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A DESCRIPTIVE GRAMMAR OF KOASATI

Tulane University

PH.D. 1985

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A DESCRIPTIVE GRAMMAR OF KOASATI

A DISSERTATION

SUBMITTED ON THE FOURTH DAY OF NOVEMBER, 1985

TO THE DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY

OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF

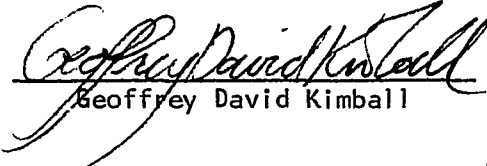
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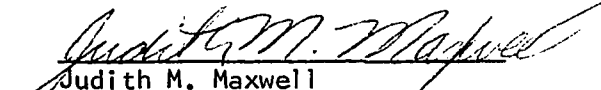
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

BY


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PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The writing of this grammar has been a long and arduous process. Still, it is likely not to satisfy all readers; native speakers will probably find the writing difficult, while some linguists will feel the lack of a guiding linguistic theory. To the former I apologize, and hope that they will have the patience to work through this volume. To the latter I can only say that no linguistic theory that came under my scrutiny could explain the facts of Koasati either succinctly or clearly, and because of the difficulty of this language, and its almost unknown state, I felt that clarity and ease of comprehension and use were of overriding importance. What I have tried to produce is a description of the language which is complete enough to serve as the basis for further work of a theoretical kind. Without the basis of an adequate description, explanatory work would be sure to fall into error. As for any errors of interpretation or omission that are to be found in this dissertation, they are solely my responsibility.

In the preparation of this work I have had much help. During my period of fieldwork, Mr. Bel Abbey was of the greatest assistance. Not only did he serve as a principal consultant, but also served as an intermediary between me and other people who might work as consultants, and in general helped me to enter into the community. His gentle good humor, frank advice and natural intelligence were of inestimable aid to me. Thanks here must also be given to the other persons who served as principal consultants: Miss Martha John, her brother, Ed John and Mrs. Ruth Poncho. A special mention must be made of Mrs. Nora Abbey, the wife of Bel Abbey, who also served as a principal consultant, and who passed away in 1984. Without her patience and persistence little of the work on verbal suffixes and

on the system of imperatives could have been accomplished; I deeply regret her passing.

Among non-Indians in the Elton area principal thanks must go to Mr. Webster Southall for providing me with daily transportation, thus saving me a five mile walk every morning, and to Mr. and Mrs. Gene Burnham for their hospitality and interest in my work, which paralleled their own. Also, thanks are to be given to Mr. and Mrs. James Duplechin, Ms. Linda Darnell Dykes, and Mr. Mike Pitre for the many hours of conversation that helped me to understand the people of the town of Elton itself. The Rev. and Mrs. Donald Johnson of Kinder, Louisiana are to be thanked for their hospitality and their willingness to share the records pertaining to the Koasati in their possession.

My interest in Koasati was kindled and encouraged by Dr. Thomas C. Smith-Stark; I regret that he was unable to direct this dissertation. I have further profited from discussions with the members of my committee: Dr. Munro Edmonson, the late Dr. Jack Fischer, Dr. Victoria Bricker and Dr. Judith Maxwell. Thanks must be extended to Dr. Mary R. Haas, with whom I infrequently had a chance to speak, yet who was most generous with her memories, observations and data; and to Frank Trechsel, who aided our communications and gave encouragement of his own.

Outside the academic community there are also many people deserving of thanks. First among them is Mr. Frank J. Tortorich, who gave encouragement and support from the very beginning of this project, but who, alas, was unable to live to see its completion. Other friends who have encouraged me in the completion of this work and are deserving of thanks are Mr. Stephen Pearce, Ms. Dani Honold, and Ms. Carol Landry. My parents,

too, Harrison and Bernice Kimball deserve their share of thanks for their support, both emotional and financial, and for the thankless task of proofreading much of this dissertation.

Financial aid for this project was provided through a Monroe Fellowship granted by Tulane University, and additional fieldwork was made possible by a grant from the Phillips Fund of the American Philosophical Society.

To all the above I extend my deepest and most heartfelt thanks.

Finally, this book is for Bourke Jones, who turned eighty waiting for it to be finished.

DEDICATED TO THE MEMORY OF
NORA WILLIAMS ABBEY
1920 - 1984

CONSULTANTS

The majority of material in this dissertation was obtained in working with the following five people: Bel Abbey, Nora Abbey, Martha John, Ed John and Ruth Poncho. At the time of this research these people ranged in age from 59 to 72.

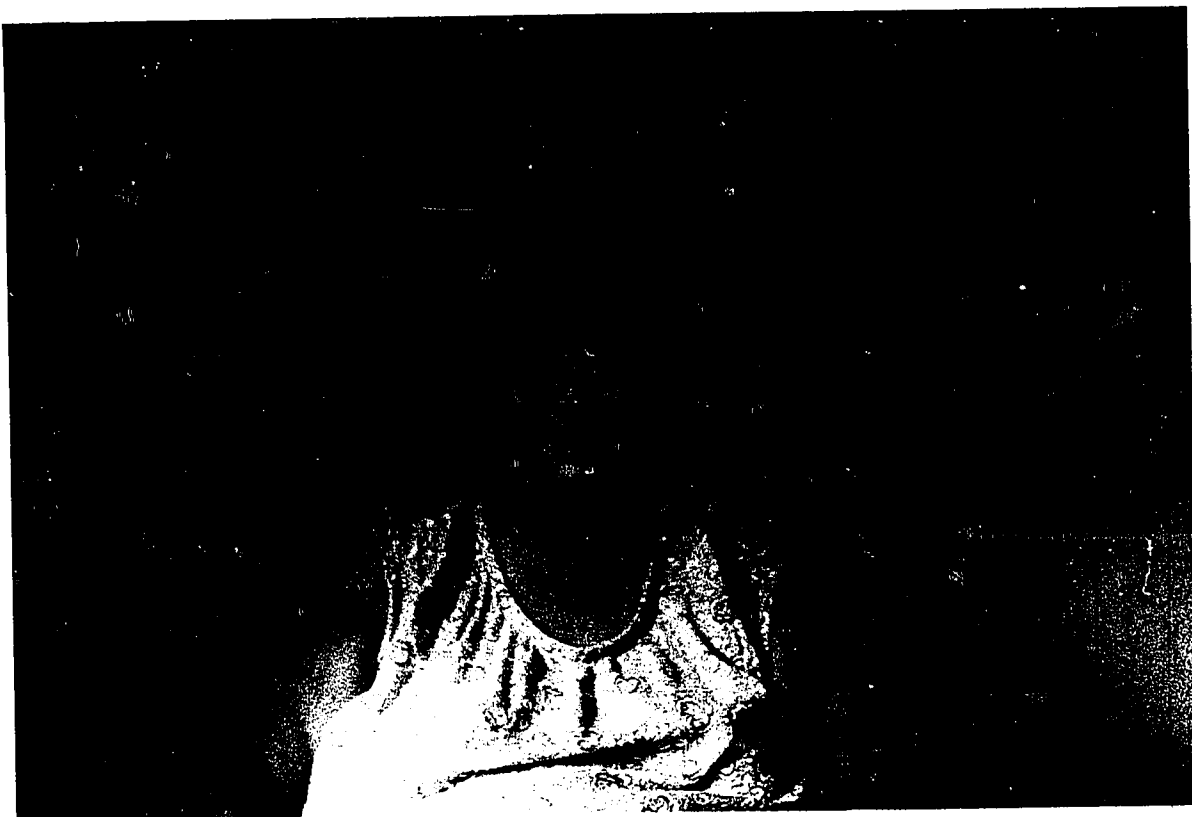
Additional textual material was obtained through work with Toni Battise, Sehoke Battise, Sehoia Battise, Dennis Wilson, Myrna Wilson, Asa Poncho and Martin Abbey. These people then ranged in age from 5 to 86 years of age.

Other linguistic material was obtained in cooperation with the following people: Marian John, Rosanne Medford, Lorena Langley, Wilfred Wilson, Marjorie Battise, Sam Thompson, Debbie Thompson, and Bernita Baker.

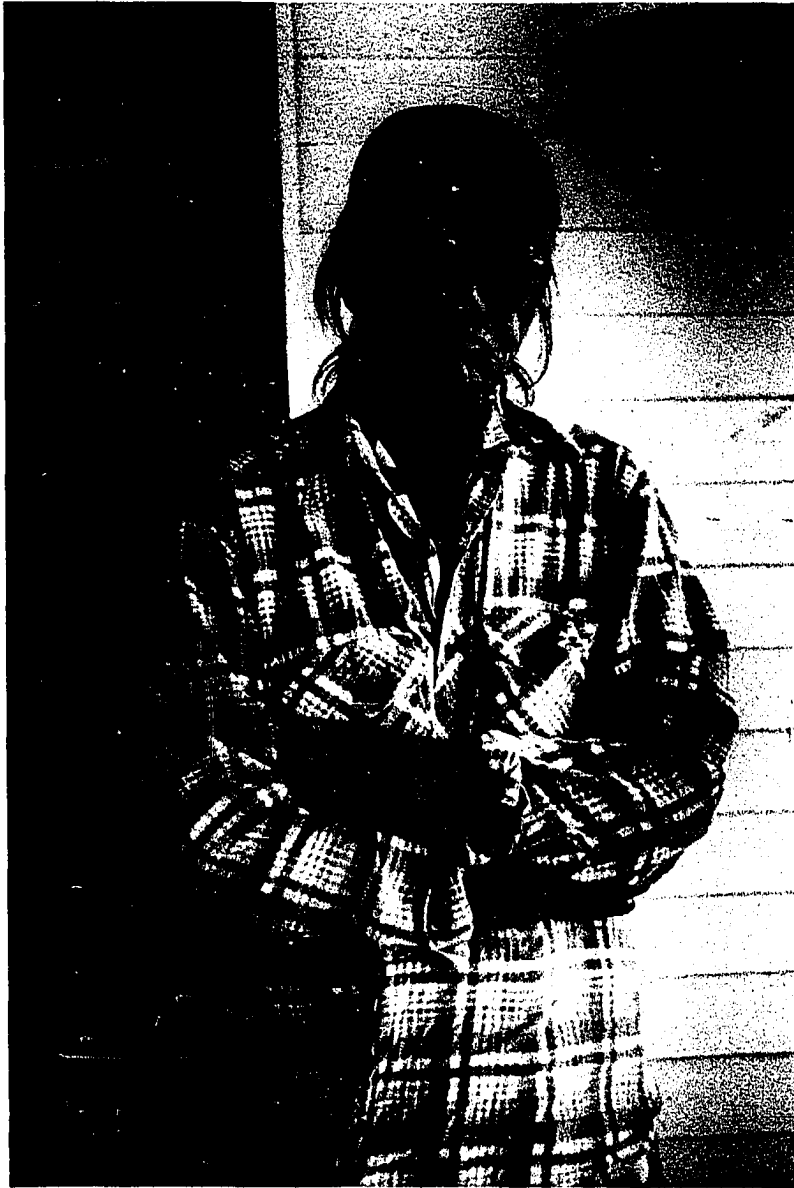
To these and all the other Koasati people who helped me in ways other than with the language I would like to express my profound and heartfelt gratitude.



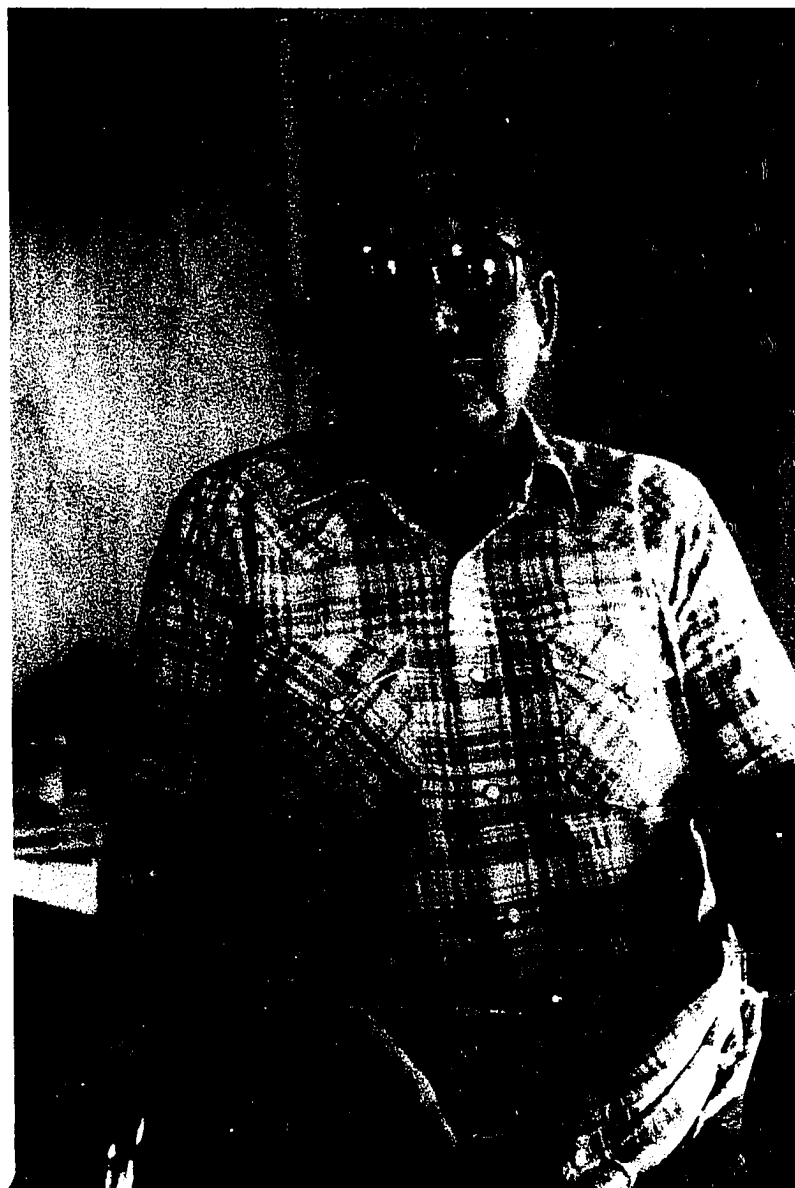
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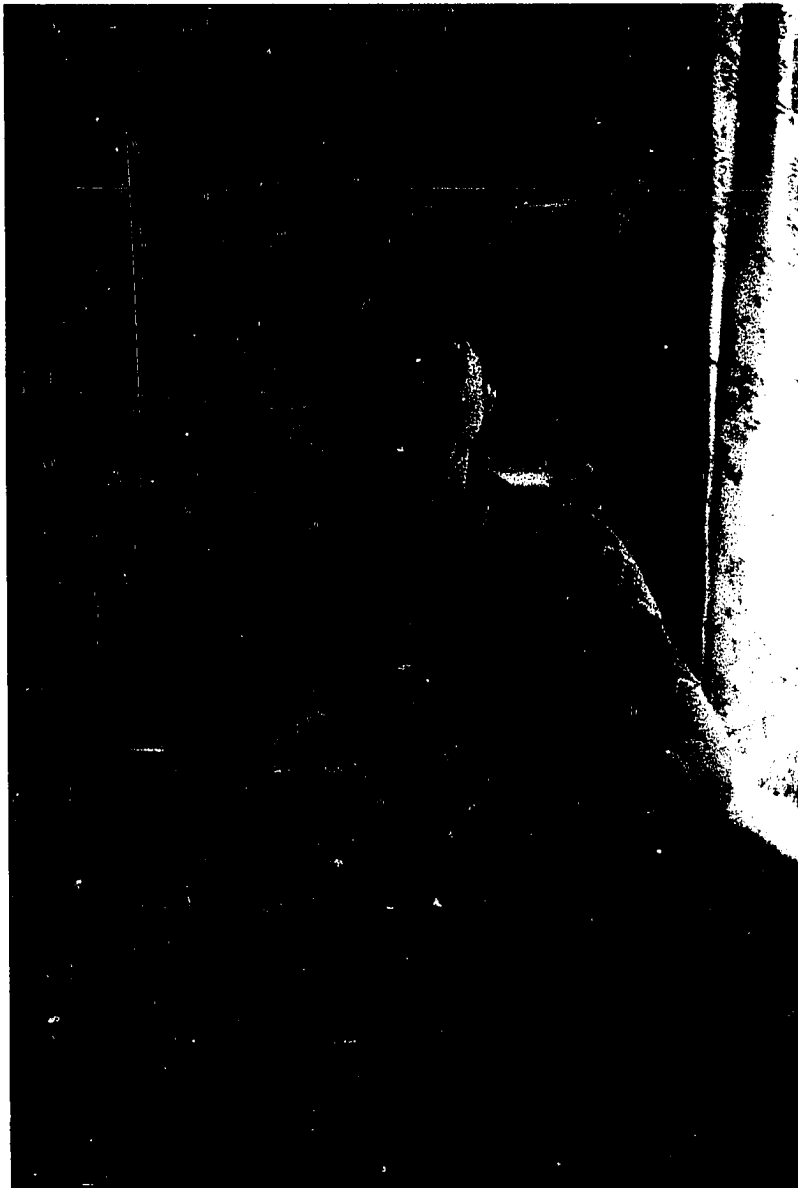
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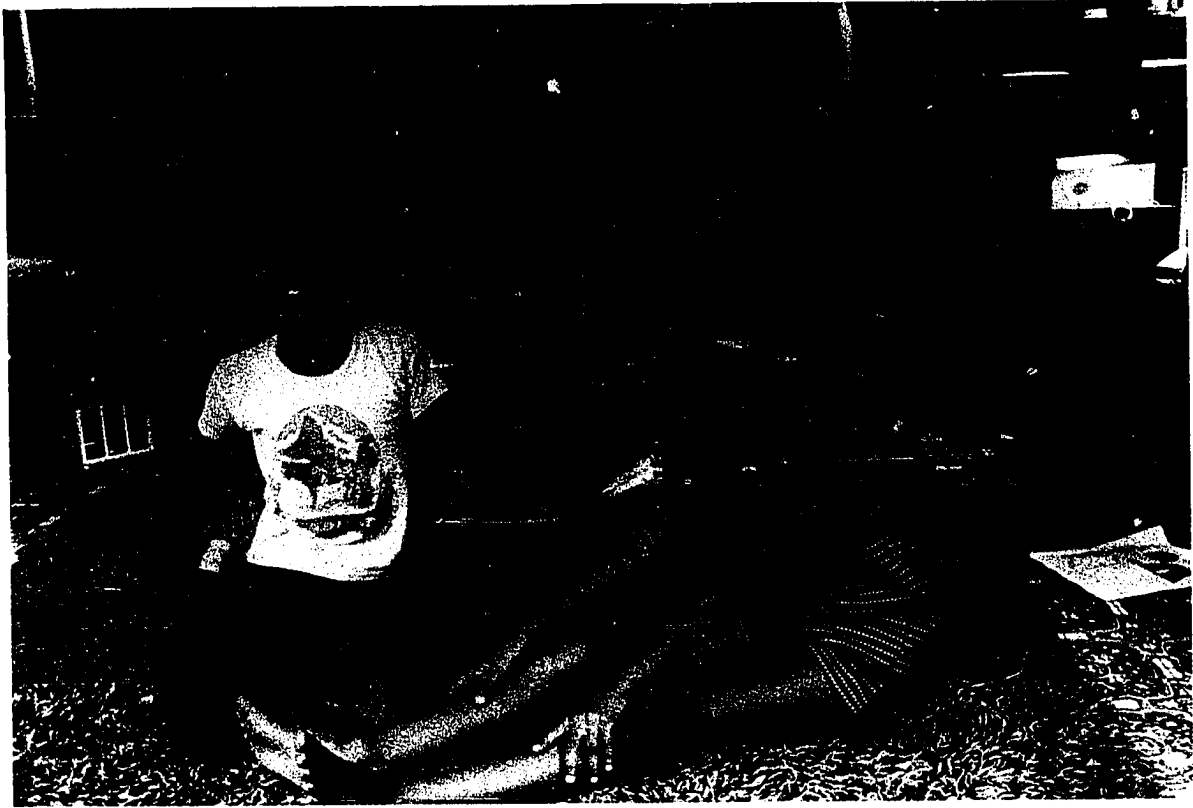


ED JOHN



RUTH PONCHO

x



TONI BATTISE SEHOYA BATTISE SEHOKE BATTISE

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

abil	verbal suffix indicating various kinds of ability to do an action
adv	1) adverbial verbal suffix 2) the switch-reference suffix <u>-n</u> when used to derive an adverb from a verb
afar	the instrumental prefix <u>mat-</u>
all	the allative case suffix
an	animate subject
art	article suffix
audit	the auditory suffix
be	the emphatic/copular suffix <u>-o-</u>
because	the consequential suffix <u>-ska-</u>
can	the verbal suffix <u>-Vhc</u> , 'to be able to'
case:of	the verbal suffix <u>-ma:hilo-</u>
come:&	the directional prefix <u>i-/it-/i:t-</u>
compul	the compulsive suffix <u>-:ci</u>
conn	connective suffix
conseq	consequential suffix
contrar	nominal suffix indicating contrariness to expectation
custom	the customary verbal suffix <u>-Vhco:li-</u>
dat	dative/benefactive prefix
deduc	the deductive suffix <u>-:li-</u>
delay	delayed imperative
der	suffix deriving Koasati words from English
desid	desiderative verbal suffix
distr	distributive prefix

dim	1) the diminutive/intensive verbal suffix 2) the diminutive nominal suffix
du	dual
dubit	dubitative suffix
either:or	the either/or question suffix
encl	enclitic
full	the instrumental prefix <u>mas-</u> / <u>mast-</u>
gen:loc	the general locative prefix <u>a-</u>
go:&	the directional prefix <u>o-</u> / <u>oh-</u> / <u>oht-</u>
h:grade	the internal change called the h-grade
habit	the habitual suffix - <u>hco-</u>
habit:part	habitual participle
hearsay	hearsay suffix
imp	imperative
imperf:part	imperfect participle
in	the locative case suffix <u>-fa</u>
inan	inanimate subject
incl	inclusive
iness	inessive case suffix
instr	instrumental prefix
intens	intensive internal change
intent	intentional verbal suffixes <u>-ahi-</u> and <u>-á-</u>
irrealis	the irrealis suffixes <u>-laho-</u> and <u>-laha-</u>
just	the verbal suffix <u>-no</u> , 'to have just'
like	the verbal suffix <u>-fi:na-</u> 'be metaphorically like'
list	the connective nominal suffix <u>-o:t</u>
mediopass	derived mediopassive form of a Class II <i>Aii</i> verb

modal	verbal suffix indicating one of several modal categories
mult	the multiplicative verbal suffix <u>-:ci</u>
n:grade	the nasalizing internal change
neg	negative subject
neg:comp	the negative complement <u>-o-</u>
neg:imp	negative imperative
new:top	suffix indicating a switch in topic, <u>-p</u>
obj	1) suffix indicating accusative case 2) object
pauc	paucal plural suffix
phr:term	phrase terminal marker
polite:imp	polite imperative
poss	possessive prefix
pres:part	present participle
pret:part	preterite participle
prog	the progressive suffix <u>-Vhci</u>
pl	plural
realis	the realis suffixes <u>-toho-</u> and <u>-toha-</u>
recip	the reciprocal prefix
reflex	reflexive prefix
rhet	rhetorical question
s	singular subject
seq	sequencing suffix
sg	singular
sg/du	a verb root used both to indicate singularity and duality of subject

ss	same subject switch reference marker
ss:foc	same subject switch reference marker with focus
stats	subject of a stative verb
statobj	object of a transitive stative verb
subj	1) suffix indicating nominative case 2) subject
subjunct	subjunctive verbal suffix
suff	modifying suffix
sw	different subject switch reference marker
sw:foc	different subject switch reference marker with focus
tag	tag question
tag:desid	desiderative tag question
trans	transitive verb
vn	verbal noun
vn:pre	derivational prefix for a verbal noun
vn:suf	verbal noun suffix <u>-o:li</u>
when	the verbal suffix <u> -:fó:ka-</u>
DEL	vowel deleting phrase terminal marker
INTJ	interjection
PN	proper name
PM	Prøto-Muskogean
Q	question infix or suffix
V	vowel (bearing an accent or nasalization)
1	first person
1ss	first person singular subject
1sobj	first person singular object

1pls	first person plural subject
1pobj	first person plural object
2	second person
2ss	second person singular subject
2sobj	second person singular object
2pls	second person plural subject
2pobj	second person plural object
3	third person
3s	third person subject
3obj	third person object
3PRO	third person pronoun <u>ibisnó</u> , 'she/he/it/they'
IA	inflection of verb class IA
IB	inflection of verb class IB
IIA	inflection of verb classes IIAi and IIAii
IIB	inflection of verb class IIB
IIC	inflection of verb class IIC
IIIA	inflection of verb class IIIA
IIIB	inflection of verb class IIIB
IIICi	inflection of verb class IIICi
IIICii	inflection of verb class IIICii
IPast	first past tense suffix
IIPast	second past tense suffix
IIIPast	third past tense suffix
IVPast	fourth past tense suffix
*	indicates a hypothetical or reconstructed form
,	indicates an infix morpheme

- : indicates elements on either side are parts of the description of a single morpheme
- () indicates material within parentheses forms an integral part of the morpheme the parentheses follows; optionality of material in translation
- ∅ zero allomorph of the accusative case suffix
- ∅- third person possessive prefix of ca- set of pronoun prefixes; third person subject of ca-stative verb; third person object of transitive verb (usually not indicated)

CHAPTER I

Location, Environment, Culture, and History

The Koasati language is a language of the Muskogean family, which additionally contains its closest relative, Alabama, as well as Creek, Mikasuki, Choctaw and Chickasaw, as well as the extinct languages Hichiti and Apalachee. Koasati is spoken primarily by about 300 people living in southwest Louisiana. A much smaller number of speakers is to be found on and near the Alabama-Coushatta Indian Reservation, near Livingston, Texas. Additionally, many Alabama speakers are reported to have a knowledge of Koasati, although their degree of fluency is not known.¹ Outside of Texas and Louisiana, there do not seem to be more than twenty Koasati speakers; all of these are of Louisiana origin. These people are widely scattered; two families in South Carolina (the largest group of speakers outside Louisiana and Texas), and others in Talahina, Oklahoma; on the Navajo and Zuni reservations, in Los Angeles, California, and on the Umatilla Reservation in Oregon. A larger number of people of Koasati origin, but who do not speak the language can be found in the old Choctaw Nation in Oklahoma, where their part-Choctaw ancestors emigrated about the beginning of the present century.

In Louisiana, the Koasati live in scattered households over an area ten miles long by three miles wide to the north of the town of Elton; a few families live in the town of Elton itself. This area is still forested, although some clearings have been made, primarily around household clusters. There has been no wholesale deforestation in this area, unlike the land south of Elton, which has been converted, on the whole, to rice cultivation. The land is low and rolling, rising gradually from south to north,

and cut by the tortuously winding Bayou Blue (bayboló), a tributary of Bayou Nez Pique (nipikí). The forest is composed primarily of long-leaf pine (coyyí ná:ni) in elevated locations. In low-lying areas are found cypress (waksiná), tupelo (hikahí), honeylocust (tató), swamp cherry (tiłhommá), and crab-apple (sattilbí). Minor components of the pine forest include various species of oaks, red maple (ipłimithátka), beech (nofó), hickory (ocá), basswood (batahkó), magnolia (tolacobá), and other trees. Formerly, in cut over areas sweetgum (kafolá) was first among the trees to regrow; however, at the present it has strong competition from acacia, and especially from Chinese tallow tree, both introduced into the area in this century. In fact, the latter now forms dense groves along some sections of Bayou Blue.

There is a good deal of bird life in the forest. While some species, such as the whooping crane (watolá) and peregrine falcon (ałaná), have been extinct so long that they are known of only by report, other species, such as egrets (foshatká), great blue herons (wahkacayhá), and sparrow-hawks (saliklí) are common, and some such as blackbirds (okcałí) at certain seasons of the year stream across the sky in great numbers. There is abundant animal life, especially of the smaller species. Rabbits (cokfí), raccoons (sawá), opossums (sokhatká), and armadillos (pasattá) are common, as are deer (icó). The larger animals, on the whole, have been killed off by non-Indians, among them wolves (wasó), mountain lions (kwí), bobcats (kawaknasí), and bears (nitá). The latter two are reported to still exist in remote sections along Bayou Nez Pique.

Serpents are numerous and troublesome. In addition to nonpoisonous kinds, such as egg snakes (abacalá), water snakes (osawá), and garter snakes (cintó sapsiwá), venemous snakes abound, including copperheads

(itti+lapátki), water moccasins (hiwá) and rattlesnakes (cintó cobá).

Pigmy rattlesnakes (hacolaycí) are especially dangerous, as they are frequently found near houses, and children have been known to play with them.

In areas where the waters have not been contaminated by silt and pesticides in rice-field runoff, there is a good deal of waterlife. Major fish species include the gar (nittobí), trout (cá:lo), perch (boló), catfish (takká) and pike (bacá). There are several kinds of turtle, including snapper (sattá cobá) and soft-shelled (holawá). In many places alligators (albatá) are abundant; these are generally avoided, although sometimes they are killed for their meat.

Koasati culture at the present time is of mixed origin. Their technology is almost entirely of Western origin, while their social life and customs are, with the notable exception of Congregational Christianity, of aboriginal origin. The Koasati are, on the whole, opposed to ethnological enquiry, and resent prying into the nature and extent of their aboriginal culture. They believe that their traditional culture (athómma imolpinó) is the sole property of the Koasati themselves, and should not be made know to outsiders.² At one time this attitude was extended to the language itself; the teaching of the language to non-Indians was opposed, and up to the first three decades of this century they taught outsiders interested in the Indian language the Mobilian Trade Jargon (yamá) to keep linguistic distance between themselves and non-Indians (see Drechsel, 1979).

Historical Sketch

Koasati history has been little and poorly described. There have been only three general articles about Koasati history published since 1930, of which Smither's (1932) is the most accurate, focusing as it does only on

the Koasati in Texas, and that with ample documentation. On the other hand, Jacobson (1960) attempts to cover the entire history of the Koasati. His work on the Koasati in Louisiana since about 1860 is essentially correct and valuable in that it is based on oral testimony that is now unavailable. However, all the earlier material is extremely sketchy, and not particularly accurate. Especially in his discussion of Koasati history in Texas, where he seems not even to have known of Smither's work, there are numerous inaccuracies. Finally, Flores (1977) discusses only the Koasati settlement in northern Louisiana on the Red River. He clears up a number of Smither's and Jacobson's inaccuracies, but he introduces a number of his own errors concerning Koasati history outside his area of study. The following sketch, based mostly upon original documentary material will attempt a balanced account of Koasati history, insofar as it can be described.

Protohistoric and Early Colonial periods, 1540-1795

The Koasati have been identified with the archaeological culture called the Dallas Focus, located in the upper Tennessee River valley (Lewis and Kneburg, 1946; Bauxar, 1957). At the beginning of the historic period, the Koasati inhabited the upper Tennessee valley from above the mouth of Hiwassee River downstream to the northward bend of the Tennessee. The middle section of the Tennessee valley seems to have been inhabited by the Tuskegee (also spelled Taskigi or Casquigi; c.f. Koasati kaskí, 'warrior,' paucal plural suffix -ki³), and the lower Tennessee valley by the Kaskinampo (Koasati kaski, 'warrior,' námpon, 'to be so many') (Swanton, 1930; Bauxar, 1957). An undefined strip to the east was occupied by the Yuchi (Lewis and Kneburg, 1946; Bauxar, 1957).⁴ Beyond the Yuchi in the

mountains lived the Cherokee. To the north, the poorly-known peoples of the Ohio River drainage lived, including the Tamahitan (Bauxar, 1957:385), who were apparently Siouan-speakers, the Shawnee, and perhaps other Algonquian-speaking groups.⁵ To the south were the Alabama and the Muskogee-speaking Creek. This was the state of affairs when De Soto passed through Koasati territory in 1540, if Swanton's identification of the Koasati with the Coste, Costehe, and Acoste of the chroniclers is correct (Swanton, 1922).

Little can be discovered of their history for almost the next two hundred years. The Beaver Wars of the 1670's, themselves little known, seem to have had a devastating effect on the inhabitants of the Tennessee valley (Hunter, 1978:588-93). Early 18th century maps, based on data gathered many years before, show the Kaskinampo, Tuskegee and Koasati gathering together on an island in the Tennessee river. In addition, the introduction of European diseases almost certainly caused a steep decline in population.

When the Koasati appear again in the historical record, in the second decade of the 18th century, they are found dwelling below the confluence of the Coosa and Talapoosa rivers in what is now south-central Alabama. They seem to have been there as early as 1714 (Pickett, 1851:219). Sieur d'Anville's Carte de la Louisiane of 1732 is the first map showing the location of the Koasati accurately; it is also illuminating in naming the nearby villages: Takiki (Tuskegee), Tamaita (Tamahitan), two Pacana (Muskogee-speaking) villages, and the Alabama villages of Oucchanya (Oakjoy) and Tomonpa. This indicates that a group of refugee tribes from the north emigrated together to this safer locality, in the same way that a group of Shawnee did somewhat later.

Throughout the 18th century, the Koasati were not very prominent, and were frequently confused with the Alabama by the French and later the Spanish. Only when town names are mentioned in the records can one be sure that the Koasati are being dealt with. In 1722, the Koasati chief Big Mortar helped the French to suppress the mutiny at Fort Toulouse (established near the Koasati town in 1714) (Pickens, 1851:265). In the late 1730s, there was a Jesuit missionary, known only as Father Moran(d), stationed at Fort Toulouse, who lived part-time in the Koasati town (Pickens, 1851:317; Delanglez, 1935:483; 485-6). This may be the reason for the assertion by the present-day Koasati that very long ago some of their ancestors were Catholics.

The name of the Koasati town varies considerably in the records of the 18th century. Near the beginning of the century, the French period, it was frequently spelled Conchati, in the Spanish period Cusate, and in the American period, it was often Coosawda.

In the 1770s, the Koasati began to play a prominent role in the affairs of the developing Creek Confederacy. They traded with both Mobile and New Orleans and had close contacts with the Spanish in the two cities. In addition, they had good relations with the Chickasaw. The letters of Alexander McGillvray (Caughey, 1938), who was the most important man in the Confederacy at the time, indicate the importance of the Koasati. At this time, they were under the leadership of the independent and energetic chief known in the English records as Red Shoes, in the Spanish records as Zapatos Colorados, or under the Chickasaw title Sulushmastabe; his Indian name was Stillapikachatta (stillapilka ca.ti. 'Red Laughing One'). Other important Koasati were signatories of the Treaty of New York in 1790. They were Hopoy (ahopoyi. 'Measurer'), Muthtee (immatti. 'One who

Misses'), and Stimafutchkee (stima·facki. 'Gladdener').⁶ Stimafutchkee's portrait was drawn by John Trumbull and published by Swanton (1922).⁷

The most important event in Koasati history occurred at this time-- their migration to Louisiana. Because of his opposition to certain policies of the Confederacy, one of which was a proposed war on the Chickasaws, and because of his good relations with the Spanish of Louisiana, Red Shoes with 214 followers left their homes in 1795, traveled to New Orleans and Mobile for supplies, then removed to a location 60 miles from the confluence of the Red and Mississippi rivers (Nunez, 1958:19-20).⁸ Prominent among his followers were the former Chickasaw chief Paye Mingo, and a man of mixed origin, Billy Ashe.

Somewhat earlier, at the time when a large number of Alabama had emigrated to Louisiana, and unnoticed by contemporary writers, a portion of the Muskogee-speaking town of Pacana, formerly located near the Koasati, removed to Louisiana. In 1805 they were noted by Sibley (Jefferson, 1806: 51) as dwelling on the Calcasieu river. The existence of this group, almost unnoticed by Europeans, would have important consequences for the Koasati in the mid-nineteenth century.

The Koasati remaining in Alabama, 1795-1940

The population of the town of Coosawda was drastically reduced by the emigration of Red Shoes and his followers; nonetheless, it remained important in the affairs of the Confederacy, with a member as a signatory to the Treaty of Limits of 1802 with the United States.

The next leader who arose among the Koasati was Nomatlee Imautla (imahta hoṭi imata 'First War Leader'), more commonly known as Captain Isaacs. He was a hopá:yí, or prophet, as can be discerned from the de-

scription of him by Stiggins (Nunez, 1958:149-50). When Tecumseh and the Shawnee Prophet visited the Creeks, even though Tecumseh spoke in Coosawda, Nomatlee Imautla opposed him, and when the Creek civil war broke out supported the loyal Creeks. The United States intervened, ostensibly as a result of the Fort Mims Massacre (where, however, the majority of the victims were loyal Creeks), but with the purpose of eliminating all Creeks from the territory of the United States (see Debo, 1941). The unfortunate town of Coosawda was attacked and burned, both by rebel Creeks in 1813,⁹ and by U.S. Colonel Gibson in 1814 (Hamilton, 1897:426). A claim was made against the U.S. Government for the damage,¹⁰ but there is no evidence that it was ever settled. Nomatlee Imautla was reported killed during the war, but he survived to sign the peace treaty of 1814.¹¹ Nonetheless, this is the last that is heard of him, and as he does not appear in the census of 1832, he probably died soon after signing the treaty.

Even though Coosawda was a loyal town, its site was not included in the Alabama lands left in Creek hands. It seems not to have been disturbed, however, until the so-called Creek War of 1836 and the final removal of the Creek from Alabama.

During this unsettled time, Coosawda still played an important role, especially towards the end of the period. Numerous councils were held at Coosawda, and there was a new Koasati leader who was signatory to Creek letters and petitions to the U.S. Government. His name was Cochah Hadjo (ka.cca ha.co 'Recklessly Brave Panther'), and he is the last known leader of those Koasati who did not emigrate to Louisiana.¹²

Important demographic information concerning this group of Koasati comes from this period. There is a census of the Koasati taken as part of the

general census of the Creek in preparation for allotment of their lands in Alabama.¹³ It shows the effects, not only of the war, but also of Red Shoes' emigration. There were only 32 families in Coosawda, with a total of 82 persons. It does not seem likely that there were ever much more than 100 persons in the town after 1795. There are also indications in the census as to why the Koasati did not maintain their language and culture after removal to Oklahoma. There was an unbalanced sex ratio, 32 males to 50 females; this ratio was even more unbalanced for unmarried persons, 9 males to 20 females. The likelihood of marriage with non-Koasati was great, and the influence of the Creek, with whom marriage alliances would most probably would occur, was increased.¹⁴ Finally, the census notes that the Koasati, unlike other Creek towns, did not own any slaves.

Little is written of these Koasati after the removal to Oklahoma that began in 1836. It is known that a few Koasati lingered on in Alabama as late as 1847.¹⁵ In Oklahoma, the Koasati divided into two towns, called Quassarte No. 1 and Quassarte No. 2. This division of an already small population, coupled with their removal, seems to have accelerated acculturation. The final notice of these Koasati was in the Creek census of 1891 (Debo, 1941). The population of Quassarte No. 1 was 79, and Quassarte No. 2 had a population of 48, a total of 127 persons. At some time within the next quarter-century, Quassarte No. 2 disappeared. In 1939, the town of Quassarte No. 1 federated with the town of Alabama to form the Alabama-Quassarte Tribal Town. In the preamble to the Constitution of the tribal town, the people of Quassarte identify themselves as Creeks.

The Koasati beyond the Mississippi and in Texas, 1795-1870

The Koasati under Red Shoes did not remain long at their site on the Red river, but soon moved on (Nunez, 1958:21-2). They seem to have established

their primary village on the Sabine river (Jefferson, 1806:51), the location of which was six miles north of the confluence of Bayou Anacoco and the Sabine.¹⁶ A secondary village was established on the Red river north of the Great Raft, in the territory of the Caddo (Freeman & Custis, 1807: 21-23). This was located on Miller's Bluff, southeast of the town of Gillian, Louisiana. The Koasati seem to have ranged widely over eastern Texas and western Louisiana; eventually, because of friction between them and the new American rulers of Louisiana, as well as because of the invitation of the Spanish, Red Shoes led the Koasati out of Louisiana and into Spanish Texas (Sibley, 1922; Cox, 1913-14:157). They settled on the Trinity river, about forty miles north of its mouth.

From this time, until about 1850, the Koasati were frequently noticed, as their villages lay on the route of travelers and immigrants between the United States and Texas. Red Shoes was still living in 1816 (Woodward, 1859: 13); his successor as chief was Mingo Falaya, known in English as Long King.¹⁷

The Koasati kept on good terms with the Spanish and with other, immigrant European groups; they frequented the newly established town of Galveston (Koasati kalfisti) to trade (Yoakum, 1856:197), and they aided the ill-fated French colony of Champ d'Asile on the Trinity (Hartmann and Millard, 1819: 33-36). Their relations with most of the native Indian groups of Texas were good, especially with the Bidai, Karankawa and Atakapa (Jefferson, 1806: 51). However, they were in a state of enmity with the Tonkawa and with the Comanche. Hostilities between the Koasati and Tonkawa are mentioned in a letter from Steven Austin to Luciano Garcia in 1823 (Barker, 1924:701-02), and in a letter from J. Child to Austin in 1824; the former suggests employing the Koasati to help exterminate the Tonkawa (Barker, 1924:735-36). The

Koasati seem to have been able to hold their own against the Comanche; Jean Louis Berlandier records in his Journey to Mexico (Ohiendorf et al., 1980:561) that, in 1832, a war party of 29 Koasati fought off 150 Comanche, and in 1833 had made a foray into Comanche territory and had slain 70 Comanche.

In international affairs, the Koasati fought on the side of the Republicans in the Mexican Revolution against Spain (Walker, 1963:460-467) and supported the Texans in their revolution against Mexico (Smither, 1932:92-93).

At this point, the Koasati had reached a peak in numbers and prosperity which, after the disasters of the late 1830s, they would never achieve again. This prosperity is reflected in the census taken of them by J. Francisco Madero in 1831 (Smither, 1932:90-1). The Koasati lived in two villages named Colete and Battista, with a total population of 426 persons (compare the 1832 census of the Koasati in Alabama: 82 persons). They "had a goodly number of beeves and horses and plenty of hogs. They planted corn, beans, sweet potatoes, and peas, and raised enough for themselves as well as a surplus to sell and use for the entertainment of strangers" (Smither, 1932:91). The paramount chief was Long King; the subchiefs were Nekima and Keileite (later known as Kalita).¹⁸

This state of prosperity and stability began to dissipate in the later 1830s. The Indians suffered from an epidemic of dysentery in 1833, and again in 1839 (Dwyer, 1921).¹⁹ Also, beginning in 1839, there were troubles with white settlers who had begun to move into the Trinity river area. The Koasati chief was now Kalita, Long King and Nekima both apparently having died. Kalita made a petition to Mirabeau Buonaparte Lamar, President of

Texas, concerning the depredations of the settlers; the latter interceded on his behalf (Gulick and Elliot, 1931 11:16-17; 39). However, seemingly due to these conflicts, a party of about 30 Koasati seceded under the leadership of Ben Ashe, son of Red Shoes' companion Billy Ashe.²⁰ This group migrated to the Chickasaw Nation in Indian Territory, from whence they began to make raids into Texas over the Red river in October of 1838.²¹ In May of 1840, they had been persuaded to return to the Trinity; however, because of the opposition of an official, they were refused safe-conduct, and returned to the Chickasaw Nation (Winfrey, 1959 1:131-32). These Koasati continued to make intermittent raids on Texas, primarily in Fannin County, in 1841-42 (Strickland, 1930-31:50-53; Winfrey, 1959 1:132-34). However, they seem to have suffered heavy casualties; by 1843 only Ben Ashe and four followers remained in north Texas (Winfrey, 1959 1:281). The others were either dead, or had returned south. It should be noted that, after this time, no matter what provocation they suffered, the Koasati never again went to war with the Americans, which probably insured their survival.

At the petition of the Koasati and Alabama, the Congress of the Republic of Texas granted them each a reservation in 1840 (Smither, 1932:94). However, a surveyor would not be sent out until 1843; he reported that the Battista village had been occupied by whites who would not return it; Colete village was owned by a white man who permitted the Indians to continue dwelling there. He also noted that the Koasati numbered only 135 to 140 persons (Winfrey, 1959 1:146-47). William Bollaert's journals also testify to the decrease in Koasati population. In 1842, he notes the Koasati had 30 to 40 warriors (about 140-170 people) and that ten years earlier they

they had 100 warriors (about 400-500 people) (Hollan and Butler, 1956:115-16). Although the decrease in population seems to have been partially caused by the epidemics of 1833 and 1839, the major cause of population loss was emigration to Louisiana to escape the troubles in Texas. Southwestern Louisiana, where the Koasati re-appeared, was little known and largely unsurveyed until the 1880s. Their village was on the Calcasieu river in the same general area that the Pacana Muskogee were noted in 1805. This and the fact that the records of St. Peter's Church²² indicate that several persons among the Koasati around the turn of the century were Muskogee suggests that the Koasati settled either near or among the Pacana.

Kalita died some time after 1842; his son, Chickasaw Abbey, became chief of the Texas Koasati (Smither, 1932:100). The Koasati never obtained the reservation promised them. Some moved onto or near the Alabama reservation when it was set up; others remained near Shepherd, Texas. A slow but steady migration to Louisiana caused the latter group to shrink in numbers.²³ This movement culminated in the removal of Chickasaw Abbey's son, John Abbey, to Louisiana in the late 1880s or early 1890s where he became chief.

The history of the Koasati in Texas since about 1860 has been indistinguishable from that of the Alabama. Little appears on the Koasati in Texas after 1844. A very complimentary article appeared about them in the 1861 Texas Almanac, and they also served briefly with the Confederacy in the Civil War (Martin, 1967:586-592). Other than these few notices, they are barely distinguished from the Alabama.

The Koasati in Louisiana, 1840-present

The Koasati who returned to Louisiana settled along the Calcasieu river. Over 250 persons were living there about 1860 (Jacobson, 1960:105). They

did not reside in a nucleated village as Jacobson has mistakenly supposed; present day tradition says that the Indians lived in scattered household groups between the Whiskey Chito (Choctaw oski chitto 'great canebrake') and the Calcasieu, primarily in the area of the present town of Indian Village.²⁴ In addition to the Koasati and Muskogee, there was also a band of Choctaw who lived along the Calcasieu.²⁵ In 1884, the Indian Village site was sold out from underneath the Indians (Jacobson, 1960:105-6). With the help of a white friend, the combined group of Indians homesteaded land north of Elton, Louisiana, some 17 miles from their former home. Each head of a family received 160 acres,²⁶ thus the holdings of the Indians were approximately 3,000 acres. It is reported that the U.S. Government held 160 acres in trust for the Koasati in 1898 (sic for 1889?) (Coushatta Tribal Community Recreation Plan, 1979:3); however there seems to be no contemporary documentation for this trust land.

Around 1910, there was a major emigration of people of Choctaw descent from the settlement to Oklahoma, as part of the second Choctaw Removal. Only one Choctaw family remained with the Koasati after this time.²⁷ The Indians suffered severely in the influenza epidemic of 1918-1919. The population was reduced from about 140 to 110; many of the victims were children.

No one succeeded John Abbey as chief when he died in 1910. About the year 1918, Jackson Langley (Indian name satowáyhki), grandnephew of John Abbey, was elected chief. At what point the office of chief became elective is not clear; among the Koasati there has been a strong trend for a hereditary chieftainship.²⁸

In the late 1920s, Jackson Langley attempted to travel to Washington, D.C. to get aid for the Koasati, but he did not reach his destination.²⁹

This seems to have been the reason for the Koasati's unprecedented replacement of Jackson Langley with a new chief, about 1930. He was the son of John Abbey, Jefferson Abbey (Indian name sacikilli). With his interpreter Douglas John, he went to Washington to try to obtain help for the Indians. Apparently as a result, the Bureau of Indian Affairs offered some educational services, in addition to the Congregational Church school (opened about 1905).³⁰ Some contract medical services were also provided.

The Koasati held no trust land, except for that nebulous 160 acres previously mentioned. All the Indians owned tracts of land individually. As time went on, a number of tracts of land were sold, or seized to pay back taxes. The primary purchaser was the Bell Lumber Company, which added these tracts to its extensive forest holdings in the area. By the 1960s, Indian-owned land was reduced to about 1,300 acres, widely scattered in the forest north of Elton.

Jefferson Abbey died in 1951. In the election of 1952 there were three candidates for chief: Jefferson Abbey's interpreter, Douglas John, his son, Martin Abbey, and his grandson Bel Abbey. Martin Abbey won the election and became chief. Then in 1953, the United States cut off all aid, apparently in conjunction with the termination of the Alabama-Coushatta Reservation in Texas. Martin Abbey made numerous trips throughout Louisiana trying to get help of some kind for the Koasati, even managing to interest newspapers in the Indians (Reed, 1965). The Koasati were still unable to gain federal recognition, and by about 1970 it became clear that they would have to organize a government according to BIA plans before recognition could take place. Accordingly, Martin Abbey stepped aside as the representative of the Koasati, though he retained the title of chief.

A government was organized, and Ernest Sickey²⁹ became tribal Chairman. At this time, the Choctaw name for the Koasati (ko:ʒata), long used in English to name the Koasati, was adopted as the official appellation of the tribe (the Coushatta Tribal Community). Federal recognition was finally extended on June 27, 1973, and the first federal funds were made available in 1975. This ushered in a short period of general prosperity. A complex of buildings was erected for a Community Center, including a health center. The tribal government provided a good deal of employment for needy people, either directly or through Comprehensive Employment and Training Act funds. In addition, housing rehabilitation was begun. Medical services were extended to all tribal members. Trust land increased from 15 acres in 1972 to 135 acres in 1977. This period came to an abrupt end with the Republican victory in 1980. Funding was cut severely; CETA funding was eliminated entirely. The housing rehabilitation program came to a halt, and medical services were withdrawn from all but chronically ill tribal members. Disaffection with the tribal government grew, and in January of 1985 Ernest Sickey was ousted as Tribal Chairman, amid great controversy, and replaced by Edwin Poncho.

Prospects for amelioration of the financial situation are entirely dependent on the vagaries of national politics. Partial or total funding could be restored if the Democrats regain power, or the situation could remain static if the Republicans remain in power. Although the outlook for the Koasati is not as dim as it was in the early 1960s, it cannot be said at this time that it is very bright.

Previous Linguistic Work

The Koasati language, like the majority of Southeastern Indian languages having only a small number of speakers, was completely ignored by the missionary workers of the 19th century that reduced Creek and Choctaw to writing. By the time the missionaries had begun their work in earnest, the ancestors of the modern Koasati had already migrated to Texas; only a remnant population of speakers remained in Alabama. Only after the latter had been removed to Oklahoma was the first notice taken of their language.

In 1857, General Albert Pike took a vocabulary of Koasati in Oklahoma.³² This vocabulary, taken in conjunction with other vocabularies of Indian languages in Oklahoma, is now in the archives of the Masonic Library in Washington, D.C. Some items from this list were published by Gatschet (1884:56); otherwise nothing of his work has appeared in print.

Daniel Garrison Brinton appears to have done some linguistic work on the Koasati in Oklahoma; in a manuscript of Gatschet (ca. 1881-1886) appears a short Koasati vocabulary and a biblical verse translated into the language. This is attributed to Brinton, and written in the Creek alphabet, with which Brinton, but not Gatschet, was familiar.³³

Gatschet himself did fieldwork on Koasati, in Oklahoma (1885) and Texas (1886). The material he gathered in Oklahoma is more extensive than that from Texas; it also shows that the language was under strong Creek influence and differed in a minor degree from the present-day language.³⁴

The next period of fieldwork was done by John R. Swanton (1910; 1930). He collected numerous traditional narratives and was instrumental in the preservation of a great deal of now-forgotten Koasati literature. However, it is clear from what he published on the language (Swanton, 1922; 1924) that he was not fluent in the language. Swanton published free transla-

tions of the Koasati texts that he gathered (1928).

Around 1930, Douglas John, a native Koasati speaker and interpreter for then chief Jefferson Abbey, prepared a manuscript entitled "How to Talk the Indian Language." This contained words and sentences written in an idiosyncratic orthography. Given to the Koasati pastor, Paul Leeds, this manuscript is preserved in the possession of the Reverend and Mrs. Donald Johnson of Kinder, Louisiana.³⁵

The next professional linguist to study Koasati was Mary R. Haas, who did her work in 1938-1939. Besides vocabulary and paradigmatic materials, she also gathered texts (Haas; n.d.). She has published much of her material on Koasati in various articles in the journals Language and the International Journal of American Linguistics.

In the 1960s the Anthropology Department at Tulane University employed Bel Abbey to help teach a course in linguistic field methods; I began fieldwork on Koasati with such a course in 1977. Tape recordings and other materials on the language gathered in the course of these classes are preserved in the Anthropology Department.

Additional work on Koasati was done by Thurston Dale Nicklas in the 1970s (Nicklas, n.d.) with a speaker who had migrated from Louisiana to Oklahoma, and by Frank Trechsel (1977) who did work in Louisiana. In the 1980s linguistic work was being done by Gene Burnham of the Summer Institute of Linguistics in order to translate the Bible into Koasati.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER I

¹Their fluency may be comparable to that of those Koasati who know Alabama; a passive knowledge of the language with the ability to point out vocabulary differences. To the Koasati speaker with no familiarity with Alabama, the language is unintelligible. This fact has been overlooked by many linguists, who have continued to classify Koasati and Alabama as dialects of the same language. They are, indeed, more closely related to each other than to any other Muskogean language, but extensive exposure is needed for speakers of one to comprehend speakers of the other. In fact, one speaker who had heard Mikasuki spoken claimed that Mikasuki was more like Koasati than Alabama was.

²Koasati culture has never been fully described in print. Lyda Taylor's unpublished master's thesis (1938) contains an outline of their culture, but a number of aspects were missed, or were concealed from her. Koasati culture, although influenced by Creek culture, was nevertheless distinct in many ways. Due to the universal request of my consultants that their culture not be discussed in print, there will be no mention of it here.

³The plural suffix ki is now restricted to nouns derived synchronically or historically with the diminutive suffix; otherwise the plural suffix -ha is used.

⁴Contact between the Yuchi and Koasati is indicated by such vocabulary as: Koasati há:hin, Yuchi há?i, 'to shoot and hit;' K. sattá, Y ts?atha, 'turtle;' and K. wacíná, Y wajine, 'Englishman.' (Yuchi forms from Ballard, 1973).

⁵There also seems to have been some contact with speakers of Algonquian languages. Koasati iskocí, 'smoke,' is similar to Shawnee skote, 'fire.'

Also, delayed imperatives, not found in any other Muskogean language so far, indicate some kind of contact with Algonquian languages, where such systems were common.

⁶Because of the similarity in the meanings of their names, Stillapika-chatta may possibly be the same person as Stimafutchkee. The two names do not cooccur in any document so far seen.

⁷It should be noted that all the Indian names are Muskogee in origin, not Koasati. Even now, such Indian names that are still used or remembered seem to be foreign in form; some such as the woman's name sihó:ya (Sehoy) are Muskogee.

⁸Dispatches of Carondelet, Bundle 2354, No. 746; unnumbered

⁹American State Papers, Vol. 7, p. 846

¹⁰American State Papers, Vol. 8, p. 494

¹¹Indian Treaties and Laws and Regulations Relating to Indian Affairs, p. 207.

¹²Cochah Hadjo was, however, not the chief. In the 1832 census, the first place on the list is given to Mico Hatka (mikko hatka). The name merely means 'White King,' and he was almost surely chief (mikko) of Coosawda.

¹³Senate Document 512, 23rd Congress, First Session, Vol. 4, p. 267.

¹⁴This is reflected linguistically in Gatschet's vocabulary gathered in Oklahoma in 1885. See footnote 34 below.

¹⁵Senate Executive Document No. 198, 50th Congress, First Session, pp. 12; 20.

¹⁶Map of the River Sabine, 1840. All maps, except for the latter, that show the Koasati village, are based on Sibley's report (Jefferson, 1807), the distance mentioned between the village and Natchitoches therein being

in error.

¹⁷Long King is memorialized in the name of a creek that flows into the Trinity river.

¹⁸The name of this man is spelled variously in the sources. From an undated manuscript of Swanton the pronunciation can be inferred to be kaliti.

¹⁹The articles of J.O. Dwyer in Galveston newspapers from 1921-1923 which concern the Indians, although primarily fiction, seem to contain some factual material. Because of their early date, it is unlikely that any of the articles contain material from Swanton's publication of 1922.

²⁰In all the sources, his name is written as if it were an Indian name, Ben-ash or Benash. However, the form is wrong for an Indian name (especially a Koasati one), and the earlier prominence of Billy Ashe has led to the conclusion herein.

²¹Senate Executive Document No. 14, 32nd Congress, 2nd Session, pp 25-6.

²²These records are in the possession of the Rev. and Mrs. Donald Johnson, former pastor of St. Peter's Church, now living in Kinder, Louisiana. They kindly allowed me to read and copy extensively from these documents.

²³Martin Abbey (born 1896), personal communication.

²⁴Jacobson was deceived by the presence of an itbítka, or dancing ground, there, which he identified with the Creek square ground, the focus of a Creek town. There was formerly an itbítka in the present Koasati settlement, which has never been a nucleated town.

²⁵Arzilie Langley (1883-1975), tape recording.

²⁶Martin Abbey, personal communication.

²⁷Nonetheless, Choctaw did not become extinct among the Koasati, and at the present there are about a dozen persons who are fluent in the language.

²⁸Since 1830, the Koasati chiefs have been Kalita, Kalita's son Chickasaw Abbey, his son, John Abbey, his son, Jefferson Abbey, and his son Martin Abbey. Only Jackson Langley was not in the direct line of descent.

²⁹Martha John (born 1908), personal communication.

³⁰The Congregational school, under the direction of L.L. Simmons from about 1905 to 1935, was instrumental in the preservation of the Koasati language. In a period when languages other than English were severely discouraged throughout the country, not only did Simmons, a white man, speak Koasati and used it in the classroom as an aid to teaching, but he encouraged his pupils to broaden their own knowledge of the language.

³¹The earliest person known with the name of Sickey is called a Musko-gee in the church records. The name probably comes from the war name sikiyi:, 'stabber.' The surname Abbey, on the other hand, is apparently a Chickasaw war name, abi, 'killer.' The surname Battise seems to be taken from the name of the old village of Bautista. Langley (lankilí) and Celestine/Sylestine (silistí:na) are of French origin, while Poncho (poncó) is likely to be of Spanish origin. The surnames Williams and Thompson come from English, and the surname Obe from a corruption of the nickname 'Old Blue Eyes,' given to a Choctaw man named John at the turn of the century. The surname John originated at the same time from a man named Alexander John Scott, who gave up his surname in disgust with the behavior of his father.

³²Letter from Albert Pike to J.D. Barron, August 21, 1887. Published in Arrow Points, Vol. 18, Nos. 4,5,6; 1931:49.

³³This is shown by Gatschet's retranscription of Brinton's Koasati material later on in the same manuscript. It is clear that he did not realize that r stood for /t/ or c for /c/.

³⁴Creek influence is indicated by the use of words such as lamhi for Koasati talokkó cobá, 'eagle,' and the loss of the terms for north (falamí, replaced by kasátkafa, 'in the cold place') and south (okamahali, replaced by lókabafa, 'in the warm place'). Dialectal variation is indicated by such words as Ok. hacotinini, La. hacotiní:li, 'dragonfly,' and Ok. nabáhka, La. labáhka, 'wet thing.'

³⁵Other manuscript works by Indians, in both Koasati and English are reported to have existed. Some may have been lost, but manuscripts of all kinds are carefully guarded and hidden away, and are not available for the inspection of non-Indians.

CHAPTER 2
PHONOLOGY

Koasati has the following phonemes:

	bilabial	dental	alveopalatal	velar	glottal
Stops					
voiceless	p	t	c	k	(?)
voiced	b				
Resonants					
nasal	m	n			
lateral		l			
glide	w		y		:
Fricatives	f	þ	s		h
Vowels	front	central	back	Pitch accents	
high	i		o	´	high
low		a		`	low
				V	mid (unmarked)
				ˇ	high rising-falling

CONSONANTS

The consonants fall into three natural classes according to how the nasal consonant of the am- series of possessive prefixes is assimilated to that consonant. With stops, the nasal assimilates to the point of articulation, with resonants, the nasal is converted into that resonant; and with fricatives, the nasal causes the previous vowel to be nasalized and disappears. These assimilations are shown in the following list.

	<u>Root</u>	<u>Possessed form</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
Stops:	pacokkó:ka	am-pacokkó:ka	'my chair'
	towá	an-towá	'my onion'
	có:ba	an-cicó:ba ¹	'my horse'
	kastó	an-kastó	'my fleas'
	bayá:na	am-bayá:na	'my stomach'
Resonants:	má:ma	am-má:ma	'my mother'
	na:sincá:ka	an-na:sincá:ka	'my book'
	laykí	al-laykí	'my dung'
	wiló	aw-wiló	'my shoes'
	yó:si	ay-yó:si	'my elder daughter'
Fricatives:	fó:si	ǰ-fó:si	'my bird'
	ʔakfó:si	ǰ-ʔakfó:si	'my (woman's) brother'
	sikkací	ǰ-sikkací	'my saw'
	holikfá	ǰ-holikfá	'my shirt'

Articulation and Allophony

Stops

The stops /p/, /t/, /c/, and /k/ are voiceless, fortis and aspirated in initial and medial position. In final position they tend to be unreleased. /c/, which is phonetically [tʃ], has the pronunciation [tʃ̰] in the speech of adolescents and young adults.

/awó yáhci/ [awó yahtʃ̰si] 'It is just like grandpa.'

/k/ has a rare labialized allophone [k^w] that occurs only before /o/.

/wakó:kat/ [wak^wó:kat] 'It cracked.'

/b/ is voiced, fortis and unaspirated in all positions. It is unusual not

only in that it is assymmetric, but also in that it patterns more frequently with resonants than with stops. For example the underlying cluster /b/ surfaces as /bb/, just like underlying /m/, /n/, and /w/ surface as /mm/, /nn/, and /ww/ respectively. This does not occur with other stop-l clusters. /b/ also has a nasal quality, which is noticeable when a geminate /b/ is affected by the h-grade (see Chapter 9).

Resonants

There are five resonants, two nasals, a lateral, and two glides. The nasals are the bilabial /m/ and dental /n/; the glides are the bilabial /w/ and the palatal /y/; and the lateral is /l/. In a few words /l/ interchanges with /n/, as in intolihná 'work' for iltolihná. Additionally, /l/ has a rare alveolar allophone [r] in intervocalic position.

taktalasbasí	[taktarasbasí]	'handkerchief'
folayhkí	[forayhkí]	'personal name of a woman'

Fricatives

There are four fricatives, /f/, /ɬ/, /s/, and /h/. /f/ is a bilabial fricative, [ɬ] is a lateral fricative, and /s/ has a number of allophones. It has the dental allophone /s/ when it occurs as any member of a consonant cluster of initially in a word before /a/. It has the alveolar allophone /ʃ/ in word-final position, and initially in a word before /i/, and the palatal allophone /š/ intervocalically, and initially before /o/.

ostamí:l	[ostamí:l]	'go and get it for me'
salaklá	[salaklá]	'wild goose'
í:pa:s	[í:pa:ʃ]	'she ate it'
silbahká	[ʃilbahká]	'snail'

f:silit	[f:šilit]	'I received it'
sopátlit	[šopátlit]	'she fried it'

There is also sibilant harmony among the allophones of /s/ in syllables of the shape sVs; in such a syllable the allophone of the initial /s/ harmonized with that of the final /s/, as in sóslit 'he skinned them,' which is pronounced [sóslit], not *[šóslit]. Finally, there is a rare alveolar allophone of /s/ in final position, [r], as in o:támmo:s, [o:támmo:r] 'it is just sunset.' There is no possibility of confusing the [r] allophone of /s/ with the [r] allophone of /l/, as the latter can occur only word-medially, and the former can occur only word-finally.

The fricative /h/ also has a number of allophones. Word initially and intervocalically, it is a voiceless aspirate. Word finally, /h/ is a voiceless continuation of the preceding vowel. In the speech of men, final /h/ is difficult to distinguish from the prolongation of any word-final vowel which is typical of their speech. However, in the speech of women, who close off all vowel-final words with a glottal stop, it is easy to distinguish, as in the following:

<u>woman speaking</u>	<u>man speaking</u>	<u>phonemic form</u>	<u>gloss</u>
[iskónnaʔ]	[iskónnɔ:]	iskónna	'low'
[iskónnɔa]	[iskónnɔa]	iskónnɔh	'let him not drink'

As an initial member of a consonant cluster, /h/ has a variety of phonetic realizations. It can be a voiceless continuation of the preceding vowel, as in iltóhnot, [iltóónot], 'she worked;' it can be an aspirate followed by an open transition, as in [iltóhənot]; or it can be pharyngealized, as in i:páhci, [i:páhci], 'she is eating.' The pharyngeal allophone of /h/

occurs primarily before /c/, although allophone harmonization can occur if /h/ both opens and closes a syllable, and the second /h/ is pharyngeal: hahcí 'river,' usually [hahcí], sometimes [ħahcí]. The pharyngeal allophone also occurs in harsh speech, such as is used speaking to dogs, as in ha:láhk [ħo:lóhk], 'move, cur!' The usual pronunciation is [ha:láhk]. Note the backing of /a/ to [ɔ] in the presence of the pharyngeal consonant.

When /h/ is the final member of a consonant cluster across a morpheme boundary, it can fuse with the preceding consonant if the latter is a stop or fricative. With stops, /h/ forms an aspirated unit.

<u>phonemic form</u>	<u>phonetic form</u>	<u>gloss</u>	<u>morphemes</u>
thátka	[tʰátka] ²	'white man'	(á:)ti; hátka
inkosáphíl	[inkosápʰíl]	'we pray to him'	im-; kosá:pi; -híli

With fricatives, /h/ assimilates partially to the point of articulation of the preceding fricative.

shompánka	[sʰompánka] ³	'toy'	s-; hompánka
koyófhíl	[koyófʰíl]	'we cut it'	koyóffi; -híli

VOWELS

There are six phonemic vowels in Koasati, the short and long high front vowels /i/ and /i:/; the short and long low central vowels /a/ and /a:/; and the short and long high back vowels /o/ and /o:/.⁴ Although nasalized vowels are of frequent occurrence, all word-medial nasal vowels are the result of either a nasal-fricative sequence, or the operation of the n-grade, which causes morphemic nasalization. Word-finally, nasalization is the result of a nasalizing phrase terminal marker.⁵ Therefore, although nasalized vowels will be written in this dissertation, it must be realized that nasal vowels are not autonomous phonemes in Koasati.

The short vowels /i/ and /o/ are shifted in articulation to [ɪ] and [ʊ] in closed word-final syllables. In addition /i/ has the allophone [ɪ] in all closed syllables.

/hókfit/	[hókfit]	'she put it on'
/íkbot/	[íkʙʊt]	'he did not kill it'

Rarely, /i/ will have the allophone [ɛ]; and /o/ will have the allophone [u].

/yilahá/	[yɛlahá]	'orange (fruit)'
/solitá:wa/	[sulitá:wa]	'soldier' (note: not *[ʒulitá:wa])

The reasons for these allophones is not clear, but it must be noted in these two cases noted, the words are ultimately loan-words from Spanish: naranja and soldado.

Of the long vowels, only /i:/ undergoes an articulatory shift in closed final syllables, to [e:].

/hí:c/	[hé:c]	'he sees'
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Even this allophone is variable, and can be heard ranging from [i:] to [e:]

In open word-final syllables, all vowels, but in the speech of men only, are prolonged. In this environment, /i/ has the allophone [e]. In the speech of women, however, open final syllables are closed with a glottal stop, and /i/ for them has the allophone [ɪ].⁶

	<u>Man speaking</u>	<u>Woman speaking</u>	<u>gloss</u>
/abacalá/	[abacalá:]	[abacaláʔ]	'rat snake'
/o:billí/	[o:billé:]	[o:billíʔ]	'gallinule'
/hanonó/	[hanonó:]	[hanonóʔ]	'bullfrog'

MARGINAL PHONEMES

There are two marginal phonemes in Koasati, the glottal stop /ʔ/ and vowel nasalization. Both are at once the reflection of morphemes and the result of morphophonemic processes.

The glottal stop

The glottal stop is a morpheme infixed before the penultimate syllable of a verb to indicate the interrogative, and it induces a high accent in each of the flanking syllables. Therefore, the glottal stop can occur before any consonant; it replaces vowel length, but is deleted before a consonant cluster, only the distinctive accents remaining to indicate the interrogative. In careful speech, there is an open transition between the glottal stop and a following consonant; in rapid speech it is a true cluster.

<u>positive</u>	<u>phon. form</u>	<u>interrogative</u>	<u>careful speech</u>	<u>rapid speech</u>
/ishí:c/	[ishé:c]	/ishí?cá/	[ishí?áccá]	[s ^h í?cá]
'you see it'		'do you see it?'		

The glottal stop is inserted between the members of a vowel cluster and occurs after word final vowels in the speech of women. This use of the glottal stop is purely phonetic, and its deletion does not affect meaning.

<u>phonemic form</u>	<u>phonetic form</u>	<u>gloss</u>
/ciakhí:cot/	[ci?akhí:cvt]	'I did not see you.'
/cano:oksáhl/	[cano:?oksáál]	'I have a severe case of the mumps.'
/hapí/	[hapí?]	'salt'
/honó/	[honó?]	'skirt'

Finally, the glottal stop does occur as an autonomous phoneme in two demonstratives, /ya?á/, 'this one here,' and /ma?á/, 'that one there,' and their derivatives.⁷

Nasalization

Nasalization is the realization of two morphemes; one that occurs word-finally, the other that occurs word-medially. The word-final nasalization morpheme is a phrase terminal marker, used when the other phrase terminal marker, which deletes final unaccented vowels, would cause difficulty in

comprehension. This phrase terminal marker has, in the speech of some elderly persons, the allophones [w] after /o/, [h] after /a/, and [ɣ] after /i/.

<u>Nasalization term</u>	<u>gloss</u>	<u>Deletion term</u>	<u>gloss</u>
í:pat̪	'she ate it a moment ago'	í:pat	'she ate it.'
í:pat̪ɔ	'she ate it some time ago'		

<u>Phonemic form</u>	<u>usual pronunciation</u>	<u>elderly pronunciation</u>
hí:catoho:lɪmpáhɔɔ	[hí:cató::lɪmpóʃɪɔɔ]	[hí:cató::lɪmpóʃɪɔw]
'he saw it, so it is said'		
akkám̪ɪ	[akkám̪ɪ]	[akkám̪ɪy]
'it is just like that'		

The word-medial morpheme of nasalization is the n-grade, which nasalizes the vowel of the penultimate syllable of a verb. This internal change adds a feeling of intensity to the meaning of the verb.

<u>Unnasalized form</u>	<u>gloss</u>
amihóssa:s	'I suffer from a feeling of emptiness'
<u>Nasalized form</u>	<u>gloss</u>
amihóssa:s	'I am really suffering from a feeling of emptiness.'

Phonetic nasalization is the result of a nasal-fricative consonant cluster across a morpheme boundary.

<u>Morphemes</u>	<u>pronunciation</u>	<u>gloss</u>
akkam,hilɪ,:ci	[akkəhilí:c]	'we do it'
in- -hilká	[jhilká]	'gift'

In this dissertation, words such as [akkəhilí:c] are written phonetically (akkəhilí:c, not akkamhilí:c), in order not to confuse them with those words which have a nasal-fricative cluster in a monomorphemic item, such as /asámhat/ pronounced [a.sám.hat], meaning 'it (boiled food) is overcooked,' which is never

pronounced with a nasal vowel.

ACCENTS

Koasati has three pitch-accents, the high, [´], low, [˘] and high rising-falling, [ˆ]. In addition, there is a mid-level of pitch which is unmarked in this dissertation. If the pitch levels are arbitrarily assigned numbers with 1 being low and 7 over-high, the low level would be 1, the mid level would be 3, the high level would be 5, and the high-rising-falling would be 6-7-6. The following are examples of the various pitches.

<u>Pitch level</u>			<u>Gloss</u>
Low	canì:h	[ca ³ ni:h ¹]	'I am fat'
High	nihá	[ni ³ ha:5]	'fat'
Rising-falling	nì:hǎ::ho:s	[ni:1ha::6-7-6ho:5 ³]	'it is real real fat'

All the pitch-accents are morphologically motivated. The high and low accents in verbs are induced by the Indicative form of the verb. Most verbs take the high accent in the Indicative; only a few take the low, and these may be archaic forms. The Aorist form induces only a high accent, while the h-grade and n-grade seem to follow the Indicative. The intensive induces the high rising-falling accent. For further discussion and exemplification of these terms see the discussion on internal changes below.

Allotones

Koasati pitches vary to an extent depending on their position in a word. A mid pitch, in initial position, if followed by at least one other mid syllable will be lowered from 3 to 2.

acolokciwíhli	[a ² co ³ lok ³ ci ³ wii ⁵ li]	'angel'
haloló	[ha ² lo ³ lo ⁵]	'white ibis'

A high pitch, if followed in a word by certain accent-inducing suffixes such as Vhci 'progressive,' or Vhco 'habitual,' will be lowered from level 5 to level 4.

í:pałíhci [i:4pa3li5hci3] 'I am eating'

There is no change, however, in the pitch level of an accented syllable when it is followed by a syllable bearing a natural accent.

hopáhíł [ho3pa5hił5] 'we play'

In rapid or hushed speech, a word final mid syllable preceded by a high syllable will be raised from level 3 to level 4.

hoppó:lat [ho3ppo:5lat4] 'he defecated'

palá:na [pa3la:5na4] 'plate'

Downdropping in the level of pitch as has been recorded for other Muskogean languages (Mikasuki, Derrick-Mescua, 1980:250; Alabama, Lupardus, 1982:53-54; Muskogee, Haas, 1977:196) has not been noticed in Koasati.

Location of pitch can distinguish between two items, as in the following example.

<u>Phonemic form</u>	<u>Morphemic breakdown</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
sakihpó	sakihpá-o-ŷ	'it is a mink'
sakíhpø	sa,kí,hpa-o-ŷ	'it is not air-dried'

CONSONANT CLUSTERS

The majority of all consonant clusters in Koasati are of two members. Three member clusters are very rare, and most are the result of the h-grade (see Chapter 9).⁸ Table 2.1 illustrates the kind of consonant clusters to be found, and the following list gives an example of each. In the list, morpheme boundaries are not indicated; some clusters occur only across morpheme boundaries, although every effort was made to find clusters in monomorphemic words. Items glossed as infinitives are actually third person indicative forms followed by a switch-reference suffix, as the verbal noun (See Chapter 7) is often irregular.

TABLE 2.1

CONSONANT CLUSTER CHART

	b	c	f	h	k	l	+	m	n	p	s	t	w	y
b	bb	bc		bh	bk							bt		
c		cc		ch	ck	cl						ct		
f		fc	ff	fh	fk				fn			ft		
h	hb	hc	hf	hh	hk	hl	h+	hm	hn	hp	hs	ht	hw	hy
k	kb	kc	kf	kh	kk	kl	k+	km	kn	kp	ks	kt	kw	ky
l	lb	lc	lf	lh	lk	ll		lm	ln	lp		lt	lw	
+	+b	+c		+h	+k	+l	++			+p	+s	+t	+w	
m	mb	mc		mh	mk			mm		mp		mt		
n	nb	nc		nh	nk	nl	n+		nn	np	ns	nt		
p		pc		ph	pk	pl	p+			pp		pt		
s	sb	sc	sf	sh	sk	sl	s+	sm	sn	sp	ss	st	sw	sy
t	tb	tc	tf	th	tk	tl	t+	tm	tn	tp	ts	tt	tw	ty
w		wc		wh	wk						ws	wt	ww	
y	yb	yc		yh	yk	yl				yp		yt	yw	yy

VOWEL CLUSTER CHART

	a	i	o	a:	i:	o:
a	aa	ai	ao	aa:	ai:	
i	ia	ii	io			
o		oi	oo			
a:						
i:						
o:	o:a	o:i	o:o			

Cluster	Example	Gloss
bb	sobbáylin	'to remember'
bc	nokcóbci	'you stopped'
bh	†óbhílit	'we pierced them'
bk	aco:tóbkq	'I do not dream'
bt	ittakyóbtakkot	'I did not straighten it in hot ashes'
cc	hóccan	'to shoot at something'
ch	ichá	'louse'
ck	stahacackí	'socks'
cl	ico:†awiclí:cin	'to cause someone's mouth to pucker'
ct	poctaká:cot	'I did not spray them'
fc	cilofcó:lin	'to walk with a limp'
ff	taloffí:cin	'to loosen something'
fh	ayofhilká	'scab'
fk	sófkan	'to be spilled out'
fn	hófnan	'to smell something'
ft	taftá:lin	'to trot'
hb	acíhban	'to be difficult'
hc	kihcó	'mortar'
hf	sokáhfok	'strip ye (but not him) it' ⁹
hh	ahhicatilká	'government'
hk	cihkafó	'sassafras tree'
hl	cowahlá	'cedar tree'
ht	†imih†okí	'smooth (plural)'
hm	oksóhmon	'to be slushy'
hn	fotohná:cin	'to be good-smelling'
hp	polohpokí	'round (plural)'

hs	sayohsolí	'zig-zag (plural)'
ht	tonohtokí	'circular (plural)'
hw	lakáhwok	'lift ye (but not him) it' ⁹
hy	ofalihyá	'shame'
kb	cokbá	'jug'
kc	bakcolá	'leech'
kf	holikfá	'clothing'
kh	ayakhá:cín	'to approach something'
kk	hokkí:ta	'half'
kl	ittitíklí	'joint'
k+	ok+aspí	'swamp'
km	íkmot	'they did not gather it'
kn	acokná	'pick (tool)'
kp	wakpí:cín	'to soak something'
ks	copoksí	'mountain'
kt	cilákton	'to be uprooted (of trees)'
kw	okwá:la	'toad'
ky	nokyó:kan	'to be shy'
lb	olbí	'hominy'
lc	alciká:na	'story that is mostly lies'
lf	olfá	'a sprout'
lh	asílhán	'to ask'
lk	na:silká	'that which is said'
ll	patillí	'azalea'
lm	malmahká	'lightning'
ln	sittailnahó	'poker' ¹⁰
lp	hacokpalpá	'butterfly'

lt	iltóhnon	'to work'
lw	hassolwá	'spanish moss'
lb	hałbí	'pine bark'
lc	canałcokí	'bent (plural)'
lh	tiłhommá	'swamp cherry tree'
lk	himáłkosin	'quietly; gently'
ll	ittiłlapatkí	'copperhead snake' ¹¹
lt	yíłtin	'to tear things down'
lp	hociłpiłá	'Ursa Major'
ls	hociłsawá ittiłí	'Castor and Pollux (stars)'
lt	tołtó:kan	'to cough'
lw	costałwiló	'moccasins'
mb	lambí	'caterpillar'
mc	icoklamcín	'do not stick your tongue out at him' ¹²
mh	asakímhø	'it (rice; beans) is not overcooked' ¹³
mk	komkó	'amphiuma' ¹²
mm	falammí	'north'
mp	ohómpan	'to eat two or more things; to dine'
mt	ahómtákkø	'I do not moan' ¹²
nb	ihá:ni banbokí	'rolling land' ¹²
nc	sancó	'sand'
nh	hinhí:can	'to expect someone' ¹³
nk	línkan	'to swallow two or more things or times'
nl	iskanlapí:ta	'mosquito (obsolete; now skalapistá)
nt	ónłat	'we two arrived over there'
nn	balinná	'need'
np	coskanpací	'goldeneye or buffalohead duck' ¹²

ns	ittinsá:wa	'branch' ¹³
nt	kontí	'greenbriar'
pc	kapcó	'earthworm'
ph	laphá	'river bank; cliff'
pk	falápkán	'to be arched'
pl	hiplí	'snow'
pł	iłtó	'squirrel'
pp	hoppó:lan	'to defecate'
pt	inkosáptákkq	'I do not pray to him'
sb	patasbá	'valley; low-lying ground'
sc	iscobá	'church'
sf	sfiilká	'ticket'
sh	ishilká	'a drink; liquor'
sk	nahiskilá	'dogwood tree'
sl	slonkasí	'switch'
sł	słimihkocilká	'planer (tool)'
sm	mismíhlin	'to flutter the eyelids'
sn	akásnon	'to be hungry (plural)'
sp	tahaspí	'light in weight'
ss	ihóssan	'to be empty'
st	imalóstin	'to be pleasantly surprised with'
sw	holiswá	'urine'
sy	syomáhlín	'to carry something on one (plural subject)'
tb	itbítka	'dancing ground'
tc	atcó:ba	'old man'
tf	fitfí:kan	'to chitter, of squirrels'
th	pathá	'wide'

tk	látkan	'to kick something two or more times'
tl	alotlóló:kan	'to be full (plural)'
tł	itłoyohilká imí:sasi	'outhouse'
tm	matmicíksin	'to raise the head and look at something'
tn	itnałihilká í:sa cobá	'courthouse'
tp	fitpáhka	'peacock'
ts	atsobáyli	'wise man'
tt	ittabí	'leg'
tw	na:sinca:kitwíhka	'post office'
ty	matyówwan	'to call out (obsolete)'
wc	lakawcín	'do not lift it'
wh	tiwhól	'open ye them'
wk	kawkoná	'crooked (plural)'
ws	sawsáhkan	'to make a frightened snort, of deer'
wt	káwtákkot	'I did not snap them'
ww	sówwin	'to be poor and undernourished'
yb	taybí	'box'
yc	aponáycit	'you wrapped it'
yh	cayhá	'tall'
yk	saykí	'vulture'
yl	łoylí:cin	'to return something'
yp	haypalaná	'peanuts'
yt	haytanahlí:cin	'to whirl something'
yw	waywó:kan	'to be overhanging'
yy	ohayyí	'year'

Pronunciation of consonant clusters

Difficult consonant clusters are handled by optionally using an open transition. A schwa vowel with the coloring of the vowel preceding the consonant cluster is inserted between its elements, as in the following examples.

<u>Phonemic form</u>	<u>Phonetic form</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
tahyó	[tahəyó]	'long-stemmed gourd'
tóklon	[tókəlon]	'two'
íkban	[íkəban]	'to be hot'
hofáhnan	[hofáhənan]	'to flow'

When a consonant cluster consists of an unvoiced followed by a voiced consonant, if there is no open transition, there is retrogressive voicing of the initial segment, as in the following:

tikbá	[tigbá]	'fire'
tóklon	[tóglon]	'two'

If an open transition occurs, there is no retrogressive voicing. The presence or absence of an open transition is entirely due to the option of the speaker.

If a consonant cluster with a final voiced member occurs in final position in a word, the voiced consonant is devoiced.

ísl	[ísʔ]	'you arrive here'
hósw	[hósW]	'he urinates'
olíhy	[olíhY]	'we are all'
hófn	[hófN]	'she smells it'
iltóhn	[iltóhN]	'he works'
imacíhb	[imacíhp]	'he is sad'

Devoiced /l/, [L], when preceded by /s/ is affricated and becomes [ʔ]. Devoiced /b/ is not distinguishable from /p/; however, the distinction between /b/ and /p/ in this environment carries a very low functional load, so that there is very

little danger of confusion.

If a geminate cluster occurs in final or initial position (only /ss/ can occur in initial position) it degeminates.

	<u>Phonemic form</u>	<u>Phonetic form</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
Final	/fll/	[fɪ]	'he dies'
	/lakáww/	[lakáw]	'she lifts it'
	/káyy/	[káy]	'he is sated'
	/ahómm/	[ahóm]	'she hums'
	/pónn/	[pón]	'she learns'
	/ittakyóbb/	[ittakyób]	'he straightens it in hot ashes'
	/hócc/	[hóc]	'he shoots at it'
	/immátt/	[immát]	'he misses it'
	/atákk/	[aták]	'they hang'
	/koyóff/	[koyóf]	'she cuts it once'
	/pátt/	[pát]	'he splits them'
	/báss/	[bás]	'he is poor and starving'
Initial	/ssahkací/	[sahkací]	'rasp' ¹⁴

Restrictions on occurrence

The only generalization that can be made concerning the restrictions on occurrence of consonant clusters is that resonants, with the exception of /l/, are less likely to occur as members of a consonant cluster. Because of assimilations, certain clusters with /l/ as a second member are lacking; /bl/ becomes /bb/; /fl/ becomes /ff/; /tl/ (with a few exceptions) becomes /tt/; /ml/ becomes /mm/; /nl/ (with one obsolete exception) becomes /nn/; and /wl/ becomes /ww/. With /l/ as an initial member of a cluster, /lt/ becomes /nt/, while /ls/ and /ly/ are simply lacking.¹⁵

The voiced stop /b/ and the unvoiced stop /c/, although common as final members of clusters, are very rare as initial members; the glide /y/ as the final member of a cluster is equally rare.

VOWEL CLUSTERS

Vowel clusters are a unique feature of Koasati among the Muskogean languages. In other Muskogean languages, and in possessive and most stative verb constructions in Koasati, metathesis and vowel deletion eliminate vowel clusters. In Koasati constructions with locative prefixes, or with transitive negative verbs of Class IA with pronoun objects, however, do not undergo these processes, and vowel clusters result. All vowel clusters are phonetically separated by a glottal stop, although occasionally a glide transition can be heard. A list of vowel clusters noted can be found in Table I, and the following are examples of each cluster.

<u>Cluster</u>	<u>Example</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
aa	paakóhka	'roof'
ai	paistilká	'roost'
ao	paoholimpá	'table'
aa:	onaá:tan	'to be about something vertical'
ai:	onaí:pan	'to eat off something'
ia	cabiatákbát	'my face was burned by radiant heat'
ii	ciikíllolahok onam	'you will not die yet'
io	ibiokcákkot	'he had a bruised face'
oi	koikhí:cot	'she did not see us'
oo	koostá:k	'we are four' ¹⁶
o:a	cino:afitápká	'do you have a bone stuck in your throat?'
o:i	caco:ishi:cán	'do not watch me eat!'
o:o	cano:oksátl	'I have a mild case of the mumps'

Restrictions on occurrence

Only those vowel clusters that begin with /a/ or /i/ are of any frequency. Of vowel clusters beginning with /o/ or /o:/, only /oi/ occurs often. These limitations are due to the distribution of vowels as the final members of locative and direct object prefixes, and as the initial segments of verbs.

