.

Immutative aspect is expressed through the f.t. theme. In order to distinguish it from other inflectional categories that are formed by combining the f.t. theme with suffixes, verbs inflected for this aspect are written as having a null (\emptyset) suffix.

nā:k- \emptyset -hon-hō:y- \emptyset -a:-n
 something-3DO-heavy-dl. subj. f.t. theme-immut.-part. I-
 \emptyset -caw- \emptyset -íko-tā:-tō:- \emptyset
 obl. 3DO-grasp pl. DO-3neg. subj.-neg.-incumb.
 f.t. theme-s.r.-immut.
 He can't carry these heavy things.

ipó:y-ak-áli:-s \emptyset -kôn-ck- \emptyset -ǎ:
 win \emptyset theme-1PI subj.-fut.-dec. 3DO-want f.t. theme-
 2S subj.-immut.-interrog.
 Do you think that we will win?

It is perhaps an idiomatic usage of the immutative aspect that occurs in the expression hî:stō:, "watch it, be careful," based on the verb hi:cít, "to see."

D. Completive Versus Incompletive Aspect

There is evidence that there may be a completive-incompletive aspect distinction in Seminole, but even the most perceptive informants have great difficulty trying to explain it. It is certain that each tense (except perhaps the present tense) can be formed with two different kinds of themes. The usage of the different themes does have a semantic role, but apparently the distinction is a slight one. Haas (1940:146-147) says that the l. theme marks the incompletive aspect in all tenses, and it is true in Seminole that the l. theme can be used in any tense. Sometimes English translations using progressive verb forms ("be verbing") are accepted for these l. themes, which means that there is a definite possibility that they do, in fact, express the incompletive aspect. However, in the present tense, verbs in the l. theme form may be translated as referring to completed action as well.

hāti ták-la:tk-ito:m-éy- \emptyset -s
 just now ground-fall over l. theme-s.r.-1S subj.-pres.-dec.
 I just fell.

In short, it is not clear, despite all efforts to investigate this problem,

just what the meaning of the l. theme is. The possibility of an incompletive meaning cannot be ruled out, but neither can it be definitely accepted. In the description of Seminole's tenses to follow, the two formations for each tense will be explained, but the question of the significance of the difference remains open. In order to distinguish the two forms for each tense, the most frequently occurring is labeled A and the less common is labeled B. In most, but not all, cases, the A form is formed the way Haas' completive is, and the B form is like her incompletive form. Because the semantics in Seminole are thus far unclear, however, it is not certain if all the A forms are a semantic class opposed to the B forms, but it was decided that it would be safer to assume that in all tenses the same category would be the more common one than to assume that the categories correspond exactly to Oklahoma Creek.

VI. Secondary Roots

The majority of Seminole verbs are inflected with the suffix -to:m. In affirmative sentences it is positioned immediately before the subject suffix or, if there is none, the tense suffix. In negative sentences it occurs immediately following the negative suffix. A small percentage of the time, the suffix -to:k occurs instead. There is a grammatical difference between these two suffixes, although it is difficult to discover exactly what it is. Probably the most significant difference in usage is that verbs referring to speech almost always have -to:k rather than -to:m. Also, -to:k is rarely found with other verbs, and then only when the subject of the verb is human.

These two suffixes are suspiciously similar to one another phonologically. It seems likely that, historically, they were formed by combining a suffix -t with -o:m, on the one hand, and -o:k, on the other, although in present speech each suffix is an indivisible unit. This analysis suggests a possible explanation of their usage, because both o:m and o:k are related to Seminole verb roots. o:m may very well be derived from a verb o:mít, "to be, do." Although only one

informant accepted this as a word, it is listed in Haas' dictionary (unpub.ms.:20); it is probably a word that is going out of usage except in its suffixal form. o:k, on the other hand, is related to the extant verb o:kít, "to say, mean," so its use with verbs referring to speech can easily be understood. These are the only two verbs that are ever used as verb suffixes in the manner described.

The question remains, however, as to exactly what function these suffixes serve. One informant remarked that they seem to be related to the perfect tenses in English, yet they are used in the present tense when referring to on-going activity. Other clues are that they rarely occur in the future tense, with conjoined verbs given case suffixes, or with the verb "to like." In some cases verbs can have metaphorical meaning only when these suffixes are lacking. For example, li:tkís means "he is running (for office)," while lí:tkitó:s means quite literally "he is running." Another interesting point is that none of the verbs cited in Haas' work on Oklahoma Creek include these suffixes.

The approach being taken here is that these are secondary verb roots whose optional usage as verb suffixes probably relates more to style than to anything else. Certainly there are grammatical constraints affecting them, and there are cases when their presence or absence has semantic import, but the majority of the evidence indicates that their presence in a verb is mostly a matter of individual preference.

VII. Tense

Seminole has a plethora of tenses. There are five different time periods generally distinguished, plus a sixth that seems to be going out of usage.

A. Present Tense

The present is the most unmarked category of tense, having zero phonological representation, other than the usage of a verb in

in its l.theme form. The Øtheme occurs in the negative mode.

tim-áneys-to:m-ák-Ø-s
 recip.IO-help l.theme-s.r.-1Psubj.-pres.-dec.
 We are helping each other.

páfn-in yaka:p-tón-ck-Ø-is
 fast Øtheme-obl. walk l.theme-s.r.-2Ssubj.-pres.-dec.
 You are walking too fast.

B. Future Tense

The future tense is represented by the suffix -ali: (~-ahi:). (In the affirmative mode the final vowel is frequently shortened.) As with other tense suffixes, the future suffix is positioned immediately after the pronominal subject suffix, if there is one, in the affirmative mode. Otherwise, it is placed immediately after the verb theme. In the negative mode it follows the negative suffix. Verbs in the future are generally in the Øtheme form (future A), although rarely an l.theme form (future B) is used. As mentioned in the section on aspect, it is possible that the l.theme form marks the incompletive aspect, but the evidence is slight. Verbs in the future are rarely inflected with a secondary root suffix.

In the future tense the first person singular subject suffix is changed from -ey to -a. This combines with the future suffix to form -a:li:.

taló:fa-n ay-á:-li
 town-obl. go sg.subj. Øtheme-1Ssubj.-fut.
 I will go to town.

The future tense is not used for events to occur within the near future (the present day); instead, a combination of present tense plus intensitive mode expresses this time period. A curious parallel between the future tense and intensitive mode suffixes is that both exhibit alternation between *l* and *h*. Thus, the future tense suffix is sometimes pronounced -ahi:.

án-cokópiléyc-icc-ahi:-s
 1SIO-visit Øtheme-2Ssubj.-fut.-dec.
 You will visit me.

C. Recent Past Tense

The recent past tense focuses on a time period beginning the night before the present time and extending up to a few minutes before the present. The most common method of inflecting a verb for the recent past tense (pastIA) is to use the f.t.theme of the verb and apply the h.theme formation rule to the secondary root. Occasionally, however, a verb without a secondary root will be used. In this case, recent past tense is expressed by using the h.theme of the verb.

Examples are:

hôm̄p-tóhm-ey-∅-s
eat f.t.theme-s.r. h.theme-1Ssubj.-pastI-dec.
I ate (recently).

honán-wa-t kitóci-n ∅-tak-lêys-tóhm-∅-∅-is
man-nom.-subj. cat-obl. 3DO-ground-put sg.DO
f.t.theme-s.r. h.theme-3subj.-pastI-dec.
The man put down the cat (recently).

tó:tkafálka-n ∅-apô:-tóhm-a:ck-∅-ã:
material-obl. 3DO-put pl.DO f.t.theme-s.r. h.theme-
2Psubj.-pastI-interrog.
Did you put down the cloth (recently)?

nóhc-ey-∅-ã:
sleep sg.subj. h.theme-1Ssubj.-pastI-interrog.
Was I sleeping (recently)?

Note that, in the examples above, verbs in the recent past tense are represented as having a ∅ tense suffix, in order to distinguish them from verbs using the same theme formations to express other inflectional concepts.

In the negative mode, a ∅theme rather than a f.t.theme is used in the A form of the recent past tense.

látk-∅-iko-tóhm-∅-is
fall over ∅theme-3neg.subj.-neg.-s.r. h.theme-pastI-dec.
It didn't fall over (recently).

There is a second manner of forming the recent past (pastIB) which has a slightly different meaning and which Haas (1940:147; 1977b:205) claims is the incomplete aspect. The rule for these verbs is to use the l.theme form and add the suffix -êys.

sapa:kl-∅-êys
 stand pl. subj. 1.theme-3subj. -pastI
 They were standing (recently).

In the negative mode the ∅theme is used instead.

sapákl-∅-ik-êys
 stand pl. subj. ∅theme-3neg. subj. -neg. -pastI
 They weren't standing (recently).

Few examples of this form of the recent past tense occur in the data, so the rules of its formation and usage are not clear.

D. Middle Past Tense

The middle past tense category centers on the time period extending from several months before the present up through the day before the present. Like the recent past tense, its A form is expressed by the f.t.theme in the affirmative mode. (Sometimes the secondary root also receives falling tone.) In the negative mode the ∅theme is used. The middle past tense is also expressed by the suffix -aŋk in all cases. This suffix occurs immediately prior to the declarative or interrogative suffix which concludes the word. (If neither occurs, it is in word-final position.)

ac-apî:s-tó:m-aŋk-s
 1SDO-dream f.t.theme-s.r. -pastII-dec.
 I was dreaming.

icó ∅-ilí:c-ick-iko-tó:m-aŋk-s
 deer 3DO-kill sg.DO ∅theme-2S neg. subj. -neg. -s.r. -
 pastII-dec.
 You didn't kill any deer.

∅-ná:fk-a:ck-áŋk-ã:
 3DO-hit f.t.theme-2Psubj. -pastII-interrog.
 Did you (pl.) hit him?

Just as there is a second method for forming the recent past tense, so too is there a second method for forming the middle past tense. The meaning difference involved is the same in both tenses, although exactly what it is is not certain. The pastIIB form involves using the l.theme rather than the f.t.theme in the affirmative mode.

ká:k-iy-áŋk-s
 sit dl. subj. 1.theme-1PEsubj. -pastII-dec.
 We were sitting.