MORPHOPHONEMICS

Other than the Internal changes (for which see Chapter 9), Koasati morphophonemics are limited, and except for ca-set prefix alteration, are entirely optional. The four main types of morphophonemic alterations are: regressive and progressive vowel deletion, ca-set prefix alteration, apocopation, and initial syllable deletion.

Regressive and progressive vowel deletion

Regressive vowel deletion occurs when two words come together across a morpheme boundary; the final vowel of the initial word is deleted by the initial segment of the second.

<u>Initial word</u>	<u>Gloss</u>	<u>Final word</u>	<u>Gloss</u>	<u>Compound</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
/coyyí/	'pine'	/ańí/	'berry'	/coyy-ańí/	'pine cone'
/hocińí/	'star'	/lokkó:li/	'ones who stand'	/hociń-lokkó:li/	'Pleiades'

If the initial word ends in a geminate cluster or a cluster, the initial member of which is a glottal (/h/, /ʔ/, /:/), and the final word begins with a consonant, the geminate cluster is degeminated, and the glottal consonant is lost.

/bakkí/	'head'	/fihilká/	'paying'	/bak-fihilká/	'taxes'
/tabáhka/	'bread'	/campó:li/	'sweet'	/tabak-campó:li/	'cake'

/wá:ka/ 'cow' /hobá/ 'castrated' /wak-hobá/ 'ox'

Progressive vowel deletion takes place when ca-set pronominal prefixes are used to possess nouns or inflect stative verbs that begin with weak i.

<u>Prefix</u>	<u>Word</u>	<u>Gloss</u>	<u>Compound</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
/ca-/	/iyyí/	'foot'	/ca-yyí/	'my foot'
/ci-/	/ibá:yan/	'have a nosebleed'	/ci-bá:y/	'you have a nosebleed'
/ko-/	/ilhó:sin/	'forget'	/ko-lho:sit/	'we forgot it'

ca-set prefix alteration

When the ca-set of pronominal prefixes is added to indicate the possession of a noun, to indicate the direct object, or to indicate stative subject of a word beginning with the vowels a or o, the prefixes are changed as follows: ca- becomes ac-; ci- becomes aci-; ko- becomes ako-; and haci- becomes ahaci-. The changed form ac- is prefixed to the vowel, but the other forms follow the rule of progressive vowel deletion.

<u>Prefix</u>	<u>Word</u>	<u>Gloss</u>	<u>Compound</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
/ca-/	/ofághan/	'be ashamed'	/ac-ofáhy/	'I am ashamed'
/ci-/	/o:wíllin/	'drown'	/aci-wíllilahq/	'you will drown'
/ko-/	/a:píhcí/	'body'	/ako-píhcí/	'our bodies'
/haci-/	/abatápkán/	'bump into'	/ahaci-batápkat/	'he bumped into you (pl)'

Apocopation

All verbs that end in the classifying suffix -li, along with a few other verbs and verbal suffixes, will lose that element (or lacking -li, the final vowel of the verb), before one of the following suffixes:

-t	'connective'
-toho	'realis'

- toha 'emphatic realis'
- tik 'but'
- Vhco 'habitual'
- Vhci 'progressive'

- all inflectional suffixes unique to Class III Cii

The apocopating verbal suffixes are only three in number; -:si/-:osi, 'diminutive/intensive,' -má:mi, 'dubitative,' -á:ho:si, 'very,' and fíhna 'too much. The following are examples of apocopation. The first line shows the breakdown of morphemes, the second glosses them, the third shows the pronunciation, and the fourth the English gloss. The apocopated elements will be underlined.

- 1) cihbí-:c-á:ho:si-toho-:li-:s
THICK-compl-adv-realis-deduc-IPast

/cihbí:cá:ho:stoho:li:s/

2) talásba-:si-tíkko-:s
BE:THIN-dim-3neg(III Cii)-IPast

/talásbastíkko:s/

'It is not very thin.'
- 3) ilkoyóh-o:si-tíkko-ŷ
MOVE-dim-3neg(III Cii)-phr:term

/ilkoyóhlostíkkø/

'She is not moving even a little bit.'
- 4) ca-maʔát-ko-Vhco-:si-Vhco-ŷ
Isstats-BE:AFRAID (sg)-3neg(IIA)-habit-dim-habit-phr:term

/camatatkóhcoŷø/

'I am not even a little bit afraid.'
- 5) í:pa-fíhna-tílk
EAT-adv-1pls(III Cii)

/í:pafíntílk/

'We overeat.'

- 6) afán-hákko-má:mi-Vhco-ŷ
MEET-1 snegs (IIIA) -dubit-habit-phr:term

/afá

h

ákkomá

h

co/

'I never met him.'
- 7) okhomí s-yomáhi-toho-k
WHISKEY instr-GO:ABOUT (pl) -realis-IVPast

/okhomí syomáhtohok/

'They carried whiskey with them.'
- 8) kanomá:mi-Vhci
BE:BEAUTIFUL-progressive

/kanomá

h

ci/

'It is beautiful.'

If the verb root after apocoptation ends in a nasal, the nasal assimilates to the point of articulation of the suffixes beginning with t.

- 9) naksámmi-t á:,V?V,ta
BE:HOW-conn DWELL (sg),Q,

/sánt á?tá/

'How is he?'

However, if the root ends in a nasal and the suffix is -Vhco or -Vhci, the nasal is eliminated entirely, as in examples 6 and 8 above. The suffixes -Vhco and -Vhci when following a consonant other than a nasal are reduced to -co and -ci, as in example 4.

Another rule of apocoptation permits the sequence -Vhcok ómmi- to collapse to -Vhcómmi-, as in the following examples.

- 10) mat-ho-ca-tóhn-áhi-Vhco-k ómmi-n
afar-distr-1sobj-SEND:TO:WORK-intent-habit-ss BE-sw

/mathocatohnahíhcómmiŋ/

'They might be about to send me off to work.'

- 11) naksofón yomáhli-ǂhco-k ómni-to-ǂ
 WHERE GO:ABOUT(pl)-habit-ss BE-III Past-phr:term

/naksó:n yomahlíhcómmiǂ/

'Wheresoever they were going about...'

This rule is applied most frequently in rapid speech; it is less common than the previously illustrated rule of apocopation, but like it, is completely optional.

Initial syllable deletion

An initial syllable of trisyllabic or polysyllabic words, if that syllable consists of a short vowel, a short vowel and consonant, or a CVC sequence, may be optionally deleted. The number of words to which this rule may apply varies greatly from speaker to speaker, but most commonly the initial syllables of *akkámmi*, 'to be so,' *naksámmi*, 'to be how' (see example 9 above), and most words beginning with the sequence *itt-*.

<u>Full form</u>	<u>Deleted form</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
ittapácka	tapácka	'quilt'
ittimawí:cit	timawí:cit	'they helped each other'
ittopathá	topathá	'hoe'
akkám	kám	'it is just so'
naksá?mí	sá?mí	'how is it?'

Other words may sporadically lose initial syllables.

ataffó	taffó	'grasshopper'
okomahalí	mahalí	'south'
stokhonobí	honobí	'fog'

Finally, there is one example of initial and final syllable deletion.

tokná:wa	ná	'dollar'
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Miscellaneous morphophonemic rules

The cluster /ln/ becomes /nn/.

- 12) i:t-il-nocá
loc-vn:pre-SLEEPING

/i:tinnocá/

'bedroom'

The cluster /lʔ/ becomes /nʔ/.

- 13) kíl-tá:h-o-ʔ
lp̄neg(IA)-SHOOT:AND:HIT-neg:comp-phr:term

/kinʔá:hq/

'We do not shoot it.'

The cluster /sc/, in the following example only, becomes /ss/.

- 14) kolos-coskí
CHICKEN-EGG

/kolossoskí/

'egg; chicken's egg'

The clusters /mh/ and /nh/ across a morpheme boundary, with few exceptions, drop the nasal consonant and nasalize the preceding vowel.

- 15) akkam,híli,:c
DO,lp̄s(IIB)

/akkəhíli:c/

'We do it.'

- 16) on-a-san,híli,-:c
loc-gen:loc-TURN(pl),lp̄s(IIB)

/onasəhíli:c/

'We wind them.'

ALLEGRO PHENOMENA

In rapid speech there is a general alteration in the pronunciation of

words. This is primarily due to lenition, the deaspiration and partial or complete voicing of voiceless consonants intervocalically. Additionally, sequences of Vh(h)V, generally but not always across a morpheme boundary, are collapsed after the following patterns:

	<u>Phonemic form</u>	<u>Allegro form</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
V ₁ hV ₁ becomes [V ₁ :]	ohómpat	[ó:mpat]	'they dined'
ahi becomes [ai]	amá:hílkāt	[amá:ílykat]	'we went'
aho becomes [au]	ishí:calahó?lí	[s ^h í:calaú?lí]	'will you look for it?'
iha becomes [a:]	ná:nihaski	[ná:na:ski]	'boys'
iho becomes [u:]	sihó:k	[sú:k]	'Sehoke!'
oha becomes [oa]	ohammánkat	[oammánkat]	'they told me so'
ohi becomes [ui]	ilakohhilká	[ilakuílyká]	'hat'

A notable feature of these allegro forms is the palatalization of l in the morpheme -hílka '1pl subj (IIIA); verbal noun suffix.'

The interrogative naksofón 'where?; somewhere' has the allegro form [naksó:n]. This comes from the form *naksohón, derived by a now-obsolete rule that converted intervocalic f to h; c.f. kaháplín 'to dip something up' (from *kafáplín); plural káffín, by the regular pluralization process for verbs (for which see Chapter 10).

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER 2

¹The noun có:ba 'horse' has a stem used only for possession, -cicó:ba. Compare Alabama cico:ba 'horse,' used both for the possessed and unpossessed form.

²This is the only vocabulary item with a consonant cluster other than one beginning with s in word initial position. The /th/ cluster frequently remains [t^h] even when this item occurs word-medially, as in cathátkq 'I am a White man,' pronounced always as [ca.t^hát.kq], never *[cat.hát.kq]; however in athátkilayókc 'he acts like a White man,' the consonants are pronounced separately, [at.hát.ki.la.yókc].

³This assimilation in articulation of h with a fricative makes the h very hard to hear for Koasati children (and linguists). A five-year old boy trying to say ampófhíkkq 'it does not blow on me,' said [am.pó.fík.ko]; his mother immediately corrected him saying [am.póf.hík.kq]

⁴In interjections the vowels /e/, /e:/, /u/ and /u:/ occur (see Chapter 19), but it is doubtful that they can be considered autonomous phonemes any more than the dental click in English conventionally rendered tsk-tsk.

⁵In addition many men speak with a partial nasal closure, thus causing all vowels in their speech to have a nasal coloring.

⁶Although Haas (1946) indicated that there were phonological differences between men's and women's speech, such differences no longer exist. Such differences that do occur are the nasal coloring of men's speech contrasted to the clarity of women's, and the different treatment of word-final open syllables. Nonetheless, a man will close off an open syllable with a glottal stop if he is trying to be precise.

⁷It might be possible to consider the glottal stop in these two words as merely a transitional phenomenon, just as the glottal stop is considered between members of a vowel cluster. However, it would still leave these words unique as the only monomorphemic words with vowel clusters. There is clearly a very complicated historical situation underlying the forms yaʔá, maʔá, and the related words yá 'this,' má 'that,' yafá 'this here,' and mafá 'that there.' To further complicate the situation, the verb yámmín 'to be so' (aspirated form yahhámmin - see Chapter 9, Obsolete Internal Changes) appears to be related.

⁸The only other three-member consonant clusters occur in Indian personal names, as in the woman's name folayhkí, and the men's names apoláyhci and satowáyhki. Indian personal names do not carry any meaning, and may well have been borrowed from another Indian language.

⁹Underlyingly these forms are actually three-member consonant clusters, /fhf/ and /whw/. However, in all but careful speech the initial member of the cluster is dropped. See Chapter 9 for a discussion of the h-grade, of which these are examples.

¹⁰This example is an exception to the rule that the cluster /ln/ appears as /nn/. Some speakers do, however, pronounce this word sittainnahó.

¹¹As in this example the consonant cluster /ʔl/ does not assimilate to /ʔʔ/ across a morpheme boundary.

¹²These examples form exceptions to the rule that a nasal will assimilate to the point of articulation of a following stop. The verbs ahómmín, 'to hum; moan,' intammin, 'to faint,' imakasámkan 'be depressed,' and icoklámbin 'stick one's tongue out at someone' (inflectional root icoklám-) have an m that does not assimilate to a following stop or fricative.

¹³These examples are exceptions to the rule that a nasal consonant will disappear before a fricative, nasalizing a preceding vowel. All these examples seem to be monomorphemic, while nasal-fricative clusters on which this rule operates seem all to be across morpheme boundaries.

¹⁴The presence of the cluster /ss/ can be recovered by asking for the possessed form of the noun. Because /ss/ is the result, in initial position, of the instrumental prefix s- occurring before an s-initial word, the possessive, as in all instrumentally derived nouns, occurs between the instrumental prefix and the word itself. Thus the first person singular possessive of sahkací 'rasp' is stasahkací (st-am-sahkací) indicating that the underlying form is /ssahkací/.

¹⁵The cluster /ls/ may have fallen together with /ss/, although the evidence is not clear. The cluster /ly/ became /yy/ after Proto-Muskogean times; for example PM *ilyaki 'foot' became Koasati iyyí, Creek ili, and PM *kwalyiha 'white oak' became Koasati bayyá, Creek kala, and Choctaw bayyi.

¹⁶Note in this example that the changed form of the first person plural prefix of the ca- set of pronoun prefixes, ako-, is for unknown reasons not used.

CHAPTER 3

VERBS, VERBAL CONJUGATION, AUXILIARY VERBS AND IRREGULAR VERBS

Verbs are distinguished from nouns in Koasati by the presence of the vowel-deleting and nasalizing phrase terminal markers and the various internal changes that take place within the verb root, in addition to the semantic differences.

Verbs in Koasati are typified by an elaborate system of verb classes, or conjugations, which cross-reference subject and negation by means of various prefixes, infixes and suffixes. Certain verbs, in addition to their independent use, are used in conjunction with other verbs as auxiliaries. Finally there are some verbs that are irregular, either in inflection or derivation. All these topics will be discussed in this chapter.

Verbal conjugation

Verbs in Koasati fall into three great conjugations, each of which has a number of varieties. This system was discovered and sketched out by Mary R. Haas in her 1946 article, "A Proto-Muskogean Paradigm," published in the journal Language. Although based only on examples of positive verbs, her classification, on further testing, has proven remarkably sound, with only a few minor additions and changes necessary. Her system of classes made it possible to correctly predict the form of the negative subject cross-reference markers for any particular verb, and gave the final proof of its validity.

Koasati is the only Muskogean language with a full set of conjugational classes. Alabama, the language most closely related to Koasati, has only a partial set (Lupardus, 1982:132-146), and that language shows tendencies toward collapsing that set into one paradigm.¹ Other Muskogean languages have only one set of subject cross-reference affixes.

The historical origin of the various verb classes is extremely complex, and to describe and justify the description of their origin is beyond the scope of this work. Where it is deemed necessary, historical matter will be inserted to aid comprehension, but no complete diachronic description of the classes will be undertaken.

Each verbal class will be described separately, so far as possible. At the beginning of each description will be given a skeleton outline of the affirmative and negative subject cross-reference markers, followed by a table of inflected examples. The tables will not include an entry for the third person plural, as the third person form is used indifferently for singular or plural cross-reference. The prefix ho-/oh- considered by Haas and others to mark the third person plural, is actually a distributive and indefinite prefix. It is discussed along with the other verbal prefixes in Chapter 4. In addition to the subject cross-reference markers, the verbal noun will be given in the tables for each verb that forms one, as the verbal noun forms an essential part of the verb paradigm. The verbal nouns, along with the agentive nouns, which, because of their multiplicity will not be given in the tables, will be discussed in full in Chapter 7. Finally a list of verbs belonging to closed classes with a small number of members will be given.

Class IA

This is the only class in the first conjugation that was discussed by Haas. However, with the discovery of Class IB it is now one of two classes in the first conjugation. Class IA is typified by prefixing its subject cross reference markers. The negative subject cross-reference markers are also prefixed; additionally the negative complement -o is suffixed.² The

roots that make up this class all have the syllable structure CVCV or iCV. However, not all verbs with this syllable pattern belong to this class; wá:cin, 'to wait for,' is of Class IIIB, and í:sin, 'to take one thing,' is of Class IIAi.³ The following is the outline of the conjugation of a Class IA verb.

	Affirmative	Negative
1s	ROOT-li	ak-ROOT-o
2s	is-ROOT	cik-ROOT-o
3	ROOT	ik-ROOT-o
1pl	il-ROOT	kil-ROOT-o
2pl	has-ROOT	hacik-ROOT-o
verbal noun ⁴	il-ROOT-í; il-ROOT-á	

If the root is of the form iCV, the prefixes elide the i and the verbal accent falls on the prefixes. The following table gives examples of active and stative verbs of this class.

TABLE 3.1

Active Verbs

	<u>Affirmative</u>	<u>Negative</u>	<u>Affirmative</u>	<u>Negative</u>
1s	í:mo-l	ák-m-ɔ	há:lo-l	ak-há:l-ɔ
2s	ís-m	cík-m-ɔ	is-há:l	cik-há:l-ɔ
3	í:m	ík-m-ɔ	há:l	ík-há:l-ɔ
1pl	íl-m	kíl-m-ɔ	il-há:l	kil-há:l-ɔ
2pl	hás-m	hacík-m-ɔ	has-há:l	hacik-há:l-ɔ
verbal noun:	ilmá		ilhá:la	
root: ⁵	í:mon 'to gather'		há:lon 'to hear'	

Stative Verbs

	<u>Affirmative</u>	<u>Negative</u>	<u>Affirmative</u>	<u>Negative</u>
1s	ca-nì:h	ca-ik-ní:h-g	ca-ílli-lahq ⁶	ca-ik-íll-o-lahq
2s	ci-nì:h	ci-ik-ní:h-g	ci-ílli-lahq	ci-ik-íll-o-lahq
3	nì:h	ik-ní:h-g	ílli-lahq	ik-íll-o-lahq
1pl	ko-nì:h	ko-ik-ní:h-g	1du ko-ílli-lahq ⁷	ko-ik-íll-o-lahq
2pl	haci-nì:h	haci-ik-ní:h-g	2du haci-ílli-lahq	haci-ik-íll-o-lahq
verbal noun:	none ⁸		ilillá	
root:	nì:han	'to be fat'	íllin	'to die (sg/du)'

The following morphophonemic change occurs in the first person plural prefixes: the l of the prefixes changes to n before verbs beginning with n or ɬ, as in the following examples.

- 1) il-nó:ci-t
1pls(IA)-SLEEP-past

/innó:cit/

'We slept.'
- 2) kil-ťá:h-o-t
1plneg(IA)-SHOOT:AND:HIT-neg:comp-Past

/kinťá:hot/

'We did not hit the mark.'

Class IA is a closed class of verbs with only twelve root members. Two stative verbs are derived from active verbs, and two of the active verbs are derived from other active verbs. The following is a list of the verbs in Class IA.

Active

há:lon	'to hear (with <u>ca</u> -set as object); 'to obey (with <u>am</u> -set)' (See Chapter 4)
hí:can	'to see; to find'

í:lan	'to arrive here' (3pl ilá:cin) ⁹
imí:lan	'to be born to someone' ¹⁰
í:mon	'to gather'
í:pan	'to eat one thing'
ǎá:hin	'shoot and hit something'
ná:hon	'to do; to make; to use'
stiliná:hon	'to rub an Indian medicine on oneself' ¹¹
nó:cin	'to sleep'

Stative

íllin	'to die (sg/du)' (ca-stative)
ló:can	'to be black' (ca-stative)
lò:can	'to be dirty' (ca-stative)
nì:han	'to be fat' (ca-stative)
nó:cin	'to be sleepy'
ilihá:lon	'to awaken' ¹²

Class 1B

This subclass of the first conjugation was not discussed by Haas in her 1946 article, although a partial paradigm of one member appeared in her 1944 article, "Men's and Women's Speech in Koasati." It is a closed class of verbs, and one which is slowly in the process of disappearing, as its members switch their membership to other classes, primarily Classes IIAi and IIICi. Paradoxically, the three root stative verbs of this class show no sign of switching conjugations; however, of the active verbs, only three can be fully inflected in the Class 1B pattern, and none are habitually so inflected. Verbs of this class are typified by the infixation of their subject cross-reference markers; these are almost identical to the prefixes of Class 1A in the affirmative, lacking only initial vowels, but in the negative the root has been reshaped and the infixes are those of Class IIC.

The following is the conjugational outline of a Class IB verb.

(X,Y represents ROOT)

	Affirmative	Negative
1s	X,Y-li	X,ka,kY-o
2s	X,s,Y	X,ciki,kY-o
3	X,Y	X,ki,kY-o
1pl	X,l,Y	X,kilí,kY-o
2pl	X,has,Y	X,haciki,kY-o
verbal noun:	X,l,Y-Ú; X,l,Y-á	

The three active verbs that can take this paradigm are có:pan, 'to buy something;' its derived form scó:pan, 'to sell something,' and ó:tin, 'to kindle.' The following table gives an example of an active and stative verb of this class.

TABLE 3.2

	<u>Active Verb</u>		<u>Stative Verb</u>	
	<u>Affirmative</u>	<u>Negative</u>	<u>Affirmative</u>	<u>Negative</u>
1s	ó:ti-l	o,ká,kt-ɔ	ac-okoyá:p	ac-okoya,kí,kp-ɔ
2s	ó,s,t	o,cikí,kt-ɔ	aci-koyá:p	aci-koya,kí,kp-ɔ
3	ó:t	o,kí,kt-ɔ	okoyá:p	okoya,kí,kp-ɔ
1pl	ó,l,t	o,kilí,kt-ɔ	ako-koyá:p	ako-koya,kí,kp-ɔ
2pl	o,hás,t	o,hacikí,kt-ɔ	ahaci-koyá:p	ahaci-koyá,kí,kp-ɔ
verbal noun:	oltá		okoyalpá	
root:	ó:tin 'to kindle'		okoyá:pan 'to be lonely'	

It is notable that all active verbs of this class may be optionally inflected as members of Class IIIc, and the use of the latter class to produce nega-

tive forms is almost universal. The following are other verbs of Class IB. Note that only the second person singular and first person plural affirmative subject cross reference markers are inflected according to Class IB; the other persons are inflected according to the class into which the verb has primarily shifted, which will be listed following the verb. Verbal nouns, however, are always of the Class IB pattern.

Active

hó;cin ¹³	'to pound food'	(IIICi)
ho;cí:fon	'to name'	(IIAi)
ho;tá:non	'to braid hair'	(IIICi)
okó;cin	'to draw water'	(IIIB)
ó;mon	'to stir something thick'	(IIICi)
o;pí:non	'to instruct; measure'	(IIAi)
pá;pan	'to carry piggyback'	(IIICi)

Stative

hó;pan	'to be hurt'	(am-stative)
hó;pan	'to be sick'	(ca-stative)
hohó;pan	'to ache'	(ca-stative)
no:ho;pan	'to have a sore throat'	(ca-stative)
noksí;pan	'to be angry; to wilt or move at a touch (of plants)'	(ca-stative)

Two verbs have a first person plural form and a verbal noun formed with Class IB subject cross-reference markers. These are ať:yan, 'to go (sg/du)', 1du a,n,ť:y (lť becoming nť), verbal noun, anťiyá,¹⁴ and ó:tan, 'to arrive there,' 1pl ó,n,ť, verbal noun onťá. A number of other verbs form their verbal nouns according to the Class IB pattern; these will be discussed in the section of this chapter on verbal irregularity.

Class IIA

This verb class is made up of two unequal subclasses. Class IIAi is a closed class of verbs with less than forty members; Class IIAii is an open class with nearly eight hundred members recorded. The basic conjugational forms of the two subclasses are identical; the difference lies in that where Class IIAii has an element -li which is deleted by the subject cross-reference suffixes, members of Class IIAi do not have this element, and the subject markers simply delete the final vowel of the verb root.

Class IIAi

This class, although historically formed by analogy with verbs of Class IIAii, is discussed first to continue the parallelism of this discussion with that of Haas (1946). Probably all the verbs now in this class were once members of other verb classes (most probably IA or IB); others are certainly loans from other Indian languages, such as hopó:nin, 'to cook,' and kosá:pin, 'to pray; to beg' (from Chickasaw and Creek respectively). Still others are verbalized nouns, which for reasons that are as yet unclear, are inflected as members of this class rather than the more usual IIICi.

The following is the conjugational outline of a verb of Class IIAi.

	Affirmative	Negative
1s	ROOT-li	ROOT-tákkq
2s	ROOT-ci	ROOT-cíkkq
3	ROOT	ROOT-kq
1pl	ROOT-híli	ROOT-kílkq
2pl	ROOT-háci	ROOT-hacíkkq

verbal noun varies from verb to verb

This pattern is typical of verbs of the second and third conjugations, where the subject cross-reference markers are suffixed or infixes. The accentuation of the first and second person plural affirmative suffixes and that of the first and second persons of the negative is a notable feature of Class IIA.

The following table gives active and stative examples of verbs of this class.

TABLE 3.3

Active Verbs

	<u>Affirmative</u>	<u>Negative</u>		<u>Affirmative</u>	<u>Negative</u>
1s	pí:si-l	pís-tákkq		í:si-l	ís-tákkq
2s	pís-c	pís-cíkkq		ís-c	ís-cíkkq
3	pí:s	pís-kq		í:s	ís-kq
1pl	pís-híl	pís-kílkq		ís-híl	ís-kílkq
2pl	pís-hác	pís-hácikkq		ís-hác	ís-hácikkq
verbal noun:	píska			ishilí	
root:	pí:sin	'to suckle'		í:sin	'to take one thing'
	<u>Affirmative</u>	<u>Negative</u>		<u>Affirmative</u>	<u>Negative</u>
1s	á:sa-l	ás-tákkq		ó:ta-l	ót-tákkq
2s	ás-c	ás-cíkkq		ó:t-c	ót-cíkkq
3	á:s	ás-kq	3s	ó:t	ót-kq
1pl	ás-híl	ás-kílkq		ó,n,t	ót-kílkq
2pl	ás-hác	ás-hácikkq		ót-hác	ót-hácikkq
			3pl	otá:-c	ót-kí:-c-q ¹⁵
verbal noun:	áska			on tá	
root:	á:san	'to be with someone'		ó:tan	'to arrive there'

Stative Verbs

	<u>Affirmative</u>	<u>Negative</u>	<u>Affirmative</u>	<u>Negative</u>
1s	ca-bàn	ca-bán-kọ	ca-lhó:s	ca-lhós-kọ
2s	ci-bàn	ci-bán-kọ	ci-lhó:s	ci-lhós-kọ
3	bàn	bán-kọ	ilhó:s	ilhós-kọ
1pl	ko-bàn	ko-bán-kọ	ko-lhó:s	ko-lhós-kọ
2pl	haci-bàn	haci-bán-kọ	haci-lhó:s	haci-lhós-kọ
verbal noun:	balinná		ilhóska	
root:	bànnan 'to want; need' ¹⁶		ilhó:sin 'to forget'	

The verbal nouns of this class cannot be produced by rule, unlike those of all other classes. This is due to the fact that many, if not all, verbs of this class were originally members of other verb classes, and these recruited verbs have a tendency to retain the verbal noun typical of their original class. Thus the verbal noun of bànnan, 'to want; need,' balinná, 'need,' has the form of a verbal noun of Class IIC, and that of ó:lan, 'to arrive there,' is onlá, 'arriving there,' in the form of a Class IB verbal noun. Some verbs, on analogy with verbs of Class IIAii, delete the final vowel of the root and suffix -ka, while others base their verbal noun on the first person plural form, in analogy to the general rule of verbal noun formation in the language (see Chapter 7 for further discussion of verbal nouns).

The following list contains a selection of a little more than half the verbs found in Class IIAi

Active

abatí:sin	'to catch something thrown'
ahó:ban	'to be an image or work of art'

á:san	'to cradle in the arms'	(verbal noun ashilí)
á:san	'to be with someone'	(verbal noun áska)
holá:sin	'to tell lies'	
hopá:nin	'to play'	
í:sin	'to take one thing; to adopt a child; to marry a woman'	
icoklámbin ¹⁷	'to stick one's tongue out at someone'	
iskocí:san	'to emit smoke'	
immá:yan	'to be more'	
ó:ʔan	'to arrive there'	
o:yó:bin	'to be condensation'	
pí:sin	'to suckle'	
stipí:lan	'to be physically attractive'	
stí:sin	'to marry a pregnant woman'	
tá:ʔan	'to weave something'	

Stative Verbs

ilhó:sin	'to forget' (ca-stative)
imilhó:sin	'to forgive' (ca-stative)
bànnan	'to want; to need' (ca-stative)
ká:non	'to be good; to be healthy' (ca-stative)
kostí:nin	'to be careful; to be wise' (ca-stative)

Class IIAii

In the forms of its inflectional suffixes, this class is identical to Class IIAi. However, all verbs in this class end either overtly or underlyingly in the element -li, which is deleted by the subject cross-reference suffixes. In other Muskogean languages, verbs with the element -li or with reflexes of this element are generally transitive, so the element -li

is considered to be an element marking transitivity. However, -li or its reflexes are always overt in these languages (Creek, Choctaw, Mikasuki) while in Koasati, -li is almost never overt except in the first person singular affirmative, and the third person affirmative, and then only in the latter case when certain elisive verbal suffixes are not present. And, although many verbs terminating in -li are transitive, many others are not, such as cayáhlin, 'to walk;' cilóffin, 'to limp;' cofótlin, 'to jump;' níhlin, 'to nod;' támmin, 'to fall;' misíplín, 'to close the eyes;' icoktaká:lin, 'to open the mouth;' etc. The only thing that -li indicates in Koasati is that the subject cross-reference suffixes have to be of a certain set, so in this dissertation -li is considered to be a classifying suffix in the same way that -are, -ere and -ire are considered classifying suffixes in Latin.¹⁸

The following is the conjugational outline of a verb of Class IIAii.

(X-li represents ROOT)

	Affirmative	Negative
1s	X-li-li	X-tákko
2s	X-ci	X-cíkko
3	X-li	X-ko
1pl	X-híli	X-kílko
2pl	X-háci	X-hácikko

verbal noun X-ka

An interesting facet of the negative subject cross-reference suffixes is that the first person plural and the second persons forms are identical to the same forms of Class IIIA. When the negative markers of verbs of Classes IIB and IIC are compared, it can be seen that the negative paradigm

of Class IIA has been strongly influenced by that of Class IIIA. This is probably due in part to the fact that many transitive verbs of Class IIAi form a mediopassive by being transformed into a verb of Class IIIA by changing the class suffix -li to -ka.

The table below shows examples of inflected verbs of this subclass of the second conjugation.

TABLE 3.4

Active Verbs

	<u>Affirmative</u>	<u>Negative</u>	<u>Affirmative</u>	<u>Negative</u>
1s	yitápli-l	yitáp-tákkq	yititi-l	yít-tákkq
2s	yitáp-c	yitáp-cíkkq	yít-c	yít-cíkkq
3	yitápl	yitáp-kq	yít	yít-kq
1pl	yitáp-híl	yitáp-kílkq	yít-híl	yít-kílkq
2pl	yitáp-hác	yitáp-hácíkkq	yít-hác	yít-hácíkkq
verbal noun:	yitápka		yítka	
root:	yitáplin	'to tear one thing down'	yititin	'to tear many things down'

Stative Verbs

	<u>Affirmative</u>	<u>Negative</u>	<u>Affirmative</u>	<u>Negative</u>
1s	an-cokfolóhí	an-cokfolóh-kq	ca-tám	ca-tán-kq
2s	cin-cokfolóhí	cin-cokfolóh-kq	ci-tám	ci-tán-kq
3	in-cokfolóhí	in-cokfolóh-kq	3s tám	tán-kq
1pl	kon-cokfolóhí	kon-cokfolóh-kq	ko-cilátí	ko-cilát-kq
2pl	hacín-cokfolóhí	hacín-cokfolóh-kq	haci-cilátí	haci-cilát-kq
			3pl cilátí	cilát-kq
verbal noun:	incokfolóhka		tánka/cilátka	
root:	incokfolóhílin	'to be dizzy'	támmin (sg)/cilátílin (pl)	'to fall down'

If the consonant preceding the class suffix -li is a fricative other than s or h, a nasal, or one of the voiced labials b and w, the l of the class suffix assimilates to the point of articulation of the preceding consonant; for example: hoł-li-n, /hółtin/, 'to cook something by boiling;' sif-li-n, /síffin/, 'to buck;' tafilam-li-n, /tafilámmin/ 'to overturn (once);' łob-li-n, /łóbbin/, 'to hole something many times;' and kaw-li-n, /káwwin/, 'to snap many things.' The class suffix -li can also follow l, as in tafil-li-n, /tafíllin/, 'to overturn (many times); however not all verbs terminating in the sequence -lli are members of Class IIA (such as íllin, 'to die;' Class IA; hasikíllin, 'to be on tip-toes;' Class IIICi).

Class IIB

This is an open class of verbs composed of the compulsives and multiplicatives of verbs of Classes IIAii and IIIA. This class is derived by suffixing the root-forming suffix -ci, which has a compulsive significance with some verbs and a multiplicative with others, and changing the class suffix, where applicable, from -ka to -li. About 240 members of this class were recorded, but it is technically possible for it to contain as many members as the combined membership of Classes IIAii and IIIA. The following is the conjugational pattern of a verb of this class.

(X-li-:ci represents ROOT)	Negative
1 Affirmative	Negative
1s X-lí-:ci-li	X,taká,:c-ǵ
2s X,cí,:ci	X,cikí,:c-ǵ
3 X-lí-:ci	X,kí,:c-ǵ
1pl X,hilí,:ci	X,kilí,:c-ǵ <u>or</u> X,likí,:c-ǵ
2pl X,hací,:ci	X,hacikí,:c-ǵ
verbal noun: X-kací (concrete); X-kacá (abstract)	

The affirmative cross-reference markers are clearly those of a verb of Class IIA, however the suffix -:ci (the vowel length is induced by the Indicative internal change, q.v.), rather than preceding the markers, follows them. The negative cross-reference markers, on the other hand, are quite different from those of Class IIA. In part it is because the negative complement -o, instead of fusing with the negative markers, as in verbs of Class IIA, follows the compulsive/multiplicative suffix. The other differences seem to be the result of the negative markers of an earlier form of Class IIA being preserved, partly by being protected by the suffix -:ci, and partly by the divorce of the verbs to which this suffix is added from the morphological and semantic closeness that Class IIIA manifests toward Class IIAi.

Class IIB is the only one that consistently distinguishes between the concrete and abstract verbal noun, such as those derived from siklí:cin, 'to saw:' sikkací, 'hand saw' and sikkaca, 'sawing; to saw.'

The following table gives examples of active and stative verbs of this class.

TABLE 3.5

Active Verbs

	<u>Affirmative</u>	<u>Negative</u>	<u>Affirmative</u>	<u>Negative</u>
1s	akkammí:ci-l	akkan,taká,:c-o	paṭṭí:ci-l	paṭ,taká,:c-o
2s	akkan,cí,:c	akkan,cikí,:c-o	paṭ,cí,:c	paṭ,cikí,:c-o
3	akkammí:c	akkan,kí,:c-o	paṭṭí:c	paṭ,kí,:c-o
1pl	akkḡ,hilí,:c	akkan,kilí,:c-o	paṭ,hilí,:c	paṭ,kilí,:c-o
2pl	akkḡ,hací,:c	akkḡ,hacikí,:c-o	paṭ,hací,:c	paṭ,hacikí,:c-o
verbal noun:	akkankacá		paṭkacá	
root:	akkammí:cin	'to do'	paṭṭí:cin	'to splinter something'

	<u>Affirmative</u>	<u>Stative Verb</u>	<u>Negative</u>
1s	am-mammí:c		am-man,kí,:c-ɔ
2s	cim-mammí:c		cim-man,kí,:c-ɔ
3	im-mammí:c		im-man,kí,:c-ɔ
1pl	kom-mammí:c		kom-man,kí,:c-ɔ
2pl	hacim-mammí:c		hacim-man,kí,:c-ɔ
verbal noun:	immankacá		
root:	immammí:cin	'to be good-hearted'	

As in the case of verbs of Class IIAii, the l of the segment -li assimilates to the point of articulation of a preceding appropriate consonant.

There is one final verb in this class, which is anomalous, aťí:yan, 'to go (sg/du)'. It is divided by the subject cross reference markers into two parts, aťi- and -:ya. There is a related verb of Class IIAi, áťtan, 'to plan to go,' which suppletes with aťí:yan to form the third person affirmative dual form, but which contrasts in the first person singular. The segment -:ya is similar to the Choctaw verb iya, 'to go.' Obscurely related to aťí:yan and áťtan is the stative verb nakáťtan, 'to go off somewhere; to disappear; to get lost; to die (sg subj)'. The following shows the inflection of the two verbs; note the Class IB type of first person dual in the verb aťí:yan

	<u>Affirmative</u>	<u>Negative</u>	<u>Affirmative</u>	<u>Negative</u>
1s	aťí:ya-l	ať,taka,:y-ɔ	ca-nakáť	ca-nakať,kí,:y-ɔ
2s	ať,cí,:y	ať,cikí,:y-ɔ	ci-nakáť	ci-nakať,kí,:y-ɔ
3	aťí:y	ať,kí,:y-ɔ	nakáť	nakať,kí,:y-ɔ
1du	a,n,ťí:y	ať,kilí,:y-ɔ		
2du	ať,hací,:y	ať,hacikí,:y-ɔ		
3du	aťťá-:c	ať,ki,yá-:c-ɔ		
verbal noun:	anťiyá	root: aťí:yan	'to go (sg/du subj)'	

Class IIC

This is a closed class of verbs, which however has a greater number of members than any other closed class, over 170 verbs. This class consists of those verbs which have a root terminating in the sequence $V_1C_1C_2V_2$, where C_2V_2 is neither -li nor -ka. The initial consonant of the cluster can consist of any consonant or vowel length, which seems to be the reflex of some Proto-Muskogean glottal or laryngeal consonant, the exact nature of which is not known.¹⁹ There are no restrictions on the membership of the consonant cluster, except those language-wide restrictions on the appearance of certain clusters (See Chapter 1).

The following is the conjugational outline of a verb of this class.

(XY represents ROOT)

	Affirmative	Negative
1s	XY-li	X,kā,Y-ǝ
2s	X,ci,Y	X,ciki,Y-ǝ
3	XY	X,ki,Y-ǝ
1pl	X,li,Y	X,kili,Y-ǝ or X,liki,Y-ǝ
2pl	X,haci,Y	X,haciki,Y-ǝ
verbal noun	X,li,Y-á ²⁰	

The subject cross reference markers for this class are very similar to those of Class IIB, which reflect the more archaic form of the suffixes of the second conjugation. The markers of Class IIC are yet more archaic in that the first person plural affirmative marker is ,li, (probably related by metathesis with the Class IA prefix for the same person, i|-) and the first person singular negative marker is simply ,ka, (again probably related by metathesis to the Class IA marker ak-). Haas (1977:531) has stated her belief that the infixes of this class arose by analogy to the

inflection of Verbs of Classes IIA and IIB, however analogy does not well explain the variation of the infixes from the form of the suffixes, especially in the negative. A better solution is to propose that very early on, probably in the Proto-Muskogean period, there was a series of suffixed subject cross-reference markers that were elisive. They deleted the final vowel of verbs with a final syllable structure of VCV, and deleted the element li from verbs with a final syllable structure VCli. However, if a verb had a syllable structure terminating in VCCV, the markers could not be suffixed, as a three-member consonant cluster would be produced, which was not permissible in the language. Consonant cluster simplification would cause serious semantic problems with either the verb or the suffix. The solution was to infix the cross-reference markers to preserve the integrity of both verb and suffix.²¹

The following are inflected examples of verbs of Class IIC.

TABLE 3.6

Active Verbs

	<u>Affirmative</u>	<u>Negative</u>		<u>Affirmative</u>	<u>Negative</u>
1s	hófna-l	ho,ká,fn-ǵ		á:ya-l	a,ká,:y-ǵ
2s	ho,cí,fn	ho,cikí,fn-ǵ		a,cí,:y	a,cikí,:y-ǵ
3	hófn	ho,kí,fn-ǵ		á:y	a,kí,:y-ǵ
1pl	ho,lí,fn	ho,kilí,fn-ǵ	1du	a,lí,:y	a,likí,:y-ǵ
2pl	ho,hací,fn	ho,hacikí,fn-ǵ	2du	a,hací,:y	a,hacikí,:y-ǵ
			3du	a:yá-:c ²²	a,ki,:yá-:c-ǵ
verbal noun:	holifná			alí:ya	
root:	hófnan	'to smell something'		á:yan	'to go about (sg/du)'

Stative Verbs

	<u>Affirmative</u>	<u>Negative</u>	<u>Affirmative</u>	<u>Negative</u>
1s	am-aká:n	am-aka,kí,:n-ǵ	s-ca-bákt	s-ca-ba,kí,kǵ-ǵ
2s	cim-aká:n	cim-aka,kí,:n-ǵ	s-ci-bákt	s-ci-ba,kí,kǵ-ǵ
3s	im-aká:n	im-aka,kí,:n-ǵ	3 st-ibákt	st-iba,kí,kǵ-ǵ
1pl	kom-akásn	kom-aka,kí,sn-ǵ	s-ko-bákt	s-ko-ba,kí,kǵ-ǵ
2pl	hacim-akásn	hacim-aka,kí,sn-ǵ	s-haci-bákt	s-haci-ba,kí,kǵ-ǵ
3pl	im-akásn	im-aka,kí,sn-ǵ		
verbal noun:	akalí:na/akalisná		stibaliktá	
root:	aká:non (sg)/akásnon (pl) 'to be hungry'		stibáktin 'to be poor and suffering'	

The following list gives examples of various verbs of this class showing the kinds of consonant clusters that occur. These are arranged alphabetically by the initial member of the cluster.

<u>Cluster</u>	<u>Example</u>	<u>Gloss</u>	<u>Inflected form</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
:l	á:lon	'to hope'	a,lí,:l	'we hope'
:n	aká:non	'be hungry (sg)'	im-aka,kí,:n-ǵ	'he's not hungry'
:t	á:tan	'dwell (sg)'	a,cí,:t	'you dwell'
:y	á:yan	'go about (sg)'	a,ká,:y-ǵ	'I do not go about'
cc	hóccan	'to shoot at'	ho,li,cc-ásk	'let's shoot it'
fn	hófnan	'to smell'	ho,cí,fn	'you smell it'
hl	nocíhlan	'be sleepy'	ca-noci,kí,hl-ǵ	'I'm not sleepy'
hn	iltóhnon	'to work'	ilto,lí,hn	'we work'
hp	sáhpan	'to air-dry'	sa,kí,hp-ǵ	'it does not air-dry'
hy	óhyan	'to be all'	o,hací,hy	'you are all'
kb	íkban	'be warm'	i,kí,kb-ǵ	'it is not warm'

kc	albákcon	'put under one's head'	alba,ci,kc	'you put it under your head'
kf	hókfin	'put in'	ho,ci,kfí-n	'do not put it in!'
kh	ayákhan	'be near'	aya,kí,kh-ǵ	'it is not near'
kl	tóklon	'be two'	to,lí,kl	'we are two'
kt	stibákṭin	'be poor'	stiba,kí,kt-ǵ	'he is not poor'
kn	patókna	'be flat-stomached'	pato,kí,kn-ǵ	'he is not flat-stomached'
kp	tákpán	'be bitter'	ta,kí,kp-ǵ	'it's not bitter'
ks	copóksin	'be hilly'	copo,kí,ks-ǵ	'it's not hilly'
kt	háktin	'be drunk'	ca-ha,kí,kt-ǵ	'I'm not drunk'
lf	ólfan	'to sprout'	o,kí,lf-ǵ	'it does not sprout'
lh	asílhán	'to ask'	asi,ci,lhá-n	'do not ask!'
mh	asámhan	'be over-cooked (rice)'	asa,kí,mh-ǵ	'it is not over-cooked (rice)'
mp	ohómpan	'to dine'	oho,lí,mp	'we dine'
nn	pónnan	'be educated'	ca-po,kí,nn-ǵ	'I am not educated'
nt	hofántin	'be born'	hofa,kí,nt-ǵ	'it is not born'
pp	hoppó:lan	'to defecate'	ho,li,ppo:l-ásk	'let's defecate'
sn	akásnon	'be hungry (pl)'	kom-aka,kí,sn-ǵ	'we're not hungry'
sp	taháspin	'be lightweight'	taha,kí,sp-ǵ	'it's not light'
ss	bássan	'to starve'	ca-ba,kí,ss-ǵ	'I'm not starving'
st	alóstin	'be pleased'	am-alo,kí,st-ǵ	'I am not pleased'
sw	áswan	'to dwell (du)'	a,lí,sw	'we two dwell'
tn	ittimpátнан	'be partners'	ittimpa,kí,tn-ǵ	'they are not partners'

tt	immáttan	'to miss'	amma,kí,tt-o-t	'I did not miss'
yb	óyban	'to rain'	o,kí,yb-ǵ	'it's not raining'
yh	cáyhan	'be tall'	ca,kí,yh-ǵ	'it's not tall'
yy	káyyan	'be sated'	ka,kí,yy-ǵ	'he's not sated'

Haas in her 1946 article stated that the consonant clusters in verbs belonging to this class could not be geminate; however, as can be seen in the above list, there are verbs with the geminate clusters cc, nn, pp, ss, tt, and yy in this class. Additionally, she did not specify that vowel length could occur as a member of a consonant cluster, nor that the cluster could occur in other than the boundary between the ultimate and penultimate syllables (as in hoppó:lan). These omissions seem simply to have arisen from her having a lack of sufficient information on this facet of the language.

Class IIIA

This class is an open class of verbs with over five hundred members noted. It is made up of three categories of words, Root IIIA actives, Root IIIA statives and Derived IIIA mediopassives. This latter class, derived mediopassives, is of interest because it is made up of verbs derived from verbs of Class II Aii. These transitive Class II Aii verbs end in the classifying suffix -li; they form their derived mediopassive by transforming the suffix -li into the suffix -ka, the classifying suffix for most verbs of Class IIIA. These derived mediopassives are as a rule impersonal verbs; they are used when the action, usually perceived as being carried out by an agent, has that agent deleted. Thus, the action is conceived of as occurring without the intervention of an agent. The following pairs of sentences show the distinction between an active and

mediopassive verb.

- 1a) ittinsá:wa-k kawká-:ci-hawa-:s
 BRANCH-subj SNAP(pl) (mediopass) -mult-auditory-IPast
 /ittinsá:wak kawká:cihawa:s/
 'One can hear the branches snapping all around.'
- b) okitalkí-k ittinsá:wa kawwí-:ci-hawa-:s
 ICE-subj BRANCH SNAP(pl) (trans) -mult-auditory-IPast
 /okitalkik ittinsá:wa kawwí:c əwa:s/
 'One can hear the ice snapping the branches all around.'
- 2a) katolíčka im-iscobá-k atiní:ka-toho-:li-:s
 CATHOLIC 3poss-CHURCH-subj BURN(sg) (mediopass) -realis-deduc-IPast
 /katolíčka imiscobák atiní:katoho:li:s/
 'The Catholic church just burned.'
- b) katolíčka im-iscobá oh-atiní:li-toho-:li-:s
 CATHOLIC 3poss-CHURCH distr-BURN(sg) (trans) -realis-deduc-IPast
 /katolíčka imiscobá ohatiní:li-toho:li:s/
 'Someone just burned the Catholic church.'

Because of this relation of a transitive verb in -li and a mediopassive (often wrongly labeled intransitive) in -ka, the class suffix -ka has been labelled a morpheme marking intransitivity (as in Lupardus, 1982). However, among root actives of this class, verbs are indifferently transitive or intransitive. So with verbs like walí:kan(sg)/tółkan(pl), 'to run,' wáykan(sg)/wayóhkan(pl), 'to fly,' and yáhkan, 'to weep,' which are intransitive one can compare verbs like limítkan(sg)/línkan(pl), 'to swallow something,' latáfkan(sg)/látkan(pl), 'to kick something,' and halátkan(sg)/haláhkan(pl), 'to pull something.' Therefore, synchronically in Koasati, -ka cannot be considered anything more than a classifying suffix. Among root members of this class there are two additional classifying suffixes, -ko and -ki. Very few of these verbs are root actives; ískon, 'to drink something,'

cákkin, 'to catch up with,' acakkin, 'to follow,' and fí:kin, 'to pay,' are the major active verbs terminating in the classifying suffixes -ko and -ki. Most other verbs with these suffixes are impersonal verbs, such as ḥimíhkon, 'to be smooth,' okcákkon, 'to be blue or green,' lapátkin, 'to be narrow,' and polóhkin, 'to be circular.'

The following is the conjugational outline of a verb of Class IIIA

(X-ka, X-ko, and X-ki represent ROOT)

	Affirmative			Negative
1s	X-ka-li	X-ko-li	X-ki-li	X-hákkó
2s	X-híska			X-cíkkó
3	X-ka	X-ko	X-ki	X-híkkó
1pl	X-hílka			X-kílko
2pl	X-haska			X-hácikko
verbal noun	X-hilká			

As can be seen from the skeletal sketch above, the three classifying suffixes are kept distinct only in the first person singular and third person affirmative (and not even in the latter if the phrase terminal marker DEL follows). The historical origin of these subject cross-reference markers is clear; they are formed from the fusion of a former auxiliary verb, *ka, inflected like a Class IA verb with the root of the verb to which it was joined. In most Muskogean historical work (such as Booker, 1980), the former auxiliary is assumed to be an intransitive or mediopassive auxiliary; however, it is more likely that *ka is an old verb meaning 'to be,' which has an identical reflex in Apalachee, ka (ca),²³ and also seems to appear in the Koasati enclitic katík, 'but it is the case that,' c.f. -tik, 'but.' As mentioned above, the close similarity of

the negative paradigm of this class with that of Class IIA is notable, indicating that much of the IIA paradigm has been reshaped after the IIIA pattern. The following are inflected examples of verbs of this class.

TABLE 3.7

Active Verbs

	<u>Affirmative</u>	<u>Negative</u>	<u>Affirmative</u>	<u>Negative</u>
1s	taníhka-l	taníh-hákkq	cákki-l	cák-hákkq
2s	taníh-hísk	taníh-cíkkq	cák-hísk	cák-cíkkq
3	taníhk	taníh-híkkq	cák	cák-híkkq
1pl	taníh-hílk	taníh-kílkq	cák-hílk	cák-kílkq
2pl	taníh-hásk	taníh-hácíkkq	cák-hásk	cák-hácíkkq
verbal noun:	tanihhilká		cakhilká	
root:	taníhkan 'to gamble'		cákkin 'to catch up with'	

Stative Verbs

	<u>Affirmative</u>	<u>Negative</u>	<u>Affirmative</u>	<u>Negative</u>
1s	am-ayóhk	am-ayóh-híkkq	ca-ficcák	ca-ficcák-híkkq
2s	cim-ayóhk	cim-ayóh-híkkq	ci-ficcák	ci-ficcák-híkkq
3	im-ayóhk	im-ayóh-híkkq	ficcák	ficcák-híkkq
1pl	kom-ayóhk	kom-ayóh-híkkq	ko-ficcák	ko-ficcák-híkkq
2pl	hacim-ayóhk	hacim-ayóh-híkkq	haci-ficcák	haci-ficcák-híkkq
verbal noun:	imayohilká		ficcakhilká	
root:	imayóhkin 'to have a fear of heights or falling; feel trepidation'		ficcákin 'to be jealous'	

Class IIIB

This is a closed class of verbs that nevertheless has a goodly number of members, almost 190 recorded. It is made up of the causatives of verbs that do not belong to Classes IIAii or IIIA, nouns verbalized with -:ci,

and a few unanalysable verbs terminating in the element -ci. The inflectional outline of this class is as follows.

	Affirmative	Negative
1s	ROOT-li	ROOT-ákko
2s	ROOT-íska	ROOT-tcíkko
3	ROOT	ROOT-íkko
1pl	ROOT-ílka	ROOT-tkílko
2pl	ROOT-áska	ROOT-thácikko
verbal noun	ROOT-ilká	

The subject cross-reference suffixes that begin with a vowel elide the final vowel of the verb root. Although it seems that one could explain the second person singular and plural and first person plural negative subject cross-reference markers as comprising the verb root plus the connective suffix -t followed by an auxiliary of Class IA of the form *VkV, there are two pieces of evidence against this interpretation. First, the negative cross-reference suffixes occasionally fuse with the root, as in the following examples.

3) im-awí:ci-tkílko-V
 3dat-HELP-1plneg(IIIB)-phr:term
 /imawickílko/

'We do not help him.'

4) im-aybá:ci-thácikko-ŷhco-toho-k ómmi:-p
 3dat-FORBID-2plneg(IIIB)-habit-realiss BE-subjunc

/imaybachácikkóhcotohok ómmi:p/

'If you all were not habitually instructing them in proper behavior...'

Secondly, the fact that, in the negative forms, only the negative marker bears an accent indicates that the marker and the verb root form a unit, as

each independent word in Koasati must bear an accent, and may bear more than one. The following are examples of active verbs and a stative verb of this subclass of the third conjugation.

TABLE 3.8

Active Verbs

	<u>Affirmative</u>	<u>Negative</u>	<u>Affirmative</u>	<u>Negative</u>
1s	pakamá:ci-l	pakama:c-ákkq	alíkc-i-l	alíkc-ákkq
2s	pakamá:c-ísk	pakama:ci-tcíkkq	alíkc-ísk	alíkc-tcíkkq
3	pakamá:c	pakama:c-íkkq	alíkc	alíkc-íkkq
1pl	pakamá:c-ílk	pakama:ci-tkílkq	alíkc-ílk	alíkc-tkílkq
2pl	pakamá:c-ásk	pakama:ci-thácikkq	alíkc-ásk	alíkc-thácikkq
verb	noun:	pakamacilká		alíkcilká
root:		pakamá:cin 'to tame'		alíkc:cin 'to cure from illness'

Stative Verb

	<u>Affirmative</u>	<u>Negative</u>
1s	am-ayá:c	am-aya:c-íkkq
2s	cim-ayá:c	cim-aya:c-íkkq
3	im-ayá:c	im-aya:c-íkkq
1pl	kom-ayá:c	kom-aya:c-íkkq
2pl	hacim-ayá:c	hacim-aya:c-íkkq
verbal noun:	imayacilká	
root:	imayá:cin 'to be distracted; be obsessed'	

Verbs of Class IIB that end in -ci may be optionally inflected as members of this class. However, this transfer of verbs from one class to another is not common among most speakers; it may be due to Alabama influence, as all of its verbs of a class comparable to Koasati Class IIB have transferred to a class parallel to Koasati IIB (Lupardus, 1982:139).

Class IIIC

This class was not discussed by Haas in her 1946 article. The subject cross-reference markers belonging to this class are very similar to those of Classes IIIA and IIIB; however where Class IIIA suffixes begin frequently with an h, and Class IIIB begin with a vowel, Class IIIC suffixes begin with a t. This class consists of two subclasses, IIICi and IIICii, the latter consisting only of words verbalized with the copular/emphatic suffix -o.

Class IIICi

This is an open class of verbs, however with only about sixty basic members. Verbs derived from nouns by the use of internal changes (see Chapter 11) also belong to this class. The verbs basic to this class are generally trisyllabic and do not have a classifying suffix. This class also has a large number of rare or unusual words such as pokpó:sin, 'to be knotty (as of arthritic hands);' ilá:bin, 'to dress one's hair with grease;' stimilacó:ban, 'to be uncooperative with someone;' and lám:bin, 'to sting someone (of insects with stinging hairs).' Because of their low frequency of occurrence, such words, which may have originally been members of other classes, have now become members of this class. The reason for this is that Class IIICi seems to be optionally available for use for any verb for which the speaker has temporarily forgotten the class membership. A few verbs in this class are certainly loans, such as tahpá:lan, 'to invite someone,' a word now obsolete, which is derived from the Creek word tahpa.la, 'town messenger; town crier.'

The following is the inflectional outline of a verb of this class.

—

	Affirmative	Negative
1s	ROOT-lí	ROOT-tákkó
2s	ROOT-tíška	ROOT-tcíkkó
3	ROOT	ROOT-tíkkó
1pl	ROOT-tílka	ROOT-tkílko
2pl	ROOT-táska	ROOT-thácíkkó
verbal noun	ROOT-tílká	

The construction of the subject cross-reference markers is even more reminiscent of a double verb construction linked with the connective suffix -t. This analysis is possible, however, only for the affirmative, where both root and suffix bear an accent; in the negative only the suffix bears the accent for the word.

The following table gives active and stative examples of verbs of this class. Note that for the verbalized noun given, the indicative form is not used, but rather the aorist.²⁴ This is because such verbs, with the meaning of being or becoming the noun of origin, cannot be rigidly bound to the aspectual system of the Indicative. If an assertion about the identity of the noun is being made, instead of simply stating it, the suffix -o is used and the verb is inflected in the pattern of Class III Cii.

TABLE 3.9

Active Verbs

	Affirmative	Negative	Affirmative	Negative
1s	ilakasá:mo-l	ilakasa:mo-tákkó	mikko-lí	mikko-takkó
2s	ilakasá:mo-tíšk	ilakasa:mo-tcíkkó	mikko-tíšká	mikko-tcíkkó
3	ilakasá:m	ilakasa:mo-tíkkó	mikkó	mikko-tíkkó

1pl	ilakasá:mo-tílk	ilakasa:mo-tkílkq	mikko-tílká	mikko-tkílkó
2pl	ilakasá:mo-tásk	ilakasa:mo-thacikkq	mikko-taská	mikko-thacikkó
verbal noun:	ilakasamotílká		mikkotílká	
root:	ilakasá:mon 'to be overweeningly proud; to suffer hubris'		míkkon 'to be a chief'	

Stative Verbs

	<u>Affirmative</u>	<u>Negative</u>	<u>Affirmative</u>	<u>Negative</u>
1s	am-poyó:f	am-poyo:fa-tíkkq	ca-poská:n	ca-poska:no-tíkkq
2s	cim-poyó:f	cim-poyo:fa-tíkkq	ci-poská:n	ci-poska:no-tíkkq
3	im-poyó:f	im-poyo:fa-tíkkq	poská:n	poska:no-tíkkq
1pl	kom-poyó:f	kom-poyo:fa-tíkkq	ko-poská:n	ko-poska:no-tíkkq
2pl	hacim-poyó:f	hacim-poyo:fa-tíkkq	haci-poská:n	haci-poska:no-tíkkq
verbal noun:	poyofatílká		poskanotílká	
root:	poyó:fan 'to suffer bad luck in hunting'		poská:non 'to long for the taste of meat'	

There is one common verb of this class, í:san, 'to dwell (pl)'; 'to keep on (pl)'; to sit (pl).' Its conjugation is as follows:

	<u>Affirmative</u>	<u>Negative</u>
1pl	ís-tílk	i:sa-tkílkq
2pl	ís-tásk	i:sa-thacikkq
3pl	í:s	i:sa-tíkkq
verbal noun:	istílká	

Class III Cii

This class is made up entirely of verbs derived with the emphatic/copular suffix -o. This suffix is frequently used when an assertion is being made, so it is of frequent use when asserting what a noun is or is not. In addition to its use as an emphatic, copular suffix a few verbs are found

to occur only with this suffix. These make up the five active verbs (all impersonal) and two stative verbs that belong obligatorily to this class. The conjugational skeleton of a verb of this class is as follows:

	Affirmative	Negative	
1s	ROOT-l-o	ROOT-l-ó-kko	
2s	ROOT-tisk-o	ROOT-tisk-ó-kko	
3	ROOT-o	ROOT-ó-kko	(singular for human nouns)
1pl	ROOT-tilk-o	ROOT-tilk-ó-kko	
2pl	ROOT-task-o	ROOT-task-ó-kko	
3pauc	ROOT-k-o	ROOT-k-ó-kko	(nouns that take paucal only)
3pl	ROOT-h-o	ROOT-h-ó-kko	(nouns that take plural only)
verbal noun: none			

As can be seen the subject cross-reference suffixes are identical to the affirmative suffixes of Class IIIC with the addition of -o in the affirmative and -ó-kko in the negative. When this suffix occurs at the end of a phrase, it takes the nasalizing phrase terminal marker.

The following table shows the inflection of an active and the two stative verbs of this class.

TABLE 3.10
Active Verb

	<u>Affirmative</u>	<u>Negative</u>
1s	in-ɬakfó:si-l-ɔ	in-ɬakfo:si-l-ó-kkɔ
2s	in-ɬakfó:si-tisk-ɔ	in-ɬakfo:si-tisk-o-kkɔ
3s	in-ɬakfó:s-ɔ	in-ɬakfo:s-ó-kkɔ
1pl	in-ɬakfó:si-tilk-ɔ	in-ɬakfo:si-tilk-ó-kkɔ
2pl	in-ɬakfó:si-task-ɔ	in-ɬakfo:si-task-ó-kkɔ
3pl	in-ɬakfós-k-ɔ	in-ɬakfos-k-ó-kkɔ

verbal noun: none
 root: in-ḫakfó:s-ḡ 'to be her brother'

Stative Verbs

	<u>Affirmative</u>	<u>Negative</u>	<u>Affirmative</u>	<u>Negative</u>
1s	s-ca-ná:h-ḡ	s-ca-na:h-ó-kkḡ	am-má:mosc-ḡ	am-ma:mosc-ó-kkḡ
2s	s-ci-ná:h-ḡ	s-ci-na:h-ó-kkḡ	cim-má:mosc-ḡ	cim-ma:mosc-ó-kkḡ
3.	sná:h-ḡ	sna:h-ó-kkḡ	im-má:mosc-ḡ	im-ma:mosc-ó-kkḡ
1pl	s-ko-ná:h-ḡ	s-ko-na:h-ó-kkḡ	kom-má:mosc-ḡ	kom-ma:mosc-ó-kkḡ
2pl	s-haci-ná:h-ḡ	s-haci-na:h-ó-kkḡ	hacim-má:mosc-ḡ	hacim-ma:mosc-ó-kkḡ

verbal noun: none
 root: sná:h-ḡ 'to be rich' immá:mosc-ḡ 'to be at fault'

The stative verb immá:moscḡ has Indicative accentuation and vowel length on the antepenultimate syllable rather than the penultimate because it is an old compound, derived from the verb mámmín, 'to occur by chance.'

The impersonal active verbs that belong to this class are as follows: ámḡ, 'to be mine;' anámmḡ, 'to be mine;' címmḡ, 'to be yours;' ímḡ, 'to be his/hers/its/theirs;' kómmḡ, 'to be ours;' and hacímmḡ, 'to be yours (plural).'

AUXILIARY VERBS

There are a number of verbs that, when they occur in conjunction with other verbs, have different meanings than when they are used independently. These are termed auxiliary verbs, of which there are two kinds, regular auxiliaries and sporadic auxiliaries.

Regular auxiliaries

The following table lists the regular auxiliary verbs.

→

TABLE 3.11

<u>Auxiliary verb</u>	<u>Gloss</u>	<u>Root</u>	<u>Meaning</u>
ałí:yan (sg) amá:kan (pl)	'to become;'	'to go on'	'to go'
stałí:yan	'to continue'		'to be taking'
anó:lin (sg) anóslin (pl)	'to finish (transitive)		'to use up; devour'
anó:kan (sg) anóskan (pl)	'to finish (intransitive)		'to be used up'
á:tan (sg) í:san (pl)	'to keep on; continue'		'to dwell'
fáylin (sg) fayáhlín (pl)	'to quit, stop (transitive)		'to leave off'
fáykan (sg) fayáhkan (pl)	'quit, stop (intransitive)		'to be ended; be fired'
ómmin	'to be the case that (trans)'		'to be (trans)'
ónkan	'to be the case that (intr)'		'to be (intr)'

It is to be noted that verbs of position, such as sitting or standing, are not used as regular auxiliaries, in contrast with other Muskogean languages (Booker, 1980:207-9). It is also notable that there are three pairs of auxiliaries that mark not only the singularity or plurality of the verb to which they are connected, but also its transitivity. The coding of transitivity on auxiliaries does not occur in any other Muskogean language except Alabama.

ałí:yan 'to become; 'to go on'

With intransitive verbs, ałí:yan is used to mean 'become.'²⁵ With transitive verbs, it means 'to go on.' The following examples show both uses of this auxiliary.

5) ittó hí:si-k lá:na-t ałí:y
TREE HAIR-subj BE:YELLOW-conn GO

/ittó hí:sik lá:nat ałí:y/

'The leaves are turning yellow.'

- 6) apalá-k okcákkot ałí:y
ARTIFICIAL:LIGHT-subj BE:GREEN(sg)-conn GO

/apalák okcákkot ałí:y/

'The light is turning green.'
- 7) ísko-t ałí:ya-k im-cokfolóhli-t
DRINK-conn GO-ss 3stats-BE:DIZZY-conn

/ískot ałí:yak incokfolóhli-t/

'He kept on drinking, became dizzy, and...'
- 8) á:ya-t ałí:ya-k oht-iltóhno-má:mi-k łóyka-k
GO:ABOUT(sg)-conn GO-ss go:&-WORK-dubit-ss RETURN(sg)-ss

/á:yat ałí:yak ohtiltóhnomá:mik łóykaa/

'He kept on wandering about, and he must have gone and worked, and he came back, and...'

The use of ałí:yan in the sense of 'become' is restricted to verbs.

When one noun is transformed into another noun, the verb anáhkan²⁶ is used as in the following examples.

- 9) okcí-k hóyya-toho-k kafolá-k anáhka-ŷhci
JUICE-subj DRIP-realis-subj GUM-subj BECOME-progress

/okcík hóyyatohok kafolák anahkáhci/

'The sap that has dripped down becomes gum.'
- 10) mó:toho-k ho-có:ba-t ano:ka:k okí-n askáhka-k skalapist-ók anáhka-ŷhc
BE:THEN-ss distr-GROW-conn FINISH-sj WATER-obj EXIT(pl)-ss MOSQUITO-subj BECOME-progress

/mó:tohok hocó:bat anó:ka:k askáhkak skalapistók anahkáhci/

'Then, when they are fully grown, they come out of the water and turn into mosquitoes.'

stałí:yan 'to continue, after stopping'

This verb, which in independent use means 'to be taking something,' is used as an auxiliary to mean 'continue,' when it is implied that the action has stopped for a while before beginning again. The following examples illustrate the use of this auxiliary.

- 11) má:mi-n ikbá:ci-k fáy-ko-:fó:k-on síhli-k fáy-ko-n
 BE:THEN-sw HEAT-ss QUIT-3neg(IIA)-when-sw:foc TAKE:OFF-ss QUIT-3neg
 (IIA)-sw

síhli-k mat-apisli-t staí:ya-k
 TAKE:OFF-ss afar-THROW:AWAY(pl)-conn BE:TAKING-ss

/má:min ikbá:cik fáyko:fó:kon, síhlik fáykon. síhlik matapísli²⁷
 staí:yak/

'Now, when he₁ did not quit heating him₂, he₂ did not quit taking off
 his clothes. He continued throwing them off, and...

- 12) mas-tołka-toho-:li-mpa-t staí:ya-k oht-i:p-áhi-ŷ
 full-RUN(pl)-realis-deduc-hearsay-conn BE:TAKING-ss go:&-EAT-intent-
 phr:term

/mastółkatoho:limpat staí:yak ohti:páhiy/

'It is said that they (the Tonkawa) continued to run off with them
 so that they might go and eat them.'

anó:lin/anóslin/anó:kan/anóskan 'to finish'

These four verbs are in extremely common use as auxiliaries, and
 are far more common as such than as independent verbs. These verbs are
 used to indicate that the actions of the verbs they modify are completely
 finished and carried out to their conclusions. The following are examples
 of the use of these verbs.

- 13) panayli-t anó:li-:k ittalbití:ka-t anó:ka-:p acití:ka yámmi-ŷhco-k
 TWIST-conn FINISH(sg)(trans)-subjunct PUT:TOGETHER-conn FINISH(sg)(intr)-
 (intr)-subjunct ROPE BE:LIKE-habit-ss

acití:ka-k-on talibó:li-ŷhco:li-k
 ROPE-art-obj:foc MAKE-habit-IVPast

/panáylit anó:li:k ittalbití:kat anó:ka:p acití:ka yáhcok
 acití:kakon talibó:líhco:lik/

'When she finished twisting it, when the two strands were completely
 put together, it was like rope; the old kind of rope is what she
 used to make.'

- 14) imállit anó:li-:k alimpá mí:t-on áłłi-toho-k
 FAN:GRAIN-conn FINISH(sg)(trans) FANNING:BASKET OTHER-obj:foc FILL(pl)-
 realis-ss

/imállit anó:li:k alimpá mí:ton ałłohok/

'When it was all fanned, one filled another fanning basket with it.'

- 15) pakamá:ci-t anóslí:k sammí:ci-t iltohnó:c-áhi-k
TAME-conn FINISH(pl)(trans) DO:SO-conn GIVE:WORK-intent-ss

/pakamá:cit anóslí:k sammí:cit iltohno:cáhi-k/

'When they finished taming them, they did so that they might put them to work.'

- 16) ho-có:ba-t anóska:-k íbísno-k malmámmi-t wayóhka-t wíhli-t ohómpa-Úhci
distr-GROW-conn FINISH(pl)(intr) 3PRO-subj BE:IN:THE:SAME:WAY-conn
FLY(pl)-conn LOOK:FOR-conn DINE-progress

/hocó:bat anóska:k íbísno-k malmámmi-t wayóhkat wíhli-t ohompáhci/

'When they are full-grown, they, too, in the same way fly and look for things and eat them.'

The intransitive plural auxiliary anóskan does not always occur where expected, as in example 10. This may be due to a feeling that plurality in an intransitive auxiliary is not an especially significant feature.

á:tan/í:san 'to keep on'

This pair of auxiliaries is used to indicate that the action of the verb is progressing on, without halting or stopping. The following are examples.

- 17) im-awí:ci-t á:ta-li-t taholl-o-má:m-o-ŷ
3dat-HELP-conn DWELL(sg)-lss-conn SUNDAY-be-dubit-be-phr:term

/imawí:cit á:talit tahollomá:mow/

'I kept on helping them, and it must have been on Sunday.'

- 18) okhicasí-fá mat-akaná:ka-t á:ta-t
WINDOW-in afar-PEER-conn DWELL(sg)-conn

/okhicasí-fá matakana:kát á:tát/

'He kept on peering out the window, and...'

- 19) atanáhka-t hí:ca-t í:sa-t atanáhka-t hí:ca-t í:sa-t akkámmit i:s-ahpi-n
TURN-conn SEE-conn DWELL(pl)-conn TURN-conn SEE-conn DWELL(pl)-conn
BE:SO-conn DWELL(pl)-modal-sw

/atanáhkát hí:cat í:sat atanáhkát hí:cat í:sat kánt í:sáhpín/

'They kept on turning and looking, turning and looking; like that they kept on.'

- 20) bikkó-n akkámmit-ísko-t í:sa:-p akkam,ki,:c-o-Úhco-k ómm-o-ŷ á:lo-li-t
BEFORE-obj BE:SO-conn DRINK-conn DWELL(pl)-subjunc DO,3neg(IIB);-neg:
comp-habit-conn BE-be-phr:term HOPE-lss-conn

/bikkón akkámmit ískot í:sa:p akkankí:cóhcómmq á:lolit/

'At first I thought, "If they keep on drinking like that, they might not do it."'

fáylin/fáykan/fayáhlín/fayáhkan 'to leave off'

This set of auxiliary verbs is used to indicate that the action of the verb it qualifies has stopped, but does not indicate whether or not the action was completed at the time it ended. The following are examples of the use of these auxiliaries; it must be noted that the plural auxiliaries fayáhlín and fayáhkan have been observed to occur only rarely.

- 21) im-alíkcí-t fáyli-l-áhi-k óm
3dat-CURE:FROM:ILLNESS-conn QUIT(sg) (trans)-lss-intent-ss BE

/imalíkcít fáyli-l-áhi-k óm/

'It is the case that I am about to quit curing him.'
- 22) pófka-t fáy-ko-n im-má:y mast-ilapónní:ci-t ańí:ya-to-n
BLOW-conn QUIT(sg) (trans)-3neg(IIA)-sw 3dat-BE:MORE full-WRAP:AROUND
(pl)-conn GO-IIIIPast-sw

/pófkát fáykon, immá:y mastilapónní:cít ańí:yaton/

'He did not quit blowing on him₂, so he₂ went on wrapping himself up in things all the more.'
- 23) walí:ka-t ańí:ya-t fáyka-t naksofón oh-haccá:li-t
RUN(sg)-conn GO-conn QUIT(sg) (intrans)-conn WHERE go:&-STAND(sg)-conn

/walí:kat ańí:yat fáykat naksofón ohhaccá:lit/

'He left off running on, and went and stood somewhere.'
- 24) má:mo:s-ok hoppó:la-t fayáhlín hiná:p mó il-hí:c-ásk ká,h,ha-n
BE:THEN-ss:foc DEFECATE-conn QUIT(pl) (trans)-sw NOW ENOUGH 1pls(IA)-
SEE-1pl imp SAY,h:grade,-sw

/má:mo:sok hoppó:lat fayáhlín, "hiná:p, mó. ilhi:cásk," káhhán.'

'And then they left off defecating it, and he (Elephant) said, "Now, enough! Let us look at it!"'

- 25) hasí toccí:na-ǂhco:li-ska-n skólka-toho-k fayáhka-n
 MONTH BE:THREE-custom-conseq-sw GO:TO:SCHOOL-realis-ss QUIT(pl) (intr)-
 sw

/hasí toccí:náhco:liskan skólkatohok fayáhkan/

'Because it used to be that after three months they left off going to school...'

ómmin/ónkan 'to be the case that'

This is probably the most common paired set of auxiliary verbs.

In the Muskogean languages of Florida, Seminole Creek (Nathan, 1977:109-10) and Mikasuki (Boynton, 1982:86-8), cognate elements have fused with the verbs to which they once formed auxiliaries. In Koasati, however, these two verbs are still independent elements.

ómmin

This auxiliary, the transitive form of the verb 'to be,' is used with both transitive and intransitive verbs. It can either be coordinate with the main verb of the sentence, which then takes the suffix -k, or it can dominate the entire sentence, the verb of which takes the suffix -n. This process is clearly an elaboration on the switch reference marking system used to relate sentences to one another (See Chapter 4).

When ómmin is coordinate with the verb of the sentence, it generally indicates a kind of progressive. It differs from the progressive suffix -ǂhci in meaning in that the latter does not imply a termination to the action to which it refers, which ómmin does. When ómmin occurs after the verbal suffix string -ǂhco-k, it frequently fuses with the string to form -ǂhcómmin.

When ómmin dominates a sentence, it has the sense of indicating the action is an example of what is happening; it is best rendered in English by 'it is the case that.' The following four examples illustrate the two uses of the auxiliary ómmin; many others may be found throughout this

dissertation.

- 26) ma:fó:ka-p capán-k-o:t-o-t ómm-o-ŷ ittihápli-ŷhco-k ómmi-n
BE:WHEN-new:top JAPAN-1n -art-be-conn BE-be-phr:term GO:TO:WAR-habit-ss BE-sw

/má:fó:kap capánko:tot ómmŷ ittihaplíhcok ómmin/

'Now, when this was so, it seems that it must have been Japan where he was going to war.'

- 27) im-asilhá:ci-li-k fáy-tákko-k óm²⁸
3dat-ASK-1ss-ss QUIT-1sneg(IIA)-ss BE

/imasilhá:cilik fáytákkok óm/

'I am not ceasing to ask questions of her.'

- 28) nipo-sí im-í:pa-t im-nihá pa-acó:li-ŷhco-toho-n ómmi-mpa-ŷhco-k
FLESH-dim 3dat-EAT-conn 3poss-FAT loc-SEW-habit-realiz-sw BE-hearsay-habit-IVPast

cokbaní-k
ANTS-subj

/niposí imí:pat innihá paacó:líhcotohon ómmimpáhcok cokbaník/

'They ate a little of his flesh; it is the case, so it is said, that the ants sewed his fat on it.'

- 29) hopáhki-palámm-o-:li-ŷhco-n ómmi-to-ŷ
BE:FAR-adv-be-deduc-habit-sw BE-IIIIPast-phr:term

/hopáhkípalámmo:líhcon ómmiŷ/

'It was the case that, as could be deduced, it was very far.'

The following example shows the fusion between -ŷhcok and ómmi-n.

- 30) akkám-mi-tika-p acíhba-ŷhco-n amá:-hílka-ŷhco-k ómmi-fíhn-o-:li-ŷhco-k
BE:SO-conseq-new:top BE:DIFFICULT-habit-sw GO(pl)-1pls(IIIA)-habit-ss BE-adv-be-deduc-habit-ss

/kántikap acíhbáhcon amá:hílkáhcómmifíhno:líhcok/

'But this being so, we were going on, too much, as can be surmised, in habitual difficulties.'

The verb ómmi-n also occurs connected to a previous verb with the suffix -t. This is, however, not an auxiliary construction, but a coordinate expression, as in the following example.

- 31) má:mi-n sámmit-t ómmit-t-ó?lí ká:ha-li-n
BE:THEN-sw BE:HOW-conn BE-Past-Q SAY-1ss-sw

/má:min, "sámmit ómmitó?lí" ká:halin/

'And then, "How was it so?" I said.'

ónkan

The verb ónkan is used much less frequently than ómmin. It occurs primarily with intransitive verbs, although a few occurrences with bànnan, 'to want something,' have been noted. Like ómmin, ónkan can be coordinate with or dominant to a phrase, with the same switch-reference marking on the verb with which it is associated. The meanings of this auxiliary seem to be similar to those of ómmin. The following are examples of its use.

- 32) wáyka-t abá hiná:p ká:no-ŷhco-:li-n ónk ká:h-ok
FLY-conn ABOVE NOW BE:GOOD/WELL-habit-deduc-sw BE(intr) SAY-ss:foc

/wáykat abá, "hiná:p ka:nóhco:lin ónk," ká:hok/

'He flew up and said, Now! It is the case that one can assume that he is well/good.'²⁹

- 33) talbó:ni hahcí ho-ká:ha-ŷhco-n ónk yafá wiskicitó ho-ká:ha-ŷhco-n
PN RIVER distr-SAY-habit-sw BE(intr) OVER:THERE PN distr-SAY-habit-sw

ittaltá:la í:sa-ŷhco-toho-ŷ
BETWEEN DWELL(pl)-habit-realis-phr:term

/talbó:ni hahcí hokáhcon ónk yafá wiskicitó hokáhcon ittalá:la í:sáhcotohow/

'Over there they used to dwell, between what is called the Calcasieu River and the Whiskey Chitto.'

- 34) op-ó-kko-ŷhco-k ónk
BARRED:OWL-be-3neg(IIICii)-habit-conn BE(intr)

/opokkóhcok ónk/

'They are ones who are not barred owls.'

- 35) má:mi-n hí:si ho-koyoffi-toho-k ónk-o-ŷ ká,h,ha-n
BE:THEN-sw HAIR dist-CUT(sg)-realis-conn BE(intr)-be-phr:term SAY,h:grade,-sw

/má:min hí:si hokoyoftohok ónkø káhhhan/

'And then, "Indeed, each one was cutting his hair," she said.'

Like ómmin, ónkan will occasionally fuse with a preceding sequence of Vhcok, as in the following example.

- 36) tiskilá-k pacokkó:li-Vhco-k ónka-toho-n hí,h,c-ok
 BLUE:JAY-subj ROOST-habit-ss BE(intr)-realis-sw SEE,h:grade,-ss:foc
 /tiskilák pacokko:líhcónkatohon híhcok/

'Catching sight of Jay, who was sitting on a branch...'

The use of ónkan as an auxiliary verb must be kept distinct from its use in sentences such as the following, where it defines into what category an object falls.

- 37) hopá:yi-k á:t-ná:s-on sobáyka-n ónka-Vhci
 PROPHET-subj someone-SOMETHING-obj KNOWER-obj BE(intr)-progress
 /hopá:yik atná:son sobáykan ónkáhci/

'A prophet is someone who knows things.'

This verb must also be kept distinct from the homophonous verb ónkan, 'to make a meaningful noise,' which is most frequently used as an element introducing quoted speech, and as such is glossed QUOTH in this dissertation.

Sporadic auxiliaries

A few verbs, most of them rare, require other verbs as auxiliaries than those discussed above. Unlike regular auxiliaries, sporadic auxiliaries are obligatory; however a choice of several auxiliaries is frequently possible. The following table lists a majority of verbs that require sporadic auxiliaries.

TABLE 3.12

acapáŧkan	'to be astraddle'	
acapáŧkat haccá:lin	'to stand astraddle'	(haccá:lin 'stand')
acapáŧkat ŧopótlin	'to pass through astraddle'	(ŧopótlin 'pass through')
abatanáhlin	'to stick one's nose up in the air'	
abatanáhlok hí:can	'to look down one's nose at something'	
hacokkoloaháŧkan	'to turn one's body completely over'	
hacokkoloaháŧkat haccá:lin	'to do a complete body-flip in the air'	
hacokkoloaháŧkat tàmmin	'to do somersaults'	(tàmmin 'lie down')
hasikíllin	'to be on tip-toes'	
hasikíllit haccá:lin	'to stand on tip-toes'	
hasikíllit bítlin	'to dance on tip-toes; to dance ballet'	
ittiŧisayolí:cin	'to move one's eyes to the side'	
ittiŧisayolí:cok hí:can	'to look at something from the corner of one's eyes'	
lómmin	'to hide;'	ililómmin 'to be in secret'
lómmit naŧí:kan	'to whisper'	(naŧí:kan 'speak')
ililómmit ískon	'to drink in secret'	
obalmá:kan	'to be in a backwards position'	
obalmá:kat ataká:kan (sg)	'to hang backwards over something'	
obalmá:kat atáŧkan (pl)		
sanní:cin	'to make screwing motions'	
sanní:cit alwáhlin	'to tear something up (like an enraged bull)'	(alwáhlin 'ruin')

IRREGULAR VERBS

There are three kinds of irregular verbs: defective verbs, irregularly inflected verbs, and verbs that have irregular derivational processes.

Defective verbs

Defective verbs are those verbs which have some lack in their conjugation.

There are only two verbs which can be considered defective in this manner:

-Vllin, 'to be a,' and ankan/cinkan/inkan/konkan/hacinkan/ilinkan/ittinkan, 'to give.'

-Vllin 'to be a'

This ca-stative verb of Class IIAii is defective, not only in that it lacks a third person form and a verbal noun (these being supplied from the conjugation of the verb ómmin), but also in that it occurs only in the present Indicative (affirmative and negative) and Interrogative. It never occurs with any of the various verbal suffixes. The following table illustrates the complete inflection of this verb.

TABLE 3.13

	Affirmative	Interrogative	Negative
1s	cál	cáʔlí	cálkq
2s	cíl	cíʔlí	cílkq
3	(óm)	(óʔmí)	(ónkq)
1pl	kól	kóʔlí	kólkq
2pl	hacíl	hacíʔlí	hacílkq

This verb is used to mean 'to be a member of a group;' 'to hold an office;' 'to be something.' The following are examples of these uses.

38) nit-ók kó-l
BEAR-subj:foc 1plstats-BE:A

/nitók kól/

'We are of the Bear Clan.'

39) mikk-ók ci, ʔʔ, lli
CHIEF-subj:foc 2sstats-Q, -BE:A

/mikkók cíʔlí/

'Are you a chief?'

40) nasho11-ók cá-1-ko-ŷ
 WILD:ANIMAL-subj:foc 1sstats-BE:A-3neg(IIA)-phr:term

/nasho11ók cá1kq/

'I am not a wild animal.'

'to give'

The verb 'to give' in Koasati is irregular because it is a verb with no root. It is simply composed of a dative prefix, which cross-references the person to whom something is given, and the classifying suffix -ka, which indicates that the actor is cross-referenced by the suffixes of Class IIIA. This situation has a complex historical origin.

The root of the verb 'to give' was originally *a, inflected by means of the auxiliary *ka.³⁰ When Koasati developed obligatory accentuation in verbs on the penultimate syllable, the accentuation of this verb fell on the obligatory dative prefixes that it carried. The auxiliary *ka fused with these prefixes (by the same syncope that has produced the doublet forms yalobá and yalbá for 'tadpole;' hayabíná and haybiná for 'lizard'), and was reinterpreted as the classifying suffix -ka. This produced the seven separate verbs meaning 'to give.' Table 3.14 shows this development; Table 3.15 gives the various inflected forms of these verbs.

TABLE 3.14

<u>Original form</u>	<u>Accented form</u>	<u>Syncoped form</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
am-a kan	áma kan	ánkan	'to give to me'
cim-a kan	címa kan	cínkan	'to give to you (sg)'
im-a kan	íma kan	ínkan	'to give to her/him/ it/them'
kom-a kan	kóma kan	kónkan	'to give to us'
hacim-a kan	hacíma kan	hacínkan	'to give to you (pl)'
ilim-a kan	ilíma kan	ilínkan	'to give to oneself'
ittim-a kan	ittíma kan	ittínkan	'give to each other'

TABLE 3.15

subject	Affirmative							object
	1s	2s	3s	1pl	2pl	reflexive	reciprocal	
1s	-	cínkał	ínkał	-	hacínkał	ilínkał	-	
2s	ǵhísk	-	ǵhísk	kǵhísk	-	ilǵhísk	-	
3	ánk	cínk	ínk	kónk	hacínk	ilínk	ittínk	
1pl	-	cǵhíłk	ǵhíłk	-	hacǵhíłk	ilǵhíłk	ittǵhíłk	
2pl	ǵhásk	-	ǵhásk	kǵhásk	-	ilǵhásk	ittǵhásk	
vn	ǵhíłká	cǵhíłká	ǵhíłká	kǵhíłká	hacǵhíłká	ilǵhíłká	ittǵhíłká	
subject	Negative							object
	1s	2s	3	1pl	2pl	reflexive	reciprocal	
1s	-	cǵhákkǵ	ǵhákkǵ	-	hacǵhákkǵ	ilíhákkǵ	-	
2s	áncíkkǵ	-	íncíkkǵ	kóncíkkǵ	-	ilíncíkkǵ	-	
3	ǵhíkkǵ	cǵhíkkǵ	ǵhíkkǵ	kǵhíkkǵ	hacǵhíkkǵ	ilǵhíkkǵ	ittǵhíkkǵ	
1pl	-	cínkíłkǵ	ínkíłkǵ	-	hacínkíłkǵ	ilínkíłkǵ	ittínkíłkǵ	
2pl	ǵháccíkkǵ	-	ǵháccíkkǵ	kǵháccíkkǵ	-	ilǵháccíkkǵ	ittǵháccíkkǵ	

Forms of the verb 'to give' inflected in the Present Indicative

Irregularity in inflection

Two verbs with irregular inflection are discussed here,³¹ ká:han, 'to say something,' and á:lon, 'to hope, think so, guess.'

ká:han, 'to say'

This verb is irregular in that its full root only occurs in the first person singular and the third person; otherwise it appears simply as ka. Historically, this verb seems to have had the form **ka:*, with phonemic vowel length in final position, a feature that no longer occurs in the language. When obligatory accentuation developed, the accent fell on the prefixed subject cross-reference markers of the second persons and the first person plural, and in accordance with a rule that a long vowel may become a VhV sequence, the a: of the first person singular and the third person broke to become aha. Finally the vowel deleting phrase terminal marker developed, and the final vowel disappeared at the end of a phrase. These changes are summarized in the following table.

TABLE 3.16

	Original form	Broken and Accented form	Present form	Gloss
1s	ka:-li	káha-li	ká:hal ³²	'I say'
2s	is-ka:	ís-ka:	ísk	'you (sg) say'
3	ka:	káha	ká:h	'she/he/they say'
1pl	il-ka:	íl-ka:	ílk	'we say'
2pl	has-ka:	hás-ka:	hásk	'you (pl) say'
verbal noun:		ilká		

á:lon 'to hope'

The irregularity of this verb is the inflection of the second person, where an excrescent s appears in both the affirmative and negative conju-

gation. In the following inflectional paradigm for this verb, excrement s is underlined.

	Affirmative	Negative
1s	á:lo-l	a,ká,:l-q
2s	a, <u>s</u> cí,:l	a, <u>s</u> cikí,:l-q
3	á:l	a,kí,:l-q
1pl	a,lí,:l	a,likí,:l-q
2pl	a, <u>s</u> hací,:l	a, <u>s</u> hacikí,:l-q

Since an infix s is the second person singular cross-reference marker of verbs of Class IB, it is possible that á:lon once belonged to this class, and after it had left Class IB like so many other members, it maintained the infix s in the second person singular and then generalized it to the second person plural and to the negative conjugation. The verbal noun, usually a good indicator of the former class membership of a verb that has switched classes, gives no help with á:lon, as it is formed in the manner of a IIICi verb, a:lotilká.

The impersonal verb *alí:lan, which means 'to be good' in the sense of something which is approved, and which may be related to á:lon, is irregular in that it forms no negative, and appears only in stereotypical forms such as alí:lq, 'good indeed!' alí:la:sq, 'good enough!' and alí:la:mo, 'thank you!' literally 'very good!'

Irregularity in derivation

Irregularity in derivation is confined to the formation of certain verbal nouns. Because the verbal noun can usually be predicted from the first person plural form of the verb, these verbal nouns, because they cannot be so predicted, are irregular. These irregularities are due to the fact that these verbs have switched classes, and that the verbal noun

is formed on the first person plural form of their former Class. By far the majority of irregular verbal nouns are formed after the pattern of Class IB, a class that is in the process of disappearing (see above). A few verbal nouns are double marked; that is instead of manifesting one derivational morpheme they manifest two, in two cases markers of different classes. The following table contains a list of irregular verbal nouns.

TABLE 3.17

Verb	Class	Verbal Noun	Verbal Noun Class	Gloss
aḥí:yan	IIB	a,n,ḥíyá	IB	'to go (sg)'
ó:ḥan	IIAi	o,n,ḥá	IB	'to arrive there'
ahó:tan	IIC	aho,l,tá	IB	'to vomit'
nokcó:ban	IIAi	nokco,l,bá	IB	'to stop'
imiyyí:hon	IIICi	imi,li,yyihá	IIC	'to be stingy'
bannan	IIAi	ba,li,nná	IIC	'to want; need'
o:tó:ban	IIAi	o,l,tó:ba o:to,l,bá o,l,to,l,bá	IB IB IB/IB	'to dream'
ho:tóhnon	IIC	ho,l,to,li,hná	IB/IIC	'to count'
kostí:nin	IIAi	ko,li,stin-ká	IIC/IIA	'to be wise'

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER 3

¹The description of verb conjugation in Alabama is complicated by the fact that Lupardus has analysed it in terms of the Proto-Muskogean forms from which the Alabama subject cross-reference markers are descended. Therefore, it is very difficult to compare the forms she gives with comparable Koasati forms.

²In descriptions of other Muskogean languages, especially Choctaw, the negative morpheme has been described as a discontinuous morpheme ik...o. However, as the i in ik is almost certainly historically derived from a third person pronoun prefix, and the o (at least in Koasati) can be deleted by a number of vowel initial verbal suffixes, the basic negative morpheme must be k. The negative complement o occurs independently only with those negative subject cross-reference markers that are prefixed or infixes. It has fused with suffixed negative cross-reference markers.

When the negative complement (independent or fused) occurs in phrase-final position, it takes the vowel nasalizing phrase terminal marker. In the tables, this phrase terminal marker is not set off morphemically for greater graphic simplicity.

³The appearance of the vowel deleting phrase terminal marker may have caused í:sin to change classes. Because of consonant cluster assimilations, three of the paradigmatic forms would have become almost identical; the second person singular *ís (from ís-s), the third person singular í:s, and the first person plural *ís (from í1-s, with 1s becoming ss). At present, Koasati tolerates only two similar forms in one paradigm, as í:l 'he arrives;' í1, 'we arrive' (from í1-1).

⁴The verbal noun is accented on the penultimate syllable when that syllable is long with inherent vowel length, as in há:lon (from PM *haklo)

⁵The root form given is the third person form of the verb with the Indicative internal change, followed by the switch-reference marker -n. The infinitive gloss is more appropriate to the verbal noun, one of the uses of which is as an infinitive.

⁶ca-ílli-lahó, 'I will die,' and the other examples of this verb are given with the irrealis suffix -laho- (see Chapter 4), as the use of the present tense of the verb 'to die' is considered unusual, if not ungrammatical, by most speakers.

⁷The dual forms of íllin are not in regular use, and are not accepted by some speakers. The plural is hápkan, a ca-stative verb of Class IIIA.

⁸This verb is a verbalization of the noun nihá, 'fat,' so that it does not form a verbal noun.

⁹This verb, like other verbs of motion, has a third person non-singular suffix :-ci. In verbs with a singular/dual root and a suppletive plural, :-ci suffixed to the singular/dual root signifies third person dual; with other verbs it signifies third person plural.

¹⁰This verb literally means 'to arrive for someone.' The segment im- is the dative prefix, and changes to agree with the number of the person to whom the baby will be born.

¹¹This verb is derived with the instrumental prefix st- and the reflexive prefix ili- from the verb ná:hon, and literally means 'to use something on oneself. Note: stil-is-ná:h 'you rub medicine on yourself;' stil-ak-ná:h-q, 'I do not rub medicine on myself.'

¹²This verb is most frequently inflected after the Class III Ci pattern. Its Class IA pattern is irregular: ca-lijhá:l, 'I awaken;' ca-l,ik,há:l-q, 'I do not awaken.' This seems to indicate that the element ili- is the reflexive prefix.

¹³The semicolon marks both vowel length (:) and location of infixing (,).

¹⁴The verb staí:yan, 'to be taking,' derived from aí:yan, also has a verbal noun of IB form, stantiyá, which is used to mean 'transportation.'

¹⁵The verb ó:tan is one of the verbs of motion which takes the third person non-singular suffix -:ci. As the suffix falls between the third person negative subject cross-reference marker and the negative complement, the original form of the negative marker for Class IIA is thereby revealed.

¹⁶The verb bànnan and the verb ká:non 'to be well; good' have two negative paradigms. The Class IIAi negative paradigm for bànnan, bánkq, means 'not to want;' for ká:non, kánkq, 'to be morally bad;' the Class IIICi negative paradigm for bànnan, bannatíkkq, means 'not to need,' and for ká:non, ka:notíkkq, 'to be unwell.'

¹⁷This verb, despite the consonant cluster between the penultimate and ultimate syllables, is not a verb of Class IIC. When a subject cross-reference marker is suffixed to this verb, the m or the b will indifferently disappear. Thus icoklamcín varies with icoklabcín, 'do not stick your tongue out at him!'

¹⁸This statement does not indicate that I do not believe that in the Proto-Muskogean period -li indicated a transitive verb. It is simply that such an analysis is not synchronically valid for Koasati.

¹⁹In á:lon, at least, vowel length comes from Proto-Muskogean *k, c.f. Hichiti (Gatschet, 1886) akli 'to hope.'

²⁰If the verb has inherent vowel length, the accent of the verbal noun will fall on the lengthened syllable, for example á:yan, 'to go about,' vn. alí:ya.

²¹There are traces of this kind of infixing in Choctaw, Hichiti and Mikasuki. For example Choctaw holisso 'book, paper,' (c.f. Alabamma hosso, 'to

write'), Hichiti talwi, 'to dance, talilwi, 'dance' (c.f. Koasati táľwan 'to sing;' talilwá, 'song.'), and Mikasuki anci:ki 'to wear,' alinci, 'clothing' (c.f. Koasati áncin, 'to wrap something around oneself;' alincá, 'coverlet;' Apalachee alinci (alínchi) 'cloth.')

²²This is another example of a verb of motion with -:ci

²³This verb appears as both an auxiliary (pimakat haska 'you (pl) give to us') and as an independent verb (kat haska, 'you(pl) are').

²⁴Since the aorist third person of the verb míkkon, 'to be a chief,' mikkó is the same as the citation form of the noun, it leads to the unsettling conclusion that citation forms of nouns may actually be verbal in origin. This would, however, explain why Koasati violates the proposed language universal that the nominative case is the form used in citations.

²⁵In other Muskogean languages, such as Choctaw, internal changes in the verb root convey the same meaning.

²⁶This verb is another good example of how -ka and -li in Koasati do not reflect the transitivity of the root. Anáhkan, 'to become,' is a transitive verb in the same sense that ómmin, 'to be' is. There is a formally identical root in the verb anáhlin, which, though marked with -li, is intransitive and means 'to lay an egg.'

²⁷The plural verb apíslin is used, because clothing, being a mass noun, is considered grammatically plural.

²⁸Although taken from a text relating events in the past, this sentence is in the present tense. This is an example of the use of the historical present, a stylistic device to make the action more vivid to the listener.

²⁹In this sentence there is an ironic play on the double meaning of ká:non. Vulture, who has just finished 'doctoring' Rabbit by killing and eating him, ironically uses the term to refer to the taste of his flesh. Bear who has

been listening outside, mistakenly assumes that Vulture has cured Rabbit and that he is well again.

³⁰The Apalachee language preserves a later form of the verb, imaka, where im- is the dative prefix, but ka has been fused to the root, and the whole complex is inflected with the auxiliary ka as illustrated in footnote 23.

³¹Other irregular verbs previously discussed are ótan and aí:yan, and the stative verb ilihá:lon.

³²The vowel length found here and in the third person is the result of the operation of the Indicative internal change (see Chapter 9).

CHAPTER 4
VERBAL PREFIXES AND SUFFIXES

Overview of Verbal Prefixes

There are nine rigidly fixed slots before a verb stem which can be filled by verbal prefixes. These prefixes cover the semantic areas of pronominal object and indirect object, location, distribution, instrument, and direction. In addition, the use of the distributive is being extended to cover passive, and the instrumental prefix is being used to derive transitive verbs. The following is a brief catalog of the prefix positions and the items which occur in them; afterwards a fuller description with examples of each will be given. See Table I for a graphic depiction of these slots.

Position 1

These prefixes require no comment; they are simply the subject cross-reference prefixes, both positive and negative of verbs of Class IA.

Position 2

This consists solely of the general locative prefix a-. This prefix is falling into disuse, having been replaced in most uses by one or another of the specific locative prefixes.

Position 3

This is filled by the nine specific locative prefixes: itta₋₁ 'action on the ground;' o:-/o:w- 'action in water;' pa- 'action on a raised, artificial or non-ground surface;' on- 'action on a vertical surface or in a vertical plane;' itta₋₂ 'action in the middle of something;' ibi- 'action on the human face;' ico:- 'action on or in the human mouth;' no:- 'action on the human neck;' and nok- 'action in the human throat.' Originally there were four other prefixes in this position: ac- 'motion outwards,' cok- 'motion inwards;' ako- 'motion downwards;' and onno- 'motion upwards.' These prefixes are at present limited to a very few verbs of motion, and are not freely used.

Position 4

This is filled by the ca-set of pronominal prefixes, which cross-reference direct objects of transitive verbs, subjects of ca-stative verbs, and the possessors of any object that can be inherently possessed.

Position 5

This is filled by the am-set of pronominal prefixes, which cross-reference indirect objects of transitive verbs (exceptionally direct objects), subjects of am-stative verbs, and possessors of any alienable object.

Position 6

The distributive prefix ho-/oh- and the iterative prefix hoho-/ohoh- occur in this position. In addition to its use as a distributive, oh-/ho- is used to mark indefinite actor, adjective plurality, and to derive the passive.

Position 7

The instrumental prefixes occur in this position. The general instrumental prefix s-/st- is also used to derive transitive verbs of emotion. The prefix mat- indicates that an object is at a distance from the speaker; secondarily that an object is empty. The prefix mas-/mast- indicates that the object with which the action is done is full or solid, and is at a distance from the speaker, and it contrasts with mat-.

Position 8

This is filled by the directional prefixes oht-/oh-/o- 'to go and do something;' and i:t-/it-/i- 'to come and do something.' The latter prefix has the secondary function of deriving agentive nouns of location from verbal nouns.

Position 9

This is filled by the incorporated indefinite nouns na:si-/na:s-/nas- 'something;' and a:ti-/a:t-/at- 'someone.'

KOASATI VERB PREFIXES TABLE OF POSITIONS									
9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	0
Incorporated Noun	Directional	Instrumental	Distributive	Indirect Object	Direct Object	Specific Locative	General Locative	Class IA Prefixes	STEM
ná:si/ ná:s-/ nas-	oht-/ oh-/ o-	st-/ s- mat-	oh-/ ho- ohoh-/ hoho-	am- cim- im- kom- hacim- ilim- ittim-	ca- ci- ∅- ko- haci- ili- itti-	itta- ₁ o:-/ o:w- pa- on- itta- ₂ ibi- ico:- no:- nok- (ac-) (cok-) (ako-) (onno-)	a-	is- il- has- ak- cik- ik- kil- hacik-	

TABLE 4.1

PREFIX POSITION 1

This slot is filled by the following subject cross-reference prefixes of verbs of Class IA:

Person	Positive	Negative
1s	-l	ak-
2s	is-	cik-
3	∅-	ik-
1pl	il-	kil-
2pl	has-	hacik-

PREFIX POSITION 2

This slot is filled by the general locative prefix a-. This prefix, unlike its cognates which are widely used in other Muskogean languages, is not of frequent occurrence alone; it usually forms a complex with the specific locative prefix on- and appears as ona-. The semantics of the prefix are very general, and only indicate that the action is taking place at or near something. Frequently this prefix has a derivational, rather than locative force; see Table III, Chapter 20 for examples.

- 1) hassikbá a-tanátká-li-n labóska-k
BRUSH:FIRE gen:loc-GO:AROUND-lss-sw BE:EXTINGUISHED (sg)-sw

/hassikbá atanátkalin labóskak/

'I encircled the brush-fire, and it went out...'
- 2) stimokwáyka im-cofa-fá kapcó im-a-łopótka-:fó:k-ok
TO:FISH 3poss-NEEDLE-in EARTHWORM 3dat-gen:loc-BE:PASSED:THROUGH-when-ss:foc

/stimokwáyka incofafá kapcó imałopótka:fó:kok/

'When the fishhook is passed through the earthworm...'
- 3) pácka st-a-packá-:ci-l
PATCH instr-gen:loc-BE:PATCHED-compul-lss

/pácka stapacká:cił/

'I patch it with a patch.'

See Chapter 12 for the use of this prefix to derive adverbial numerals.

PREFIX POSITION 3

There are nine verbal prefixes in this slot; these are the specific locative prefixes. Historically, several of these are derived from nouns of similar meaning; five still have independent noun cognates.

itta- 'action on the ground'

The primary use of this prefix is to indicate that the action takes place to, from, or on the ground, as in the following examples.

- 4) hanafololó-k í:la-n í:sa-nó:ta itta-í:s-ok lakáwwi-n
TORNADO-subj ARRIVE-sw HOUSE-UNDER loc-TAKE-ss:foc LIFT-sw

/hanafololók í:lan, isnó:ta ittaí:sok lakáwwin/

'The tornado comes, and it picks the house up off the ground from underneath and lifts it...'

- 5) hací st-itta-łómmi-t
TAIL instr-loc-WHIP-Past

/hací stittałómmi-t/

'It whipped the ground with its tail.'

- 6) copík am-itta-sófk
BEAD-subj lsd-loc-BE:POURED:OUT

/copík amittasófk/

'My beads are poured out on the ground.'

The secondary use of itta- is 'in the fire.' This is used even if the fire is in a stove raised on legs above the ground.

- 7) tikba-fón mat-itta-apí:li-li-toha-ŷ
FIRE-all afar-loc-THROW(sg)-lss-realis-phr:term

/tikbafón matittaapí:lilitohə/

'I have thrown it down into the fire.'

- 8) tikba-fá okí itta-tihípk-ok itta-labósl
 FIRE-in WATER loc-POUR (sg)-ss:foc loc-EXTINGUISH (sg) (imp)

/tikbafá okí ittatihípkok ittalabósl/

'Pour water onto the fire and put it out!'

This prefix has no related noun; the word for ground or earth being ihá:ni.

o:-/o:w- 'action in water'

This prefix indicates that the action takes place in water. The variants are phonologically conditioned; o:- occurs before consonants, and o:w- occurs before vowels.

- 9) ʔomápli-t st-o:w-apí:li-k halátka-t oki-fá o:w-í:bi-k
 WHIP (sg)-conn instr-loc-THROW-ss PULL (sg)-conn WATER-in loc-KILL-ss

í:pa-toho-:li-mpa-ŷhco-k
 EAT-realís-deduc-hearsay-habit-IVPast

/ʔomáplit sto:wapí:lik halátkat okifá o:wí:bik í:patoho:limpáhco/

'It (the alligator) would whip it and throw it into the water with it (the tail); it would pull it into the water and drown it and eat it, so it is said.'

- 10) abá:ca-k piłá yámmi-n talibó:li-t anóslí-:k oki-fá
 RAFT-subj BOAT BE:LIKE-sw MAKE-conn FINISH (trans) (pl)-subjunct WATER-in

st-o:-yomáhli-ŷhco-toho-n ónk
 instr-loc-GO:ABOUT (pl)-habit-realís-sw BE (intrans)

/abá:cak piłá yámmín, talibó:lit anóslí:k okifá sto:yomahlíhcotohon ónk/

'A raft is like a boat; it is the case that they used to make them up to go about on the water with.'

- 11) oki-hátka oki-cobá o:-hokki:tá:ci~:fó:k-on ilihá:lo-to-V
 WATER-WHITE WATER-BIG loc-BE:AMIDST-when-sw:foc AWAKEN-III Past-phr:term

/okihátka okicobá o:hokki:tá:ci:fó:kon, ilihá:lotq/

'When they were in the midst of the ocean, of the sea, he awakened.'

The following partial paradigm shows that the w that occurs between the long o and the following vowel is not a transitional phenomenon.

- 16) in-fáyli-toho-k pa-acó:ka mámmi-t pa-akohkací mámmi-t pa-incá:ka-n
 3sdat-CURE-realís-ss loc-SEWING BE:MORE:OR:LESS loc-COVERING BE:MORE:OR:LESS
 loc-BE:MARKED-sw
- polohki-t pa-tálka-k pa-acó:-toho-n ómmi-mpa-Vhco-k cokbaní-k
 BE:CIRCULAR-conn loc-BE:LYING(pl)-ss loc-SEW-realís-sw BE-hearsay-habit-IVPast
 ANTS-subj

/ífáyli-tohok paacó:ka mámmít paakohkací mámmít paincá:kan polóhkit
 patáلكak paacó:tohon ómmimpáhcek cokbaník/

'They cured him, and it was as if there was something sewn on top of him,
 as if there were a cover on top of him, circular markings lay on top of
 him, sewn there by the ants, so it is said.'

This prefix has in some cases been lexicalized in combination with a verb
 to form a unit with different semantics than the components. Therefore, for
 example the singular/dual/plural verb complex cokkó:lin, cikkí:kan, í:san,
 'to sit,' with the prefix pa- means not only 'to sit on something,' but also
 'to ride horseback,' and secondarily, 'to ride in any kind of vehicle;'
pacokkó:lin, pacikkí:kan, paí:san. The same verb complex, when used in reference
 to birds, means 'to perch.' Additionally the verbal nouns of the singular and
 plural members have the following concrete meanings: pacokkó:ka, 'chair;
 saddle;' and paistilká, 'perch.'

A secondary meaning of the prefix pa- is 'on the human back,' as in the
 following:

- 17) ca-pa-batápli-t
 1sobj-loc-HIT-Past

/capabatáplit/

'he hit me on the back'

- 18) ca-pa-wananátl
 1sstats-loc-SUFFER:CHILLS

/capawananátl/

'I have chills running up and down my spine'

This prefix seems to be related to the postposition pá:na, 'on top of.'

on- 'on a vertical plane'

This prefix is used to indicate that the action is taking place on or in a vertical plane, as in the following examples:

- 19) coyyí-k on-ólfa-t
PINE-subj loc-SPROUT-Past

/coyyík onólfat/

'The pine tree sent up a shoot from the side of its trunk.'

- 20) á:tosi-k il-on-hóswa-t
BABY-subj reflex-loc-URINATE-Past

/á:tosik ilonhóswat/

'The baby urinated on itself.'

It occurs compounded with the general locative prefix a- frequently.

- 21) ma:fó:k-on on-a-wíhli-t yás-hílka-ŷhco-k
THEN:FROM:THAT-sw:foc loc-gen:loc-LOOK:FOR-conn CHEW-1plS(IIIA)-habit-ss

/ma:fó:kon onawíhli t yashilkáhco/

'After that, we look for it (the gum) on it (the trunk) and chew it.'

- 22) on-a-ho:tíhno-k haccá:l
loc-gen:loc-COUNT-ss STAND(sg)

/onaho:tíhnok haccá:l/

'He is standing reading it (the meter) on it (the wall).'

This prefix seems to have taken over some of the semantics of the prefix a-; as shown in the following examples.

- 23) ca-on-óyba-t
lsubj-loc-RAIN-Past

/aconóybat/

'It rained on me.'

- 24) ca-on-pófka-t
lsubj-loc-BLOW-Past

/acompófkát/

'It blew on me.'

The n of the prefix assimilates in position to a following stop, and preceding a fricative, disappears and nasalizes the preceding vowel, as in examples 20 and 24. The following is a further example.

- 25) ac-on-boylí:ci-t
1subj-loc-DRIZZLE-Past

/acomboylí:ci:t/

'it drizzled on me'

As the changed set of ca-prefixes elide the initial vowel of this prefix, it is possible, in fricative-initial words, for the prefix to be reduced to nasalization of the vowel of the changed prefix, as in the following:

- 26) ci-on-hípli,ŷʔŷ,-to
2subj-loc-SNOW,Q,-III Past

/acjhipliʔtó/

'did it snow on you?'

There seems to be no noun that can be related to this prefix.

itta-2 'in the middle of'

This rather rare prefix is used to indicate that the action is taking place in the middle of something.

- 27) itta-łopótlil-ł
loc-PASS:THROUGH-1ss

/ittatopótlil/

'I pass through the middle of it'

With verbs of cutting and severing, this prefix indicates that the object is being divided into two pieces.

- 28) itt-insá:wak itta-kawáłka-t
TREE-BRANCH-subj loc-SNAP (sg)-Past

/ittinsá:wak ittakawáłkat/

'The branch snapped in two pieces.'
- 29) holikf-acó:b-on itta-siláffi-t
CLOTHING-OLD-obj loc-TEAR (sg)-Past

/holikfacó:bon ittasiláffit/

'She tore the rag in two.'

Because of the meaning of this prefix, there seems to be no conflict with the homophonous prefix itta-₁. This prefix has no related noun.

ibi- 'on the human face'

This prefix indicates that the action is taking place on the human face, or more rarely an animal's face or the metaphorical face of an object.

- 30) hokcók-k ca-ibi-hókco-t
FARTER-subj 1sobj-loc-FART-Past

/hokcók cabihókcot/

'The stinkbug squirted foul liquid in my face.'

- 31) có:ba-k ibi-hátka-t cokí:bosi-^hhco-k lappá:li-toho:li:s
HORSE-subj loc-WHITE-conn SMALL (sg)-habit-ss HANG:ON (sg)-realis-
deduc-IPast

/có:bak ibihátkat cokí:boscok lappá:litoho:li:s/

'The horse has a small white spot on its forehead.'

- 32) ibitá:la ló:ca-^hhco-n st-oh-ibi-kállit
FACE BE:BLACK-habit-obj instr-distr-loc-MARK(pl)-Past

/ibitá:la lo:cáhcon stohibikállit/

'He (the raccoon) was marked with a black face.'

The initial i of this prefix is elided by the vowel of a preceding ca-set prefix. This prefix is related to the noun ibitá:la 'face' as well as to ibisá:ni 'nose' and ibitkaní 'nasal mucus.'

ico:- 'on the human mouth'

This prefix is used to indicate that the action is taking place on, in or near the human mouth, as in the following examples.

- 33) ca-ico:-is-hi:ca-^hhna-^hh
1sobj-loc-2ss (IA)-SEE-neg:imp-delay

/caco:ishi:cángh/

'Do not watch me eat later on!'

- 34) hí:ca-to-ska-n ico:-ciťátli-t
SEE-III Past-because-sw loc-FALL(pl)-Past

/hí:catoskan ico:ciťátlit/

'Because he was looking at her, she dropped food from her utensils as she tried to eat.'

- 35) ili-ico:-sáhlī-li-laho-ŷ
reflex-loc-CUT:HAIR-lss-irrealis-phr:term

/ilico:sáhlīlaho/

'I will shave my beard.'

As in the previous prefix, the initial vowel of ico:- is elided by a preceding vowel.

There is a closely related unproductive prefix icok- which is used with a few unanalyzable verbs, such as icoktaká:lin (sg), icoktáklin (pl), 'to open the mouth,' and with some nouns, such as icokhiskó, 'beard,' and icokpaskací, 'cheek.' The present word for 'mouth' also has this prefix, icokhalbí.

no:- 'action on the human throat'

This prefix is used to indicate action that occurs on the exterior of the human neck or throat.

- 36) ca-no:-solótk
lssstats-loc-BE:DRY (sg)

/cano:solótk/

'I have dry skin on my throat'

- 37) ca-no:-hohó:p
lssstats-loc-ACHE

/cano:hohó:p/

'I have a sore neck.'

nok- 'action in the human throat'

This prefix, closely related to the preceding prefix, indicates that the action of the verb is taking place within the confines of the human throat.

- 38) ca-nok-solótk
 1sstats-loc-BE:DRY (sg)
 /canoksolótk/
 'I am thirsty.'
- 39) ca-nok-hohó:p
 1sstats-loc-ACHE
 /canokhohó:p/
 'I have a sore throat.'
- 40) ko-nok-tií:ka-laho-V
 1pobj-loc-PRESS:DOWN(pl)-irrealis-phr:term
 /konoktií:kalahq/
 'They will strangle us.'

If the action can be viewed as occurring simultaneously on the exterior and the interior of the throat (as in various types of beheading), either prefix may be used, as no:-tipáslin/nok-tipáslin, 'to tear the head off;' and no:-koyóffin/nok-koyóffin, 'to cut the head off.'

The archaic motion prefixes ac-, cok-, ako-, and onno-

These prefixes formerly occurred in this position, but are now limited to a very few verbs. Three of them are found prefixed to the singular/plural verb pair -halí:ka-/-káhka-, which no longer occurs independently. The following table lists all the examples so far noted.

TABLE 4.2

	<u>singular</u>	<u>plural</u>	<u>gloss</u>
ac- 'motion outwards'	ac-halí:kan	as-káhkan ²	'to exit' ³
cok- 'motion inwards'	cok-halí:kan	cok-káhkan	'to enter'
ako- 'motion downwards'	ako-cofótlin	ako-cóffin	'to jump down'
	ako-pí:lin	ako-píslin	'to knock down'
	ako-támmin	ako-ciátlin	'to fall down'
	ako-sóffin	-	'to fall from a height'

onno-	'motion upwards'	onno-halí:kan	onno-káhkan	'to clamber up'
		onnó:-ya	-	'to climb' ⁴
		onnó-ṭa	-	'to reach up for'

In the speech of some persons the semantic distinction between the verbs onnohalí:kan and onnó:yan has become blurred; in such cases the two paradigms collapse into one, with onnó:yan becoming the singular verb and onnokáhkan the plural.

PREFIX POSITIONS 4 AND 5

These positions are filled by the direct and indirect object prefixes, which also are used to inflect stative verbs and indicate the possessor of nominalized verbs

Prefix position 4

This slot is filled by the direct object prefixes, termed the ca-set of prefixes, after the first person singular prefix ca-. These are: 1s ca-; 2s ci-; 3 ∅-; 1pl ko-; and 2pl haci-. There is also a reflexive prefix, ili- and a reciprocal itti-. The first and second person pronominal prefixes have the changed forms ac-; aci-; ako-; and ahaci- before words beginning with a or o, the vowels of which they elide (See Chapter 1). The unchanged forms of the prefixes generally elide the initial vowel of words beginning in i. However, this is not the case with all i-initial words, and those which do not have the initial vowel so deleted must be marked in the lexicon. The following are examples of these prefixes in their use as direct object prefixes:

41)	ci-afanka-t-ó?íí 2subj-MEET-Past-Q /acifánkató?íí/ 'Did he meet you?'	42)	ci-ik-hí:c-o-t 2subj-3neg(IA)-SEE-neg:compl-Past /ciikhí:cot/ 'He did not see you.'
-----	--	-----	--

- 43) Ø-í:p
3obj-EAT (imp)

/í:p/

'Eat it!'
- 44) ko-wá:ci-ŷh
1pobj-WAIT:FOR-delay

/kowá:cjh/

'Wait for us.'
- 45) mán haci-hí:ca-li-laho-ŷ
AGAIN 2pobj-SEE-1ss-irrealis-phr:term

/mán hacihí:callahq/

'I will see you all again.'
- 46) ifák ili-kalásl
DOG-subj reflex-SCRATCH

/ifák ilikalásl/

'The dog scratches itself.'
- 47) itti-icoksó:ka-t
recip-KISS-Past

/itticoksó:kat/

'They kissed each other.'

The following show these prefixes as subjects of stative verbs. For full inflection of statives see Chapter 3, for their use see Chapter 5.

- 48) ca-lóhk
1sstats-BE:TIRED

/calóhk/

'I'm tired.'
- 49) ci-lo,ŷ?ŷ,hka
2sstats-BE:TIRED,Q,

/cilóhká/

'Are you tired?'

- 50) Ø-ká:n
3stats-BE:WELL

/ká:n/

'She is well;' or 'He is well;' or 'They are well.'
- 51) ko-nokwoyáhl
1plstats-BE:NAUSEATED

/konokwoyáhl/

'We are nauseated.'

The following show the difference between weak i-initial stems and strong i-initial stems, when the ca-set of pronouns is prefixed.

- weak i 52) ca-ílhó:si-t
1sstats-FORGET-Past

/calhó:sit/

'I forgot it.'
- 53) ci-ibá:y
2sstats-HAVE:A:NOSEBLEED

/cibá:y/

'You have a nosebleed.'
- strong i 54) ca-ílli-laho-V
1sstats-DIE-irrealis-phr:term

/caíllilahq/ [ca?íllilahq]

'I will die.'
- 55) ci-intá:k
2sstats-BE:VALUABLE

/ciintá:k/ [ci?intá:k]

'You are a valuable person.'

All verbal prefixes of Position 1 that are i-initial are strong

Prefix position 5

This slot is filled by the dative/benefactive prefixes, which are called the am-set after the first person singular prefix am-. This set of

prefixes consists of the following: 1s am-; 2s cim-; 3 im-; 1pl kom-; 2pl hacim-; reflexive ilim-; and reciprocal ittim-. These prefixes cross-reference the indirect object of a verb, but also cross-reference an action done to the benefit or detriment of one affected by the verb. Additionally, if a possessed noun is the subject, then the position 5 prefixes are used on the verb for additional cross-reference. The following are examples of the use of these prefixes in their dative/benefactive functions:

56) ca-iyí-k am-fití:b
1sposs-FOOT-subj 1sdat-HAVE:FOOT:CRAMPS

/cayí:k afití:b/

'I have a cramp in my foot.'

57) st-am-í:l
instr-1sdat-ARRIVE:HERE (sg) (imp)

/stamí:l/

'Bring it to me!'

58) o-st-am-á†
direct-instr-1sdat-POUR (imp)

/ostamá†/

'Go and pour it for me!'

59) cim-acó:li-t
2sdat-SEW-Past

/cimacó:lit/

'She sewed it for you.'

60) nitá im-walí:ka-t
BEAR 3dat-RUN-Past

/nitá iwwalí:kat/

'He ran away from the bear.'

61) †a†ó kom-koybóhli-t
FISH 1pldat-STEAL-Past

/†a†ó konkoybóhlit/

'He stole some fish from us.'

In the same manner as the prefixes of position 4, the am-set is used to cross-reference the subject of certain stative verbs. (For a full discussion see Chapter 4). The following are a few examples of these prefixes in this function:

62) st-am-alpí:s
instr-1sstats-BE:ENOUGH

/stamalpí:s/

'I find it sufficient.'

63) cim-ho,ŷ?ŷ,:pa
2sstats-BE:HURT/SICK,Q,

/cihó?pá/

'Are you hurt?'

64) .kom-akásn
1plstats-BE:HUNGRY (pl)

/komakásn/

'We are hungry.'

The am-set is used idiosyncratically with a number of transitive verbs to cross-reference a direct object, instead of the usual position 4 prefixes.⁵

The following are a few examples:

65) ittim-awí:ci-hco:li-k
recip-HELP-imperfect-IVPast

/ittimawí:cihco:lik/

'They used to help one another.'

66) cim-há:lo-li-laho-ŷ
2sobj-HEAR/OBEY-1ss-irrealis-phr:term

/cjhá:lollahq/

'I will obey you.'

67) s-cim-ahaláhl
instr-2sobj-AMUSE

/scimahaláhl/

'He amuses you.'

When a stative verb that uses the am-set to cross-reference its subject is transitivized with the compulsive root-forming suffix -ci, the derived verb uses the am-set to cross-reference the direct object, as in the following example:

68a) am-ayóhki-:s
 1sstats-FEEL:TREPIDATION-IPast
 /amayóhki:s/
 'I feel trepidation;' or 'I have a fear of falling.'

68b) am-ayohkí-:c-íska-hónk
 1sobj-FEEL:TREPIDATION-compul-2ss(IIIB)-adverb
 /amayohkí:cískahónk/
 'You are really filling me with trepidation.'

Two prefixes of position 5 can be used together if the semantics of an utterance require that both a benefactive and a dative object be expressed. However, the benefactive takes precedence over the dative, which can be expressed only by a third person prefix. This double prefix construction occurs primarily with the anomalous verb ínkan, 'to give to him/her/them.' (See Chapter 3), or with the verb có:pan, 'to buy something.' When a benefactive and a dative co-occur, the prefix closest to the stem is dative, and the one furthest from the stem is benefactive. The following are a few examples of this construction:

69) ilim-in-có:pa-li-t
 reflex:dat-3dat-BUY-1ss-Past
 /ilimincó:palit/
 'I bought it from him for myself.'

70) kom-in-co,s,pa-,'V?V,-to
 1pldat-3dat-BUY,2ss(1B),,Q,-IIIPast
 /komincospá?tó/
 'Did you buy it from him for us?'

- 71) am-ín-híska-t (historically *am-im-a-h íska-to)
 1sdat-3dat-1ss(IIIA)-Past 1sdat-3dat-GIVE-conn 2ssAUX-III Past

/amíhískat/

'You gave it to him for me.'

The prefixes of positions 4 and 5 are used to indicate the possessor of a nominalized verb. As the prefixes of position 4 are identical to those prefixes that indicate inalienable possession (see Chapter 14), their use with nominalized verbs is quite rare, as such verbs usually indicate objects that are alienably possessed. However, see example 72) and compare with example 73).

- 72) st-ac-ahó:ba
 instr-1sposs-PHOTOGRAPH

/stacahó:ba/

'my photograph;' i.e. 'a photograph of me'

- 73) st-am-ahó:ba
 instr-1sposs-PHOTOGRAPH

/stamahó:ba/

'my photograph;' i.e. 'a photograph of mine.'

If a nominalized verb contains prefixes from positions higher than 4 or 5, the possessive prefix occurs after those prefixes, as in the following:

- 74) /i:tonnolí:ya/ 'staircase'

i:t-am-onnolí:ya
 direc-1sposs-CLIMBING
 /i:tamonnolí:ya/
 'my staircase'

- 75) /ittanátká/ 'steps'

i:t-am-tanátká
 direc-1sposs-GOING:DOWN

/i:tantanátká/

'my steps'

76) /sahkací/ 'rasp; file' //ssahkací//

st-am-sahkací
instr-1sposs-RASP

'my rasp; my file'

77) /stayolikpá/ 'love'

st-im-ayolikpá
instr-3poss-HAPPINESS

/stimayolikpá/

'her love'

For a full discussion of nominalization of verbs, see Chapter 7.

PREFIX POSITION 6

This position is filled by the distributive prefix ho-/oh- and the iterative prefix hoho-/ohoh-.

The distributive prefix

The distributive prefix has the form ho- before stems beginning with consonants and the form oh- before those beginning with vowels. Depending on the semantics of the utterance, or the discourse in which the utterance is embedded, the prefix indicates that a subject or object is multiple or scattered over a space. This prefix is not equivalent to a pluralizer for the third person, as it is not required, even when the context indicates that the third person is not singular, and it does not occur when the verb appears in the dual or plural third person, in those verbs which have a special plural or dual form. Examples of the distributive use of the prefix are as follows:

78) atho:pimí:sa-fa st-ótká-k má:f-on ot--ho-ballá:l-o:si-n nakáŧ-toho-:li-k
HOSPITAL-in instr-BE:THERE-ss OVER:THERE-obj:foc direc-distrib-LAY-dimin-sw
GO:OFF-realís-deduc-IVPast

/atho:pimí:safa stótkak má:fon othoballá:lo:sin nakáŧtoho:lik/

'He was brought to the hospital; they all had just gone and lain him over there, and he passed away.'

- 79) a:t-í:s-o:t talibó:li-t ísko-t ho-bítli-to-ŷ
PERSON-DWELL(pl)-list MAKE-conn DRINK-conn distr-DANCE-III Past-phr:term.

/a:tí:so:t talibó:lit ískot hobítlitow/

'The people dwelling there made it, drank it and they all danced.'

- 80) kammí:ci-t oh-acó:li-t cokkalí:ci-n
DO:SO-sw distr-SEW-conn SET-sw

/kammí:cit ohacó:lit cokkalí:cin/

'They did it, they all sewed it and set it up...'

Additionally, the distributive prefix is used with adjectives that do not have a special plural form to indicate the plural as in the following:

- 81) akkám-mi-fa osí-k ho-coba-ŷhci
BE:SO-in WILLOW-subj distr-BE:BIG-progress

/akkám-mifa osík hocobáhci/

'In such places willows all grow.'

- 82) hissí ho-báski-t hasáyka-ŷhci okhocákko-t
LEAF distr-LONG-conn MANY-habit-BE:GREEN(pl)-conn

/hissí hobáskit hasaykáhci okhocákkot/

'Its leaves are long, green and many.'

- 83) tola-cobá im-paká:li mók ka:nomá:mi-ŷhci. ho-hátka-t ho-coba-ŷhco-k ómm-o-ŷ
LAUREL-BIG 3poss-FLOWER ALSO BE:BEAUTIFUL-prog dist-WHITE-conn dist-BIG-habit-ss BE-be-phr:term

/tolacobá impaká:li mók ka:nomáhci. hohátkat hocobáhco-cok ómmq/

'The flowers of the magnolia also are beautiful. They are white and somewhat large.'

The distributive prefix is also used to indicate that the actor in a verb phrase is indefinite, and is thus equivalent to the indefinite 'they' of some English dialects.

- 84) alikcí mók ho-hí:ca-tik sán-ko-n hopahki-fá niwalinci-fá mat-ho-tóhno-to-ŷ
DOCTOR ALSO dist-LOOK:FOR-but BE:ABLE-3neg(IIA)-sw FAR-in PN-in afar-dist-SEND-III Past-phr:term

/alikcí mók hohí:catik sánkon, hopahkifá niwalincifá mathotóhnotq/

'They also looked for a doctor, but were unable (to find one), and they sent him off to a far away place, to New Orleans.' (actor unspecified)

In its use as an indicator of an indefinite actor, the distributive prefix has come to be used as a way of concealing from the hearer the fact that the speaker knows the identity of the actor, as in the following:

85) má:fa áswa-n ohayyí námpo-to ca-sobáy-ko-ŷ mó:toho-n halkí
 OVER:THERE DWELL (du)-sw YEAR SO:MANY-III Past 1sstats-KNOW-3neg(IIA)-
 phr:term

mó:toho-n halkí oh-í:bi-to-ŷ
 BE:THEN-sw WIFE distr-KILL-III Past-phr:term

/má:fa áswan ohayyí námpoto casobáyko. Mó:tohon halkí ohí:bitq/

'I do not know how many years the two of them dwelt over there.
 After that, someone killed his wife.'

In this example, the speaker knew the identity of the murderer (a single person) and did not wish to convey the knowledge.

Finally, in an extension of its indefinite use, the distributive is used to derive the passive. The passive is not the same as the intransitive (mediopassive) of verbs of Class II Aii. Only transitive verbs of that class can derive an intransitive form, while all transitive verbs can, in theory, form a passive. The passive is distinguished from a statement of indefinite action by the fact that the object of the transitive verb is raised to subject in the presence of the distributive prefix, and marked with the nominative case suffix -k, as in the following examples.

86) thátka-k ho-banna-títkko-laho-ŷ ká:ha-t
 WHITE:PERSON-subj distr-NEED-3neg(IIICi)-irrealis-phr:term SAY-conn

/'tháttkak hobannatíkkolahq," ká:hat/

'"White people will not be needed," he said.'

87) cissí-k ónka-k ho-ká:h ittiṭi-ho-cobá ittiṭi-ho-cobá-k
 MOUSE-subj QUOTH-ss distr-SAY EYE-dist-BIG EYE-dist-BIG-subj

ho-ci-mánka-ŷhco-k ká,h,ha-n
 distr-2sobj-CALL-habit-ss SAY,h:grade,-sw

/cissík ónkak, 'hoká:h, 'ittiṭhocobá.' ittiṭhocobák hocimankáhkok,"
 kághan/

'Mouse said, 'They say, 'Big-Eyes!' You are called Big-Eyes!''

The iterative prefix

The iterative prefix which occurs in position 6 is ohoh- before vowel-initial words, and hoho- before consonant initial words. The following are two examples of the use of this prefix:

- 88) ohoh-alwáhli-toho-li-s
iter-RUIN-realiz-deduc-IPast

/ohohalwáhtoho:li:s/

'One can deduce that he was ruining it again and again.'

- 89) hoho-koybóhli-t
iter-STEAL-Past

/hohokoybóhli:t/

'he stole from time to time'

Iteratives of any kind are uncommon, and the iterative prefix is of very rare occurrence. Koasati prefers to use a multiple verb construction, as in 90 below, or one with the auxiliary verb á:tan (sg)/í:san (pl) 'to keep on,' as in 91 to cover the semantics of the iterative. Quantifying adverbs may also be used, as in 92.

- 90) himá:ya-p ishilká-yólli-n ho-banna-t ho-banna-ŷhco-k
NOWADAYS-new:top LIQUOR-art-obj dist-WANT-conn dsit-WANT-habit-ss

/himá:yap ishilkáyóllin hobannat hobannáhcok/

'But nowadays, they constantly want this same liquor.'

- 91) itta-konótti-t á:ta-li-k á:ta-li-k á:ta-li-k
loc-ROLL-conn KEEP:ON-1ss-ss KEEP:ON-1ss-ss KEEP:ON-ss

/ittakonóttá:talik á:talik á:talik/

'I keep on rolling over and over and over on the ground (in the tornado).'

- 92) anampó-ŷhco-n poffí:ci-li-t
MANY:TIMES-habit-adv BLOW-1ss-Past

/anampóhcon poffí:cilit/

'I blew it many times.'

PREFIX POSITION 7

This slot is filled by the 'instrumental' prefixes, s-/st-; mat-; and mas-/mast-. Of these prefixes, only s-/st- is truly an instrumental; the other two prefixes have more to do with indicating distance from the speaker and physical qualities of an object acted upon. However, as they are mutually exclusive with s-/st-, they are classified as instrumental.

s-/st- 'by means of;' 'with'

This prefix has the phonologically conditioned allomorphs s- before a consonant initial word and st- before a vowel initial word. The main use of this prefix is to indicate that the action of the verb is done with or by means of some object. This prefix cannot be used with reference to two humans; if an action is done with or accompanying a person, the sentence must be constructed using either the verb á:san 'to be with someone,' or stóklon, 'to be together with someone.'⁶ The following are examples of the use of this prefix with instrumental function:

- 93) có:ba sifkací s-ciṭka-l-á-ṽ
HORSE SPURS instr-GOAD-1ss-intent-phr:term

/có:ba sifkací sciṭkalá/

'I am about to goad the horse with the spurs.'

- 94) coyyí nihá st-ili-hamóhli-t ṭakhaní:-ci-to-fa
PINE FAT instr-reflex-RUB-Past BLEED-compuls-III Past-in

/coyyí nihá stilihamóhliṭ ṭakhaní:ci tofa/

'He rubbed himself with pine resin on his wounds.'

- 95) ihá:ni-k st-im-akoláfka-n i-st-okpaká:l-ok st-aṭí:ya-to-k
EARTH-subj inst-3dat-CALVE:OFF (sg) -sw direc-instr-FLOAT (sg) -ss:foc
instr-GO (sg) -III Past-ss

/ihá:nik stimakoláfkan istokpaká:lok staṭí:yatok/

'The ground calved off with him on it, went floating with him, and carried him away.'

There are a number of verbs, which in English can be construed as tacitly instrumental, that are overtly so in Koasati. The following table gives a list of some of the more important examples.

TABLE 4.3

<u>Root</u>	<u>Gloss</u>	<u>Derived Form</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
iltóhnon	'to work'	stiltóhnon	'to use'
í:lan	'to arrive'	stí:lan	'to bring'
óntin	'to come (sg)'	stóntin	'to be bringing (sg)' ⁷
ó:lan	'to be there'	stó:lan	'to take'
ałí:yan	'to go (sg)'	stałí:yan	'to be taking' ⁷
á:yan	'to go about (sg)'	stá:yan	'to carry' ⁷

It is notable that the root forms are all intransitive verbs, and that the derived forms are transitives. In the same manner, the instrumental prefix is used to derive certain verbs of emotion from others, the derived forms being almost completely transitive. Examples of these derivations are in the following table.

TABLE 4.4

<u>Root</u>	<u>Gloss</u>	<u>Derived Form</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
holá:sin	'to tell lies'	staholá:sin	'to lie about someone'
ayókpan	'to be happy'	stimáyókpan	'to love someone' ⁸
ficcákkín	'to be jealous'	stjficcákkín	'to be jealous of someone' ⁸
immáttan	'to miss'	stimmáttan	'to err'
ká:non	'to be good'	stinká:non	'to like' ⁸
ilaholló:cin	'to mourn' ⁹	stimilaholló:cin	'to give someone the creeps'

A number of other verbs of emotion seem to have been derived with this prefix, however, simple roots for these forms seem not to exist. The following is a list of a few of these.

Gloss

stimilacó:ban	'to be uncooperative with someone' ⁸
stimpilá:cin	'to bother, annoy someone' ⁸
stimahaláhlín	'to amuse someone' ⁸
stibákłín	'to be poor and suffering' ¹⁰

A rare allomorph of the instrumental prefix before a vowel is s-, rather than st-. This allomorph has been noted only in the two following words: in siyawópkan, a stative verb meaning 'to eat avidly; first person singular scayawópk (c.f. yawophilkón, 'quickly; rapidly') and in the noun sittainnahó 'poker (c.f. innahó 'thing to use' and the locative prefix ittá- 'in the fire.'). This rare allomorph may occur in the verb siyáhkán 'to whine, of dogs' (c.f. yáhkán, 'to weep; yelp; yowl').

mat- 'at a distance'

The second prefix in this slot is mat-, the general meaning of which is 'afar' or 'at a distance' or 'away from a location.' The following are some examples of its use:

96) wá:ka-si-k mat-ballásk
COW-dim-subj afar-LIE(dual)

/wá:kasik matballásk/

'There are two calves lying over there.'

97) haccá:li-t mat-hí:ca-t naksofón lonk-áhi-k
STAND(sg)-conn afar-LOOK-conn WHERE HIDE-possib-ss

/haccá:t mathí:cat naksofón lonkáhik/

'He stood and looked over to where the other might be hiding.'

98) ná:si óhya mat-apísli-t í:sa-hayó
SOMETHING ALL afar-THROW(pl)-Past HOUSE-within

/ná:si óhya matapísliit isháyó/

'It (the tornado) threw everything about in the house.'

- 99) kon-tá:t-o:to-k á:ta-t okhicasi-fá mat-akaná:ka-t á:ta-t
 1p|poss-FATHER-art-subj DWELL(sg)-conn WINDOW-in afar-EXAMINE-
 conn DWELL(sg)-conn

/kontá:to:tok á:tat okhicasifá matakana:kak á:tat/

'Our deceased father was there, and he kept on peering out at it
 through the window.'

In much the same fashion as the instrumental prefix, mat- occurs obligatorily with some verbs as a derivational element. Again as in the case of the instrumental prefix, there are a few verbs which occur only with this prefix. The following table gives examples of both kinds of verb:

TABLE 4.5

Root	Gloss	Derived Form	Gloss
ó:lan	'make a musical sound'	matimó:lan	'to ring, of one's ears' ¹¹
páhkan	'to call out'	matimpáhkan	'to telephone someone' ¹²
hóyyan	'to drip'	mathóyyan	'to leak'
hómman	'to be red'	mathómman	'to shine, of an animal's eyes'
-	-	matmicíksin	'to raise the head and look at'
-	-	matsáklan	'to look through a crack at'

mas-/mast- 'full;' 'solid;' 'containing something'

This is the last prefix in this slot, and unlike the others it is rather uncommon. Its primary meaning is to indicate that the object of the verbal action is full, or solid. To contrast with it, and to mean 'empty or hollow,' the prefix mat- is used, as in the following example:

100a)	sapoká-n mast-ánk PACK-obj full-GIVE:TO:ME(imp)	100b)	sapoká-n mat-ánk PACK-obj afar-GIVE:TO:ME(imp)
	/sapokán mastánk/		/sapokán matánk/
	'Give me the full pack!'		'Give me the empty pack!'

The following are a few more examples of the use of this prefix:

- 101) tayyí im-aníhta-k tóklo-t áswa-toho-n mas-tótkatoho-:li-mpa-k
WOMAN stats-YOUNG-subj BE:TWO-conn DWELL(dual)-realis-sw full-RUN-realis-
deduc-hearsay-IVPast

/tayyí imaníhtak tóklot áswatohon, mastótkatoho:limpak/

'There were two young women, and they (the cannibals) ran off with one,
so it is said.'

- 102) faplí-k im-sípli-n ibisno-k mast-im-asá:ci-n mat-apí:l-ok
WIND-subj 3dat-TAKE:OFF-sw 3PRONOUN-subj full-3dat-PULL:OUT-sw afar-THROW-ss:foc

/faplík jsíplin, ibisnók mastimasá:cin, matapí:lok/

'The wind took it (the porch) off of her, and she pulled it (her leg)
out, and it (the wind) threw her about, and...'

Just like the other two prefixes in this position, mas-/mast- is used in derivation, however, it is more commonly used to derive nouns than verbs. The following table contains a list of examples of its use in derivation.

TABLE 4.6

<u>Root</u>	<u>Gloss</u>	<u>Derived Form</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
stahobá:ci	'to photograph'	mastahobá:ci	'television'
biťí:lin	'to point at'	masbiťí:li	'road sign'
innaťí:kan	'to read; speak to'	mastinnaťí:ka	'preacher'
haccá:lin	'to stand(sg)'	mashaccá:lin	'to be out (of a tornado)'
tóhnon	'to cause to do'	mastóhnon	'to send as a messenger' 13

PREFIX POSITION 8

This slot is filled by the directional prefixes, oht-/oh-/o-, 'to go and do something,' and it-/i-, 'to come and do something.' In other Muskogean languages (see: Booker, 1980:241), directional prefixes are said to have arisen from forms of verbs of motion related to Koasati ó:lan, 'to arrive over there,' and í:lan, 'arrive here.' If this were the case in Koasati, the directional prefixes would have the form *oht- and ílt-, which do not occur.

It is not possible that the directional prefixes could be derived from such forms, as the change of t to h and l to vowel length is not one that can occur in Koasati.

oht-/oh-/o- 'to go and do something'

This prefix has three phonologically conditioned allomorphs, oht- which occurs before vowels, oh- which occurs before consonants, and o- which occurs before a consonant cluster. As the only consonant clusters that can begin a verb contain the instrumental prefix, o- occurs only before words containing that prefix. The following are examples of the use of this prefix.

- 102) opá-k tabátk-ok st-ó:ta-t abá o-s-pa-cokkó:l-ok im-í:sa-hayó ittó:bi ayakhá
 OWL-subj CATCH (sg)-ss:foc instr-ARRIVE:THERE-conn ABOVE go:&-instr-loc-
 SIT (sg)-ss:foc 3poss-HOUSE-within HOLLOW:TREE NEAR

/opák tabátkok stó:tat abá ospacokkó:lok imishayó ittó:bi ayakhá/

'Owl caught him (Mouse), and brought him above, and went and sat in his nest near a hollow tree.'

- 103) st-aí:ya-n okí taá-n o-st-on-a-fáyli-toho-:li-mpa-úhco-k
 instr-GO (sg)-sw WATER SIDE-adv go:&-instr-loc-gen:loc-QUIT (sg)-realis-
 deduc-hearsay-habit-IVPast

'It (the calved-off earth) brought him to the other side of the ocean, and it went with him and stayed over there forever, so it is said.'

/staí:yan okí taán ostonafáytoho:limpáhcok/

- 104) walí:ka-t aí:ya-t fáyka-t naksofón oh-haccá:li-t mat-hí:ca-to-ú
 RUN (sg)-conn GO (sg)-conn QUIT (intr)-conn SOMEWHERE go:&-STAND (sg)-conn
 afar-LOOK:FOR-III Past-phr:term

/walí:kat aí:yat fáykat, naksofón ohhaccá:lit mathí:catq/

'He quit running off, and he went and stood somewhere and looked far off.'

- 105) niták oh-haytanahká:ci-t wíhli-toho-:li-mpa-k
 BEAR-subj go:&-WHIRL-conn LOOK:FOR-realis-deduc-hearsay-IVPast

/niták ohhaytanahká:cit wíhtoho:limpak/

'Bear went and whirled around and looked for him, so it is said.'

- 106) oht-onokbá:li-ŷhco-k ómmi-ŷhco-toho-k
go:&-IMPRISON-habit-ss BE-habit-ss IVPast

/ohtonokba:líhcok ommíhcotohok/

'They were going in order to put him in prison.'

i:t-/it-/i- 'to come and do something'

This prefix also has three phonologically conditioned allomorphs: i:t- before vowels; it- before consonants, and i- before consonant clusters.

- 107) pa-í:sa-t i:t-asíhk-áhi-k it-tabátk-ok stamá:k-ahi-k le:kcá:la pilah-ón
loc-SIT(pl)-conn come:&-ARREST-intent-ss come:&-CATCH(sg)-ss:foc TAKE
(pl)-intent-ss PN TOWARDS-obj:foc

/paí:sat i:tasíhkáhi-k ittabátkok stamá:káhi-k le:kcá:la pilahón/

'They came on horseback to arrest him, they came and trapped him to go off with him towards Lake Charles.'

- 108) himá:k ilá:-ci-n món i:t-o:tamátli-to-ŷ
BE:FIRST ARRIVE-3nonsg-sw ALSO come:&-TRADE-IIIIPast-phr:term

/himá:k ilá:cin, món i:to:tamátliŷ/

'They arrived at first, and also they came and traded.'

- 109) má:f-on áttala-laho-to-k it-ŷopótli-t ańí:ya-k
OVER:THERE-obj:foc GO(sg)-irrealis-IIIIPast-ss come:&-PASS:THROUGH-ss
GO(sg)-IVPast

/má:fon áttalahotok itŷopótli-t ańí:yak/

'He intended to go over there and he came and passed through and went off.'

- 110) sámmit-tilanawíhli-to im-mánka-l-á:p i-s-cokkó:li-n
BE:HOW-conn HUNT-IIIIPast 3dat-TELL-1ss-intent-subjunct come:&-SIT(sg)-sw

/sámmit ilanawíhlito immánkalá:p iscokkó:lin/

'He came and sat with it (the recorder) that I might tell him how they hunted.'

- 111) á:ti-k lóhka-t anó:ka-:fó:k-on i-st-im-ŷopótli-:fó:k-on
PERSON-subj BE:TIREDCONN FINISH(sg)-when-obj:foc come:&-instr-3dat-
PASS:THROUGH(sg)-when-sw:foc

caffá-k im-lónka-t haccá:li-toho-k
ONE-subj 3dat-HIDE-conn STAND-realism-IVPast

/á:tik lóhkat anó:ka:fó:kon, istj̄łopótli:fó:kon, caffák illónkat
haccá:tohok/

'When the man was completely tired, when he came and passed through
with him (the bear) after him, the one stood hiding from him (the bear).'

This prefix is also used to derive nouns of location from verbal nouns.

This use is illustrated in the following table.

TABLE 4.7

<u>Verb</u>	<u>Gloss</u>	<u>Verbal Noun</u>	<u>Derived Noun</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
onnó:yan	'clamber up'	onnolí:ya	i:tonnolí:ya	'staircase'
ombítlin	'to bury(pl)'	ombítka	i:tombítka	'graveyard'
nó:cin	'to sleep'	innocá	i:tinnocá	'bedroom'
hopó:nin	'to cook'	hopónka	ithopónka	'kitchen'
bítlin	'to dance'	bítka	itbítka	'dancing ground'
nałí:kan	'to speak'	nałihilká	itnałihilká	'court' ¹⁴

When nouns derived with this prefix are possessed, it is considered better if the pronoun prefixes occur after the directional prefix, although forms with them preceding the directional are accepted; thus i:taminnocafá 'in my bedroom' considered preferable to ami:tinnocafá. For further discussion of verbal nouns, see Chapter 7.

PREFIX POSITION 9

This slot is filled by the incorporated indefinite nouns a:ti-/a:t-/at-/a- 'someone' and na:si-/na:s-/nas- 'something' which are used to indicate that the verbal action is taking place on an indefinite object. Prefixed to agentive nouns, they indicate the noun is typified by the action of the verb.

a:ti-/a:t-/at-/a- 'someone'

This prefix is derived from the noun á:ti 'person.' The allomorph a:ti- is used in extremely careful speech, and in general before a consonant

cluster. The allomorph a:t- is used before a vowel; at- is used before a consonant, and the rare allomorph a- before a consonant cluster.

- 112) óhya-k a:ti-oh-itti-há:lo-k o,ŷ:hya-k oh-ko-hí:ca-k
ALL-subj someone-distr-recip-HEAR-ss ALL,intens,-subj go:&-SEE-1plobj-IVPast

/óhyak a:tiohittihá:lok, ŷ:hyak ohkohí:cak/

'Everyone heard about it from each other, and simply everybody went to see us.'

- 113) im-aláhka-k íkso-t ibisná:t-o:si-ŷhco-k at-pahókfa-t á:ta-ŷhco-toho-k
3poss-RELATIVES-subj NOT:EXIST-conn 3PRONOUN:ALONE-dim habit-ss
someone-JOIN-conn DWELL(sg)-habit-realis-IVPast

/imaláhkak íksot, ibisná:toscok atpahókfat a:táhcotohok/

'He had no relatives, and being entirely by himself, used to join up with people to live.'

- 114) hiná:p at-ci-maťátl-ok ká:ha-toho-:li-mpa-k
LO someone-2sstats-BE:AFRAID(sg)-ss:foc SAY-realis-deduc-hearsay-IVPast

/'hiná:p, atcímaťátl-ok," ká:hatoho:límpak/

'"Lo, you are afraid of people," he said, so it is reported.'

Table 4.8 lists examples of this prefix used with nominalized verbs.

TABLE 4.8

<u>Derived form</u>	<u>Literal meaning</u>	<u>Gloss</u>	<u>Root</u>
a:tistaho:bacilká	'that with which images of people are made'	'camera'	staho:bá:cin 'photograph'
atholló	'he who is dangerous'	'witch'	hóillon ¹⁵ 'be dangerous'
atsobáyli	'he who knows'	'wise man'	sobáylin 'to know'
atkánko	'he who is not good'	'bad person'	kánkq 'he is not good'
astakí:lo	'he who is envious'	'envious person'	stakí:lon 'be envious'

The process which incorporates these nouns into the verbal phrase seems to be in some measure still active, as the location of the prefix can vary. Although its position in the outermost slot is most common, it is not unusual for it to occur outside slot 5, and after the directional and some, but not all, of the instrumental prefixes.¹⁷

- 115) am-awí,h,c-óka-DEL-š ká:ha-t mat-a:t-im-páhka-n
1sdat-HELP,h:grade,-2excl:imp-phr:term-phr:term SAY-conn afar-someone-3dat-CALL-sw

/ʔamawíhcókš,ʔ ká:hat mata:timpáhkan

'Help ye me!' he said, calling out to someone.'

- 116) hahcí apatahá í:l-ok i:t-a:t-im-lónka-k wíhli-n
RIVER ALONG ARRIVE-ss:foc come:&-someone-3dat-HIDE-ss LOOK:FOR-sw

/hahc-apatahá í:lok i:ta:tillónkak wíhlin/

'Arriving beside a river, he hid from people and looked for them.'

na:si-/na:s-/nas- 'something'

This prefix has the form na:si- in careful speech, na:s- before vowels, and nas- before consonants. It signifies that the verbal action involves something indefinite and non-human, as in the following examples.

- 117) paló máhc-o:t icó máhc-o:t nas-maťáhlit
FLYING:SQUIRREL LIKE-list DEER LIKE-list something-BE:AFRAID(pl)-conn

tabátka-t onapá:li-t pakamá:ci-t
CATCH(sg)-conn DOMESTICATE-conn TAME-conn

/paló máhco:t, icó máhco:t, nasmaťáhlit tabátkat onapá:lit pakamá:cit/

'Things like flying squirrels and deer, whatever was wild they caught domesticated and tamed.'

- 118) nas-kánk-o-t ómmi-n ci-ílli-laho-ŷ ká,h,ha-n
something-ONE:NOT:GOOD-be-conn BE-sw 2sstats-DIE(sg)-irrealis-phr:
term SAY,h:grade,-sw

/ʔnaskánkot ómmín, ciíllilahq,ʔ káhhan/

'Because it is something bad, you will die,' he said.'

Table 4.9 shows the use of this prefix with nominalized verbs.

TABLE 4.9

Derived form	Literal meaning	Gloss	Root
nasmałatli	'that which is afraid'	'wild animal'	małátlin 'fear(sg)'
nasholló	'that which is fear- some'	'dangerous wild animal'	hóllon 'to be fearsome.'
naskahá	'that which is said'	'idem'	ká:han 'to say'
na:sincá:ka	'that which is writ- ten'	'book, paper, letter'	incá:lin 'to write; to mark'
na:silbá	'that which is slain'	'hunting'	í:bin 'to kill'

This affix has not been noted to shift in position like a:ti-.

Verbal Suffixes: An Overview

Koasati has a plethora of verbal suffixes; over sixty were recorded. Many of them are extremely common, others are less so, and still others are extremely rare, with only a handful of occurrences noted. These suffixes cover the semantic areas of adverbs of intensity and number; realized and unrealized time; habituality; custom; source of information, ability, modality, location in time or sequence, and function within a sentence or clause. These suffixes, many without parallel in other Muskogean languages, seem to have arisen from the accretion of formerly independent words onto the verb base. Some, from comparative evidence seem to have arisen from the incorporation of independent adverbs; Koasati no longer has a form class of adverbs such as occurs in a Muskogean language like Choctaw.

With the exception of eight suffixes, which can only occur alone, or with a severely limited number of additional suffixes, all other suffixes can co-occur, technically, with all suffixes that do not occupy the same position after the verb base.¹⁸ Therefore the following conglomeration, though highly unusual, is completely grammatical and comprehensible:

VERB SUFFIXES: TABLE OF SLOTS															
0	1.	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
BASE	Adverb	Diminutive/Intensive	Habitual	Intention	Ability	Realis/Irrrealis	Deduction	Modality	Dubitative	Hearsay	Auditory	Tense	Consequence	Seml. Func.	Enclitics
	-a:ho:si-	-o:si-	-Vhco-	-áhi-	-bá:no-	-láhó-	-lilí-	-á:pi-	-má:mi-	-mpá-	-hawá-	-:sa-	-:ip	-y	katik
	-báho-		-Vhco:li-	-á-	-bí:no-	-láha-		-áhpí-	-má:s			-li-	-:ik	-DEL	mathco
	-fíhna-		-Vhci		-hál-pí:sa-	-toho-		-má:fi-				-lo-	-ska-	-s	
	-hónka-				-yáhlí-	-toha-		-:sahawa-				-ki-	-y-	-n	
	-ná:li-							-yá:li-				-:fó:ka-	-tíka-	-k	
	-mbí:ka-											-Vnna-		-on	
	-V:mo-													-ok	
	-ná:na-													-p	
	-palámmi-													-l	
														-h	
														-o?li	
														-o?lo	
														-V?wi	
														-V?ha	
														-há?wa	
														-yñ	

TABLE 4.10

- 119) o-st-oh-im-ilá:-ci-halpí:sa-laho:-li-má:mi-mpa-y-on im-ca-yim-ko-ŷ
 go:&-instr-distr-3dat-ARRIVE-pl-ability-irrealis-deduc-hearsay-
 conseq-sw:foc 3dat-1sstats-BELIEVE-3neg(1IA)-phr:term

/ostohimilá:cihalpí:salaho:limá:mimpayon incayínkə/

'They say that they all might be able to go and bring it to him,
 but on the contrary, I do not believe them.'

There are fifteen rigidly ordered positions after the verb base in which these suffixes can occur, in order from left to right they are: 1) Adverb; 2) Diminutive/Intensive; 3) Habitual; 4) Intention; 5) Ability; 6) Realis/Irrealis; 7) Deduction; 8) Modality; 9) Dubitative; 10) Hearsay; 11) Auditory; 12) Tense; 13) Consequence; 14) Sentence Function; and 15) Enclitics. The following is a list of the slots and the suffixes which can occur in them. Because the vowel-deleting phrase terminal marker frequently operates on these suffixes, most have a different word-final form. This will be listed, along with the apocopated form that a few suffixes have.

TABLE 4.11

Slot 1) Adverb			
Medial	Final	Apocopated	Gloss
-á:ho:si-	-á:ho:s	-á:hos-	'very'
-báhno-	-báhno	-	'must; be obliged to'
-fíhna-	-fíhn	-fí-/fín-	'too much'
-hónka-	-hónk	--	'really'
-má:li-	-má:li	-	'in the same way'
-mbí:ka-	-mbí:k	-	'a pleasant deal'
-ŷ:mo-	-ŷ:mo	-	'intensely'
-ná:na-	-ná:n	-	'all the time'
-palámmi-	-palámmi-	-	'extremely'

The following suffixes may fall into this slot, but because of limited co-occurrence with other suffixes, their true slot position is not certain.

These will be discussed at the end of this chapter.

Medial	Final	Apocopated	Gloss
-	-á:s	-	'to want to'
-fí:na-	-fí:n	-	'to be metaphorically like'
-há:lo-	-	-	'sequencing suffix'
-há:wa-	-	-	'modifying suffix'
-	-Vhc	-	'to be able to'
-má:hilo-	-	-	'in the case of/that'
-ló-	-	-	'polite imperative'
-	-no	-	'to have just'
Slot 2) Diminutive/Intensive			
-o:si-/-:si-	-o:s/-:s	-os-/-s-	'a little;' 'completely'
Slot 3) Habitual			
-Vhco-	-	-	'habitual'
-Vhco:li-	-	-	'customarily'
-	-Vhci	-	'progressive'
Slot 4) Intention			
-áhi-	-	-	'intention'
-á-	-	-	'immediate intent'
Slot 5) Ability			
-bá:no-	-bá:no	-	'regularly;' 'occasionally'
-bí:no-	-bí:no	-	'reluctantly, shyly'
-halpí:sa-	-halpí:s	-halpís-	'to be able to'
-yáhli-	-yáhl	-	'to be obliged to; really'
Slot 6) Realis/Irrealis			
-laho-	-	-	'irrealis; future'
-laha-	-	-	'irrealis; emphatic future'
-toho-	-	-	'realis; preterite'
-toha-	-	-	'realis; perfect'

Slot	Medial	Final	Apocopated	Gloss
Slot 7) Deduction				
	-o:li-	-	-	'facts about action are deduced by speaker'
Slot 8) Modality				
	-á:pi-	-á:p	-	'almost'
	-áhpí-	-áhp	-	'merely;' 'just'
	-má:tí	-má:t	-	'must;' 'would'
	-:sahá:wa-	-	-	'must be;' 'might be'
	-yá:li-	-	-	'occasionally;' 'superficially'
Slot 9) Dubitative				
	-má:mí-	-má:m	-má-	'perhaps; maybe'
	-	-má:s	-	'dubitative of observation'
Slot 10) Hearsay				
	-mpa-	-mp	-	'reported speech, first or second hand'
Slot 11) Auditory				
	-hawa-	-ha	-	'auditory evidence of action occurring'
Slot 12) Tense				
	-:sa-	-:s	-	'Past I'
	-ti-	-t	-	'Past II'
	-to-	-t	-	'Past III'
	-ki-	-k-	-	'Past IV'
	-:fó:ka-	-:fó:k	-	'when;' 'while'
	-V́nna-	-V́n	-	'negative imperative'
Slot 13) Consequence				
	-	-:p	-	'if, when' Subjunctive I
	-	-:k	-	'if, when' Subjunctive II
	-ska-	-sk	-	'because'
	-y-	-	-	'but, contrary to expectation'
	-tika-	-tik	-	'but'

Slot 14) Sentence Functions			
Medial	Final	Apocopated	Gloss
-	-ʏ	-	'phrase terminal marker'
-	-DEL	-	'phrase terminal marker' deletes word-final vowels
-	-ś	-	'phrase terminal marker' obsolete marker of 'male speech'
-	-n	-	switch reference marker, different subject
-	-k	-	switch reference marker, same subject
-	-on	-	switch reference marker, different subject; focus
-	-ok	-	switch reference marker, same subject; focus
-	-p	-	new topic
-	-t	-	verb connector, coordinat- ing
-	-h	-	verb connector, subordinat- ing
-	-ó?li	-	question suffix
--	-ó?ló	-	tag question suffix
-	-ʏ?wí	-	desiderative tag question suffix
-	-ʏ?há	-	either/or question suffix
-	-há?wá	-	rhetorical question suffix
-	-ʏh	-	delayed imperative suffix
Slot 15) Enclitics			
-	katík	-	'but it is the case that'
-	mahco	-	'it is a similar action to'

SLOT 1) ADVERB

This slot is filled primarily by adverbs of quality or intensity. The majority of them bear a natural accent, and it is very probable that they are in origin independent words incorporated into the verb complex. Below each adverb that can occur in this slot is listed and exemplified, with discussion where warranted.

-á:ho:si- 'very'

This suffix is unusual in that the accent it bears subordinates the accent of the verb to which it is attached. It is also one of the few verbal suffixes that takes the Intensive internal change (See Chapter 9) instead of the verb base. This suffix has a Choctaw cognate in the word ghosi, which means 'most; almost; near; nearly' (Byington, 1915:20). Note that when the verb suffixed is one that indicates state or quality, it means 'very,' with an action verb it means 'almost' or 'nearly'.

- 120) císsí-k ká:ha-:fó:k-on st-ayokp-á:ǂ,ho:si-toho-:li-mpa-ǂhco-k opá-k
 MOUSE-subj SAY-when-sw:foc instr-adv,intens,-realis-deduc-hearsay-
 habit-IVPast OWL-subj

/císsík ká:ha:fó:kon stayokpǂ:ho:stoho:limpáhco opak/

'When Mouse said that, Owl really, really loved it, so it is said.'

- 121) kasátk-á:ho:si-sk hípl
 BE:COLD-adv-conseq SNOWS

/kasatká:ho:sisk hípl/

'Because it is cold weather, it is snowing.'

- 122) i:l-á:ho:s
 ARRIVE-adv

/i:lá:ho:s/

'She is about to arrive.'

- 123) mí:to-k cökkó:li-toho-n ó:t-á:ho:si-:fo:k-on walí:ka-t ó:ta-laho-ǂ
 OTHER-subj SIT (sg)-realis-sw BE:THERE-adv-when-sw:foc RUN (sg)-conn
 BE:THERE-irrealis-phr:term

/mí:tok cокkó:tohon ó:ʔá:ho:si:fó:kon walí:kat ó:ʔalahq/

Another (turtle) sat there, and when he (Rabbit) was about to get there, the other would run and get there.'

This suffix can be used in nominalizations, such as in 124) below:

124) ká:n-á:ho:si-n kónk
GOOD-adv-obj GIVE:TO:US

/ka:ná:ho:sin kónk/

'He gives very good things to us.'

This suffix, like all others that are vowel initial, elides the final vowel of the verb to which it is suffixed.

-báhno- 'must, be obliged to'

This suffix, like others that end in o, does not lose the final vowel when the suffix stands in sentence-final position.

125) iltoc,ci,hn-á,ʔʔʔ,hi ínko-ʔ í:pa-li-báhno
WORK,2ss(11C)-intent,Q, NOT:S0-phr:term EAT-1ss-adv

A: /iltocihnáʔhí/ B: /ínkq í:palibáhno/

A: 'Are you going to work?' B: 'No. I must eat first.'

126) asá:la-n tá:ʔa-li-báhno-k oholimpá có:pa-li-laho-ʔ
BASKET-obj WEAVE-1ss-adv-ss FOOD BUY-1ss-irrealis-phr:term

/asá:lan tá:ʔalibáhnok oholimpá có:pallahq/

'I must weave baskets in order to buy food.'

127) st-o:tamátli-báhn-áhi-mpa-t
instr-TRADE-adv-intent-hearsay-Past

/sto:tamátlibáhnáhipat/

'They say they might be obliged to trade with them.'

-fíhna- 'too much'

This suffix has developed an apocopated form -fi- derived from a misinterpretation of the word final form -fíhn, which is pronounced [fʃhN]. The other apocopated form, -fín- is formed by a seemingly regular rule that

states when three consonants come together across a morpheme boundary, if one is a glottal (/h/,/?/,/:/), it drops out.¹⁹ This suffix is related to the adjective fihná, 'true; real,' and has a Choctaw cognate in the word fihna, 'much; very; excessive; real' (Byington, 1912:121).

- 128) híni-fa st-á:y-áhi-k bán-ko-n hípli-fíhna-sk talkí:ci-fíhna-sk
ROAD-in instr-GO:ABOUT(sg)-intent-ss WANT-3neg(IIA)-sw SNOW-adv-conseq
BE:FREEZING-adv-conseq

/hínifa stá:yáhi:k bánkon híplifíhnask talkí:cifíhnask/

'He did not want to carry it on the road, because it was too snowy and too freezing.'

- 129) kasátka-fíhna-n o:háp-híska-:p holpá shibáhli-k ci-í:si-laho-v
BE:COLD-adv-sw SWIM-2ss(IIIA)-subjunct ILLNESS WITH:STABBING:PAINS-subj
2so-TAKE(sg)-irrealis-phr:term

/kasátkafíhnan o:háphíska:p holpá shibáhlik cií:silahov/

'If you swim when the weather is too cold, you will catch pneumonia.'

- 130) í:pa-fíhna-tíska-má:m
EAT-adv-2ss(IIICi)-dubit

/í:pafítískamá:m/

'You seem to eat too much.'

- 131) ísko-fíhna-tílk
DRINK-adv-1pls(IIICi)

/ískofíntílk/

'We drink too much.'

- 132) ohompá-:c-íska-fíhna-vnna-vh
EAT(pl)-compul-2ss(IIIB)-adv-neg:imp-delay

/ohompá:ciskafihnánnah/

'Do not overfeed it later!'

-hónka- 'really'

The closest equivalent in English to this suffix is the adverb 'really,' it implies an action of strong intensity. This suffix is frequently combined with the diminutive/intensive suffix -:si, which merely affirms the intensity of the action.

- 133) ittimafínát-hísk-ok ca-yawoplí:c-iska-hónk
 APPEAR-2ss (IIIA) -ss:foc Iso-SCARE-2ss (IIIB) -adv
 /ittimafínáthískok cayawoplí:ciskahónk/
 'Appearing like that, you really scared me!'
- 134) hákti-hónka-:si-k nas-kahá-k sobáy-ko-ŷ
 BE:DRUNK-adv-dim-ss something-SAY-subj KNOW-3neg (IIA) -phr:term
 /hákti-hónka:sik naskahák sobáyko/
 'He is so drunk that he doesn't know what he is saying.'
- 135) ittó-k wahá:ka-honka-:si-n ɬopót-tácko-:s itto-hayó
 TREE-subj BE:OUTSPREAD-adv-dim-sw PASS:THROUGH (sg) -Isneg (IIA) -IPast
 TREE-iness
 /ittók wahá:kahónka:sin ɬopóttácko:s ittohayó/
 'The trees are really outspread, so I do not pass through the forest.'

In the following unusual construction, the adverb/diminutive compound has been incorporated as part of the verb base, as indicated by the deletion of the accent of the adverb, and the reassignment of the accent to the penultimate syllable of the compound, as in a root verb.

- 135) akostinní:ci-hónka-:si-li-k ca-haktinípk-áhi-má:m
 akostinni:cihonká:si-li-k (accent reassignment)
 THINK-adv-dim-1ss-ss 1sstats-GO:CRAZY-intent-dubit
 /akostinni:cihonká:silik cahaktinípkáhimá:m/
 'I really think so much that I might be about to go crazy.'

-mbí:ka- 'a pleasant deal'

This adverbial suffix indicates that there is an intensity of the action, but also that the speaker views it as something pleasant or to be desired. This suffix has a Choctaw cognate in the adverb bika, which means 'always; commonly; usually' (Byington, 1912:88).

- 136) tá:ɬa-t anó:li-li-mbí:k-áhi-k ca-bàn
 WEAVE-conn FINISH (sg) (trans) -1ss-adv-intent-ss 1stats-WANT
 /tá:ɬat anó:lilimbí:káhi-k cabàn/
 'I really wish to finish weaving it.'

- 137) áttá-li-mbí:ka-laho-ŷ
INTENT:T0:GO-1ss-adv-irrealis-phr:term

/áttálimbí:kalahq/

'I will really be needing to go.'

-ŷ:mo- 'intensely'

This adverb indicates that the action of the verb is intense or it indicates a magnification of the basic emotional state implied by the verb to which it is suffixed.

- 138) in-ca-hó:pa-ŷ:mo 139) na:sincá:k-on innaŷí:ka-li-ŷ:mo
3statobj-1sstats-BE:SICK-adv BOOK-obj:foc READ-1ss-adv

/incaho:pá:mo/

'I loathe him!'

/na:sincá:kon innaŷi:kalí:mo/

'I read a lot of books (because I like to).'

- 140) í:pa-ŷ:mo-:li-ska-n nì:ha-laho-ŷ
EAT-adv-deduc-conseq-sw BE:FAT-irrealis-phr:term

/i:pá:mo:liskan, nì:halahq/

'As one can imagine, because he eats a lot, he will get fat.'

- 141) palkí-k á:ya-ŷ:mo-:li-ha
TRAIN-subj GO:ABOUT (sg)-adv-deduc-audit

/palkík a:yá:mo:liha/

'One can hear the trains going by a great deal, as you might guess.'

-má:li- 'in the same way'

This rather rare suffix indicates that the action taking place is similar to one mentioned previously. It has so far been observed only in texts.

- 142) waksiná mók okŷaspí-f-ó:t hahci-f-ó:t ho-có:ba-má:li
CYPRESS ALSO SWAMP-in-list RIVER-in-list distr-GROW-adv

/waksiná mók okŷapifó:t hahcifó:t hocó:bamá:li/

'Cypresses also grow like them (tupelo trees) in swamps and in rivers.'

- 143) waksiná mók á:ti-má:li
CYPRESS ALSO GIVE:FRUIT-adv

/waksiná mók á:timá:li/

'The cypress also gives fruit in the same manner.'
- 144) sattilbí mók okłaspi-fá má:l-on hokti-Úhci. ho-có:ba-má:li okłaspi-fá má:l-on
CRAB:APPLE ALSO SWAMP-in ONLY-obj:foc RIPEN-progress distr-GROW-adv SWAMP-in
ONLY-obj:foc

/sattilbí mók okłaspifá má:lon hoktíhci. hocó:bamá:li okłaspifá má:lon/

'Also, crabapples ripen only in the swamp. They grow in the same way
(as the cypress) only in the swamp.'

-ná:na- 'all the time'

This is a very common adverbial suffix, and one that is frequently used in deriving verbs from nouns. With verbs this suffix means that the action occurs all the time; with nouns it means that an area is characterized by the object referred to in the noun.

- 145) im-tótkak im-lónka-ná:na-n
3dat-RUN(pl)-ss 3dat-HIDE-adv-sw

/intótkak illónkaná:nan/

'They ran from them and hid from them all the time.'
- 146) pa-okcákko-ná:na-n hoppó:lat cikkí:li-toho-n
loc-BE:GREEN-adv-sw DEFECATE-conn LAY-realis-sw

/paokcákkoná:nan hoppó:lat cikkí:tohon/

'What he laid down as he was defecating was green all over the top of it.'
- 147) m-áp ac-afalí:ci-ná:na-Úhco-toho-n
THAT-new:top lsubj-LAUGH:AT-adv-habit-realis-sw

/máp acafalí:ciná:náhcotohon/

'That one has been laughing at me all the time.'
- 148) nipón í:pa-t anó:l-ok cofkoni-ná:na-n cikkí:li-toho-n
FLESH-obj EAT-conn FINISH(trans)(sg)-ss:foc BONE-adv-sw LAY-realis-sw

/nipón í:pat anó:lok cofkoniná:nan cikkí:tohon/

'He (Vulture) had devoured all his (Rabbit's) flesh; he had strewn the
bones all over.'

- 149) nitá-k łakhani-ná:na-t sán-ko-t anó,h,k-ok koyá:bi-k ómmito-ŷ
 BEAR-subj BLOOD-adv-conn BE:ABLE-neg(IIA)-conn FINISH(intrans) (sg),h:grade,
 ss:foc BE:WEAK:FROM:WOUNDS-ss BE-III Past-phr:term

/niták łaxhaniná:nat sánkot anóhkok koyá:bik ómmitq/

'The bear was covered all over with blood and he was completely unable to do anything more, as it was the case that he was weak from wounds.'

- 150) okłaspi-f-ón ho-có:ba-ŷhci. okłaspi-fá-p ma-ná:n-o-ŷ. tá:la-ná:n-o-ŷ
 SWAMP-in-obj:foc distr-GROW-progress SWAMP-in-new:top THAT-adv-be-phr:term
 PALMETTO-adv-be-phr:term

/okłaspifón hoco:báhci. okłaspifáp maná:nq. tá:laná:nq/

'They grow in the swamps. Those ones are all over in the swamps; It is palmettos all over.'

This suffix has specialized semantics when it occurs with numeral verbs.

For its use with numerals see Chapter 12.

-palámmi- 'extremely'

This suffix is aberrant in comparison with other adverbial suffixes, first in that if there are any suffixes to follow, it must first be verbalized with the suffix -q, and secondly, if -palámmi- is negated, it is separated from the verb to which it would be suffixed, and the connective -t occurs between it and the verb. These features indicate that -palámmi- has only recently and imperfectly been assimilated into the verbal complex. This suffix, like others, has a Choctaw cognate in the independent word palámmi 'sharply.'

- 151) cim-há:co-palámmi
 2sstats-BE:FOOLISH-adv

/cjhá:copalámmi/

'You are extremely foolish.'

- 152) má:mi-n kolosí mók im-maťáhlipalámm-o-toho-k kitiní
 BE:THEN-sw CHICKEN ALSO 3dat-FEAR(pl)-adv-be-realis-IV Past GREAT:HORNED:OWL

/má:min kolosí mók immaťáhlipalámmotohok kitiní/

'Then also the chickens were extremely frightened of the great horned owl.'

- 153) síhno-t palán-ko-k mám-toho-k si,ŷ:hno-:si anáhk-ok cayáhli-t á:ya-ŷhco:li-k
 BE:OLD-conn ADV-neg(IIA)-ss BE:THEN-realis-ss BE:OLD,intens,-dim CHANGE:INTO-
 WALK-conn-GO:ABOUT{sg)-custom-IVPast

/síhnot palánkok mántohok sí:hno:si anáhkoc cayáhlit á:yáhco:lik/

'She was not extremely old, then at last she turned into an ancient one and used to walk about.'