E. Distant Past Tense

The distant past refers to the time period more past than the middle past. Thus, it can cover anything ranging from several months ago to many years ago. The A form of the distant past consists of the l. theme of the verb. (It is not clear what theme is used in the negative mode.) To this theme is added the tense suffix -imat (∞-mat following a first person subject suffix). The distant past suffix combines with the declarative suffix to form -imac.

tí-ki:l-á:ck-imát-ĩ:
 recip.DO-learn l. theme- 2Psubj. - pastIII- interrog.
 Did you know each other?

∅-ha:-to:m-ák-mac
 3DO-make l. theme- s.r. - IPIsubj. - pastIII dec.
 We made it.

The second method of forming the distant past tense (pastIIIB) is to use the f. t. theme of the verb. (Since so few examples occur in the data, it is not certain if this is true for all modes or not.) Although Haas (1940:147) indicates that the l. theme signals the incompletive aspect in this tense, what slight evidence there is for Seminole indicates that it is the f. t. theme that signals the incompletive aspect (if that is what it is in fact).

F. Remote Past Tense

Although Haas (1940:147) reports a fourth past tense in Creek, no examples of it were ever volunteered in Seminole. However, upon questioning, one informant remembered hearing such forms from older speakers but said she would not use them herself because they seemed to be going out of style. An example is:

föll-to:m-iy-ántas-∅
 be around pl. subj. r. t. theme- s.r. - IPEsubj. - pastIV- cont.
 We were around that area (long ago).

G. Aorist

It is possible to use a different kind of construction to indicate the past tense. The activity referred to is put in participial form (usually the vowel is shortened to form the suffix -at) and

followed by the verb *teys* or *teystó:s*. Although *teys* is here called a verb, there is apparently no verb *teysít* which occurs in any other kind of construction. Syntactically, however, it is functioning as a verb. When the past tense is expressed in this manner, distinction between varied past tenses is apparently not made, since sentences may combine this past tense with any of the other past tenses. This is also the form of the past tense that is used in the conditional mode. Following are a few examples of its use.

\emptyset -kíll-i:-ko-tá:t teys-tó:- \emptyset
 3DO-learn \emptyset theme-1PEneg. subj. -neg. -part. aorist-
 s. r. - 3subj.
 We didn't know it.

\emptyset -cim-ô:c- \emptyset -at teys- \emptyset -â:t
 3DO-2IO-have f. t. theme-immut. -part. I aorist-3subj. -cond.
 if you had had it

H. Quotative-Distant Past

The suffix *-ati:* is a kind of evidential suffix indicating that the speaker did not witness, but has heard about, the activity that the sentence refers to. Almost all of the time it also refers to the fact that the activity took place in the distant past. Not surprisingly, this suffix occurs frequently in Seminole folk lore.

\emptyset -hi:s-tó:m- \emptyset -atí:-s
 3DO-see 1. theme-s. r. - 3subj. -quot. -dec.
 He saw it (long ago, as reported).

VIII. Mode

A. Declarative Mode

The declarative mode is formed by the word-final suffix *-is* (\sim -s when following a first person subject suffix or in the middle past tense and also according to the rule of i Deletion). The declarative is the unmarked category compared to the interrogative, and it can optionally be omitted from a verb.

\emptyset -lá:h-tóhm-ey- \emptyset -s
 3DO-shoot f. t. theme-s. r. h. theme-1Ssubj. -pastI-dec.
 I shot it (recently).

atótk-ick-ali:-s
 work Øtheme-2Ssubj.-fut.-dec.
 You will work.

B. Interrogative Mode

The interrogative mode is formed in the same manner regardless of whether the sentence is a yes/no question or one that questions only a part of the sentence (a so-called WH question in English). It is expressed by a word-final nasal vowel added to the verb. If a t immediately precedes it, that vowel is ʔ, unless the t is the verbalizing suffix. In all other environments the interrogative suffix is -ã:. On occasion these suffixes are converted into the corresponding short vowels plus the consonant h (-ih and -ah).

noc-êys-tóhm-Ø-Ø-ã:
 sleep-pl. subj. f.t. theme-s.r. h. theme-3subj.-pastI-interrog.
 Were they sleeping (recently)?

acóli: pílo hámk-in Ø-há:y-Ø-ali:-tʔ:
 man canoe one Øtheme-obl. 3DO-make Øtheme-3subj.-
 fut.-interrog.
 Will the men build another canoe?

Most of Seminole's interrogative pronouns are based on the morpheme ísta, which is apparently quite similar to the "wh" combination of the English interrogative pronouns. If a noun is questioned, in most cases the interrogative pronoun is ísta; this corresponds to the concepts of "which one" and "where" in English usage. ísta may precede or follow the noun that it questions, and it is inflected for case according to the function of that noun in the sentence. It is also possible for ísta to function alone as a pronoun meaning "which one."

ífa ísta-n ci-yá:c-Ø-ã:
 dog WH-obl. 2DO-want l. theme-pres.-interrog.
 Which dog do you want?

ísta-n no:mpí:li Ø-nis-â:n-ay-êys-í:
 WH-obl. car 3DO-buy-intent.-1Ssubj.-pastI-part.II
 Where is the car I was supposed to buy?

If an item is totally unknown, however, the pronoun nã:ki, "something, anything," is used to question it.

nâ:ki-n ci-yá:c-Ø-ǎ:
 something-obl. 2DO-want l.theme-pres.-interrog.
 What do you want?

If the noun questioned refers to a person, ísta is converted into the pronoun istêy^{ma}, "who."

istêy^{ma}-t ic-í-hic-éyh^c-Ø-Ø-ǎ:
 who-subj. 2DO-away from-see-caus. h.theme-3subj.-
 pastI-interrog.
 Who was watching you (recently)?

If the location of an activity is questioned, the pronoun used is ístamêy^(ma) or, occasionally, ístamâ:hi. (Note, however, that the location of an object is usually questioned by ísta instead.) ístamêy combines the interrogative ísta with the abbreviated form of the postposition mēyyiwá, "place." The derivation of ístamâ:hi is unclear.

ista-mêy^{ma}-n nâ:k-ahóc-ka s-Ø-hî:s-tóhm-ick-Ø-ǎ:
 WH-place-?-obl. something-plant-ger. instr.-3DO-
 see f.t.theme-s.r. h.theme-2Ssubj.-pastI-interrog.
 Where did you find that plant (recently)?

The nature of an activity is questioned by isto:, or iston. Optionally the prefix nâ:k- is added. This pronoun would be translated into English as "how," "what," and "why," according to its particular usage. Rarely, this pronoun is used to question a noun instead of ísta.

nâ:kíston Ø-môn-Ø-t wâ:kk-iton-ck-Ø-ǎ:
 why 3DO-do f.t.theme-immut.-subj. lie sg. subj.
 f.t.theme-s.r.-2Ssubj.-immut.-interrog.
 Why are you lying down like that?

To question time, the suffix -⁶fa, "at the time of," is added to isto:, with the o: in -⁶fa being shortened.

st⁶:w-ofa-n alák-an-tón-ck-Ø-a:t
 WH-time-obl. arrive sg. subj.-intent.-s.r.-2Ssubj.-pres.-
 Ø-im-ónay-ás
 part.I 3DO-3IO-tell Øtheme-subjunc. 1,2sg. subj.
 Tell him when you will arrive.

Finally, quantity is questioned by an unrelated pronoun, nac⁶:w, which follows the questioned noun.

cilákko nacõ:w-in Ø-õ:s-tón-ck-Ø-ã:
 horse how many-obl. 3DO-have f.t.theme-s.r.-
 2Ssubj.-immut.-interrog.
 How many horses do you have?

C. Affirmative Mode

The presence of the affirmative mode has no overt expression other than the use of the affirmative subject suffixes and the choice of the appropriate rule of theme formation, according to tense and aspect. Also, the absence of the negative suffix and the order of the suffixes that do occur indicate that the sentence is in the affirmative (see immediately below).

D. Negative Mode

Inflection for the negative mode involves a variety of changes in the verb. First, the negative suffix -iko (~-ko following a first person subject suffix) is added. Second, the negative subject suffixes are added, if the verb is active. Third, the order of verbal suffixes is changed. In the affirmative mode the order is: s.r.-active subj.-tense-.... In the negative mode, however, the order is: neg.active subj.-neg.-s.r.-tense-.... Finally, the presence of the negative mode affects the selection of the theme formation rule, according to the tense and aspect of the verb.

hómp-a-ko-tóhm-Ø-is
 eat Øtheme-1Sneg. subj.-neg.-s.r. h.theme-pastI-dec.
 I didn't eat (recently).

Ø-ahópak-í:-ko-tí:-mac
 3DO-push Øtheme-1PEneg. subj.-neg.-s.r.-pastIII dec.
 We didn't push him (long ago).

When the negative suffix is followed immediately by the declarative suffix, the resultant sequence, -kos, may be abbreviated to -ks.

Ø-kõ:w-á-k-Ø-s (=kõ:wakós)
 3DO-want Øtheme-1Sneg. subj.-neg.-pres.-dec.
 I don't want it.

When the negative suffix is followed by a verbal suffix beginning with a vowel, rules apply which merge the two vowels. Thus,

in the future tense, -iko is followed by -ali:. Together they form -ika:li:. On the other hand, if the negative suffix is immediately followed by the vowel i:, the i: is deleted and the o is lengthened, resulting in -iko:.

fá:y-i:s-k-á:li:-s
 hunt Øtheme-1Plsubj.-neg.-fut.-dec.
 We will not hunt.

opónay-á-ko:-mōŋk-in
 speak sg. subj. Øtheme-1Sneg. subj.-neg.-still-obl.
 before I spoke

E. Subjunctive Mode

The subjunctive mode is marked by the absence of pronominal subject affixes, the absence of tense markings, the use of the Øtheme, and the use of special subjunctive suffixes. First and second person singular subjects take the suffix -as. Third person singular and plural plus first person plural take the suffix -ikas. And second person plural takes the suffix -aks. The subjunctive is frequently used to express a command.

Ø-a-kill-éyc-as
 3DO-away from-learn-caus.Øtheme-subjunc.1,2sg. subj.
 Think about it.

ím-anéyc-aks
 3IO-help Øtheme-subjunc.2pl. subj.
 Help them.

la:-fá:y-ikas Ø-kōn-tō:-Ø-Ø
 dis.II-hunt Øtheme-subjunc.3subj., 1pl. subj. 3DO-
 want f.t. theme-s.r.-3subj.-immut.
 He wants him to go hunting.