SLOT 2) DIMINUTIVE/INTENSIVE

The sole occupant of this slot is the diminutive/intensive suffix -:si-/-o:si-. The allomorphs are phonologically governed; -:si- occurs after the vowels o and a; -o:si appears after the vowel i, which is elided. This morpheme is polysemous; on the one hand it indicates that the action of the verb is less intense than it usually is; on the other it can mean that the action of the verb is taking place to its fullest extent. The following examples show the use of this suffix as a diminutive:

- 154) fápl-o:si-:s
 BE:WINDY-dim-IPast

/fáplo:si:s/

'There is a breeze.'

- 155) oh-hí:ca-toho-n tonohót:k-o:si-t okcákko-:s-on pa-cikkí:li-toho-:li-mpa-
 go:&-SEE-realis-sw GLOBULAR(pl)-dim-conn GREEN-dim-obj:foc loc-LAY-realis-
 ŷhco-k
 deduc-hearsay-habit-IVPast

/ohhí:catohon tonohót:kost okcákko:son pacikkí:toho:limpáhoc/

'They went and looked and he had laid down small globular green things on it, so it is said.'

The following examples show its use as an intensifier.

- 156) haso:támm-o:si-:p món yomáhli-ŷhco-k ómm-o-ŷ
 BE:SUNSET-dim-subjunct ALSO GO:ABOUT(pl)-habit-ss BE-be-phr:term

/haso:támmo:si:p món yomáhlíhcómmow/

'They also seem to go about when the sun has completely set.'

- 157) at-lawísta-p cikkí:-háci:-k im-aybá:ci-t tómmi-t
PERSON-SMALL(pl) -new:top KEEP-2pls(IIA) -subjunct 3dat-FORBID-conn WHIP-conn

ká:no-:si-n im-aybá:ci-t amá:-háska-laho-ŷ
BE:GOOD-dim-sw 3dat-FORBID-conn GO(pl) -2pls(IIIA) -irrealis-phr:term

/atlawístap cikkí:háci:k imaybá:cit tómmit ká:no:sin imaybá:cit
amá:háskalahq/

'Now, if you have children, you will teach them proper behavior,
whip them and teach them proper behavior to the best of your ability.'

- 158) á:ti hí:ca-li-:kítta-p sobbáy| -o:si-t hí:ca-li-t
PERSON SEE-1ss-1IPast:part-new:top REMEMBER-dim-conn SEE-1ss-Past

/á:ti hí:cali:kíttap sobbáylo:sit hí:calit/

'I saw and remembered everything about that person that I used to see.'

Occasionally this suffix refuses the allomorph -o:si- after i. In the majority of cases, as in the following example, the i is part of the sequence -ci, which is either historically or synchronically the compulsive/multiplicative suffix.

- 159) kolos-tóhli-:fó:k-on ho-ká:ha-ŷhco:li-k katolíkka-k iliholló:ci-:sí-ŷhci
CHICKEN-CHASE-when-sw:foc distr-SAY-custom-IVPast CATHOLIC-subj FAST-dim-prog

/kolostóhli:fó:kon hokáhco:lik katolíkkak iliholló:císci/

'They used to say that at Mardi Gras time, the Catholics really fast.'

This suffix, in addition to its diminutive/intensive functions, has a few, rarer uses. At times it seems to mean 'merely,' as in the following:

- 160) pokk-ó:t-o-toha-ŷ hokkí:ta-:si-t caffá-k im-ílli-n
TWIN-art-be-realís-phr:term BE:HALF-dim-conn ONE-subj 3dat-DIE(sg) -sw

/pokkó:toha hokkí:ta:sit caffák imíllin/

'She is merely one-half; her twin is deceased; the one died on her.'

With the delayed imperative suffix -ŷh, the suffix adds a note of urgent desire, as in the following:

- 161) í:la-:si-ŷh
ARRIVE:HERE-dim-delay

/í:la:sjh/

'Be sure and come!'

SLOT 3) HABITUAL

There are three suffixes that fall into this slot, and all are closely related to each other. These are -Vhco-, 'habitual,' -Vhco:li- 'customary,' and -Vhci, 'progressive.' The almost unique feature of these suffixes in inducing an accent in the vowel to which these suffixes are attached indicates that they have differentiated from one basic form. However, at the present time all these forms are monomorphemic, and must be treated as distinct entities.

-Vhco- 'habitual'

This suffix is one of the most common ones in the language. It indicates that the action of the verb continues or was continuing on at some point in time. It is also the only suffix that is recursive, i.e. it is not bound solely to its slot. It can occur after members of Slots 3 through 10, excluding only itself and the suffix -Vhci, which occurs in final position only. The following are examples of the use of this suffix:

- 162) mó:toho-n tankawí tankawí ho-ká:ha-Vhco-V a:tí:pa
BE:THEN-sw TONKAWA TONKAWA dist-SAY-habit-phr:term CANNIBAL

/mó:tohon tankawí tankawí hokáhcaw a:tí:pa/

'And then; Tonkawa, Tonkawa is what they called the cannibals.'

- 163) há:lo-li-Vhco-toho-k im-mánka-l-áhi-Vhco-V
HEAR-lss-habit-realiz-ss 3dat-TELL-lss-intent-habit-phr:term

/ha:lolíhcotohok immánkaláhíhcq/

'I heard it before and I intend to be telling it to him.'

- 164) cofí có:b-o:to-k í:sa-s-on haccalí:ci:-si-Vhco-toho-n
UNCLE OLD-art-subj HOUSE-dim-obj:foc ERECT-dim-habit-realiz-sw

/cofí có:bo:tok í:sason haccalí:ciscotohon/

'Grand-uncle, who is now deceased, completely erected a little house.'

- 165) tayyí mí:t-on acákki-Vhco-k ómmi-t
WOMAN OTHER-obj:foc FOLLOW-habit-ss BE-Past
/tayyí mí:ton acákkíhcok ómmit/
'He was having an affair with (lit. following after) another woman.'
- 166) ocos-kí-k ontókló-Vhco-toho-n
CHILD-pl-subj BE:SEVEN-habit-realiz-sw
/ocoskík ontóklóhcotohon/
'Her children were seven in number.'

In the following example, this suffix apparently occurs after itself and the diminutive/intensive suffix; however, it seems to have been verbalized with -o (See Chapter 3) before taking further suffixes.

- 167) in-ca-maḷát-ko-Vhc-o-:si-Vhco-y
3dat-1sstats-FEAR(sg)-3neg(IIA)-habit-be-dim-habit-phr:term
/incamaḷátkóhcosçø/
'I am not afraid of anything at all.'

-Vhco:li- 'customarily'

This is another suffix of frequent occurrence. On the surface it appears to be a compound of -Vhco- of Slot 3 and :li of Slot 7, however, when an item of Slot 6 occurs, that item does not appear between the elements, but after, which is a strong indication that this suffix is monomorphemic. This suffix occurs most frequently with indicators of past or future time. With an indicator of past time, it can be translated as an imperfect; the action was going on, but there is no indication of its termination. With a marker of future time, it indicates that the action will be going on sometime in the future, and there is no indication of its termination.

- 168) í:bi-h ko-bàнна-tik san,kilí,:c-o-n tóḷka-t kom-lónka-:fó:k-on
KILL-conn 1plstats-WANT-but DO,1plnegs(IIB)-neg:comp-sw RUN(pl)-conn
fáy-híli-Vhco:li-k
1pldat-HIDE-when-sw:foc QUIT-1plsubj(IIA)-custom-IVPast

/í:bih kobànnàtik sankilí:con tótkat kollónka:fó:kon fáyhílihco:lik/

'We tried to kill them, but we were unable to; when they ran and hid from us we left off trying.'

- 169) tóklo-n hí:ca-li-Vhco:li-k sokhillí á:ta-toho-tik
BE:TWO-sw SEE-Iss-custom-IVPast EPILEPSY DWELL(sg)-realis-but

/tóklon hí:calíhco:lik sokhillí á:tatohotik/

'I used to see two people; each one had epilepsy, but...'

- 170) hima:yámmi-p afali:ci-Vhco:li-Vhco-k akkámí-Vhco-toho-:li-mpa-Vhco-k
NOWADAYS-new:top LAUGH:AT-custom-habit-ss BE:SO-habit-realís-deduc-hearsay-habit-IVPast

/hima:yámmip afalí:cíhco:líhcok akkáhcotoho:límpáhcok/

'Nowadays, they go on laughing at how they say things used to be.'

- 171) m-o-kko-Vhco:li-:p á:lo-l
THAT-be-neg(IIIcii)-custom-subjunct HOPE-Iss

/mökkóhco:li:p á:lol/

'I hope that that is not what is going on.'

- 172) í:s-askáhka-Vhco-k haci-nokco:ba:ci-Vhco:li-laho-y
HOUSE-EXIT(pl)-habit-ss 2plobj-STOP-custom-irrealís-phr:term

/í:s-askáhkáhcok hacinokco:ba:cíhco:lilahq/

'Coming out of the house, they will constantly stop you.'

- 173) ísko-t im-mátt-o-t ká:no-Vhco:li-laho-y
DRINK-conn 3dat-MISS-be-conn BE:GOOD-custom-irrealís-phr:term

/ískot immáttot ká:nóhco:lilahq/

'To err in drinking it will be a good thing.'

-Vhci 'progressive'

Just like the other two suffixes in this slot, the progressive suffix is extremely common. It is used to indicate that the action of the verb is going on at the present time, and there is no indication of there being a beginning to the action or an ending to it. The following are examples of the use of this suffix:

- 174) im-aʔi-k tonohtó:ki-t akkámmi-ŷhco-n á:ʔi-ŷhci
 3poss-BERRY-subj BE:GLOBULAR(pl)-conn BE:SO-habit-sw FRUIT-progress
 /imaʔík tonohtó:kit akkámmíhcon á:ʔíhci/
 'Its fruits are round' and in just such a way it gives fruit.'
- 175) ma:fó:k-ok aʔakohyá lo:ca-ŷhco-t hómma-ŷhco-t la:na-ŷhco-t
 BE:HEN-ss:foc BE:MULTICOLORED(aor) BE:BLACK-habit-conn BE:RED-habit-conn
 ʔahá:ki-ŷhco-t ilhicá ho-kanomá:mi-ŷhci
 BE:YELLOW-habit-conn BE:PIED-habit-conn APPEARANCE dist-BEAUTIFUL-progress.
 /ma:fó:kok aʔakohyá lo:cáhcot hommáhcot la:náhcot ʔaha:kíhcot
 ilhicá kanomáhci/
 'And then, they are multicolored: they are black and red and yellow
 and parti-colored, and are of a beautiful appearance.'
- 176) hahci-fa lapha nó:ta im-í:sa talibó:li-t cokhalí:ka-t achali:ka-t
 RIVER-in BANK UNDER 3poss-HOUSE MAK-conn ENTER-conn EXIT-conn
 á:ta-ŷhci
 DWELL (sg)-progress
 /hahcifá laphá nó:ta imí:sa talibó:lit cokhalí:kat achalí:kat á:táhci/
 'By a river under a bank it makes its den, and it keeps on going in and
 coming out.'
- 177) ma:fó:k-ok ná:s-ok á:ya-n hí:ca:p pa-cofótlit tabá:ka-k í:bi-t í:pa-ŷhci
 BE:WHEN-ss:foc SOMETHING-subj:foc GO:ABOUT-sw SEE-subjunct loc-JUMP(sg)-conn
 CATCH(pl)-ss KILL-conn EAT-progress
 /ma:fó:kok ná:sok á:yan hí:ca:p pacofótlit tabá:kak í:bit í:páhci/
 'And then, if it sees something that is passing by, it attacks and
 catches them, kills and eats them.'

This suffix occurs only in final position, and is unusual in that no phrase terminal markers occur after it. It is equivalent to a phrase terminal marker, but because of its form and meaning it has been placed with the other habitual suffixes as a member of Slot 3.

SLOT 4) INTENTION

This slot is filled by two suffixes, -áhi- and -á-. Both indicate that the action of the verb has not yet occurred, and that the speaker intends or hopes

that the action will occur. However, these suffixes differ in the details of their use.

-áhi- 'intention'

This suffix indicates that the action of the verb is not yet realized, but that the possibility exists that it will, or the speaker intends that it will. As with other vowel-initial suffixes, it elides the vowel terminating the preceding element.

- 178) cokfaʔihilk-ón im-mánka-l-áhi-mp
TRADITIONAL:NARRATIVE-obj:foc 3dat-TELL-1ss-intent-hearsay

/cokfaʔihilkón immánkaláhimp/

'He says that he would like me to tell him a traditional narrative.'

- 179) má:mo:si-n a:ti:pacobá-p ʔopótl-áhi-:fó:k-on
THEREUPON-sw ELEPHANT-new:top PASS:THROUGH(sg)-intent-when-sw

im-holá:si-toho-:li-mpa-ǂhco-k
3dat-LIE-realis-deduc-hearsay-habit-IVPast

/má:mo:sin, a:ti:pacobáp ʔopótláhi:fó:kon, ʔholástoho:limpáhco/

'Thereupon, as Elephant was about to pass by, he lied to him, so it is said.'

This suffix with the same-subject switch-reference marker -k is used in constructions as an alternative to the verbal noun, as in the following.

- | | | | |
|-------|---------------------------------|-------|----------------------|
| 180a) | há:lo-l-áhi-k ca-bàn | 180b) | ʔilhá:la ca-bàn |
| | HEAR-1ss-intent-ss 1sstats-WANT | | TO:HEAR 1sstats-WANT |

/há:loláhi-k cabàn/

/ʔilhá:la cabàn/

'I want to hear (that I might hear) it.' 'I want to hear it.'

There is a slight semantic difference between the two constructions; that with the verbal noun appears to have a more general reference, while that with -áhi-k seems to be more limited. The following are further examples.

- 181) sámmi-n bán-ko-n o,ǂǂ,mmi ká,h,ha-n ahissí
BE:HOW-sw WANT-3neg(1IA)-sw BE,Q, SAY-h:grade,-sw MEDICINE

ínka-l-áhi-k am-bán-ko-ŷ ónka-n
GIVE:TO:HIM-1ss-intent-ss 1sdat-WANT-3neg(IIA)-phr:term QUOTH-sw

/ʼsámmín bánkon óʼmíʼ káhhán. ʼahissí ínkaláhi^k ambánkøʼ,ʼ ónkan/

ʼʼWhy doesn't he want it?ʼʼ he said, and the other said, ʼHe doesn't want me to give him my medicine.ʼʼ

- 182) ca-ttabí am-alwáhka-n ómmi-Vhco-k cayáhli-l-áhi-k ca-sán-ko-ŷ
1sposs-LEG 1sdat-BE:RUINED-sw BE-habit-IVPast WALK-1ss-intent-ss
1sstats-BE:ABLE-3neg(IIA)-phr:term

/cattabí amalwáhkán ommíhcok. cayáhliláhi^k casánkow/

ʼIt is the case that my leg was ruined. I am unable to walk.ʼ

- 183) sammí:c-áhi-k sobáy-ko-t thátka-k
DO:HOW-intent-ss KNOW-3neg(IIA)-Past WHITE:PERSON-subj

/sammí:cáhi^k sobáykot thátkak/

ʼThe white people did not know how to do it.ʼ

- 184) afánk-áhi-k im-Ø-małátl-á:ho:si-toho-:li-mpa-Vhco-k
MEET-intent-ss 3statobj-3stats-FEAR(sg)-adv-real-is-deduc-hearsay-
habit-IVPast

/afánkáhi^k immałátlá:hostoho:limpáhcok/

ʼIt is said that he was really afraid to meet him.ʼ

The suffix -áhi- has a number of specialized uses. With the interrogative, it forms polite questions, as in the following examples.

- 185) am-incá:-c-á,ŷʼŷ,hi 186) i:pa-l-á,ŷʼŷ,hi
1sdat-WRITE-2ss(IIA)-intent,Q, EAT-1ss-intent,Q,

/aminca:cáʼhí/

/i:palaʼhi/

ʼWould you write it for me?ʼ

ʼMay I eat it?ʼ

- 187) yí-n tam ká,h,ha-n má:mo:si-n ná:s-on
OVER:HERE LIE SAY,h:grade,-sw THEREUPON-sw WHAT-obj:foc

sammí:c-isk-a,ŷʼŷ,hi ná:s-on ci-ba,ŷʼŷnna ka,h,ha-n
DO+2ss(IIIB)-intent,Q, WHAT-obj:foc 2sstats-WANT,Q, SAY,h:grade,-sw

/ʼyín tam,ʼ káhhán. má:mo:sín, ʼná:son sammí:cískáʼhí. ná:son cibáʼná,ʼ káhhán/

"He lies over here," he said. And then he said, "What can you do? What do you want?"

In rapid speech the glottal stop metathesizes with the final vowel. The pronunciations of examples 185 and 186 would be [amɪncɑ:cáfʔ] and [i:paláfʔ].

This suffix in combination with -má:mi- 'dubitative' forms a complex with the meaning 'to be ready to.' The following are two examples.

188) máh hiná:p falánk-áhi-má:m
SEE! LO! AWAKEN(sg)-intent-dubit

/máh. hiná:p. falánkáhimá:m/

'See! Lo! He is ready to awaken!'

189) ca-cokí:bosi-n ónti-li-ŷhco-toho-k cim-mánka-l-áhi-má:mi-k
Istats-BE:SMALL(sg)-sw COME(sg)-Iss-habit-realís-IVPast 2sdatt-TELL-
Iss-intent-dubit-ss

/cacokí:bosin óntilíhcotohok cimmánkaláhimá:mik/

'I am ready to tell you my coming along (way of life) when I was small.'

This suffix in combination with the tense suffixes produces compound tenses concerning actions that had the potential to be fulfilled, but were unrealized.

190) ná:s-on ká:h-áhi-to-k ilhó:si-mpa::s
WHAT-obj:foc SAY-intent-IIIIPast-ss FORGET-hearsay-IPast

/ná:son ká:háhitok ilhó:simpa:s/

'He says he forgot what he would have said.'

191) amá:-hílk-áhi-toho::li-y-on sán-ko-ŷ
GO(pl)-Iplis(IIIA)-intent-realís-deduc-conseq-sw:for CAN-3neg(IIA)-
phr:term

/amá:hílkáhitoho:liyon sánkø/

'As one might think, we would have gone, but contrary to expectation it was impossible.'

192) í:l-áhi-mpa-t
ARRIVE-intent-hearsay-PAST

/í:láhimpat/

'He said he would have been here.'

-á- 'immediate intent

This suffix is used to indicate that the speaker intends for the action to occur in the very near future. Although it is possible for this suffix to occur with other suffixes, such co-occurrence is very rare, and usually this suffix occurs alone, and with a first person subject.

- 193) it-naʔihilká í:sa coba-fá it-lamatkí:-ci-l-á-ʔ
 direc-SPEAKING HOUSE BIG-in go:&-STRAIGHT-comp-1ss-intent-phr:term
 /itnaʔihilká í:sa cobafá itlamatkí:ciláʔ/
 'I am going to go straighten it out at the courthouse.'
- 194) opá-k achalí:ka-k má:mo:si-n í:bi-l-á-ʔ á:lo-Vhco:li-k
 OWL-subj EXIT-ss BE:THEN-sw KILL-1ss-intent-phr:term HOPE-custom-IVPast
 /opák achalí:kak, 'má:mo:sin í:bi:láʔ,' á:lóhco:lik/
 'Owl came out, "Then I shall kill him!" he was thinking.'
- 195) an-áp mó:li:p mat-ballá,h,ka-l-ok nó:ci-l-á-ʔ ká,h,h-ok
 I-new:top WELL aʔar-LIE(sg),h:grade-1ss-ss:foc SLEEP-1ss-intent-phr:term
 SAY,h:grade,-ss:foc
 /'anáp mó:li:p matballáhkalok nó:ciláʔ,' káhhok/
 "'Well, as for me, I am going to lie down there and sleep," he said.'
- 196) sattapolo-n afán,h,k-ok ittim-áy-híl-á-ʔ má-p ká,h,ha-n
 BOX:TURTLE-obj MEET,h:grade,-ss:foc recip-CONTEND-1pls(IIA)-intent-phr:
 term THAT-new:top SAY,h:grade,-sw
 /sattapolón afáhhok, 'ittimáyhíláʔ máp,' káhhhan/
 'Upon meeting Box Turtle he said, "We will race with each other then."'

SLOT 5) ABILITY

This slot is filled with four suffixes that indicate how or in what manner an action is done. Only one, -halpí:sa- occurs with any frequency; the others are all rather rare.

-bá:no- 'regularly; occasionally'

This suffix indicates that the action of the verb occurs regularly or occasionally; the difference in meaning comes from different contextual uses.

The following are examples of the use of this suffix:

- 197) an-tá:t-o:to-k kom-mánka-bá:no-:li-k fápli-k í:la-:p afánka-Ŵhco-k
 1sposs-FATHER-art-subj 1pldat-TELL-ability-deduc-ss WIND-subj ARRIVE-
 subjunct MEET-habit-ss
 amá:-háska-laho-:s
 GO(pl)-1pls(IIIA)-irrealis-m.s.
 /antá:to:tok kommánkabá:no:lik, "fáplik í:la:p afánkáhco amá:háskalaho:s"/
 'My father (now deceased), as you can imagine, told us regularly, "If a
 wind come, you will go meeting it."'
- 198) at-có:ba-ha-k watolá hí:ca-bá:no-toho-:li-mpa-ki-tik á:ti-k himayámmi-tik
 PERSON-OLD-pl subj WHOOPING:CRANE SEE-ability-realis-deduc-hearsay-IVPast-but
 PERSON-subj NOWADAYS-but
 ik-hí:c-o-má:mi-Ŵhco-Ŵ
 3sneg(IA)-SEE-neg:comp-dubit-habit-phr:term
 /atcó:bahak watolá hí:cabá:notoho:limpakitik á:tik himayántik ikhí:comáhco/
 'The old people used to see the whooping crane occasionally long ago, it
 is said, but nowadays people never see them.'
- 199) watolá nañilí:ci-báno=katík ak-hí:c-o-má:mi-Ŵhco-Ŵ
 WHOOPING:CRANE SPEAK:OF-ability=encl 1sneg(IA)-SEE-neg:comp-dubit-habit-phr:term
 /watolá nañilí:cibá:no katík akhí:comáhco/
 'They speak of the whooping crane occasionally, but it is the case that I
 have never seen one.'
- 200) im-okcaliyyá wáyli-p kil-hí:c-o-bá:no-laho-t ómm-o-Ŵ
 3poss-LIFE EDGE-new:top 1plneg(IA)-SEE-neg:comp-ability-irrealis-conn
 BE-be-phr:term
 /imokcaliyyá wáylip kilhí:cobá:nolahot ómmq/
 'It seems that we shall never even see him occasionally in his entire life.'

This suffix has a secondary use in which it seems to correspond with the English adverb 'finally.' This is a rare usage for an already rare suffix.

The following are two examples of this use.

- 201) haccá,h,l-ok ca-ťómm-áhi-n im-walí:ka-li-n im-má:ya-:p ayakha:c-ákko-Ŵhci
 STAND(sg),h:grade,-ss:foc 1sobj-WHIP-intent-sw 3dat-RUN-1ss-sw 3dat-BE:MORE-
 subjunct APPROACH-1sneg(IIIB)-progress
 mó:toho-n ya?a-:sáy-ok ílli-bá:no-n ayakhá:ci-li-t
 BE:AFTERWARDS-sw THIS:ONE ss:foc DIE(sg)-ability-sw APPROACH-1ss-Past

/haccáhlok całómmáhin iwwalí:kalin immá:ya:p ayakhá:cákkóhci. mó:tohon ya?a:sáyok ílibá:non ayakhá:cilit/

'She stood up that she might whip me, and I ran away and I did not get near her anymore. Afterwards, this aforementioned one finally died and I approached her.'

- 202) mó:toho-n hifoshilká-k im-anó:ka-bá:no-n st-ilá:ci-to-n iscoba-fá
BE:AFTERWARDS-sw BREATH-subj 3dat-BE:FINISHED (sg) (intr)-ability-sw
instr-ARRIVE-pl-III Past-sw CHURCH-in

/mó:tohon hifoshilkák imanó:kabá:non, stilá:citon iscobafá/

'Afterwards, when the breath of life finally finished on him, they brought him to the church, and...'

-bí:no- 'reluctantly; shyly'

This suffix is extremely rare, with only a few occurrences noted. The following are two examples of this suffix:

- 203) waciná naí:ka-l-áhi-bí:no ca-nokyó:k-á:ho:si-úhco:li-k
ENGLISH SPEAK-lss-intent-ability lssstats-BE:SHY-adv-custom-IV Past

/waciná naí:kaláhibí:no canokyó:ká:ho:sco:lik/

'I would be reluctant to speak English; I used to be so very shy.'

- 204) í:pa-li-bí:no
EAT-lss-ability

/í:palibí:no/

'I am reluctant to eat it.'

This suffix seems to be related to the pronominal suffix -a:bí:no, as in ana:bí:no, 'I myself;' ano, 'I.' Additionally it is related to the noun modifier bí:no, 'even,' as in ifá bí:nok ayakhá:cíkkóhc, 'Even dogs can not approach it.'

-halpí:sa- 'to be able to'

This suffix is of relatively frequent occurrence; it is the most common of the suffixes of ability. It indicates that the action is physically possible for the subject of the action; it thus differs from the independent ca-stative verb sámmín, which also means 'to be able,' but is used in situations when physical ability is not in question. This suffix has a negative form, -halpísko-

as if it were a verb of Class IIAi. As there is an independent related verb, stalpí:san 'to be enough,' it is likely that this suffix was also once independent. It is tempting to see the suffix as a verb *alpí:san joined to the previous verb with the subordinating connector, -h, just the way that the verb bannan, 'to want,' takes on the meaning 'to try to' when joined to a preceding verb with -h. The following are examples of the use of this suffix:

- 205) coyyí nihá st-ili-hamóh-híli-halpí:sa-toho-k ká,h,ha-n
 PINE FAT instr-reflex-RUB-1pls(IIA)-ability-realis-ss SAY,h:grade,-sw
 /"coyyí nihá stilihamóhhílihalpístohok," káhhan/
 'We could rub ourselves with pine resin," he said.'
- 206) athómma-k kámmi-t í:sa-halpí:sa-ŷhco-toho-:li-n
 INDIAN-subj BE:SG-conn DWELL(pl)-ability-habit-realis-deduc-sw
 /athómmak kámmit í:sahalpíscotoho:lin/
 'The Indians could have been living in such a way, and...'
- 207) cim-mánka-l-áhi-halpí:s-ko-ŷ
 2sdat-TELL-1ss-intent-ability-3neg(IIA)-phr:term
 /cimmánkaláhihalpísko/
 'I won't be able to tell you more.'
- 208) ci-acákki-li-halpí:ŷŷ,sa
 2sobj-ACCOMPANY-1ss-ability,Q,
 /acicakkilihalpíŷsá/
 'Could I go with you?'
- 209) okolcá hóhca-li-halpí:s
 WELL DIG-1ss-ability
 /okolcá hóhcalihalpí:s/
 'I can dig a well.'

-yáhli- 'be obliged to''really'

This is a relatively rare suffix; it has two different uses. One is to indicate that the action of the verb is obligatory. The other is to indicate that the action of the verb is intense. The choice of meanings seems to be based on the semantics of the verb to which -yáhli- is suffixed. The following

are examples of the uses of this suffix:

- 210) í:si-li-yáhli-laho-ŷ
TAKE (sg) -lss-ability-irrealis-phr:term

/í:siliyáhlilahq/

'I am going to have to take it.'
- 211) hálk-áhi-yáhli-ŷhco-toho-n
BE:A:WIFE-intent-ability-habit-realism-sw

/hálkáhi:yáhlíhcotohon/

'She would have to have been his wife.'
- 212) cokfi-k ilakasá:mo-yáhl-o-ŷ
RABBIT-subj SUFFER:FROM:HUBRIS-ability-be-phr:term

/cokfík ilakasá:moyáhlq/

'Rabbit really suffers from hubris.'
- 213) nitá-k łaco-n í:pa-yáhl-ok nì:h-á:ho:s
BEAR-subj ACORN-obj EAT-ability-ss:foc BE:FAT-adv

/niták łacón í:payáhlók nì:há:ho:s/

'The bear really eats acorns, and is very fat.'

SLOT 6 REALIS/IRREALIS

This slot is filled by the irrealis suffixes -laho- and -laha- and by the realis suffixes -toho- and -toha-. These suffixes do not indicate tense, but rather if an action is done or yet to be done. The association of these two concepts reflects the basic Koasati view of time as divided into two sections, the now and the not-now, the present covering the now and the realis/irrealis the not-now. This duality is reflected in the verb ihó:can, which means both 'to be long ago' and 'to be a long time in the future,' and is frequently used as an adverbially derived form.²⁰

-laho- 'irrealis; future'

This suffix is used to indicate that the action of the verb will take place some time into the future. Phonologically, it is unusual in that it apocopes the first person singular subject cross-reference marker, -li,

reducing it to -l-, and also the first person plural suffix of Class IIA, -híli, reducing it to -híl-, as in the following example:

- 214a) hopó:ni-li-laho-V
 COOK-1ss-irrealis-phr:term
 /hopó:nillahq/
 'I will cook it.'
- b) hopó:n-híli-laho-V
 COOK-1pls(IIA)-irrealis-phr:term
 /hopóhillahq/
 'We will cook it.'

This suffix is of frequent occurrence, and can occur with the tense suffixes to form compound tenses. The following are examples of the use of -laho-:

- 215) tamó:ka-p talkí:ci-laho-:li-má:mi-mp
 NIGHT-new:top FREEZE-irrealis-deduc-dubit-hearsay
 /tamó:kap talkí:cilaho:limá:mimp/
 'They say that tonight there will perhaps be freezing weather.'
- 216) ayakhá:c-áska-ŷn ná:s-o-t ómmito-ho-k cim-ho:pá:ci-laho-V
 APPROACH-2pls(IIIB)-neg:imp WHAT-be-conn BE-realis-ss 2sdat-HURT-irrealis-phr:term
 /ayakha:caskan. ná:sot ómmitohok cjho:pá:cilahq/
 'Do ye not approach it! Whatever it is will hurt you!'
- 217) ataká:-ci-:fó:k táh-ci-laho-k óm
 HANG(sg)-2ss(IIA)-when TAN-2ss(IIA)-irrealis-ss BE
 /ataká:ci:fó:k táhcilahok óm/
 'When you hang it up, it is the case that you will be tanning it.'
- 218) paká:li-laho-V iho,kí,:c-o-n
 FLOWER-irrealis-phr:term BE:LONG:TIME,3neg(IIC),-neg:compl-sw
 /paká:lilahq ihokí:con/
 'It will flower soon.'

It is possible to negate the futurity of the action without negating the action itself. This is accomplished by verbalizing the verb phrase with the

emphatic, copular suffix -o- and negating the suffix according to its (IIICii) pattern, as in the following examples:

- 219) nihtá-k ká:no-lah-o-kko-ŷ
 DAY-subj BE:GOOD-irrealis-be-neg(IIICii)-phr:term
 /nihták ká:nolahokkø/
 'Today will not be a good day.'
- 220) ná:s-ok st-im-acíhba-lah-o-kko-:s
 SOMETHING-subj:foc instr-3dat-BE:SAD-irrealis-be-3neg(IIICii)-IPast
 /ná:sok stimacíhbalahokko:s/
 'There will not be anything to be sorry about.'

The following examples illustrate the use of -laho- to form compound tenses.

- 221) iposkanahlí:ci-:fó:k-on iposkanáhka-laho-to=máhco-k
 SPOIL:CHILDREN-when-sw BE:SPOILED-irrealis-IIIIPast=encl-ss
 /iposkanahlí:ci:fó:kon iposkanáhkalahoto máhcok/
 'When he spoiled them, they would be somewhat spoiled.'
- 222) á:tosi-k im-hofánti-laho-to-ŷ
 BABY-subj 3dat-BE:BORN-irrealis-IIIIPast-phr:term
 /á:tosik ihofántilahoto/
 'She was going to have a baby.'

-laha- 'irrealis; future'

This suffix is very much rarer than -laho- and is restricted in occurrence. It only occurs in word-final position, and can only be followed by the nasalizing phrase terminal marker or an enclitic. It is a more emphatic form than -laho- and indicates that the action will indeed occur.²¹ The following are examples of its use:

- 223) ʔafí winíhka-:k kasát-híkko-laha-ŷ
 WINTER THUNDER-subjunct BE:COLD-3neg(IIIA)-irrealis-phr:term
 /ʔafí winíhka:k kasáthíkkolahø/
 'If it thunders in winter, the weather will not be cold.'

- 224) a:t-im-biní:-hác-áhi-k ót-háci-laha-ŷ
 someone-3dat-VISIT-2pls(IIA)-intent-ss ARRIVE:THERE-2pls(IIA)-irrealis-
 phr:term

/a:timbiní:hácáhi k óthácilahə/

'You all will go over there so that you might visit people.'

- 225) há:co-laha=máhco-ŷ
 BE:FOOLISH-irrealis=encl-phr:term

/há:colaha máhcə/

'That would be just like foolishness!'

- 226) am-ittihápk-on ittihápli-l-laha-ŷ
 1poss-ENEMY-obj:foc FIGHT-1ss-irrealis-phr:term

/amittihápkon ittiháplillahə/

'I will fight my enemy.'

-toho- 'realis; preterite'

This is an extremely common suffix. It indicates that the action of the verb has been completed, but without any indications as to the time of ending. The following are examples of this suffix:

- 227) niwalinci-fá híni-k hasáyka-fíhna-toho-ŷ
 PN-in ROAD-subj BE:MANY-adv-realism-phr:term

/niwalincifá nínik hasáykafíhnatohə/

'The roads in New Orleans were too many.'

- 228) naksofón mat-fápli-,ŷ?ŷ,-sa. falámmitohto:li:s kasátk-á:ho:si:s
 WHERE afar-BE:WINDY-,Q,-IPast NORTH-realism-deduc-IPast BE:COLD-adv-IPast

A: /naksofón matfapli'fásá./ B: /falámmitohto:li:s. kasátká:ho:si:s/

A: From whence does the wind blow? B: It is from the north.²² It is very cold.'

- 229) iskaník on-a-a:ta-toho-n kámmi-n apísli-li-t
 INSECT-subj loc-gen:loc-DWELL (sg)-realism-sw BE:SO-sw THROW:AWAY (pl) -1ss-Past

/iskaník onaá:tatohon, kámmi n apíslilit/

'There was a bug living in it, so I threw them away.'

- 230) nokkó-k okí st-im-oktipásli-toho-ŷ
 BEAVER-subj WATER instr-3dat-DAM-realís-phr:term

/nokkók okí stimoktipásli-tohə/

'The beaver dammed up the water with it.'

-toha- 'realis; perfect'

This suffix is as rare in comparison with **-toho-** as **-laha-** is in comparison to **-laho-**. This suffix is used to indicate that the action has been completed, and thus is equivalent to the perfect. This suffix is also like **-laha-** in that only the nasalizing phrase terminal marker or an enclitic may follow it. One unusual feature of **-toha-** is that when suffixed to the sequence **-o:t-o-** (which is the article-suffix meaning 'deceased,' when speaking of persons with the verbalizer **-o-**) is followed by **-toha-** the sequence collapses into **-o:toha-**.

The following are examples of the use of **-toha-**:

- 231) mó:toho-n ho-báski-ŷhco-toho-k ho-koyóffi-toha-ŷ
 BE:THEN-sw dist-LONG-habit-realís-ss dist-CUT(sg)-realís-phr:term

/mó:tohon hobaskíhcotohok hokoyóffitoḥə/

'Then, it (their hair) was habitually long and each of them has cut it.'

- 232) itt-í:bi-t fayáhli-toha-ŷ
 recip-KILL-conn QUIT(pl)-realís-phr:term

/ittí:bit fayáhlitoḥə/

'They have quit killing each other.'

- 233) pihoyí-k boticobá halk-ó:t-o-toha-ŷ
 PN-subj PN WIFE-art-be-realís-phr:term

/pihoyik boticobá halkó:toḥə/

'Pihoyi was the now-deceased wife of Boticoba.'

SLOT 7) DEDUCTION

This slot is filled by the single suffix **-:li-**. This suffix is used to indicate that the fact that an action has occurred or will occur is deduced by the speaker, or in combination with the hearsay suffix **-mpa-**, that it was deduced by

someone else, from whom the speaker heard it told. The following are examples of the use of this suffix:

- 234) if-ó-:li-:s
DOG-be-deduc-IPast

/ifó:li:s/

'One might guess that it is a dog.'
- 235) akkó á:ti im-f:s-o-:li-má:m
THAT PERSON 3poss-HOUSE-be-deduc-dubit

/akkó á:ti imí:so:limá:m/

'One might think that it is that person's house, perhaps.'
- 236) hopahki-tik cayáhli-sk-o-:li-k skólka sobáy-híli-ŷhco:li-k
BE:FAR-but WALK-conseq-be-deduc-ss SCHOOL KNOW-1pls(IIA)-custom-IVPast

/hopáhkitik cayáhlisko:lik skólka sobáyhílihco:lik/

'Even though it was far, and it can be deduced one had to walk, we used to go to (know things at) school.'
- 237) cokfí-k ilaksá:mo-:li-mpa-ŷhco-k
RABBIT-subj SUFFER:FROM:HUBRIS-deduc-hearsay-habit-IVPast

/cokfík ilakasá:mo:limpáhcok/

'Rabbit suffered from hubris, so it is said.'
- 238) m-ók ómmito-ŷ acíhli-n onap-ó-:li-:s
THAT-subj:foc BE-IIIIPast-phr:term PLANT-sw SLAVE-be-deduc-IPast

/mók ómmito acíhlin onapó:li:s/

'It was thus: one can assume they were slaves for planting.'

SLOT 8) MODALITY

This slot is filled with five suffixes, none of which are very common. All of them indicate that there is some modification of the action of the verb; because some of the modifications are modal in character, the slot has been given the title of modality.

-a:pi- 'almost'

This suffix indicates that the action was on the point of occurring, yet

did not occur. The following are examples of its use:

- 239) im-ho:pá:ci-l-á:pi-ǁhco-k am-máttat-t
3dat-HURT-1ss-modal-habit-ss 1sstats-MISS-Past

/jho:pá:ci lá:píhcok ammáttat/

'I almost injured him, but I missed.'

- 240) sobáyli-li-halpí:s-á:p-ok
KNOW-1ss-ability-modal-ss:foc

/sobáyli lihalpí:sá:pok/

'I ought to be able to know that...'

When phrases with suffixes such as -á:pi- are negated, the position of the negative cross-referencing morpheme differs with the scope of the negation. This can be illustrated by the following example:

- 241a) ca-támm-á:pi-t
1sstats-FALL (sg)-modal-Past

/catámmá:pit/

'I almost fell.'

- b) ca-tán-k-á:pi-t
1sstats-FALL-3neg (IIA)-modal-Past

/catánká:pit/

'I almost didn't fall.'

- c) ca-támm-á:pi-títko-t
1sstats-FALL-modal-3neg (IIICi)-Past

/catámmá:pitíkkot/

'I didn't almost fall.'

In such cases as those shown above, if the action of the verb is to be negated, the regular negative form of the verb root is used; if the modification indicated by a verbal suffix is to be negated, the third person negative suffix typical of Class IIICi follows the element to be negated (except for those few suffixes which have a special negative form.)

The suffix -á:pi-, in combination with the deductive suffix -:li- forms a

complex that is suffixed to nouns with the meaning 'it is nothing more than you can expect from.' The following is an example of this complex:²³

242) mikko-s-o-:l-á:p-ok tokná:wa bàn
CHIEF-dim-be-deduc-modal-ss:foc MONEY WANT

/mikkoso:lá:pok tokná:wa bàn/

'It is nothing more than you can expect from Little Chief; he wants money.'

-ahpi- 'merely' 'just'

This suffix indicates that simply the action of the verb is occurring and no other action is happening. The following are examples of this suffix:

243) atanáhka-t hí:ca-t í:sa-t atanáhka-t hí:ca-t í:sa-t kámmit í:s-áhpí-n
TURN-conn SEE-conn DWELL(pl)-conn TURN-conn SEE-conn DWELL(pl)-conn
BE:S0-conn DWELL(pl)-modal-sw

/atanáhkát hí:cat í:sat atanáhkát hí:cat í:sat kánt í:sáhpín/

'They kept on turning and looking at it, turning and looking at it; they merely kept on so, and...'

244) im-aybá:ci-:p ik-há:l-o-k cilítka-t fáy-k-áhpí-n
3dat-FORBID-subjunc 3neg(IA)-HEAR-neg:comp-ss PLEAD-conn QUIT-3neg(IIA)-
modal-sw

/imaybá:ci:p ikhá:lok cilítkat fáykáhpín/

'When he forbade him, the other did not listen to him and just would not stop pleading with him, and...'

245) tám-áhp-ok ilihá:l-ok ilkoyóhlin
LIE-modal-ss:foc AWAKE-ss:foc MOVE-sw

/támmáhpok ilihá:lok ilkoyóhlin/

'He just lay there, and wakened, and moved.'

246) ok-ó-:li-ska-n sán-ko-n fáyl-áhp-ok
WATER-be-deduc-conseq-sw BE:ABLE-3neg(IIA)-sw QUIT-modal-ss:foc

/okó:liskan sánkon fáyláhpok/

'Because they could tell it was the sea, they could not (run) and quit trying.'

-má:ti- 'must' 'would'

This suffix, which is the most common of the modal suffixes, is used in two

ways. One is to indicate the action is unrealized; the other to indicate that the action is the only possible one under the circumstances. The first use can be translated with 'were one' followed by the infinitive; exemplified by 247-249. The second use can be translated by the word 'only,' and is exemplified by 250-252.

- 247) ohayyí mí:taka-p iltóhno-li-má:ti-t ná:s-on có:pa-li-t
 YEAR LAST-new:top WORK-1ss-modal-conn SOMETHING-obj:foc BUY-1ss-Past
 /ohayyí mi:takap iltóhnohimá:tit ná:son có:palit/
 'Were I to have worked last year, I would have bought something.'
- 248) tabahk-campó:li-n ám-híska-má:ti-on í:pa-l-o-ŷ
 BREAD-SWEET-obj GIVE:TO:ME-2ss(IIIA)-modal-sw:foc EAT-1ss-be-phr:term
 /tabakcampó:lin áhískamá:ti-on í:palq/
 'Were you to give me some cake, I'd eat it.'
- 249) iltóhno-l-áhi-má:ti-ŷhco-k óm
 WORK-1ss-intent-modal-habit-ss BE
 /iltóhnoháhimá:tihcok óm/
 'It is the case that I would have to be working.'
- 250) caht-ón há:lo-má:ti-ŷhco-tik naí:ka-t sán-ko-ŷhci
 CHOCTAW-obj:foc HEAR-modal-habit-but SPEAK-ss CAN-3neg(IIA)-progress
 /cahtón há:lomá:tihcotik, naí:kat sánkóhci/
 'She only understands Choctaw; she cannot speak it.'
- 251) pí:la pa-il-nó:c-á-má:ti ká:ha-toho-:li-mpa-ŷ
 JUST 1pls(IA)-SLEEP-intent-modal SAY-realis-deduc-hearsay-phr:term
 /"pí:la painnó:cámá:ti," ká:hatoho:limpah/
 '"We will just merely sleep on it," he said, so it is reported.'
- 252) athómma ihó:ca-k í:sa-fó:ka-p pí:la bí:li-má:ti-ok í:sa-to-ŷ
 INDIAN LONG:AGO-subj DWELL(pl)-when-new:top JUST DANCE-modal-ss:foc
 DWELL(pl)-III Past phr:term
 /athómma ihó:cak í:sa;fó:kap, pí:la bí:limá:tiok í:satow/
 'When the Indians of long ago lived, they just merely kept on dancing.'

-:sahá:wa- 'must be; might be'

This suffix is used to indicate that the speaker is supposing that an action is occurring; she is making an educated guess as to what is happening.

253) ó:la-fon a tí:ya-:sahá:w-ok a:t-íkso-ŷ
TOWN-all GO (sg)-modal-ss:foc someone-NOT:EXIST-phr:term

/ó:lafon a tí:ya:sahá:wok a:tíksq/

'She must have gone to town; no one is at home.'

254) á:t-ok hó:pa-:sahá:w-on oh-hí:c-áhi-k amá:k
PERSON-subj:foc BE:SICK-modal-sw:foc go:&-SEE-intent-ss GO (pl) (imp)

/á:tok hó:pa:sahá:won ohhí:cáhi:k amá:k/

'Someone might be sick, go over and look, you all!'

255) ho:pa-toho-:li-:sahá:w-ok koyá,N,b-o:si-:s
BE:SICK-realis-deduc-modal-ss:foc BE:WEAK,n:grade,-dim-IPast

/hó:patoho:li:sahá:wok koyábo:si:s/

'She must have gotten sick, she is really very weak looking.'

-yá:li- 'occasionally; superficially'

This suffix is used to indicate that the action of the verb is marked by only occasional occurrence, or that the actor performs the action to only a small degree.

256) ittó is-hí:ca-:p himá:ya yámmi-:p
TREE 2ss(IA)-SEE-subjunct NOW BE:S0-subjunct

ho-nó:ci-toho-yá:l-ok hí:si óhya-k im-ciťátli-ŷhci
distr-SLEEP-realis-modal-ss:foc LEAF ALL-subj 3dat-FALL(pl)-progress

/ittó ishí:ca:p himá:ya yámmi:p honó:citohoyá:lok hí:si óhyak
inciťatlíhci/

'If you see the trees nowadays, the ones which occasionally went to sleep, all their leaves fall from them.'

257) yámmi-fa-p okťaspi-fá-p kil-hí:c-o-yá:li-ŷhco-k
BE:S0-in-new:top SWAMP-in-new:top 1plneg(IA)-SEE-neg:comp-modal-habit-ss

/yámmifap okťaspifáp kilhí:coya:líhcok/

'But in suchlike places, in swamps, we do not even occasionally see them.'

- 258) .akkámmi-ska-n thátka-k im-awí:c-íkko-Ŵhco-toho-yá:l-ok
BE:SO-conseq-sw WHITE:PERSON-subj 3dat-HELP-3neg(IIB)-habit-realis-
modal-ss:foc

okí-k o:w-í:bi-Ŵhci
WATER-subj loc-KILL-progress

/akkámmiskan, thátkak imawí:cikkóhcotohoyá:l ok okík o:wi:bíhci/

'Because of this, that the white people did not even occasionally help it (flow), the water drowns them.'

SLOT 9 DUBITATIVE

This slot is filled by the suffix -má:mi-, which has the apocopated form -má-, and by the suffix -má:s. These suffixes are used to indicate that the speaker has doubts about the possibility or occurrence of an action.

-má:mi- 'perhaps; maybe'

This suffix is the most common form of the dubitative.

- 259) im-í:sa st-im-aholihtá:ci-má:mi-Ŵh st-im-atanahlí:ci:-p
3poss-HOUSE instr-3dat-FENCE-dubit-delay instr-3dat-ENCIRCLE-subjunct

mo:lihalpí:s ká,h,ha-n
WOULD:THAT:IT:WERE SAY,h:grade,-sw

/'imí:sa stimaholihtá:ci:má:mjh. stimateanahlí:ci:p mo:lihalpí:s,"
káhhan/

'"Fence in his house, perhaps!" Would that it be encircled!" he said.'

- 260) á:ya-t ałí:ya-k oht-iltóhno-má:mi-k łóyka-t á:ta-t
GO:ABOUT (sg)-conn GO (sg)-ss go:&-WORK-dubit-ss RETURN (sg)-conn DWELL
(sg)-conn

/á:yat ałí:yak ohtiltóhnomá:mik łóykat á:tat/

'He went about and went away, maybe he went and worked, and he came back and stayed, and...'

- 261) talkí:ci-laho:li-má:mi-mp
BE:FREZZING-irrealis-deduc-dubit-hearsay

/talkí:ci-laho:limá:mimp/

'They say that it will perhaps be freezing weather.'

- 262) yilahá-k kalifó:niya-f-o-:li-má:m
ORANGE-subj PN-in-be-deduc-dubit

/yilahák kalifó:niyafolimám/

'The oranges may be from California.'

The apocopated form -má- is used when the suffix -Vhco- follows. The string that results, -máhco-, has the meaning of 'ever' or 'never,' as in the following examples.

- 263) afán-hákko-má:mi-Vhco-V ca-sobáy-ko-V
MEET-1sneg(IIIA)-dubit-habit-phr:term 1sstats-KNOW-3neg(IIA)-phr:term
/afáhákkomáhco. casobáyko/

'I have never met him. I do not know him.'

- 264) akkó á:ti-k ná:si akkámni ik-hí:c-o-má:mi-Vhco-:li-sk
THAT PERSON-subj WHAT BE:SO 3neg(IA)-SEE-neg:comp-dubit-habit-deduc-
conseq

małáhli-k ómni-toho-:li-mpa-Vhco-k
BE:AFRAID(pl)-ss BE-realis-deduc-hearsay-habit-IVPast

/akkó á:tik ná:si akkámni ikhí:comáhco:lisk, małáhlík
ómmitoho:limpáhco/

'Because they had never seen such people as those, it is said that they were afraid.'

-má:s dubitative of observation

This suffix is one of the rarest, with very few occurrences noted. It is historically derived from the word final form of -má:mi-, -má:m followed by the excrescent phrase terminal marker -ś (for a discussion of which see below). With the obsolescence of the marker -ś, the form -má:ś became lexicalized as -má:s. This suffix seems to be used to indicate that the speaker is dubious about an action she is in the process of observing. The following is the only unequivocal example of the use of this suffix.

265) kolosí-k ílli-má:s
CHICKEN-subj DIE(sg)-dubit

/kolosík íllimá:s/

'The chicken is perhaps finally dead.' (Spoken while watching it die.)

SLOT 10 HEARSAY

This slot is filled by the single suffix -mpa-, which is one of the most frequently occurring suffixes in the language. It is used to indicate that the speaker has knowledge of the action only through the words of others. As such it may mean that the knowledge is second-hand, or it can be used of first hand knowledge being reported to another. In the latter case, it is used as a way to incorporate quoted speech into an utterance. Using this suffix, the example 266a can be transformed into 266b:

266a) ónka-k tálwa-l ká:ha-:s
QUOTH-ss SING-1ss SAY-IPast

/ónkak, "tálwal," ká:ha:s/

'He says, "I sing."

266b) tálwa-mp
SING-hearsay

/tálwamp/

'He says that he sings.'

Because of the distinctive 'ónkak-ká:han' frame for most Koasati quoted speech, the sentence in 266a can never be construed as referring to the speaker, as an English translation can. Compare with 266c below.

266c) tálwa-li-mp
SING-1ss-hearsay

/tálwalimp/

'He says that I sing.'

This is one example which shows the difficulty of applying Transformational Grammar to Koasati. On a deep level, the ónkak-ká:han frame has to be e valent to -mpa-, yet that suffix has no phonological or morphological simi- larity to the frame. This also does not take into account that if the subject of the verb encompassed by the frame is the second person, in order for the suffix -mpa- to operate correctly, the verb must be trans- formed from a second person form to a first person form, if the addressee is the one who is repeating the quoted speech. If the frame contains a first person form (a third person subject speaking of herself), then the first person form must be transformed into a third person when -mpa- is to be suffixed. However, this formal complexity is not reflected in the actual simplicity with which speakers employ the suffix.

The following are examples of the use of the hearsay suffix.

- 267) á:ti caffá:ka-t walí:ka-:si-t ónti-toho-k í:l-ok
PERSON BE:ONE-conn RUN(sg)-dim-conn COME(sg)-realis-ss ARRIVE-ss:foc

á:t-ok palkí-k nok-koyóffi-mpa-:s.
DWELL(sg)-ss:foc TRAIN-subj loc-CUT(sg)-hearsay-IPast

naks-ó-:li-k sobáy-ko-mpa-:s ká:ha-to-ŷ
WHO-be-deduc-ss KNOW-3neg(IIA)-hearsay-IPast SAY-IIIIPast-phr:term

/á:ti caffá:kat walí:ka:sit óntitohok í:lók á:tok, 'palkík
nokkoyóffimpa:s. naksó:lik sobáykompa:s,' ká:hatq/

'One person came running with all his might, arrived, stayed and said, 'A train has cut off someone's head, they say. They say they don't know who it is.''

- 268) thátka tayyí-k sobáyka bàнна-mpa-n
WHITE:PERSON FEMALE TO:KNOW WANT-hearsay-sw

/thátka tayyík sobáyka bànnampan/

'The white women say they want to know it, and...'

- 269) wáyka-t nakáṭṭa-toho-:li-mpa-k copokṭinítká-k
FLY (sg)-conn GO:OFF (sg)-realis-deduc-hearsay-IVPast HUMMINGBIRD-subj

/wáykat nakáṭtoho:límpak copokṭinítká-k/

'Hummingbird flew off, so it is said.'

- 270) am-apó á:ta-to sobáyka bàнна-mpa-k am-asilhá:ci-sk
1poss-GRANDMOTHER DWELL (sg)-III Past TO:KNOW WANT-hearsay-ss 1sdatt-
ASK-conseq

/amapó á:tato sobáyka bannampak amasilhá:cisk/

'Because he asked me about it, saying he wanted to know my grandmother's way of life in the past...'

Numerous other examples of this suffix can be found in this chapter and elsewhere throughout this dissertation.

SLOT 11 · AUDITORY

This slot is filled by the single suffix -hawa-, which has the word-final form -ha. It is used to indicate that the speaker knows of the action through hearing, but not seeing, the action occur. The word-final form is unusual; it should be *-haw. Perhaps originally the suffix was *-hahwa-; in final position it would have had the form *-hahw, which would have been pronounced *[haAW], with the final two elements devoiced. Then the devoiced elements would have been lost, as is what happened to form the apocopated form of the adverbial suffix -fíhna-, -fí-. Afterwards, the medial form *-hahwa- would have been restructured as -hawa-, as the cluster /hw/ does not occur in monomorphemic words in Koasati. The following are examples of the use of this suffix.

- 271) nipók aksóhka-ha
MEAT-subj CHAR-audit

/nipók aksóhkaha/

'It sounds like the meat is charring.'

- 272) fápli-yá:li-hawa-t
BE:WINDY-ability-audit-Past

/fápliyá:lihawat/

'One could hear the wind occasionally.'
- 273) ihá:ni-k atawohlí:ci-ha
EARTH-subj REVERBERATE-audit

/ihá:nik atawohlí:ciha/

'One can hear the earth reverberating.'
- 274) ifá-k wasahwohó:ka-k atawohká:ci-hawa-:s
DOG-subj BARK:IN:PACK:AFAR-ss ECHO-audit-IPast

/ifák wasahwohó:kak atawohká:cihawa:s/

'One can hear the barking of the dog pack echoing from afar.'

This suffix seems to be related to the suffixes -há:wa- 'possibly;' and -há?wá, 'rhetorical question' (see below).

SLOT 12 TENSE

This slot is filled by the four past tense suffixes, as well as the temporal suffix -:fó:ka-, and the negative imperative suffix -ǎnna-.

The Past Tense Suffixes

The past tense suffixes are the following: I Past, -:sa-; II Past, -ti-; III Past, -to-; and IV Past, -ki-. These suffixes indicate at what point in time past an action took place, and they are ordered in relation to each other. The word-final forms of the II Past and III Past suffixes are identical, -t-, and for this reason, it seems that the II Past suffix is falling rapidly out of use, with very few occurrences being noted, in contrast to the other three tense suffixes, which are all extremely common.

The Past I suffix, -:sa- indicates that the action is taking place out of the experience of the hearer of the utterance. This means that it can refer to present as well as recent past time.

The Past II suffix, -ti- as mentioned above, is quite rare. It indicates that the action is in the past, but very recently.

The Past III suffix, -to-, in contrast, is the most common of all the tense suffixes. It indicates that the action took place in the past, from several hours to several years ago.

The Past IV suffix, -ki-, indicates that the action took place many years ago. There is frequent overlap in the use of -to- and -ki- in referring to many years in the past; however, it is most common for a speaker to use -to- when referring to personal experiences, even when sixty or seventy years in the past, and to use -ki- when referring to actions performed by others at such a length of time. One reason may be that the tense suffix -ki- is used in traditional narrative as almost the sole tense suffix, and so has strong connotations of mythological time. The following are examples of the use of the various tense suffixes:

-:sa-

- 275) naksofón mat-fápli-,^{ʋʋ},^{ʋʋ},^{-sa}. okamahálí-toho-:li-:s lókb-á:ho:si-:s
WHERE afar-BE:WINDY-,Q,-IPast BE:SOUTH-realís-deduc-IPast BE:WARM-adv-IPast

/naksofón matfaplíʋsá. okamahlítoho:li:s lókbá:ho:si:s/

'From whence blows the wind? It seems to be from the south; it is very warm.'

- 276) bápti-l-áhi-:s
BE:BAPTIZED-lss-intent-IPast

/báptiláhi:s/

'I intend to be baptized.'

- 277) ná:s-ok sá,^{ʋʋ},^{ʋʋ},^{mmi} ci-sammí,^{ʋʋ},^{ʋʋ},:ci sámmin on-ci-,^{ʋʋ},^{ʋʋ},^{-sa} ká,h,ha-n
WHAT-subj:foc BE:HOW,Q, 2sstats-DO:HOW,Q, BE:HOW-sw BE-2ss(IIA)-,Q,-IPast
SAY,h:grade,-sw

/ná:sok sáʋmí. cisammíʋcí. sámmin oncíʋsá kághan/

'"What is it like?" "How are you doing?" "How was it for you?" they said.'

- 278) món á:ti-k ísko-má:l-ok yámmi-ti-tik
ALSO PERSON-subj DRINK-adv-ss:foc BE:SO-IIPast-but

/món á:tik ískomá:l-ok yámmittitik/

'Also, it was like people just drank, but...'

- 279) at-có:ba-k ibi-foská:ci-ti yámmi-t
PERSON-OLD-subj loc-BE:WRINKLED-1IPast BE:SO-conn
/atcó:bak ibifoská:citi yámmi/
'The old people were sort of wrinkle-faced, and...'
- 280) ónt-ok skól-hílka-to-n
COME (sg/du)-ss:foc GO:TO:SCHOOL-1pls(111A)-111Past-sw
/óntok skólhílkaton/
'We two came and we went to school.'
- 281) naksofón oh-haccá:li-t mat-hí:ca-to-ŷ
WHERE go:&-STAND (sg)-conn afar-SEE-111Past-phr:term
/naksofón ohhaccá:lit mathí:catq/
'He went and stood somewhere and looked out.'
- 282) an-áp am-íkso-ŷhco:li-k paló-k
I-new:top 1sdat-NOT:EXIST-custom-IVPast FLYING:SQUIRREL
/anáp amíksóhco:lik palók/
'As for me, I never used to have a flying squirrel.'
- 283) mat-koyóff-ok im-libátl-ok ínka-t í:pa-toho-:li-mpa-ŷhco-k
afar-CUT (sg)-ss:foc 3dat-COOK-ss:foc GIVE:TO:HIM EAT-realís-deduc-hearsay-
habit-IVPast
/matkoyóffok illibátlok ínkat í:patoho:limpáhcok/
'He cut it off, and cooked it for him, and gave it to him to eat, so
it is said.'

-:fó:ka- 'when''while'

This suffix is used to indicate that while one action is in progress, another is about to take place, or is taking place, and so is equivalent to the English words when and while. The two subjunctive suffixes -:p and -:k, are similar semantically to -:fó:ka- in that they also can be translated as 'when.' However, the subjunctive suffixes are used when the action is either unrealized or generalized, and -:fó:ka- is used when the action is actual or specific. This suffix has cognates in Hichiti -kfoki (Gatschet, 1884:143) and Mikasuki -hkok- (←-fkoki-; Boynton, 1982:174), as well as Apalachee -foka (Smith, 1860). The suffix -:fó:ka- is listed here with the tense suffixes, because they are mutually exclusive .

The suffix rejects occurrence with suffixes indicating time in general, but it will rarely occur with the realis/irrealis suffixes. The following are examples of the use of the suffix -:fó:ka-:

- 284) mó:toho-k paká:li-k fáyli-:fó:k-ok ańí-k solótka-toho-:fó:k-on
BE:THEN-ss FLOWER-subj QUIT-when-ss:foc BERRY-subj DRY-realis-when-sw:foc

iptó-k í:pa-Ŵhci
SQUIRREL-subj EAT-progress

/mó:tohok paká:lik fáyli:fó:kok ańík solótkatoho:fókon iptók ipáhci/

'And then, when it finishes flowering, when its berries have dried, the squirrels eat them.'

- 285) akkám̄mi-t hamát-hílka-:fó:k-on im-olpínó-k mí:ta-Ŵhco:li-sk
BE:S0-conn BE:MIXED-1pls(IIIA)-when-sw:foc 3poss-INSTRUCTION-subj
BE:DIFFERENT-custom-conseq

it̄ta-fáy-híl̄i-to-k
recip-QUIT-1pls(IIA)-IIIPast-ss

/kánt hamáthí!ka:fó:kon olpínók mí:táhco:lisk it̄tafáyhílitok/

'When we are mixed so, and because their culture is different, we give it (our culture) up, and...'

- 286) akkám̄mi-:fó:k-on akkám̄mi-tik fáy-takko-Ŵhco-k anó-k im-aybá:ci-li-k
BE:S0-when-sw:foc BE:S0-even:though QUIT-1sneg(IIA)-habit-ss 1-subj
3dat-FORBID-1ss-ss

/kám̄mi:fó:kon akkántik fáytakkóhcok anók imaybá:cilik/

'...while this is so, even though it is so, I do not quit instructing them in proper behavior.'

- 287) tóf-cíikko-:p kán-ko-Ŵhci ká:ha-:fo:k-on o,li,hya-k il-ká:ha-:k
SPIT-2ss-IIIA)-subjunct GOOD-3neg(IIA)-progress SAY-when-sw:foc ALL,1pls
(IIC)-subj 1pls(!A)-SAY-subjunct

tóf-hílka-Ŵhco:li-k kám̄m-o:s-á-Ŵ
SPIT-1pls(IIIA)-custom-ss BE:SP²-dim-intent-phr:term

/'tóf-cíikko:p kánkóhci," ká:ha;fó:kon olíhyak ilká:k tófhílkáhco:lik
kám̄mo:sá/

'When they said, "If you do not spit, it is not good," we all habitually spit when we say one. It will be just so much (that I know).'

- 288) iscob-ók yá:li íkso-:fó:ka-p
CHURCH-subj:foc HERE NOT:EXIST-when-new:top

/iscobók yá:li íkso:fó:kap/

'When the (Christian) church did not exist here...'

-V́nna- 'negative imperative'

This form, suffixed to a verb with its positive subject cross-reference affixes, forms the negative imperative of the verb. Two examples will be given here; for a greater discussion of this suffix in the context of the system of imperatives, see Chapter 6.

289) ca-wá:ci-V́n
1subj-WAIT:FOR-neg:imp

/cawa:cín/

'Let him not wait for me!'

290) ho,cí,cca-V́nna-Vh ná:s-on sám̃mi-V́hco-k o,V?V,m̃mi
SHOOT:AT,2ss(IIC),-neg:imp-delay WHAT-obj:foc BE:HOW-habit-ss BE,Q,

il-hí:c-ásk má-p ká,h,ha-n
1pl s(IA)-SEE-1pl imp THAT-new:top SAY,h:grade,-sw

/'hocicánnah. ná:son sammíhcó?mí. ilhi:cásk máp," káhhan/

''Do not then shoot at him! What is it that he is doing? Let us watch that!'' he said.'

SLOT 13 CONSEQUENCE

The suffixes that fill this slot function to indicate that there is some kind of consequence related to the action of the verb to which they are affixed. There are four suffixes in this slot: -:p, -:k, -ska- and -y-.

-:p- 'if; when' Subjunctive I

This suffix is used to indicate the action of the verb is unreal or potential. It can be translated by the word 'if' or 'when,' when the latter word is used to indicate an unreal occurrence. Certain verbs and particles require this suffix on the verb that they govern, such as á:lon 'to hope that;'
akostiní:cin 'to think that;'
sobbáylin 'to remember that;'
mo:lá 'would that;'
and mó:lihalpí:s 'would that it were.'

- 291) paká:li-k hacim-ná:ho:-p ohayyí óhya-n hacim-biní:l-o-ŷ
FLOWER-subj 2pldat-EXIST-subjunct SUMMER ALL-adv 2pldat-VISIT-be-phr:term
/paká:lik hacinná:ho:p ohayyí óhyan hacimbiní:lq/
'If you all have flowers, they can visit you all summer.'
- 292) má-p cákli-t st-ilá:-ci-t stapahca má:mi apahcá:ci-t nó:ta í:sa-to-ŷ
THAT-new:top CHOP-conn instr-ARRIVE-pl-conn ARBOR LIKE CAUSE:TO SHADE-conn
UNDERNEATH DWELL(pl)-III Past-phr:term
lókba:-p
BE:WARM-subjunct
/máp cákli:t stilá:ci:t stapahca má:mi apahcá:ci:t nó:ta í:satq lókba:p/
'Now, they cut that and brought it and made a shady place like an arbor
and dwelt underneath if the weather were warm.'
- 293) akohcó:si-p ká:ha:-p acó:b-on ónk
OLD:FEMALE-new:top SAY-subjunct OLD:PERSON-obj:foc BE(intrans)
/'akohcó:sip' ká:ha:p acó:bon ónk/
'Now if one says 'akohcó:si,' it means an old person.'
- 294) opá-k naksá:ka:-p im-maťáhli-yá:li-ŷhco-toho-ŷ athómma-k
OWL-subj MAKE:NOISE-subjunct 3dat-FEAR(pl)-adv-habit-real is-phr:term
INDIAN-subj
/opák naksá:ka:p immaťáhliyá:líhcotohow athómmak/
'When the barred owl called, the Indians were at times afraid of it.'
- 295) ká:no-n amá:-hílka:-p á:lo-li-k
BE:GOOD-adv GO(pl)-IplS(IIIA)-subjunct HOPE-Iss-ss
/ká:non amá:hílka:p á:lolik/
'I hope that we might continue on well.'
- 296) im-akostin,hílí,:c-ok im-má:y-híli:-p mó:li-halpí:s ká,h,ha-n
3dat-KNOW,IplS(II B),-ss:foc 3dat-DEFEAT-subjunct WOULD:THAT-ability SAY,
h:grade,-sw
/'imakostjihilí:cok immáyhili:p mólihalpí:s," káhhhan/
'We know him, and would that we could defeat him," he said.'

The subjunctive suffix added to the h-grade (sáhmín) or the diminutive (sámno:sin) of the verb sámmín, 'to be how,' forms complexes that are lexicalized as the adverbs sáhmi:p 'sometimes (with some regularity)' and sámno:si:p, 'sometimes (not very frequently).'

-:k 'when' 'if' Subjunctive II

In contrast to the Subjunctive I suffix -:p, which is used to indicate that the action of the verb is only possible or unreal, the Subjunctive II suffix is used to indicate that the action is a generalized possibility. It is frequently used of actions that might be done to achieve a certain goal.

The following are examples of its use:

- 297) ilhó:si-:fó:k-ok ilhos-cobá-p naksofón haccá:li-t. ilhó:si-:k
BE:LOST-when-ss:foc LOST-BIG-new:top WHERE STAND-Past BE:LOST-subjunct
má:lo-n haytanáhka-t ołá-:ci-to-ŷ
ONLY-adv TURN:AROUND-conn ARRIVE:THERE-pl-III Past-phr:term
/ilhó:si:fó:kok ilhocobáp naksó:n haccá:lit. ilhó:si:k má:lon
haytanáhkat ołá:ciŷ/
'When one got lost, Great-One-Lost-in-the-Woods stood somewhere. When one got lost, one turned around and went back the same way.'
- 298) hassolwá ho-ló:ca itto-hayó wíhli-to-n st-í:la-:k atákli-toho-k
SPANISH:MOSS distr-BLACK TREE-loc LOOK:FOR-III Past-sw instr-ARRIVE-subjunct
HANG(pl)-realis-IV Past
'One looked for black Spanish moss in the forest and when one brought it back, one used to hang it up.'
- 299) pakamá:ci-t anó:li-:k sammí:ci-t iltohnó-:c-áhi-k pónná:ci-t
TAME-conn FINISH(pl)-subjunct DO:HOW-conn WORK-compul-intent-ss TEACH-conn
anó:li-:k píłka-t st-iltóhno-k ónka-ŷhci
FINISH(sg)-subjunct TAKE(pl)-conn instr-WORK-ss BE(intrans)-progress
/pakamá:cit anó:li:k sammí:cit iltohnó:cáhi:k pónná:cit anó:li:k píłkat
stiltóhnok ónkáhci/
'When they completely tame them, and when one finishes teaching them how to do work, it is the case that one takes them and uses them.'

When suffixed to the verb 'to be,' ómmin, the Subjunctive II suffix forms a complex that topicalizes the phrase which depends on it, as in the following example:

- 300) má himá:ya-p yamá nałihilká-k omni-:k iyón pa-í:sa-t thátka-k im-talibó:li-n
THAT NOW-new:top MOBILIAN LANGUAGE-subj BE-subjunct HERE loc-DWELL(pl)-conn
WHITE:PERSON 3dat-MAKE-sw
/má himá:yap yamá nałihilkák omni:k iyón paí:st thátkak intalibó:lin/
'That now; as for the Mobilian Trade Jargon, the white people living hereabouts made it up for them.'

-ska- 'because'

This suffix indicates that because of the action of the verb to which it is affixed, another action is about to come about. It is exactly equivalent to English statements of cause with the words 'because,' 'for' and 'since.'

The following are examples of the use of -ska-:

- 301) akkám̄mi-sk f́ó:si-k naksántik ibisá:ni ʔobófka-k
BE:SO-conseq BIRD-subj ANY:KIND:OF NOSE BE:PIERCED-ss

/kám̄misk f́ó:sik naksántik ibisá:ni ʔobófka-k/

'Because this is so, any kind of bird has a pierced beak.'
- 302) cokf́i-k cokí:bo-:si-Vhco:li-sk im-maʔátli-k
RABBIT-subj BE:SMALL-dim-custom-conseq 3dat-FEAR-ss

/cokf́ik cokí:bosco:lik immaʔátlik/

'Since Rabbit was quite small, he was afraid of him, and...'
- 303) im-asilhá:ci-toho-:li-mpa-Vhco-V?V,-to
3dat-ASK-realiz-deduc-hearsay-habit-IVPast CATCH (sg) -conseq-sw MOUSE

nas-ho-ca-mánka-Vhco-V?V,-to
WHAT-distr-1sobj-CALL-habit-,Q,-IIIPast

/imasilhá:citoho:limpáhkok tabátkaskan, "cissi nashocamánkahcóʔtó!"/

'It is said that he asked him, since he had caught him, 'Mouse! What do they all call me?''
- 304) má:mo:s-ok ilanawíhk-ó:ʔa-ska-n
BE:THEN-ss:foc HUNTING-BE:THERE-conseq-sw

/má:mo:sok ilanawíhkó:ʔaskan/

'And then, because hunting season was arriving...'

-y- 'contrary to expectation' 'but'

This suffix is used to indicate that the action following the action of the verb to which it is affixed is contrary to what one might expect to occur. It differs from -tik, 'but,' which occurs in Slot 14) and does not indicate that the speaker has any expectations as to what action might occur. This suffix may be followed only by -ok 'same subject, focus' or -on 'different suffix, focus,' and cannot occur in word-final position. This suffix may be related to the

nominal suffix ŷy, which is used in introducing a statement which is contrary to expectation. The following are examples of the use of the suffix -y-:

- 305) am-apó-k ónka-k hissí holtá:no-ŷhco:li-y-on athómma-k akkámmit-t
1sposs-GRANDMOTHER-subj QUOTH-ss HAIR BE:BRAIDED-custom-conseq-sw:foc
INDIAN-subj BE:S0-conn

í:sa-halpí:sa-ŷhco-toho-:li-n
DWELL(pl)-ability-habit-realís-deduc-sw

/amapók ónkak hissí holtá:nóhco:liyon athómmak kámmít í:sahalpíscotoho:lin/

'My grandmother said, "Their hair used to be braided, but contrary to what one might think, they used to be able to keep on in such a way."'

- 306) tabí im-í:si-y-on licífka-ŷhco:li-y-on anámpo fápli-k lakáwwi-n
LEG 3dat-TAKE(sg)-conseq-sw:foc PRESS:DOWN-custom-conseq-sw:foc ONCE:MORE
WIND-subj LIFT-sw

/tabí imí:siyon licífkáhco:liyon anámpo fáplik lakáwwin/

'Even though it took her leg, even though it had trapped her, once again the wind lifted it and...'

- 307) ili-halátka-t i,h,s-okha:láhka-y-ok tabí-k im-hó:pa-toho-:li-k
reflex-PULL-conn TAKE(sg),h:grade,-ss:foc MOVE-conseq-ss:foc LEG-subj
3dat-HURT-realís-deduc-IVPast

/ilihalátkat íhsok ha:láhkayok tabík jhó:patoho:lik/

'She pulled herself out but even though she took it and moved it, her leg was injured.'

- 308) iscoba-fón . amá:-hílka-laho-k ís-tílka-toho-:li-y-ok
CHURCH-all GO(pl)-1pls(IIIA)-irrealís-ss DWELL(pl)-1pls(IIICi)-realís-
deduc-conseq-ss:foc

/iscobafón amá:hílkalahok istílkatoho:liyok/

'We were going to go to church, but contrary to expectation, we stayed home.'

This last example shows that if the suffix -y- is not added to the first element in an expression (in this case amá:hílkalaho-), it may be added to the second element without change in meaning. Nevertheless the word order in this construction is rigid; no matter where the suffix -y- is put, it is always the first element to which the indication of contrariness to expectation is applied.

-tika- 'but'

This suffix is used to indicate that a statement contrary to something stated in the verb to which it is suffixed is about to be made. Unlike the suffix -y-, which also occurs in this slot, -tika- does not indicate that the following phrase is contrary to the expectations of the speaker. This suffix is never followed by the switch-reference markers -k or -n, however, it does occur with the new-topic marker -p. The following are examples of the use of this suffix.

- 309) alikcí mók ho-hí:ca-tik sám-ko-n
DOCTOR ALSO distr-SEE-but BE:ABLE-3neg(IIA)-sw

/alikcí mók hohí:catik sánkon/

'They looked for a doctor also, but were unable to (find one), and...'
- 310) akkám̄mi-tik athóm̄ma có:ba-ha-k tobiṭilí ká:ha-ṽhco-k akkám̄mi-tik
BE:SO-but INDIAN OLD-pl-subj PRAYING:MANTIS SAY-habis-ss BE:SO-but

at-lawísta imaníhta-p ná:s-on ónhilk-ó:li sobayá:-ko-ṽhco-k
PERSON-SMALL(pl) YOUNG-new:top WHAT-obj:foc BEING(intr)-be-deduc
KNOW(pl) -3neg(IIA)-habit-ss

akkám̄mi-tik iskaní holcif-ón ónka-l a:t-atiní:l-in-cicó:ba-k
BE:SO-but INSECT NAME-obj:foc BE(intrans)-lss PERSON-BURNING-3poss-
HORSE (possessed)

/akkántik athóm̄ma có:bahak tobiṭilí ka:háhco akkántik atlawísta
imanihtáp ná:son óhilkó:li sobayá:kóhcok akkántik iskaní holcifón
ónka-l a:tatiní:lincicó:bak/

'But this being so, the old Indians used to say 'praying mantis,'
but this being so, the young children do not know what it means,
but this being so, I give it the name of 'the Devil's horse.'
- 311) akkám̄mi-t amá:-hílka-tika-p mí:ta-k ná:s-on sobayá:-ko-ṽhco-k
BE:SO-conn GO(pl) -lpls(IIIA) -but-new:top OTHER-subj SOMETHING-obj:foc
KNOW(pl) -3neg(IIA) -habit-IVPast

'We went along just so, but as for others, they did not know anything.'

This suffix is also used with the meaning of 'even though.' This seems to be a specialization of -tika- in its original meaning. Occasionally the suffix is preceded by -s-; this is probably the apocopated form of the diminutive intensive suffix, and it adds more emphasis to the phrase.

The following are examples of the use of -tika- in the meaning of 'even though:'

- 312) mámmi-tik wiló hátká bán-ko-Vhco-V. mók wiló-k im-íkso-t
HAPPEN-but SHOE TO:WEAR:SHOES WANT-3neg(IIA)-habit-phr:term ALSO SHOE-
subj 3dat-NOT:EXIST-conn

íyyi-ná:na-tik ańí:ya-k kasátka-tik lókba-tik ańí:ya-Vhco-to-V
BE:BAREFOOT-adv-even:though GO(sg)-ss BE:COLD-even:though BE:WARM-
even:though GO(sg)-habit-III Past-phr:term

/mántik wiló hátká bánkóhco. mók wilók imíksot íyyiná:natik
ańí:yak kasátkatik lókbatic ańí:yáhcoťo/

'But as it was, she did not like to wear shoes. Also, she had no shoes, and even though she was barefoot, she went around; even if the weather were cold, even if it were warm, she went around just the same.'

- 313) atló:ca-:sáy-ok hó:pa-:p im-í:sa-si má:lo-n ballá:ka-n
BLACK:PERSON-art-subj:foc BE:SICK-subjunct 3poss-HOUSE-dim OWN-obj
LIE(sg)-sw

im-alíkcí-tik lókba-tik kasátka-tik akkámmitik im-í:sa-si-fa
3dat-DOCTOR-even:though BE:WARM-even:though BE:COLD-even:though
BE:SO-but 3poss-HOUSE-dim-in

/atló:ca:sáyok hó:pa:p imí:sasi má:lon ballá:kan imalíkcítik
lókbatic kasátkatik kántik imí:sasifa/

'If one of these aforementioned black people fell ill, he lay in his own little house, and even though they doctored him, even though the weather were warm, even though it were cold, all the same it was just in his little house.'

- 314) oconá s-nańí:ka-s-tik íkso-Vhco-toho-n nańí:ka-t páłki-t ó:ť-áhi-k
IRON instr-SPEAK-dim-even:though NOT:EXIST-habit-realiz-sw SPEAK-
conn BE:FAST-conn. BE:THERE-intent-ss

/oconá snańí:kastik íksóhcotohon nańí:kat páłkit ó:ťáhiť/

'Even though speaking by means of machines did not exist, they spoke that it might quickly get there.'

SLOT 14) SENTENCE FUNCTIONS

There are seventeen suffixes that occur in this slot; however they can be grouped, on the whole, into four general categories: Phrase Terminal Markers, Switch Reference Markers; Connective Suffixes; and Interrogative Suffixes. Only the delayed imperative suffix - $\check{y}h$ does not fall into one or another of the categories.

The Phrase Terminal Markers, DEL, \check{y} , and - \acute{s}

The Koasati phrase terminal markers are features unique to the language. They are not found in Alabama, otherwise closely related to Koasati (Lupardus; 1983). Creek and Mikasuki have an 'indicative' suffix-- \underline{s} , which may be related to Koasati (\acute{s}), however the former use of - \underline{s} in Koasati (it is now obsolete) was so specialized, that the two suffixes may not be cognate.

The Phrase Terminal Marker DEL

This phrase terminal marker deletes the final vowel of a verb, when the latter is unaccented, and the marker \check{y} is not applied. Because it is so common, and because of its subtractive effect, it has not been specified in the morphological descriptions of examples to cut down on the clutter of morphological abbreviations and to bring the morphological form of the examples closer to what is actually pronounced. In the following examples, however, DEL will be marked.

315) a:t-i:pa-cobá-k ałí:ya-toho-:li-mpa- $\acute{V}h$ co-ki-DEL
PERSON-EATER-BIG-subj GO (sg)-realis-deduc-hearsay-habit-IVPast-phr:term

/a:ti:pacobák ałí:yatoho:limpáhkok/

'It is said that Elephant went.'

316) yí-n támmi-DEL ká,h,ha-n
OVER:HERE-obj LIE-phr:term SAY,h:grade,-sw

/'yín tám," káhhan/

''He lies over here!'' he said.'

Because of the operation of this phrase terminal marker, it is easy to confuse

certain forms, such as -k 'switch reference marker, same subject,' and -k 'IVPast,' the latter from -ki-DEL; í:s 'they dwell,' from í:sa-DEL, and í:s 'he takes it,' from í:si-DEL, and hókf 'he puts it on,' from hókfa-DEL, and hókf 'he puts it in,' from hókfi-DEL. This kind of homonymy seems to have led to the demise of the II Past suffix -ti-, the vowel-deleted form of which is identical to the vowel deleted form of the III Past suffix -to-, -t. At times Koasati speakers use this property of the phrase terminal marker for humorous effect, as in the following example:

- 317) A: íl-la-DEL
 1pls(IA) -ARRIVE-phr:term
 /íl/ homophonous with ílli-DEL, /íl/ 'it is dead'
 'We are here!' (Said by people arriving at someone's house.)
- B: ná:s-ok í,ǂǂ,lli
 WHAT-ss:foc DIE,Q,
 /ná:sok íǂǂí/
 'What's dead?'

The Phrase Terminal Marker ǂ

The use of the phrase terminal marker ǂ (vowel nasalization) in opposition to DEL is not entirely clear; however, it seems to be used after verbal suffixes when DEL would eliminate phonological information crucial to the semantics. Thus suffixes such as -laho-, -laha-, -toho-, and -toha- always occur with this marker, as the use of DEL would eliminate contrasts between the members of each pair. It is also used with -o-, the copular emphatic suffix, and after all negatively inflected verbs, where the deletion of the final vowel would cause serious loss of meaning. Examples of contrast between ǂ and DEL are hard to find, but the most common one is with the II Past and III Past suffixes, which with DEL fall together as -t (glossed merely as 'Past'), while with ǂ they maintain their identities as -ti- and -to-. Examples of ǂ are frequently to be found in this chapter and throughout this dissertation, so none will be

illustrated here.

As was mentioned in Chapter 2, in the speech of certain very old persons, ʋ has the realization of h after a , y after i , and w after o , as in the following examples:

- 318) ná:si sám̩mi-k kán-ko-tik có:pa-l-á- ʋ ká:ha-toho-:li-mpa- ʋ
 SOMETHING BE:HOW-subj GOOD-3neg(IIA)-even;though BUY-1ss-intent-phr:term
 SAY-realis-deduc-hearsay-phr:term

/ná:si sám̩mik kánkotik có:paláh ká:hatoho:límpah/

'"Even though it is not good for anything, I shall buy it," he said, as it is reported.'

- 319) himá:yám̩mi-p akkám̩mi- ʋ . yomáhli-k op-ó-t ómm-o- ʋ
 NOWADAYS-new:top BE:SO-phr:term GO:ABOUT-ss OWL-be-conn BE-be-phr:term

/himá:yammip akkám̩miy. yomáhlik opót ómmow/

'Nowadays, it is just so. It seems that they go about as barred owls.'

The Phrase Terminal Marker - ʃ

This phrase terminal marker has generated great interest and comment since it was first described by Haas (1944), and ascribed by her only to male speakers of the language. At the time I did my fieldwork, this phrase terminal marker was obsolete,²⁴ however, several consultants were able to remember its use. However, in contrast to what Haas wrote, my consultants ascribed it not only to men, but to women as well. It must be noted that the majority of persons to whom such speech was ascribed were men, and that the last users of - ʃ were members of only two lineages of two different clans. Although the evidence is not entirely clear, it seems that the use of - ʃ was ascribed to persons of high status or respect. A father, an elderly father-in-law, a respected female doctor, and a former chief are persons to whom the use of this phrase terminal marker are definitely ascribed.²⁵

The pronunciation of - ʃ was almost universally given as [ʃ], and this may have been a contrastive phoneme. Phonemes of limited occurrence are not unusual in Koasati, as witnessed by the presence of /ʔ/, and the vowels /e/ and /u/ in interjections. The marker - ʃ was added after the phrase terminal

markers DEL and ʋ; in my data, -š appears as -š after DEL and -:š after ʋ and also after DEL when the word final consonant is a nasal, which is deleted.

The following are some examples of its use:

- 320) má:mo:s-ok am-awí:c-oka-DEL-š am-awí:c-oka-DEL-š
 BE:THEN-sw:foc 1sdat-HELP-2pl imp(111B)-phr:term-phr:term 1sdat-HELP-
 2pl imp(111B)-phr:term-phr:term
 ká:ha-t mat-a:t-im-páhka-n
 SAY-conn afar-someone-3dat-CALL-sw
 /má:mo:sok^{''} amawí:cokš amawí:cokš, '' ká:hat mata:timpáhkan/
 'And then, "Help ye me! Help ye me!" he said, calling out to someone.'
- 321) á:t-o:t ílli-má:hilo-k nihtá ostá:ka-n iliholló:ci-t is-táska-laho-ʋ-š
 PERSON-1ist DIE-case:of-ss DAY BE:FOUR-sw MOURN-conn DWELL(pl)-2pls(111Ci)-
 ireealis-phr:term-phr:term
 /á:to:t íllimá:hilok nihtá ostá:kan iliholló:ci-t istáskalaho:š/
 'In the case of anyone dying, you are to remain in mourning for four days.'
- 322) hanafololók í:la-Vhco-k ómmi-DEL-š ká,h,h-ok
 TORNADO-subj ARRIVE-habit-ss BE-phr:term-phr:term SAY,h:grade,-ss:foc
 /"hanafololók í:láhco k ó:š, '' káhhok/
 "'A tornado is coming," he said, and...'

At the present time, the suffix -š is used only in a few stereotyped expressions such as kámmo:sin sobáyli:š, 'just so much is what I know,' and in the telling of traditional narrative, where it sporadically occurs, primarily in the speech of characters in the tale, and to which it lends (to the Koasati ear) an old-time flavor. It is also used in reporting the speech of a person who used to use the form habitually, or who is conceived of by the speaker as one who should have used the suffix. The following short text, with the 'male' phrase terminal marker was spoken by a woman, quoting what her father-in-law had just said; it should be noted that the father-in-law did not use the marker, but that the deceased father of the woman did, so that she was used to hearing it.

- 323) akast wilyams-ka-k alikci co:ba-Vhco:li-ki-DEL-š
 PN-loan-subj DOCTOR GREAT-custom-IVPast-phr:term-phr:term

á:ti hó:pa sámmo:si:p im-faylí:ci-to-ŷ-š
 PERSON SICK SOMETIMES 3dat-CURE-III Past-phr:term-phr:term

ittabí hó:pa-t ittabí im-kóyka-t í:sa-Vhco-ki-DEL-š
 LEG HURT-conn LEG 3dat-BE:CUT-conn DWELL(pl) -habit-IV Past-phr:term-
 phr:term

akkámmo:sí kámmi-mó:li-má:hilo-n im-faylí:ci-to-ŷ-š
 BE:S0-dim(aor) BE:S0-abil-case:of-sw 3dat-CURE-III Past-phr:term-phr:term

/akást wílyamskak alikcí co:báhco:likš/
 /á:ti hó:pa sámmo:si:p jfaylí:cito:š/
 /ittabí hó:pat ittabí inkóykat í:sáhcoš/
 /akkámmo:sí kámmimó:limá:hilon jfaylí:cito:š/

'August Williams used to be a great doctor.
 He used to cure sick people sometimes.
 They used to have injured legs and cut legs.
 This being so, he was able in such a case to cure them.'

The Switch Reference Markers

Koasati, like other members of the Muskogean family of languages has a system of switch-reference marking which indicates whether the subject of a clause has the same or a different subject from the following clause. The basic forms of the switch reference markers are -k for a clause with a following identical subject and -n for a clause with a different following subject. These suffixes have forms with greater emphasis, or focus, as it is sometimes referred to (see Nicklaus, 1972:211 for details of a parallel system in Choctaw). These are: -ok for same subject and -on for different subject. In addition there is a switch of reference marker -p which indicates that a new topic is being introduced, or new information is being proffered. It is notable that these suffixes are identical to the nominal case suffixes -k 'subject,' -n 'object,' and -p/-ap, 'new topic.' It seems likely that originally they were unitary, nominal or nominalizing morphemes, which have become distinct from their distinctive uses. Even now, the equivalent of relative clauses in Koasati, if not expressed with participles, is formed by the nominalization of a verb phrase and its use as either the subject of object of another verb

(see Chapter 16 for a discussion of this formation). Switch reference in Koasati is used to disambiguate actors in a complex narrative, especially when there are two or more third person subjects. This leads to a great economy of expression and a lack of the ambiguity that can occur in parallel constructions in English. The following are examples of the use of the switch-reference suffixes; further discussion can be found in the chapter on Syntax (Chapter 19).

- 324) kohtá iyyí poltókł awáh cahappá:ka-n hibáhli-to-ŷ
 GOAL:POST FOOT BE:TWENTY AND BE:FIVE-sw ERECT-III Past-phr:term
 /kohtá iyyí poltókł awáh cahappá:kan hibáhliŷ/
 'They erected the goal post to a height of twenty-five feet.'
- 325) nó:ra-k ɬabósl-i-h banna-k hí:ca-t á:ta-toho-:li-k akkám-mi-tik
 PN-subj EXTINGUISH(sg)-conn WANT-ss SEE-conn DWELL(sg)-realis-deduc-ss
 BE:S0-but
 labósl-áhi-k sam,kí,:c-o-t
 EXTINGUISH-intent-ss BE:ABLE,3neg(IIB)-neg:comp-Past
 /nó:rak ɬabósl-i-h bannak hí:cat á:tatoho:lik akkántik labósláhi-k
 sankí:cot/
 'Nora tried to extinguish it, and she kept on watching it, but this being so, she was unable to extinguish it.'
- 326) akkám-mi-tik hopá:ki-k kowí pokkó:li-fí:n-on tikbá labó:li
 BE:S0-but DISTANCE-subj MILE BE:TEN-adv-sw:foc FIRE EXTINGUISHERS .
 ahiccá:ci-k í:sa-ŷhci
 WATCHER-subj DWELL-progress
 /akkántik hopá:kik kowí pokkó:lifí:n-on tikbá labó:li ahiccá:cik í:sáhci/
 'But this being so, there are watchers for and extinguishers of fires (forest rangers) dwelling; the distance is about ten miles.'
- 327) st-im-iltolihná-k im-ná:ho-n í:sa-ŷhci ó:la ayakhá-k oblí ká:ha-ŷhci
 instr-3poss-TOOL-subj 3dat-EXIST-sw dwell-progress TOWN FAR-subj PN
 SAY-progress
 /stimiltólihnák inná:hon í:sáhci ó:la ayakhák oblí ká:háhci/
 'They₁ have their tools₂ and they₁ are in a far town named Oberlin.'

- 328) paló st-intálka talibó:li-:fó:k-ok st-im-pa-tallá:li-to-ŷ
 FLYING:SQUIRREL instr-TRAP MAKE-when-ss:foc instr-3dat-loc-LAY (sg) -
 IIIPast-phr:term
 /paló stintálka talibó:li:fó:kok stimpatallá:litq/
 'When one had made a flying squirrel trap, one laid it out on a high
 spot for it.'
- 329) mán im-cóff-ok im-mayá:ci-toho-:li-mpa-ŷhco-k
 AGAIN 3dat-JUMP (p1) -ss:foc 3dat-DEFEAT-real is-deduc-hearsay-habit-IVPast
 /mán incóffok immayá:citoho:limpáhco/
 'Again he₁ jumped away from him₂ and he₁ defeated him₂, so it is said.'
- 330) polícka-k ik-l-o-:fó:ka-p yá:li-sobáy-ko-to-ŷ
 PN-subj 3neg (IA) -ARRIVE-neg:comp-when-new:top HERE KNOW-3neg (IIA) -IIIPast-
 phr:term
 /políckak íklo:fó:kap yá:li sobáykotow/
 'When Paul Leeds had not yet arrived, it was unknown here.'
- 331) skólka im-aló,kí, st-o-n mí:ta-k im-alósti-tika-p
 SCHOOL 3stats-LIKE, 3neg (IIC), -neg:comp-sw OTHER-subj 3stats-LIKE-but-new:top
 /skólka imalokíston mí:tak imalóstitikap/
 'They did not like school; however, others enjoyed it.'

Connective Suffixes

There are two connective suffixes, -t and -h. The suffix -t is by far the most common of the two; it is a coordinating conjunctive suffix. It indicates that the subject of the verb is the same as that of a following verb or verbs, and that the actions are taking place in a very quick sequence or are occurring at the same time. Only the last verb of a sequence will bear any person cross-reference markers or verbal suffixes; verbs suffixed with -t can not take any of these. In this regard, -t differs from the switch-reference marker -k 'same subject,' with which the cross-reference markers and verbal suffixes can and are often used, and the meaning of which does not have the same strong sequencing implications. The following is an example of the use of the suffix -t; other

examples may be found in Chapter 19.

- 332) hó:pa-:p itta-támmi-:p haytanáhká:ci-t konótli-t nokhayó:li-t
 BE:SICK-subjunct loc-FALL(sg)-subjunct WHIRL-conn ROLL(sg)-conn DROOL-conn
 ico:-pakpá:ki-t ico:-soksó:ki-k askáhka-t okcákko-hco-toho-n
 loc-FROTH-conn loc-FOAM-subj GO:OUT(pl)-conn BE:BLUE/GREEN-habit-realiz-sw
 óhya a:pihcí-k
 ALL BODY-subj

/hó:pa:p ittátámmi:p haytanáhká:cit konótlit nokhayó:lit ico:pakpá:kit
 ico:soksó:kik askáhkát okcakkóhcotohon óhya a:pihcík/

'When he fell sick (with a seizure), when he fell to the ground, he whirled around, and rolled around; he drooled and frothed at the mouth; foam came out of his mouth, and his whole body turned blue.'

The connective suffix -h, in contrast to -t, is quite rare. It is a subordinating conjunctive suffix; it subordinates the meaning of the following verb to that of the preceding. The only certain example of this suffix occurs when it precedes the verb bànnan, 'to want; need,' the whole complex -h bànnan then means, 'to try to.' In this use the suffix is quite common, as shown in the following examples.

- 333) himá:ya-p thátka polí:ci-k nokcó:ba-h bàнна-k sam,kí,:c-o-hco-k
 NOW-new:top WHITE:PERSON PREACHER-subj STOP-conn WANT-ss BE:ABLE,3neg
 (IIB),-neg:comp-habit-IVPast

/himá:yap thátka polí:cik nokcó:bah bànnak sankí:cóhcok/

'Now, the White preachers tried to stop it, and were unable to do so.'

- 334) akkámmi-:p á:ti im-palátka-hci. tóhli-t kocó:li-h bàнна-t cákli-h
 BE:SO-subjunct PERSON 3dat-BE:CROSS-progress CHASE-conn PINCH(pl)-conn
 WANT-conn CHOP-conn

bàнна-t tóhli-t walilí:c-áhi-k bàнна-hci
 WANT-conn CHASE-conn RUN:OFF-intent-ss WANT-progress

/akkámmi:p á:ti impalatkáhci. tóhlit kocó:lih bànnat cáklih bannat
 walilí:cáhih bànnáhci/

'When this is so, they get cross with people. They chase them and try to claw them; and they try to peck at them; they want to chase them off.'

The Interrogative Suffixes

The five interrogative suffixes form the final major grouping of suffixes in Slot 14). All of them seem to have been formed from other items by means of the Interrogative internal change, ǂǂ (See Chapter 9). However, as suffixes of similar phonological shape are very different in meaning, these suffixes will be treated as monomorphemic items.

-óǂí 'simple question'

This suffix is used to indicate that a statement has been transformed into a question. It is not used as frequently as the Interrogative change; it seems to occur most often on nouns and on verbs with a past tense, as in the following examples:

335) ná:s-óǂí
WHAT-Q

/ná:sóǂí/

'What is it?'

336) hopá:ki-k naksámm-o:s-óǂí ká,h,ha-n
DISTANCE-subj HOW-dim-Q SAY,h:grade,-sw

/'hopá:kik naksámmo:sóǂí," káhhan/

'He said, "How far is it?"'

337) má:mi-n sámmi-n akkámmit-óǂí ká:ha-li-n
BE:THEN-sw BE:HOW-sw BE:SO-Past-Q SAY-lss-sw

/má:min, "sámmin akkámmitóǂí," ká:halin/

'And then I said, "How did it come to be so?"'

-óǂíó 'tag question marker'

This suffix is used when a statement is hesitantly questioned by the speaker.

The following are examples of its use:

338) is-p-óǂíó
2ss(IA)-EAT-Q(tag)

/ispóǂíó/

'You're eating it, aren't you?'

339) aṭ,ci,:y-óʔló
 G0 (sg) -2ss (IIB) -Q (tag)
 /aṭci:yóʔló/
 'You're going, aren't you?'

340) cik-p-óʔló
 2sneg (IA) -EAT-Q (tag)
 /cikpóʔló/
 'You're not eating it, are you?'

341) aṭ,ciki,:y-óʔló
 G0 (sg), 2sneg (IIB), -Q (tag)
 /aṭciki:yóʔló/
 'You're not going, are you?'

-Vʔwí 'desiderative tag question'

This extremely rare suffix is used with negative verbs to indicate that the speaker is questioning the desire of the hearer to do the action specified.

The following are two examples:

342) isnók cik-p-o-Vʔwí
 YOU-subj 2sneg (IA) -EAT-neg:comp-Q (tag:disid)
 /isnók cikpóʔwí/
 'Do you too want to eat it?' or 'Do you not want to eat it?'

343) cik-hí:c-o-Vʔwí
 2sneg (IA) -SEE-neg:comp-Q (tag:disid)
 /cikhí:cóʔwí/
 'Do you want to look at it?' or 'Do you not want to look at it?'

-Vʔhá 'either/or question'

This suffix, also quite rare, is used to question whether or not something is as it seems, as in the following examples:

344) campo:li-Vʔhá
 BE:SWEET-Q (either:or)
 /campo:líʔhá/
 'Is it sweet or not?'

- 345) kan-ko-ŵhá
BE:GOOD-3neg(IIA) -Q(either:or)

/kánkóʔhá/

'Is it bad or not?' or 'Is it not good, or is it?'

-háʔwá 'rhetorical question'

This suffix is used when the speaker is wondering out loud whether an action may have occurred. As such it does not require an answer, as in fact the listener generally does not know the answer either. This suffix also can take the copulative/emphatic suffix -o- to make the question more impatient or emphatic. The following are examples of the use of this suffix:

- 346) inʔakí-k nampo-háʔwá
PRICE-subj BE:HOW:MUCH-Q(rhet)

/inʔakík nampoháʔwá/

'How much is its price?'

- 347) ontí-:ci-háʔwá
COME (sg/du) -pl-Q(rhet)

/onti:ciháʔwá/

'Are the two of them coming?'

- 348) m̄m i:pa-l-a-háʔwá. ca-káyy-á:ho:si-k onam
INTJ EAT-1ss-intent-Q(rhet) 1sstats-BE:FULL-adv-ss BE:STILL

/m̄m, i:palaháʔwá. cakáyyá:ho:sik onam/

'Mm, should I eat it? I'm still so full.'

- 349) naksofón áʔʔok ómm-a-háʔw-ó
WHERE GO(sg) -ss:foc BE-intent-Q(rhet) -be

/naksofón áʔʔok ómmaháʔwó/

'Where indeed has he gone off to?'

-ŵh 'delayed imperative'

This suffix is the only one in this slot that does not fall into one or another of the above categories. It has been placed in this slot rather than into any other because it never has any suffix following it, like most suffixes of this slot, and it has no relatives in any other slot to relate it to. Only two

examples of its use will be given, for further discussion of how this suffix fits into the system of Koasati imperatives, see Chapter 6.

- 350) isnó-k am-ó:ʔa-ʋh ká:ha-to-n
YOU-subj 1sdat-BE:THERE-delay SAY-IIIIPast-sw

/ʔisnók amó:ʔəh,ʔ ká:hatoŋ/

'As for you, go over to my place,' he said.'

- 351) ho,ci,cca-ʋnna-ʋh
SHOOT:AT,2ss (IIC) -neg:imp-delay

/hociccánnəh/

'Do not shoot at him then!'

SLOT 15) ENCLITICS

There are two enclitics in Koasati, katík and máhco. These are termed enclitics rather than suffixes, for although they are pronounced together with the word that they follow, the phrase terminal marker DEL precedes them. However, the enclitics replace the phrase terminal marker ʋ, so it seems to be the case that they are in the process of becoming affixes.

katika 'but it is the case that'

This enclitic is extremely frequent in texts. It indicates that the phrase to follow contains a contradiction of the previous phrase. This is not a contradiction of expectation, like -y-, or a simple 'but' like -tika, but rather indicates that the nature of the situation has changed from one phrase to the other. The following are examples of the use of this enclitic:

- 352) akkám-mi-t á:ta-t aʔí:ya-li-ʋhco:li-k=katík ca-nokcó:ba-toho-k ómmi-ʋhco-k
BE:SO-conn DWELL (sg) -conn GO (sg) -1ss-custom-IVPast=encl 1sstats-STOP-realiss
BE-habit-IVPast

/akkánt átt=aʔí:yalíhco:lík katík canokcó:batohok ómmíhcoŋ/

'I used to keep on going on in just such a way, but it is the case that I have stopped doing so.'

- 353) ná:si íkso-Vhc ná:si íkso-Vhc=katík óm ká:ha-toho-:li-mpa-k cokfík-k
SOMETHING NOT:EXIST-can SOMETHING NOT:EXIST-can=encl-BE SAY-realis-
deduc-hearsay-IVPast RABBIT-subj

/'ná:si iksóhc na:si iksóhc katík óm," ká:hatoho:limpak cokfík/

'But it is the case that nothing can exist, nothing can exist,'
Rabbit said, so it is reported.'
- 354) í:la-lah-o-kko-Vhc=katík óm-DEL-š ká,h,h-ok
ARRIVE-irrealis-be-3neg(IICii)-can=encl BE-phr:term-phr:term SAY,h:grade,-
ss:foc

/'í:lalahokkóhc katík ó:š/

'But it is the case that he will not be able to arrive.'
- 355) im-alí:ya yámmi-:p ca-sobáyli-halpís-ko=katíka-p sobáyli-li-k ómmi-:p
3poss-GOING:ABOUT BE:LIKE-subjunct Isstats-KNOW-ability-3neg=encl-new:top
KNOW-lss-ss BE-subjunct

/'imalí:ya yámmi:p casobáylihalsko katikáp sobáylielik ómmi:p/

'What her interior life was like I can not know, but it is the case that
what I know of her is...'

It is difficult to say what the origin of the enclitic katíka is. It may be composed of the suffix -tíka, 'but' and an element ka- which seems to be an archaic verb meaning 'to be.'²⁶

máhco 'it is a similar occurrence to'

This enclitic, which is clearly related to the nominal adjectives máhco 'more or less' and má:mi 'like to,' is used to indicate that the action of the verb to which it is attached lacks some of the intensity it otherwise would have. This enclitic requires a following switch-reference or connective suffix. It does not seem to cooccur with the phrase terminal marker DEL and would thus appear to be approaching the status of a true suffix. The following are examples of its use:

- 356) o-st-amá:ka-k ómmi=máhco-n ísko-n amá:ka=katík
go:&-instr-GO(pl)-ss BE=encl-sw DRINK-sw GO(pl)=encl

/'ostamá:kak ómmi máhcon ískon amá:ka katík/

'It is as if it were the case that they went taking it, they went
drinking, but it is the case...'

- 357) himá:ya-n noksí:pa-laho-to=máhco-k cokfí-k
BE:NOW-sw BE:ANGRY-irrealis-III Past=encl-ss RABBIT-subj

/himá:yan noksí:palahoto máhcok cokfík/

'Now, Rabbit will have been sort of angry.'

SUFFIXES WITH LIMITED COOCCURRENCE

There are eight suffixes, which because of their rarity, or for other reasons, do not allow extensive suffix cooccurrence. These are all listed in the sketch under Slot 1), although it is possible that one or more of them do not belong in this slot. Only further research can provide the answers.

-á:s 'to want to'

This is an extremely rare suffix. It is said by speakers to be an exact equivalent of the complex -áhik bannan 'to want to,' which is the construction most frequently used, followed by the construction of the verbal noun followed by bannan. Only two examples in texts were noted. These are:

- 358) sámmi-to-n hacim-mánka-l-á:s. sobáyli-li-k ká,h,ha-n
BE:HOW-III Past-sw 2pdat-TELL-1ss-desid KNOW-1ss-ss SAY,h:grade,-sw

/'sánton hacimmánkalá:s. sobáylielik," káhhan/

'"I want to tell you all how it is. I will know," he said.'

- 359) hima:yá:l-on á:ta-t acíhli-l-á:s ká:ha-li-n
RIGHT:NOW-adv DWELL (sg)-conn PLANT-1ss-desid SAY-1ss-sw

/'hima:yá:lon á:tat acíhlihá:s," ká:halin/

'"Right now, I want to stay on and plant," I said.'

The origin of this suffix is obscure. As it was first elicited in a study of the phrase terminal marker -š, it may be that -á:s is derived from the intensive suffix -á- followed by the marker -š, thus originally being pronounced [-á:š]. When -š fell out of use, this sequence was restructured as a unitary morpheme and the pronunciation changed to [-á:s] to fall in line with the pronunciation of word-final /s/ (See Chapter 2).

-fí:na- 'to be metaphorically like'

This is another very rare suffix. It indicates that the action of the verb is to be understood as being only a metaphorical comparison to the actual action occurring. The following is an example:

- 360) kanomá:mi-t mat-bołótli-fí:n-ok askáhka-ųhco-k sá,h,mmi-:p
BEAUTIFUL-conn afar-BOIL-like-ss:foc EXIT(pl)-habit-IVPast BE:HOW,
h:grade,-subjunct

/kanomá:mit matbołótlifí:nok askáhkáhco sáhmi:p/

'They (the waters) sometimes welled up beautifully, as if they were boiling.'

The suffix -fí:na- has a specialized use when suffixed to numeral verbs. For its use in such cases see the discussion in Chapter 12.

-há:lo- 'sequencing suffix'

This suffix is used almost entirely with negative verbs to form a complex meaning 'before the action takes place.' The following are examples of its use:

- 361) hasáy-ko-há:lo-n łóyka-l-á-ų
RAIN:HARD-3neg(IIA)-seq-sw RETURN(sg)-lss-intent-phr:term

/hasáykohá:lon łóykalá/

'I'll return before it rains hard.'

- 362) ta,ká,łw-o-há:lo-k ísko-li-mbí:ka-laho-ų
SING,1sneg(IIC),-neg:comp-ss DRINK-lss-adv-irrealis-phr:term

/takáłwohá:lok ískolimbí:kalahq/

'Before I sing, I would really like to drink something.'

- 363) mó:toho-n thátka-k ónka-k sámmi-ųhco-k afánk-ok in-nałí:-kíłko-há:lo-k
BE:THEN-sw WHITE:PERSON-subj QUOTH-ss BE:HOW-habit-ss MEET-ss:foc 3dat-
SPEAK-lplneg(IIIA)-seq-ss

ho-ká:ha-:p
distr-SAY-subjunct

/mó:tohon thátkak ónkak, "sámhíhco afánk innałí:kíłkohá:lok," hoká:ha:p/

'And then, what the white people said was, "How can we meet them before we speak to them?"'

-há:wa- 'modifying suffix'

This suffix, because of its rarity and the ambiguousness of the examples containing it, does not have a specific meaning assigned to it. It seems to be related to the rhetorical question suffix -há?wá, and perhaps to the desiderative question suffix -V?há and the auditive -hawa. The following examples of -há:wa- are given to indicate how the suffix is used; in examples 364 and 365, the suffix seems to mean 'sort of' or 'somewhat;'; in examples 366 and 367, it is not translated, as the meaning it adds to the phrase is not clear.

- 364) hiná:p amá:ka-ŷhco-t naŷí:ka-t óm̄mi-há:w-ok im-alósti-t im-campó:li-t
 NOW GO (pl)-habit-conn SPEAK-conn BE-suff-ss:foc 3stats-LIKE-conn
 3stats-BE:SWEET-conn
 /hiná:p amá:káhcot naŷí:kat óm̄mihá:wok imalóstit incampó:lit/
 'Now, it is sort of the case that they went and spoke, and they liked it and found it good to the taste, and...'
- 365) ittó cobá haccá:li akkó-n onaksohli-:si-ŷhco-há:w-ok intáli-toho-:fó:k
 TREE BIG STANDING THAT-obj HAR-dimhabit-suff-ss:foc SET:TRAP-realiz-when
 hayó
 INSIDE
 /ittó cobá haccá:li akkón onaksohscohá:wok intállitoho:fó:k hayó/
 'A big standing tree, one that was somewhat charred, when they set the trap inside it...'
- 366) mó:li:p y-ón cim-mánka-l-áhi-k ci-banna-há:wa-ska-n náho-n
 WELL THIS-obj:foc 2sdat-TELL-1ss-intent-ss 2sstats-WANT-suff-conseq-sw
 /mó:li:p yón cimmánkaláhi-k cibannahá:waskan/
 'Well, because you want me to tell you this:'
- 367) wahkacayhá-k-ok oh-ŷopótlit-ó:la-t á:ya-há:wa-toho-k naksáhka-toho-k
 GREAT:BLUE:HERON-art-subj:foc go:&-PASS (sg)-conn CALL-conn GO:BY (sg)-
 suff-realiz-ss MAKE:NOISE-realiz-conn
 /wahkacayhákok ohŷopótlit ó:lat á:yahá:watohok naksáhkatohok/
 'The great blue heron went and passed and called out as he was going about and made noise, and...'

-Vhc 'to be able to'

This suffix, which is not infrequent, is used to indicate that the actor is able to perform the action of the verb. There is very little semantic difference between this suffix and the suffix -halpí:sa- and the independent verb sámmin, the difference is in their usage. The suffix -halpí:sa- is used in general statements of ability; sámmin is used when the ability or inability to do a previously mentioned action is discussed and -Vhc is used when the speaker believes that the action can or cannot be done. As a rule -Vhc is used with negative verbs, although it can occur with positive verbs. The following are examples of its use:

- 368) á:tîpacobá-k ónka-k an-áp akkám-takko-Vhc ca-sám-ko-y
 BIG:MAN:EATER-subj QUOTH-ss I-new:top DO:SO-1sneg(IIA) -can 1sstats-
 BE:ABLE-3neg(IIA) -phr:term
 /a:ti:pacobák ónkak, "anáp akkantakkóhc casánkq"/
 'Elephant said, "As for me, I cannot do so. I am unable to."'
- 369) wahkacayhá wahkacayhá am-áy-cíkko-Vhc ká:ha-toho-n
 GREAT:BLUE:HERON GREAT:BLUE:HERON 1sdat-DEFEAT-2sneg(IIA) -can SAY-realiz-sw
 /"wahkacayhá wahkacayhá amáycíkkóhc," ká:hatohon/
 "'Great blue heron! Great blue heron! You cannot defeat me!" he said.'
- 370) ci-yammí:ci-li-Vhc
 2sobj-DO:THUS-1ss-can
 /ciyammí:ci líhc/
 'I can do thus to you.'

The form of this suffix and the way it induces an accent in the syllable before it links it with the habitual suffix -Vhco- and the progressive suffix -Vhci.
-má:hilo- 'in the case of/that'

This is another relatively rare suffix. It indicates that the word to which it is suffixed, frequently a verbalized noun, is to be considered an example of a class of things characterized by that word. The following are examples of its use:

- 371) á:t-o:t ílli-má:hilo-k nihtá ostá:ka-n iliholló:ci-t ís-táska-laho-ŷ-ś
PERSON-list DIE(sg)-case:of-ss DAY BE:FOUR-sw MOURN-conn DWELL(pl)-
2pls(IIICi)-irrealis-phr:term-phr:term

/á:to:t íllimá:hilok nihtá ostá:kan iliholló:cit ístáskalaho:ś/
'In the case of someone dying, you all are to remain in mourning
for four days.'

- 372) kámmi-:fó:k ná:s-on iliholló:c-íkko-ŷhco-toho-k mí:ta-má:hilo-k
BE:SO-when SOMETHING-obj:foc MOURN-3neg(IIIB)-habit-real-is-IVPast
OTHER-case:of-subj

/kámmi:fó:k, ná:son iliholló:cíkkóhcotohok mí:tamá:hilok/
'This being so, in the case of others, they did not go into mourn-
ing for anything.'

-ló- 'polite imperative'

This rare suffix is used to indicate a mild command to be considered only if it does not conflict with the desires of the person to whom the command is given. The following is an example; for further examples see Chapter 6.

- 373) cim-aká:no-:p ís-pa-ló-ŷ
2sstats-BE:HUNGRY(sg)-subjunct 2ss(IA)-EAT-polite:imp-phr:term

/cimaká:no:p íspaló/
'If you are hungry, eat it, if you so desire.'

-nò 'to have just'

This is another rare suffix; it is used to indicate that the action of the verb was completed a few moments earlier. It is unusual in that it is one of only two suffixes (the nominal suffix ŷy being the other) which has an inherent low accent. The following are examples of the use of -nò.

- 374) i,ŷ?ŷ,la í:la-nò
ARRIVE,Q, ARRIVE-just

/í?lá. í:lanò/
A: 'Is he here?' B: 'He just arrived.'

- 375) ó:ta-li-nò cim-á:ya-li-t
BE:THERE-1ss-just 2sdat-DEFEAT-1ss-Past

/ó:talinò. cimá:yalit/
'I just got there (in the race). I beat you.'

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER 4

¹The first person singular positive subject cross-reference marker is the suffix -li which is invariable in all verb conjugations.

²The alteration of c to s before consonants other than h reflects a now-obsolete morphophonemic rule. Compare the verb facó:kan 'to flake off, one time,' and fáskan 'to flake off, many times.'

³The gloss 'exit' is only approximate. The term can also mean 'come out,' 'well up,' or 'to rise (of heavenly bodies)' depending on the context.

⁴The segment -:ya seems to be a reflex of an obsolete verb *í:yan, 'to go.' There is a reflex of this verb in aí:yan, 'to go (sg) (c.f. áttan, 'to intend to go'), and there is a Choctaw cognate in the verb iya, 'to go' (Byington, 1913:171).

⁵It is doubtful that the naive speaker perceives a difference between direct objects marked with dative pronoun prefixes and ones marked with the direct object prefixes, any more than a naive English speaker perceives one between the uses of the word me in the phrases 'He sees me' (direct object) and 'He tells me' (indirect object).

⁶Although historically stóklon means 'with two,' it can now be used when more than two nouns are being conjoined, as in the following example:

4f1) anó am-ittacakkí am-aláhka stóklo-n fí:la lítya akkámmit amá:-hílka-k
 I 1sposs-SIS/BRO 1poss-RELATIVE BE:TOGETHER-sw PN PN BE:SO-conn
 GO(pl)-1pls(IIIA)-ss

/anó amittacakkí amaláhka stóklon fí:la lítya kámmit amá:hílkak/

'I, with my sister and my relative, Vera and Lydia, went just the same.'

⁷These three verbs are inflected for dual (using the plural subject cross-reference affixes attached to the singular stem, and the third person non-singular suffix -:ci) and for plurality by means of suppletive roots: stilmá:kan 'to be bringing (pl);' stamá:kan 'to be taking (pl);' and

syomáhlín 'to carry (pl).'

⁸These verbs, being transitive statives (see Chapter 5), mark their direct objects with the am- set of pronoun prefixes. As the marking of the object is obligatory, the third person direct object is included in the examples.

⁹Originally this word seems to have meant 'to gather or disperse supernatural power to or from oneself.' See also Footnote 15.

¹⁰Koasati is rich in terms for describing poverty. Stibákłín refers to the mental pain brought about by poverty; bássín refers to the weakness and lethargy brought on by not being able to obtain enough to eat; sówwín refers to the thinness and emaciation brought on by insufficient food; and aná:hín (a loan from the Creek anahita) refers to the possession of insufficient clothing due to poverty.

¹¹The use of this term, literally 'to make a musical sound to someone from afar,' relates to the belief that when a person's ears ring, someone is speaking of her.

¹²Literally, this term means 'to call out to someone from afar,' and is now used primarily to refer to the use of the telephone. The object of the verb is marked by the am- set of pronoun prefixes and is obligatorily marked.

¹³The verbal noun of this verb, mastolihná, has its meaning specialized to 'postage stamp.'

¹⁴This term refers to a court of law.

¹⁵The verb hóllon used to mean 'possessed of supernatural power,' holló being a term for the idea expressed by the Algonquian manito. However, as in some Algonquian languages (notably Shawnee), the term for supernatural power came to refer to evil power and finally to something frightening or

dangerous. The old meaning of the word occurs in the term taholló, 'Sunday, derived from nihtá holló, 'holy day.'

¹⁶ This is a verbalization of the verb phrase st-a,kí,:l-o-V (instr-LIKE, 3neg(IIC),-neg:comp-phr:term) stakí:lq, 'he dislikes him because of it.' The verb from which this phrase is derived, á:lon, in the positive means 'to guess; think so; to hope,' and in the negative means 'to dislike.'

¹⁷ In Alabama (Lupardus; 1983:145) this is the only position that the cognate Alabama element can occur.

¹⁸ The verb base, as defined here, consists of the verb root and any subject cross-reference suffixes, which includes the third person non-singular suffix -:ci.

¹⁹ This rule, more fully stated as: when three consonants come together across a morpheme boundary, if one is a glottal, and the others are not members of a geminate cluster, the glottal consonant drops out, explains why the glottal stop disappears in the Interrogative form of a verb with a consonant cluster between the ultimate and penultimate syllables of the verb. This rule is violated only in the case of the h-grade form of a verb, and then only in careful speech (see Chapter 9).

²⁰ Forms of ihó:can include ihó::can, 'very long ago,' ihó:ca:fó:kon, 'in the past,' ihó:ca:kítton, 'a long time ago,' ihó:co:to 'long-ago (adjective),' ihokí:con, 'soon,' and ihokí:co:sin, 'very soon.' This listing is not exhaustive.

²¹ It is tempting to see the irrealis suffix -laha- (and the corresponding realis -toha-) as being bimorphemic, -laho- (or -toho-) followed by an emphatic suffix -a; however, no such emphatic morpheme exists. Booker (1980:140, 146) treats the forms ending in o as bimorphemic; however, the use of the two does not support her conclusions, the meaning of the forms ending in

o is more generalized, of the forms ending in a more specific.

²²This statement focuses not on the motion of the wind, as in the English, but on the location of its blowing. To a Koasati speaker, the wind that is now here was once in the north, so the realis is used.

²³Generally this suffix is used with no following phrase. When one complains about being barked at by a dog, the response is simply if-o-:l-á:p-ok (DOG-be-deduc-modal-ss:foc) ifo:lá:pok, 'What else can you expect from a dog?'

²⁴According to Haas, the phrase terminal markers used by women (in her work called 'female speech') were becoming obsolete. What may have deceived her is the common past tense suffix -:sa- followed by the morpheme DEL, which would appear as -:s, similar in phonetic realization to the form of -š after the morpheme ʏ.

²⁵Because three of these people are dead, the one living to whom this form of speech is ascribed actually does not use the forms, and only one can be attested from other sources as actually having used the suffix, one cannot make more generalizations as to the actual social functions of the suffix -ś.

²⁶The Apalachee language (Smith:1862) contains a cognate form ka, 'to be,' which is used as an auxiliary and as an independent verb, as in pimacat hasca //pim-aka-t has-ka// (1pldat-GIVE-conn 2pls-BE) pimakat haska, 'you (pl) give it to us;' and cat hasca //ka-t has-ka// (BE-conn 2pls-BE) kat haska, 'you (pl) are.' The accentuation of the segment -tika- seems to have arisen when verbal accentuation became obligatory, and the penultimate syllable of verbs was the chosen syllable. Because the form *ka lacked the proper syllable shape, the accent was placed on the penultimate syllable of the compound. This rule of accentuation seems to have eliminated monosyllabic verb roots from Koasati.

CHAPTER 5

STATIVE VERBS

Stative verbs are those verbs which cross-reference their semantic subjects with the prefixes that usually mark either the direct object or benefactive object (dative) of a transitive verb. In other Muskogean languages, especially Chickasaw and Choctaw (Payne, 1981; Munro and Gordon, 1982; Dahlstrom, 1983) but also Mikasuki (Boynton, 1983), the presence of stative verbs has been compared with or linked to split-ergativity, or considered as an example of the agent-patient system of casemarking. This has been the case, because in these other languages, stative verbs are almost universally intransitive, thus making the marking of subjects of intransitive verbs with prefixes marking direct objects or indirect objects appear ergative. It has been considered split-ergativity, because not all intransitive verbs are stative, but some have active inflection. Such an analysis is not possible for Koasati. As attested by their negation, stative verbs are autonomous third person forms; their verbal nouns are formed as if they were active verbs of the appropriate verb class. Subjects of stative verbs are marked on the nouns in exactly the same manner as active verbs. Also there is a class of stative verbs that are transitive; although the evidence is not clear, this class seems not to occur in any other Muskogean language, and it makes it difficult to discuss stative verbs in Koasati according to the system of transitive subject, intransitive subject and transitive object, as the authors mentioned above have in their respective works.

The prefixes used to cross-reference the subject of a stative verb are in the following table.

TABLE 5.1

	ca-stative prefixes	am-stative prefixes
1s	ca-	am-
2s	ci-	cim-
3	∅-	im-
1pl	ko-	kom-
2pl	haci-	hacim-

That stative verbs are autonomous third person forms is attested by their negation and verbal noun formation. Compare the positive third person, negative third person and verbal noun of the active Class IB verb có:pan, 'to buy something,' with the forms for the stative IB verb okoyá:pan, 'to be lonely,' with first person cross-reference.

TABLE 5.2

	có:pan	Gloss	okoyá:pan	Gloss
3 pos	có:p	'he buys it'	ac-okoyá:p	'I am lonely'
3 neg	cokíkpo	'he does not buy'	ac-okoyakíkpo	'I am not lonely'
v.n.	colpá	'buying; to buy'	okoyalpá	'loneliness'
1pl	cólpl	'we buy'	(ako-koyá:p	'we are lonely')

Stative verbs seem to have arisen from a situation where the semantic subject of the verb was considered the patient of the verbal action, as in the following example, which though not stative, gives an indication how these verbs may have arisen.

1a)	í:sa-k ná:h-o- \check{V} HOUSE-subj EXIST-be-phr:term	1b)	í:sa-k am-ná:h HOUSE-subj lsdatt-EXIST
	/í:sak ná:hq/		/í:sak anná:h/
	'There is a house.'		'A house exists for me; i.e. I have a house.'

The stative verb being autonomous, that is the action of the verb being divorced from attachment to the semantic subject, a stative verb may be used in place of an active verb when the action takes place without the control of the semantic subject, as in the following examples.

2a) sobáy-tákkó-ŷ
KNOW (sg)-1neg (IIA)-Phr:term

/sobáy tákkq/

'I do not know it.'

b) ca-sobáy-ko-ŷ
1sstats-KNOW-3neg (IIA)-phr:term

/casobáy kq/¹

'I chance not to know it.'

3a) nó:ci-li-t
SLEEP-1ss-Past

/nó:cilit/

'I slept.'

b) ca-nó:ci-t
1sstats-SLEEP-Past

/canó:cit/

'I fell asleep.'

4a) afá:ka-li-t
LAUGH-1ss-Past

/afá:kalit/

'I laughed.'

b) ca-afá:ka-t
1sstats-LAUGH-Past

/acafá:kat/²

'I burst out laughing.'

5a) n`ihli-l
 NOD-1ss
 /n`ihli1/
 'I nod.'

b) ca-n`ihl
 1sstats-NOD
 /can`ihl/
 'I am nodding off.'

In extraordinary cases a transitive verb with non-third person subject and object can be transformed into a stative if the action is conceived as being beyond the control of both semantic subject and object, as in 6b). Note that though 6a) uses a transitive verb, 6b) does not, and that what is the subject in 6a) is cross-referenced by the dative pronoun in 6b).

6a) ca-yawoplí:c-íska-hónk
 1sobj-AFFRIGHT-2ss(IIIB)-adv
 /cayawoplí:cískahónk/
 'You just gave me a nasty fright (on purpose).'

b) cin-ca-yawópka-hónk
 2sdat-1sstats-BE:AFFRIGHTED-adv
 /cincayawópkahónk/
 'You just gave me a nasty fright (by accident).'

It seems to have been the case that the choice of the ca-set of pronouns or am-set to inflect a stative verb was semantically governed, with ca-stative forms being used for states considered more or less permanent, while am-statives were used for states considered more temporary. A very few stative verbs at the present time permit such a choice; two of the most prominent are exemplified in 7a) and 7b), and 8a) and 8b).

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>7a) ca-ká:n
1sstats-BE:GOOD/WELL

/caká:n/

'I am well.'</p> | <p>b) am-ká:n
1sstats-BE:GOOD/WELL

/anká:n/

'I have a temporary feeling of
wellness; I am sexually sated.'</p> |
| <p>8a) ca-hó:p
1sstats-BE:SICK/HURT

/cahó:p/

'I am sick.'</p> | <p>b) am-hó:p
1sstats-BE:SICK/HURT

/ahó:p/

'I am hurt.'</p> |

At present, the majority of stative verbs can be inflected with only one of the two sets of prefixes, and the choice of prefix set must be marked in the lexicon with the verb, as the choice is not semantically predictable. Ca-stative verbs outnumber am-statives greatly, but the reasons for this numerical difference are not clear. The following are further examples of stative verbs. Information on the complete inflection of stative verbs is given as part of the discussion of verbal classes in Chapter 3.

- 9) ci-ca, ʋʋ;hno
2sstats-BE:COLD (animate), Q,

/cicáhnó/

'Are you cold?'
- 10) cim-lo, ʋʋ, kba
2sstats-BE:WARM, Q,

/cillókbá/

'Are you warm?'
- 11) ko-káyya-:s
1plstats-BE:FULL:OF:FOOD-IPast

/kokáyya:s/

'We are full.'

- 12) kom-akásno-:s
1pl stats-BE:HUNGRY (pl) -IPast

/komakásno:s/

'We are hungry.'
- 13) Ø-okoyá:p
3stats-BE:LONELY

/okoyá:p/

'He is lonely.'
- 14) im-akasámk
3stats-BE:DEPRESSED/DESPAIR

/imakasámk/

'He is depressed; he has a feeling of despair.'

Transitive stative verbs

The existence of transitive stative verbs in the language is a major indication that stative verbs reflect some other linguistic process than ergativity. These stative verbs, which are few in number in comparison to the total number of stative verbs in the language, use the ca-set of pronoun prefixes to cross-reference the semantic subject and the am-set to cross-reference the semantic object. The am-set precedes the ca-set so that the order of elements is the unusual (for Koasati) Object, Subject and Verb. One such stative verb, bànnan, 'to need,' does not use the am-prefixes to mark the object, but rather the ca-prefixes again. In this case as well, the object precedes the subject in the order of elements. A list of most of the transitive stative verbs so far noted follows, each with an example.

- 15) bànnan 'to need'

ci-ca-bàn
2sstatobj-1sstats-NEED

/cicabàn/

'I need you.'

- 16) yimmin 'to believe'
 mafihn-ón am-mán-híska-tik cin-ca-yím-ko-laho-ŷ
 TRUTH-obj:foc 1sdat-TELL-2ss(IIIA)-conseq 2sstatobj-1sstats-
 BELIEVE-3neg(IIA)-irrealis-phr:term
 /mafihnón ammáhískatik cincayínkolahq/
 'Even though you tell me the truth, I will not believe you.'
- 17) małátlin (sg)/małáhlín (pl) 'to fear'
 a) ca-cákli-h banna-ŷhco-k ómni-n in-ca-małátli-ŷhco-ŷ
 1sobj-CHOP-conn WANT-habit-ss BE-sw 3statobj-1stats-FEAR(sg)-habit-
 phr:term
 /cacaklih bannáhco k ómmin incamałátlíhco/
 'It is the case that they (the owls) habitually try to peck me,
 and I am afraid of them.'
- b) thátka-ha-k im-∅-małahlí haciciniká
 WHITE:PERSON-pl-subj 3statobj-3statsubj-FEAR(pl) (aor) SCORPION
 /thátkahak immałahlí haciciniká/
 'White people fear the scorpion.'
- 18) hó:pan 'to loathe'
 in-ca-ho:pa-ŷ:mo
 3statobj-1sstats-LOATHE-adv
 /incaho:pá:mo/
 'I just loathe him!'
- 19) palátkan 'to be cross with'
 am-ci-pala,ŷ?ŷ, tka
 1sstatobj-2sstats-BE:CROSS:WITH,Q,
 /ancipalátká/
 'Are you cross with me?'
- 20) nokyó:kan 'to be shy of'
 im-ko-nokyó:ka-:s
 3statobj-1plstats-BE:SHY:OF-IPast
 /inkonokyó:ka:s/
 'We are shy of them.'

- 21) *þákcan* 'to be homesick for'
 am-má:ma-ha im-ca-þákca-:s
 1sposs-MOTHER-pl 3statobj-1sstats-BE:HOMESICK:FOR-IPast
 /ammá:maha incaþákca:s/
 'I am homesick for my parents.'
- 22) *ofáhyan* 'to be ashamed of'
 cim-ca-ofáhy
 2sstatobj-1sstatsubj-BE:ASHAMED:OF
 /cimacofáhy/
 'I am ashamed of you.'
- 23) *ilhó:sin* 'to forgive'
 cim-ko-ilhó:si-laho-ŷ
 2sstatobj-1plstats-FÖRGIVE-irrealis-phr:term
 /cinkoilhó:silahq/
 'We will forgive you.'
- 24) *stimayókpan* 'to love'
 st-im-ca-ayókp
 instr-3statobj-1sstats-BE:HAPPY
 /stimacayókp/
 'I love him/her.'
- 25) *stjficccákkín* 'to be jealous of'
 st-im-ca-ficccákk-á:ho:s
 instr-3statobj-1sstats-BE:JEALOUS-adv
 /stincaficccákká:ho:s/
 'I am very jealous of him/her.'
- 26) *stjhawá:lon* 'to have pity on'
 st-im-ci-hawa,ŷʔŷ,:lo
 instr-3statobj-2sstats-HAVE:PITY:ON,Q,
 /stincihawáʔló/
 'Do you have pity on her/him?'

It is notable that all transitive stative verbs have to do with emotions for or against something. As emotions are on the whole not under the control of the one experiencing them, and certainly not under the control of the one inspiring them, it is only natural that, with the concept of the stative verb reflecting lack of control over an action, verbs of emotion were interpreted as statives, with stative objects.³

A number of these verbs appear as intransitive stative verbs, with a change in meaning in some cases. These verbs are hó:pan, 'to be sick or hurt (see example 8 above); ilhó:sin, 'to forget';⁴ ɬákcan, 'to be homesick;' and ofáhyan, 'to be ashamed.' The transitive stative verbs with the prefixed instrumental marker st-/s- (examples 24, 25 and 26) have been derived historically or synchronically from other verbs. Paired with stimayókpan, 'to love' is ayókpan, 'to be happy (ca-stative),' and beside stɬificcákkín, 'to be jealous of,' is ficcákkín, 'to be jealous.' The use of the instrumental to derive transitive verbs in Koasati is unique among Muskogean languages.

There are two stative verbs which have in their positive forms two separate meanings, while in their negative forms there is a different form for each meaning. This is done by following the negation rules of different verb classes. The following table illustrates these two verbs.

TABLE 5.3

<u>Positive</u>	<u>Gloss</u>	<u>Negation</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
bàn	'he wants it; he needs it'	bánkq	'he does not want it' (Class IIA negation)
		bannatíkkq	'he does not need it' (Class III Ci nega- tion)
ká:n	'he is good; he is well'	kánkq	'he is bad' (Class IIA negation)
		ka:notíkkq	'he is unwell' (Class III Ci neg.)

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER 5

¹This form, casobáykq, can be used to indicate that the knowledge has slipped one's mind, that one never had the chance to learn about something, or even as a way to deny knowing something when speaking to one to whom the speaker feels knowledge should not be given.

²It seems that nearly every verb in the lexicon, the action of which can be considered as being under the control of the subject, can take a stative form when the action occurs against the will of the subject or escapes her control.

³The detransitivization of a verb being converted into a stative, as in example 6b), seems to be a later process than the one that produced most transitive stative verbs, which are related, if at all, to intransitive stative verbs.

⁴The verb ilhó:sin, has the secondary meaning, 'to be lost in the woods.' This meaning seems to have developed from the fact that when one is lost in the woods one has forgotten his path. This secondary meaning is also attested in the name of Ilhoscobá, 'Great-One-Lost-in-the-Woods,' a mythological being which lures travellers off paths in the forest.

CHAPTER 6
IMPERATIVES

There is a rich and varied system of imperatives in Koasati, seemingly more elaborate than any system in the other Muskogean languages.¹ Although some of the categories, such as those of the polite imperatives, have a similarity to such a category in Mikasuki, the widespread use of delayed imperatives seems to be unique to Koasati. On the other hand, delayed imperatives are (or were) common among Algonquian languages, and the existence of this category in Koasati may reflect former contact with such languages.

The various imperative suffixes require different forms of the root or base. The first person singular imperative suffix -táka, the third person imperative suffix -tíka, and the second person plural exclusive imperative suffix -óka require the h-grade of the verb root. The second person singular suffix -∅ requires the simple root. The second person plural inclusive imperative suffixes require the simple root; the suffixes themselves have the following specializations: the suffix -hóli is used with verbs of Class IIA, the suffix -hóka is used with verbs of Class IIIA, and the suffix -tóka is used with verbs of all other classes.

The negative imperative suffix -v́nna requires a verb base inflected for the proper person, as does the polite imperative suffix -ló, which is, however, limited to the second and third persons, and as does the suffix used to indicate the polite imperatives of continuation, -tíka. The delayed imperative suffix -vh is simply suffixed to the simple imperative form.

All the imperative suffixes must be followed by a phrase terminal marker. Only -ló takes the phrase terminal marker v, all the others take DEL. The

former 'male speech' suffix -š could be used following DEL. The following examples will show the use of the various imperative suffixes. Following the examples, a complete table of imperatives is given, using í:pan, 'to eat,' as the exemplar.

First person singular, -táka

- 1) á:tosi cim-á:sa-t hí,h,ca-ták
 BABY 3dat-CARRY:IN:ARMS-conn SEE,h:grade,-1sgimp
 /á:tosi cimá:sat híhcaták/
 'Let me hold your baby!'
- 2) má:mi-k cim-mán,h,ka-ták
 BE:THEN-ss2sdatt-TELL,h:grade,-1sgimp
 /má:mik cimmáñkaták/
 'Then let me tell you about it!'

Second person singular, -ø

- 3) lakáwwi-ø-DEL
 LIFT-2sgimp-phr:term
 /lakáw/
 'Lift it!'
- 4) am-awí:ci-ø-DEL
 1sdatt-HELP-2sgimp-phr:term
 /amawí:c/
 'Help me!'
- 5) ónti-ø-DEL-š
 COME (sg)-2sgimp-phr:term-phr:term
 /ónc/²
 'Come!'

Third person, -tíka

- 6) ałí,h,ya-tík
 GO (sg),h:grade,-3imp
 /ałíhyatík/
 'Let her go!'

- 7) i,h,la-tík
ARRIVE,h:grade,-3imp

/ihlatík/

'Let him come here!'

- 8) nó,h,ci-tík
SLEEP,h:grade,-3imp

/nóhčitík/

'Let them sleep!'

First person plural, -áska

- 9) hiná:p il-b-ásk
NOW 1pls(IA)-KILL-1plimp

/hiná:p ilbásk/

'Now let us kill it!'

- 10) o,n,t-ásk
BE:THERE,1pls(IB),-1plimp

/ontásk/

'Let us be over there!'

Second person plural, inclusive, -hóli, -hóka, -tóka

- 11) im-tíw-hól
3dat-OPEN(pl)-2plinclimp

/intiwhól/

'Open ye them up!'

- 12) is-hók
DRINK-2plinc

/ishók/

'Drink ye it!'

- 13) ohompa-tók
DINE-2plinclimp

/ohompatók/

'Dine ye!'

Second person plural exclusive, -óka

- 14) am-awí,h,c-óka-DEL-š
 1sdát-HELP,h:grade,-2pleximp-phr:term-phr:term
 /amawihcókš/
 'Help ye me, but not he to whom I have been speaking! (Turtle is calling for help, but not from Rabbit who has just injured him.)'
- 15) batahkó sokáf,h,f-ók
 BASSWOOD STRIP:BARK,h:grade,-wpleximp
 /batahkó sokáhfók/
 'Strip ye, but not he to whom I have been speaking, the basswood bark!'
- 16) wakhobá-n stimabana,h,l-ók
 OX-obj YOKE,h:grade,-2pleximp
 /wakhobán stimabanahlók/
 'Yoke ye, but not he to whom I have been speaking, the oxen!'

Negative imperative, -V́nna

- 17) ínko-V́.ís-híska-V́n kán-ko-V́hco-t ómni-n
 NO-phr:term DRINK,2ss(IIIA)-negimp GOOD-3neg(IIA)-habit-conn BE-sw
 /ínkø. ishiskán. kánkóhcot ómni/
 'No! Do not drink it! By nature it is bad!'
- 18) ná:s-ok cim-acíhba-V́n
 SOMETHING-subj:foc 2sdát-BE:SAD-negimp
 /ná:sok cimacihbán/
 'Do not let anything sorrow you!'
- 19) ili-labah-ci-V́n
 reflex-WETTEN-2ss(IIA)-negimp
 /ililabahcín/
 'Do not get yourself wet!'

Delayed imperative, -V́h

- 20) am-awí:ci-Ø-V́h
 1sdát-HELP-2s imp-delay
 /amawí:cjh/
 'Help me later!'

- 21) am-ha:lah-hóli-ŷh
1dat-MOVE-2plinclimp-delay

/ạha:lahhólj̣h/

'Move ye it for me later!'
- 22) kayap-hóka-ŷh
PICK:UP:GRAINS-2plinclimp-delay

/kayaphókəh/

'Pick ye up the granular substance later!'
- 23) holikfíkso-n aɬ,ci,:ya-ŷnna-ŷh
NAKED-adv GO (sg),2ss (IIB),-negimp-delay

/holikfíkson aɬci:yánnəh/

'Do not run around naked!'
- 24) poto:-ci-ŷnna-ŷh im-hollocí
TOUCH-2ss (IIA)-negimp-delay 3dat-BE:TABOOED (aor)

/poto:cínnəh. j̣hollocí/

'Do not touch it! It is tabooed for people.'

Polite imperative of continuation, -tika

- 25) ɬopót-ci-tík
PASS:THROUGH-2ss (IIA)-polite

/ɬopótcitík/

'Please continue on passing through.'
- 26) ínko-ŷ-ś ná:s-o:si-ŷhco ís-cíkkotík
NO-phr:term-phr:term SOMETHING-dim-habit DRINK-2sneg (IIIA)-polite

/ínko:ś. ná:sosco íscíkkotík/

'Nay! Please do not drink even a little bit of it.'
- 27) o-s-cík-l-o-tík
go:&-instr-2sneg (IA)-ARRIVE-neg:comp-polite

/oscíklotík/

'Please do not go and get it.'

Simple polite imperative, -lo

- 28) is-pa-ló-v
2ss(IA)-EAT-polite:imp-phr:term

/ispaló/

'Please eat it, if you wish.'

- 29) isko-ló-v
DRINK-polite:imp-phr:term

/iskoló/

'Let her drink it, if she so desire.'

There is one final hortative form recorded; it is unique and its pattern is no longer followed in Koasati. The form is given in the following example:

- 30) ilsíy a⁺kilí,:ya-DEL-š
ELSIE(voc) GO(sg/du),1plneg(IIB),-phr:term-phr:term

/ilsíy a⁺kilíyš/

'Elsie, let us two go!'

It is unique in that the hortative is cross-referenced by the first person plural negative subject infix without the negative complement -o. This pattern is found nowhere else in Koasati, but in Choctaw (Nicklas, 1974: 66-71) such a pattern is the only way that a hortative can be expressed. This is clearly an archaic feature in Koasati.

TABLE 6.1

	Imperative	Delayed Imperative ³	Negative Imperative	Delayed Negative Imperative ³
1s	ihpaták 'let me eat!'	ihpatákqah 'let me eat later!'	i:palín 'let me not eat!'	i:palinnqah 'let me not eat later!'
2s	í:p 'eat!'	í:pqah 'eat it later!'	ispán 'do not eat it!'	ispánnqah 'do not eat it later!'
3	ihpatík 'let her eat!'	ihpatíqah 'let her eat later!'	i:pán 'let her not eat!'	i:pánnqah 'let her not eat later!'
1pl	ilpásk 'let us eat!'	ilpáskqah 'let us eat later!'	ilpán 'let us not eat!'	ilpánnqah 'let us not eat later!'
2pl in	i:patók 'eat ye it!'	i:patókqah 'eat ye it later!'	haspán 'do ye not eat it!'	haspánnqah 'do ye not eat it later!'
2plex	ihpók 'eat ye (but not him I spoke to) it!'	ihpókqah 'eat ye (etc.) it later!'	--	--
Polite Imperatives of Continuation ⁴				
1s	í:palitík 'let me go on eating!'	í:palitíqah 'let me go on eat- ing later!'	ákpótík 'let me not go on eating!'	ákpótíqah 'let me not go on eating later!'
2s	íspatík 'please go on eating!'	íspatíqah 'please go on eating later!'	cíkpotík 'please do not eat it!'	cikpotíqah 'please do not eat it later!'
3	--	--	--	--
1pl	ílpatík 'let us to on eating!'	ílpatíqah 'let us go on eat- ing later!'	kílpótík 'why don't we not eat!'	kílpotíqah 'why don't we not eat later!'
2pl	háspatík 'please go ye on eating!'	háspatíqah 'please go ye on eating later!'	hacíkpotík 'please do ye not eat it!'	hacíkpotíqah 'please do ye not eat it later!'
Simple Polite Imperatives				
1s.	--			
2s	íspaló	'please eat it, if you so desire'		
3	í:paló	'let her (him/them) eat it, if she (he/they) so desire'		
1pl	--			
2pl	háspaló	'please eat it, if ye so desire'		

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER 6

¹Alabama, although the language most closely related to Koasati, seems only to have a simple imperative system consisting of positive and negative imperatives (Lupardus, 1982:197-202). First person and third person imperative forms are not reported, although they probably exist. The Mikasuki imperative system is discussed in Boynton (1982:143-144). It has a regular and polite imperative, but negative imperatives are not reported. Imperatives in all Muskogean languages need greater study.

²When the 'male' phrase terminal marker -š follows the stop t, the consonant cluster tš was pronounced [č].

³It should be noted that not all speakers accept delayed imperatives for forms other than second person.

⁴The polite negative imperative of continuation is most often used for first person and second person addressees. The distinction between the polite negative imperative and the regular negative imperative is thus: one would only say ispán, 'don't eat it!', if the person addressed were about to eat something poisonous or inedible; if she were about to eat a piece of food that one wished to save, cíkpotík, 'please do not eat it,' would be used.

CHAPTER 7

VERBAL NOUNS AND AGENTIVE NOUNS

There are two kinds of nouns that can be derived from verbs, the verbal noun and the agentive noun. The verbal noun is a noun which refers to an abstract or concrete nominal quality of a verb; the agentive noun is a noun which refers to a person or an object which performs an action or is typified by it. There are two kinds of agentive nouns, regular agentive nouns, which are fully productive, and a second kind, called Old Nominalization, which is no longer productive. The derivation and use of these nouns will be discussed in this chapter.

Verbal nouns

A verbal noun is a derived noun that refers to a quality of the verb from which it is derived, such as ficcahilká, 'jealousy,' from ficcákin 'to be jealous,' and cayáhka, 'walking,' from cayáhin, 'to walk.' These nouns are essential to the verb paradigm, because they serve functions similar to the English infinitive or gerund.

The verbal noun for verbs of all classes, except Class IIA, is formed from the first person plural affirmative form of the verb, without phrase terminal markers. The accent usually falls on the ultimate syllable of the noun, unless the penultimate syllable is naturally long, whereupon that syllable is accented. Thus from the verb hí:can, 'to see,' where vowel length is not organic, the verbal noun ilhicá is formed; from há:lon, 'to hear,' where vowel length is organic, the noun ilhá:la is formed. Frequently, as in ilhá:la, an abstracting suffix -a is added to the verbal noun. Where there is a distinction made between an unsuffixed and a suffixed verbal noun, the one with -a is a more abstract noun.

Therefore, the verbal noun of ho:tá:non, 'to braid someone's hair' can be holtanó, 'a braid of hair,' or holtaná, 'braiding.' This distinction between a concrete and an abstract verbal noun is not consistently observed, except in verbal nouns of Class IIB.

Verbs of Classes IIA and IIB form their verbal nouns by replacing the element -li with the element -ka. Thus the verbal noun of anáttin, 'to marry someone,' is anátká, and of hatlí:cin, 'to whiten,' the verbal noun is hatkacá. A verb of Class IIB such as wilaplí:cin, 'to plow,' which can semantically permit the formation of two verbal nouns usually will, thus making the nouns wilapkací, 'a plow,' and wilapkacá, 'plowing.'

Although the majority of verbs have verbal nouns, impersonal verbs do not. If a noun must be derived from such a verb, it is the agentive noun which is used, as in the following examples:

óyban	'to rain'	óybá	'rain'
híplin	'to snow'	hiplí	'snow'
fáplin	'to be windy'	faplí	'wind'
malmáhkan	'to be lightning'	malmáhka	'lightning'
ólfan	'to sprout'	olfá	'sprout'

Note the aberrant accentuation of the agentive nouns; rather than being accented on the penultimate syllable like other agentives, the majority of impersonal agentives are accented as if they were underived nouns.

A few impersonal verbs allow the formation of verbal nouns, but they are rare in occurrence, and are not generally considered acceptable by most speakers. The following are a few:

óyban	'to rain'	oliybá	'rain'
wíníhkan	'to thunder'	winihhilká	'thunder'
malmáhkan	'to be lightning'	malmahhilká	'lightning'

There are a few other verbs that for semantic reasons do not form a verbal noun, most notable of these are yámmin, 'to be like,' akkámmin, 'to be so,' (nak)sámmin, 'to be how,' mámmin, 'to occur by chance,' and mayó:ban, 'to fortunately happen.'

The derivation of verbal nouns for Verb Class IIAi is not predictable. This is because this verb class is made up of verbs drawn from other classes, which for one reason or another have had their paradigms reformed after the Class IIA pattern. However, verbal noun formation is one of the most conservative processes in the language, and many verbal nouns for verbs of this class come from the original paradigm of the verb. Other verbal nouns of this class are formed on analogy to the general rule of verbal noun formation; still others form their verbal nouns on analogy to the pattern of verbal noun formation of Class IIAii. The following table lists verbs and verbal nouns, with the paradigmatic pattern for the latter, of Class IIAi.

TABLE 7.1

Verb	Gloss	Verbal Noun	Pattern
ho:cí:fon	'to name'	holcifó	IB
onnó:ʔan	'to reach'	onnontá	IB
bànnan	'to want; need'	balinná	IIC
kostí:nin	'to be wise'	kolistínka	IIC/IIAii
á:san	'to carry in one's arms'	ashilí	general
á:san	'to be with'	áska	IIAii
tá:ʔan	'to weave'	táʔka	IIAii

It is notable that a negative verbal noun can not be formed. To express the same meaning as a negative verbal noun would carry there are

two formations: one with the verb upon which the verbal noun depends being negated, and the other a double verb construction with the first verb, replacing the verbal noun, inflected and with the suffix string -áhi-k. The following are examples of these two kinds of constructions.

- 1) aybacilká alwáhka ca-bán-ko-V
 LAW TO:RUIN 1sstats-WANT-3neg(IIA)-phr:term
 /aybacilká alwáhka cabánkø/
 'I want not to break the law,' lit. 'I don't want to break the law.'
- 2) aybacilká alwáh-kílk-áhi-k ca-ban
 LAW RUIN-1plneg(IIA)-intent-ss 1sstats-WANT
 /aybacilká alwáhkílkáhihik caban/
 'I want us not to break the law,' lit. 'I want that we might not break the law.'

A kind of negative verbal noun can be produced, by verbalizing the negative agentive noun of a verb as a verb of Class IIICi, and giving it the verbal noun typical of a verb of that class. Thus:

Verb	małátlin	'to be afraid'
Negative agentive noun	małátko	'fearless one'
Verbalized negative agentive	małátkon	'be fearless'
Verbal noun of verbalized neg. agent.	małátkotilká	'fearlessness'

Such negative verbal nouns, however, are used almost exclusively as nouns, and almost never as complements to verbs.

The following table contains examples of verbal nouns by Class. Further examples may be found in Chapter 3 in the discussion of the paradigms of the various verb classes.

TABLE 7.2

<u>Verb Class</u>	<u>Verb</u>	<u>Gloss</u>	<u>Verbal Noun</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
IA	hí:can	'see'	ilhicá	'appearance; seeing; to see'
IA	íllin	'die'	ilillá	'death'
IB	noksí:pan	'be angry'	noksilpá	'anger'
IB	hó:pan	'be ill'	holpá	'illness'
IIAi	í:sin	'take'	ishilí	'handle; to take'
IIAi	ilhó:sin	'forget'	ilhóska	'forgetfulness; to forget'
IIAi i	tíwwin	'open (pl)'	tíwka	'opening; to open'
IIAi i	atáclin	'hang (pl)'	atákka	'hanging; to hang'
IIB	sahlí:cin	'scrape'	sahkací sahkacá	'file; rasp' 'scraping; to scrape'
IIC	ayókpan	'be happy'	ayolikpá	'happiness'
IIC	albákcon	'put under one's head'	albalikcó albalikcá	'pillow' 'putting something under one's head'
IIIA	afá:kañ:	'laugh'	afahilká	'laughter'
IIIA	ałí:kan	'tell stories'	ałihilká	'story'
IIIB	hobá:cin	'castrate'	hobacilká	'castration'
IIIB	akostiní:cin	'think'	akostinicilká	'mind; thoughts; to think'
IIICi	í:san	'dwell (pl)'	istilká	'dwelling place'
IIICi	poyá:fan	'have bad luck in hunting'	poyafatilká	'bad luck in hunting'

Although most verbal nouns are formed on unprefixated verbs, verbs which have reciprocal, reflexive or instrumental prefixes may also form verbal nouns. The following are examples.

Reciprocal

ittin-naí:kan	'speak to each other'	ittinnałihilká	'reciprocal speech'
ittim-aláhkan	'be related to each other'	ittimalahhilká	'reciprocal kinship relations'

Reflexive

ili-hí:can	'see oneself'	ililhicá	'mirror'
il-akóhkan	'cover oneself'	ilakohhilká	'hat'

Instrumental

iskaní st-í:bin	'kill insects with something'	iskaní stilbá	'insecticide'
okí si-im-hóhcan	'dig for water with something'	okí stjholihcá	'well augur'

Instrumental and Reflexive

st-il-ibi-akóhlin	'cover one's face with something'	stilibiakóhka	'mask'
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Use of verbal nouns

Verbal nouns can be used either as simple nouns, or as complements of verbs. When used as simple nouns they take the various case suffixes that nouns do; as complements to verbs they are uninflected. Therefore, the verbal noun in example 3 is being used as a noun, because it has the nominative case suffix *-k*, and not as a verbal complement.

- 3) holtolihná-k am-acíhb-á:ho:s
COUNTING-subj |sdát-BE:DIFFICULT-adv

/holtolihná k amacihbá:ho:s/

'Mathematics is very hard for me.' Not '*It is hard for me to count.'

As complements of verbs, verbal nouns are the functional equivalents of English infinitives or gerunds. Only abstract verbal nouns are used

as such complements. The following are four examples of this use of the verbal noun.

- 4) olá:na-fíhna-ska-n aní:ya kán-ko-ŷ il-ka-ŷhco-k
 BE:BRUSHY-adv-conseq-sw TO:GO BE:GOOD-3neg(IIA)-phr:term 1pls(IA)-
 SAY-habit-ss
 /olá:nafíhnaskan, "aní:ya kánkq," ilkáhcoq/
 'Because it is overly brushy, we say, "It is bad going.''
- 5) incá:ka ca-sobáy-ko-ŷ
 TO:WRITE 1sstats-KNOW-3neg(IIA)-phr:term
 /incá:ka casobáyq/
 'I do not know how to write.'
- 6) pokkó tó:li-ŷhco-toho-n sobáyka banna-mp
 BALL PLAY:BALL:GAME-habit-realís-sw TO:KNOW WANT-hearsay
 /pokkó tó:líhcotohon sobáyka bannamp/
 'He says that he wants to know how they used to play the ball game.'
- 7) akkámmitik sakihpá mók tabathilká acíhba-ŷhci
 BE:SO-conseq MINK ALSO TO:CATCH BE:DIFFICULT-progress
 /akkántik sakihpá mók tabathilká acihbáhci/
 'But this being so, it is also difficult to catch mink.'

In constructions using the verb sobáylin in the sense of 'to know how to,' or mánkan in the sense of 'to teach how to,' the verbal noun frequently suffixes -o:li, which may be the emphatic/copular suffix -o plus the deductive suffix -:li. Examples of this formation are as follows:

- 8) icó sammí:ci-t inṭah-ó:li sobáyli-l
 DEER DO:HOW-conn TO:SHOOT:&:HIT-vn:suf KNOW-1ss
 /icó sammí:cit inṭahó:li sobáyli-l/
 'I know how to shoot deer.'
- 9) sammí:ci-t holicc-ó:li cim-mánka-l-laho-ŷ
 DO:HOW-conn TO:SHOOT-vn:suf 2sdat-TELL-1ss-irrealís-phr:term
 /sammí:cit holiccó:li cimmánkallahq/

'I will teach you how to shoot.'

Note the shifting, in example 8, of the object to the head of the sentence from its expected position before the verbal noun. This is because the phrase sammí:cit holiccó:li is a verbal complex, and subject or object nouns cannot appear between the members of such a complex. (See Chapter 20 for a further discussion of this feature).

Agentive nouns

Agentive nouns are nominalized verbs that indicate that the actor is one who does or does not perform the action of the verb. Thus from the verb hí:can, 'to see,' are formed the positive agentive hí:ca, 'seer;' 'finder,' and the negative agentive ikhí:co, 'one who does not see;' 'a blind person.'

Generally, the form of the agentive noun is the same as the Indicative form of the third person positive or negative form of a verb, without verbal suffixes or phrase terminal markers. On the whole, the agentive nouns are accented like the corresponding third person form of the verb, however certain agentive nouns which have been largely bleached of their agentive meaning are accented like root nouns. For example the word alahkobitlí, 'moth,' is accented like a root noun, even though it is in origin an agentive noun meaning 'gourd dancer;' compare bítli, 'dancer.' A number of polysyllabic nouns seem to have been agentive in origin, as for example hacokpalpá, 'butterfly,' by metathesis probably from *hakco-pálpa, 'carrier of ears on its upper back;' and skalapistá, from *iskan-lapísta, 'insect of various itchings;' the mosquito.

As these latter examples illustrate, a verb phrase may be converted into an agentive noun. The following are two examples; note in the

second that part of the verb phrase to be nominalized is another agentive noun.

- | | | |
|-----|--|---|
| 10) | á:ti-k ílli-n
PERSON-subj DIE(sg)-sw | a:tílli
PERSON:WHO:IS:DEAD |
| | /á:tik íllin/ | /a:tílli/ |
| | 'Someone is dead.' | 'A dead person.' |
| 11) | okcáyya-n í:pa-n
ONE:WHO:LIVES-obj EAT-sw | okcayyaí:pa
ONE:WHO:EATS:ONE:WHO:LIVES |
| | /okcáyyan í:pan/ | /Okcayyaí:pa/ |
| | 'He eats the living.' | 'Eater-of-the-living' |

Although, as mentioned above, agentive nouns most frequently occur without verbal suffixes, it is possible for them to do so. This is especially noticeable in locative agentive nouns. Locative agentive nouns are also unique in that they can be formed on non-third person verb forms, which then cross-reference the possessor of the noun phrase. This can best be illustrated by the following paradigm.

ontíhíhcotohofa	'in my place of origin,' lit 'in the place where I used to come'
ocintíhíhcotohofa	'in your(sg) place of origin'
ontíhíhcotohofa	'in her/his place of origin'
olintíhíhcotohofa	'in the place of origin of us two'
ohacintíhíhcotohofa	'in the place of origin of you two'
onti:cíhíhcotohofa	'in the place of origin of the two of them'
ilma:hilkáhíhcotohofa	'in the place of origin of the many of us'
ilma:haskáhíhcotohofa	'in the place of origin of the many of you'
ilma:káhíhcotohofa	'in the place of origin of the many of them'

The following are further examples of agentive nouns occurring with verbal suffixes.

- 12) bakcolá im-hisá:ka-ná:na-fa o:w-í:sa-Úhco-k
 LEECH 3poss-BE: BLANKET-adv-in loc-DWELL(pl)-habit-ss
 /bakcola ʝhisá:kaná:nafa o:wi:sáhco/
 'They live in water where the leech-blanket (algae) is all over.'
- 13) komkó-k okí tallá:ka-má:mi-fa o:w-í:sa-Úhci
 AMPHIUMA-subj WATER LIE(sg)(inan)-dubit-in loc-DWELL(pl)-prog
 /komkók okí tallá:kamá:mifa o:wi:sáhci/
 'The amphiuma lives in places where water is perhaps lying.'

The following table gives examples of agentive nouns formed on verbs from the various classes.

TABLE 7.3

	Positive	Gloss	Negative	Gloss
Class IA	ílli	'one who dies'	ikílló	'one who does not die'
	há:lo	'one who hears; listens'	ikhá:lo	'one who does not hear; a deaf person'
	nó:ci	'sleeper'	iknó:co	'sleepless one'
Class IB	scó:pa	'seller'	scokíkpo	'one who does not sell'
Class IIAi	holá:si	'liar'	holásko	'one who does not lie'
Class IIAii	acíhli	'planter'	acíhko	'one who does not plant'
	atiní:li	'burner'	atiní:ko	'one who does not burn'
Class IIB	boklí:ci	'thresher'	bokkí:co	'one who does not thresh'
Class IIC	iltóhno	'worker'	iltokíhno	'one who does not work'
	iyyí:ho	'stingy person'	iyyikí:ho	'generous person'

Class IIIA	ísko	'drinker'	ishíkko	'one who does not drink'
Class IIIB	awí:ci	'helper'	awi:cíkkó	'one who does not help'
Class IIICi	ilakasá:mo	'one who suffers from hubris'	ilakasa:motíkkó	'one who does not suffer from hubris'

It should be noted that if an agentive noun can be used to refer to non-humans as well as humans, to refer to a human the prefix á:t- (from á:ti, 'human being') is used; so koybóhli, 'one who steals,' which can refer to both humans and animals, is replaced by a:tkoybóhli to refer to humans. However, if the verb refers only or primarily to humans, the prefix a:t- refers to the implied object of the nominalized phrase. Therefore there are pairs like the following: í:bi, 'killer,' a:tí:bi, 'murderer,' and í:pa, 'eater,' a:tí:pa, 'cannibal.'¹

Use of Agentive nouns

Agentive nouns and noun phrases are used just like root nouns; only by their derivational origin are they distinct. The following are examples of the use of agentive nouns, which nouns will be underlined.

- 14) á:ti hopáhki ónti im-naṭihilká-k imaṭá:k-á:ho:s
PERSON BEING:FAR COMER 3poss-LANGUAGE-subj BE:DIFFERENT-adv
/á:ti hopáhki ónti innatihilkák imaṭá:ká:ho:s/
'The language of a person who comes from far away is very different.'
- 15) okí ísko-fa im-o:w-í:sa-n hí:ca:-p sokpanó:l-ok ómmi-DEL-ś
WATER DRINKER-in 3dat-loc-DWELL(pl)-sw SEE-subjunct MOSQUITO:LARVAE-subj:foc BE-phr:term-phr:term
ká:ha-ṽhco-to-ṽ
SAY-habit-III Past-phr:term
/'okí ískofa imo:wí:san hí:ca:p, sokpanó:lok ó:ś,' ká:háhcotq/
'If one sees something living in one's drinking water, they are mosquito larvae,' they used to say.'

- 16) ittim-naí:ka-y-on nas-ká:ha ca-sobáy-ko-ŷ
 recip:dat-SPEAK-conseq-sw:foc something-WHAT:IS:SAID Isstats-KNOW-
 3neg(IIA)-phr:term
 /ittinnaí:kayon naská:ha casobáyko/
 'They are speaking to each other, but I do not know what they are saying.'
- 17) stibákłi-ha-k hasáyka-ŷhco-k óm
 ONE:WHO:IS:POOR-pl-subj BE:MANY-habit-ss BE
 /stibákłihak hasáykáhcok óm/
 'Poor people are many in number.'
- 18) á:ti sná:ho-ha-k hasáy-híkko-ŷhco-k óm
 PERSON ONE:WHO:IS:RICH-pl-subj BE:MANY-3neg(IIIA)-habit-ss BE
 /á:ti sná:hohak hasáyhíkkóhcok óm/
 'Rich people are few in number.'
- 19) wahkacayhá-k iknó:co-k wáyka-toho-k onammi-t
 BLUE:HERON-subj SLEEPLESS:ONE-subj FLY(sg)-realis-ss BE:STILL-conn
 áłta-toho-k onammi-t bikkó-n oh-pa-cokkó:li-n
 GO(sg)-realis-ss BE:STILL-conn IN:FRONT-obj go:&-loc-SIT(sg)-sw
 /wahkacayhá k iknó:cok wáykatohok onammit, áłtatohok onammit
 bikkón ohpacokkó:lin/
 'Great Blue Heron, the sleepless one, was still flying on and still going on, and in front of the other [Hummingbird] went and perched on a limb.'

Old Nominalization

Old Nominalization is a now long obsolete process that was used to derive certain agentive nouns from verbs. Verbs that were subject to Old Nominalization seem to have been limited to Classes IIA, IIIA and their multiplicatives. The process deletes the classifying suffix of the verb, and the multiplicative suffix, if any, and generally lengthens and accents the penultimate syllable of the remainder. The following are the most transparent examples of Old Nominalization. Further search will

undoubtedly uncover more examples.

Old Nominalization	Gloss	Related Verb	Gloss
bá:la	'lying place; 'foundation'	ballá:kan	'to lie down'
o:tá:la	'island'	o:tallá:kan	'to lie in water'
laykitonó:no	'scarab beetle'	laykí tonohkí:cín	'to make balls of dung'
hanafololo ²	'tornado'	fololohká:cín	'to be coiled up'

That Old Nominalization was probably a Proto-Muskogean process is attested by the words for house in Creek and Mikasuki, which are transparently related to the singular and dual of the Koasati verb, 'to sit;' 'to dwell:'

Creek	coko	'house'	cokkó:lin	'to sit (sg)'
Mikasuki	cī:kī	'house'	cikkí:kan	'to sit (du)'

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER 7

¹However, in the name of Elephant, the agentive noun a:tí:pa does not mean 'cannibal,' as Elephant is always non-human. Rather, a:ti:pacobá means 'Great-One-who-Eats-Human-Beings.'

²This word has a variant, hinafololó. The element hina- is probably a reflex of PM *xinahi, 'road; path.' Thus the word may have originally meant 'the coiling path.'

CHAPTER 8 PARTICIPLES

Participles, which are derived by suffixation from verbs, are used exactly like noun modifiers (adjectives). They follow the nouns they modify, and take the case suffixes that the noun phrase would take. Additionally, the noun modified by the participle may have its subject marking stripped, in the same way that a noun modified by an adjective may (see Chapter 17).

Participles have been noted primarily in conversation; in texts, similar constructions are handled by joining sentences with switch-reference markers. Participles seem to be used to subordinate the action of that clause to the action of the main clause; in switch reference marking, the action of both sentences is given equal weight.

It is possible that the participial suffixes are added to an already nominalized verb. Certainly, nominalization is an extremely powerful process, enabling verbs with overt subject marking or verbal suffixes to become nouns (see Chapter 7). This supposition is strengthened by the fact that all the participial suffixes (with the exception of the future participle) also appear as article suffixes on nouns (see Chapter 13).

The present participle

The present participle is formed with the suffix -:sáya. It indicates that the action of the participle is taking place, or has just taken place. It can be compared to the Past I suffix -:sa, which indicates that the action is out of view of the hearer, having just been completed, or perhaps still going on. The present participial suffix requires the focus form of the subject and object markers. The following are examples of the use of the present participle.

- 1) yilahá í:pa-li-:sáy-ok ká:n-á:ho:si-:s
ORANGE EAT-1ss-Pres:part-ss:foc BE:GOOD-adv-1Past
/yilahá í:pali:sáyok ka:ná:ho:si:s/
'The orange that I am eating is very good.'
- 2) yilahá ám-híska-:sáy-on í:pa-li-t
ORANGE GIVE:TO:ME-2ss(IIIA)-Pres:part-obj:foc EAT-1ss-Past
/yilahá áhíska:sáyon í:palit/
'I ate the orange that you just gave me.'
- 3) naksó-k ómmi-:sáy-on ca-ilhó:si-t
WHO-subj BE-Pres:part-obj:foc 1sstats-FORGET-Past
/naksók ómmi:sáyon calhó:sit/
'I forgot who he is.'
- 4) akkó á:ti-k am-biní:li-:sáy-on is-hí:ca-,Ú?Ú,-to
THAT PERSON-subj 1sdat-VISIT-Pres:part-obj:foc 2ssubj(IA)-SEE-Q,-III
Past
/akkó á:tik ambiní:li:sáyon ishi:cá?tó/
'Did you see the person who just visited me?'

The habitual participle

The habitual participle is signaled by the suffix -yólli. It indicates that the action of the participle is habitual, and occurs only with a present tense meaning. Nouns that are subjects of verbs participialized with this suffix are habitually stripped of their case marking. As with other participles, nouns that are objects of the participle occur with the zero allomorph of the accusative case suffix. The following are examples of the use of the habitual participle.

- 5) akkó á:ti í:pa-yóll-ok nì:h-á:ho:s
THAT PERSON EAT-Habit:part-ss:foc BE:FAT-adv
/akkó á:ti í:pa:yólllok nì:há:ho:s/
'A person who eats all the time is very fat.'

- 6) ittó koybóhka paká:li-:yóll-ok ilhicá ká:n-á:ho:s
 TREE STOLEN FLOWER-Habit:part-ss:foc SEEING BE:GOOD-adv
 /ittó koybóhka paká:li:yóll-ok ilhicá ka:ná:ho:s/
 'A jasmine that flowers all the time is very good to see.'
- 7) im-apó im-há:lo-:yóll-ok ká:n-á:ho:s
 3poss-GRANDMOTHER 3dat-HEAR-Habit:part-ss:foc BE:GOOD-adv
 /imapó jhá:lo:yóll-ok ka:ná:ho:s/
 'One who obeys her grandmother constantly is very good.'
- 8) ilanawíhli-:yólli-n hí:ca-li-ná:n
 HUNT-Habit:part-obj SEE-1ss-adv
 /ilanawíhli:yóllin hí:caliná:n/
 'All the time I see the one who is constantly hunting.'

The preterite participle

The preterite participle is indicated by the suffix -ka. This participle indicates that the action of the verb is completed, and that it occurred some time in the past. The following are examples of the use of this participle.

- 9) hákti-t á:ya-k-ok o:-támmi-toho-:li-mpa-:s okí
 BE:DRUNK-conn GO:ABOUT (sg) -Pret:part-ss:foc loc-FALL (sg) -realis-
 deduc-hearsay-1Past WATER
 /háktik á:yakok o:támmitoho:limpa:s okí/
 'It is said that he who went about drunk fell into the water.'
- 10) am-apók am-mánka-k-ok ká:n-á:ho:si-n am-mánka-t
 1sposs-GRANDMOTHER-subj 1sdat-TELL-Pret:part-ss:foc BE:GOOD-adv-sw
 1sdat-TELL-Past
 /amapók ammánkakok ka:ná:ho:sin ammánkat/
 'That which my grandmother told me she told me very well.'
- 11) il-hí:ca-k-ok ílli-t
 1plsubj (IA) -SEE-Pret:part-ss:foc DIE-Past
 /ilhí:cakok íllit/
 'That which we saw was dead.'

- 12) yilahá nihtá-k-on ám-híska-k-on í:pa-li-t
ORANGE DAY-art-obj:foc GIVE:TO:ME-2ss(IIIA)-Pret:part-obj:foc EAT-
lss-Past

/yilahá nihtákon áhískakon í:palit/

'I ate the orange that you gave me yesterday.'

The imperfect participle

The imperfect participle is indicated by the suffix -:kítta. It indicates that the action of the participle was taking place in the past, but does not indicate whether or not the action was ever completed. Its most frequent use is suffixed to the verb ihó:can, 'to be not now,' and then followed by the object with focus suffix -on, and used adverbally to mean 'long ago, customarily,' ihó:ca:kítton. Otherwise, it is not of frequent occurrence. The following are other examples of the use of the imperfect participle.

- 13) á:ti hí:ca-li-:kítta-p sobáyl-o:si-t hí:ca-li-t
PERSON SEE-lss-Imperf:part-new:top KNOW-dim-conn SEE-lss-Past

/á:ti hí:cali:kítta-p sobáyl-o:sit hí:calit/

'I saw the person that I used to see and knew him at once.'

- 14) kilismí hopani-:ci-kí,ŷ?ŷ,tta
CHRISTMAS PLAY-compul-Imperf:part,Q,

/kilismí hopaní:cikíttá/

'Is it (the ball game) that which used to be caused to be played at Christmas?'

The future participle

The future participle is marked by the suffix -laho:li:sáya. This suffix is clearly a combination of the present participial suffix -sáya with the verbal suffixes -laho-, 'irrealis,' and -:li-, 'deduction.' The following are examples of the use of this participle.

- 15) il-hí:ca-laho:li:sáy-ok yasan-ók óm
 1pls(IA)-SEE-Fut:part-subj:foc BUFFALO-subj:foc BE
 /ilhí:calaho:lisáyok yasanók óm/
 'That which we will see is a buffalo.'
- 16) yilahá ám-híska-laho:li:sáy-on í:pa-l-laha-V
 ORANGE GIVE:TO:ME-2ss(IIIA)-Fut:part-obj:foc EAT-1ss-irrealis-phr:term
 /yilahá ǵhískalaho:li:sáyon í:pallahǵ/
 'I intend to eat the orange that you will give me.'
- 17) cim-mánka-l-laho:li:sáyà-ǵy ca-ilhó:si-toho-V
 2sdat-TELL-1ss-Fut:part-contrary 1sstats-FORGET-real is-phr:term
 /cimmánkallaho:li:sáyà calhóstohǵ/
 'Contrary to what I had thought, I forgot that which I was going to tell you.'

CHAPTER 9
INTERNAL CHANGE¹

The Koasati verb, like those of other Muskogean languages, can undergo a series of internal modifications, which are termed internal changes, or with less justice, ablaut grades, although they are not at all of the same nature as Indo-European ablaut forms. In Choctaw, as reported by Nicklas (1974), internal changes are used to indicate aspect, the categories of which in Koasati are generally handled by suffixes. In Creek, (Haas, 1940), internal changes are generally used to indicate tense, although aspect is also included, and they occur, apparently, almost without exception in the company of suffixes that convey additional information. In Mikasuki (Derrick-Mescua, 1980; Boynton, 1982), internal changes also indicate tense. Alabama (Lupardus, 1982) stands alone among the Muskogean languages in lacking productive internal change. In Koasati, as the numerous verbal suffixes have taken over most tense and aspect functions (see Chapter 4), the system has undergone a number of changes that cause it to differ in some respects from the systems of other languages.

Internal changes are always accompanied by an accent; in a few cases, only accentuation may distinguish between two forms.² There are six productive internal changes; in addition, there are four (two certain, two dubious) obsolete internal changes. The productive internal changes are the following: the Indicative; the Aorist; the Interrogative; the H-grade; the N-grade; and the Intensive. The obsolete internal changes are: Gemination; Prenasalization; Preaspiration; and Lengthening, the former two being certain, the latter two much less so.

PRODUCTIVE INTERNAL CHANGES

The Indicative

The Indicative is the most common of the internal changes. It operates only on the verb root; if the root has a heavy syllable (CVC) in penultimate position, the Indicative accents that syllable; if the penultimate syllable is light (CV), the Indicative makes it heavy by lengthening the vowel and then accenting the syllable. The accent is usually the high accent; however, with a very few verbs, the accent is the low accent.³ Additionally the Indicative is the only internal change that co-occurs with the vowel-deleting phrase terminal marker (DEL), or the vowel nasalizing phrase terminal marker. The Aorist and Interrogative internal changes, by their very nature, mark the termination of a phrase, while the H-grade, N-grade and Intensive internal changes cannot occur as final elements in a phrase. Examples of the derivation of the Indicative are to be found in Table I.