The subjunctive changes considerably in the negative mode. Following the verb stem is the negative suffix, next comes the secondary root -to:m, and finally there is the appropriate subjunctive suffix. The final two syllables -to:mas are often contracted as -tã: or -ta.

topá Ø-oh-ká:y-iko-to:m-as
 table 3DO-on-put dl.DO Øtheme-neg.-s.r.-
 subjunc.1,2sg. subj.
 Don't put them on the table.

í:-nokk-éyc-iko-tǎ:
 refl. DO-hurt-caus. Øtheme-neg.-s.r. subjunc. 1,2sg. subj.
 Don' t hurt yourself.

Even more often, a shortened form is used which does not distinguish between different subjects.

ay-íko-t
 go sg. subj. Øtheme-neg.-neg. subjunc.
 Don' t go.

F. Imperative Mode

An imperative mode is distinguished from the subjunctive; commands expressed in this manner convey a greater sense of urgency, indicating that the command should be obeyed immediately. The h. theme of the verb is combined with a singular, -as, or plural, -aks, suffix in order to form the imperative.

cokó Ø-onápa-n híhc-as
 house 3DO-above-obl. look h. theme-imp. sg. subj.
 Look above the house.

G. Intentive Mode

The intentive mode indicates that the subject of a sentence intends to perform a certain action. It may combine with any tense except for the future. It is, in fact, used as a kind of immediate future, since it combines with the present tense to refer to activities that will occur in the next few minutes or hours.

The intentive mode is represented by the suffix -an. In the affirmative mode, if this syllable receives tone, falling tone is required. This suffix is considered to constitute part of a verb's theme for two reasons, even though normal rules of theme formation often do not apply to it. First, this suffix does behave normally in a r.t. theme; if it is the final syllable in the verb theme the vowel is lengthened and receives rising tone. With other rules of formation it does not behave normally, but it should still be considered as part of the theme because it usually also blocks the normal rules from applying anywhere else in the verb either. For example, in the recent past in the affirmative mode the verb should be in f.t. theme form. In the

intensive mode, however, no syllable in the verb undergoes this rule. The intensive suffix does show vowel lengthening quite frequently, and this may constitute an idiosyncratic fashion in which some of the theme formation rules apply to it, but the significance of this vowel lengthening is still unclear.

A variant form of the intensive suffix is -aɫan. It likewise has a lengthened vowel on certain occasions, but there are no examples of its receiving falling tone in the data. Yet another alternate form of the suffix is -ahan. Some speakers believe that these two variants are old-fashioned forms of the suffix.

Following are a few examples of verbs in the intensive mode.

tokóɫk-an-to:m-á:ck-∅-is
run dl. subj. -intent. -s.r. -2Psubj. -pres. -dec.
You two are going to run.

∅-nis-ân-tõ:hw-∅-∅-is
3DO-buy-intent. -s.r. h. theme-3subj. -pastI-dec.
He was going to buy them.

s-∅-ís-aɫan-to:m-éy-∅-s
instr. -3DO-grasp sg. DO-intent. -s.r. -1Ssubj. -pres. -dec.
I'm going to pick it up (with something).

H. Conditional Mode

The conditional mode is expressed by the suffix -â:t following all other modal, tense, and subject suffixes. The constructions to which it is attached show considerable diversity. If the sentence is in the past, this is usually expressed by using the aorist form of the verb in the hypothetical clause and a verb with the quotative suffix in the second clause. The suffixes added to indicate the conditional may be -â:t, -nâ:t, -to:nâ:t, or -no:mâ:t. Obviously all four of these suffixes are related to one another, and there does not appear to be any significant difference among them.

hómp-aɫá:n-ak-áti:-s	íco	∅-ilíhc-icc-∅-át
eat-intent. -1P1subj. -quot. -dec.	deer	3DO-kill sg. DO
		teys-∅-â:t
		h. theme-2Ssubj. -pastI-part. I aorist-3subj. -cond.
We would have eaten if you had killed the deer.		

Similar variations occur when referring to hypothetical present and future activity. In such sentences, the consequent clause receives inflection for the present or future tense.

tiní:tk-an-∅-to:nâ:t tak-léyk-a:n-éy-∅-s
thunder-intent.-3subj.-cond. ground-sit sg.subj.-
intent.-1Ssubj.-pres.-dec.

If it's going to thunder, I'm going to stay.

∅-mí:c-ey-nâ:t an-nókk-ali:-s
3DO-do ∅theme-1Ssubj.-cond. 1SIO-hurt ∅theme-fut.-dec.
If I do that, I will be hurt.

I. Potential Mode

This mode indicates that there is potential for something to happen. It includes concepts of ability, intention, and permission, and is variously translated as "can," "may," and "will." In the affirmative mode it is expressed by the suffix -i: added to the l.theme.

cim-áha:y-ak-áy-i:-s
2IO-teach l.theme-2PIO-1Ssubj.-pot.-dec.
I can, will teach you.

∅-ták-ca:w-ak-í:-tĩ:
3DO-ground-grasp pl.DO l.theme-1PIsubj.-pot.-interrog.
Can we lift them?

In the negative mode, the potential mode is expressed by the h.theme of the verb, along with the appropriate negative markers. The potential suffix becomes a null suffix.

ahóhł-a-ko-∅-s
sew h.theme-1Sneg.subj.-neg.-pot.-dec.
I can't sew.

móhw-∅-iko-∅-s
do h.theme-3neg.subj.-neg.-pot.-dec.
It can't, will never happen.

J. Incumbent Mode

This category of mode expresses the idea conveyed by the words "ought" and "should" (or sometimes "can") in English. It is expressed by the suffix -i:ta:. (The suffix becomes -ta: when following a first person subject suffix.) Verbs in this mode are

frequently put in the immutative aspect.

áklop-ey-tā:-tṓ:-∅-s
 bathe- 1Ssubj. -incumb. f.t. theme-s.r. -immut. -dec.
 I need to take a bath.

ci-yá:c-iko:-tā:-tṓ:-∅
 2DO-want-neg. -incumb. f.t. theme-s.r. -immut.
 You don't need it.

IX. Voice

A. Middle Voice

The term middle voice when applied to Seminole refers to verbs which indicate that the subject is affected by its own action. Stative verbs are frequently inflected for the middle voice; in this case, of course, the subject is not performing any action, but middle voice is appropriate since the subject is affected by the state described and there is no other agent involved. With active verbs the middle voice indicates that the subject is not only performing the action, but he is also benefiting from it (or at least being affected by it). The middle voice is expressed by the suffix -ip (optionally -it/___t). This suffix is part of the verb theme, and rules of theme formation affect it if it is the last syllable of that theme.

hómp-ip-â:n-éy-∅-s
 eat-m.v. -intent. -1Ssubj. -pres. -dec.
 I am going to eat.

ci-pasátk-ak-íp-ahi
 2DO-die pl. subj. -2PDO-m.v. ∅theme-fut.
 You (pl.) will die.

l-ókkopán-ip-ás
 dis. III-play-m.v. ∅theme-subjunc. 1,2 sg. subj.
 Go play.

∅-is-i:p-tṓ:-∅-∅-s
 3DO-grasp sg. DO-m.v. I. theme-s.r. -3subj. -pres. -dec.
 He is taking it for himself.

litk-íp-tó:m-∅-ank-s
 run sg. subj. -m.v. f.t. theme-s.r. -3subj. -pastII-dec.
 He ran away (for example, from danger).

(Compare litkitánk, "he ran.")

B. Passive Voice

In Seminole's passive voice it is ungrammatical to include the agent of the action in the sentence at all. The passive suffix -ho: is inserted before the tense suffix, and the recipient of the action is expressed by the appropriate direct object prefix. If it is also expressed by a noun phrase, the oblique case is used.

ací ø-ahô:s-tó:-ho:y-ark
 corn 3DO-plant f.t.theme-s.r.-pass.-pastII
 The corn was planted.

bĩ:l-ki-n ø-ná:fk-itó:-ho:-ø-s
 Bill-Eng.-obl. 3DO-hit l.theme-s.r.-pass.-pres.-dec.
 Bill is being hit.

ci-hi:s-tó:-ho:y-imác
 2DO-see l.theme-s.r.-pass.-pastIII dec.
 You were seen (long ago).

X. Summary of Verb Inflection

The preceding list of verbal inflectional categories in Seminole, although lengthy, is by no means exhaustive. For example, there are a variety of suffixes that refer to frequency of action, the possibility that an event will occur, etc. It would require several years of study and more space than is available here to deal adequately with the entire list of Seminole's categories of verbal inflection. However, the list above does cover a large number of categories with high frequency of occurrence. Because a large number of categories may combine in a verb, and because many categories are expressed by a combination of markers, it is helpful to summarize the steps involved in inflecting a verb correctly.

The process of verb inflection begins by adding all thematic inflectional categories to the verb stem. Derivational affixes do not occur as a block enveloping the verb root before thematic and other inflectional affixes are added; the different kinds of affixes are interspersed among each other. Thus, the slot for the directional prefixes (derivational) precedes all inflectional prefixes, while the slot for the causative or detransitivizing suffixes (derivational) follows

the slot for number affixes (inflectional).

The order for morphemes in the verb theme is:

(dir.)(loc.)verb root $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{(dl.)} \\ \text{(pl.)} \end{array} \right\} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{(caus.)} \\ \text{(detrans.)} \end{array} \right\} \text{(distr.)(m.v.)(intent.)(incumb.)}$

The only thematic category never expressed by an affix is the iterative aspect. Iterative reduplication applies to the verb root. Also, number is occasionally expressed by suppletion rather than suffixation. If number is expressed through suffixation, the causative is usually formed by taking the plural form and adding the causative suffix. The resultant verb, however, does not refer to plural number.

haká:hiceycít, "to cause to cry (any number DO or subj.)"; haká:hi:cít, "to cry (pl. subj.)"

Following are some examples of verbs illustrating the order of the thematic suffixes.

yahéyk-ak-ân-tō:-∅-∅
sing-distr.-intent.-s.r.-3subj.-pres.
They're going to sing.

píŋkal-í:c-a:k-ít
frightened-caus.-distr. l.theme-inf.I
to frighten (pl. subj.)

pi-hotós-ak-íp-ali-s
IPDO-tired-distr.-m.v. ∅theme-fut.-dec.
We will be tired.