The Indicative form is the usual citation form of a verb, and it is the only internal change that permits extensive suffix co-occurrence (outside the Interrogative, q.v.). A fair number of verbs undergo syllable lengthening in the Indicative; most are of classes IIA and IIIA. The lengthening effect of the Indicative makes these verbs indistinguishable in form from verbs such as á:lon, 'to hope,' á:tan, 'to dwell (sg),' há:lon, 'to hear,' and á:yan, 'to go about (sg),' in which vowel length is organic, not induced.⁴

The Aorist

The Aorist, at present, is an uncommon form of internal change. However, in earlier times, such as when Mary Haas did her fieldwork, the Aorist was the preferred citation form of the verb.⁵ This is corroborated

TABLE 9.1

Indicative derivation

Root, base or stem	hica-	a,sci,:lo-	kaha-toho-:li-mpa-ųhco-ki-
Syllable lengthening	hi:ca-	-	ka:ha-toho-:li-mpa-ųhco-ki-
Accentuation	hí:ca-	a,scí,:lo-	ká:ha-toho-:li-mpa-ųhco-ki-
Phrase terminal marker	hí:c	ascí:l	ká:hatoho:límpáhco
Gloss	'she sees'	'you think so'	'she said it, so it is reported'

Aorist derivation

Root	o:ʔopotli-	holasi-	oki-k ʔoylici-
Base	o:ʔopotli-li-	holas-ci-	- -
Accentuation	o:ʔopotlilí	holascí	okík ʔoylicí
Gloss	'I could ford'	'you lie!'	'the water returns to its bed'

Interrogative derivation

Stem	is-hica-to-	sammi-n om-ci-:sa-	na:s-on cim-manka-l-ahi-
Syllable lengthening	is-hi:ca-to-	- -	- -
Glottal infixation	is-hi:ca,ʔ,to-	sammi-n om-ci,ʔ,sa-	ná:s-on cim-manka-l-a,ʔ,hi-
Accentuation	ishi:cá?tó	sámmin oncí?sá	ná:son cimmankalá?hí
Gloss	'did you see it?'	'how are you?'	'what should I tell you about?'

by the fact that my consultants over eighty years of age consistently used the Aorist in citation forms, and those over seventy did so sporadically. The Aorist is formed by the accentuation of the final vowel of the verb base, the verb root with any subject cross-reference suffixes. The derivation of the Aorist is shown in Table 1; the following sentences illustrate the use of this internal change.

- 1) thátka-ha-k im-∅-maḥahlí haciciniká
WHITE:PERSON-pl-subj 3dat-3stats-FEAR(pl) (aor) SCORPION

/thátkahak immaḥahlí haciciniká/

'White people are afraid of the scorpion.'
- 2) ná:ho-ṽ wakhobá tabáh-hiská
WELL-phr:term OX CATCH(pl)-2ss(IIIA) (aor)

/ná:how. wakhobá tabahhiská/

'Well. You have to catch some oxen.'
- 3) akkám̄mi-k wilapkaci-fá oh-halatli-c-iská mók
BE:S0-ss PLOW-in go:&-PULL(sg)-compul-2ss(IIIB) (aor) ALSO

/kám̄mik wilapkacifá ohhalatliciská mók/

'In the same way you also make them go and pull on the plow.'
- 4) icó hafakcó okí o:-hókfi-t wakpicí
DEER SKIN WATER loc-PUT:IN(sg)-conn SOAK(aor)

/icó hafakcó okí o:hókfit wakpicí/

'One puts the deer-skin in the water to soak.'
- 5) tóklo-fa on-a-isí tóklo-n iksó
TWO-in loc-gen:loc-TAKE(sg) (aor) BE:TWO-sw NOT:EXIST(aor)

/tóklofa onaisí tóklon iksó/

'One takes two from the face of two; it is zero.'

The semantics of the Aorist are complicated. It is often used for the description of an idealized action which occurs in no temporally bound context, and it is limited to verbs that describe the voluntary acts of the subject.

Additionally, the Aorist is used in statements correcting the erroneous impressions of the listener. The following two conversations contain examples of this use of the Aorist.

- 6) A: *siní-k nakáŋta-to-ŷ*
 PN-subj GO:OFF(sg)-III Past-phr:term
 /*siník nakáŋtatq*/
 'Sinnie went off.' (nakáŋtan is a common euphemism for 'to die')
- B: *naksofón aŋi:ya,ŷ?ŷ,-to*
 WHERE GO(sg)-,Q,-III Past
 /*naksofón aŋi:yá?tó*/
 'Where did she go?'
- C: *inkó illi-ŷhcí*
 BE:NOT:SO(aor) DIE(sg)-progress(aor)
 /*inkó. illihcí*/
 'That's not it! She is dead!'
- 7) A: *ohayí toccí:na-:fó:k-on o,ŷ?ŷ,yba*
 YEAR BE:THREE-when-sw:foc RAIN,Q,
 /*ohayí toccí:na:fó:kon óybá*/
 'Did it rain for three years?'
- B: *o,kí,yb-o-n ohayí toccí:na-n óyba-ŷhcí*
 RAIN,3neg(IIC),-neg:compl-sw YEAR BE:THREE-sw RAIN-progress(aor)
 /*okíybon ohayí toccí:nan oybahcí*/
 'It did not rain (for three years); after three years it rained!'

The Interrogative

The third internal change is the Interrogative, which transforms a statement into a question. It is formed by infixing a glottal stop between the penultimate and ultimate syllables of a verb, and accenting each of the flanking syllables. If there is a consonant cluster between the syllables, the glottal stop is deleted, and only the accentuation indicates the Interrogative. It is notable that this internal change can

occur at the end of a string of any number of suffixes, and is not limited to the verb root or base. In addition, the Interrogative seems to co-occur with the Indicative, as shown by the presence of the Indicative accentuation and syllable lengthening appearing when the Interrogative occurs at the end of a suffix string. However, when the Interrogative appears on a verb base, its accentuation takes precedence over that of the Indicative.⁶ Examples of the derivation of the Interrogative can be found in Table 1. Other examples can be found in Examples 6 and 7 above.

The H-grade

The fourth kind of internal change, the h-grade, is cognate with similar changes in Choctaw, Creek and Mikasuki, unlike the previous changes discussed, which are either doubtfully cognate or non-cognate. The h-grade is formed by infixing an h before the consonant that initiates the final syllable of the verb root, and accenting the previous syllable. A verb in the h-grade form can not occur phrase finally, except in a few abbreviations, as in example 10 below. The h-grade, in contrast to other Muskogean languages, is used to indicate that actions occur in a sequence, as in the following two examples.

- 8) itt-insá:wa-k tálki-ná:na-ska-t kawká,h,c-ok
 TREE-BRANCH-subj BE:ICED-adv-conseq-conn SNAP(pl),h:grade,-ss:foc

 akotá,h,m-ok ca-batápl-áhi-:fó:k-on im-ca-maʔátl-á:ho:si-:s
 FALL:DOWN,h:grade,-ss:foc 1subj-STRIKE-intent-when-sw:foc 3statobj-
 1sstats-BE:AFRAID (sg)-adv-IPast

 /ittinsá:wak tálkiná:naskat kawkáhcok akotáhmok cabatápláhi:fó:kon
 incamaʔátlá:ho:si:s/

'Because the tree branches are all iced up, I am really afraid that when they snap and fall to earth, they might strike me.'

- 9) kowík icó í,h,b-ok on-a-í:pa-toho- \checkmark
 PANTHER-subj DEER KILL,h:grade,-ss:foc loc-gen:loc-EAT-realiz-phr:
 term

/kowík icó íhbok onaf:patohq/

'The panther, having killed the deer, ate off of it.'

In sequences of verbs where the h-grade is used to indicate sequencing, the last member of the sequence takes all temporal and aspectual affixes, while the preceding members infix h and suffix -ok, the same subject switch reference marker with focus. Although the h-grade occurs most frequently in the company of the suffix -ok, if the consequent action is understood, or previously referred to, the h-grade is used without it, and simply takes the suffix -n, which is the different subject switch reference marker. Examples of this use of the h-grade occur in the following conversation.

- 10) A: ca-1bík am- \checkmark akhà:n⁷
 1sposs-HAND-subj 1sdat-BLEED

/calbík \checkmark akhà:n/

'My hand is bleeding.'

- B: naksá,h,mi-n⁸
 BE:HOW,h:grade,-sw

/naksáhmin/

'Why?'

- A₁: ittó insá:wa-si-k am-ká,h,li-n
 TREE BRANCH-dim-subj 1sdat-SCRATCH(pl),h:grade,-sw

/ittó insá:wasik ankáhlín/

'Some twigs scratched me on it.'

- A₂: okwo \checkmark icobá im-halókpa-k am-akó,h,na-n
 POMEGRANATE 3sposs-SHARP:THINGS-subj 1sdat-THORN,h:grade,-sw

/okwo \checkmark icobá \checkmark halókpak amakóhnan/

'Some pomegranate prickles thorned me on it.'

Because the h-grade is infixated immediately before the consonant that initiates the ultimate syllable of a verb root, there are interesting phonetic effects when a consonant cluster occurs in such a position, as the h is infixated between the members of the consonant cluster.

If the first member of the consonant cluster is a stop, then the infixation causes the consonant to geminate, although this geminate is not as long as an ordinary geminate consonant. If the consonant cluster is a geminate, in rapid speech the infixated h replaces the initial member of the cluster, as in responses B and A₁ in Example 10. In careful speech, however, if the cluster is of stops, the initial member is audibly lengthened. If the initial member of a cluster is h, it is lengthened by the infixation; if the cluster is h plus a voiced consonant, an epenthetic schwa vowel is inserted between the lengthened h and the consonant. If the initial member is a lateral, the h is audibly pronounced, and may metathesize to appear before the lateral. If the initial consonant is a nasal, the infixation of the h may cause the nasal to disappear, leaving the previous vowel nasalized; it can appear medially, nasally released, with the previous vowel still being nasalized. If the consonant cluster is a geminate nasal, the infixation can elide the the initial member of the cluster, appear medially and nasally released, geminate the nasal, or metathesize and appear initially with a following schwa. If the consonant cluster begins with y, the infixated h is pronounced with a following schwa. If the consonant cluster is a geminate b, the h either disappears, leaving the previous vowel nasalized, or it deletes the initial b, which also leaves the previous vowel nasalized. Finally, if the initial member of a cluster is a fricative, the infixated h will either geminate the fricative, or simply disappear, leaving the context to indicate the h-grade is present.

TABLE 9.2

Phonemic form	H-grade and consonant clusters Gloss	Phonetic form
stops plus h-grade		
ficíp,h,ka-n óm	'it just sprang loose'	[ficíp.kan óm]
libát,h,li-n óm	'she just cooked it'	[libát.lin óm]
ca-bók,h,li-n óm	'she just beat me up'	[cabók.lin óm]
geminate stops plus h-grade		
ac-acák,h,ki-n óm	'she just followed me'	[acacák.kin óm]
libát,h,-toho-n óm	'she just cooked it'	[libát.tohon óm]
hC clusters plus h-grade		
mat-am-páh,h,ka-n óm	'she just telephoned me'	[matampáh.kan óm]
aci-fáh,h,y-a,úʔʔ,pi	'are you so bashful?'	[acifah.əyáʔpí]
lateral-C clusters plus h-grade		
tál,h,ki-n óm	'it just froze'	[tálhkin óm]
tá,h,lki-n óm		[táhlkin óm]
nasal-C clusters plus h-grade		
án,h,ka-n óm	'she just gave them to me'	[áɰkan óm]
asám,h,ha-n'óm	'it (rice) is just over-cooked'	[asáɰhan óm] [asámh.an óm]
ohóm,h,pa-n óm	'she has just dined'	[ohóɰpan óm] [ohómɰpan óm]
geminate nasals plus h-grade		
óm,h,mi-n óm	'she is the one'	[ómɰmin óm]
ó,h,mmi-n óm		[óhəmmin.óm]
tafilá,h,mmi-n óm	'she has just overturned it'	[tafiláhəmmin óm]
ca-pón,h,na-n óm	'I am just learning it'	[capón.nan óm]
yC clusters plus h-grade		
aponáy,h,li-n óm	'she just wrapped it'	[aponayhəlin óm]
aponáy,h,-ci-n ó,VʔV,mmi	'did you just wrap it?'	[aponayhəcin óʔmí]
káy,h,ya-n óm	'she is now full of food'	[káyhəyan óm]
bC clusters plur h-grade		
tób,h,bi-n óm	'she just put holes in it'	[tóbbin óm]
tó,h,bbi-n óm		[tóbəbin óm]
fricative-C clusters plus h-grade		
hibós,h,li-n óm	'she just squashed it'	[hibós.lin óm] [hibóslin óm]
hóf,h,na-n óm	'she just smelled it'	[hóf.nan óm] [hófnan óm]
yít,h,ti-n óm	'she just tore them down'	[yít.tin óm] [yíttin óm]

Examples of these forms are given in Table II.

There are three imperative suffixes that require the h-grade of the root. These are: -táka, first person singular exhortative; -tíka, third person singular exhortative; and -óka, second person plural exclusive imperative. Examples of these suffixes with the h-grade are found in Chapter 6. It should be noted that in these cases, the use of the h-grade is morphologically motivated, and does not seem to carry any semantic value.

Finally, the h-grade has a different kind of semantic reference when used with noun modifiers. See Chapter 18 for examples.

The N-grade

The n-grade, the fifth of the internal changes, is very common in Creek, Choctaw and Mikasuki. However, in Koasati, it is quite rare, with only a few examples noted.⁹ The n-grade is formed by nasalizing the vowel of the penultimate syllable of the verb root and accenting it. With verbs of state or description, it has the meaning of 'utterly' or 'completely.' With verbs of action, it has the meaning 'to keep on' or 'to continue.'

In its first semantic use, the n-grade often occurs in conjunction with the diminutive/intensive suffix -:si-/-o:si-, when the latter has the meaning 'totally,' which thus complements the meaning of the n-grade. Examples of the n-grade are to be found below. Note that the n-grade is preserved in nominalizations, such as in example 17.

- 15) ólfa-k waló,N,hl-o:si-Vhco-k
SPROUT GREEN:TENDER,n:grade,-dim-habit-ss

/ólfa-k walóhloscok/

'The sprout is completely green and tender.'

- 16) at-lawísta-k skólka-n amá,h,ka-n am-ihó,N,ssa-:s
PERSON-SMALL(pl)-subj GO:TO:SCHOOL-ss GO(pl),h:grade,-sw 1sstats-
FEEL:EMPTY,n:grade,-IPast

/atlawístak skólkan amáhkan amihóssa:s/

'The children having gone off to school, I have a real feeling of
emptiness.'
- 17) hiná:ya-p o,hací,,N,,hya-k tafhiyám ká,h,h-ok acaffá:ka-n
NOW-new:top BE:ALL,2pls(IIC),,n:grade,(nom)-subj INTJ SAY,h:grade,
ss:foc ONCE-sw

tóf-háska-laho-ŷ ká:ha-t
SPIT-2pls(IIIA)-irrealis-phr:term SAY-conn

/hiná:yap ohacíhyak tafhiyám káhhok acaffá:kan tófháskalahq ká:hat/

'"Now, each and every one of you, having said 'tafhiyám,' will spit
once," they said.'
- 18) má:mo:si-n wahkacayhá-k obá:li aťí,N,:ya-k aťí,N,:ya-k
BE:THEN-sw BLUE:HERON-subj BEHIND GO(sg),n:grade,-ss GO(sg),n:grade,-ss

aťí,N,:ya-k tamó,h,ka-n wahkacayhá-p aťí:ya-k onàmmi-toho-:li-mpa-ŷhco-k
GO(sg),n:grade,-ss BE:NIGHT,h:grade,-sw BLUE:HERON-new:top GO(sg)-ss
BE:STILL-realis-deduc-hearsay-habit-IVPast

/má:mo:sin, wahkacayhák obá:li aťí:yak aťí:yak aťí:yak, tamóhkan
wahkacayháp aťí:yak onàntoho:limpáhco/

'And then, the great blue heron behind him kept on going and kept on
going, and kept on going, and night having fallen, the great blue
heron was still going on, so it is said.'

The Intensive

The final productive internal change is the Intensive. This is formed by both lengthening and accenting with the high rising-falling accent the rightmost accented syllable of the verb, taking the Indicative form as the base. This means that if there is a verbal suffix with a natural accent, it, rather than the verb root will take the intensive change.

If the accentual system is conceived as consisting of a number of pitch levels, level 1 (˘) being low, level 3 (unmarked) mid, level 5 (ˊ) high, and 7 extra-high, the intensive accent (ˋ) covers levels 6-7-6. If the

Intensive is rhetorically extended, the pitch of the syllable slowly falls from level 7 until it reaches level 3. If the syllable which takes the intensive change contains a long vowel, that vowel becomes double long. Note that, like the n-grade, the Intensive is preserved in nominalizations. The following are examples of its use.

- 19) niṭá:,ṽ:,l-o:s-on hasík mat-cokkó:-ko-k onàmmi-n
BE:MORNING,intens,-dim-sw:foc SUN-subj afar-SIT(sg)-3neg(IIA)-ss
BE:STILL-sw

/niṭǎ::lo:son hasík matcokkó:kok onàmmín/

'Very early in the morning, the sun has not yet arisen.'
- 20) hassíkba-k matho,ṽ:,m
GRASS:FIRE-subj GLEAM:AFAR,intens,

/hassíkbak mathǒ:m/

'The grass-fire is really gleaming from afar.'
- 21) ak-hí:c-o-ba:,ṽ:,no
1sneg(IA)-SEE-neg:compl-abil,intens,

/akhi:cobǎ::no/

'I never ever get to see him.'
- 22) innaṭí:-hísk-a,ṽ:,hpi-k fáy-ci-laho-ṽ
READ-2ss(IIIA)-modal,intens,-ss QUIT(sg)-2ss(IIA)-irrealis-phr:term

/innaṭi:hiskǎ:hpik fáycilahǒ/

'After you have read enough, you will stop.'
- 23) ná:s-o,ṽ:,hya sobáy-ci-:si-Vhco-k óm
SOMETHING-BE:ALL,intens, KNOW(sg)-2ss(IIA)-dim-habit-ss BE

/na:sǒ:hya sobáyciscok óm/

'You are someone who knows about everything!'

Cooccurrence of internal changes.

The occurrence of two internal changes in the same word other than the Indicative with the Interrogative or Intensive is rare, primarily with verbs with adjectival meanings. Examples can be found in Chapter 18.

OBSOLETE INTERNAL CHANGES

The obsolete internal changes differ from the productive internal changes in that firstly, they seem to have operated only on verbs with the canonical form (C)VCVCV or CVCVCCV. Secondly, rather than the changes affecting the penultimate syllable, as the productive changes do, the obsolete changes affected the antepenultimate syllable. Because of their obsolete nature, the meanings of these changes are difficult or impossible to pin down.

Gemination

Gemination occurred when the consonant closing the antepenultimate syllable was lengthened. A goodly number of verbs occur in geminate form; for only one is there a related non-geminate form. It is notable that these geminated verbs are primarily verbs of position and numerals. The one example of a geminate/non-geminate pair, ahiccá:cin, 'to show something,' and hí:can, 'to see something,' indicate that the meaning of gemination may have included some quality of increased duration. Examples of gemination are as follows.

haccá:lin	'to stand (sg)'	lattá:kan	'to lie in a heap'
hikkí:lin	'to stand (du)'	hokkí:tan	'to be half'
lokkó:lin	'to stand (pl)'	caffá:kan	'to be one'
ballá:kan	'to lie (an) (sg)'	toccí:nan	'to be three'
balláskan	'to lie (an) (du)'	cahappá:kan	'to be five'
tallá:kan	'to lie (inan) (sg)'	hanná:lin	'to be six'
cokkó:lin	'to sit (sg)'	ontoccí:nan	'to be eight'
cikkí:kan	'to sit (du)'	cakká:lin	'to be nine'
pattá:kan	'to lie flat'	pokkó:lin	'to be ten'

Prenasalization

Prenasalization occurred when a nasal consonant was infixes before the consonant closing the antepenultimate syllable of the verb. Only three examples of this change were noted; however, each has a corresponding non-prenasalized form. The semantics of prenasalization seem to have been similar in some respects to those of gemination, and some speakers conflate the two. For example, the prenasalized form of sobáylin, 'to know (sg subj)' is sombáylin, which means 'to remember (sg subj)'. Some speakers use a geminate form instead, producing for the latter meaning the form sobbáylin. The following are the examples of prenasalization.

Prenasalized form	Gloss	Unprenasalized form	Gloss
sombáylin	'to remember (sg)'	sobáylin	'to know (sg)'
sombayá:lin	'to remember (pl)'	sobayá:lin	'to know (pl)'
hompá:nin	'to go and play'	hopá:nin	'to play' ¹⁰
hinhí:can	'to expect someone'	hihí:can	'to look again and again at'

Preaspiration

This is a more dubious change than the previous two changes. All the examples noted have h as the closing consonant of the antepenultimate syllable, and therefore this change may just be another form of gemination. Additionally, three of the forms are derived from verbs without the required canonical shape. There is one verb which on the surface appears to be an example of preaspiration, tahpá:lan, 'to invite someone (obsolete)', but it turns out that this form is derived from the Creek noun tahpá:la, 'town crier.' If preaspiration was not a form of gemination, it was formed by infixing h before the closing consonant of the antepenultimate syllable. The examples of this obsolete change are given below.

Preaspirated form	Gloss	Unpreaspirated form	Gloss
ahhí:can	'to govern'	hí:can	'to see'
yahhámmin	'to be exactly like'	yámmin	'to be like'
sahhámmin	'to be exactly how'	sámmin	'to be how'
akkahhámmin	'to be exactly so'	akkámmin	'to be so'

It must be noted that the latter three preaspirated forms are derived from the basic forms by an h-infection of the initial syllable of the basic form; the reason for this is not clear. In addition these latter three forms are properly used only when accompanied by gestures indicating the comparison implied by these verbs.

Lengthening

This obsolete change, like preaspiration, is dubious. It has been set up to explain the occurrence of minimal pairs where the distinction is vowel length in the antepenultimate syllable. In only one example is there a semantic relationship between the lengthened and unlengthened forms; all the others seem to be semantically distinct. The following are the examples of lengthening.

Certain example

Lengthened form	Gloss	Unlengthened form	Gloss
ha:láhkan	'to move oneself'	haláhkan	'to pull something'

Uncertain examples

wa:yáhlín	'to transplant'	wayáhlín	'to wave'
a:síhlín	'to wash'	asíhlín	'to tie'

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER 9

¹This chapter, in substantially the same form, was published in the proceedings of the 1983 Mid-America Linguistics Conference.

²An example of this would be bitlí, 'he could dance' (aorist), and bítli, 'dancer' (agentive noun).

³A few verbs with low accent in the Indicative are hakhà:nin, 'to bleed,' ibisà:non, 'to have a runny nose,' bànnan, 'to want,' nìhlin, 'to nod,' and onàmmín, 'to be the same.' Apparently the low accent was once semantically motivated, as attested by the following minimal pairs: ló:can 'to be black,' lò:can, 'to be dirty;' támmin, 'to fall,' tàmmín, 'to be lying down.'

⁴The Proto-Muskogean forms that can be postulated as ancestral to these are *aklo, c.f. Hichiti akli; *a?ta, c.f. Choctaw atta and Apalachee ahta-tli; *haklo, c.f. Choctaw haklo and Mikasuki hakli:ki; and *a?ya, c.f. Choctaw ayya. (The glottal stop stands for some unknown element that produces Koasati vowel length.)

⁵The history of citation forms in Koasati is of interest. In the nineteenth century, in the work of Brinton and Gatschet, the verbal noun was the preferred citation form. In the early twentieth century, in the work of Swanton and Haas, the Aorist was the preferred citation form. At the present time, the Indicative in a past tense form is the preferred citation form.

⁶In addition to the glottal infix, an interrogative can be produced with the various interrogative suffixes, described in Chapter 4. The most prominent of these is -ó?lí. All these interrogative suffixes contain the glottal stop and flanking accents of the Interrogative internal

change, and may be bimorphemic in origin.

⁷When the subject of a verb is a possessed noun, and the action of the verb reflects back onto the possessor, a dative pronominal prefix must be used with the verb.

⁸Naksámmin, the base of naksahmin, is an abbreviation of the phrase naksámmin ó?mí, literally meaning, 'how is it that it is?' or 'why?'

⁹This may be partially due to the fact that many men have a marked nasal quality to their speech, frequently nasalizing to some degree all vowels in a phrase. On the other hand, nasalization of any kind is very difficult to hear in the speech of women. An additional factor may be the use of the verb á:tan (sg)/í:san (pl), literally, 'to dwell,' as an auxiliary verb with the meaning of 'to keep on' (see Chapter 3).

¹⁰Derived from the verb hompánin is the noun shompánka, 'toy; game,' from the verbal noun hompánka with the instrumental prefix s-.

CHAPTER 10
VERB PLURALIZATION¹

In common with other Muskogean languages, Koasati has a number of methods by which the number of the subject or object, or the number of times an action is done, can be marked on the verb. There are two categories of plural formation: first, change within or of a verb root, and second, the use of a suffix or prefix.

Formative replacement

Of the first category of plural formation, formative replacement is the most common, even though it is linked solely to verbs of Classes IIAi, IIB and IIIA. The formatives, archaic in that they are no longer freely used to form roots, are as follows: -f-, action on a surface; -p-, action by hand or foot, or other organ; -t-, action involving severing; -s-, action involving liquid; -y-, action with circular motion; -t-, action with motion from a stationary position; and -i-², action without motion from a stationary position. Examples of these formatives can be found in Table 10.1.

With a very few exceptions, only verbs which have these formatives as the third consonant of a triliteral root can be pluralized.³ The root is also limited in that the vowel sequence within the root cannot be a followed by i, or o followed by i. The following ordered rules govern the formation of plurals by formative replacement:

1. If the formative is i (vowel length), the plural is formed by reducing the root to CVC.
2. If the second vowel of the root is o and not identical to the first root vowel, the plural form replaces the formative with i.
- 3a. If the root has the form CiBaC (where B is either p or b), the plural is formed by replacing the formative with i.

TABLE 10.1

-f-	action on a surface	
	latá-f-ka-n	'to kick something once'
	yicó-f-ka-n	'to shrivel up in one spot'
	bahá-f-fi-n	'to stab something once'
	hicó-f-fi-n	'to chip something once, by accident'
-p-	action by hand, foot, or other organ	
	bocó-p-ka-n	'to squeeze something in the hand once'
	cihí-p-ka-n	'to spear something'
	iyyakoho-p-ka-n	'to trip (singular subject)'
	lasá-p-li-n	'to lick something once'
-t-	action involving severing	
	caká-t-ka-n	'to chop something once'
	kacá-t-ti-n	'to bite something once'
	kawá-t-ti-n	'to snap something (one time or one object)'
	wakó-t-ti-n	'to break something (singular object)'
-s-	action involving liquid	
	hifó-s-ka-n	'to breathe'
	kalá-s-li-n	'to scratch something'
	labó-s-li-n	'to extinguish something (singular object)'
	hibó-s-li-n	'to squash something (singular object)'
-y-	action with a circular motion	
	taná-y-li-n	'to roll something with a downward motion'
	aponá-y-li-n	'to wrap something up'
	onasaná-y-li-n	'to twist something on'
-t-	action with motion from a stationary position	
	tabá-t-ka-n	'to catch something (singular object)'
	topá-t-ka-n	'to recede in one place'
	konó-t-li-n	'to roll something once'
	patá-t-li-n	'to split something once'
-:-	action without motion from a stationary position	
	okta:cosó:-ka-n	'to be a river-mouth'
	facó:-ka-n	'to flake off one time'
	apohó:-ka-n	'to sleep with one person'
	atini:-li-n	'to burn something (singular object)'

- 3b. If the root vowels are i followed by a, the plural is formed by reducing the root to CVC.
- 4a. If the root has the form CVBVt, the plural form replaces the formative with ɨ.
- 4b. If the formative is -t-, the plural form replaces the formative with h.
5. If the root vowels are o followed by a, the plural is formed by reducing the root to CVC.
- 6a. If the root is of the shape CVcVC, and the two vowels are identical, the plural form replaces the formative with ɨ.
- 6b. If the root vowels are identical, the plural form reduces the root to CVC.

Examples of the operation of these rules are in Table 10.2.

These rules of pluralization have been extended to a number of verbs which seem not to have originally had this kind of pluralization. The following are examples of this kind of extension; it is notable that a number of these have alternative plural formations.

Extension of Rule 3b:

sg. tafilá-m-mi-n pl. tafíl-li-n 'to overturn something'

Extension of Rule 4b; replacement of any formative with h:

aklá-t-li-n akla-h-li-n 'to be loose'
(regular plural ak,ho,látli-n)

lama-t-ki-n lamá-h-ki-n 'to be straight'
(regular plural amat,lo:,ki-n)

oksá-t-li-n oksá-h-li-n 'to swell'
(regular plural ok,ho,satli-n)

caná-t-ki-n caná-h-ki-n 'to be bent'
(regular plural canat,có:,ki-n)

TABLE 10.2

	singular	plural	gloss
Rule 1:	ataká-:-li-n	aták-li-n	'to hang something'
	icoktaká-:-li-n	icokták-li-n	'to open one's mouth'
	acokcaná-:-ka-n	acokcán-ka-n	'to quarrel with someone'
	albití-:-li-n	albít-li-n	'to place on top of'
	atíní-:-li-n	atín-ni-n	'to burn something'
	acití-:-li-n	acít-li-n	'to tie something'
	facó-:-ka-n	fás-ka-n ⁴	'to flake off'
	apótó-:-ka-n	apót-ka-n	'to sleep with someone'
Rule 2:	akapó-s-ka-n	akapó-:-ka-n	'to be pinched'
	ħató-f-ka-n	ħató-:-ka-n	'to melt'
	labó-s-li-n	labó-:-li-n	'to extinguish something'
	alabó-s-li-n	alabó-:-li-n	'to close up (of flowers)'
	famó-t-ka-n	famó-:-ka-n	'to wave'
	yicó-f-ka-n	yicó-:-ka-n	'to shrivel'
	ħibó-s-li-n	ħibó-:-li-n	'to squash something'
	asikó-p-li-n	asikó-:-li-n	'to knot something'
	ħifó-s-ka-n	ħifó-:-ka-n ⁵	'to breathe'
	ħicó-f-fi-n	ħicó-:-li-n ⁶	'to chip by accident'
Rule 3a:	libá-t-li-n	libá-:-li-n	'to get burned by a hot solid or liquid'
	asipá-t-li-n	asipá-:-li-n	'to get a splinter'
Rule 3b:	pitá-f-fi-n	pít-li-n	'to slice up the middle'
	tipá-s-li-n	típ-li-n	'to pick something off'
	tiwá-p-li-n	tíw-wi-n	'to open something'
	simá-t-li-n	sím-mi-n	'to cut up tanned skin'
	wila-p-lí:ci-n	wíl-lí:ci-n	'to tear up the earth'
	yítáp-li-n	yít-ħi-n	'to tear something down'
Rule 4a:	tabá-t-ka-n	tabá-:-ka-n	'to catch something'
	topá-t-ka-n	topá-:-ka-n	'to recede'

Rule 4b:	halá-t-ka-n	halá-h-ka-n	'to pull something'
	ataná-t-ka-n	ataná-h-ka-n	'to go around something'
	taná-t-li-n	taná-h-li-n	'to descend'
	maťá-t-li-n	maťá-h-li-n	'to be afraid'
	samá-t-li-n	samá-h-li-n	'to crawl under something'
	bífí-t-li-n	bífí-h-li-n	'to be steaming'
	ħibí-t-li-n	ħibí-h-li-n	'to cave in'
	konó-t-li-n	konó-h-li-n	'to roll something'
	holo-t-lí:ci-n	holo-h-lí:ci-n	'to stretch something'
Rule 5:	akolá-f-ka-n	akol-ká:ci-n	'to erode and collapse'
	aponá-y-li-n	apon-ní:ci-n	'to wrap something up'
	ħomá-p-li-n	ħóm-mi-n	'to whip something'
	socá-f-fi-n	sós-li-n ⁴	'to strip skin off something'
	tosá-f-fi-n	tos-lí:ci-n	'to cut a piece out of'
Rule 6a:	kacá-t-ħi-n	kacá:-li-n	'to bite something'
	kocó-f-fi-n	kocó:-li-n	'to pinch something'
Rule 6b:	latá-f-ka-n	lát-ka-n	'to kick something'
	kalá-f-fi-n	kál-li-n	'to mark something'
	lasá-p-li-n	lás-li-n	'to lick something'
	kahá-p-li-n	káf-fi-n ⁷	'to dip something up'
	taťá-f-ka-n	tát-ka-n	'to whittle something'
	bahá-f-fi-n	báh-li-n	'to stab something'
	onasaná-y-li-n	onasan-ní:ci-n	'to twist something on'
	kawá-t-ħi-n	káw-wi-n	'to snap something'
	ciťí-p-ka-n	cít-ka-n	'to spear something'
	misí-p-li-n	mís-li-n	'to wink'
	obakhítí-p-li-n	obakhít-li-n	'to go backwards' ⁸
	fotó-p-ka-n	fót-ka-n	'to pull up something'
	koyó-f-fi-n	kóy-li-n	'to cut something'
	ħobó-f-fi-n	ħob-bi-n	'to pierce something'
	iyyakohó-p-ka-n	iyyakóf-ka-n ⁷	'to trip' ⁹

ciká-p-li-n	ciká-h-li-n	'to sparkle'
lisí-p-li-n	lisi-h-li-n	'to take something off'
así-p-li-n	asi-h-li-n	'to be loose (of teeth)'

Extention of Rule 6b:

sg. stjíficí-p-ka-n	stjífic-ka-n	'to pry something up'
acasá-h-li-n	acás-li-n	'to insert something'
ittibacasá-h-li-n	ittibacás-li-n	'to join together'

There are a number of irregularly formed formative replacement plurals. the reasons for their irregularities are not clear at the present, so they will be listed and their irregularities noted.

Violating the rule that a plural formed by formative replacement can be formed only on a trilateral (and therefore disyllabic) root, there is a monosyllabic root which forms its plural in this manner, smá-p-li-n, 'to pull something taut,' plural, smá:-li-n. Two transitive verbs have a singular form in -ka and a plural in -li, caká-t-ka-n, 'to chop,' plural cák-li-n, and bocó-p-ka-n, 'to squeeze in the hand,' plural bocó:-li-n. The verb sciťí-p-ka-n, 'to pick one's teeth,' has the irregular plural sciťí:-ka-n, even though the verb from which it is derived, ciťí-p-ka-n, 'to spear,' has the regular plural ciť-ka-n. Three other verbs have unexpected plural forms; tiťí-f-ka-n, 'to press down on something,' has the plural tiťí:-ka-n, not the expected *tiť-ka-n; ťiyá-p-li-n (var. ťiká-p-li-n) 'to step on something,' has the plural ťiyá:-li-n (var. ťiká:-li-n), not the expected *ľíy-li-n (or *ťík-li-n); and the verb limí-t-ka-n, 'to swallow something,' has the plural form lín-ka-n (from lím-ka-n, with m becoming n before k), not the expected *limí-h-ka-n.

There are three verbs which form their plurals by suffixing an -f- to the root. These are okpaká:li-n, 'to float,' plural okpaka-f-fi-n;

ilapá:li-n, 'to sew something on,' plural ilapá-f-fi-n ; and lappá:li-n, 'to hand on a vertical surface,' plural lappá-f-fi-n. This last verb also can form a regular plural, láp-li-n.

Sound symbolism in formative replacement roots

Because the meanings for formatives listed in Table I have been identified with the sound, the formative consonants seem to have a meaningful use when they occur as the initial and medial consonant of a trilateral root, and sound symbolism seems to be the reason for variation among certain roots.

For example in the verb yiłáplin, 'to tear one thing down,' in addition to the formative -p-, 'by hand or foot,' there is the medial consonant ł which can be interpreted to refer to severing or breaking, entirely consistent with the meaning of the word. Another such example would be tosáffin, 'to cut a piece out of,' with the -f- 'surface action' formative and as a medial consonant s, which could refer to liquid, as water or blood could be expected to appear when fruit or flesh has a piece cut out.

Variation as the result of sound symbolism seems to have occurred in the verb tiwáplin, 'to open something,' which has the formative -p-; and has the variant tiyáplin, which replaces the meaningless medial consonant with the formative -y-, 'action with circular motion.' The same process has occurred with the verb siláffin, 'to tear something,' which only has the formative -f-; a variant form is łiláffin, with the initial consonant being replaced by the formative -ł- to indicate action involving severing. A final example is the verb łikáplin, 'to step on something.' The initial ł may have meaning in that stepping on something breaks or destroys it, and the formative -p- indicates that the action is done by foot; the variant łiyáplin replaces the medial consonant with the formative -y- so that by

sound symbolism alone, the term can be interpreted as meaning 'an action done involving breaking or severing, done with a circular motion by the hand or foot.' Other Koasati variation where consonants are sporadically replaced with other unrelated consonants may be the result of this or other kinds of sound symbolism.

Suppletion

There are three kinds of plural formation by suppletion. The first kind is that in which there are three separate roots to express the singular, dual, and plural; the second, in which there is one root to express the singular and dual, and another to express the plural; and the third in which there is a singular root and a plural root, and the dual is not distinguished from the plural. The dual is expressed only in the root; the subject cross-reference markers are the regular plural ones. Examples of these three forms of suppletion are given in Table 10.3.

TABLE 10.3

Three root suppletion

singular	dual	plural	gloss
haccá:lin	hikkí:lin ¹⁰	lokkó:lin	'to stand'
cokkó:lin	cikkí:kan	í:san	'to sit'
á:tan	áswan	í:san	'to dwell'

Two root suppletion: singular/dual, plural

singular/dual	plural	gloss
íllin	hápkan	'to die'
á:yan	yomáhlín	'to go about'
ałí:yan	amá:kan	'to go'
óntin	ilmá:kan	'to come'

Two root suppletion: singular, plural

singular	plural	gloss
acapíłkan	askáhlín ¹¹	'to release something'
batáplín	bóklín ¹²	'to hit something'
í:sín	píhlín ¹¹	'to pick something up'
nakáłłkan	wasátkan	'to be lost'
naksá:kan	sakáplín ¹²	'to make noise'
onnohalí:kan	onnokáhkán ¹³	'to clamber up'
walí:kan	tółkan	'to run'

Conjugations of suppletive roots

Three root suppletive verb: á:tan/áswan/í:san 'to dwell'

	singular	dual	plural
1	á:tal	alísw	ístíłka
2	ací:t	ahacísw	ístásk
3	á:t	ásw	í:s
vn ¹⁴	alí:ta	alíswá	istíłká
	Class IIC	Class IIC	Class IIICi

Two root suppletive verb: á:yan/yomáhlín 'to go about'

	singular	dual	plural
1	á:yal	alí:y	yomáhhíl
2	ací:y	ahací:y	yomáhhác
3	á:y	ayá:c ¹⁵	yomáhl
vn ¹⁵	-	alí:ya	yomáhka

Two root suppletive verb (no dual): walí:kan/tółkan 'to run'

	singular	plural
1s	walí:kał	tółhíłk
2	walí:hísk	tołhásk
3	walí:k	tółk
vn	walíhhíłká	tołhíłká

Partial Reduplication

There are two kinds of partial reduplication, simple partial reduplication, and partial reduplication with deletion. In simple partial reduplication, the initial consonant of the root followed by the vowel o (and vowel length)¹⁶ is infixed between the members of the consonant cluster between the ultimate and penultimate syllables of the root. However, if there is a consonant cluster between the first and second syllables, and the root is vowel initial, the element ho is infixed between those two consonants, as in okcáyyan, 'to be alive (sg),' plural ok,ho,cáyyan. Compare the verb alótkan, 'to be full,' plural alot,ló:,kan, where there is no initial consonant cluster.

In partial reduplication and deletion, the initial consonant and o (exceptionally the initial consonant and vowel) are copied after the deletion of a vowel-consonant syllable from the root. Although this form of reduplication is quite rare (the examples given in Table IV being exhaustive), there are traces in the language of its having been more common, as attested by the following words in partially reduplicated form: camcá:ka, 'bell,' c.f. camahlí:cin, 'to ring;' banbó:kan, 'to be rolling land;' taftá:lin, 'to trot;' bolbóhkan, 'to be nervous;' fitfí:kan, 'to chatter (of squirrels); and sawsáhkan, 'to make a frightened snort (of deer).'

A complete list of examples of partial reduplication is given in the following table.

TABLE 10.4

Simple partial reduplication

singular	plural	gloss
aló:tkan	alot,ló:,kan	'to be full'
cofóknan	cofok,có:,nan	'to be angled'
copóksin	copok,có:,sin	'to be a hill'
lapátkin	lapat,ló:,kin	'to be narrow'
ḥimíhkon	ḥimih,ló:,kin ¹⁷	'to be smooth'
polóhkin	poloh,pó:,kin	'to be circular'
taháspin	tahas,tó:,pin	'to be light in weight'
talásban	talas,tó:,ban	'to be thin'
tonóhkin	tonoh,tó:,kin	'to be round'
aklátlin	ak,ho,látlin	'to be loose'
okcáyyan	ok,ho,cáyyan	'to be alive'
okcákkon	ok,ho,cákkon	'to be green'
stokhátkan	stok,ho,hátkan ¹⁸	'to be gray'

Partial reduplication with deletion

conókbín	con,có:,bin	'to be stooped'
ittakasáplín	ittakas,kó:,lín	'to divide something'
kawáknán	kaw,kó:,nán	'to be crooked'
kofókbín kohókbín	kof,kó:,bin koh,kó:,bin	'to be deep' ¹⁹
tiníkbín	tín,tí:,bin	'to be dented'

The following are a few examples of the use of verbs pluralized with partial reduplication.

- 1) ałí-k ok,ho,cákko-ųhco-k
BERRY-subj BE:GREEN,redup,-habit-ss

/ałík okhocakkóhcok/

'Its berries are green, and...'
- 2) ipłimithátka-p okłaspi-fá ho-cobá-ųhco-k ittó stok,ho,hátka-ųhco-k
RED:MAPLE-new:top SWAMP-in distr-GROW-habit-ss TREE BE:GRAY,redup,-
habit-ss

/ipłimithátkap okłaspifá hocobáhco ittó stokhohatkáhco/

'As for red maples, they generally grow in swamps, and they are gray trees.'
- 3) im-ałí-k tonoh,tó:,ki-t akkámmi-ųhco-n á:łi-ųhci
3poss-BERRY-subj BE:ROUND,redup,-conn BE:SO-habit-sw GIVE:FRUIT-progress.

/imałík tonohtó:kit akkámihcon ałíhci/

'Its berries are round and in such a way does it give fruit.'
- 4) hí:si mók poloh,pó:,ki-t ho-báski-o:si-ųhci
LEAF ALSO BE:CIRCULAR,redup,-conn distr-BE:LONG-dim-progress

/hí:si mók polohpó:kit hobáskosci/

'Its leaves are circular and a little bit long.'

S-infixation

This form of pluralization is quite rare, with only ten underived verbs using this method. It is produced by infixing an -s- before the ultimate syllable of the verb. All the examples recorded can be found in Table 10.5.

TABLE 10.5		
singular	plural	gloss
aká:non	aká,s,non	'to be hungry'
akopí:lin	akopí,s,lin	'to knock something over'
apí:lin	apí,s,lin	'to throw something away'
anó:lin	anó,s,lin	'to finish (trans. aux.)'
anó:kan	anó,s,kan	'to finish (intrans aux.)'
imanó:kan	imanó,s,kan	'to be winded' ²⁰
maká:lin	maká,s,lin	'to open the eyes'
okhabó:kan	okhabó,s,kan	'to sink'

singular	plural	gloss
watá:lin	watá,s,lin	'to wear a necklace or necktie'
stipí:lan	stipí,s,lan	'to be sexually attractive'

There is another verb that once had a plural formed in this manner, lapí:tan, 'to itch.' Its former plural, *lapístan is attested only in the derived noun skalapistá, formed by the deletion of the initial vowel and the assimilation and degemination of the medial cluster of the form *iskanlapista from a compounding of iskaní, 'insect' and *lapista, meaning 'insect of the various itches,' and now meaning 'mosquito' (the archaic form using the singular verb, iskanlapí:ta, is still remembered).

The second category of plural formation, prefixation and suffixation, is by no means as common as the first category. The prefix that marks the plural, used only with verbs that have adjectival meanings, as in examples 2 and 4 above, is ho-/-oh, the prefix that usually indicates the distributive. For further information, see the discussion of this prefix in Chapter 4. There are two suffixes that mark the plural, :-ci₁ and :-ci₂.²¹

Suffixation of -:ci₁

This suffix occurs only with a handful of verbs and their derivatives, and it is used to mark only the third person, dual in those verbs which have a suppletive plural, and plural in those that do not. It also occurs only with verbs of motion. The following are the only verbs which have this suffix: í:lan, 'to arrive here,' 3pl ilá:cin, 'they arrive here;'
ó:tan, 'to arrive there,' 3pl otá:cin, 'they arrive there;'
á:yan, 'to go about,' 3du ayá:cin, 'they two go about' (pl. yomáhlin); óntin, 'to come;'
3du ontí:cin, 'they two come' (pl. ilmá:kan); and atí:yan/atá:tan,²² 'to go,'
3du atá:cin, 'they two go;'
3du negative atkiyá:cq (from a non-attested

3du positive form *a⁺iyá:cin) (pl amá:kan).

Suffixation of -:ci₂

The second kind of suffixation, -:ci₂ is also not especially common. It occurs primarily on verbs of Classes IIAii and IIIA, and is used to indicate that the action of the verb is repeated or extended.

In its simplest form, the suffix merely causes the verbal accent to fall on the syllable immediately preceding the suffix, as in the following:

aboyótlin	'to scatter something'	aboyotlí:cin	'to scatter something all over'
wananátlin	'to shiver'	wananatlí:cin	'to shiver all over'
pá ⁺ tin	'to split something up'	pa ⁺ tí:cin	'to splinter something'
tá ⁺ kan	'to be lying (inan. pl.)'	talká:cin	'to be lying all over (inan. pl.)'
pá ⁺ than	'to be wide;	apathá:cin	'to overspread something (of a flood)'

It occurs as additional pluralization morphology in a few verbs that undergo formative replacement, such as:

singular	plural	gloss
nisá-f-fi-n	nis-lí-:ci-n	'to take a small chip off of something'
lofá-p-li-n	lof-fí-:ci-n	'to take a lengthwise chip off of something'
silá-f-fi-n ḥilá-f-fi-n	sil-lí-:ci-n ḥil-lí-:ci-n	'to tear something'
akolá-f-ka-n	akol-ká-:ci-n	'to erode and collapse (of a river bank)'

When suffixed to a verb terminating in the class suffix -ka, it often converts -ka to -li, in the same fashion as the homophonous compulsive.

Examples are:

moláp-ka-n	'to gleam'	molap-lí--:ci-n	'to glitter'
póc-ka-n	'to squirt'	poc-lí--:ci-n	'to squirt a- gain and again'
taḷabanáp-ka-n	'to jump over'	taḷabanap-lí--:ci-n	'to overflow'

However, in four cases, the suffix converts -li to -ka, apparently to prevent homophony with the compulsives of these same verbs. They are:

haccá:lin	'to stand (sg.)	hacca-ká--:ci-n	'to stand agitatedly (sg)'
c.f. haccalí:cin,	'to stand something up'		
hikkí:lin	'to stand (du)'	hikki-ká--:ci-n	'to stand agitatedly (du)'
c.f. hikkilí:cin,	'to stand two things up'		
lokkó:lin	'to stand (pl)'	lokko-ká--:ci-n	'to stand agitatedly (pl)'
c.f. lokkolí:cin,	'to stand several things up'		
cokkó:lin	'to sit (sg)'	cokko-ká--:ci-n	'to sit agitatedly (sg)'
c.f. cokkalí:cin,	'to seat someone' ²³		

Irregular plurals

There is a handful of verbs which have the same root in the singular and plural, yet form their plurals with irregular extensions and deletions.

singular	plural	gloss
sobáylin	sobay-á:-lin	'to know something'
fáylin	fay-áh-lin	'to quit something'
ḷóykan	ḷoy-óh-kan	'to return'
wáykan	way-óh-kan	'to fly'
filánkan	fil-kóh-kan	'to separate'
falánkan	fal-kóh-kan	'to wake up'
falammí:cin	fal-kóh-lin	'to awaken someone'

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER 10

¹This chapter, in substantially similar form, was published in the proceedings of the 1982 Mid-America Linguistics Conference.

²Although vowel length is here considered as a formative, it is actually the Indicative internal change which takes place prior to inflection. The actual formative is \emptyset , but a desire for a parallel presentation of formatives and the problem of writing a form intelligible to a speaker has led to retaining vowel length as a formative.

As a general rule, plurality in intransitive verbs refers to the subject, in intransitive verbs to the object. With verbs indicating a punctual action, plurality usually refers to the number of times the action is done.

³In the following lists, the formative will be separated from the rest of the root by hyphens. Although historically it was a separate morpheme, it can not be so considered at the present. The \underline{n} which follows a cited verb is the switch-reference suffix. Although verbs with $-\underline{n}$ are glossed as infinitives, they are actually third person forms, as the equivalent of English infinitives, the verbal nouns, are derived forms, and their use would detract from the clarity of the discussion.

⁴An obsolete rule converted \underline{c} to \underline{s} before consonants other than \underline{h} .

⁵The singular of this verb is used to mean 'to breathe,' while the plural is used to mean 'to breathe in and out.'

⁶The singular of this verb means 'to take out one chip by accident;' the plural, 'to take several chips out by accident.'

⁷A now obsolete rule converted intervocalic \underline{f} to \underline{h} , so in these verbs the \underline{f} reappears when it becomes part of a consonant cluster.

⁸The forms of this verb are no longer understood as being singular or

plural. Some people use obakhítíplín for both singular and plural; others use obakhítlín. This verb contains an archaic form of the noun obá:li, 'back; behind,' obak-; both terms are ultimately derived from Proto-Muskogean *ok^waklahi.

⁹This verb contains an archaic form of iyyí, 'foot,' iyyak-, also found in the verb iyyakhalátkan, 'to catch one's foot and trip.' Both forms descend from Proto-Muskogean *ilyaki, 'foot;' Apalachee iya, Creek illi.

The above description is the synchronic situation concerning the pluralization of verbs with formatives. The diachronic situation is complicated by the fact that it seems that the plural forms are in fact basic, and that the singulars were derived. This is attested by a number of roots which have forms with more than one formative. Examples of these are: kalá-s-li-n, 'to scratch;' kalá-f-fi-n, 'to mark;' ataká:-ka-n, 'to be hanging;' ataka-p-ka-n, 'to be hung up on something like thorns or briars;' and taná-t-li-n, 'to descend;' taná-y-li-n, 'to roll something with a downward motion.'

¹⁰This verb is falling out of use at the present. This may be due to the beginnings of an attrition of the dual in Koasati, a process already far advanced in Alabama (Lupardus; 1982:147-8; 152-5). However, with other verbs of position and verbs of motion, the dual is used consistently.

The verb ballá:kan, 'to lie down (sg),' which has a regular plural, bálkan, has a dual formed by s-infixation, balláskan.

¹¹The plurality marked on these verbs, like many transitive verbs with plural marking, is the number of the object.

¹²The plurality marked on these verbs is the number of times the action is done.

¹³Like onnohalí:kan are achalí:kan/askáhkan 'to exit,' and cokhalí:kan/cokkáhkan, 'to enter.'

¹⁴The verbal nouns of these three verbs have meanings additional to their verbal ones. Alí:ta additionally means 'life history,' alíswá means 'a dwelling place of two people,' and istilká means 'a place of many dwelling or existing.'

¹⁵These two verbal nouns also have additional meanings. Alí:ya means 'personality; someone's personal thoughts and feelings,' and yomáhka means 'passers-by,' the singular of which would be á:ya.

¹⁶As mentioned in footnote 2, vowel length is one of a series of obligatory internal changes in a root made before utterance.

¹⁷The reason for the change of the classifying suffix -ko in the singular to -ki in the plural is not known. Verbs in -ko are very rare, although some, like ískon, 'to drink,' have clear Proto-Muskogean ancestry.

¹⁸The element st- in this verb is clearly the instrumental prefix. A similar color term, stokhómman, 'to be pink,' which is severely limited in occurrence (being used only to indicate the color of certain kinds of bolo perch), has not been noted to form a plural.

¹⁹This is another example of the obsolete rule changing intervocalic f to h. Rather than having a pair kohókbin/kofkó:bin, the f has been analogically restored in the singular by some speakers, and a new plural has been generated by others to produce two parallel paradigms from a single original.

²⁰This is an am-stative verb, therefore it must have a subject cross-reference marker to be spoken intelligibly. The third person form is chosen to parallel the other examples given.

²¹On a deeper level, the vowel length is not a part of the suffix. The

suffixes are really root-forming suffixes, so that the suffix becomes the ultimate syllable of the new root, before which vowel length is inserted by the Indicative internal change.

²²In the first and second persons aí:yan and áttan have subtle semantic differences. Aí:yan is used to indicate that one is actually in the process of going, while áttan indicates that one is considering or planning to go.

²³The dual of the verb 'to sit,' cikkí:kan, forms cikkiká:ci-n, 'to sit agitatedly (du).' The plural is irregular, í:sa-t á:ya-n, 'to sit agitatedly (pl).' This form seems to have arisen to avoid confusion with the compulsive isá:cin, 'to seat several people.'

CHAPTER 11
VERBAL DERIVATION

There are at least seven methods by which verbs may be derived from nouns or other verbs. These are: Derivation through root transformation; Verbalization with -:li; Verbalization with -o-; Verbalization with -:ci; Compounding; Borrowing; and Iterative formation.

Derivation through root transformation

This process of verbal derivation takes a noun root and treats it as a verb root by applying the obligatory internal changes typical of verbs. Transformation of a noun into a verb by the application of the Indicative internal change is most common. Verbs so derived have the meaning of being, becoming, producing or acting as the noun of origin. The following table lists some examples of this kind of derived verb.

TABLE 11.1

Noun	Gloss	Derived verb	Gloss
apó	'grandmother'	á:pon	'to be a grandmother'
ałí	'berry'	á:łin	'to give fruit'
akoná	'thorn'	akó:nan	'to pierce like a thorn'
onapí	'womb'	oná:pin	'to get pregnant'
histó	'ash'	híston	'to turn to ash'
tolkaybí	'coals'	tolkáybin	'to turn to coals'
nihá	'fat'	nì:han	'to be fat'
ocó:si	'son'	ocó:sin	'to have children'

Verbs derived from nouns are most frequently of Class IIIci, although a few are of Class IIAi, like á:lin, 'to give fruit,' neg. á:łq; or of Class IA, like nì:han, 'to be fat,' neg. ikní:hq. These verbs may also have

a verbal noun, which refers to an abstract quality pertaining to the original noun, such as mikkotilká, 'chieftancy,' from míkkon, 'to be chief,' derived from mikkó, 'chief.' Examples of two verbalized nouns can be found in the following example.

- 1) st-im-ayókpa-toho-k anáŋŋi-toho-k oná:pi-toho-k ocó:si-toho-k
instr-3dat-BE:HAPPY-realiss MARRY-realiss GET:PREGNANT-realiss
ss HAVE:CHILDREN-ss

/stimayókpatohok anáŋtohok oná:pitohok ocó:sitohok/

'She falls in love with him, she marries him, she gets pregnant, and she has children.'

Verbalization with -o-

The emphatic/copular suffix -o-, which is of Class IIICii, is frequently employed when the identity of one noun with another is asserted or denied, as in the following examples.

- 2) fó:si-k sayk-ó-ŋ
BIRD-subj VULTURE-be-phr:term

/fó:sik saykó/

'The bird is a vulture (not anything else).'

- 3) nasholló-k cá-l-ko-ŋ ca-á:t-o-ŋ
WILD:ANIMAL-subj 1sstats-BE:A-3neg(IIA)-phr:term 1sstats-HUMAN:BEING-
be-phr:term

/nashollók cálkq. acá:tq/

'I am not a wild animal. I am a human being!'

In all the uses of -o-, there is an emphasis or assertion. If mere identity is being expressed, the following variants of example 2 could be used:

- 4a) fó:si-k sayk-ók óm
BIRD-subj VULTURE-subj:foc BE

/fó:sik saykók óm/

'The bird is a vulture.'

- b) fó:si saykí
BIRD VULTURE

/fó:si saykí/

'The bird's a vulture.'

- 4c) saykí-k fós-on ónk
VULTURE-subj BIRD-obj:foc BE(intrans)

/saykík fós:son ónk/

'The vulture is a bird.'

The suffix -o- can be added as well to verbs. In such cases it has no copular meaning, but is merely emphatic. Examples 219 and 220 in Chapter 3 show the use of this suffix in a merely morphological manner to permit the negation of the irrealis suffix -laho-. The following examples show the use of this suffix with verbs.

- 5) cokfi-k ilakasá:mo-yá:l-o-ŷ
RABBIT-subj SUFFER:HUBRIS-model -be-phr:term

/cokfík ilakasá:moyá:lq/

'Indeed, Rabbit occasionally suffers from hubris.'

- 6) má:mi-n hí:si ho-koyóffi-toho-k ónk-o-ŷ
BE:THEN-sw HAIR distr-CUT(sg)-realis-ss BE(intrans)-be-phr:term

/má:min hí:si hokoyóffitohok ónkq/

'And then, indeed it was that they each cut their hair.'

- 7) kosno-k akkam,hilí,:ci-halpí:si-toho-:l-o-ŷ
WE-subj DO,1plS(IIB),-ability-realis-deduc-be-phr:term

/kosnók akkqhilí:cihalpístoho:lq/

'Indeed, as one can surmise, we, too, were able to do it.'

- 8) í:la-lah-o-kko-ŷhc=katík ómni-DEL-ś
ARRIVE-irrealis-be-3neg(IICii)-can=encl BE-phr:term-phr:term

/í:lalahokkóhc katík ó:ś/

'But it is the case that he will not be able to arrive here.'

With the verb 'to be,' ómmin, -o- forms a complex, which, rather than asserting that whatever the complex governs is true, merely suggests it to be so. This can be rendered in English by the use of such words as 'seem,' 'must,' and 'perhaps.' The following examples show the use of this complex.

- 9) cokfí-k walí:ka-k páiki-palámm-ok ómm-o=katíka-p
 RABBIT-subj RUN(sg)-ss BE:FAST-adv-ss:foc BE-be=encl-new:top
 /cokfík walí:kak páikipálammok ómmo katíkap/
 'But it is the case that Rabbit must run extremely fast.'
- 10) op-o-kko-Ŵhco-k ómm-o-Ŵ
 OWL-be-3neg(IICi)-habit-ss BE-be-phr:term
 /opokkóhcok ómmow/
 'They seem not to be owls.'
- 11) akkam,kí,:c-o-Ŵhco-k ómm-o-Ŵ á:lo-li-t
 DO,3neg(IIB),-neg:comp-habit-ss BE-be-phr:term HOPE-Iss-Past
 /akkankí:cóhcok ómmq á:lolit/
 'I hoped that they might perhaps not do it (drink liquor).'

Verbalization with -:li

This is a very rare verbalizing suffix, with only two examples noted. These are apalá:lin, 'to emit artificial light; turn on a light,' from apalá, 'artificial light';² and onapá:lin, 'to domesticate (an animal); to enslave (a human being),' from onapá 'domesticated animal.' An example of each verbalized noun can be found in the following sentences.

- 12) iyyihasaykí-k apalá:li-:s
 MILLIPEDE-subj EMIT:LIGHT-IPast
 /iyyihasaykik apalá:li:s/
 'The millipede emits light.'
- 13) ihó:ca atló:ca-k íkso-Ŵhco-toho-k yá:li ihá:ni-fa
 LONG:AGO BLACK:PERSON-subj NOT:EXIST-habit-realís-IVPast HERE LAND-in
 mó:toho-n thátka-k có:pa-t st-ilá:ci-t onapá:li-Ŵhco-toho-n yá:li
 BE:THEN-sw WHITE:PERSON-subj BUY-conn instr-ARRIVE-pl-conn ENSLAVE-
 habit-realís-sw HERE
 /ihó:ca atló:cak íksóhcotohok yá:li ihá:nifa. mó:tohon thátkak
 có:pat stilá:ci onapá:líhcotohon yá:li/
 'Long ago, black people used not to exist here in this³ land. Then, the white people bought, brought and enslaved them here.'

Verbalization with -:ci

The suffix -:ci⁴ is the compulsive suffix, which can be used with both nouns and verbs (although primarily the latter). In other Muskogean languages, cognate morphemes are called causative; however in Koasati, -:ci can be used only when the action is being forced to occur by the physical actions of another, with a very limited metaphorical extension. Thus, the suffix can be used to derive nokcobá:cin, 'to stop someone,' from nokcó:ban 'to stop,' but it cannot derive a compulsive from páttin, 'to split something.' In the latter case, if one wants to express a causative, the independent verb tóhnon, 'to cause,' is linked to the verb, as in tohnon páttin, 'to cause someone to split something.'

The compulsive is a root-forming suffix, that is, a word derived with -:ci is considered a single root, and all internal changes take place according to the shape of the new root (see Chapter 9).

When -:ci is suffixed to verbs of Class IIIA ending in -ka, the -ka is changed to -li. This is a purely formal operation that does not give additional semantic weight. The newly derived verb then belongs to Class IIB. A few examples of this will be given in the following table.

TABLE 11.2

Root	Gloss	Compulsive	Gloss
hátkan	'to be white'	hatlí:cin	'to whiten; to paint'
yáhkan	'to cry'	yahlí:cin	'to make cry'
ciní:kan	'to carry on the back'	cinilí:cin	'to load on the back of something'
casasáhkan	'to rustle'	casasahlí:cin	'to rustle something'

Below is the inflection of yahlí:cin, 'to cause to cry.'

	Positive		Negative	
	singular	plural	singular	plural
1	yahlí:cil	yahhilí:c	yahtaká:cq	yahkilí:cq
2	yahcí:c	yahhací:c	yahcikí:cq	yahhacikí:cq
3		yahlí:c		yahkí:cq
vn		yahkacá		

If a verb of Class IIIA that terminates in the classifying suffixes -ko or -ki has :-ci suffixed to it, the classifying suffix does not change, and the verb is transformed to one of Class IIIB. Examples are in the following table.

TABLE 11.3

Root	Gloss	Compulsive	Gloss
ḥimíhkon	'to be smooth'	ḥimihkó:cín	'to smoothe something'
ískon	'to drink'	iskó:cín	'to give drink to'
lamátkin	'to be straight'	lamatkí:cín	'to straighten something'
tonóhkin	'to be round'	tonohkí:cín	'to make something round'

A number of verbs when inflected with :-ci do not have a compulsive signification, but have other meanings. Examples are given in Table IV.

TABLE 11.4

Root	Gloss	Compulsive	Gloss
cíhbin	'to be thick'	cihbí:cín	'to lie thick, of snow'
ahaccá:lin	'to stand beside'	ahaccalí:cín	'to give credit to'
afá:kan	'to laugh'	afalí:cín	'to laugh at someone'
asíhan	'to ask'	asilhá:cín	'to ask someone'
atanáhkan	'to go around'	atanahlí:cín	'to weave the edge of a basket'
fáylin	'to quit'	faylí:cín	'to cure someone'

With nouns, the suffix -:ci means to cause the noun to exist, or to use the noun. Examples are given in the following table.

TABLE 11.5

<u>Root</u>	<u>Gloss</u>	<u>Compulsive</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
apahcá	'shadow'	apahcá:cin	'to shade something'
kapaťí	'bridle'	kapaťí:cin ⁵	'to bridle something'
kombó	'okra'	kombó:cin	'to make gumbo'
ťakhaní	'blood'	ťakhaní:cin	'to bleed' ⁶
ocóski	'sons'	ocoskí:cin	'to produce offspring (of animals)'
okcí	'juice'	okcí:cin	'to make soup'
onapí	'womb'	onapí:cin	'to impregnate some- one'
tokná:wa	'money'	tokna:wá:cin	'to make money'

The majority of such derived verbs belong to Class IIIB. There is a homophonous morpheme -:ci, which is a suffix indicating that an action is taking place a number of times. It is discussed in Chapter 10.

Compounding

Compounding of two words together to form a verb is extremely rare, but it does occur. Two examples have been noted, ipacó:ban, 'to be a heavy eater,' from í:pan, 'to eat,' and có:ban, 'to be big;' and hatká:bin, 'to turn pale-faced, from hátkan, 'to be white,' and *ibi, no longer used as an independent noun, but only as a verbal prefix, 'face.'

Occasionally the adverbial suffix -fíhna-, 'too much,' will fuse with a preceding word to form a root. Compare the following two sentences:

14a) í:pa-li-fíhna-t
EAT-1ss-adv-Past

/í:palifíhnat/

'I ate too much.'

14b) ipafíhna-li-t
EAT:TOO:MUCH-1ss-Past

/ipafíhnalit/

'I overate.'

The evidence is scanty, but it seems possible that other adverbial suffixes may occasionally fuse with the verb they modify to form a new root.

Borrowing

Borrowing is a method of verb formation that is not especially common. Borrowing has taken place from other Indian languages, from French and from English. In this section will only be listed verbs which have Koasati equivalents; verbs such as aná:hin, 'to be poorly dressed,' from Creek ana·hita, 'to be in want,' or ficcákin, 'to be jealous,' from Creek fikcakhita, which have no other equivalents and are not perceived as loans will not be listed.⁷ The following table contains a list of verbs that have been borrowed.

TABLE 11.6

<u>Loan verb</u>	<u>Gloss</u>	<u>Source word</u>	<u>Gloss</u>	<u>Koasati equivalent</u>
From Creek				
kosá:pin	'to beg; pray'	kosapita	'to beg'	čilítkan
simanó:lin	'be wild'	simanoli	'be wild'	małátlin
há:con	'be foolish'	ha·co	'be crazy'	haktinípkan
From Chickasaw				
hopó:nin	'to cook'	hoponi	'to cook'	libátlin
From French				
báptin	'be baptized'	baptisme	'baptism'	okhaboslí:cin
From English				
ittimpátan	'be partners'	partner	-	ittá:san
olítkan	'to read'	read	-	innałí:kan
skólkan	'to go to school'	school	-	na:sincaksobáylin

Borrowing by ka-incorporation

Most recent loans from English are taken into the language by means of ka-incorporation. Because most English verb roots are monosyllabic and terminate with a consonant, they are not able to be assimilated into Koasati syllable structure unchanged. To make the syllable structure of and English word compatible with that of a Koasati word, the element -ka is added to the English word, which then not only makes the syllable structure congenial, but also allows the verb to be inflected as one of Class IIIA. Nevertheless, the use of English verbs is considered to be sloppy speaking, and is stigmatized to some degree. Because, technically, any English verb can be used in a Koasati sentence by means of ka-incorporation, and no English verb is used to the exclusion of any Koasati verb, a listing of examples can not be made. The following example shows the use of ka-incorporation, the proper Koasati equivalent will also be given.

- 15a) dáкта-k campó:li-n yúz-hákk-áhi-mpa-:s
DOCTOR-subj SUGAR-obj USE-1sneg(IIIA)-intent-hearsay-IPast

/dáktak campó:lin yúzhákkáhimpa:s/

'The doctor said that I could not use sugar.'

- b) alíkcík campó:li am-holló:ci-:s
DOCTOR-subj SUGAR 1sdat-TABOO-IPast

/alíkcík campó:li aholló:ci:s/

'The doctor tabooed sugar for me.'

The two eldest male speakers consulted for this dissertation were, surprisingly the ones who used the most English loan verbs, such as vótkat, 'they voted,' for ittabanní:cit, and bónkalit, 'I was born,' for cahofántit. Only school-age children, talking about unfamiliar subjects, used more English loans.

Iteratives

Although iteratives are generally formed by the prefixation of hoho-/ohoh- (the reduplicated form of the distributive prefix ho-/oh-; see Chapter 3), a small number of verbs form an iterative by means of reduplication within the verb root. There are two kinds of iterative reduplication attested, initial reduplication and penultimate syllable reduplication. The following are the two examples⁸ found of initial reduplication.

Root	Gloss	Iterative	Gloss
hí:can	'to see'	hi,hí:can	'to look again and again for'
hó:pan	'to hurt'	ho,hó:pan	'to ache'

Additionally, there is an obsolete noun derived from an otherwise unattested iterative formed by initial reduplication. This is akakanahilká, 'looking glass,' the verbal noun of *ak,akaná:kan, 'to examine repeatedly,' from the verb akaná:kan, 'to examine something.' This word has been replaced by the form ililhicá, 'mirror.'⁹

Penultimate syllable reduplication has a number of irregularities. The penultimate syllables of all examples are closed with a consonant; the reduplication can 1), copy the initial consonant and vowel of the syllable after the penultimate syllable, 2), copy the consonant and vowel and replace the closing consonant with vowel length or h, or 3), copy the consonant and vowel, add h and insert the complex after the penultimate syllable. The latter formation has been observed only in disyllabic verb roots.

The following table illustrates the various forms that the iterative derived by penultimate syllable reduplication can take.

TABLE 11.7

Root	Gloss	Iterative	Gloss
molápkán	'to gleam'	mola,lá,pkán	'to flash'
cikáplín	'to glitter'	cika,ká,plín	'to twinkle'
bolótlin	'to shake'	bolo,ló,tlin*	'to shake with fear'
wacíplín	'to feel a stabbing pain'	wací,cí,plín*	'to feel repeated stab- bing pains'
watóhlin	'to clabber'	wato,tó,hlin*	'to jiggle like jello'
haytanáhkán	'to revolve'	haytana,na,hká:cin	'to run around inter- mittently in circles'
folópkán	'to curl'	folo,loh,ká:cin	'to be coiled up' ¹⁰
łolópkán	'to slurp'	łolo,loh,lí:cin*	'to slurp repeatedly'
konótlin	'to roll (sg)'	kono,nó:,lin*	'to quiver'
cóffin	'to jump (pl)'	cof,có:,lin	'to jump intermittently'
cilóffin	'to limp'	cilof,có:,lin	'to walk with a limp'
míslin	'to blink'	mis,míh,lin	'to flutter the eyelids'
nìhlin	'to nod'	nih,nìh,lin	'to nod off and on'

Those forms that are followed by an asterisk are words used only to incite laughter. One consultant, trying to explain the use of kono nó:lin (using the example of how a very fat person wiggles when walking), went into repeated fits of laughter. Because of their restriction to humorous usage, another commented, "Those aren't real words; we just say them."

Iteratives seem to have been more common in the past. There are a number of verbs in iterative form that do not have a non-iterative form. Although such words are not blatantly laughable, the majority still have a faintly humorous connotation. These are:

casasáhkkan	'to rustle'
solololí:cin	'to rattle a rattle'
wacacaká:cin	'to wave back and forth'
wamamáhkkan	'to hum, of bees only'
wananátlin	'to shiver'
wasasahlí:cin	'to rattle something'
wototótlin	'to crunch something'
wohohoká:cin	'to roar, of a machine'
wononohká:cin	'to hum, of bees or machine'
wototohlí:cin	'to make a crunching sound'

There is a noun derived from an otherwise unattested iterative of this nature. This is ittosohká, 'red-cockaded woodpecker.' It is derived from itto, 'tree,' and *soh,sóh,ka, agentive noun of *soh,sóh,lin, related to the verb sohlí:cin, 'to cut or abrade something by rubbing.' The name once literally meant 'the one who again and again cuts into trees by rubbing.' When *sohsóhkan was no longer understood to be a nominalized verb, the cluster hs was simplified to s, as hs can only occur across a morpheme boundary.

Finally, there is one verb, the iterative of which, although clearly related to the non-iterative form, is completely irregular. The verb is látkan, 'to kick (plural object),' iterative latkallá:kan, 'to kick something from time to time.'

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER 11

¹Even though the realis is used, the sentence is not translated in the past tense, as this is an example of the genre of Aphorism, which describes an idealized sequence of events. The realis is frequently used in this genre, however, it is best rendered in English with a gnomic present.

²This word originally applied only to bioluminescence, as it is applied to glowing insects such as fireflies and millipedes. Natural light is referred to by the verb hastáhkin, 'to be light (of the sun or moon).'

³Because of the locative yá:li, 'here,' the demonstrative ya, 'this,' is considered superfluous, and is not used.

⁴The vowel length of -:ci is due to the Indicative internal change. This change is applied because the suffix is root-forming. (See Chapter 9)

⁵The gemination of ɬ in this verb seems to have been motivated by parallelism with other verbs where geminate ɬ is the result of a ɬl cluster. Unlike other nouns verbalized with -:ci, kapattí:cin is a member of Class IIB.

⁶There is also a semantically equivalent form produced by root transformation, ɬakhà:nin, 'to bleed.'

⁷It is somewhat doubtful whether all these words are really perceived as loans. Those that clearly are, such as simanó:lin, báptin, and olítkan, are looked on with such disfavor that they have become obsolete. Even skólkan, which has been long naturalized, suffers severe competition from na:sincaksobáylin.

⁸Another iterative with this formation was offered, ya,yámmin, with the meaning 'to show how and show how.' However, from other data, the iterative form should be *yam,yáh,lin, which would probably be pronounced *yayyáhlín. There was no context given for yayámmin, so it is likely that

it is a spurious production.

⁹Although the noun ililhicá appears to have an initial reduplicated syllable, it does not. Its morphemes consist of il-, the form of the reflexive pronoun before a vowel, il-, the verbal noun forming prefix of Verbs of Class IA, and hica, the uninflected root of 'to see.' Thus the noun ililhicá literally means 'the thing that one sees oneself in.'

¹⁰The verb fololohká:cin seems to be related in some way to the element -fololo in the noun hanafololó, 'tornado.' It is probably an example of Old Nominalization (See Chapter 7). Another example of Old Nominalization occurs in the noun laykitonó:no, 'scarab beetle,' where the element -tonó:no is an Old Nominalization from a now non-existent iterative verb related to tonóhkin, 'to be round.' The word laykí meaning 'dung,' the name laykitonó:no probably originally meant 'the one who makes balls of dung again and again.'

CHAPTER 12
NUMERALS

Koasati has a regular decimal numeral system, and a number of elaborate ways of using it. However, because of extreme pressure from English, the youngest speakers cannot manipulate the system to any great degree, and borrow English words into their Koasati when using numerals. Only the oldest speakers are comfortable in the system, and their usage is that which is recorded here. The following discussion will cover cardinal, ordinal, and adverbial numerals; will discuss the transitivity of numerals and the use of these transitivized forms to tell time; will show how the Koasati counted the months and days, how they used to discuss mathematics and will illustrate the old system for counting money.

Cardinal numerals

One of the salient features of numerals is that they are verbs, with the exception of the terms cokpí, 'hundred,' and cokpacó:ba, 'thousand,' which are nouns, and require a following verbal numeral. Unlike most verbs, numerals do not form a verbal noun. In counting, numerals require the switch-reference suffix -n to be affixed. The following table contains a list of numbers from one to one hundred thousand.

TABLE 12.1

Gloss	Number
one	caffá:kan
two	tóklon
three	toccí:nan
four	ostá:kan
five	cahappá:kan
six	hanná:lin (archaic form: ahanná:lin) ¹

seven	ontóklon
eight	ontoccí:nan
nine	cakká:lin (archaic form: bihcakká:lin)
ten	pokkó:lin
eleven	pokkó:l awáh caffá:kan
twelve	pokkó:l awáh tóklon
thirteen	pokkó:l awáh toccí:nan
fourteen	pokkó:l awáh ostá:kan
fifteen	pokkó:l awáh cahappá:kan
sixteen	pokkó:l awáh hanná:lin
seventeen	pokkó:l awáh ontóklon
eighteen	pokkó:l awáh ontoccí:nan
nineteen	pokkó:l awáh cakká:lin
twenty	pol tóklon
twenty-five	pol tókl awáh cahappá:kan
thirty	pol toccí:nan
thirty-one	pol toccí:n awáh caffá:kan
forty	pol ostá:kan
forty-two	pol ostá:k awáh tóklon
fifty	pol cahappá:kan
sixty	pol ahanná:lin
seventy	pol ontóklon
eighty	pol ontoccí:nan
ninety	pol cakká:lin (archaic form: polbihcakká:lin)
one hundred	cokpí caffá:kan
two hundred	cokpí tóklon
three hundred	cokpí toccí:nan

four hundred	cokpí ostá:kan
five hundred	cokpí cahappá:kan
six hundred	cokpí hanná:lin
seven hundred	cokpí ontóklon
eight hundred	cokpí ontoccí:nan
nine hundred	cokpí cakká:lin
one thousand	cokpacó:ba caffá:kan
ten thousand	cokpacó:ba pokkó:lin
one hundred thousand	cokpacó:ba cokpí caffá:kan

The numerals for the teens have short forms, made by dropping the numeral pokkó:l; therefore the short form for eleven is awáh caffá:kan, for twelve, awáh tóklon, etc.

Because numerals are verbs, their syntax is very different in Koasati than in English. If a numeral is not the main verb of the sentence, it must be related to that verb with the suffix -t, if it shares the same subject with that verb, or with -n, if the subjects are different. A noun that is governed by a numeral is actually the subject of the verbal phrase including the numeral. If the numeral phrase shares the subject with a following verb, the noun in the numeral phrase is overtly marked for subject. If the following verb has a different subject, the noun in the numeral phrase appears in the autonomous case, stripped of its subject marking. This is exactly parallel to what happens in adjectival phrases, when the adjective is an underlying verb. (See Chapter 17 for a discussion of the loss of the nominative case marker in adjectival phrases.) The following are examples of the syntax of numerals.

- 1) im-ohayyí pokkó:l awáh cakka:li-Ŵhco-t ómm-o-Ŵ mafihn-ó:to
 3poss-YEAR TEN AND NINE-habit-conn BE-be-phr:term TRUTH-art
 poltóklo awáh caffá:ka-Ŵhco-t ómm-o-Ŵ
 TWENTY AND ONE-habit-conn BE-be-phr:term
 /imohayyí pokkó:l awáh cakká:líhcot ómmq. mafihnó:to poltóklo awáh
 caffá:káhcot ómmq/
 'It seems that he was nineteen years of age. The truth is at that
 time he seems to have been twenty-one.'
- 2) am-apó-k ómmi-:k cakkó:li-n ocó:si-ki-k ontóklo-Ŵhco-toho-n
 1sposs-GRANDMOTHER-subj BE-subjunct SIT(sg)-sw CHILD-pauc-subj
 SEVEN-habit-realis-sw
 ocó:si-ki ontóklo-n cikkí:li-n
 CHILD-pauc SEVEN-sw KEEP-sw
 /amapók ómmi:k cakkó:lin ocóskik ontóklóhcotohon ocóski ontóklon
 cikkí:lin/
 'As for my grandmother, she dwelt, and her children were seven in
 number, she took care of seven children.'
- 3) ná:ni-ha-k pokkó:l awáh tóklo-t ca-hí:ca-toho-:li-mpa-:s
 MAN-pl-subj TEN AND TWO-conn 1sobj-SEE-realis-deduc-hearsay-IPast
 /ná:nihak pokkó:l awáh tóklon cahí:catoho:limpa:s/
 'They say that twelve men have just seen me.'
- 4) ná:ni-ha pokkó:l awáh tóklo-n hí:ca-li-:s
 MAN-pl TEN AND TWO-sw SEE-1ss-IPast
 /ná:niha pokkó:l awáh tóklon hí:cali:s/
 'I just saw twelve men.'
- 5) ca-fonó:si-k tóklo-t am-ásw-o-Ŵ
 1sposs-SISTER:OF:A:MAN-subj TWO-conn 1sdat-DWELL(du)-be-phr:term
 /cafonó:sik tóklot amáswq/
 'I have two living sisters.'

Numerals can be given verbal inflection when telling how many people in a group there are. All numbers can be inflected as ca-stative verbs of Class III*Ci*; however, several can be inflected, at least partially, as regular verbs, as is shown in the following examples.

TABLE 12.2

Verb	Class	Positive	Negative
tóklon 'be two'	IIC	to, l í, k l TWO, 1pl s (IIC), /to l í k l / 'We are two.'	tóklo-tk í l k o-ŷ TWO-1pl neg (IICi) -phr: term /tóklo tk í l k o / 'We are not two in number.'
		ko-tó k l 1pl stats-TWO /ko tó k l / 'We are two.'	ko-to, k í, k l -o-ŷ 1pl stats-TWO, 3neg (IIC) -neg: comp-phr: term /ko to k í k l o / 'We are not two in number.'
		ostá:kan	IIIA
		ostá:-h í l k FOUR-1pl s (IIIA) /ostá:h í l k / 'We are four.'	ostá:-k í l k o-ŷ FOUR-1pl neg (IIIA) -phr: term /ostá:k í l k o / 'We are not four in number.'
		ko-ostá:k ² 1pl stats-FOUR /ko ostá:k / 'We are four.'	ko-ostá:-h í k k o-ŷ 1pl stats-FOUR-3neg (IIIA) -phr: term /ko ostá:h í k k o / 'We are not four in number.'
		ostá:-h á s k FOUR-2pl s (IIIA) /ostá:h á s k / 'You are four.'	ostá:-h á c i k k o-ŷ FOUR-2pl neg (IIIA) -phr: term /ostá:h á c i k k o / 'You are not four in number.'
		haci-ostá:k ² 2pl stats-FOUR /haci ostá:k / 'You are four.'	haci-ostá:-h í k k o-ŷ 2pl stats-FOUR-3neg (IIIA) -phr: term /haci ostá:h í k k o / 'You are not four in number.'

cakká:lin 'be nine'	IIA	cakká:-híl NINE-1pls(IIA)	cakká:-kílko-ŷ NINE-1plneg(IIA)-phr:term
		/cakká:híl/	/cakká:kílkq/
		'We are nine.'	'We are not nine.'
		ko-cakká:l 1plstats-NINE	ko-cakká:-ko-ŷ 1plstats-NINE-3neg(IIA)- phr:term
		/kocakká:l/	/kocakká:kq/
		'We are nine.'	'We are not nine.'
		cakká:-hác NINE-2pls(IIA)	cakká:-hácikko-ŷ NINE-2plneg(IIA)-phr:term
		/cakká:hác/	cakká:hácikkq/
		'You are nine.'	'You are not nine.'
		haci-cakká:l 2plstats-NINE	haci-cakká:-ko-ŷ 2plstats-NINE-3neg(IIA)- phr:term
		/hacicakká:l/	/hacicakká:kq/
		'You are nine.'	'You are not nine.'

Compound numbers are inflected as active verbs by the inflection of the final element of the numeral compound; as statives by the prefix preceding the initial member of the compound, as in the following table.

TABLE 12.3

Verb	Class	Example
pökkó:l awáh caffá:kan 'be eleven'	IIIA	pökkó:l awáh caffá:-hásk TEN AND ONE-2pls(IIIA)
		/pökkó:l awáh caffá:hásk/
		'You are eleven in number.'
		haci-pökkó:l awáh caffá:k 2plstats-TEN AND ONE
		/hacipökkó:l awáh caffá:k/
		'You are eleven in number.'

poltókl awáh caffá:kan IIIA
'be twenty-one'

poltókl awáh caffá:-hílk
TWENTY AND ONE-1pls(IIIA)

/poltókl awáh caffá:hílk/

'We are twenty-one in number.'

ko-poltókl awáh caffá:k
1plstats-TWENTY AND ONE

/kopoltókl awáh caffá:k/

'We are twenty-one in number.'

The numerals for the decades, which are formed with an element pol- prefixed to the numerals from two to nine, are inflected as stative verbs of Class IIICi, or as active verbs of that class, or as an active verb of the class of the element to which pol- is prefixed, as in the following example.

6a) ko-poltókl
1plstats-TWENTY

/kopoltókl/

'We are twenty.'

b) poltoklo-tílk
TWENTY-1pls(IIICi)

/poltoklotílk/

'We are twenty.'

c) poltó,lí,kl
TWENTY,1pls(IIIC),

/poltolíkl/

'We are twenty.'

Ordinal numerals

Ordinal numerals are distinctive only from one to nine; from ten and above, the ordinals are identical to the cardinals, and are only distinguished by context. The ordinal numerals are as follows:

first	himá:kan	(obsolete form: ilpalá:pin)
second	statóklon	
third	statoccí:nan	
fourth	stonostá:kan	
fifth	stacahappá:kan	
sixth	stahanná:lin	
seventh	stontóklon	
eighth	stontoccí:nan	
ninth	stacakká:lin	

With the exception of expressions telling the day of the month, ordinal numbers, with the exception of himá:kan, are rarely used. Just like cardinal numerals, ordinal numerals are verbs, and therefore have similar syntax. If a possessed noun is modified by an ordinal, the ordinal precedes the noun, and the possessive prefix is infixes into the ordinal, as in the following example.³

- 7) st-am-ontóklo nasincá:k-ok óm/
instr-lsposs-SEVEN BOOK-subj:foc BE

/stamontóklo nasincá:kok óm/

'It is my seventh book.'

The following are further examples of the use of ordinal numerals.

- 8) hasí toccí:na-n nihtá statóklo-:fó:k
MONTH THREE-sw DAY SECOND-when

/hasí toccí:nan nihtá statóklo:fó:k/

'It is the second day of the third month; it is March 2nd.'

- 9) hasí hanná:li-n im-ilpalá:pi aḥa-mó:na-:fó:k³
MONTH SIX-sw 3poss-FIRST GO (sg)-OF:ALL-when

/hasí hanná:lin imilpalá:pi aḥamó:ma:fó:k/

'It is the first part of the sixth month; it is the first part of June.'

- 10) himá:k ilá-:ci-n món itt-o:tamátli-to-ḡ
FIRST ARRIVE-pl-sw ALSO recip-TRADE-III Past-phr:term

/himá:k ilá:cin món itto:tamátlitḡ/

'They arrived first, and they also traded with each other.'

Adverbial numerals

Adverbial numerals are those which tell how many times an action occurs. There are only distinct forms for one through six, the others are the same as the cardinal numerals. The adverbial numerals are as follows:

once	himó:ʔa:ʂin	or	acaffá:ka:ʂin
twice	atóklon		
thrice	atocfí:nan		
four times	onostá:kan		
five times	acahappá:kan		
six times	ahanná:lin		

Sporadically, higher numerals will occur in adverbial form, as for example apoltóklon, 'twenty times.' The adverbial numerals are clearly derived from the cardinal numerals with the general locative prefix a- added before consonant-initial stems, and the specific locative prefix on- before vowel-initial stems (see Chapter 4 for a discussion of these prefixes). As the adverbial numerals are basically verbs, it is possible for them to take verbal affixes, but since they are used as adverbs, they require the switch reference suffix -n whenever they are used. The following are examples of the use of adverbial numerals.

- 11) onostá:ka-n akkammí:ci-li-t
FOUR:TIMES-sw DO-1ss-Past

/onostá:kan akkammí:cilit/

'I did it four times.'
- 12) himó:Ÿ:,ʔa:ʂi-Ÿhco-n naʔihilká caffá:ka:ʂi-Ÿhco-n in-naʔí:ka-to-Ÿ
ONCE,intens,-habit-sw SPEECH ONE-dim-habit-sw 3dat-SPEAK-IIIIPast-phr:term

/himó::ʔascon naʔihilká caffá:kascon innaʔí:katq/

'Just once she had merely one conversation with him.'

Numerals with adverbial suffixes

Numerals can occur with four adverbial suffixes, -ná:na-, -:ʂi-/o:ʂi-, -fí:na-, and -á:ho:ʂi-, which have specialized meanings when used with numerals. The suffix -ná:na-, which in other contexts means 'all the time;

constantly,' with a numeral means 'N by N, or in groups of N,' as below.

one by one; one at a time	caffá:kaná:nan
two by two; two at a time	tókloná:nan
three by three	toccí:naná:nan
nine by nine	cakká:liná:nan
eleven by eleven	pokkó:l awáh caffá:kaná:nan

The following is an example of the use of this suffix with a numeral.

- 13) ostá:ka-ná:na-t í:s
FOUR-adv-conn SIT(pl)

/ostá:kaná:nat í:s/

'They are sitting in groups of four.'

The suffix -:si-/-o:si-, the diminutive/augmentive, with a numeral means 'merely N; only N;'' as below.

only one	caffá:kasin
only two	tóklo:sin
only six	hanná:lo:sin
only fourteen	pokkó:l awáh ostá:ka:sin

The following is an example of the use of this suffix (see also example 12).

- 14) kowasá:ti-k cokpí toccí:na-:si-t í:s-o-ŷ
KOASATI-subj HUNDRED THREE-dim-conn DWELL(pl)-be-phr:term

/kowasá:tik cokpí toccí:na:sit í:sq/

'There are only three hundred Koasati.'

The adverbial suffixes -ná:na- and -:si- can cooccur with each other following a numeral, in the complex -:siná:na-.⁴ This has the meaning 'only N at a time,' as in the following.

only one at a time	caffá:ka:siná:nan
only two at a time	tóklo:siná:nan

The suffix -fí:na-, which in other contexts means 'to be metaphorically like,' following a numeral means 'about N, more or less N,' as in the following examples.

- 15) pokkó:li-fí:na-toho-ŷ
TEN-like-realis-phr:term

/pokkó:lifí:natoḥo/

'They were about ten in number.'
- 16) kolosík pokkó:li-fí:n-ok am-ná:h
CHICKEN-subj TEN-like-ss:foc lsdatt-EXIST

/kolosík pokkó:lifí:nok anná:h/

'I have about ten chickens.'
- 17) hasí ha:lahká caffá:ka-fí:n-on ó:ta-l-laho-ŷ
SUN MOVEMENT ONE-like-sw:foc BE:THERE-lss-irrealis-phr:term

/hasí ha:lahká caffá:kafí:non ó:ta:llaho/

'I will be there in about one hour.'

The suffix -á:ho:si-, which usually means 'very, intensely,' with a numeral means 'almost N,' as in the following examples.

- 18) kaló tokl-á:ho:s
GALLON TWO-adv

/kaló toklá:ho:s/

'It is almost two gallons.'
- 19) kowí cahappá:k-á:ho:si-t ilti-fá ańí:ya-t ońá
MILE FIVE-adv-conn PN-in GO (sg)-conn BE:THERE (aor)

/kowí cahappá:ká:ho:sit iltifá ańí:yat ońá/

'It is almost five miles going to and being there in Elton;' i.e.
'It is almost five miles to Elton.'
- 20) kowí pokkó:l-á:ho:si-t kinta-fá ańí:ya-t ońá
MILE TEN-adv-conn PN-in GO (sg)-conn BE:THERE (aor)

/kowí pokkó:lá:ho:sit kintafá ańí:yat ońá/

'It is almost ten miles to Kinder.'

Causatives of numerals

The causatives of numerals are even less in use than numerals themselves. They were obtained only in elicitation, and were said to be used as variant ways of expressing the division of an object into parts. However, the causative numerals are basic to the method of telling time. The causatives of numerals are formed by transforming the segment -ka of certain numbers to -li, and by suffixing the compulsive suffix -:ci to all other numerals.

The following is a list of causative numerals.

TABLE 12.4

Causative numeral	Gloss
caffá:lin	'make into one'
tokló:cin	'make into two'
tocciná:cin	'make into three'
ostá:lin	'make into four'
cahappá:lin	'make into five'
hannalí:cin	'make into six'
ontokló:cin	'make into seven'
ontocciná:cin	'make into eight'
cakkalí:cin	'make into nine'
pokkolí:cin	'make into ten'
pokkó:l awáh tokló:cin	'make into twelve'
pol tokló:cin	'make into twenty'
cokpí caffá:lin	'make into a hundred'
cokpacó:ba caffá:lin	'make into a thousand'

It should be noted that these verbs, like all numerals, do not form any verbal nouns.

Telling time

The words for telling time are based upon the causatives of the numerals one through eleven, with a special form for twelve. To indicate that hours of the morning are meant, the adverbial form, niłá:lon, 'in the morning,' is used. To indicate hours after noon, the adverbial forms tánkan, 'in the afternoon,' and tamó:kan, 'at night,' are used. To indicate the half-hour, the noun hokkí:ta, 'half,' is transformed in to the verb hokki:tá:cin. The following table is a list of the hours, followed by selected terms for the various minutes between 3:00 and 4:30.

TABLE 12.5

Time word	Gloss	Base
caffá:l	'it is one o'clock'	caffá:lin
tokló:c	'it is two o'clock'	tokló:cin
tocciná:c	'it is three o'clock'	tocciná:cin
ostá:l	'it is four o'clock'	ostá:lin
cahappá:l	'it is five o'clock'	cahappá:lin
hannalí:c	'it is six o'clock'	hannalí:cin
ontokló:c	'it is seven o'clock'	ontokló:cin
ontocciná:c	'it is eight o'clock'	ontocciná:cin
cakkalí:c	'it is nine o'clock'	cakkalí:cin
pokkolí:c	'it is ten o'clock'	pokkolí:cin
pokkó:l awáh caffá:l	'it is eleven o'clock'	pokkó:l awáh caffá:lin
pontokkó:l	'it is twelve o'clock'	pontokkó:lin
Time phrase		
tocciná:c		'three o'clock'
tocciná:cin pokkó:l awáh cahappá:kan hasí ha:lahká		'three-fifteen'
tocciná:cin poltóklon hasí ha:lahká		'three-twenty'

tocciná:cin hokki:tá:c	'half-past three'
tocciná:cin poltoccí:nan hasí ha:lahká	'three-thirty'
tocciná:cin polostá:kan hasí ha:lahká	'three-forty'
tocciná:cin polcahappá:kan hasí ha:lahka	'three-fifty'
ostá:l	'four o'clock'
ostá:lin caffá:kan hasí ha:lahká	'one after four'
ostá:lin cahappá:kan hasí ha:lahká	'five after four'
ostá:lin pokkó:lin hasí ha:lahká	'four-ten'
ostá:lin pokkó:l awáh caffá:kan hasí ha:lahká	'four-eleven'
ostá:lin hokki:tá:c	'half-past four'

The phrase hasí ha:lahká means 'sun movement,' and originally meant hour, or visible movement of the sun. In later times, with greater familiarity with clocks and watches (called hasosí, 'little sun,' or hasí sobáyka, 'knowing the sun') the phrase was transferred to the movement of hands of the clock, and now refers primarily to minutes, although it is still used in its old sense, as in example 17 above.

As elaborations of the time-telling process, the time word followed by the switch-reference suffix -n and the verb topótlin, 'to pass through (sg),' is used to express being past an hour, as in examples 21) and 22). With the adverbial suffix -á:ho:si- a time word indicates that it is almost an hour, as in examples 23 and 24 .

- 21) caffá:li-n topótl
 BE:ONE:O'CLOCK-sw PASS:THROUGH (sg)
 /caffá:lin topótl/
 'It is past one o'clock.'

- 22) ostá:li-n ʔopótl
BE:FOUR:O'CLOCK-sw PASS:THROUGH

/ostá:lin ʔopótl/

'It is after four o'clock.'

- 23) caffá:l-á:ho:s
BE:ONE:O'CLOCK-adv

/caffa:lá:ho:s/

'It is almost one o'clock/

- 24) tokló:c-á:ho:s
BE:TWO:O'CLOCK-adv

/tokló:cá:ho:s/

'It is almost two o'clock.'

To ask what time it is, the verb námpon, 'to be so many,' is transformed with the suffix -:ci into the verb nampó:cin, 'to cause to be so many,' and inflected as a question as in the following example.

- 25) nampó, ʔ?ʔ, -:ci
CAUSE:TO:BE:SO:MANY,Q,

/nampó?cí/

'What time is it?'

Counting months and days

The Koasati, like other American Indian groups, formerly had a system of named lunar months. This system has been obsolete so long that it has almost gone out of memory. However, with the aid of partial lists obtained in 1910 by John R. Swanton, and in the 1930s by Lyda Taylor, a complete set of month names and their general order was elicited. Unfortunately the exact position of a few month names in the latter half of the list were subject to debate, and the order in which they are placed is tentative.⁵

TABLE 12.6

<u>Month Name</u>	<u>English Gloss</u>
ḥaficobá	'Great Winter'
ḥafocó:si	'Winter's Child'
kasátka hasí	'Cold Weather Month'
fapli hasí	'Wind Month'
nasacíhli hasí	'Planting Month'
bakcó hasí or bakcó hókti hasí	'Blackberry (Ripening) Month'
bihí hasí or bihí hókti hasí	'Fig ⁶ (Ripening) Month'
tocoḥáfka hasí	'Wood-Splitting Month'
takkolá hasí	'Peach Month'
nashókti hasí	'Harvest Month'
ocaciḥáhli hasí	'Hickory-nuts Falling Month'
ittohi:silá:na hasí	'Leaf-Yellowing Month'
okiló:ca hasí or okisto:ló:ca hasí	'Black (or Blackened) Water Month'

There are thirteen month names, as indeed there are thirteen lunar months in a solar year. Because the year is a day and a quarter longer than thirteen lunar months, the months have a tendency to recede from year to year. It is not clear how the Koasati handled this problem; it does seem that planting (and thus nasacíhli hasí) was fixed by the observance of the Pleiades (hociḥlokkó:li, 'the Standing Stars') just before their final disappearance at sunrise (about mid-April). Since there is no unequivocal testimony to prove this supposition, this will have to remain a hypothesis.

After contact with Europeans, the Koasati developed a system of twelve months correlated with the European calendar, as well as a week of seven named days. The month names are simply numerical descriptions, while the

day names are partly descriptive and partly numerical. The following table lists these month and day names.

TABLE 12.7

Month names

<u>Month name</u>	<u>Literal meaning</u>	<u>English gloss</u>
hasí himá:kan	'first month'	'January'
hasí statoklon	'second month'	'February'
hasí statoccí:nan	'third month'	'March'
hasí stonostá:kan	'fourth month'	'April'
hasí stacahappá:kan	'fifth month'	'May'
hasí stahanná:lin	'sixth month'	'June'
hasí stontóklon	'seventh month'	'July'
hasí stontoccí:nan	'eighth month'	'August'
hasí scakká:lin	'ninth month'	'September'
hasí pokkó:lin	'tenth month'	'October'
hasí pokkó:l awáh caffá:kan	'eleventh month'	'November'
hasí pokkó:l awáh tóklon	'twelfth month'	'December'

Day names

taholló	'holy day'	'Sunday'
tahollinnihtá	'holy day's tomorrow'	'Monday'
statóklo	'second (day)'	'Tuesday'
statoccí:na	'third (day)'	'Wednesday'
stonostá:ka	'fourth (day)'	'Thursday'
tahollosobá:li	'behind little holy day'	'Friday'
tahollosí	'little holy day'	'Saturday'

The word taholló is used for 'week' as well as 'Sunday.'

In addition to this system, which is still in partial use today, another system developed after English became the dominant language where the Koasati lived. This system of month names was borrowed from English; however, no day names were borrowed, and the previous system of day names has remained in use. The following table contains a list of these names.

TABLE 12.8

Month name	Verb class	Gloss
cinowí:ri	IIICi	'January'
fapwí:ri	IIICi	'February'
mácka	IIIA	'March'
é:pa	IIICi	'April'
méyka	IIIA	'May'
cónka	IIIA	'June'
colá:ya	IIICi	'July'
akáska	IIICi	'August'
sitímba	IIICi	'September'
októ:ba	IIICi	'October'
nofám̄ba	IIICi	'November'
disímba	IIICi	'December'

All these loan words are ambiguous roots; they can be considered by speakers as being either nouns or verbs. For example, in rendering the sentence, 'It is not yet May,' if méyka is considered to be a noun, the form in example 26) is given; if it is considered a verb, the form in 27) results.

26) méyk-o-kko-k onàm
MAY-be-3neg(IIICi)-ss BE:STILL

/méykkokk onàm/

'It is not yet May.'

- 27) méy-híkkó-k onàm
BE:MAY-3neg(IIIA)-ss BE:STILL

/méyhíkkok onàm/

'It is not yet May.'

It is probably the case that the Koasati consider these month names as agentive nouns, derived from verbs of the classes listed.

Even though the month names in Table VIII contain phonemes and sequences that do not normally occur in Koasati, these forms are, as a consultant put it, kowasá:ti ico:wiliksí snałiká, 'spoken with Koasati lips (i.e. accent).' Because of the universal use of English outside the community, these loan words suffer severe pressure to be normalized as much as possible to English phonetics; thus 'April' is more often rendered [éyprɪlka] than é:pa.

To express what day of the month it is, the month name suffixes :-fó:kón, and the number of the day (ordinal numbers are used) suffixes :-fó:k, as in the following examples.

- 28) yá nihtá hasí pokkó:l awáh caffá:ka:-fó:k-on nihtá statocí:na:-fó:k
THIS DAY MONTH BE:TENTH AND ONE-when-sw:foc DAY BE:THIRD-when

/yá nihtá hasí pokkó:l awáh caffá:ka:fó:kón nihtá statocí:na:fó:k/

'Today is the third day of the eleventh month; it is November 3rd.'

- 29) yá nihtá hasí pokkó:li:-fó:k-on nihtá poltoocí:n awáh caffá:ka:-fó:k
THIS DAY MONTH BE:TENTH-when-sw DAY BE:THIRTIETH AND ONE-when

/yá nihtá hasí pokkó:li:fó:kón nihtá poltoocí:n awáh caffá:ka:fó:k/

'Today is the thirty-first day of the tenth month; it is October 31st.'

To express vague dates, the following five formats are used:

- 30) colá:ya hasí himá:k holcifó7
JULY MONTH BE:FIRST NAME

/colá:ya hasí himá:k holcifó/

'It is the beginning of July.'

- 31) hasí hanná:li-n ʔopótli-n
MONTH BE:SIX-sw PASS:THROUGH (sg)-sw

/hasí hanná:lin ʔopótlin/

'It is past the beginning of June.'
- 32) hasí hanná:li-n hokki:tá:c
MONTH BE:SIX-sw CAUSE:TO:BE:HALF

/hasí hanná:lin hokki:tá:c/

'It is half-way through the month of June.'
- 33) hasí hanná:li-n hotahá
MONTH BE:SIX-sw AMID

/hasí hanná:lin hotahá/

'It is the middle of June.'
- 34) colá:ya hasí stanó:ka-n
JULY MONTH BE:FINISHED:WITH-sw

/colá:ya hasí stanó:kan/

'It is the end of July.'

To express an occurrence in a month, the suffix -:fó:ka- is added, to negate that expression, the complex -:fó:kokko- is used, as in the following.

- 35) é:pa-:fó:k
BE:APRIL-when

/é:pa:fó:k/

'It is in April.'
- 36) é:pa-:fó:k-o-kko-V
BE:APRIL-when-be-3neg(IIICii)-phr:term

/é:pa:fó:kokkq/

'It is not in April.'

In addition to the above month names, there are sporadic descriptive names which occur. These are listed in the first part of Table IX. There are some holidays that have been named. These are listed in the second part of Table IX.

TABLE 12.9

Sporadic month names

Term	Literal meaning	English Gloss
hasí ohayhahpá	'new year's month'	'January'
hasí ohayyí hokkí:ta	'half-year's month'	'June'
kilismí hasí	'Christmas month'	'December'
hasí stanó:ka	'finishing-up month'	'December'

Holiday names

kolostóhli	'chicken-chase' ⁸	'Mardi Gras'
ħańí:pa nihtá	'fish-eating day'	'Good Friday'
kolossoskí wíhka nihtá	'egg-hunting day'	'Easter'
solopinnihtá	'ghost's day'	'Hallowe'en'
athómmafánka nihtá	'Indian-meeting day'	'Thanksgiving'
fitó í:pa nihtá	'turkey-eating day'	'Thanksgiving'
kilismí	-	'Christmas'

Counting money

Koasati has an elaborate system for counting money. The system is quite old, as attested by the fact that three of the basic terms for money are loan words; one from Muskogee (almost certainly borrowed before the Koasati emigration to Louisiana in 1795), and two from French, these latter archaic words no longer used in the spoken French of Louisiana. The basic terms are:

hołtolihná	'cent; penny'	verbal noun of ho:tóhnon, 'to count'
pikayó	'nickel'	from Fr. <u>picayune</u> 'half an <u>escalin</u> ;' six and one-half cents
skalikánko	'dime'	<u>skali</u> 'bit' and kánko 'bad'
skalí	'bit'	Fr. <u>escalin</u> 'twelve and one-half cents'
tokná:wa	'dollar'	Muskogee <u>catokoná:wa</u> , 'money; dollar'

The following table shows the way these terms are put together to count money.

TABLE 12.10

Term	Gloss
hol tolihná caffá:kan	'one cent'
pikayó	'five cents'
hol tolihná hanná:lin	'six cents'
skalikánko	'ten cents'
pikayó toccí:nan	'fifteen cents'
skalikánko tóklon	'twenty cents'
skalí tóklon	'twenty-five cents'
skalikánko toccí:nan	'thirty cents'
skalikánko toccí:n pikayó	'thirty-five cents'
skalikánko ostá:kan	'forty cents'
skalikánko ostá:k pikayó	'forty-five cents'
skalí ostá:kan	'fifty cents'
skalí ostá:kan pikayó	'fifty-five cents'
skalí ostá:kan hol tolihná hanná:lin	'fifty-six cents'
skalí ostá:kan hol tolihná ontóklon	'fifty-seven cents'
skalikánko hanná:lin	'sixty cents'
skalikánko hanná:l pikayó	'sixty-five cents'
skalikánko ontóklon	'seventy cents'
skalí hanná:lin	'seventy-five cents'
skalikánko ontoccí:nan	'eighty cents'
skalikánko ontoccí:n pikayó	'eighty-five cents'
skalikánko cakká:lin	'ninety cents'
skalikánko cakká:l pikayó	'ninety-five cents'

ná caffá:kan	'one dollar'
ná pokkó:lin	'ten dollars'
ná pokkó:l awáh cahappá:kan	'fifteen dollars'
ná poltóklon	'twenty dollars'
ná cokpí caffá:kan	'one hundred dollars'
ná cokpacó:ba caffá:kan	'one thousand dollars'

The form ná, 'dollar,' is simply a highly abbreviated form of the word tokná:wa, and is used only in counting money.

The basic order of the money counting system is this: all numbers of cents that cannot be divided by 5 are counted with the term holtolihná followed by the number of cents involved; if the amount is twenty-five, fifty, or seventy-five cents, skalí is used followed by two, four or six; for other even amounts skalikánko is used followed by the number of ten-cent pieces in the amount, and increments of five cents are indicated by adding pikayó; increments of more or less than five cents are indicated with holtolihná.

Measurements

The following terms of measurement have been noted:

kaló	'gallon'	
kaló hokkí:ta jhokkí:ta	'quart'	
kobitá	'bushel'	
ilbikí	'inch'	(also olpinó)
iyyí	'foot'	
hacalí	'yard'	(also ittó)
kowí	'mile'	

In addition, there are the following terms used to qualify measurements:

baskí	'length' ⁹
pathá	'width'
cayhá	'height'
kohokbí	'depth'
atanatlí	'around'
ilabanápka	'across'

The following examples show the use of various of these terms of measurement.

- 37) ilbikí pokkó:l awáh tóklo-n iyyí-fá¹⁰
 INCH BE:TEN AND TWO-sw FOOT-in
 /ilbikí pokkó:l awáh tóklon iyyifá/
 'There are twelve inches in a foot.'
- 38) iyyí toccí:na-n hacali-fá
 FOOT THREE-sw YARD-in
 /iyyí toccí:nan hacalifá/
 'There are three feet in a yard.'
- 39) iyyí cokpacó:ba cahappá:ka-n cokpí tóklo-n polontocci:na-n kowi-fá
 FOOT THOUSAND BE:FIVE-sw HUNDRED BE:TWO-sw BE:EIGHTY-sw MILE-in
 /iyyí cokpacó:ba cahappá:kan cokpí tóklon polontocci:nan kowifá/
 'There are five thousand, two hundred and eighty feet in a mile.'
- 40a) pathá-k námpo-n ci-ba,Ú?Ú,na
 WIDE-subj BE:SO:MANY-sw 2sstats-WANT,Q,
 /pathák námpon cibá?ná/
 'How wide do you want it?'
- b) iyyí caffá:ka-n ca-bàn pathá
 FOOT BE:ONE-sw 1sstats-WANT WIDTH
 /iyyí caffá:kan cabàn pathá/
 'I want it one foot in width.'

- 41a) baskí-k námpo-n ci-ba,Ú?Ú,na
LONG-subj BE:SO:MANY-sw 2sstats-WANT,Q,
/baskík námpon cibá?ná/
'How long do you want it?'
- b) iyyí tóklo-n ca-bàn baskí
FOOT BE:TWO-sw 1sstats-WANT LONG
/iyyí tóklon cabàn baskí/
'I want it two feet in length.'
- 42) holikfá yabóhli hacalí tocci:na-n ca-ban
CLOTH SOFT YARD BE:THREE-sw 1sstats-WANT
/holikfá yabóhli hacalí tocci:nan caban/
'I want three yards of flannel.'
- 43) í:sa cáyha-k iyyí ontókl-á:p
HOUSE HIGH-subj FOOT BE:SEVEN-abil
/í:sa cáyhak iyyí ontóklá:p/
'The house is almost seven feet high.'
- 44) am-okolcá-k iyyí cokpí caffá:ka-n pockó:l awáh ostá:ka-n kohokbí
1sposs-WELL-subj FOOT HUNDRED BE:ONE-sw BE:TEN AND FOUR-sw DEEP
/amokolcák iyyí cokpí caffá:kan pockó:l awáh ostá:kan kohokbí/
'My well is one hundred and fourteen feet in depth.'
- 45) ilbikí ostá:ka-n atanatlí
INCH BE:FOUR-sw AROUND
/ilbikí ostá:kan atanatlí/
'It is four inches around.'
- 46) ilbikí ostá:ka-n ilabanápka/
INCH BE:FOUR-sw ACROSS
/ilbikí ostá:kan ilabanápka/
'It is four inches across.'

There is a special construction using the verb walilí:cin, 'to cause to run,' as a stative verb to express 'miles per hour.' If the sentence is construed to refer to the present time, the aorist form is used, if not, the

indicative is used. The following two examples illustrate this construction.

- 47) am-walilicí kowí poltoccí:na-n hasí ha:lahká
 |sstats-CAUSE:TO:RUN(aor) MILE BE:THIRTY-sw SUN MOVEMENT

/awwalilicí kowí poltoccí:nan hasí ha:lahká/

'I am going thirty miles an hour.'

- 48) am-walilí:ci-n kowí cokpí caffá:kan hasí ha:lahká a:tasihka-k
 |sstats-CAUSE:TO:RUN-sw MILE HUNDRED BE:ONE-sw SUN MOVEMENT
 POLICEMAN-subj

ca-nokcobá:ci-t na:sincá:ka-n ánka-t
 |sobj-STOP-conn PAPER-obj GIVE:TO:ME-Past

/awwalilí:cin kowí cokpí caffá:kan hasí ha:lahká a:tasihkak
 canokcobá:ci-t na:sincá:kan ákat/

'I was going one hundred miles an hour, and a policeman stopped me and gave me a ticket.'

Mathematics

The ability to do mathematics in Koasati is a skill that is no longer widespread. With the decline in the use of numerals in the language, all the disciplines based on the manipulation of numbers have fallen into decline. Formerly, it was the custom for older people to teach children mathematics using shelled beans to illustrate the problems and mathematical operations. This custom is reflected linguistically in the constructions used in mathematics, which can clearly be interpreted as referring to countable things, not just numbers in isolation.

Addition

The basic structure of an addition problem is: Number₁-n anámpo Number₂ Number₃-DEL, and is equivalent to English 'Number₁ plus Number₂ equals Number₃.' The following are examples of addition problems.

- 49) tóklo-n anámpo tóklo ostá:k
BE:TWO-sw ONCE:AGAIN TWO BE:FOUR

/tóklon anámpo tóklo, ostá:k/

'Two plus two is four,' lit. 'It is two, and once again two; it is four.'
- 50) tóklo-n anámpo toccí:na cahappá:k
BE:TWO-sw ONCE:AGAIN THREE BE:FIVE

/tóklon anámpo toccí:na, cahappá:k/

'Two plus three is five.'
- 51) cahappá:ka-n anámpo toccí:na ontocci:n
BE:FIVE-sw ONCE:AGAIN THREE BE:EIGHT

/cahappá:kan anámpo toccí:na ontocci:n/

'Five plus three equals eight.'
- 52) pokkó:li-n anámpo pokkó:l awáh cahappá:ka poltók l awáh cahappá:k
BE:TEN-sw ONCE AGAIN TEN AND FIVE BE:TWENTY AND FIVE

/pokkó:lin anámpo pokkó:l awáh cahappá:ka, poltók l awáh cahappá:k/

'Ten plus fifteen equals twenty-five.'

Subtraction

The basic structure of a subtraction problem is: Number_1 -fa Number_2 -n onaisí aláhka Number_3 -DEL, which is equivalent to English, "Number₁ minus Number₂ equals Number₃." The verb onaisín, 'to subtract,' here used in the aorist form, is a compound of the prefixes on-, 'vertical plane,' a-, 'general locative,' and í:sin, 'to take something.' The whole complex literally means 'to take something from the face (or surface) of.' The following are examples of subtraction problems.

- 53) ontóklo-fa toccí:na-n onaisí aláhka ostá:k
SEVEN-in BE:THREE-sw SUBTRACT(aor) LEFT:OVER BE:FOUR

/ontóklofa toccí:nan onaisí, aláhka ostá:k/

'Seven minus three equals four,' lit. 'In seven, one takes three from the face of it, what is left over is four.'

- 54) awáh tóklo-fa hanná:li-n onaisí aláhka hanná:l
 AND TWO-in BE:SIX-sw SUBTRACT(aor) LEFT:OVER BE:SIX
 /awáh tóklofa hanná:lin onaisí aláhka hanná:l/
 'Twelve minus six equals six.'
- 55) cokpí caffá:ka-fa polcahappá:ka-n onaisí aláhka polcahappá:k
 HUNDRED BE:ONE-in BE:FIFTY-sw SUBTRACT(aor) LEFT:OVER BE:FIFTY
 /cokpí caffá:kafa polcahappá:kan onaisí aláhka polcahappá:k/
 'One hundred minus fifty equals fifty.'
- 56) tóklo-fa tóklo-n onaisí aláhka iksó
 TWO-in BE:TWO-sw SUBTRACT(aor) LEFT:OVER NOT:EXIST(aor)
 /tóklofa tóklon onaisí aláhka iksó/
 'Two minus two equals zero.'

The last example shows the verb íksó 'not to exist,' which usually does not take internal changes, taking the aorist to form íksó 'zero.'

Multiplication

The basic structure of a multiplication problem is: Number₁ Number₂ Number₃-DEL. This is equivalent to the English "Number₁ times Number₂ equals Number₃." The following are examples of multiplication problems.

- 57) toccí:na tóklo hanná:l
 BE: THREE BE:TWO BE:SIX
 /toccí:na tóklo, hanná:l/
 'Three times two is six,' lit. 'Two threes, it is six.'
- 58) ostá:ka ostá:ka pokkó:l awáh hanná:l
 BE:FOUR BE:FOUR BE:TEN AND SIX
 /ostá:ka ostá:ka, pokkó:l awáh hanná:l/
 'Four times four is sixteen.'

Division

The structure of a division problem is: Number₁-:fó:kon ittakasápli:p Number₂-n Number₃-DEL. This is the equivalent to English "Number₁ divided by Number₂ equals Number₃." The following are examples of division prob-

1 ems.

- 59) pokkó:li:-fó:k-on ittakasápli:-p cahappá:ka-n tókl
 BE:TEN-when-sw:foc CUT:UP-subjunct BE:FIVE-sw BE:TWO

/pokkó:li:fó:kon ittakasápli:p cahappá:kan, tókl/

'Ten divided by five equals two,' lit. 'When it is ten, and if it is cut up in five, it is two.'

- 60) hanná:li:-fó:k-on ittakasápli:-p tóklo-n toccí:n
 BE:SIX-when-sw:foc CUT:UP-subjunct BE:TWO-sw BE:THREE

/hanná:li:fó:kon ittakasápli:p tóklon, toccí:n/

'Six divided by two equals three.'

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER 12

¹The term archaic must be defined here. An 'archaic' term means a term which is remembered, but never occurs even in sporadic use. Examples of archaic words are: hołí 'war,' now ittihápka; kaskí, 'warrior,' now solitá:wa; and ibisná:liwalí:ka, 'automobile,' now mobí:la. An obsolete term, on the other hand, is one which, though rare, sporadically occurs. Examples of such terms are: picí, 'mother,' more commonly má:ma; and kakanahilká, mirror, more commonly ililhicá.

²The failure of the stative pronouns to substitute changed forms before a vowel-initial numeral is notable. It may be that the expected forms, *akostá:k and *ahacistá:k, may be too altered for easy comprehension.

³This indicates that the ordinal numerals are derived with a combination of the instrumental prefix s-/st- and the locative prefixes a- and on-.

⁴This order is the opposite to what would be expected (See Table III in Chapter 4). Because in their root meanings the two suffixes are generally incompatible, they have never been noted to occur together outside a numeral phrase.

⁵The months ocacítáhlí hasí and takkolá hasí, in particular, are of uncertain location.

The list of month names has been set up so that it can be compared with lists of month names in other Muskogean languages, even though it is likely that nasacíhlí hasí was the first month of the Koasati year.

⁶The term bihí refers to the European fig, although it is a reflex of the Proto-Muskogean *k^wihi, 'mulberry.' The mulberry is named with a related term, bihalá.

⁷In this phrase, holcifó may be a first person plural aorist form, rather than a noun, c.f. holcí:f, 'we name it.' (ho:cí:fon is--or was--a Class IB

verb.) The first person plural is occasionally used to refer to a generalized or impersonal action.

⁸It is a Mardi Gras custom of the French people in Louisiana to have a race after a chicken as part of the festivities of the day. It is interesting to note the total lack of religious reference in the terms for Good Friday and Easter. The Koasati converted to Christianity only in the late 1920s, even though missionary work had begun in the 1890s.

⁹These terms are actually agentive nouns, and are not exactly equivalent to the English glosses given. The verb páthan, from which pathá derives, has a verbal noun, palithá, 'wideness,' but the latter is not used in expressions of measurement.

¹⁰There is an alternative construction which verbalizes the locative phrase, as in this example:

F12A) ilbikí pokkó:l awáh tóklo-n iyyi-f-ó-ŷ
INCH BE:TEN AND TWO-sw FOOT-in-be-phr:term

/ilbikí pokkó:l awáh tóklon iyyifó/

'There are twelve inches in a foot,' lit. 'It is twelve inches, and it is in a foot.'

CHAPTER 13

NOUNS AND NOMINAL CASE MARKING

Koasati nouns have a complicated system of case suffixes, more elaborate than any found in the other Muskogean languages. In addition to the case suffixes, which indicate the function of a noun in the sentence, there are suffixes which indicate that the noun has been previously mentioned and also locate that noun in time. There are also additional suffixes which supplant the case suffixes, and which serve discourse rather than sentence functions.

Case suffixes

There are seven different cases in Koasati, but no noun occurs with more than six. The classical terminology for cases will be used to name those of Koasati, but it must be understood that the functions of these cases may not be, in all instances, their classical ones. With this in mind, the following are the cases of Koasati: nominative, accusative, autonomous, locative, allative, inessive, and vocative.

Nouns fall into five categories, depending on the cases with which they are permitted to occur. All nouns take the nominative, accusative and autonomous cases; of the additional cases, some take only the locative, others take the locative and allative, still others take the locative, allative and inessive, a few take only the inessive, and another few take the vocative.

Before the cases are individually described, it will be useful to tabulate the five noun classes and the forms that the nouns take in the various cases. These can be seen in the following table.

TABLE 13.1

Noun Class I. Nouns with locative case, but without allative and inessive

ifá 'dog'	alíkcí 'doctor'	athómma 'Indian'
Nom. ifák	Nom. alíkcík	Nom. athómmak
Acc. ifán	Acc. alíkcín	Acc. athómmán
Auton. ifá	Auton. alíkcí	Auton. athómma
Loc. ifafá	Loc. alíkcifá	Loc. athómmafá

Noun Class II. Nouns with locative and allative cases, but without inessive

ó:la 'town'	okfá 'lake'	pihá 'boat'
Nom. ó:lak	Nom. okfák	Nom. piháak
Acc. ó:lan	Acc. okfán	Acc. piháán
Auton. ó:la	Auton. okfá	Auton. pihá
Loc. ó:lafa	Loc. okfafá	Loc. piháfá
All. ó:lafon	All. okfafón	All. piháfón

Noun Class III. Nouns with locative, allative and inessive cases

í:sa 'house'	ihá:ni 'earth'	ittó 'tree'
Nom. í:sak	Nom. ihá:nik	Nom. ittók
Acc. í:san	Acc. ihá:nin	Acc. ittón
Auton. í:sa	Auton. ihá:ni	Auton. ittó
Loc. í:safa	Loc. ihá:nifa	Loc. ittófá
All. í:safon	All. ihá:nifon ¹	All. ittófón
Iness. isháyó	Iness. ihanhayó	Iness. ittohayó

Noun Class IV. Nouns with inessive, but without locative and allative

caffá 'field'	holihtá caká:wa 'garden'	olá:na 'brush'
Nom. caffák	Nom. holihtá caká:wak	Nom. olá:nak
Acc. caffán	Acc. holihtá caká:wan	Acc. olá:nan
Auton. caffá	Auton. holihtá caká:wa	Auton. olá:na
Iness. caffhayó	Iness. holihtá caká:wahayo	Iness. olanhayó

Noun Class V. Nouns with vocative case

awó 'grandfather'	Sihó:ya 'woman's name'	Kawíska 'dog's name'
Nom. awók	Nom. Sihó:yak	Nom. Kawískak
Acc. awón	Acc. Sihó:yan	Acc. Kawískan
Auton. awó	Auton. Sihó:ya	Auton. Kawíska
Loc. awofá	Loc. Sihó:yafa	Loc. Kawískafa
Voc. áw	Voc. Sihó:y	Voc. Kawís

These noun classes are semantically governed. Noun class I consists of all nouns referring to animate objects, noun class II consists of those nouns to which or in which an action may occur, noun class III consists of those nouns within which or among which an action may occur, noun class IV consists of those nouns, usually describing an area of some extent, within which an action may occur, and noun class V, which could be considered a subclass of class I, consists of personal names and a few kinship terms, which take the vocative case.

Use of the Case suffixes

The Nominative case

The nominative case is marked by the suffix -k. It is used to mark the actor of a transitive verb, as in examples 1 and 2, and the experiencer of a stative verb, as in examples 3 and 4. Note also in example 4 that the appositive noun takes the same inflection as the initial noun. This is true of all appositives in Koasati.

- 1) niḷahasí-k cökkó:-ko-:p tamó:ka-:p ná:s-on cik-hí:c-o-ŷhc
 MOON-subj SIT (sg) -3neg (IIA) -subjunc BE:NIGHT-subjunc SOMETHING-obj:
 foc 2sneg (IA) -SEE-neg:comp-can
 /niḷahasík cökkó:ko:p tamó:ka:p ná:son cikhí:cóhc/
 'If the moon is not out when it is night, you cannot see anything.'
- 2) falakcí-k tóklo-t im-ná:h-o-ŷ ittim-taḷá
 WING-subj BE:TWO-conn 3dat-EXIST-be-phr:term recip:poss-SIDE
 /falakcík tóklot inná:hq ittintaḷá/
 'It has two wings on either side (of its body).'
- 3) anó-k am-hó:p
 I-subj 1sstats-BE:HURT
 /anók ḡhó:p/
 'I am hurt.'

- 4) cokfí-k am-oklá-k im-hó:pa-ŷhc-on onká ká,h,ha-n
 RABBIT-subj 1sposs-FRIEND-subj 3stats-BE:HURT-habit-sw:foc BE(intran)
 (aor) SAY,h:grade,-sw

/ʔcokfík amoklák ʔho:páhcon onká,ʔ káhhan/

'It is the case that my friend Rabbit is hurt,' he said.'

The nominative case has a focus form, -ok, which elides the final vowel of the noun to which it is attached. This form adds more emphasis to the noun in the sentence, however, it is non-distinctive for nouns terminating in o. In such a case, only context can tell whether the form is a focus form or not, as in the following example using the words nitá 'bear,' and fitó, 'turkey.'

- 5a) nit-ók cá-l
 BEAR-subj:foc 1sstats-BE(habitual)

/nitók cá/

'I am of the Bear clan.'

- b) fit-ók cí-,ŷʔŷ,-li
 TURKEY-subj:foc 2sstats-,Q,-BE(habitual)

/fitók cíʔlí/

'Are you of the Turkey clan?'

The Accusative case

The accusative case is marked by the suffix -n. It is primarily used to indicate the object of a transitive verb, as in examples 6) and 7); it is also used to indicate the object of certain transitive verbs which mark the object on the verb with the dative pronoun prefix set, as in 8).

- 6) fó:si lawístasi-n tabá:ka-t í:bi-t í:pa-ŷhci
 BIRD SMALL(pl)-obj CATCH(pl)-conn KILL-conn EAT-progress

/fó:si lawístasin tabá:kat í:bit i:páhci/

'It catches, kills and eats small birds.'

- 7) noksí:pa-k ittó-n itta-í,h,s-ok pa-bókli-t
BE:ANGRY-conn STICK-obj loc-PICK:UP (sg),h:grade,-ss:foc loc-BEAT-conn

/noksí:pak ittón ittaíhsok pabóklit/

'He was angry and he picked a stick up off the ground and beat him on the back with it, and...'

- 8) atasíhka-n mat-im-páhka-Vhco-t ómmi-to-n
POLICEMAN-obj afar-3dat-CALL-habit-conn BE-IIIIPast-sw

/atasíhkan matimpahkáhcot ómmiton/

'It was the case that they called off for some policemen.'

In other Muskogean languages, the accusative case is used for a locative, and even though Koasati has three locational cases, the accusative is also used for a locative. However, it is restricted to nouns of time and to abstract nouns, as in the following examples.

- 9) hacim-ná:ho-:p ohayyí óhya-n hacim-biní:l-o-V
2pl-dat-EXIST-subjunct SUMMER ALL-obj 2pldat-VISIT-be-phr:term

/hacinná:ho:p ohayyí óhyan hacimbiní:lq/

'If you have them, they can visit you all during the summer.'

- 10) mók tamó:ka má:ti-n wíhli-t ohómpa-Vhci
ALSO NIGHT ONLY-obj LOOK:FOR-conn EAT (pl)-progress

/mók tamó:ka má:tin wíhlit ohompáhci/

'Also, they look for things to eat only at night.'

- 11) himá:ya-p naksáhka-Vhco-k ómmi-:k holillá-n í:sa-Vhco-V
NOW-new:top MAKE:NOISE-habit-ss BE-subjunct SORCERY-obj DWELL (pl)-habit-phr:term

/himá:yap naksahkáhcómmi:k holillán í:sáhcow/

'Now, whenever it is the case that they make noise, they are living in sorcery.'

Occasionally n can be used to mark other kinds of locative expressions, such as the following where motion is occurring through a location.

- 12) mí:t-ok ó:ta-t o:bittó-n topótli-toho-:li-mpa-Vhco-k
OTHER-subj:foc ARRIVE:THERE-conn SUMMIT-obj PASS:BY (sg)-realis-deduc-hearsay-habit-IVPast

'Still another arrived there and passed over the summit, so it is said.'

Like the nominative case suffix, the accusative case has a focus form, -on. It too, is non-distinctive for nouns terminating in o; the fact that a noun ending in o has the accusative-focus suffix must be retrieved through structural comparison, as in the following example, using the words hissí 'plant' and ħaħó, 'fish.'

13a) afaló-k hass-ón ónk³
MORNING:GLORY-subj PLANT-obj:foc BE(intrans)

/afalók hassón ónk/

'The morning-glory is a plant.'

b) boló-k ħaħ-on ónk
PERCH-subj FISH-obj:foc BE(intrans)

/bolók ħaħón ónk/

'The perch is a fish.'

The accusative suffix -n has a frequent allomorph, ∅. This is used in contexts where word order alone is sufficient to indicate that the noun is the object of the verb. In such a case the noun must precede the verb on which it depends, although a locative expression may intervene. The following are examples of the use of this allomorph of the accusative

14) cokfí lawísta-∅ í:bi-t í:pa-t
RABBIT SMALL(pl)-obj KILL-conn EAT-conn

/cokfí lawísta í:bit í:pat/

'It kills and eats young rabbits.'

15) ibisá:ni-∅ im-ħobóffi-n ibisá:ni-∅ mat-acasáhli-n aksalí-∅
NOSE-obj 3dat-PIERCE(sg)-sw NOSE-obj afar-PULL:OUT-sw KNIFE-obj

í:si-t mat-apí:li-toho-:li-mpa-ųhco-k
TAKE(sg)-conn afar-THROW(sg)-realis-deduc-hearsay-habit-IVPast

/ibisá:ni ĵħobóffin ibisá:ni matacasáhlin aksalí í:sit
matapí:li-toho:limpáhco/

'He₁ pierced his₂ beak, and he₂ pulled it out. He₂ took the knife and threw it away, so it is said.'

- 16) abá:ca-∅ hahcí apatahá acití:li-toho-k
 RAFT-obj RIVER BESIDE TIE(sg)-realis-ss

/abá:ca hahcí apatahá acití:litoHok/

'They tied the raft along the river.'

The zero allomorph of the accusative is not used when any ambiguity between it and the autonomous form of the noun could occur.

The Autonomous case

The autonomous case is so named because it has no suffix, and is the form of the noun used in citations. Even though it has certain dative-like functions, being the form used with the dative cross-referencing prefixes, and the form used as the object of a postposition, nonetheless, its other functions: citation, possessing noun, form of a noun followed by an adjective, and vocative of nouns with no true vocative case, indicate that it is more than simply a dative. In the following examples, note in example 17 the cooccurrence of the ∅ allomorph of the accusative and the autonomous. The word order Subject, Indirect Object, Direct Object, Verb is what keeps this sentence from being ambiguous. Example 18 also illustrates the autonomous cross-referencing the dative pronoun; examples 19 and 20 show its use referring to a noun which is the possessor of another noun; 21 and 22 as the object of a postposition; 23 and 24 as a noun followed by an adjective, and 25 will illustrate its use as a vocative. In the morphemic breakdown of the examples, the noun in the autonomous case will be underlined.

- 17) cokfí-k a:ti:pacobá oholimpá-∅ im-anó:l-áhi-k bán-ko-∅
 RABBIT-subj RIG:MAN:EATER FOOD-obj 3dat-FINISH(sg)-intent-ss WANT-
 3neg(IIA)-phr:term

/cokfík a:ti:pacobá oholimpá imanó:láhiK bánko/

'Rabbit does not want to devour the food of Elephant.'⁴

- 18) y-ón á:ti istilká-Ø im-có:pa-to-ŷ
 HERE-obj:foc PERSON DWELLINGS 3dat-BUY-III Past-phr:term
 /yón á:ti istilká incó:patow/
 'Here they bought dwelling places from people.'
- 19) hiťí:li-t anó:ka-:p histó-k hátka-t kanomá:mi-ŷhci sinapó Ø-histó-p
 BE:BURNED-conn FINISH (sg) (intr)-subjunct ASH-subj BE:WHITE-conn BE:
 BEAUTIFUL-progress ASH:TREE 3poss-ASH-new:top
 /hiťí:lit anó:ka:p histók hátkat kanomáhci sinapó históp/
 'When it has burned all up, the ashes are white and beautiful, the
 ashes of the ash-tree are.'
- 20) itto-bihí itto-bihí im-ťakí píhl-ok aťťá-:ci-:fó:k
 WOOD-GUN WOOD-GUN 3poss-BULLET TAKE (pl) -ss:foc GO (sg/du) -3nonsg-
 when
 /ittobihí ittobihí ʃťakí píhlok aťťá:ci:fó:k/
 'Taking up their bows and arrows, when the two of them went off...'
- 21) ifá-k walí:ka-k í:sa im-bálka nó:ta walí:ka-:fó:k-on
 DOG-subj RUN (sg) -ss HOUSE 3poss-FOUNDATION UNDER RUN (sg) -when-sw:foc
 DOG-su
 /ifák walí:kak í:sa imbálka nó:ta walí:ka:fó:kon/
 'The dog ran, and when he ran under the foundation of the house...'
- 22) kinní taťá talbó:ni-k tám
 PN OTHER:SIDE:OF PN-subj LIE
 /kinní taťá talbó:nik tám/
 'On the other side of Kinder the Calcasieu River lies.'
- 23) sokhá maťáhli-k hahcí apataha yomáhli-:fó:k-on
 HOG WILD (pl) -subj RIVER ALONG GO:ABOUT (pl) -when
 /sokhá maťahlik hahcí apatahá yomáhli:fó:kon/
 'When the wild hogs used to go about alongside the river...'
- 24) ihó:ca-p athómma acó:ba-ha-k ká:ha-t am-mánka-ŷhco:li-k
 AGO-new:top INDIAN OLD-pl-subj SAY-conn 1sd-TELL-custom-IV Past
 /ihó:cap athómma acó:bahak ká:hat ammankáhco:lik/
 'The old Indians long ago used to say so, telling it to me.'

- 25) tabátka-ska-n cissí nás-ho-ca-mánka-Vhco-,V?V,-to ká:ha-toho-li-
CATCH (sg) -conseq-sw MOUSE what-distr-l subj-CALL-habit-,Q,-III Past
ká:ha-toho-li-mpa-k opá-k
SAY-realis-deduc-hearsay-IV Past OWL-subj
/tabátkaskan, 'cissí, nashocamánkahcó?tó, 'ká:hatoho:limpak opák/
'Having caught him, Owl said, 'Mouse! What is it that everyone
calls me?''

The autonomous form of the noun is called for by certain verbs rather than the nominative case. The most notable of these verbs are ká:han, 'to say,' in the sense of 'give a name to,' and yámmin, 'to be similar to; to be like, as well as ho:cí:fon, 'to name.' The following examples show the use of the autonomous case with these verbs.

- 26) athómma-k iskaní ho:cí:fo-:k laykitonó:no ká:ha-Vhci
INDIAN-subj INSECT NAME-subjunct SCARAB:BEETLE SAY-progress

/athómmak iskaní=ho:cí:fo:k laykitonó:no ká:háhci/

'When the Indians give this insect a name, they call it 'scarab beetle.'

- 27) hacokpaipa ká:ha-t ho:cí:fo-li-Vhco-k
BUTTERFLY SAY-conn NAME-lss-habit-ss

/hacokpaipa ká:hat ho:cí:fo:líhcok/

'I usually give a name to it, saying 'butterfly.'

- 28) hacotiní:li íl-ka-Vhci
DRAGONFLY 1pls(IA)-SAY-progress

/hacotiní:li ílkáhci/

'We call it 'dragonfly.'

- 29) himá:ya mán á:ti yámmi-t hwi::w ká:ha-:p
NOW AGAIN PERSON BE:LIKE-conn whistle) SAY-subjunct

/himá:ya mán á:ti yámmi, 'hwi::w,' ká:ha:p/

'Once again he was like a human being, and went "hweew!''

- 30) hí:si ho-baskí:ci-t tayyi-há yámmi-t yomáhli-ŷhco-k
 HAIR distr-GROW:LONG-conn WOMAN-pl BE:LIKE-conn GO:ABOUT(pl)-habit-
 ss

/hí:si hobaskí:cit tayyihá yámmit yomáhlíhcok/

'They grow their hair long, and like women they go about.'

The Locative case

The locative case in Koasati is marked by the suffix -fa. A cognate suffix -fa occurs in Alabama (Lupardus:1982; 93); both may be related to the Yuchi locative fa (Ballard 1973). This case is used to indicate that an action takes place in or at a location. If an action occurs on the ground, in water, in a vertical or horizontal plane, the locative case is not used, but rather the locative prefixes of the verb (See Chapter 4). The following are examples of the use of the locative case:

- 31) má:mi-n an-tá:ta-k ómmi-:k athómma im-ó:la acó:ba-fa í:sa-t ómmi-to-ŷ
 BE:THEN-sw 1sposs-FATHER-subj BE-subjunct INDIAN 3poss-TOWN OLD-in
 DWELL-conn BE-IIIIPast-phr:term

/má:mín antá:tak ómmi:k athommimó:lacó:bafa í:sat ómmitow/

'And then, as far as my parents are concerned, it is the case that they dwelt in the old Indian town (Indian Village, La.).'

- 32) im-walí:ka-toho-k cofótli-toho-k ittó:bi-fa im-cokhalí:ka-n
 3dat-RUN(sg)-realis-ss JUMP(sg)-realis-ss HOLLOW:TREE-in 3dat-
 ENTER(sg)-sw

/iwwalí:katohok cofótlitohok ittó:bifa incokhalí:kan/

'He ran away from him, and jumped into the hollow tree, and got in away from him.'

- 33) má:fa ónti-ŷhco-k falammi-fá ónti-ŷhco-k óm
 OVER:THERE COME(sg)-habit-ss NORTH-in COME(sg)-habit-ss BE

/má:fa óntíhcok falammifá ontíhcok óm/

'It is coming over there. It is the case that it is coming in the north.'

- 34) kom-tá:t-o:to-k á:ta-t okhicasi-fá mat-akaná:ka-t á:ta-t
 1p|poss-FATHER-art-subj DWELL(sg)-conn WINDOW-in afar-EXAMINE-conn
 DWELL(sg)-conn

/kontá:to:tok á:tat okhicasifá matakaná:kat á:tat/

'Our late father stayed at the window, and he kept on peering out.'

The locative case can be verbalized with the suffix -o-; the following is an example of this formation:

- 35) oh-im-alós-á:ho:si-tika-p in-sokca-f-ó-k pítkat á:ya-hco-k ómm-ok
 distr-3dat-BE:PLEASED-very-but-new:top 3poss-POCKET-in-be-ss
 GO:ABOUT-habit-ss BE-ss:foc

/ohimalostá:hostikap insokcafók pítkat a:yáhcok ómmok/

'They all were really taken with it, and it was in his pocket that he used to go about keeping it.'

The Allative case

The allative case is marked by the suffix -fon. This suffix is clearly related to the locative case suffix -fa, and the segment -on seems similar to the accusative-focus suffix -on, one of the uses of which, as shown above, is locative. However, because the combination of the meanings of the two suffixes does not correspond to the allative case suffix, the latter will be considered as monomorphemic. The allative case is used to indicate that motion is taking place in the direction of the noun; the meaning can be generally rendered as 'to' or 'towards' in English. The following are examples of the use of the allative case.

- 36) coyyi-fón ó,h,t-ok nitá-k coyyí afakcó kalásli-t kacałłi-t
 PINE-all BE:THERE,h:grade,-ss:foc BEAR-subj PINE-SKIN SCRATCH-conn
 BITE-conn

/coyyifón óhłok niták coyyí afakcó kaláslit kacałłit/

'Getting to a pine tree, the bear scratched and bit the pine bark.'

- 37) prí:ca-k naksofón aʔ,ci,,V?V,ya ká,h,ha-n hél-ka-fon
 PREACHER-subj WHERE GO (sg),2ss(1IB),,Q, SAY,h:grade,-sw HELL-1w-all
 aʔí:ya-l ká,h,ha-n
 GO (sg)-1ss SAY,h:grade,-sw
 /prí:cak, 'naksofón aʔcí?yá," kághan, 'hélkafon aʔí:yal," kághan/
 'The preacher said, 'Where are you going?' The other said, 'I
 am going to hell.'
- 38) má:ʔ-on oh-im-ókla-ŷhco:li-k kinta-fon
 ONLY-adv dist-3dat-MAKE:FRIENDS-custom-IVPast PN-all
 /má:ʔon ohimókláhco:lik kintafon/
 'He only used to make friends over towards Kinder.'
- 39) món sapátka-fon í:sa-ŷhco-toho-k
 ALSO PN-all DWELL(pl)-habit-realiz-IVPast
 /món sapátkafon í:sáhcotohok/
 'They also used to dwell over toward Shepherd (Texas).'

The Inessive case

The inessive case is marked by the suffix -hayó. This suffix is clearly related to the independent word hayó, meaning 'interior; inside.' Historically, this is a case of a postposition being used with a noun (compare the examples in Chapter 18). However, because the suffix -hayó frequently truncates the noun to which it is suffixed (see the examples in Table 1), and always bears the single accent of the compound,⁵ it can be considered to have completed the transition from postposition to case suffix. The inessive case is used to indicate location within an area with a conceivable boundary. The following are examples of the use of the inessive case:

- 40) pakamá:ci-t anó:li-:p im-í:sa-hayó píʔka-t st-á:ya-ŷhco:li-k
 TAME-conn FINISH(trans) (sg)-subjunct 3poss-HOUSE-iness KEEP-conn
 instr-GO:ABOUT (sg)-custom-IVPast
 /pakamá:ci-t anó:li:p imishayó píʔkat stá:yáhco:lik/
 'When he had finished taming one, he kept it within his house and
 used to go about with it.'

- 41) cokfí-k pahi-s-cokkó:l-o:si-hayó cokkó:li-toho-n
RABBIT-subj GRASS instr-SIT(sg)-dim-iness SIT(sg)-realis-sw
/cokfík pahi scokko:lo:sihayó cokkó:tohon/
'Rabbit sat within his little dwelling place of grass.'
- 42) itto-hayó í:pa-t yomáhli-t akkámmi-Ŵhci
TREE-iness EAT-conn GO:ABOUT(pl)-conn BE:S0-progress
/ittohayó í:pat yomáhlit akkammíhci/
'In such a way they go about and eat among the trees.'⁶
- 43) ma:fó:k-on nas-maťáhli-k olá:na-hayó í:sa-toho-:fó:k-ok
BE:WHEN-sw:foc something-AFRAID(pl)-subj BRUSH-iness DWELL(pl)-
realis-when-ss:foc
im-tóťka-t askáhk-ok yomáhli-Ŵhco-k
3dat-RUN(pl)-conn EXIT(pl)-ss:foc GO:ABOUT(pl)-habit-ss
/ma:fó:kon nasmaťáhlík olanhayó í:satoho:fó:kok intóťkat askáhkok
yomahlíhcok/
'When it happens (a fire), when wild animals were in the brush,
they would come out running from it and go about.'

The Vocative case

The vocative case is marked by deleting the final vowel of the noun; if the noun ends in the segment -ka, that segment is deleted.⁷ This marked vocative case is used only with proper names and four kinship terms; all other nouns use the autonomous case for the vocative. Below is a table listing some names in the autonomous and vocative cases.

TABLE 13.2

<u>Autonomous</u>	<u>Vocative</u>	<u>Gloss</u>	<u>Autonomous</u>	<u>Vocative</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
awó	áw	'grandfather'	tó:ni	tó:n	'Tony'
apó	áp	'grandmother'	talíska	talís	'Tollice'
má:ma	má:m	'mother'	aywá:na	aywá:n	'Iwana'
tá:ta	tá:t	'father'	báyni	báyn	'Biney'
simantá:li	simantá:l	'man's name'	ayóhci	ayóhc	'woman's name'
satowáyhki	satowáyhk	'man's name'	márji	márj ⁸	'Marjorie'

Plurality and case marking

A marked nominal plural in Koasati is permitted only for nouns that refer to human beings. Most nouns which take a plural use the suffix -ha; if the singular has the accent on the ultimate syllable, then the suffix is accented in its place; if the accent is elsewhere, accentuation remains unchanged. A few nouns, all historically derived from diminutives, have a paucal plural suffix (paucal meaning two or three) -ki, and a multiple plural suffix (four or more) -kiha. Because plurality in Koasati is expressed obligatorily only in the verb (see Chapters 10 and 15), these suffixes are not of frequent occurrence. When they do occur, they have been noted only to take the nominative, accusative and autonomous cases. These suffixes universally take the zero allomorph of the accusative suffix. The following are examples of these suffixes, a further discussion can be found in Chapter 15.

- 44) iki-há-k óm̄mi-:k acíhba-n pa-lokkó:li-t amá:ka-h óm̄mi-Vhco-k
 PARENT-pl-subj BE-subjunct BE:DIFFICULT-adv loc-STAND(pl)-conn
 GO(pl)-conn BE-habit-ss
 /ikihák óm̄mi:k acíhban palokkó:t amá:kah ommíhcok/
 'As far as their parents are concerned, it is the case that it is difficult for them to go on living.'
- 45) atló:ca-ha-k na:s-incá:ka-sobáyka-fa pa:nátkat amá:ka-Vhco-k óm̄
 BLACK:PERSON-pl-subj something-WRITTEN-KNOWING-in JOIN:IN-conn
 GO(pl)-habit-ss BE
 /atló:cahak na:sincaksobáykafa pa:nałkat ama:káhcok óm̄/
 'It is the case that black people can go and join in with them in school.'
- 46) má ac-ocó:si-ki-k im-íkso-n
 THAT 1sposs-SON-pauc-subj 3dat-NOT:EXIST-sw
 /má acocóskik imíkson/
 'Those, my sons, do not have any.'

- 47) an-tayyó:si-kiha am-icofó:si-kiha yámmi
 1sposs-NIECE-mult 1sposs-NEPHEW-mult BE:LIKE-subjunct ALL
- im-aybá:ci-t st-aʔí:ya-li-ŷhco-k ómm-ok ómmi-ŷhco-k
 3dat-FORBID-conn instr-GO (sg) -1ss-habit-ss BE-ss:foc BE-habit-ss
- /antayyóskiha amicoskiha yámmi:p óhya imaybá:ci t staʔí:yalíhcok
 ómmok ommíhcok/
- 'As for my nieces and nephews, it is the case that I am continuing to instruct them all in proper behavior.'

Article suffixes

The article suffixes are used to give a noun a location in time and to indicate that it was previously mentioned. These suffixes come between the noun and the subject and object case suffixes, but follow the locative case suffix -fa. The article suffixes are usually followed by the focus form of the nominative or accusative suffix, or by one of the discourse suffixes; they also appear in the autonomous case. It is notable that of the five article suffixes, four of them are identical to the participial suffixes (see Chapter 8). The following table lists the article suffixes and compares them to the participial suffixes.

TABLE 13.3

Article suffix	Gloss	Participial suffix	Type
-	-	-laho:li:sáya	Future Participle
-sáya	'the aforesaid'	-:saya	Present Participle
-:yólli	'the very'	-:yólli	Habitual Participle
-ka	'the long ago'	-ka	Past I Participle
-:kitta	'the former'	-:kitta	Past II Participle
-o:to	'the deceased; the long ago'	-	-

As can be noted in the table, there is no article suffix corresponding to the future participle, nor a participial suffix corresponding to the

article suffix -o:to. Below each article suffix will be discussed and exemplified.

-:sáya 'the aforesaid'

This article suffix is of frequent occurrence in dictated texts, where the speaker had to pause while the hearer wrote down what had been said, while they are very much rarer in conversation and in texts that were tape-recorded. This article suffix is used to indicate that the noun refers to something which has been spoken of previously; it reminds the listener that it is not something new that is being talked about. The following are examples of the use of -:sáya.

48) má:mo:si-n st-ołá:-ci-n iko:si-:sáya im-alá-k hákti-Ųhco:li-sk
BE:THEN-sw instr-BE:THERE-3pl-sw AUNT-art 3poss-BROTHER:IN:LAW-subj
BE:DRUNK-custom-conseq

hisakmápk-on á:t-ílli-:sáy-on isbakkí st-itta-folomóhli-n
PULL:BY:HAIR-sw:foc PERSON-DEAD-art-obj:foc HEAD instr-loc-WAVE:ABOUT_
sw

/má:mo:sin stołá:cin ikó:si:sáya imalák haktíhco:lisk hisakmápkon
a:tílli:sáyon isbakkí stittafolomóhlin/

'And then, they brought him over there, and the brother-in-law of this aforementioned aunt, being drunk, grabbing the aforementioned dead man by the hair, was waving his severed head about.'

49) mó:toho-n atló:ca-:sáy-ok tamó:ka-n í:sa-:k
BE:THEN BLACK:PERSON-art-subj:foc BE:NIGHT-sw DWELL(pl)-subjunct

im-ilill-ikso-k mat-in-naťí:ka-Ųhco-toho-n
3poss-DEATH-NOT:EXIST-subj afar-3dat-SPEAK-habit-realiz-sw

/mó:tohon atló:ca:sáyok tamó:kan í:sa:k Imililliksok matinnaťí:k
matinnaťí:káhcotohon/

'Then, when these aforementioned black people were in the night, the Deathless One (God) used to speak to them from afar.'

-:yólli 'the very'

This is a very rare article suffix; it is related to the equally rare demonstrative pronoun yollí 'this very; this very one.' It has an emphatic connotation which does not easily translate into English. The

following are two examples of the use of this article suffix.

- 50) himá:ya-p ishilka-:yólli-n ho-bàнна-t ho-bàнна-Ŵhco-k
NOW-new:top DRINK-art-obj distr-WANT-conn distr-WANT-habit-ss

/himá:yap ishilka:yóllin hobànnat hobannáhco/

'Nowadays, they constantly want that liquor.'

- 51) yilaha-:yóll-ok am-campó:l-á:ho:s
ORANGE-art-subj:foc lsdatt-BE:SWEET-adv

/yilaha:yólllok ancampo:lá:ho:s/

'I really find that orange good-tasting.'

-ka 'the long ago'

The article suffix -ka is of frequent occurrence. When used on a noun it indicates that the noun has been spoken of previously, and indicates that the noun is located in a past time. Unlike the article suffix -:kítta which implies that the noun no longer exists in its former form, -ka only implies a location in the past. It is frequently used in traditional narrative (cokfałihilká), suffixed to the names of the main characters.

The following are some examples of the use of this suffix.

- 52) á:ti loká:casi-k-ok áłł-ok ísko-toho-:li-mpa-Ŵhco-k
PERSON ORPHAN-art-subj:foc FILL-ss:foc DRINK-realis-deduc-hearsay-habit-IVPast

/á:ti loká:casikok áłłok ískotoho:limpáhco/

'The orphaned man filled it up and drank, so it is said.'

- 53) má:mo:si-n saykí-k-ok cokfí yahlí:ci-toho-:li-mpa-Ŵhco-k
BE:THEN-sw VULTURE-art-subj:foc RABBIT MAKE:CRY-realis-deduc-hearsay-habit-IVPast

/má:mo:sin saykíkok cokfí yahlí:citoho:limpáhco/

'And then, Vulture caused Rabbit to cry out, so it is said.'

- 54) nitá-k ni:ha-Ŵhco:li-ska-n ikfi-k-on mat-halatk-ok aksalí
BEAR-subj BE:FAT-custom-conseq-sw STOMACH-art-obj:foc afar-PULL-ss:foc

mat-í,h,s-ok mat-koyóff-ok im-libátl-ok ínka-t í:pa-toho:li-mpa-Ŵhco-k
afar-PICK:UP(sg),h;grade,-ss:foc afar-CUT-ss:foc 3dat-COOK-ss:foc
GIVE:TO:HIM-realis-deduc-hearsay-habit-IVPast

/niták ni:háhco:liskan ikfíkon mathalatkok aksalí matíhsok
matkoyóffok illibátlok ínkat í:patoho:límpáhkok/

'Because Bear was fat, he pulled out his belly, and picking up a knife, he cut off a piece, cooked it, and gave it to him to eat, so it is said.'

The article suffix -ka has its most frequent employment in the derivation of adverbs of time from nouns. In this use it can be followed only by the accusative suffix -on (see Chapter 17 for the use of this suffix and the homophonous switch reference marker to derive adverbs) or the new topic suffix -p. The following table gives a representative sampling of this use of the article suffix.

TABLE 13.4

Basic form	Gloss	Suffixed form	Gloss
tamó:ka	'night'	tamó:kakon	'last night'
nihtá	'tomorrow'	nihtákon	'yesterday'
nihtakołá ⁹	'day after tomorrow'	nihtakołákon	'day before yesterday'
hasí mí:ta	'next month'	hasí mí:takon	'last month'
ohayí mí:ta	'next year'	ohayí mí:takon	'last year'
ohayí mi:takołá ⁹	'year after next'	ohayí mi:takołákon	'year before last'
taholló	'Sunday'	tahollókon	'last Sunday'
tahollinnihtá	'Monday'	tahollinnihtákon	'last Monday'
statóklo	'Tuesday'	statóklokon	'last Tuesday'
statoccí:na	'Wednesday'	statoccí:nakon	'last Wednesday'
stonostá:ka	'Thursday'	stonostá:kakon	'last Thursday'
tahollosobá:li	'Friday'	tahollosobá:likon	'last Friday'
tahollosí	'Saturday'	tahollosíkon	'last Saturday'

-:kítta 'the former'

This is another rare article suffix. It is used to indicate that the noun was once in existence, but is no longer, or is no longer the same as it once was. It can best be rendered in English by 'former.' The following are examples of its use.

- 55) í:sa-:kítta-k atiní:ka-toha-y
HOUSE-art-subj BURN(intrans)(sg)-realis-phr:term

/í:sa:kíttak atiní:katoḥə/

'The former house has burned down.'

- 56) ḥiyá:li-fa-:kítt-on hí:ca-l
PLACE:WHERE:STEP:ON(pl)-in-art-obj:foc SEE-Iss

/ḥiyá:lifa:kítton hí:ca/

'I see the places where it formerly stepped; I see its footprints.'

- 57) am-oklá-:kítta-p ílli-toho-:li-mpa-:s
Isposs-FRIEND-art-new:top DIE(sg)-realis-deduc-hearsay-IPast

/amoklá:kíttap íllitoho:limpa:s/

'They say that my former friend has died.'

-ó:to 'the deceased, the long ago'

This suffix is probably the most common of the article suffixes. It has two uses: suffixed to nouns referring to specific persons, it indicates the person being spoken of is dead; suffixed to other nouns, it locates them in the past, and indicates that the action they participate in is true only for that time in the past. The following two examples show the use of -ó:to when suffixed to nouns referring to persons.

- 58) soy-ó:to-k ónka-k akakanahilká ká:ha-ḥco-toho-n
PN-art-subj QUOTH-ss LOOKING:GLASS SAY-habit-real-is-sw

/soyó:tok ónkak, "akakanahilká," ká:háhcotohon/

'Soyá, who is now deceased, used to say "looking-glass" (instead of ililhicá, 'mirror').'

- 59) yalí am-aw-ó:to-k cimpónco-o:to-k ónti-to-ŷ
 HERE 1sposs-GRANDFATHER-art-subj PN-art-subj COME(sg)-III Past-phr:
 term

/yalí amawó:tok cimpónco:tok óntitow/

'Here my grandfather Jim Poncho, who is now deceased, came.'

The identical case and article suffixes on the elements of the appositive phrase in example 59 should be noted. The following two examples will show the use of -o:to with other nouns.

- 60) nayincá:ka ca-sobáy-ko-k wacin-ó:to-n ca-sobáy-ko-k
 BOOK 1sstats-KNOW-3neg(IIA)-ss ENGLISH-art-obj 1sstats-KNOW-
 3neg(IIA)-ss

waciná nañihilk-ó:to-n ca-sobáy-ko-k
 ENGLISH LANGUAGE-art-obj 1sstats-KNOW-3neg(IIA)-ss

/nayincá:ka casobáykok wacinó:ton casobaykok wacina nañihilkó:ton
 casobaykok/

'I was ignorant of books, at that time I was ignorant of English;
 at that time the English language was unknown to me.'

- 61) ná:ho-n o,kí,yb-o-n itt-ó:to-k ibisná:l-ok hiñí:li-t
 WELL-sw RAIN,3neg(II C),-neg:comp-sw TREE-art-subj BY:ITSELF-subj:foc
 CATCH:FIRE-conn

itt-ó:to-k hiñí:li-t itt-ó:to-k óhya-k hiñí:li-t óhya-k
 TREE-art-subj CATCH:FIRE-conn TREE-art-subj ALL-subj CATCH:FIRE-conn
 ALL-subj

kán-ko-má:mi-t mmm kán-ko-t stalpí:sa-toho-:li-mpa-ŷhco-ŷ
 GOOD-3neg(IIA)-dubit-conn intj GOOD-3neg(IIA)-conn BE:SUFFICIENT-
 realis-deduc-hearsay-habit-phr:term

/ná:hon okíybon ittó:tok ibisná:lok hiñí:lit ittó:tok hiñí:lit
 ittó:tok óhyak hiñí:lit óhyak kánkomá:mit mmm kánkot stalpistoho:li-
 mpáhcow/

'Well, it did not rain, and the trees caught fire of themselves at
 that time, the trees at that time caught fire, all the trees at
 that time caught fire, and everything must have been bad. Mmm!
 It is said that it was completely bad.'

Discourse suffixes

The discourse suffixes are three in number; -p and -o:t are quite frequent, while -ŷy is extremely rare. The discourse suffixes do not dis-

tinguish between nominative, accusative and autonomous case; only word order can tell the case of the noun when these suffixes are used. However, these suffixes permit the formation of two locative cases, the locative and inessive; the discourse suffixes are suffixed to these case markers.

-p 'new topic'

This suffix is extremely common. It indicates that the topic that a discussion is about to enter into is new, or contains new information. This suffix has an allomorph -ap which occurs only with pronouns; additionally, an inessive case form has not been noted with this suffix, although it is a theoretical possibility. The following examples will show the uses of this suffix; 62 and 63 will illustrate its use as both subject and object of a verb, 64 will show its use in the locative case, and 65 will illustrate its allomorph used with a pronoun.

- 62) kancokfala-p naksofá óhya í:sa-ŷhci
SPIDER-new:top SOMEWHERE ALL DWELL(pl)-progress

/kancokfalap naksofá óhya i:sáhci/

'Now, spiders live everywhere.'
- 63) akkám-m-o:si-n cim-mánka-l-áhi-má:m kitiní-p
BE:SO-dim-sw 2sdatt-TELL-1ss-intent-dubit GREAT:HORNED:OWL-new:top

/akkám-mo:sin cimmánkaláhimá:m kitiníp/

'Just so much is what I am ready to tell you of the great horned owl.'
- 64) híni apatahá ohyá:ci-ŷhco-k naksofasántik is-hí:c-o-ŷ tiksí-fa-p
ROAD BESIDE BE:ALL:OVER-habit-ss EVERYWHERE 2ss(1A)-SEE-be-phr:term
PN-in-new:top

/híni apatahá ohyá:cíhcok naksofasántik ishí:cq tiksífáp/

'They are all over alongside the roads, you can see them everywhere in Texas.'
- 65) ibisn-áp sówwi-t solótka-ŷhco-toho-:li-t
3PRONOUN-new:top BE:SKINNY-conn BE:DRY-habit-realís-deduc-conn

/ibisnáp sówwit solótkáhcotoho:lit/

'As for him, he was skinny and thin, as you might expect.'

-o:t 'list'

This semantically unusual suffix is also quite common. It is primarily used to connect categorically similar nouns in a list, and thus could be equated with the English connective 'and;' however, it can also occur with a single noun, and in such a case, the single noun stands for a category of nouns, which are left to the listeners' imagination to supply. In this latter use, it is most equivalent to the English phrase 'and suchlike.' The following examples show the use of -o:t as subject and object of a verb, and in the locative and inessive cases.

- 66) holcifó ik-nó:c-o-k itto-halókp-o:t coyy-ó:t tol-ó:t tola-cob-ó:t
 NAME 3neg(IA)-SLEEP-neg:comp-subj TREE-SHARP-list PINE-list LAUREL-
 list LAUREL-BIG-list

itto-ik-íll-o:t itto-koybóhk-o:t cowahl-ók ómmi-Ŵhci
 TREE-3neg(IA)-DIE(sg)-list TREE-STOLEN-list CEDAR-ss:foc BE-progress

/holcifó iknó:cok ittahalókp-o:t coyyó:t toló:t tolacobó:t
 ittoikíll-o:t ittokoybohko:t cowahlók ommíhci/

'The names of the sleepless ones (trees that do not lose their leaves) are: holly, pine, laurel, magnolia, wax myrtle, jasmine and cedar.'

- 67) cokf-ó:t ciss-ó:t coskan-ó:t fó:s-o:t na:sisántik¹⁰ hí,h,c-ok
 RABBIT-list MOUSE-list DUCK-list BIRD-list WHATEVER SEE,h:grade,-
 ss:foc

tabátka-k í:bi-t í:pa-Ŵhci
 CATCH(sg)-ss KILL-conn EAT-progress

/cokfó:t cissó:t coskanó:t fó:so:t na:sisántik híhcok tabátkak
 í:bit i:páhci/

'Catching sight of a rabbit, mouse, duck or any kind of bird, it catches, kills and eats it.'

- 68) akkámmit o:w-í:sa-Ŵhci hahci-f-ó:t okłaspif-ó:t akkámmit-fa
 BE:S0-conn loc-DWELL(pl)-progress RIVER-in-list SWAMP-in-list
 BE:S0-in

/akkámmit o:wi:sáhci hahcifó:t okłaspifó:t kámmifa/

'So they live in water, in rivers and in swamps and suchlike places.'

- 69) fos-soba:ci-í:bi-:sáy-ok ʔóhli-t bakco-hay-ó:t ola:na-hay-ó:t
 BIRD-MOCKER-KILLER-art-subj:foc CHASE-conn BRIAR-iness-list BRUSH-
 iness-list
- akkámmi-hayó im-walí:ka-tík ʔóhli-k fáy-ko-t cákki-t tabátka-:k cákli-t
 BE:SO-iness 3dat-RUN(sg)-conseq CHASE-ss QUIT(sg)-3neg(IIA)-conn
 CATCH:UP:WITH-conn CATCH(sg)-subjunct CHOP-conn
- kocó:li-t akkammí:ci-t í:bi-:k fáyli-k wáyka-t nakáʔʔa-Ųhco-k
 PINCH(pl)-conn DO-conn KILL-subjunct QUIT-ss FLY-conn GO:OFF-habit-
 ss
- /fossobá:cí:bi:sáyok ʔohlit bakcohayó:t olanhayó:t akkámihayó
 iwwalí:katik ʔohlík fáykot cákkít tabátka:k cáklít kocó:lit
 akkammí:cít í:bi:k fáylík wáykat nakaʔʔáhco/

'The aforementioned loggerhead shrike chases it amid the briars and amid the brush and amid suchlike places, even though it runs from it, the bird does not quit chasing it and when it catches up with it and catches it, it pecks it and claws it, and when in so doing it kills it, it quits and flies off.'

The following two examples show the use of this suffix on a single noun as a representative of a list of nouns.

- 70) má:m-ok oholimpá scó:pa-f-o:t cökkáhka-t ohómpa-t kaf-ó:t on-a-ísko-t
 BE:THEN-ss:foc FOOD SELLING-in-list ENTER(pl)-conn DINE-conn COFFEE-
 list-loc-gen:loc-DRINK-conn
- /má:mok oholimpá scó:pafó:t cökkáhkát ohómpat kafó:t onaískot/
 'And now they go into places like restaurants and dine, and drink coffee and suchlike from the counter, and...'
- 71) asá:l-o:t talibó:li-t scó:pa-t
 BASKET-list MAKE-conn SELL-conn
- /asá:lo:t talibó:lit scó:pat/
 'She made and sold things like baskets.'

-Ųy 'contrary to expectation'

This suffix, in contrast to the other two discourse suffixes is quite rare. It is used to indicate that the statement being uttered is contrary to the expectation of the speaker or listener. It is unusual in that it is the only nominal suffix which is associated with the low pitch accent; aside from this suffix, the low pitch accent occurs only with a limited number of verbs. The similarity of -Ųy to the verbal suffix -y-, which has

the same meaning is notable. This suffix also has an interesting semantic restriction: it may not occur after a noun referring to a human being unless an article suffix precedes it. The following are examples of the use of this suffix.

- 72) nipo-ŵy atiní:-híkko-ŵ
MEAT-contr BE:BURNED-3neg(IIIA)-phr:term

/nipòy atiní:híkkò/

'Contrary to what one might think, the meat is not burned.'

- 73) ilpa-ŵy libát-ko-k onàm
FOOD-contr COOK-3neg(IIA)-ss BE:STILL

/ilpày libátkok onàm/

'Contrary to what one might think, she has not yet cooked the food.'

- 74) sihó:ya--sáya-ŵy akkám,ki',:c-o-t
PN-art-contr DO,3neg(II B),-neg:comp-Past

/Sihó:ya:sáyày akkankí:cot/

'Contrary to what one might think, Sehoya did not do it.'

This suffix has an additional use; in conversation, if the listener has not been paying attention, this suffix is used on the noun to remind the listener what was being spoken of, as in the following examples.

- 75) A: tiksí-fa-p na,ŵ?ŵ,ho B: na,ŵ?ŵ,si A: kosiba-ŵy
TEXAS-in-new:top EXIST,Q, WHAT,Q, KOSIBA:PLANT-contr

A: /tiksfáp ná'hó/ B: /ná'sí/ A:/kosibày/

A: 'Does it exist in Texas?' B: 'What?' A: 'The kosiba-plant!'

- 76) A: iłani tanihhilká sombay,ŵ?ŵ,-ci B: na,ŵ?ŵ,si A: shompanka-ŵy
CANE GAMBLING REMEMBER-,Q,-2ssubj(IIA) WHAT,Q, GAME-contr

A: /iłaní tanihhilká sombáyčí/ B: /ná'sí/ A: /shompankày/

A: 'Do you remember cane gambling?' B: 'What?' A: 'The game!'

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER 13

¹This form has not been attested in the corpus, but is to be expected. All nouns that take both the locative and inessive take the allative.

²Here the verb matimpáhkan is used in its old sense of 'to call off for someone. In this instance, it cannot refer to telephoning, as the text from which this example is taken relates events which took place well before the turn of the century. Telephones (not to mention electricity) did not become common in this area of Louisiana until after 1940.

³This construction may in actuality be a form of locative expression. Afalók hassón ónk would then mean 'The morning glory is among the plants.' This would explain the use of the intransitive form of the verb 'to be.'

⁴In Koasati mythology, Elephant was a carnivorous being that Rabbit finally transformed into a plant-eater, and expelled across the ocean.

⁵Every word in Koasati must have at least one accent. If a noun and its suffix share an accent, the complex can be considered to form one word.

⁶The inessive of ittó, 'tree,' ittohayó, is used to render the English terms 'forest' and 'in the forest.'

⁷The deletion of -ka from native names in the vocative seems to have led to the use of the element -ka as a segment to be used to incorporate loan words having an incompatible syllable structure into the language. See Chapter 16 for further discussion.

⁸This example, an English name with English phonemes, shows that the vocative case is still productive.

⁹These two nouns, nihtakołá and mí:takołá preserve archaic forms of nihtá 'day,' Proto-Muskogean *nihtaka, and mí:ta 'other,' Proto-Koasati/Alabama/Apalachee *mi:taki (Apalachee mitak (mitac); Alabama form not found). The segment ołá, derived from the verb ó:łan, 'to be there' is also found

in the old words for spring and autumn: ohayyołá 'summer coming,' and łafołá, 'winter coming.'

¹⁰The word na:sisántik is one from among a series of pronouns which is undeclinable. These all are probably in origin verbal phrases. See Chapter 14 for a further discussion of these pronouns.

CHAPTER 14

PRONOUNS

Koasati has three groups of pronouns, independent, interrogative/indefinite, and universal. There are four sets of independent pronouns; the interrogative/indefinite pronouns can be used with embedded questions. The universal pronouns are unique in that they are indeclinable nouns and terminate in a consonant.

Independent pronouns

The four sets of independent pronouns are the simple, the emphatic, the autonomous, and isolative. These are listed and glossed in the following table.

TABLE 14.1

<u>Simple pronoun</u>	<u>Gloss</u>	<u>Emphatic pronoun</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
anó	'I, too'	ana:bí:no	'I myself'
isnó	'you(sg), too'	isna:bí:no	'you(sg) yourself'
ibisnó	'she/he/it/they, too'	ibisna:bí:no	'she herself/he himself/they themselves'
kosnó	'we, too'	kosna:bí:no	'we ourselves'
hasnó	'you(pl), too'	hasna:bí:no	'you(pl) yourselves'

<u>Autonomous pronoun</u>	<u>Gloss</u>	<u>Isolative pronoun</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
aná:li	'by myself'	aná:ti	'I alone'
isná:li	'by yourself'	isná:ti	'you(sg) alone'
ibisná:li	'by herself/by himself/by it-self/by themselves'	ibisná:ti	'she/he/it/they alone'
kosná:li	'by ourselves'	kosná:ti	'we alone'
hasná:li	'by yourselves'	hasná:ti	'you(pl) alone'

As can be seen from the table, the emphatic, autonomous and isolative

pronouns are derived from the simple pronouns by means of the elements -a:bí:no, -á:li, and -á:ti, related respectively to the noun modifiers bí:no 'even' and má:lo 'one's own,' and the verbal suffix -má:ti- 'must.'

Simple pronouns

As pronoun reference is usually marked on the verb by means of the various subject cross-reference markers and the object prefixes; the simple pronouns are used to indicate additional information about the pronoun reference, as in the following conversation.

- 1) A: kaf-ón ci-ba,ųų,na B: ca-bàn C: anó-k ca-bàn
 COFFEE-obj:foc 1sstats-WANT,Q, 1sstats-WANT 1-subj 1sstats-WANT
 A: /kafón cibá?ná/ B: /cabàn/ C: /anók cabàn/
 A: 'Do you want some coffee?' B: 'I want some.' C: 'I want some, too.'

Simple pronouns also occur in appositive constructions, such as the following.

- 2) kosnó ippoko:si-tílka-k ko-có:ba-t anoska-k malmámmi-t
 WE GRANDCHILD-1pls(IIICi)-ss 1plstats-GROW-conn FINISH(pl)(intr)-
 ss BE:IN:THE:SAME:WAY-Past
 /kosnó ippoko:sitílkak kocó:bat anóskak malmámmit/
 'We, who were her grandchildren grew up in the same fashion.'

Another use of simple pronouns is in topicalization constructions. This is done by means of the pronoun followed by the suffix indicating a new topic, -p, which has the form -ap after pronouns.² The following are examples.

- 3) an-áp am-íkso-ųhco:li-k paló-k
 I-new:top 1sdat-NOT:EXIST-custom-IVPast FLYING:SQUIRREL-subj
 /anáp amíksóhco:lik palók/
 'As for me, I did not use to own flying squirrels.'
- 4) an-áp ca-ilhó:s-ko-k onammi-ųhco-k
 I-new:top 1sstats-FORGET-3neg(IIA)-ss BE:STILL-habit-ss
 /anáp calhóskok onáhkok/

'As for me, I still do not forget it.'

- 5) *ibisn-áp sówwi-t solótka-ŷhco-toho-:li-t*
 3:PRONOUN-new:top BE:THIN-conn BE:DRY-habit-realis-deduc-Past

/ibisnáp sówwit solotkáhco:li-t/

'As for him, he was thin and lean, as one might have expected.'

Emphatic pronouns

Emphatic pronouns are the rarest pronouns in use. They indicate that there is some kind of special emphasis on the role of the person to which the pronoun refers. It is best rendered in English by the pronoun followed by -self. The following is an example.

- 6) *ana:bí:no-k ca-ilhó:si-t anó:ka-toho-n*
 I:MYSELF-subj I:stats-FORGET-conn FINISH(sg) (intr)-realis-sw

am-asilhá:ci-t akostiní:ci-t cökkó:li-l
 I:dat-ASK-conn THINK-I:ss-con SIT(sg)-I:ss

/ana:bí:nok calhó:sit anó:katohon amasilhá:cit akostini:cit cökkó:lil/

'I myself had completely forgotten, until he asked me and I am now sitting and thinking of it.'

Autonomous pronouns

Autonomous pronouns are also not very common, but they occur more frequently than emphatic pronouns. They are used to indicate that the person to which the pronoun refers is solely responsible for the action that ensues. The following are examples.

- 7) *cokfí-p in-naŷi:-híkko-ŷhc=katík ibisná:l-ok*
 RABBIT-new:top 3dat-SPEAK-3neg(IIIA)-can=encl 3:PRONOUN:SELF-subj:foc

akkámmito-n á:lo-k ónka-to-ŷ athómma acó:ba-ha-k
 DO:SO-realis-sw THINK:SO-conn BE(intr)-III:Past-phr:term INDIAN OLD-pl-subj

*/cokfíp innaŷi:hikkóhc katík ibisná:lok akkámmiton á:lok ónkatq
 athómma acó:bahak/*

'Rabbits cannot speak to people, but it is the case that the old Indians used to think that they themselves did so.'