The final syllable of a verb theme is affected by the rules of theme formation according to the requirements of the non-thematic inflectional categories that are added next. Most of the non-thematic categories are expressed by suffixes and the choice of theme formation rule. Prefixes are used, however, for the instrumental, direct object, and indirect object (including those verbs which express their subjects with pronominal prefixes). The inflectional prefixes are positioned between the slots for derivational prefixes as follows:

dir.-instr.-DO-IO-loc.

Several prefixes may occur together in a word, although there appear to be rather rigid constraints regarding direct-indirect object combinations, as explained in the section on verb inflection for pronouns. The

following sentences illustrate verb prefix order.

ca-tím-ponâ:-tõ:-∅-∅-s
 1SDO-recip.IO-talk f.t.theme-s.r.-3subj.-immut.-dec.
 He talked to me.

a:-p-óh-a:t-to:m-∅-imác
 dis.I-1PDO-on-come sg.subj. l.theme-s.r.-3subj.-
 pastIII dec.
 He came toward us (long ago).

acó:pa s-i:-ká:s-iko-ta
 nail instr.-refl.DO-scrape ∅theme-neg.-s.r.
 subjunc.1,2sg.subj.
 Don't scratch yourself with that nail.

a:-s-áht-as
 dis.I-instr.-come sg.subj. h.theme-imp.sg.subj.
 Bring it here.

Following is a chart outlining the various uses of the five kinds of verb themes. Omitted from consideration are uses in clause chains, which will be discussed in the chapter on syntax. The complexity of the chart is a reflection of the fact that most non-thematic inflectional categories have to be taken into consideration in the selection of a rule of theme formation; the only categories which are irrelevant are declarative mode, interrogative mode, passive voice, active subject, and those categories expressed by prefixes.

Theme ¹	Uses
∅theme	subjunc. } fut.A } unless intens. or cont. inf. II } all neg. (unless intens., cont., pot., pastIB, immut.) ²

1. Because themes ending in the intensive mode suffix do not follow normal rules in most cases, this chart is not designed to apply to them. Example sentences throughout this grammar which are in this mode are not specified as to type of theme.

2. There are not enough examples of pastIIB neg. and pastIIIA neg. in the data to determine which theme they require.

Theme	Uses
l.theme	inf. I fut. B affirm. pres. affirm. pastIIB affirm. pastIIIA affirm. pastIB (all modes) pot. affirm. cond. affirm. } unless intens. or cont.
f.t.theme	pastIA affirm. (if s.r. is present and takes h.theme formation) pastIIA affirm. pastIIIB affirm. immut. (all modes) } unless intens. or cont.
r.t.theme	all intens. all cont.
h.theme	imp. pastIA affirm. (if no s.r.) pot. neg. } unless intens. or cont.

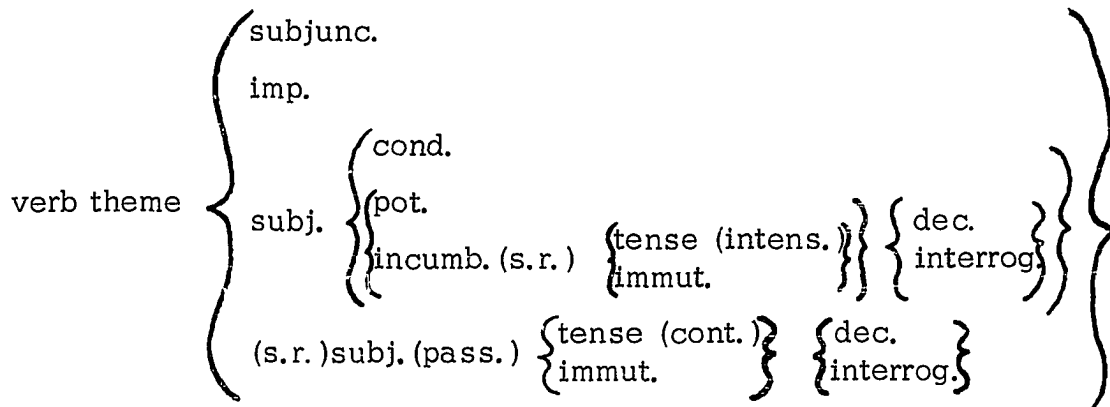
Because some inflectional categories are expressed entirely by the kind of theme without any distinguishing suffixes, the tone and vowel length differences involved sometimes distinguish minimal pairs. For example:

\emptyset -f̄:s-tō̄:- \emptyset - \emptyset -s
 3DO-grasp sg.DO f.t.theme- s.r. - 3subj. - immut. - dec.
 He is carrying it.

\emptyset -i:s-tō̄:- \emptyset - \emptyset -s
 3DO-grasp sg.DO l.theme- s.r. - 3subj. - pres. - dec.
 He just picked it up.

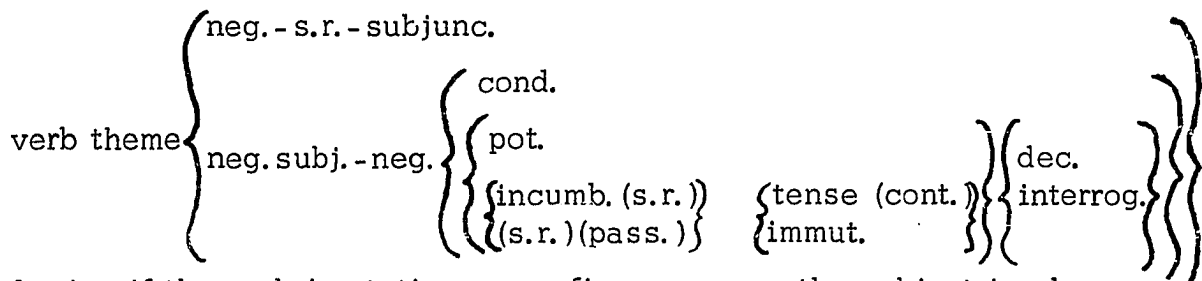
The selection of non-thematic categories not only determines the choice of a rule of theme formation, but it also calls for certain suffixes in a certain order. Non-thematic suffixes follow all thematic suffixes, with the exception of the incumbent suffix, -ita:. In the formulas below, the slot for the verb theme should be understood to include all thematic categories except for the incumbent mode. If

a verb is active and in the affirmative mode, the suffix possibilities are as follows.



A stative verb in the affirmative mode is identical except for the use of a pronominal prefix instead of suffix to express the subject. Also, instead of the continuative aspect, the intensive usually occurs, and the comparative suffix which partially signifies this aspect immediately follows the verb theme.

For active verbs in the negative mode, the verb is formed as follows.



Again, if the verb is stative, a prefix expresses the subject in place of the negative subject suffix.

A problem that this list does not deal with exhaustively is what restrictions there may be on combinations of grammatical categories. For example, the passive voice does not occur if the theme already has inflection for middle voice. For the most part, phonological rules apply after all affixes have been added and before theme formation rules have applied, but there is at least one phonological rule that applies after theme formation rules, as explained in the chapter on phonology.

POSTPOSITIONS

All but one of Seminole's postpositions refer to the location of an object or person. Many concepts of location are left without explicit expression in this language, such that context must be relied upon for clarification of the relationship between a noun of location and the verb in a sentence. This manner of expressing location was discussed under noun inflection for the oblique case. There are, however, a few relationships of location which can be specified through postpositional phrases. The Seminole postpositions are:

onápa, "above"
 mēyyiwá, "place" (abbreviated often to mēy)
 hóma, "in front of"
 yópa, "in back of, behind"
 ilíca, "under"
 ó:fa, "inside of"
 afó:pki, "by, next to"
 palánki, "on the other side of"
 aláhka, "for, in order"

In order to construct a postpositional phrase, the postposition is inflected by the direct object prefix that indicates the person and number of its object. Also, it is optionally inflected for the oblique case. If there is a noun that is the object of the postposition, it is left without case inflection and is placed immediately before the postposition. The following sentences and phrase illustrate the usage of postpositions.

cokó Ø-ó:fa-n híhc-as
 house 3DO-inside of-obl. look h. theme-imp. sg. subj.
 Look inside the house.

skû:l-ki Ø-mēyyiwá-n i:fóhík-ey-t
 school-Eng. 3DO-place-obl. return sg. subj. h. theme-
 1Ssubj. - subj.

I return to school. . . .

íc-ifó:pki-n léyk-a:n-éy-Ø
 2DO-next to-obl. sit sg. subj. - intent. - 1Ssubj. - pres.
 I am going to sit beside you.

níni Ø-paláhki
 road 3DO-on the other side of
 on the other side of the road

aláhka is the only postposition that expresses a relationship other than location. It is difficult to translate its exact meaning into English. Sometimes it is used to show that an action is performed on behalf of someone, but it may also indicate the purpose of an action, as in the following sentence.

hónna Ø-mocás-Ø-a:t hopán-ka
 dress 3DO-new Øtheme-pres.-part. I dance-ger.
 Ø-aláhka-n Ø-há:y-as
 3DO-for-obl. 3DO-make Øtheme-subjunc. 1,2 sg. subj.
 Make a new dress for the dance.

The meanings of some of these postpositions may be slightly modified by combining with the verbal directional prefix a:-. For example, á:cafó:pki means "near me," while ácafó:pki means "next to me." The prefix a:- indicates proximity, but when it combines with a postposition indicating very close proximity it has the effect of increasing the distance referred to.

Postpositional phrases have the same structure as genitive noun phrases where the noun takes inalienable possessive prefixes. As with other locative noun phrases, the oblique case is called for. All that distinguishes postpositions from inalienable nouns is the fact that some can take the directional prefix a:-, and at least one may take the locative prefix oh-. Their behavior is thus somewhat anomalous for nouns, so they are considered a distinct root class.

ADVERB-EQUIVALENTS

There are no true adverbs in Seminole. Instead, nouns, pronouns, and verbs fulfill semantic functions that would be fulfilled by adverbs in languages such as English. This chapter will discuss the constructions that Seminole uses to deal with concepts of place, manner, and time, even though adverbs do not express them.

I. Place

Previous chapters have discussed some of the ways in which location may be expressed in a Seminole sentence. Besides derivational verb prefixes and postpositional phrases, however, there are several other means by which to specify location. Perhaps the most common way is simply to insert the noun that refers to that location. The noun is treated as an object of the verb, optionally taking the oblique case ending.

taló:fa-n ay-ân-to:m-éy-Ø-s
 town-obl. go sg.subj.-intent.-s.r.-1Ssubj.-pres.-dec.
 I am going to town.

cokó-n la:-s-Ø-léyc-as
 house-obl. dis.II-instr.-3DO-place sg.DO Øtheme-
 subjunc.1,2sg.subj.
 Put it in the house.

Place may also be expressed, however, by the demonstrative pronouns, which express how far away from the speech event something is. These demonstratives have rather varied use. In the discussion of pronouns it was explained that ma can be used as a third person pronoun, meaning "that one." It is more common, however, for the demonstratives to be used adverbally. In their most simple usage,

they occur as words by themselves, with optional oblique case inflection, to indicate the location of the action of the sentence or one of the objects or people referred to by a noun in the sentence. When specifying the location of a person or thing they immediately precede the noun in question. Although they are usually translated as adverbs, they are classified as pronouns because nouns frequently express location and because *ma* is frequently used as a personal pronoun.

Through varied processes of word formation, the demonstratives show stylistic variations that do not appear to make important meaning distinctions. Thus, *híya* and *ma* may form *ya:tá:n* and *ma:tá:n*, meaning "this place" and "that place," respectively. Also, *-ma*, a morpheme whose meaning is not clear, is added to *ya* and *mêy* (the abbreviated postposition *mêyyiwá*, "place") to form *yáma*, "here," and *mêyma*, "there." The demonstrative pronouns also serve as objects of postpositions indicating location.

ya:tá:n tráib-ki-n m-áto:tk-ít
 here tribe-Eng.-obl. 3IO-work l.theme-subj.
a:l-t-éy-mac
 be around sg.subj. l.theme-s.r.-lSsubj.-pastIII dec.
 Right here, I started working with the tribe.

yá-ma-n s-át-as
 here-?-obl. instr.-come sg.subj. Øtheme-subjunc.1,2sg.
 subj.
 Bring it here.

ya Ø-mêyyiwá-n a:-p-óh-mill-tó:-Ø-Ø
 this one 3DO-place-obl. dis.I-IPDO-on-point l.theme-
 s.r.-3subj.-pres.
 He's pointing toward us.

II. Manner

Concepts of manner may be expressed by using the correct stative verb root as an object of the verb. It is inflected for the oblique case.

hił-íko-n Ø-aho:l-tón-ck-Ø-is
 good Øtheme-neg.-obl. 3DO-sew l.theme-s.r.-
 2Ssubj.-pres.-dec.
 You aren't sewing well.

yíkc-in atótk-a:-li:-s
 strong Øtheme-obl. work Øtheme-1Ssubj.-fut.-dec.
 I will work hard.

láp-k-in ci-cápk-i:t-tó:-Ø
 quick Øtheme-obl. 2DO-long-m.v. l.theme-s.r.-pres.
 You're growing fast.

III. Time

One way in which time is expressed is with a noun that refers to a time of day, a part of the year, etc. As with other nouns used adverbially, the presence of the oblique case suffix is optional. Examples of such nouns which may be used as adverbs of time are: apáksi, "tomorrow," háthayátki, "morning," and yomó:cki, "night." These may be inflected (as if they were verbs) to modify their time reference. For example, -eysi adds the meaning "this past," and is probably related to the recent past tense suffix -éys. Also -aŋk, obviously the middle past tense suffix, adds the meaning of "past" for times further in the past. Thus, háthayátkeysí, "this morning," is formed from háthayátki, "morning," and páksaŋkí:, "yesterday," is formed from apáksi, "tomorrow." Events may also be dated using phrases that combine numbers with these nouns. Thus, "last year" is miski: hámk-aŋkí:, literally "summer one ago."

There are also words that refer to the passage of time rather than a particular unit of time. For example, háti means "just now," ací:wí means "a long time" (and is made into a negative to refer to a short time), and hayô:wa:t and related words mean "now." Their treatment is like that of embedded verbs expressing manner, and they may be classified as a special class of verbs that never occur as main verbs. hayô:wa:t, however, is a participle.

ací:w-in lêyk-éy-Ø-s
 long Øtheme-obl. sit sg.subj. f.t.theme-1Ssubj.-immut.-dec.
 I have been sitting a long time.

hayō:wa:t ay-í:p-ala:n-éy-ø-s
 now go sg. subj. - m. v. - intent. - 1Ssubj. - pres. - dec.
 I am going now.

IV. Other Adverbial Concepts

Other adverbial concepts are not expressed by independent words in Seminole. Notions of such things as, for example, causality and reason are expressed by verbal suffixes, mentioned briefly in the section on clause chains.

«

SEMINOLE SYNTAX

The preceding discussion of Seminole's inflectional categories contains a great deal of syntactic information. This scattered information is brought together in this chapter, along with some new facts, to provide a more unified description of the constituents of a Seminole sentence.

I. Simple Sentences

The minimal sentence in Seminole (other than an interjection) consists of a fully inflected verb. Because a verb is inflected for at least its pronominal subject, it constitutes a complete sentence. For example:

cín-cokópiléyc-a:-li-s
 2IO-visit Øtheme-1Ssubj.-fut.-dec.
 I will visit you.

Optionally, one may expand such a minimal sentence by adding noun phrases that specify further the subject, direct object, indirect object, and/or instrumental object. Possible syntactic functions for noun phrases in a sentence depend on whether the verb is transitive or intransitive, as well as what categories of inflection are present. Thus, direct and indirect objects are possible only with transitive verbs, while an instrumental object is possible only when the verb has received the instrumental prefix. All noun phrases added to a sentence must precede the verb, and if there is a noun phrase functioning as the subject of the sentence it precedes any other noun phrase.

The internal structure of a noun phrase can vary considerably.

The possibilities are:

1. single noun
2. single pronoun
3. noun plus genitive
4. noun plus independent possessive pronoun
5. noun plus participial modifier
6. participle
7. noun plus verbal modifier
8. compound noun phrase
9. gerund
10. infinitive

1. and 2. Obviously, the simplest noun phrases are those in which a noun or pronoun receives appropriate inflection.

pókko áni-n Ø-án-call-í:c-as
 ball 1S-obl. 3DO-1SIO-roll-caus. Øtheme-subjunc. 1,2sg.
 subj.

Roll the ball toward me.

3. Only slightly more complicated are noun phrases that include modifiers. A modifier always follows the noun that it modifies except in a genitive construction or a noun phrase with a demonstrative. To form a genitive noun phrase, the possessed noun receives the appropriate possessive prefix, and the possessor is optionally specified by a noun or pronoun that precedes it. The following sentence illustrates such a noun phrase.

jî:m-ki in-cilákko páfn-in
 Jim-Eng. 3al.poss.-horse fast Øtheme-obl.
 li:tk-Ø-í:-tĩ:
 run sg.subj. 1.theme-3subj.-pot.-interrog.
 Can Jim's horse run fast?

4. Noun phrases involving the independent possessive pronouns are similar to genitive constructions, except that the possessive pronoun follows the possessed noun, and the possessed noun need not be inflected for possession.

s-lá:f-ka ca-nâ:ki Ø-hopô:-tõ:hw-ey-Ø
 instr.-cut-ger. 1Sinal.poss.-something 3DO-look for
 f.t.theme-s.r. h.theme-1Ssubj.-pastI
 I was looking for my knife.

5. Another kind of modifier is a participle.

tó:tkafálka Ø-taskõ:c-os-Ø-a:-n
 material 3DO-thin r.t. theme-comp.-intens.-part. I-obl.
 cá-hic-éyc-as
 1SDO-see-caus. Øtheme-subjunc. 1,2 sg. subj.
 Show me the really thin material.

6. If there is no patient noun in the embedded sentence from which a participle derives, the noun phrase will consist of a single participle, which functions as a noun rather than a noun modifier.

Ø-lákk-Ø-a:-n Ø-is-ás
 3DO-big Øtheme-pres.-part. I-obl. 3DO-grasp sg. DO
 Øtheme-subjunc. 1,2 sg. subj.
 Take the big one.

7. If the embedded sentence consists of a subject noun plus a stative verb, the verb need not be converted into a participle; it may instead remain in verbal form, although it optionally takes the appropriate case inflection.

acól-akí yíkc-ak-ín pi-ya:s-tõ:-Ø
 man-pl. III strong-distr. Øtheme-obl. IPDO-want I. theme-
 s.r.-pres.
 We need strong men.

8. A compound noun phrase simply consists of two or more noun phrases that are conjoined or disjoined; examples may be found in the section on compound noun phrases.

9. and 10. Finally, when an activity is the object of a verb, a gerund or infinitive serves as a noun phrase. The verbs "to want, try, think," "to teach," "to learn," "to say," and "to like" may take verbs as their objects. In such sentences the main verb is inflected normally, and the object verb is put in gerund or infinitiveII form and placed immediately before the main verb. The object verb optionally receives the oblique case suffix.

hocifí:c-itá-n s-ám-ahá:y-as
 read Øtheme-inf. II-obl. instr.-1SIO-teach Øtheme-
 subjunc. 1,2 sg. subj.
 Teach me how to read.

yakáp-ka ca-ya:s-tõ:-Ø
 walk Øtheme-ger. 1SDO-want I. theme-s.r.-pres.
 I want to walk.

Besides adding subject and object nouns to a sentence, another possibility is to add words and phrases that express adverbial concepts. One option is to add a postpositional phrase, which generally has locative function. A postpositional phrase precedes the main verb and follows a subject noun phrase.

cokó Ø-onápa-n híhc-as
house 3DO-above-obl. look h.theme-imp.sg.subj.
Look above the house.

Other possible additions to the sentence are demonstrative pronouns, noun phrases referring to location and time, and verbs referring to manner and time. Such words generally receive the oblique case suffix; they are thus treated syntactically as objects of the verb although their semantic function is adverbial. They are most commonly positioned before the verb and after the subject. "Adverbs" referring to time, however, have a greater tendency to optionally precede the subject, and if there are other "adverbs" in the sentence, those referring to time usually precede them. When the demonstrative pronouns refer to the location of people and things referred to by nouns in the sentence, they precede those nouns.

páfn-in yaka:p-tón-cc-Ø-i
fast Øtheme-obl. walk l.theme-s.r.-2Ssubj.-pres.-dec.
You are walking too fast.

páks-an̄k-ín takleyk-cámpa-n Ø-há:y-an-tó:m-iy-
tomorrow-pastII-obl. bread-sweet-obl. 3DO-make-
an̄k-s
intent.-s.r.-1PEsubj.-pastII-dec.
We were going to bake the cakes yesterday.

ma cokó lákk-in pi-ya:s-tó:-Ø
dis.that one house big Øtheme-obl. 1P-want l.theme-
s.r.pres.
We want that big house (the one over there).

Some verbs may take a verb complement, which is placed immediately before the verb. The term "verb complement" is here used to refer to a verb which occurs in object position in the sentence but which is given full, normal verbal inflection. This kind of construction may be used as an equivalent alternative to a sentence with a main

verb taking a verb as its object, but verb complements have less restricted usage; a verb complement is frequently used when its subject differs from the subject of the main verb, while verbs as objects are usually possible only if the subjects are identical.

cóli Ø-ahóc-as ci-kôn-tó:-Ø-Ø
 tree 3DO-plant Øtheme-subjunc. 1,2sg. subj. 2DO-
 want f.t.theme-s.r.-3subj.-immut.
 He wants you to plant the tree.

jà:k-ki ya ícc-a i-nâ:ki:-t-tó:-Ø-Ø
 Jack-Eng. this one shoot-ag. 3inal.poss.-something-
 Ø-kf:ll-itó:-Ø-Ø
 verb.-s.r.-3subj.-immut. 3DO-learn f.t.theme-s.r.-
 3subj.-immut.
 Jack knows that these guns are his.

Finally, interrogative pronouns may be added to a simple sentence. If the sentence is a yes/no question, the only marker necessary is the interrogative verbal suffix. However, in an information question (WH question in English), an interrogative word is added before the verb. An interrogative questioning the action of the sentence (for example, "when," "why") is generally positioned near the beginning of the sentence; if it questions a noun ("which," "where"), however, it is placed next to that noun.

cín-cokó-n á:-yaka:p-íck-Ø-ǎ:
 2al.poss.-house-obl. dis.I-walk l.theme-2Ssubj.-
 pres.-interrog.
 Did you walk from your house?

ista-mêy-ma-n nâ:k-ahóc-ka s-Ø-hĩ:s-tóhm-ick-Ø-ǎ:
 WH-place-?-obl. something-plant-ger. instr.-3DO-
 see f.t.theme-s.r. h.theme-2Ssubj.-pastI-interrog.
 Where did you find that plant?

In summary, a simple sentence may consist of a single verb. More complicated simple sentences may add a variety of constructions, such as:

1. Subject Noun Phrase
2. Object Noun Phrase
 - a. Direct Object
 - b. Indirect Object
 - c. Instrumental Object
3. Adverbial Concepts

- a. Nouns Referring to Time
 - b. Nouns Referring to Location
 - c. Demonstratives
 - d. Postpositional Phrases
 - e. Verbs Referring to Manner
4. Verb Complement
 5. Interrogative Pronoun

These various kinds of additions are distinguished by semantics and internal structure, but all except for a subject noun phrase and verb complement are ultimately treated as object noun phrases, optionally receiving inflection for the oblique case.

II. Clause Chains

Building upon the framework for simple sentences, clause chains may be formed from two or more clauses. The simplest chains, obviously contain only two main verbs, and these will be considered first. There are no special syntactic markers required in the second verb, but the first is inflected for case. If the subject of the two verbs is identical, the first verb receives the subject suffix -it (-t when following a first person subject suffix). If the subjects are different, the first verb receives the oblique suffix -in (-n following a first person subject suffix). Seminole, then, has a kind of switch reference system. Other than this use of case suffixes, the first verb receives most normal verbal inflection as appropriate. However, tense inflection is optional (and rare) when the tense of the second verb is the same, and subject pronoun inflection is likewise optional (and rare) when the two subjects are the same. A subject or object that is repeated in both clauses is deleted in the second. The first verb is inflected as an h.theme if the two actions involved occur in sequence, and it is inflected as an l.theme if they are contemporaneous. The following sentences illustrate these facts about clause chains.

yáheyk-éy-n hopán-an-t-á:ck-Ø-is
 sing l.theme- 1Ssubj.-obl. dance-intent. - s.r. - 2Psubj. -
 pres. -dec.
 I'm going to sing and you all are going to dance.

homp-íhp-it hopán-ka-n apí:-t^ó:hw-i:-∅
 eat-m.v. h.theme-subj. dance-ger.-obl. go pl.subj.
 f.t.theme-s.r. h.theme-1Pesubj.-pastI
 We ate and then went to the dance.

cí:mi-t lóca ∅-cáhw-ick-in
 2-subj. turtle 3DO-grasp pl.DO h.theme-2Ssubj.-obl.
 áni-t ∅-noł-éyc-an-t-á:y-∅
 1S-subj. 3DO-cooked-caus.-intent.-s.r.-1Ssubj.-
 pres.

You will catch some turtles and I will cook them.

∅-is-íhp-ey-t ∅-hómp-ip-á:-li-s
 3DO-grasp sg.DO-m.v. h.theme-1Ssubj.-subj. 3DO-eat-
 m.v. ∅theme-1Ssubj.-fut.-dec.
 I will take and eat it.

As the above sentences show, in many cases there are no conjunctions to join the clauses together. Seminole has no conjunction corresponding to "and"; if the clauses are disjoined, however, the participle *mónka:t*, literally "the not happening," is used in a fashion analogous to that of the conjunction "or" in English.

The result of the use of case suffixes on verbs is that, frequently, there is no outward difference between a conjoined verb and a verb modifying a noun in an embedded sentence (unless, of course, that verb has received a participial suffix). Consider, for example, the two sentences "I killed the sick cow" and "the cow was sick and I killed her." In the first sentence the verb "sick" occurs in an embedded sentence and receives the oblique suffix because "the sick cow" is the direct object of the verb. In the second sentence the verb "sick" is a conjoined verb and receives the oblique suffix because the subjects of the two verbs are different. Similarly, compare "the sick cow died" and "the cow was sick and died." In either case the verb "sick" receives the subject suffix. This is not to say, however, that these two kinds of sentence structure are always identical on the surface. For one thing, the subject of a conjoined verb always receives subject case inflection, if it receives case inflection at all, while the subject of an embedded sentence takes case according to its function in the matrix sentence. Also,

if it is a case of a compound sentence, the entirety of one clause must precede the entirety of the next, while an embedded sentence serving as the object of a verb always follows the subject of that verb.

If more than two sentences are joined in a clause chain, similar rules apply, with only the ultimate verb receiving full verbal inflection. The syntax of clause chains enters into discourse analysis because, technically speaking, connected discourse may be described as consisting of several long run-on sentences. That is, in a text one commonly finds that the majority of the verbs are given appropriate case suffixes and only a few receive complete verbal inflection. The rules for switch reference are not so clear-cut in long clause chains as when there are only two verbs to compare, and the details of these rules have not been fully worked out yet. However, most of the time it is simply a matter of comparing the subjects of adjacent verbs, as in the following sentence.

ĩ: -hilis-há:y-ey-∅-s-cá:
 3IO-medicine-make l.theme- 1Ssubj.-pres.-dec.-emphatic
 ∅-kéyh-c-∅-in hilís-wa-n
 3DO-tell h.theme-3subj.-obl. medicine-nom.-obl.
 ĩ: -hopóhy-it ín-ta:k-ĩhc-it
 3IO-look for h.theme-subj. 3IO-ready-caus. h.theme-subj.
 I'll doctor him, he₁ told him₂, and then he₂ looked for
 the medicines and got it ready...

Clause chains may also involve verbal suffixes that indicate the relationship between the actions referred to. For example, to indicate contemporaneity of the two actions, the suffix -⁶f(a) is used.

i-l-i:p-ô:fa hici
 3DO-die sg.subj.-m.v. l.theme-time tobacco
 ∅-mökkéyc-a:n-it
 3DO-smoke-intent.-subj.

At the time of death, going to smoke tobacco and...

Alternatively, the conditional mode may be utilized to express a similar concept. Note that this is the only kind of clause chain that does not use the switch reference system described above.

taló:fa ala:k-ícc-inâ:t
 town arrive sg. subj. l. theme-2Ssubj. - cond.
 pín-cokopléyc-icc-ahi-s
 IPIO-visit Øtheme-2Ssubj. - fut. - dec.
 You will visit us when you come to town.

If sequential activity is referred to, this may be indicated by a clause chain in which the verb referring to the prior action is formed into an h. theme. Another possibility, however, is to put that verb in the negative mode and add the suffix *-i:mōŋki*, "yet, still." (The two suffixes may contract into *-kōŋki*.)

Ø-homp-éyc-a-kō-ŋk-in
 3DO-eat-caus. Øtheme-1Sneg. subj. - neg. - still-obl.
 íst-ocí hakêyhk-itō:-Ø-Ø-s
 person-dim. cry sg. subj. f. t. theme- s. r. - 3subj. -
 immut. - dec.
 The baby cried before I fed him.

If a prior activity is referred to by a noun, the verb *hoya:nít*, "to pass by (sg. subj.)" is added, inflected for the immutative aspect. This may be simply inflected for case, or it may take a relational suffix, as in the following example.

hómp-ita-lákkó hoyâ:n-tō:w-Ø-Ø-â:t
 eat Øtheme-inf. II-aug. pass by sg. subj. f. t. theme- s. r. -
 3subj. - immut. - cond.
 after dinner

There are a variety of other suffixes that may be added to verbs in order to indicate the relationship between clauses. For example, one such suffix, *-â:ti*, is frequently translated as meaning that the action referred to is somehow dependent on some other action. The meanings of suffixes such as this one are quite difficult to determine; each appears to correspond to a variety of English words, depending on the sentence in which it occurs.

III. Word Order

Word order is not critical in Seminoe, the way that it is in English, because inflection generally distinguishes the function of words in a sentence. However, there is still a typical word order in the language, and this order is usually followed regardless of whether

syntactic function is ambiguous or not. This typical word order closely follows what would be predicted on the basis of Greenberg's (1966) work on language typology. Using Greenberg's criteria, Seminole is a Type III language, that is, one with the order subject-object-verb. (Speakers accept as grammatical sentences in which the object precedes the subject, but in natural speech this order does not occur.) Seminole supports most of Greenberg's predictions about Type III languages. Thus, they typically have postpositions rather than prepositions, and Seminole is no exception to this rule. Also as predicted by Greenberg, a genitive precedes the governing noun and adverbs (to stretch the meaning of the term somewhat) precede the verb they modify, making Seminole a member of the rigid subtype III. If we consider certain clause chains as involving subordination, Seminole also has a tendency to place subordinate verbal forms before the main verb of a sentence, which is also in conformity with Greenberg's universals.

Word order may be described in rather rough terms by viewing a clause as consisting of five slots; a slot may have several constituents with no strict ordering, but the five slots themselves are ordered. The first slot is for an interrogative pronoun that questions the whole sentence, as opposed to one that questions a particular noun and is therefore part of a noun phrase. Words with adverbial function also occasionally appear in this slot. The second slot is for the subject noun phrase. The third slot may contain a combination of a variety of constituents, objects of the verb and/or adverbial expressions. The fourth slot is for verb complements and verbal objects. Finally, there is the verb. The following diagram illustrates this pattern.

interrogative	subject	DO	verb complement	verb
time		IO	verbal object	
place		instr.		
		time		
		location		
		manner		
		postpositional phrase		
		demonstrative		
1	2	3	4	5

This chart diagrams certain tendencies only and should not be interpreted as diagramming absolute rules.

Word order in Seminole may thus be summarized by saying that the main verb is almost always the final word in a sentence. Within each clause, a subject precedes all objects, most modifiers immediately follow the nouns they modify (genitives and demonstrative pronouns are the exceptions), and nouns and verbs used adverbally have rather flexible positioning.

When clauses combine to form chains, they are ordered so that the final clause is the one containing a verb with complete verbal inflection, in the declarative or interrogative mode. Clauses with verbs in the conditional mode or with case inflection are placed earlier in the chain usually, but this is not a rigid rule. In uninterrupted discourse, a large number of clauses may be strung together in this manner.

APPENDIX

This appendix consists of two short texts, both of which are of interest not only linguistically but also for their cultural content. The first is a recipe for sofkee, the traditional Seminole beverage. The second is about hunting gopher turtles, illustrating that the modern Seminole life includes some traditional economic activities.

Sofkee Recipe

í:- wa	tã:wá- n	ís-∅- tak- léyh- it
water- nom.	first- obl.	instr. - 3DO- ground- put sg. DO h. theme- subj.
water	first	put it on the stove and then

mo:lk-∅- ô:fa- n	aci- ní:lk- ocí
boil l. theme- 3subj. - time- obl.	corn- seed- dim.
when it boils	grits

∅- lopóck- ∅- a: t- teys
 3DO- small pl. subj. ∅ theme- pres. - part. I- disj.
 small ones

móŋ- k- ∅- ∅- a: t
 do ∅ theme- neg. - 3subj. - pres. - part. I
 or

∅- laklá:k- ∅- a: t- teys
 3DO- big pl. subj. f. t. theme- immut. - part. I- disj.
 big ones

ak-∅- tíhh- ick- ín	mo:lk- ít
water- 3DO- put in h. theme- 2Ssubj. - obl.	boil l. theme- subj.
you put it in the water and then	it boils

∅- lopóck- os- ∅- a: t- tanã: t
 3DO- small pl. subj. ∅ theme- comp. - pres. - part. I- cond.
 if it' s the small ones

ací:w-iko-n	∅-noł-i:p-í:tey-s
long time ∅theme-neg-obl.	3DO-cooked- m.v.l.theme- ? ¹ -dec.
quickly	it cooks

∅-laklá:k-∅-a:t-to:nâ:t
 3DO-big pl. subj. f. t. theme-immut. - part. I-cond.
 if it' s the big ones

ací:w-os-in	mó:l̥k-∅-atí:to-n
long time ∅theme-comp.-obl.	boil l. theme- 3subj. - continue-obl.
longer	it boils

is-∅-tákk-oss-éyc-itâ-t-t-∅-ĩ:-s
 instr. - 3DO-ground-go out-caus. ∅theme-inf. II-verb. - s.r. - 3subj. - pot. -dec.
 it should take it off the stove

First you put water on the stove, and then when it boils you put in big or small grits. Then it boils again. If it' s the small grits, it will boil quickly, but if it' s the big grits it will take longer to boil. Take it off the stove.

Gopher Hunting

ya	sæ:UrdI	fâ:n-∅-aŋk-ín
this one	Saturday	pass by f. t. theme- 3subj. - pastII-obl.
this	Saturday	past

am-ist-éyki	yéyc-∅-in
ISal. poss. - people- pl. II	arrive pl. subj. l. theme- 3subj. - obl.
my family	arrive

sæ:UrdI	háthayátki-aŋk-ín	l̥:rí:dʌ	∅-má:ho:k-∅-áŋk-in
Saturday	morning- pastII-obl.	Lorida	3DO- say pl. subj. l. theme- 3subj. - pastII-obl.
Saturday	morning	Lorida	they call it

∅-méy	apí:y-it	lóca-fí:l̥-ka-n
3DO-place	go pl. subj. l. theme-subj.	turtle-stand sg. subj. -ger. -obl.
place	we went	gopher

1 The exact use of this suffix is unclear. It appears to indicate that the verb conveys information contrary to what may previously have been thought.

íŋ-ko:l-ít lá:-foll-t-î:y-ąk-s
 3IO-dig l.theme-subj. dis.II-be around pl. subj. l. theme-s.r. - IPEsubj. -
 pastII-dec.

dig for them we were around over there

háso héyyi ma:h-ín
 sun hot Øtheme very-obl.
 sun hot very

l-âw-t-î:y-ąk-s
 dis.III-come pl. subj. f. t. theme-s.r. - IPEsubj. - pastII-dec.
 we came back

lóca-fí:l-ka twəntIséwən-ki-mâ:hi-n
 turtle-stand sg. subj.-ger. twenty-seven-Eng.-around-obl.
 gopher around twenty-seven

pá:li-hokkô:l-Ø-Ø-a:t
 ten-two f. t. theme-3subj. - immut. - part. I
 twenty ones

s-im-fâ:n-Ø-Ø-a:t Ø-mêy
 instr. - 3IO-pass by f. t. theme-3subj. - immut. - part. I 3DO-place
 past that place

Ø-câw-t-î:y-ąk-s
 3DO-grasp pl. DO f. t. theme-s.r. - IPEsubj. - pastII-dec.
 we took

sâ:Urđi ya:fk-ąk-a:-n lá:-yéyh-c-i:-t
 Saturday evening-pastII-part. I-obl. dis. II-arrive pl. subj. h. theme-
 IPEsubj. - subj.
 Saturday evening we came back

lóca-fí:l-ka ô:st-atí:k-a:t
 turtle-stand sg. subj.-ger. four-around-part. I
 gopher around four ones

Ø-litaf-î:s-t-î:y-ąk
 3DO-tear up-pl. DO f. t. theme-s.r. - IPEsubj. - pastII
 we tore them up

Ø-hâmp-t-î:y-ąk-s
 3DO-eat f. t. theme-s.r. - IPEsubj. - pastII-dec.
 we ate them

lóca-fí:l-ka Ø-láklak-Ø-í:
 turtle-stand sg. subj.-ger. 3DO-big pl. subj. - pres. - part. II
 gopher big ones

ma:h-ín ahó:sk-∅-∅-a
 very-obl. left over 1. theme-3subj. -pres. -part.
 very some

hǎmk-os-∅-∅-a:t
 one r. t. theme-comp. -3subj. -intens. -part. I
 the only one

∅-côtk-os-∅-a:t
 3DO-small sg. subj. f. t. theme-comp. -immut. -part. I
 the small one

∅-î:s-t-î:y-aŋk
 3DO-grasp sg. DO f. t. theme-s. r. - IPEsubj. - past II
 we took it

omálka-n iŋ-kô:l-it-î:y-aŋk-s
 all-obl. 3IO-dig f. t. theme-s. r. - IPEsubj. - past II-dec.
 all we dug for them

This past Saturday my family came here. Saturday morning we went to a place called Lorida. We were there digging for gophers. The sun was very hot. We came back. We had twenty-seven, way over twenty, gophers. We came back Saturday evening. We butchered around four gophers. We ate them. Some gophers were very big, but we got just one little one. We dug for all of them.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Chafe, Wallace L.
1965 Corrected Estimates Regarding Speakers of Indian Languages. *International Journal of American Linguistics* 31:345-346.
- Davidson, William, L. W. Elford, and Harry Hoijer
1963 Athapaskan Classificatory Verbs. *University of California Publications in Linguistics* 29:30-41.
- Forbes, Gerald
1937 The Origin of the Seminole Indians. *Chronicles of Oklahoma* 15:102-108.
- Greenberg, Joseph H.
1966 Some Universals of Grammar with Particular Reference to the Order of Meaningful Elements. In *Universals of Language*, ed. Joseph H. Greenberg, pp. 73-113. Cambridge, Mass., the M. I. T. Press.
- Haas, Mary R.
1938 Geminate Consonant Clusters in Muskogee. *Language* 14:61-65.
- 1940 Ablaut and its Function in Muskogee. *Language* 16:141-150.
- 1941a The Classification of the Muskogean Languages. In *Language, Culture, and Personality, Essays in Memory of Edward Sapir*, ed. Leslie Spier, et al., pp.41-56. Menasha, Wisconsin.
- 1941b Noun Incorporation in the Muskogean Languages. *Language* 17:311-315.
- 1941c A Popular Etymology in Muskogee. *Language* 17:340-341.
- 1945 Dialects of the Muskogee Language. *International Journal of American Linguistics* 11:69-74.
- 1946 A Proto-Muskogean Paradigm. *Language* 22:326-332.
- 1948 Classificatory Verbs in Muskogee. *International Journal of American Linguistics* 14:244-246.

- Haas, Mary R. (contd.)
- 1950 On the Historical Development of Certain Long Vowels in Creek. *International Journal of American Linguistics* 16:122-125.
- 1958 A New Linguistic Relationship in North America: Algonkian and the Gulf Languages. *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 14:231-264.
- 1973 The Southeast. In *Current Trends in Linguistics X: Linguistics in North America*, ed. Thomas A. Sebeok, pp. 1210-1249. The Hague, Mouton.
- 1977a Nasals and Nasalization in Creek. In *Proceedings of the 3rd Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society*, ed. Kenneth Whistler, et al., pp. 194-203. Berkeley, Berkeley Linguistics Society.
- 1977b Tonal Accent in Creek. In *Studies in Stress and Accent*, ed. Larry M. Hyman, pp. 195-208. Los Angeles, Department of Linguistics, University of Southern California (Southern California Occasional Papers in Linguistics No.4).
- unpub. ms. Creek Vocabulary.
- Hoijer, Harry
- 1945 Classificatory Verb Stems in the Apachean Languages. *International Journal of American Linguistics* 11:13-23.
- Keenan, Edward L. and Bernard Comrie
- 1977 Noun Phrase Accessibility and Universal Grammar. *Linguistic Inquiry* 8(1):63-99.
- McReynolds, Edwin C.
- 1957 *The Seminoles*. Norman, University of Oklahoma Press.
- Mooney, James
- 1910 Seminole. In *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico*, ed. Frederick Webb Hodge. Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 30, pt. 2, pp. 500-502.
- Powell, John W.
- 1891 *Indian Linguistic Families of America North of Mexico*. Bureau of American Ethnology, Annual Report 7:1-142.
- Sapir, Edward
- 1929 Central and North American Languages. *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 14th ed., vol. 5, pp. 138-141. Chicago, University of Chicago Press.

- Sherzer, Joel
1973 Areal Linguistics in North America. In Current Trends in Linguistics X: Linguistics in North America, ed. Thomas A. Sebeok, pp. 749-795. The Hague, Mouton.
- Speck, Frank G.
1907 Some Comparative Traits of the Maskogian Languages. American Anthropologist 9:470-483.
- Swanton, John R.
1924 The Muskogean Connection of the Natchez Language. International Journal of American Linguistics 3:46-75.
- Trammell, Robert L.
unpub. ms. A Contrastive Analysis of English and Mikasuki Phonology.
- Walker, Willard
1975 Cherokee. In Studies in Southeastern Indian Languages, ed. James M. Crawford, pp. 189-236. Athens, University of Georgia Press.
- Wright, Muriel H.
1951 A Guide to the Indian Tribes of Oklahoma. Norman, University of Oklahoma Press.

INDEX

- active verb, 6, 41, 42, 44, 46,
61, 67, 75, 89, 93-96,
105, 107, 123, 128
- affirmative mode, 94, 109, 111,
113, 118, 120, 122, 127,
128
- agentive nominalizing suffix, 41-
42, 43-44, 46, 48
- alienable possession, 51, 54,
55-56, 57, 62, 136
- aorist, 114-115, 121
- aspect, 66, 68, 89, 118
- augmentative suffix, 39, 47, 48,
73
- "away from" locative prefix, 76,
82-83
- case, 35, 61-62, 63, 64, 66, 67,
110, 129, 137, 140, 141,
142, 143, 145
- causative suffix, 75-76, 88, 94,
124, 125
- clause chain (compound sentence),
67, 68, 110, 134, 140-
143, 144, 145
- comparative inflection, 51, 70-71,
95
- comparative suffix, 70-71, 96, 105,
128
- completive aspect, 108-109
- compound noun, 37, 39, 40, 45-
46, 48
- compound noun phrase, 55, 57, 58,
63, 136, 137
- conditional mode, 115, 121-122,
127, 128, 142, 145
- conjoined nouns, 63-64, 137
- continuative aspect, 18, 19, 95
96, 105-106, 126, 127, 128
- declarative mode, 32, 35, 113,
114, 115-116, 118, 126,
128, 145
- demonstrative pronouns, 6, 57,
58, 131-132, 136, 138,
140, 145
- detransitivizing suffix, 76, 88,
93-94, 124, 125
- diminutive mode, 106
- diminutive suffix, 38, 39, 42,
47, 48, 60, 63
- direct object noun phrase, 135,
139, 145
- directional prefixes, 77, 82, 83,
86, 88, 124, 125, 131
- disjoined nouns, 63, 64-65, 137
- disjunctive suffix, 63, 64-65
- distant past tense, 35, 70, 114,
126, 127
- distributive suffix, 67, 89, 97,
99-100, 125
- dual verb infix, 97, 98, 125
- embedded sentence, 65, 66, 67,
68, 96, 133, 137, 141, 142
- English word marker, 47
- falling tone verb theme, 68, 69,
90, 92, 108, 112, 113,
114, 120, 127
- first person plural inclusive
versus exclusive, 51-52,
95
- future tense, 69, 110, 111, 119,
120, 122, 126, 127
- genitive noun phrase, 6, 130,
136, 144, 145
- gerund, 40, 41, 43, 46, 48, 136,
137

- "ground" locative prefix, 78-79, 81
- h.verb theme, 69, 91-92, 112, 120, 122, 127, 140, 143
- immutative aspect, 64, 68, 72, 107-108, 123, 126, 127, 128, 143
- imperative mode, 35, 95, 120, 127, 128
- inalienable possession, 37, 50, 52, 53, 54-55, 56, 57, 62, 63, 130, 136
- incompletive aspect, 108-109, 111, 112, 114
- incumbent mode, 90, 122, 123, 125, 127, 128
- indefinite pronominal prefixes, 44, 49, 50, 53-54, 93
- indefinite pronoun, 42, 52, 54, 56, 63, 116
- independent possessive pronouns, 52, 56-57, 63, 136
- independent pronouns, 34, 55-56, 57-58, 62, 86-87, 131, 132, 136
- indirect object noun phrase, 135, 139, 145
- infinitive (of verb) 40, 43, 92, 136, 137
 inf.I, 29, 92, 127
 inf.II, 41, 42-43, 48, 92, 126, 137
- instrumental noun phrase, 61, 104, 135, 139, 145
- instrumental prefix, 32, 42-44, 48, 58, 64, 71, 104-105, 125, 135
- intensive aspect, 18, 19, 95, 96, 105-106, 126, 127, 128
- intensive move, 69, 90, 111, 120-121, 125, 126
- interrogative mode, 18, 19, 29-30, 113, 115, 116-118, 126, 128, 139, 145
- interrogative pronouns, 70, 116-118, 139, 140, 144, 145
- intransitive verb, 75, 76, 82, 86, 93, 96, 98, 103, 105, 135
- iterative aspect, 67, 90, 97, 106-107, 125
- lengthened verb theme, 41, 69, 70, 90, 92, 108-109, 111, 112, 113, 114, 122, 127, 140
- locative noun phrase, 61, 129, 130, 131, 138, 140, 145
- locative prefixes, 77, 81-82, 82-83, 84, 86, 88, 125
- "long distance" derivational prefix, 83, 84, 86
- "middle distance" derivational prefix, 84, 86
- middle past tense, 35, 44-45, 69-70, 113, 115, 126, 127, 133
- middle voice, 89, 123, 125, 138
- mode, 49, 66, 89, 114, 121
- negative mode, 33, 94-95, 109, 111, 112, 113, 114, 118-119, 119-120, 122, 126, 127, 128, 133, 143
- nominal suffix, 37, 39-40, 48, 59, 63
- nominalizing prefix nâ:k-, 42, 48, 117
- noun in infinitive form, 41
- noun modifier, 44, 60, 65-70, 96, 106, 136, 137, 141
- null verb theme, 66, 90, 92, 111, 112, 113, 119, 126
- number-defined verb, 60, 66, 89, 96-99, 100-104, 105
- object noun phrase, 69, 138, 139, 140, 144
- oblique case, 50, 61-62, 69, 73, 78, 79, 124, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 137, 138, 140, 141
- "on" locative prefix, 79-81, 85, 130

- participle, 38, 44-45, 64, 65,
 66, 67-70, 87, 96, 106
 114, 133, 136, 137, 141
 part.I, 44-45, 58, 68, 69
 part.II, 44-45, 69
 pastIII part., 70
 passive voice, 27, 124, 126, 128
 plural noun suffixes, 48, 55, 58-
 60, 97
 pl.I, 56, 57, 59, 63
 pl.II, 56, 59, 63
 pl.III, 59, 63
 plural verb suffix, 97, 99, 125
 potential mode, 122, 126, 127, 128
 predicate nominative, 56, 87
 present tense, 35, 69, 108, 110-
 111, 120, 122, 127
 pronominal prefix set I (direct object
 prefixes), 27-29, 30, 49-
 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 58, 61,
 63, 85, 89, 93, 94, 95,
 124, 125, 128, 129
 pronominal prefix set II (indirect
 object prefixes), 30-31,
 43, 44, 50-53, 55, 58, 61,
 63, 71, 82, 89, 93, 95, 96,
 125

 quotative-distant past, 115, 121

 recent past tense, 35, 69, 112-
 113, 120, 126, 127, 133
 reciprocal pronominal prefixes, 49,
 50, 53, 93
 reflexive pronominal prefixes, 49,
 50, 53, 93
 relative clause, 67-68
 remote past tense, 114
 rising tone verb theme, 11, 12,
 25, 90-91, 92, 96, 105,
 106, 120, 127

 secondary root suffixes, 32, 34,
 35, 109-110, 111, 112, 113,
 118, 119, 127, 128
 "short distance" derivational prefix,
 84-86, 130
 stative verb, 6, 42, 44, 46, 61,
 stative verb (contd.), 66, 67, 72
 75, 89, 93-96, 105, 106,
 107, 123, 128, 132, 137
 subject case, 56, 61, 73, 87,
 96, 140, 141
 subject noun phrase, 135, 138,
 139, 140, 144, 145
 subject pronominal suffixes, 16,
 34, 35, 49, 51, 58, 64,
 89, 94-95, 109, 111, 114,
 115, 118, 119, 121, 122,
 126, 128, 140
 subjunctive mode, 35, 95, 119-
 120, 126, 128
 superlative inflection, 51, 70-71,
 95

 tense, 44, 49, 66, 89, 108, 109,
 110, 118, 119, 120, 121,
 124, 128, 140
 transitive verb, 51, 75, 76, 82,
 86, 93, 96, 97, 98, 103,
 135

 verb complement, 138-139, 140,
 144, 145
 verb theme, 6, 66, 87, 89-90,
 92, 111, 118, 120, 121,
 123, 124, 125, 126, 127,
 128
 verbalizer, 75, 86-87, 116

 "water" locative prefix, 77-78,
 79, 81

VITA

Michele Nathan was born in Utica, New York, on July 21, 1952. She received her B.A. *summa cum laude*, with a major in anthropology, from Duke University in 1972. Florida Atlantic University awarded her an M.A. in anthropology, with a minor in linguistics, in 1973. Her studies there were supported by a Graduate Council Fellowship. In August of 1973, Ms. Nathan began her studies at Tulane University in the department of anthropology. Her academic specializations are in linguistic theory and North American ethnology. Ms. Nathan is a member of Phi Beta Kappa, the American Anthropological Association, and the Linguistic Society of America. She has taught at Florida Atlantic University and the University of Georgia.