- 8) A: isná:l-o-:li-y-ok o,ųų,mmi B: aná:l-o-:li-y-ok óm
 YOU:YOURSELF-be-deduc-conseq-ss:fcc BE,Q, I:MYSELF-be-deduc-
 conseq-ss:foc BE
- A: /isná:l-o-:liyok ó?mí/ B: /aná:l-o-:liyok óm/
- A: 'Is it really and truly you?' B: 'Indeed, it is I myself.'
- 9) am-apó-k ná:s-on am-mán-híkkó-ųhco:li-k ho-ká:ha-ųhco-k ínko-n
 1sposs-GRANDMOTHER-subj SOMETHING-obj:foc 1sdat-TELL-3neg(IIIA)-
 custom-IVPast distr-SAY-habit-ss NO-sw
- im-mánka-ųhco-k=katík pí:la ibisná:l-ok ponhá:l-o-tíkkó-ųhco-toho-k
 3dat-TELL-habit-IVPast=encl JUST 3:PRONOUN:SELF-subj:foc LISTEN-
 3neg(IIICi)-habit-realís-IVPast
- /ʼamapók ná:s-on ammáhíkkóhco:lik,ʼ hokáhco; ínkon, immánkáhco katík
 pí:la ibisná:l-ok ponhá:lotíkkóhcotohok/
- 'My grandmother did not use to tell me anything,' they all say, but
 it is not so; she told them; but it is the case that they by them-
 selves were not accustomed to listen to her.'

Isolative pronouns

These pronouns are used to indicate that the person to which they refer is alone or unaccompanied in the performance of the action involving that person. The following are some examples.

- 10) im-aláhka-k íkso-t ibisná:l-o-:si-ųhco-k at-pahókfa-t á:ta-ųhco-toho-k
 3poss-RELATIVES-subj NOT:EXIST-conn 3:PRONOUN:ALONE-be-dim-habit-ss
 PERSON-JOIN:UP-conn DWELL (sg)habit-realís-IVPast
- /imalahkak íksot ibisná:l-oscok atpahókfát á:táhcotohok/
- 'His relatives were no more, and he, completely by himself, joined
 up with people and so used to live.'
- 11) hasn-ap akkámmit amá:-hásk-áhi-:p ca-bán-ko-tik im-hacík-há:lo-k
 YOU(pl)-new:top BE:SO-conn GO(pl)-21ps(IIIA)-intent-subjunct 1sstats-
 WANT 3neg(IIA)-conseq 3dat-2plnegsubj(IA)-HEAR-ss
- ómmi-laho-DEL-š hasná:l-ok
 BE-irrealís-phr:term-phr:term YOU(pl):ALONE-subj:foc
- /hasnáp akkánt amá:háskáhi:p cabánkotik, ihacíkhá:l-ok ómmilaho:š
 hasná:l-ok/
- 'As for you, I do not want it that you should go on in such a way,
 but you alone will not be obeying.'

Interrogative/Indefinite pronouns

In addition to the independent pronouns, there is a set of interrogative/indefinite pronouns. These are listed in the following table.

TABLE 14.2

<u>Interrogative pronoun</u>	<u>Gloss</u>	<u>Indefinite pronoun</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
ná:si	'what'	ná:si	'something'
naksó	'who'	á:ti	'someone'
naksofá	'which'	-	
naksofón (var. naksó:n) ³	'where'	naksofá ⁴	'somewhere'
		naksofón/naksó:n	'to somewhere'
naksofó:kon	'when'	- ⁵	

It should be noted that the interrogative meanings of these pronouns occur only when the verb is marked with the interrogative internal change, otherwise they occur with their indefinite meanings. The indefinite pronouns additionally have a negative meaning when used with a negative verb.

There are several additional question words that are not pronouns, but verbs. These are: námpon, 'to be so many;' in the interrogative form námpó, 'how many?'; ihó:cat sámmo:sin, 'how long?'; and (nak)sámmin, 'to be how;' in the interrogative form (nak)sá?mí, 'how?' When combined with other verbs, námpon is joined to the verb to be questioned with the suffix -t; (nak)sámmin is joined with either the suffix -t or -n depending on the meaning of the phrase, and ihó:cat sámmo:sin is placed before the verb like any other verb modifier.⁶

The following examples illustrate the use of these pronouns with an interrogative meaning.

- 12) naksó-k talibó:li-,V?V,-to
WHO-subj MAKE-,Q,-IIIPast

/naksók talibo:lí?to/

'Who made it?'
- 13) naksó-k yomáhli-n is-hí:ca-V?V,:sa
WHO-subj GO:ABOUT(pl)-sw 2ss(IA)-SEE-,Q,-IPast

/naksók yomáhlín ishi:cá?sá/

'What people did you see going about?'
- 14) ná:s-ok ná:ho-V?V--:sa ó:la-fa
WHAT-sub:foc EXIST-,Q,-IPast TOWN-in

/ná:sok na:hó?sá ó:lafa/

'What is there in town?'
- 15) ná:s-on ci-ba,V?V,na
WHAT-obj:foc 2sstats-WANT,Q,

/ná:son cibá?ná/

'What do you want?'
- 16) naksofá ón-hi,V?V,ska
WHICH BE(intr)-2ss(IIIA),Q,

/naksofá qhíská/

'Which one do you mean?'
- 17) naksofón aṭ,ci,,V?V,,:ya
WHERE GO(sg),2ss(IIIB),,Q,

/naksofón aṭcí?yá/

'Where are you going?'
- 18) nakso:fó:kon ís-la-lah-ó?lí
WHEN 2ss(IA)-ARRIVE-irrealis-Q

/nakso:fó:kon íslalahó?lí/

'When will you arrive?'

The following sentences show the use of these pronouns in their indefinite sense. Note that several of these examples can be conceived of as containing embedded questions. Note the replacement of the interrogative

pronoun naksó with the indefinite form á:ti. This is in line with the bleaching of á:ti of its root meaning of 'human being' and its use as a marker indicating an indefinite human, as in the verbal prefix at- (see Chapter 4).

- 19) ná:s-on hí:ca-:k tabátka-k í:pa-Ŵhci
SOMETHING-obj:foc SEE-subjunct CATCH(sg)-ss EAT-progress
/ná:son hí:ca:k tabátkak í:páhci/
'When it sees something, it catches and eats it.'
- 20) hima:yámmi:p im-anihta-:si-ki-há-p abá:ca ká:ha-li-bí:no
NOWADAYS 3dat-BE:YOUNG-dim-pauc-pl-new:top RAFT SAY-1ss-modal
ná:s-on ónka-lí sobayá:-ko-Ŵhc
WHAT-obj:foc BE(intr)-1ss(aor) KNOW(pl)-3neg(IIA)-can
/hima:yámmi:p imanihtaskiháp abá:ca ká:halibí:no, ná:son onkalí
sobayá:kóhc/
'Nowadays, I am reluctant to speak of rafts to the young children,
as they cannot know what I mean.'
- 21) ná:s-on ca-sobáy-ko-Ŵhco-k
SOMETHING-obj:foc 1sstats-KNOW-3neg(IIA)-habit-ss
/ná:son casobáykóhcok/
'I know nothing.'
- 22) afaló-p á:t-ok acíhli-Ŵhc-o-kko-tik ibisná:l-ok ólfa-Ŵhci
MORNING:GLORY-new:top SOMEONE-subj:foc PLANT-habit-be-3neg(IIICi)-
conseq 3:PRONOUN:SELF-subj:foc SPRONT-progress
/afalóp á:tok acihlíhcokkotik ibisná:lok olfáhci/
'It is not customary for anyone to plant morning glory; it comes up
by itself.'
- 23) á:ti ná:s-ok ayakha:c-íkko-Ŵhc
SOMEONE ANY:KIND:OF-subj:foc APPROACH-3neg(IIIB)-can
/á:ti ná:sok ayakha:cikkóhc/
'No one at all can approach it.'

- 24) athómma mí:ta-k ho:cí:fo-:k kafolá ká:ha-Ųhco-k
 INDIAN OTHER-subj NAME-subjunct SWEET:GUM SAY-habit-ss
- má:mi-n mí:ta-k ho:cí:fo-:k kaholá ká:ha-Ųhco-k
 BE:THEN-sw OTHER-subj NAME-subjunct SWEET:GUM SAY-habit-ss
- naksofá holcifó-p má:lo-:li ca-sobay-ko-Ų
 WHICH NAME-new:top BE:RIGHT-deduc (nom) 1sstats-KNOW-3neg (IIA) -
 phr:term
- an-áp kafolá ká:ha-li-Ųhco-k
 I-new:top SWEET:GUM SAY-1ss-habit-ss
- /athómma mí:tak ho:cí:fo:k, "kafolá," ká:háhco. má:min mí:tak
 ho:cí:fo:k, "kaholá," ká:háhco. naksofá holcifóp má:lo:li
 casobáyko. anáp, "kafolá," ká:halíhco/
 'Some Indians customarily say "kafolá" (for "sweetgum"). And then,
 others customarily say "kaholá." I do not know which name is
 correct. As for me, I say "kafolá.'
- 25) akkámmi-tik naksofón holcifó í:si-li-toho-k ca-sobáy-ko-tik
 BE:SO-conseq WHERE NAME TAKE (sg)-1ss-realis-ss 1sstats-KNOW-
 3neg (IIA)-conseq
- ho:cí:fo-li-Ųhco-k óm
 NAME-1ss-habit-ss BE
- /akkántik naksofón holcifó í:silitohok casobáykotik ho:cí:folíhco óm/
 'But this being so, I do not know from where I got the word, but I
 customarily name it so.'
- 26) okí mat-o-:cofótli-:fó:k-ok okhabóska-:fó:k-ok naksó:n aí:ya-k
 WATER afar-loc-JUMP (sg)-when-ss:foc SINK-when-ss:foc WHERE GO (sg)-ss
- sobáy-híkk-o-Ų
 BE:KNOWN-3neg (IIIA)-phr:term
- /okí mato:cofótli:fó:kok okhabóska:fó:kok naksó:n aí:kak sobáyhikk/
 'When it dives into the water, when it swims down into the water,
 where it goes to is unknown.'
- 27) himá:ya-p íkso-Ųhco-t ómm-o-Ų yá:li-p. ca-sobáy-ko-Ų.
 NOW-new:top NOT:EXIST-habit-conn BE-be-phr:term HERE 1sstats-KNOW-
 3neg (IIA)-phr:term
- ínko-:p naksofá-p í:sa-k onammi-Ųhco-t ómm-o-Ų
 NO-subjunct SOMEWHERE-new:top DWELL (pl) -ss BE:STILL-habit-conn BE-be-
 phr:term
- /himá:yap íksóhcot ómm. casobáyko. ínko:p naksofáp í:sak onáhcot
 ómm/
 ómm/

'They seem not to exist anymore. I do not know. If not, they perhaps exist somewhere still.'

The indefinite/interrogative pronoun ná:si can be used as an adjective meaning 'any kind of' or 'no kind of.' Example 23 shows this use of ná:si, the following is another.

28) naʔihilká ná:s-on ónka-li-bí:no ca-sobáy-ko-V
LANGUAGE WHAT:KIND:OF BE(intr)-1ss-modal 1sstats-KNOW-3neg(IIA)-phr:
term

/naʔihilká ná:son ónkalibí:no casobáyko/

'I am reluctant to say what kind of language it (Mohilian Trade Jargon) might be. I do not know.'

Universal pronouns

Universal pronouns as a class are unique in Koasati. Although they are nouns, they are indeclinable, and unlike other nouns, they terminate in a consonant, k. Five of the six universal pronouns terminate in the sequence -santik, which may be related to the verbal phrase sámmitik, 'but it is how.' Thus it may be possible that the universal pronouns are verbal in origin, which would explain their indeclinability and their termination in a consonant. Nonetheless, at the present time they are used as nouns, and must be so considered. Note that parallel to the indefinite pronoun ná:si used as an adjective, there is the universal pronoun naksantik, which is only used as an adjective. The universal pronouns are listed in the following table.

TABLE 14.3

Pronoun	Gloss
na:sisantik	'anything'
naksosantik	'anyone'
a:tisantik	'anyone'
naksofasantik	'anywhere'

naksofa:ká:lok	'someone else; one of a group'
Adjectival pronoun	
naksántik	'any kind of whatsoever'

The use of the indefinite pronoun á:ti in the formation of the term a:tisántik, 'anyone,' is notable. This form is in much more frequent use than the comparable term naksosántik. The following are examples of the use of universal pronouns.

- 29) an-áp a:tisántik hí:ca-li-:k óhya im-nańí:ka-t st-ańi:ya-li-ŷhco-k
 I-new:topic ANYONE SEE-Iss-subjunct ALL 3dat-SPEAK-conn instr-GO (sg)-
 Iss-habit-ss
 ómmi-ŷhco-k
 BE-habit-ss
 /anáp a:tisántik hí:cali:k óhya innańí:kat stańi:yalíhcok ommíhcok/
 'As for me, whenever I see anyone, I am habitually continuing to
 speak about everything to them.'
- 30) cokf-ó:t ciss-ó:t coskan-ó:t fó:s-o:t ná:sisántik hí,h,c-ok
 RABBIT-list MOUSE-list DUCK-list BIRD-list ANYTHING SEE,h:grade,-
 ss:foc
 tabátka-k í:bi-t í:pa-ŷhci
 CATCH (sg)-ss KILL-conn EAT-progress
 /cokfó:t cissó:t coskanó:t fó:so:t ná:sisántik híhcok tabátkak
 í:bit i:páhci/
 'Rabbits, mice, ducks, birds--it catches, kills, and eats whatever it
 catches sight of.'
- 31) naksofasántik is-hí:c-o-ŷ tiksí-fá-p
 ANYWHERE 2ss(IA)-SEE-be-phr:term PN-in-new:top
 /naksofasántik ishí:cq tiksífáp/
 'You can see them everywhere in Texas.'
- 32) naksofasántik bińí:-kíłko-laha-ŷ
 ANYWHERE POINT-Iplneg(IIA)-irrealis-phr:term
 /naksofasántik bińí:kíłkolahaŷ/
 'Wherever it may be, we will not point at it.'

- 33) naksofa:ká:lok ittimalahhilká-k íkso-ǂhco-ǂ
 SOMEONE:ELSE RECIPROCAL:KINSHIP:RELATIONS-subj NOT-exist-habit-
 phr:term
 /naksofa:ká:lok ittimalahhilkák iksóhcq/
 'Other people do not maintain reciprocal kinship relations.'
- 34) naksofa:ká:lok óm-hác-o-ǂ
 SOMEONE:ELSE BE-2plsubj (IIA)-be-phr:term
 /naksofa:ká:lok óhácq/
 'Someone among you is the one (who has done it).'
- 35) akkámmi-sk fó:si naksántik ibisá:ni-k ǂobófká-k
 BE:S0-conseq BIRD ANY:KIND:OF NOSE-subj BE:PIERCED-ss
 /kámmiss fó:si naksántik ibisá:nik ǂobófkak/
 'Just like that, any kind of bird has a pierced nose.'

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER 14

¹Because of the lack of gender and number in the third person pronoun, examples will be glossed 3:PRONOUN for simplicity's sake.

²This may indicate that the independent pronouns originally ended in -ǂ, like the corresponding pronouns in Alabama (Lupardus, 1982:65).

³The form naksó:n is derived from an unattested form *naksohón, which is in turn derived from naksofón, by an obsolete rule that converted f to h intervocalically.

⁴Naksofá, 'somewhere' can not be confused with naksofá, 'which,' because the latter occurs only with interrogative verbs, and the former with affirmative verbs.

⁵Rather than there being an indefinite pronoun corresponding to nakso:fó:kon, 'when,' the verbal suffix -fó:ka- is used in contexts where an indefinite pronoun would be expected.

⁶The following are examples of these three interrogative words.

- 14F1) á:ti námpo-t í:s-ó?lí bí:na im-í:sa-fa
 PERSON BE:SO:MANY-conn DWELL(pl)-Q PN 3poss-HOUSE-in
 /á:ti námpot i:só?lí bí:na imí:safa/
 'How many people dwell in Benjamin's house?'
- 14F2) ihó:ca-t sám-m-o:si-n aṭ,cí,:ya-laho-k o,ú?ú,mmi
 BE:LONG:TIME-conn BE:HOW-dim-sw GO (sg),2ss(IIB),-irrealis-ss BE-Q
 /ihó:cat sám-mo:sin aṭcí:yalahok ó?mí/
 'How long will you be gone?'
- 14F3) sá,h,mmi-n akkamí:ci-,ú?ú,-li
 BE:HOW,h:grade,-sw DO-,Q,-1ss
 /sáhmin akkamí:cí?lí/
 'How am I to do it?'

The question word sámmin has the form sáhmin when there is a reference to a previous statement or occurrence.

⁷The rendering of this construction into English is quite difficult. The segment naṭihilká ná:son ónk means 'it is some kind of language;' the noun phrase being in a locative, not accusative, form. The verb's inflection for first person subject indicates that the speaker is stating what the definition is. Thus ónkan covers both being and saying in the translation. The difficulty lies in the refusal of English grammar to accept an intransitive verb 'to be' and a locative phrase. In Koasati the noun phrase is governed by the verb 'to be' rather than being linked to some other phrase by it. This leaves the verb free to be inflected for the person who is considering the proposition of the sentence.

A parallel construction with the verb 'to be' can be noted in Irish: tá brian ború in-a rí BE BRIAN BORÚ IN-HIS KING 'Brian Ború is a king' (Stenson, 1981:119).

CHAPTER 15
NOUN POSSESSION

There are two sets of noun prefixes that indicate the person and number of the possessing noun. These are the am-set and the ca-set, listed in following table.

TABLE 15.1

	<u>am</u> -set	<u>ca</u> -set	gloss
1s	am-	ca-	'my'
2s	cim-	ci-	'your (sg)'
3	im-	∅ ¹	'her/his/its/their'
1pl	kom-	ko-	'our'
2pl	hacim-	haci-	'your (pl)'

The possession of most nouns is marked with the am-set. Historically, this set of pronouns was used to mark alienable possession, but at the present it can be used with some kin terms and body parts, lexical items that usually take the ca-set. The following is a paradigm of a noun taking this form of possession.

Possessed Noun	Gloss
am-ifá	'my dog/dogs'
cim-ifá	'your (sg) dog/dogs'
im-ifá	'her dog/his dog/their dog/dogs'
kom-ifá	'our dog/dogs'
hacim-ifá	'your (pl) dog/dogs'

Note that plurality of a possessed noun is not indicated except on the verb that governs or is governed by the noun phrase, where a plural form is available.

There are a number of morphophonemic alterations of the nasal consonant

of this prefix set before certain consonants. If the prefix precedes a stop, it assimilates to the point of articulation of the stop. If it precedes a resonant, the nasal is converted into that resonant. If it precedes a fricative, the nasal consonant nasalizes the preceding vowel and disappears. The following are several examples, see also those in Chapter 2.

Stop	Resonant	Fricative
am-tá:ta 1sposs-FATHER	hociṭí im-laykí STAR-3poss-DUNG	cim-fitolbá 2sposs-FAN
/antá:ta/	/hociṭillaykí/	/cɨfitolbá/
'my father'	'star's dung (meteor)'	'your fan'

The ca-set of possessive prefixes, historically used to indicate inalienable possession, are used with most body parts, about one-third of the kin terms, and the following: holcifó 'name,' stonaholcifó, 'surname' (st-ac-onaholcifó 'my surname'), and stahó:ba 'photograph of oneself' (st-ac-ahó:ba 'a photograph of me,' c.f. st-am-ahó:ba 'a photograph of mine').

The following is a paradigm of a consonant-initial noun taking this form of possession.

Possessed noun	Gloss
ca-halkí	'my wife'
ci-halkí	'your wife'
∅-halkí	'his wife/their wives'
ko-halkí	'our wives'
haci-halkí	'your wives'

If the ca-set is prefixed to a vowel-initial word, it has two different realizations, depending on whether the initial vowel of the possessed noun is i or a/o. If the word begins with i, the vowel is dropped after all prefixes with phonetic realization.² The following is an example.

<u>Possessed noun</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
ca-ttiɬí	'my eye/eyes'
ci-ttiɬí	'your(sg) eye/eyes'
∅-ittiɬí	'her/his/their eye/eyes'
ko-ttiɬí	'our eyes'
haci-ttiɬí	'your(pl) eyes'

There is one exception to this general rule, the noun ikí 'parent,' which does not lose initial i; ci-ikí 'your parent,' phonetically [ciʔikí].

If the possessed word begins either with o or a, the first person singular prefix metathesizes to ac-, and the other prefixes have the following forms, which elide the initial vowels of the words to which they are prefixed: second person singular aci-, first person plural ako-, and second person plural ahaci-. The following are examples of the use of the changed forms of the possessive prefixes.

<u>Possessed noun</u>	<u>Gloss</u>	<u>Possessed noun</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
a:pihčí	'body'	ó:bi	'thigh'
ac-a:pihčí	'my body'	ac-ó:bi	'my thigh'
aci-pihčí	'your body'	ací-bi	'your(sg) thigh'
a:pihčí	'her/his/ their body'	ó:bi	'her/his/their thigh/thighs'
ako-pihčí	'our bodies'	akó-bi	'our thighs'
ahaci-pihčí	'your bodies'	ahací-bi	'your(pl) thighs'

Body part terms and Kin terms

Because terms for body parts and kin are the only major groups of noun that use the ca- set of prefixes, and because of the complexities of the kinship system, both groups require further description.

Body parts

The majority of all terms for body parts take the ca-set of prefixes, but a small minority take the am-set. Some of the terms that take the am-set are euphemisms, such as cocó 'vagina' and cicí 'penis' (derived from the non-euphemistic terms ikcolí and ikcí; these euphemisms are derived from child language); others take the am-set for no discernable reason. The following is a list of body parts classified as to whether the ca-set or the am-set of pronouns is used.

<u>ca</u> -set	gloss	<u>am</u> -set	gloss
afakcó	'skin'	apahcá	'shadow'
atabí	'back'	asikcí	'muscle'
hakcó	'outer ear'	bayá:na	'stomach (organ)'
hakcó:bi	'inner ear'	bonká	'scrotum'
hí:si	'hair'	cakalpá	'gizzard'
ibiṭkaní	'nasal mucus'	cicí	'penis (euphemism)'
ibisá:ni	'nose'	cocó	'vagina (euphemism)'
ibitá:la	'face'	cofkoní	'bone'
iccommí	'anus'	cokbí	'navel'
icikská	'nape of neck'	cokfaní:pa	'mole on the skin'
icokcí	'saliva'	ilkanó	'right side'
icoksakbá	'elbow'	kopí	'nest'
icokpaskací	'cheek'	laykí	'dung'
ico:laksí	'tongue'	ṭaṭokkí	'kidney'
ico:wiliksí	'lip'	sokpá	'lungs'
ihíṭihcí	'testicles'	stjholiswá aṭka	'bladder' ³
ikci	'penis'	toní	'hip'
ikcolí	'vagina'	wahlá	'mane'

ikfí	'stomach (belly)'
ilbaksí	'fingernail'
ilbí	'hand'
innatí	'tooth/teeth' var. innotí
isakbá	'arm'
isbakkalohká	'brain'
isbakkí	'head'
ittabí	'leg'
ittiḥí	'eye'
ittipí	'shoulder'
ittoḥpí	'knee'
iyyabakhací	'heel'
iyyaksí	'toenail'
iyyí	'foot'
kobalí	'back of head'
konuḥí	'calf of leg'
lopí	'liver'
ḥabakcó	'gall bladder'
ḥikcí	'abdomen/groin'
nó:bi	'throat'
nokbaḥká	'armpit'
nokhiḥí	'tonsils'
nokoloksí	'Adam's apple'
ó:bi	'thigh'
opahká	'shoulder'
owwasí	'anus (euphemism)'
patá:la	'chest, breast'

pisí	'nipple'
tasakná	'shin of leg'
titiklí	'joint'
waktá	'buttocks'

It is notable that even when a noun possessed with the ca- set is separated from its owner, the ca- set is still used. This indicates that the alienable/inalienable distinction is no longer well-maintained in Koasati. The following is an example.

- 1) albatá Ø-a:nipó-k cóf
 ALLIGATOR 3poss-PREPARED:MEAT-subj JUMP(p1)
 /albatá a:nipók cóf/
 'Alligator meat quivers.'

Kin terms

The terminology within the kinship system is at the present in a state of flux. The former elaborate kinship system is breaking down into a simpler one, more coordinate with English. Nevertheless, certain kin terms, to many people unknown, are still used by persons maintaining that relationship. Thus, the term awó:si, 'uncle by marriage,' is unknown to nearly everyone, while cofosí, 'great uncle' is used even by little children who have such a relative. The following list will discuss kin terms by generation, with notes on their usage, and prefix set used for possession.

Third ascending generation

- apocó:ba (am-) 'great grandmother' (rare, but still in use)
 awocó:ba (am-) 'great grandfather' (rare, but still in use)

Second ascending generation

- apó (am-) 'grandmother' (common) (note aposí 'grandma')
 awó (am-) 'grandfather' (common)

cofosí	(ca-)	'great uncle'	(rare, but still in use)
ko:sosí	(am-)	'great aunt'	(very rare)

First ascending generation

má:ma	(am-)	'mother'	(common)
picí	(am-)	'mother'	(rare, but still in use)
iskí	(am-)	'mother'	(no longer used)
icofí/cofí	(ca-)	'maternal uncle'	(common; now frequently used to mean simply 'uncle')
ikó:si/iskó:si/ kó:si ⁴	(am-)	'maternal aunt'	(common; now frequently used to mean simply 'aunt')
tá:ta	(am-)	'father'	(common)
tá:tasi	(am-)	'paternal uncle'	(rare, but still in use)
apó:si	(am-)	'paternal aunt'	(no longer used)
awó:si	(am-)	'uncle by marriage'	(no longer used)

Ego's generation

yá:ya	(am-)	'elder sister/elder brother'	(no longer used)
ittacakkí	(ca-)	'younger sibling of one's own sex'	(common, now used to indicate 'sibling of one's own sex,' or very colloquially 'brother, without regard to sex of speaker.')
ɬakfó:si	(am-)	'younger brother of a woman'	(common, now used to mean 'brother of a woman')
ifonó:si	(ca-)	'younger sister of a man'	(common, now used to mean 'sister of a man,' or very colloquially, 'sister, without regard to sex of speaker')
ittacakkanahká	(ca-)	'cousin or half-sibling of one's own sex'	(very rare)
ɬakfo:sanahká	(am-)	'woman's male cousin or half-brother'	(very rare)
ifono:sanahká	(ca-)	'man's female cousin or half-sister'	(very rare)

First descending generation

yó:si	(am-)	'elder daughter'	(no longer used)
-coktaykí	(ca-)	'younger daughter'	(common, used to mean 'daughter;' third person possessed form irregular: ocotaykí)

ciká	(am-)	'elder son' (rare, but still in use)
cikasí/kasí/ kasó:si ⁵	(am-)	'younger son' (rare, but still in use)
ocó:si	(ca-)	'offspring' (common; originally third person possessor only; now commonly used to mean 'son')
á:tosi	(am-)	'infant child of either sex' (common)
tayyó:si	(am-)	'niece' (very rare)
ocofó:si	(ca-)	'nephew' (very rare)

Second descending generation

ippokó:si	(ca-)	'grandchild of either sex' (common)
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Relatives by marriage- -first ascending generation

ipposikcá	(ca-)	'parent-in-law of either sex' ⁶ (common)
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Relatives by marriage- -Ego's generation

ná:ni	(am-)	'husband' (common)
halkí	(ca-)	'wife' (common)
hayá	(am-)	'sister-in-law' (rather rare)
alá	(am-)	'brother-in-law' (rather rare)

Relatives by marriage- -first descending generation

ippokí	(ca-)	'daughter-in-law' (rather rare)
anaí ⁷	(am-)	'son-in-law' (common)

Other relationship terms

awocó:baha apocó:baha	(am-)	'ancestors'
apohá	(am-)	'grandparents' ⁸
má:maha ikihá pícihá iskihá	(am-) (ca-) (am-) (am-)	'parents' ⁸
alahká	(am-)	'relatives' ⁹

It should be noted that kin terms, unlike body parts, are not obligatorily possessed. Frequently, an unprefix form is used in speaking of a relative of one's own, especially if there is a hesitation between using a first person singular and a first person plural prefix, as in the following example.

- 2) awók-hó:pa-:fó:k-ok
GRANDFATHER-subj BE:SICK-when-ss:foc

/awók hó:pa:fó:kok/

'When my/our grandfather was ill...; When grandfather was ill...'

Finally, there is a child's form for iskó:si, 'maternal aunt,' that is used in affectionate address to an adult: kó:ko, 'auntie.'

Usage of possessed nouns

When one noun possesses another, the possessor precedes the noun possessed, as in the following examples.

- 3) am-picí im-tá:t-o:to-k ónti-t ónt-ok ihá:ni có:pa-laho-ŷ
1sposs-MOTHER 3poss-FATHER-art-subj COME(sg)-conn COME(sg)-ss:foc
LAND BUY-irrealis-phr:term

/ampicí intá:to:tok óntit óntok ihá:ni có:palahq/

'My mother's father came; he came in order to buy land.'

- 4) itto-bihí im-ɬakí píhɬ-ok aɬɬá-:ci-:fó:k
WOOD-GUN 3poss-BULLET PICK:UP(pl)-GO(sg/du)-3nonsg-when

/ittobihí jɬakí píhɬok aɬɬá:ci:fó:k/

'When the two of them picked up their arrows and went...'

When a distinction needs to be made, especially in the third person, between someone's possessions and one's own possessions, the adjective má:lo, 'own' follows the possessed noun, as in the following example.

- 5) sokhá-k ocó:si má:lo-n í:pa-t
PIG-subj OFFSPRING OWN-obj EAT-Past

/sokhák ocó:si má:lon í:pat/

'The sow ate its own farrow.'

This example should be compared with the following.

- 6) sokhá-k ocó:s-on í:pa-t
 PIG-subj OFFSPRING-subj:foc EAT-Past

/sokhák ocó:son í:pat/

'The sow ate its (another sow's) farrow.'

Choice between the am-set and ca-set

As a general rule, there is no variation allowed in which prefix a noun takes when it is possessed. Those nouns which do vary frequently do so according to whether the possessor of the noun is its inherent possessor. Thus a human being would say allapí 'my horn,' using the am-set, because a horn is never an inherently human body part. On the other hand, the sea-monster (cintosakcó) would say¹⁰ calapí, 'my horn,' using the ca-set, as horns are inherently part of a sea-monster's anatomy.

The kin-term ittacakkí, 'sibling of one's own sex,' indifferently takes the am-set or ca-set to mark the possessor. This may reflect the erosion of the ca-set prefixes from the possessive paradigms of kin terms.

There is one word which takes both sets of prefixes, and which has a slight change in meaning with the different prefix sets. This is holcifó, 'name,' which with the ca-set means 'one's own name,' and with the am-set means 'one's name for something.'

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER 15

¹Because this prefix has a zero realization, it has not been marked elsewhere in this dissertation. It is very difficult to find out whether speakers consider this prefix as 'real' as one with a phonetic realization.

²Because words with initial i are so frequent among inherently possessed nouns in the third person, it is likely, especially taking into consideration comparative evidence, that i was once originally the third person pronoun prefix for the ca-set.

³This noun is actually a nominalized verb phrase meaning 'one's urine's filling up place.' The instrumental prefix precedes the person prefix; thus st-am-holiswá átká, 'my bladder.'

⁴These variants are due to the fact that the term for maternal aunt is derived from the term iskí, 'mother,' and ikí, 'parent,' by means of a now-obsolescent diminutive suffix -ó:si. The loss of the initial syllable is very common, especially in rapid speech.

⁵These three terms for son are underlyingly identical; kasí is derived from cikasí by loss of the initial syllable, and kasó:si is derived from cikasí by the loss of the initial syllable and the use of the obsolete diminutive suffix -ó:si.

⁶To distinguish between father-in-law and mother-in-law, the nouns ná:ni, 'man; male,' and tayyí, 'woman; female,' follow the term as adjectives.

⁷The term anáí is related to the verb anáttin, 'to marry someone.' Note the following distinctions of this verb: ac-anáttit, 'he married me;' am-anáttit, 'he married into my family.'

⁸The use of the kin terms for female relatives to include both male and female relatives reflects the former matrilineal kinship system of the Koasati.

⁹There is a verb related to this term, ittimaláhkán, 'to have mutual kinship relations,' with the derived noun ittimalahhilká, 'reciprocal kinship relations.' In addition there is a ca-stative verb aláhkán, which means 'to be the last of one's clan or family.' Perhaps unrelated is the impersonal verb aláhkán, 'to be left over,' which when used with the dative verb prefixes has the meaning of 'to have left over.'

¹⁰This example is taken from a mythological text gathered by Swanton in 1910.

CHAPTER 16

NOUNS IN RELATION TO VERBS: PLURALITY, MASS AND SHAPE

Plurality

As a general rule, plurality of a noun is not marked on the noun itself. Rather, plurality of a noun subject or object is marked on or within the verb on which the noun depends, as in the following examples.

- 1) okipófká-k o:w-á:y
 WHALE-subj loc-GO:ABOUT (sg/du)
 /okipófkak o:wá:y/
 'A whale is swimming about.'
- 2) okipófká-k o:w-ayá:-c
 WHALE-subj loc-GO:ABOUT (sg/du)-3norisg
 /okipófkak o:wayá:c/
 'Two whales are swimming about.'
- 3) okipófká-k o:-yomáhl
 WHALE-subj loc-GO:ABOUT (pl)
 /okipófkak o:yomáhl/
 'There are some whales swimming about.'
- 4) ittó-n atiní:li-li-t
 WOOD-obj BURN (sg)-1ss-Past
 /ittón atiní:lilit/
 'I burned a log.'
- 5) ittó-n atínni-li-t
 WOOD-obj BURN (pl)-1ss-Past
 /ittón atínnilit/
 'I burned some logs.'

For the ways that plurality of a noun is marked on the verb, see Chapter 10.

If a noun refers to human beings, it may optionally take the suffix -ha to indicate plurality. This suffix takes the accent if the noun to which it

is suffixed has the accent on the ultimate syllable, otherwise it is not accented. Additionally, the only cases that nouns with the suffix -ha have been noted to take are the Nominative, Accusative and Autonomous (see Chapter 13). Not only do root nouns take this suffix, but agentive nouns as well, as shown in the following table.

TABLE 16.1

<u>Noun</u>	<u>Gloss</u>	<u>Plural</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
athómma	'Indian'	athómmaha	'Indians'
thátka	'White person'	thátkaha	'White people'
falancı	'Cajun'	falancıhá	'Cajuns'
ná:ni	'man'	ná:niha	'men'
tayyí	'woman'	tayyihá	'women'
á:ti	'human being'	á:tiha	'human beings'
ilanawíhli	'hunter'	ilanawíhliha	'hunters'
hasikíllit bítlí	'ballet dancer'	hasikíllit bítlíha	'ballet dancers'
ikhá:lo	'deaf person'	ikhá:loha	'deaf people'
alo:sacíhko	'one who does not grow rice'	alo:sacíhkoha	'ones who do not grow rice'
ihá:ni imíkso	'landless person'	ihá:ni imíksoha	'landless people'

Animal names can occur with the suffix -ha when they refer to people of the clan of the same name, such as nitá, 'bear; bears; Bear-Clan person,' plural nitahá, 'Bear-Clan people;' kowí, 'panther; panthers; Panther-Clan person, pl kowihá, 'Panther-Clan people.'

In addition to the suffix -ha, nouns that are derived either historically or synchronically with the diminutive suffix -si/-osi (archaically -o:si) form a paucal plural (meaning more than two but less than five or six) marked by the suffix -ki.¹ For such nouns there is also a multiple plural

(more than five or six) formed with the suffix -kiha, a combination of the suffixes -ki and -ha. The following table shows examples of nouns that form a paucal plural and a multiple plural.

TABLE 16.2

<u>Noun</u>	<u>Gloss</u>	<u>Paucal Plural</u>	<u>Multiple Plural</u>
apó:si	'paternal aunt'	apóski	apóskiha
tá:tasi	'paternal uncle'	tá:taski	tá:taskiha
ifonó:si	'man's sister'	ifonóski	ifonóskiha
ippokkó:si	'grandchild'	ippokkóski	ippokkóskiha
á:tosi	'baby'	á:toski	á:toskiha

The accentuation of -ki and -kiha follows the same pattern as that of -ha. It is notable that the paucal and multiple plural suffixes apocopate the diminutive suffix. Again, these suffixes are used with animal names only to refer to children of the clan of the same name, such as nitasi, 'bear cub; Bear-Clan child,' paucal nitaski, 'a couple of Bear-Clan children,' multiple nitaskihá, 'many Bear-Clan children.'²

Finally, the words for boy (ná:nosi) and girl (tayyosí) in the multiple reverse the order of the diminutive, paucal, and plural suffixes from -oskiha to -haski, as shown below

<u>Noun</u>	<u>Gloss</u>	<u>Paucal plural</u>	<u>Multiple Plural</u>
ná:nosi	'boy'	ná:noski	ná:nihaski
tayyosí	'girl'	tayyoskí	tayyihaskí

Mass

Nouns are divided into two categories, count and mass nouns, the former naming objects that can be individually numerated, the latter occurring only as groups. The morphological effect of this categorization is that mass nouns require a plural verb to be used, when such is available, as

in the following example.

6) histo-k wayóhk
ASH-subj FLY(pl)

/histók wayóhk/

'The ashes are flying; the ash is flying.'

The following is a list of mass nouns elicited in the following frames: X apíslil 'I throw (pl) away X,' and X píhlil, 'I pick (pl) up X.' There are two main categories of mass nouns: items of cloth or fiber and aggregations of a large number of very small objects.

Cloth and fiber

<u>Noun</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
holikfá	'clothing'
honó	'skirt'
stiliyófka	'trousers'
hatkasí	'sheet'
hisá:ka	'blanket'
alincá	'coverlet'
tapácka	'quilt'
baksá	'string'
acití:ka	'rope'

Aggregations

<u>Noun</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
sancó	'sand'
oktí	'earth'
pahí	'grass'
ittohí:si	'leaves'
talcosí	'pebbles'
okticalá	'mud'
hiplí	'snow'
tilkó	'flour'
compó:li	'sugar'
hapí	'salt'
kopíhka	'trash'
bakcolá jhisá:ka	'algae'

Water as a mass noun

At first, it is very difficult to find out whether or not water is considered a mass noun. This is because instead of the general verbs for picking up and throwing away, which are marked for the singularity or plurality of the object, there are specific verbs for these actions to be

used with water: kaháplín, 'to dip water up once,' and káffín, 'to dip water up twice or more times;' and sóffín, 'to throw water away; pour out water.' It happens that water in its free state is considered a mass noun, but in any kind of contained location, it is a count noun. Example 7) shows water as a mass noun; compare the use of the plural verb with that in examples 8a) and 8b). Examples 9a) and 9b) show water as a count noun.³

- 7) ok-ón átti-l
WATER-obj:foc FILL(pl)-lss
/okón aʔʔil/
'I fill it with water.'
- 8a) hakcó stilhá:la hókfi-l
EAR HEARING:WITH:IT FILL(sg)-lss
/hakcó stilhá:la hókfil/
'I put in a hearing aid.'
- b) hakcó stilhá:la átti-l
EAR HEARING:WITH:IT FILL(pl)-lss
/hakcó stilhá:la áʔʔil/
'I put in the hearing aids.'
- 9a) okí-k s-tallá:k ihá:ni
WATER-subj instr-LIE(inan)(sg) EARTH
/okík stallá:k ihá:ni/
'There is a pool of water on the ground.'
- b) okí-k s-tálk ihá:ni
WATER-subj instr-LIE(inan)(sg) EARTH
/okík stálk ihá:ni/
'There are pools of water on the ground.'

Shape

Instead of using the verb which expresses the existence in a location of an object (ná:hq, 'to exist; íksq, 'not to exist'), positional verbs are

used with some things to express their existence. The choice of positional verb is correlated to the shape of the object; in addition, each positional verb has a singular and plural form. As indicators of existence, these positional verbs often form suppletive plurals with forms taken from other positional verbs, not from their regular plurals.

1. Tall, vertical things. haccá:lin (sg); lokkó:lin (pl) 'to stand'

Tall, vertical things, such as posts or trees, as well as legged objects, such as stoves, tables, chairs and furniture use the above verb pair to indicate their existence, as in the following examples.

- 10) oconaihtítká-k haccá:l
WOOD:STOVE-subj STAND(sg)
/oconaihtítkak haccá:l/
'There is a wood stove.'

- 11) oconaihtítká-k lokkó:l
WOOD:STOVE-subj STAND(pl)
/oconaihtítkak lokkó:l/
'There are wood stoves'

Contrary to the general rule, trees do not use lokkó:lin to form their plural, but rather hibáhkán, which usually means 'to stand in rows.' The following is an example.

- 12) nofó-k mat-haccá:l
BIRCH-subj afar-STAND(sg)
/nofók mathaccá:l/
'There is a birch over there.'

- 13) nofó-k mat-hibáhk
BIRCH-subj afar-STAND(pl)
/nofók mathibáhk/
'There are some birches over there.'

Finally, all kinds of weather are indicated by the use of haccá:lin. If

the weather phenomenon is something countable, the plural lokkó:lin can be used. The following are examples.

- 14) hastáhkí-t haccá:l
BE:SUNLIGHT-conn STAND (sg)

/hastáhkit haccá:l/

'It is sunny weather.'
- 15) ɫafí yámmi-t haccá:l
WINTER BE:LIKE-conn STAND (sg)

/ɫafí yámmit haccá:l/

'It is winter-like weather.'
- 16) hanabitilí-k mat-haccá:l
RAINBOW-subj afar-STAND (sg)

/hanabitilík mathaccá:l/

'There is a rainbow.'
- 17) hanabitilí-k mat-lokkó:l
RAINBOW-subj afar-STAND (pl)

/hanabitilík matlokkó:l/

'There is a double rainbow.'

11. Globular objects; heaps of objects. cokkó:lin (sg) cikkí:kan (pl)
'to sit'

Globular objects, or objects vaguely globular, use the above verb pair to indicate their existence. Note that cikkí:kan is the dual form of 'to sit,' and although í:san, 'to sit (pl)' was occasionally elicited in studying the phenomenon of shape-marking, its appearance was certainly due to translation pressure; in texts only cikkí:kan appears. The following examples show the use of this verb pair.

- 18) pokkó-k cokkó:l
BALL-subj SIT (sg)

/pokkók cokkó:l/

'There is a ball.'

- 19) pokkó-k cikkí:k
BALL-subj SIT(pl)

/pokkók cikkí:k/

'There are some balls.'

- 20) niṭahasí-k mat-cokkó:l
MOON-subj afar-SIT(sg)

/niṭahasík matcokkó:l/

'The moon is out.'

- 21) hasí mat-cokkó:l
SUN afar-SIT(sg)

/hasí matcokkó:l/

'The sun is out.'

- 22) copoksí-k cokkó:l
HILL-subj SIT(sg)

/copoksík cokkó:l/

'There is a hill.'

- 23) mobí:la-k cokkó:l
CAR-subj SIT(sg)

/mobí:lak cokkó:l/

'There is a car.'

Mass nouns, occurring as a matter of course only with the plural, take this verb to indicate that they are lying in a heap, as in the following examples.

- 24) kafí-k itta-cikkí:k
COFFEE-subj loc-SIT(pl)

/kafík ittacikkí:k/

'There is a heap of coffee on the ground.'

- 25) í:sa bikkó sancó-k cikkí:k
HOUSE BEFORE SAND-subj SIT(pl)

/í:sa bikkó sancók cikkí:k/

'There is a pile of sand in front of the house.'

- 26) a:nipó-k cikkí:k
PREPARED:MEAT-subj SIT(pl)

/a:nipók cikkí:k/

'There is a heap of meat.'

III. Large, long thin things. tàmmín (sg) báلكan (pl) 'to lie'

Large, long thin things, such as rivers, roads and fallen trees use the above verb pair to indicate their existence. Note that both tàmmín, which usually means 'to be lying down,' and báلكan, which is the plural form of ballá:kan (dual balláskan), 'to lie down,' usually refer solely to animate objects. Historically, rivers and paths may well have been considered as animate objects; trees act peculiarly grammatically.⁴ The following are examples of the use of this verb pair.

- 27) hahcosí-k tàmm
STREAM-subj LIE(sg)

/hahcosík tàmm/

'There is a stream.'

- 28) hahcos-kí-k báلك
STREAM-pl-subj LIE(pl)

/hahcoskík báلك/

'There are some streams.'

- 29) ittó cilákto-k tàmm
TREE UPROOTED-subj LIE(sg)

/ittó ciláktok tàmm/

'There is an uprooted tree.'

- 30) ittó cilákto-k báلك
TREE UPROOTED-subj LIE(pl)

/ittó ciláktok báلك/

'There are some uprooted trees.'

- 31) talbó:ni-k tàm
CALCASIEU:RIVER-subj LIE(sg)

/talbó:nik tàm/

'The Calcasieu River lies there.'
- 32) sabí:na-k tàm
SABINE:RIVER-subj LIE(sg)

/sabí:nak tàm/

'The Sabine River lies there.'
- 33) ní:ci-k tàm
NECHES:RIVER-subj LIE(sg)

/ní:cik tàm/

'The Neches River lies there.'

IV. Small, long, thin things. tàmmin (sg) cikkí:kan (pl) 'to lie'

This category seems to be a conflation of Categories II and III. In the singular, tàmmin is used, as it is used for large, long thin things; but in the plural cikkí:kan is used, as if they were heaps of things. This analysis seems to be the case, because the things that are covered by this category are generally kept in piles when they are in number, but lie alone by themselves. The following are examples of the use of this verb pair.

- 34) cofkoní-k tàm
BONE-subj LIE(sg)

/cofkoník tàm/

'There is a bone.'
- 35) cofkoní-k cikkí:k
BONE-subj SIT (pl)

/cofkoník cikkí:k/

'There are some bones.'
- 36) ɬafataká-k tàm
BLOWGUN-subj LIE(sg)

/ɬafatakák tàm/

'There is a blowgun.'

- 37) ʔafataká-k cikí:k
BLOWGUN-subj SIT(pl)

/ʔafatakák cikí:k/

'There are some blowguns.'

- V. Objects covering a broad area. (s)tallá:kan (sg) (s)tálkan (pl) 'to lie'

Things that cover a broad area of space, such as fences, fields, towns, swamps, the sea, cities, states and countries use the above verb pair to indicate their existence. The instrumental prefix s- occurs when ihá:ni, 'earth; ground,' has to be understood as part of the phrase. The plural form is used only when there are two or more such areas being discussed.

The following are examples.

- 38) ó:la-k tallá:k
TOWN-subj LIE(sg)

/ó:lak tallá:k/

'There is a town.'

- 39) ó:la-k tálk
TOWN-subj LIE(pl)

/ó:lak tálk/

'There are some towns.'

- 40) olá:na-k s-tallá:k
BRUSH-subj instr-LIE(sg)

/olá:nak stallá:k/

'There is a brushy area of ground.'

- 41) okfá-k tallá:k
LAKE-subj LIE(sg)

/okfák tallá:k/

'There is a lake.'

Items of cloth and paper

Cloth items, which as noted above, are mass nouns, are like water in that there are a number of special verbs used only in the handling of cloth, with both transitive and intransitive forms. These are listed in the following table.

TABLE 16.3

Intransitive	Gloss	Transitive	Gloss
pattá:kan	'to lie flat (sg)'	pattá:lin	'to lay flat (sg)'
pátkan	'to lie flat (pl)'	pátlin	'to lay flat (pl)'
lattá:kan	'to lie in a heap'	lattá:lin	'to throw in a heap'
cokkó:lin	'to lie balled up'	cokkolí:cin	'to ball up'
ballá:kan	'to lie cylindrically'	ballá:lin	'to lay cylindrically'

Note that the transitive plural verb pátlin, 'to lay flat,' has commonly come to mean, 'to make up a bed.' The following are a few examples using these verbs.

- 42) alincá-k ayah-ón pa-pattá:k
COVERLET-subj BED:&:FRAME-obj:foc loc-LIE:FLAT (sg)

/alincák ayahón papattá:k/

'The coverlet lies spread out on the bed.'

- 43) hatkas-ón lattá:li-li-t
SHEET-obj:foc THROW:IN:HEAP-1ss-Past

/hatkasón lattá:lilit/

'I threw the sheet in a heap.'

- 44) holikfá-k itta-cokkó:l
CLOTHING-subj loc-LIE:BALLED:UP

/holikfák ittacokkó:l/

'The clothing lies balled up on the floor.'

45) na:sincá:ka-k itta-pátk
 PAPER-subj loc-LIE:FLAT(pl)

/na:sincá:kak ittapátk/

'The papers are lying on the floor.'

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER 16

¹There are also three inanimate nouns derived with the diminutive suffix which take this suffix to form the plural. These are: hahcosí, 'stream,' pl. hahcoskí; okhicasí, 'window,' pl. okhicasí; and talcosí, 'pebble,' pl. talcoskí. The latter item, at least, does not always require the plural form when the semantics of a sentence in which it is used call for plurality. These are the only inanimate nouns which form a plural.

²For pluralization of non-human animate diminutives, the independent word lawísta, 'small (pl)' is used. Thus the plural of nitasí, 'bear cub,' would be nitá lawísta, 'bear cubs,' literally, 'little bears.'

³In other Muskogean languages, such as Mikasuki (Derrick-Mescua; 1980:432-3), Muskogee (Haas, 1948:245-6), and Seminole Creek (Nathan, 1977:100-04), items of cloth require a verb to have a dual form, and water requires a verb to have a plural form. This system seems to be a specialization from a mass/count noun system like that of Koasati.

⁴For example, with the verb to die, illin (sg)/hápkan (pl), if a tree is dying, but not yet dead illin is used. However, once it is dead, a tree becomes, for this verb only, grammatically considered as a plural, as in the following: ittó hápka caffá:kan 'one dead tree.' The strange grammatical treatment of trees may have roots in Koasati mythology in which trees were considered to be intelligent speaking beings of great slowness of movement, who considered the summer and winter to be merely a day and a night to them.

CHAPTER 17
NOMINAL DERIVATION

There are three main methods of noun formation other than by agentive or verbal nouns (or the obsolete Old Nominalization). These are by the formation of diminutives, by compounding, and by borrowing from other languages.

Diminutives

Diminutives are freely derived from all kinds of nouns with the suffix -si/-osi. The allomorphs are phonologically conditioned; -si occurs after nouns terminating in a or o, -osi occurs after nouns terminating in i, which vowel the suffix elides. If a noun has its accent on the ultimate syllable, the ultimate syllable of the diminutive form is accented; if the penultimate syllable is accented, the accented syllable is unchanged with the addition of the diminutive suffix. The following are two examples.

Noun	Gloss	Diminutive	Gloss
tayyí	'woman'	tayyosí	'girl'
ná:ni	'man'	ná:nosi	'boy'

As a general rule, the diminutive simply indicates a smaller variety of the noun; however, at times the diminutive carries an affective meaning when used on nouns referring to human beings, as below.

apó	'grandmother'	aposí	'grandma'
síhno	'old person'	síhnosi	'dear old person'

The following are further examples of the diminutive.

nitá	'bear'	nitasí	'bear cub'
iskaní	'insect'	iskanosí	'little insect'
ƧaƧó	'fish'	ƧaƧosí	'little fish; minnow'
í:sa	'house'	í:sasi	'little house'

bítli 'dancer' bítlosi 'young dancer'

Note that all diminutives are singular. Animate diminutives suffix -ki for paucal plural and -kiha for multiple plural (see Chapter 10). The plurals of inanimate diminutives are formed by replacing the diminutive suffix with the independent word lawísta, 'small(pl)'. This word frequently fuses with the noun it modifies. The following are examples of plurals of diminutives.

Diminutive singular	Gloss	Diminutive Plural	Gloss
nitasí	'bear cub'	nitá lawísta	'bear cubs'
iskanosí	'little bug'	iskanlawísta	'little bugs'
ħaħosí	'little fish'	ħaħlawísta	'minnows'

An obsolete diminutive suffix of similar form can be recognized: -ó:si. It seems to have been frequently used to derive kin terms, and may have had an affective connotation.

Non-diminutive	Gloss	Old Diminutive	Gloss
*ocí ¹	'son'	ocó:si	'offspring; son'
*ifoní ²	'man's sister'	ifonó:si	'man's sister'
*ħakfí ³	'woman's brother'	ħakfó:si	'woman's brother'
apó	'grandmother'	apó:si ⁴	'paternal aunt'
iskí	'mother'	iskó:si	'maternal aunt'
ippokí	'daughter-in-law'	ippokó:si	'grandchild'

That these old diminutives are true diminutives is attested by the fact that they are inflected for paucal and multiple plural, like other animate diminutives.

The modern diminutive suffix has been used to derive some kin terms, the most notable of which are cofosí 'great uncle,' from cofi, 'maternal uncle,' and tá:tasi, 'paternal uncle,' from tá:ta, 'father'

Noun compounding

Nouns can be compounded with each other with relative facility. There are two kinds of compounds, compounds formed by apposition, where each noun retains its shape and accent, and compounds formed by conflation, where the final vowel of the first noun is deleted by the initial segment of the second, which is the only noun to retain its accent. Compounds formed by apposition will be written here as separate words even though there is no hiatus between the two; only if the accent of the initial element is lost will they be written together. The two forms of compounding are not mutually exclusive, as can be seen in the following forms for 'pine cone,' all of which are equally acceptable.

coyyí im-ańí PINE 3poss-BERRY	coyyí Ø-ańí ⁵ PINE 3poss-BERRY	
/coyyí imańí/	/coyyí ańí/	apposition
/coyyimańí/	/coyyańí/	conflation

If the compound noun is derived from a possessive phrase, the compound will generally refer to a quality or possession of the first noun. If the second element is a noun modifier ('adjective'), then the reference of the compound is to a particular kind of the first noun. In the same manner, if the second noun is a nominalized verb, the meaning refers to a kind of the initial noun. However, if the two nouns are both nominalized verbs, the second member of the compound has semantic primacy, as a general rule.

The semantics of compound nouns are not always directly related to the meanings of the individual members. Example 1 shows the more usual case of the compound bearing a one to one relationship with its elements; examples 2-4 show descriptive compounds, the meaning of which differs from English; examples 5 and 6 show compounds, the reference of which comes from the Koasati cultural milieu; and examples 7 and 8 illustrate the case

in which the meanings of the elements have little or no relation to the meaning of the compound; this is true of many plant names.

- 1) á:ti ílli
PERSON DIER

/a:tílli/

'dead person'
- 2) honó s-pákko
SKIRT instr-SWOLLEN:ONE

/honó spákko/

'hoop skirt'
- 3) hakó baskí
EAR LONG

/hakobaskí/

'mule'
- 4) hakó pátha
EAR WIDE

/hakopátha/

'hound dog'
- 5) hociṭí im-laykí
STAR 3poss-DUNG

/hociṭíllaykí/

'shooting star'
- 6) solopí im-boló
GHOST 3poss-PERCH

/solopimboló/

'white crappie'
- 7) tikbá Ø-icokhiskó
FIRE 3poss-BEARD

/tikbá icokhiskó/

'moss'

- 8) albatá im-cassí
ALLIGATOR 3poss-CORN

/albatá incassí/

'swamp grass'

Additionally, some words now obsolete are preserved in certain plant names, as in the following two examples.

- 9) kaskí im-ilpá
WARRIOR 3poss-FOOD

/kaskimilpá/

'yaupon (ilex vomitoria)' (solitá:wa, 'warrior; soldier')

- 10) hakhá im-towá
WILD:GOOSE 3poss-ONION

/hakhintowá/

'wild onion' (salaklá, 'wild goose')

The following are further examples of noun formation by compounding. These first eight examples show compounds made up of two root nouns.

- 11) baksá apalá
THREAD ARTIFICIAL:LIGHT

/baksapalá/

'electricity'

- 12) có:ba Ø-iyysákí
HORSE 3poss-NAIL

/co:biyyaksí/

'hoof'

- 13) mobí:la Ø-ittiíí
AUTOMOBILE 3poss-EYE

/mobi:littiíí/

'headlights'

- 14) sawá á:ti
RACCOON PERSON

/sawá:ti/

'monkey'

- 15) solopí im-nihtá
GHOST 3poss-DAY

/solopí innihtá/

'Hallowe'en'
- 16) iptó im-pokkó
SQUIRREL 3poss-BALL

/iptó impokkó/

'dried hollow oak gall'
- 17) icokhiskó pá:na
BEARD ABOVE

/icokhiskó pá:na/

'mustache'
- 18) wá:ka nihá
COW FAT

/waknihá/⁶

'tallow'

The following examples of compound nouns illustrate the compounding of a noun with a noun modifier.

- 19) okí hátka
WATER WHITE

/okí hátka/

'ocean'
- 20) ałí hómma
BERRY RED

/ałíhómma/

'tomato'
- 21) okcałí mokaffí
BLACKBIRD WELL:DRESSED

/okcałmokaffí/

'rusty-winged blackbird'

- 22) kowí no:-wohóksi
PANTHER throat-FURRY

/kowí no:wohóksi/

'lion'

- 23) wá:ka hobá
COW CASTRATED

/wakhobá/⁶

'ox'

- 24) bihí koboksí
GUN SHORT

/bihí koboksí/

'pistol'

- 25) có:ba papoksí
HORSE HUNCHBACKED

/có:ba papoksí/

'camel'

- 26) hakcommí kánko
TOBACCO BAD

/hakcommí kánko/

'marijuana'

The following examples show compounds consisting of a root noun and an agentive or verbal noun.

- 27) okí pófka
WATER BLOWER

/okipófka/⁷

'whale'

- 28) alahkó bítli
GOURD DANCER

/alahkobítli/

'moth'

- 29) cabí st-im-átka
INTESTINES instr-3dat-STUFFED

/cabí stimačka/

'boudin'
- 30) piťá wáyka
CANOE FLIER

/piťawáyka/

'airplane'
- 31) abá cökkó:li
HEAVEN DWELLER

/abá cökkó:li/

'God'
- 32) copoksí hiťí:li
MOUNTAIN IGNITER

/copoksí hiťí:li/

'volcano'
- 33) oconá s-hol tolihnó
MACHINE instr-COUNTING

/oconá shol tolihnó/

'calculator'
- 34) bakkí fihilká
HEAD PAYING

/bakfihilká/

'tax'
- 35) katolíčka im-olpinó
CATHOLIC 3poss-INSTRUCTING

/katolíčka imolpinó/

'Catholicism'

The next six examples show compounds of one nominalized verb with another.

Note the semantic primacy of the final element of each compound.

- 36) aybacilká sobáyli
CAUSING:PROPER:BEHAVIOR KNOWER

/aybacilká sobáyli/

'lawyer'
- 37) tołtohilká st-ílli
COUGHING instr-DYING

/tołtohilká stílli/

'whooping cough'
- 38) anáłko:fó:ka st-on-a-holcifó⁸
WHEN:ONE:IS:NOT:MARRIED instr-loc-gen:loc-NAME

/anáłko:fó:ka stonaholcifó/

'maiden name'
- 39) nas-incá:ka s-ho-cobacilká
something-WRITTEN instr-distr-MAKING:BIG

/nasincá:ka shocobacilká/

'magnifying glass'
- 40) lawísta-si st-ilhicá
SMALL(pl)-dim instr-SEEING

/lawístasi stilhicá/

'microscope'
- 41) hopá:ki mast-ilhicá
BEING:FAR full-SEEING

/hopá:ki mastilhicá/

'telescope'

The final seven examples show compound nouns with more than two members. Generally, but not always (as in examples 45 and 46), the final element has semantic primacy in the compound.

- 42) á:ti hó:pa im-í:sa
PERSON SICK 3poss-HOUSE

/atho:pimí:sa/

'hospital'

- 43) tayyí ká,h,no im-ná:ni
WOMAN GOOD,h:grade, 3poss-HUSBAND

/tayyikáhno inná:ni/

'bittern (bird);' literally 'the best woman's husband'
- 44) fó:si sobá:ci í:bi
BIRD MOCKER KILLER

/fossoba:cí:bi/

'loggerhead shrike (bird)'
- 45) oconá akostinicilká mat-átka
MACHINE MIND afar-PLACED:IN(pl)

/oconá akostinicilká matátka/

'computer'
- 46) iptó im-ittó hátka
SQUIRREL 3poss-TREE WHITE

/iptimithatká/

'red maple tree'
- 47) it-naṭihilká í:sa cobá
go:&-SPEAKING HOUSE BIG

/itnaṭihilká í:sa cobá/

'court of law'
- 48) bakkí-fá holcifó tallí st-im-haccá:li
HEAD-at NAME STONE instr-3poss-STANDER

/bakkifaholcifótallistihaccá:li/⁹

'headstone'

Loan words

Koasati has taken a goodly number of loan nouns into itself over time. The majority of these are not recognized as such by speakers, and are unmarked. These will be discussed first. The marked loan nouns are almost exclusively taken from English and are incorporated with the suffix -ka when the syllable shape of the noun is incompatible with Koasati

syllabic structure. Additionally, there is an obsolete suffix that was used to incorporate personal and place names into the language, -a.

Unmarked loan nouns

The following table illustrates a sample of loans from a variety of languages.

TABLE 17.1

<u>Language of origin</u>	<u>Word</u>	<u>Koasati form</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
Cherokee	kanunu	hanonó	'bullfrog'
Yuchi	tsʔʌtha	sattá	'turtle'
Creek	cato kona•wa	tokná:wa	'money'
	aco•pa	acó:pa	'nail'
	owihla	owíhla	'flood'
Spanish (through Creek)	trigo	tilikó	'wheat'
	tocino	tosiná	'bacon'
	chivato	cowá:ta	'goat'
	naranja	yilahá	'orange fruit'
	vaca	wá:ka	'cow'
	gato	katí	'cat'
	soldado	solitá:wa	'soldier'
	arroz	aló:so	'rice'
Chitimacha ¹⁰	ho akúú na	waksiná	'cypress'
Atakapa ¹¹	otse hiwew	hiwá	'water moccasin'
French	capote	kapó:ta	'coat'
	cafe	kafí	'coffee'
	botonniere	botoyá	'button'
English	Virginia	waciná	'English'

Marked loan nouns

Loan words are marked with the suffix -ka when the syllable shape of the borrowed noun is incompatible with Koasati syllable structure, i.e. is monosyllabic or terminating in a consonant. If an English word is compatible with Koasati syllable structure, it is borrowed without any additional morphology. An example is the word 'motor' (the local dialect of English losing r at the end of a syllable), taken into Koasati as mó:ta. (In words such as this the syllable that is stressed in English is lengthened and accented in Koasati.)

The suffix -ka seems to have arisen from the interpretation of English personal names as being equivalent to Koasati vocatives of names derived from verbs ending in -ka; in such Koasati names, the element -ka is dropped in the vocative. From personal names, the use of -ka seems to have been extended to other nouns.

Frequently a word is borrowed ephemerally into Koasati from English by means of -ka incorporation, for example [šugadayabítizka], 'sugar diabetes,' more frequently campó:li iholpá. Such spur-of-the-moment borrowings cannot be considered as truly part of the corpus of the language. The following table lists borrowed words that can be so considered.

TABLE 17.2

<u>Language of origin</u>	<u>Word</u>	<u>Koasati form</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
French	catholique	katolíkka	'Catholic'
English	Jew	júwka	'Jew'
	tea	tíyka	'tea'
	pipe	páypka	'water pipe'
	magnet	maknítkka	'magnet'

truck	trúkka/cúkka	'truck'
pickup	pikápka/tikápka	'pickup truck'
motorcycle	motosíkiika	'motorcycle'

These loan words can take other derivational morphology; for example, by means of the diminutive, the noun trúkkasi, 'flat bed truck' can be derived from trúkka.

The following are examples of the use of such loan words in sentences.

- 49) s áem-ka-k ittihápka-fa ałí:ya-to-ŷ viyetnám-ka-fon
 PN-loan-subj WAR-in GO (sg)-III Past-phr:term PN-loan-all
 /sámkak ittihápkafa ałí:yaŷ viyetnámkafon/
 'Sam went to the war over in Vietnam.'
- 50) mikkocobá cökkó:li wažingdandizíy-ka-f-o-:li-ska-n
 PRESIDENT DWELLING WASHINGTON:DC-loan-in-be-deduc-conseq-sw
 má:f-on ołá-:ci-to-n
 OVER:THERE-obj:foc ARRIVE:THERE-3nonsg-III Past-sw
 /mikkocobá cökkó:li wažingdandizíykafo:liskan má:fon ołá:citon/¹²
 'Because, as one can surmise, the dwelling-place of the President was in Washington, D.C., they arrived over there.'

There is an obsolete suffix -a that was formerly used in the same way that -ka is at the present. It has been noted almost exclusively on personal and place names. It may be related to the nominalizing suffix -á that occurs on many verbal nouns. The following is a list of examples.¹³

<u>Name</u>	<u>Koasati form</u>
Auguste	okí:sa
Ben	bí:na
Lake Charles	lekca:la
Man	mí:na
Marksville	maksfí:la
Oakdale	okdé:la
Paul	pó:la

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER 17

¹ Compare Mikasuki ō:cī, 'son,' Choctaw o.sí.

² Compare Alabama foní, Mikasuki fonkī, 'man's sister.'

³ Compare Mikasuki ħakfī, Choctaw nakfís, 'woman's brother'

⁴ Note the distinction between apó:si, 'paternal aunt,' and aposí, 'grandma.'

⁵ Although there is no overt marking of possession, such constructions are possessive, with the third person of the ca-set of possessive prefixes. In this section the third person possessor will be marked with ∅-, a practice not followed elsewhere in this dissertation. The distinction between coyyí imatí and coyyí atí lies in the fact that the former views the pine cone as something separate from the tree; the latter views it as part of the tree, the use of the prefix for alienable (im-) and inalienable (∅-) possession marking the distinction.

⁶ The disappearance of vowel length in these compounds is the usual result of a :CC sequence. Because sequences of hCC and ?CC also reduce to CC, vowel length patterns like a glottal consonant, from which some unknown Proto-Muskogean consonant it may in many cases derive.

⁷ It is notable however that okipófká has cognates in Creek /owi·po·fki/ and Mikasuki òkìpófkī, 'whale.' Thus this form may be a reflex of a Proto-Muskogean form such as *okihapox^wka, rather than a new formation.

⁸ This example shows how powerful the process of nominal derivation is. The first element is a negated verb with a verbal suffix and the second is a verbal noun with two verbal prefixes.

⁹ This compound must be written together rather than as two or more elements, as the fourth element cross-references with its prefixes both

the second and the third elements, and the first element has its accent suppressed. A shorter form of this compound is in use, consisting of only the third and fourth elements, tallistjhaccá:li.

¹⁰This is actually a phrase meaning 'these are cypresses.' This etymology is uncertain. However there is no more phonetic alteration between ho akúsú na and waksiná than between naranja and yilahá.

¹¹This word is a phrase meaning 'taboo serpent,' with hiwew meaning 'taboo.' It is likely that the Koasati, with little familiarity with Atakapa, misunderstood hiwew as referring to a kind of serpent rather than as an adjective.

It is notable that in the native languages of Louisiana that there are several interjections almost identical to those of Koasati, such as Chitimacha ?e·hé, 'yes,' Koasati ihí (pronounced [ehé]), and Chitimacha ?i·hà, 'oh! (with disgust), Koasati hí:hà, 'damn!'

¹²The voicing, or rather lenition, of intervocalic English voiceless consonants is typical of English loanwords used by older speakers, and in fact occurs in their English speech. Because the most distinctive new features of English to Koasati speakers were the voiced consonants, and because they were most similar to the lenited consonants that occur intervocalically in rapid Koasati speech, the two were identified. Here the speaker lenites all word-internal consonants in /wašigtvndi'si/ to give it a more 'Englishy' sound to the Koasati ear.

¹³Note that most of these words are more or less adjusted to Koasati phonology. Earlier loan names from French show even more striking phonetic adjustments; French David [da'vi], Koasati lifí; Edouard [e'dwaɹ], itwó Alfred [al'fɹe], alfá; Noe [no'e], nowí, Edmond [ed'mɔ], itmó, Martin [maɹ'taɹ], maltí, Solomon, [solo'mɔ], salmá, Gilbert [gil'beɹ], kilbá, etc.

CHAPTER 18

MODIFIERS

Modifiers are a group of words, which in themselves are not distinguishable as a form class, that are used to modify the meaning of nouns and verbs. Therefore they are equivalent to, respectively, English adjectives and adverbs. Modifiers are all nominal, even though the majority are derived from verbs. In addition, noun modifiers are more basic than verb modifiers, the latter being frequently derived from the former by suffixation, e.g. palhíkko, 'slow,' palhíkkon, 'slowly.'

Noun modifiers ('adjectives')

Because noun modifiers are in general nominalized verbs, they follow the modified noun. This is because the adjectival phrase, if it may be so called, is a nominalized verb phrase, with the components in the order Subject, Object, Verb, the most unmarked word order in the language. Compare the following derived nominal phrases, the first a derived agentive noun phrase, the second a derived adjectival phrase.

Source	Derivation
á:t-on i:pa-Úhçi PERSON-obj:foc EAT-progress	á:ti-í:pa PERSON-EATER
/á:ton i:páhçi/	/a:tí:pa/
'He eats people.'	'cannibal'
í:sa-k hátka-Úhco-V HOUSE-subj BE:WHITE-habit-phr:term	í:sa hátka HOUSE ONE:WHICH:IS:WHITE
/í:sak hatkáhçq/	/í:sa hátka/
'The house is white.'	'a white house'

The following are examples of the use of noun modifiers.

- 1) ná:si acíhka aponahká:ci-t
SOMETHING THAT:WHICH:IS:PLANTED TWINE:AROUND-conn
/ná:si acíhka aponahká:cit/
'It twines around planted things, and...'
- 2) ohayyí óhya is-hí:c-o- \checkmark
SUMMER ALL 2ss(IA)-SEE-be-phr:term
/ohayyí óhya ishí:cɔ/
'You can see them all summer.'
- 3) hahcí coba-fá oṭá:-ci-n
RIVER BIG-in BE:THERE-3nonsg-sw
/hahci cobafá oṭá:cin/
'They arrived over there at a big river, and...'
- 4) hwíiww ká:ha-toho:-li-mpa-k á:ti fotfó:ka yámmit-t
(whistling sound) SAY-realis-deduc-hearsay-IVPast PERSON WHISTLER
BE:LIKE-conn
/'hwíiww," ká:hatoho:limpak á:ti fotfó:ka yámmit/
'He went, "hweew!" like a whistling human.'
- 5) ittó hiná:ba cobá nó:ta mók kom-apó-k cökkó:li-toho-k
TREE HARD BIG UNDER ALSO 1plposs-GRANDMOTHER-subj SIT(sg)-realis-
IVPast
/ittó hiná:ba cobá nó:ta mók komapók cökkó:tohok/
'Also, our grandmother dwelt back then under a big live oak tree.'
- 6) wá:ka-k isbakkí sapatlí:ci-to- \checkmark ittó faláкто-fa
COW-subj HEAD GET:STUCK-IIIIPast-phr:term TREE FORKED-in
/wá:kak isbakkí sapatlí:citɔ ittó faláктоfa/
'The cow got its head stuck in a forked tree.'
- 7) ittó hápka:-sáy-on st-itt-asíhka-t
TREE DEAD-art-obj:foc instr-loc-TIE-conn
/ittó hápka:sáyon stittasíhkat/
'They tie up the aforementioned dead trees in the middle with it, and...'

As shown in examples 3, 6 and 7, the case and article suffixes are

added to the final member of the noun phrase.

The modifier óhya, which means 'all' when following a noun, means 'whole' or 'entire' when preceding it, such as in a:píhci óhya, 'all their bodies;' óhya a:píhci, 'his whole body.'

Comparison of noun modifiers

Comparison of modifiers is not common except in conversation, and it is extremely rare to find them nominalized and used as subjects or objects of other verbs. When a comparative statement is formed, the modifier is used invariably in its verbal form, inflected with the auxiliary verb im-má:yan (Class IIA), 'to be more.' The modifier is connected to the auxiliary with the suffix -k if the statement is a simple comparative, with the suffix -t if the statement is superlative. Examples 8 and 9 show the construction of a comparative statement, and 10 and 11 show the construction of a superlative.

- 8) ca-pálki-k cim-má:ya-l-o-ŷ¹
 1sstats-BE:FAST-ss 2sdat-BE:MORE-1ss-be-phr:term
 /capálkik cimmá:yalɔ/
 'I am faster than you.'
- 9) ci-cáyha-k am-máy-c
 2sstats-BE:TALL-ss 1sdat-BE:MORE-2ss (IIA)
 /cicáyhak ammányc/
 'You are taller than I.'
- 10) ca-pálki-t im-má:ya-l-o-ŷ¹
 1sstats-BE:FAST-conn 3dat-BE:MORE-1ss-be-phr:term
 /capálkit immá:yalɔ/
 'I am fastest of all.'
- 11) acó:ba-t im-má:y
 BE:OLD-conn 3dat-BE:MORE
 /acó:bat immá:y/
 'it is oldest.'

Internal change and modifiers

In addition to the above method of forming comparatives, the h-grade of the verb root can be used to form a kind of comparative. Other internal changes are also used to form constructions similar to, but not the same as superlatives. The following are two examples of the use of the h-grade to form the comparative with the verb có:ban,² 'to be big.'

- 12) có,h,ba-n talibó:li-l
BE:BIG,h:grade,-sw MAKE-1ss

/cóhban talibó:lil/

'I am making it bigger.'

- 13) yá asá:la cobá mafá asá:la có,h,ba³
THIS BASKET BIG:ONE THAT:THERE BASKET BIG:ONE,h:grade,

/yá asá:la cobá, mafá asá:la cóhba/

'This basket is a big one, that one there is a bigger one.'

A superlative can be formed with the h-grade of the root in the same manner as the regular superlative (given in 10 and 11 above).

- 14) có,h,ba-t im-má:y
BE:BIG,h:grade,-conn 3dat-BE:MORE

/cóhbat immáy/

'It is biggest.'

The n-grade of modifier roots in combination with the h-grade is used to produce a form with the meaning, 'it is A as A things go.' This form has been noted so far only in conversation. The following are examples.

<u>Morphological breakdown</u>	<u>Phonemic form</u>	<u>Phonetic realization</u>	<u>Root</u>
hó,N,m,h,ma-k BE:RED,n:grade,,h:grade,-ss	/hóhmak/	[hóhəmmak]	hómman

'It is a red red thing; it is red as red things go.'

hó,N,h,mi-k /hóhmik/ [həhəmik] hó:min
BE:BITTER,n:grade,,h:grade,-ss

'It is a bitter, bitter thing; it is bitter as bitter things go.'

há,N,t,h,ka-k /hátthkak/ [hát.kak] hátkan
BE:WHITE,n:grade,,h:grade,-ss

'It is a white, white thing; it is white in comparison with other white things.'

The above forms are very similar in meaning to the intensive grade of the modifier, which produces a form with the meaning, 'very A.' This latter form is frequently accompanied by the intensive/diminutive suffix -:si-/-o:si-. The following are three examples.

Morphological breakdown	Phonemic form	Gloss
ha,ǂ:,tka-k BE:WHITE,intens,-ss	/hǂ:tkak/	'It is extremely white'
si,ǂ:,hno-:si-t BE:OLD,intens,-dim-Past	/sí:hno:sit/	'She was extremely old'
la,ǂ:,:na-:si-t BE:YELLOW-,intens,-dim-Past	/lá::na:sit/	'It was extremely yellow'

Finally, it is possible to combine the n-grade and the intensive to produce a form such as the following:

aco,N,,ǂ:,:ba-:si-t BE:OLD,n:grade,,intens,-dim-Past	/acǂ:,:ba:sit/	'It was completely old and worn out.'
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Syntax of noun modifiers

The use of noun modifiers is not limited to the constructions outlined above. Very frequently, when the semantics of an utterance would, in English, call for a noun modified by an adjective, Koasati has the modifier used verbally with the modified noun in a state of quasi-incorporation. Quasi-incorporation, which occurs only with noun modifiers, means that the modified noun occurs stripped of the subject/object markers that would be expected with the modifier in a verbal form, and the noun forms an integral

part of the verbal phrase. The following examples, all from texts, as quasi-incorporation has not been noted in simple conversation, illustrate this form of the use of noun modifiers.

- 15) hí:si ho-báski-t hasáyka-Űhci okhocákko-t
LEAF distr-BE:LONG-conn BE:MANY-progress BE:GREEN(pl) -conn

/hí:si hobáskit hasaykáhci okhocákkot/

'(The willow) is long-, green- and many-leafed.' English prefers
'The willow has many long green leaves.'
- 16) ilhicá lá:na-:si-Űhci lá:na-t stokhátka-má:mi-Űhci
APPEARANCE BE:BROWN-dim-progress BE:BROWN-conn BE:GRAY-dubit-progress

/ilhicá la:ná:sci lá:nat stokhátkamáhci/

'(The rabbit) is somewhat brown-appeared, or it is brown and grayish.' English prefers 'The rabbit has a brownish look, or it is a grayish-brown.'
- 17) hakcó ho-báski-t ittií ho-có:ba-t hací koboks-o:si-Űhci
EAR distr-BE:LONG-conn EYE distr-BE:BIG-conn TAIL BE:SHORT-dim-progress

/hakcó hobáskit ittií hocó:bat hací koboksósci/

'It is long-eared and big-eyed, and short-tailed.' English prefers
'It has long ears, big eyes and a short tail.'
- 18) hací báski-t ittií ho-pa-cáyha-t ibisá:ni báski-t innatí ho-báski-t
TAIL BE:LONG-conn EYE distr-loc-BE:TALL-conn NOSE BE:LONG-conn TOOTH
distr-BE:LONG

/hací báskit ittií hopacáyhat ibisá:ni báskit innatí báskit/

'(The alligator) is long-tailed, elevated-eyed, long-nosed, and long toothed.' English prefers 'The alligator has a long tail, elevated eyes, a long nose and long teeth.'

Demonstrative modifiers

These modifiers, in contrast to the great majority of all modifiers, are nouns. In addition they occur before the noun they modify. Their function is strictly demonstrative; they are otherwise unremarkable in form and function. Their only unusual feature is that they occur more often as independent words than as demonstratives. The following list is ordered in terms of increasing distance from the speaker.

<u>Modifier</u>	<u>Gloss as modifier</u>	<u>Gloss as noun</u>
yólli	'this very'	'this very one'
yaʔá	'this here'	'this one here'
yá	'this'	'this one'
yafá	'this away a bit'	'this one away a bit'
má	'that'	'that one'
maʔá	'that there'	'that one there'
mafá	'that over there'	'that one over there'
akkó	'that (out of sight)'	'that one (out of sight)'

These modifiers are not exclusive of each other, and one speaker will not necessarily use the same demonstrative as another when referring to an object at a middle distance. Example 13 contains two demonstratives, and the following are further examples.

- 19) má i:sa mí:t-on haccalí:ci-ɛ
 THAT HOUSE OTHER-obj:foc ERECT-Past

/má í:sa mí:ton haccalí:cit/

'He erected that other house.'

- 20) má:mi-n yá imaníhta-k ómmi-:k
 BE:THEN THIS YOUNG:PERSON-subj BE-subjunct

/má:min yá iminíhtak ómmi:k/

'Then, as far as these young people are concerned...'

Verb modifiers ('adverbs')

Verb modifiers, like noun modifiers, are basically verbal in nature, although there is a class of nominal verb modifiers. Those that are verbal are related to the verb they modify by means of the various connective and switch-reference suffixes. Those that are nouns have the focus-object suffix -on attached to relate them to the verb. However, there is also a small class of independent adverbial words. The feature that unites all

verb modifiers is their position before the verb in simple constructions. Those adverbs that can be used in comparative constructions follow the verb they modify.

Adverbs of a basic verbal nature

The most frequent method of adverbial modification is to relate the verb which acts as a modifier to the modified verb by means of the different-subject switch-reference marker -n. From example 21, it is clear how a switch of reference could come to mark an adverbial construction.

- 21) iyyí-k atákka-n wáyka-^hhci
FOOT-subj HANG(pl)-sw FLY(sg)-progress

/iyyík atákkán waykáhci/

'It flies with its legs hanging down,' literally, 'Its legs hang down and it flies.'

The following are further examples of this form of adverbial modification.

- 22) ca-conoská-k pálk-á:ho:si-n bókl
Isposs-HEART-subj BE:FAST-adv-sw BEAT

/caconoskák pálká:ho:sín bókl/

'My heart is beating very fast.'

- 23) akkámni-sk acíhba-n í:sa-Vhco-to-^y atlocá-k
BE:SO-conseq BE:DIFFICULT-sw DWELL(pl)-habit-III Past-phr:term BLACK:
PERSON-subj

/kámmisk, acíhban í:sáhcotq atlocák/

'Because this was so, the black people lived miserably.'

A related adverbial construction is formed with the addition of the diminutive/intensive suffix -o:si-/-:si- followed by -n. This construction differs from that in simple -n in that there is an implication of intensity or sufficiency of action in the case of the former. This construction is illustrated in the following examples.

- 24) koyá:pa-:si-n talibó:li-:p mó:lihalpí:s
BE:QUICK-dim-sw MAKE-subjunct WOULD:THAT

/koyá:pasin talibó:li:p mó:lihalpí:s/

'Would that he fix it right away!'
- 25) talásba-:si-n kóyli-li-t
BE:THIN-dim-sw CUT(pl)-lss-Past

/talásba:sin kóyililit/

'I cut it up thinly (as thinly as possible).'
- 26) pál-híkkó-:si-n am-mánk
BE:FAST-3neg(IIIA)-dim-sw lsdát-TELL(2sgimp)

/pálhíkkó:sin ammánk/

'Tell it to me more slowly!'

There is a third construction with -n, that uses the habitual suffix -Vhco-. This is used most frequently to derive adverbs of quantity and time, as in the following.

- 27) a-hasáyka-Vhco-n pa-cokkó:li-li-t
gen:loc-BE:MANY-habit-sw loc-SIT(sg)-lss-Past

/ahasáykáhcon pacokkó:lilit/

'I rode on it many times.'
- 28) anámpo-Vhco-n pahlí:ci-li-t
ONCE:AGAIN-habit-sw MAKE:WHISTLING:SOUND-lss-Past

/anampóhcon pahlí:cilit/

'I made it whistle several times.'

Another way to form adverbial constructions is to join the modifying verb to the verb to be modified with the connective suffix -t. This is done when the adverb can be considered as an action taking place at the same time as the action of the main verb, as in the following example.

- 29) fololohká:ci-t cokkó:li-n hí:ca-li-:p im-ca-maťátli-Vhco-k
BE:COILED:UP-conn SIT(sg)-sw SEE-lss-subjunct 3statobj-lsstats-BE:
AFRAID(sg)-habit-ss

/fololohká:cit cokkó:lin hí:cali:p incamaťátlíhcok/

'If I see one sitting coiled up, I am afraid of it.'

- 30) topátka-t hayóhki-palá,ŷ: ,mm-o-ŷ
RECEDE(sg) -conn BE:DEEP-adv, intens, -be-phr:term

/topátkat hayóhkipalǎ:mmq/

'Indeed, it receded really extremely deeply.'

There is also a construction using this suffix and the diminutive/intensive suffix. This also has a slight difference in meaning and usage.

The following is an example.

- 31) kihcó áttí-:fó:k-ok hima,ŷ:,t-ko-:si-t hó:ci-to-ŷ
MORTAR FILL(pl) -when-ss:foc BE:HEAVY, intens, -3neg(IIA) -dim-conn
POUND:FOOD-III Past-phr:term

/kihcó áttí: fók:kok himǎ:tko:sit hó:citq/

'When they poured it into the mortar, they pounded it really quite gently.'

It is also possible to relate the verb and its adverbial modifier with the same-subject switch-reference marker -k. This is done when the adverbial action can be applied as equally to the subject of the sentence as to the verb. This is not a very frequent construction; the following is an example.

- 32) wayóhka-k ho-pálki-palámmi-n
FLY(pl) -ss distr-BE:FAST-adv-sw

/wayóhkak hopálkipalámmi-n/

'They all fly very fast.'

Comparison of verb modifiers

Just like comparison of noun modifiers, comparison of verb modifiers is uncommon. The construction of a comparative adverbial phrase is identical to a comparative adjectival phrase; for a comparative, the adverbial word in verbal form suffixes a -k and is followed by the auxiliary verb immá:yan, for a superlative, it suffixes -t, and is followed by the same auxiliary.

Examples 33 through 35 show the comparative construction for adverbial words, and 36 shows the superlative construction.

- 33) kowasá:ti naí:ka-li-k ká:no-k im-má:y waciná
 KOASATI SPEAK-1ss-ss BE:GOOD-ss 3dat-BE:MORE ENGLISH
 /kowasá:ti naí:kalik ká:nok immá:y waciná/
 'I speak Koasati better than English.'
- 34) ahissí am-maḥakí:c-íkko-n ca-hó:pa-k im-má:ya-t aḥiyá
 MEDICINE 3dat-CHANGE-3neg(IIIB)-sw isstats-BE:SICK-ss 3dat-BE:MORE-
 conn GO(aor)
 /ahissí ammaḥakí:cíkkon cahó:pak immá:yat aḥiyá/
 'They did not change my medicine, and I became more ill.'
- 35) kom-mikkó-k cikí:li-t kom-tohnó:ci-:fó:k-on món
 1plposs-CHIEF-subj KEEP-conn 1pldat-SEND:OFF:FOR-when-sw:foc ALSO
 tokná:wa st-im-ako-yókpa-k im-má:ya-k
 MONEY instr-3statobj-1plstats-LOVE-ss 3dat-BE:MORE-ss
 /kommikkók cikí:lit kontohnó:ci:fó:kon món tokná:wa stimakoyókpak
 immá:yak/
 'When our chief took care of it and sent off for things for us, we
 also grew to love money more.'
- 36) atholló-k ómmi-:p stayókpa-t im-má:ya-n í:bi-toho-:li-mpa-ḥco-k
 WITCH-subj BE-subjunct LOVE-conn 3dat-BE:MORE-sw KILL-realis-deduc-
 hearsay-habit-IVPast
 /athollók ómmi:p stayókpak immá:yan í:bitoho:limpáhcok/
 'As for witches, it is said that they used to kill those they loved
 the most.'

Independent adverbial words

There is a small set of independent words that are used adverbially. Their origin is unclear, and certainly diverse; some such as (nak) sáhmi:p, 'sometimes,' is clearly derived from naksámmin, 'to be how,' while pí:la, 'just,' is almost certainly of nominal origin. Below is a list of some of the most prominent independent adverbial words.

ássok	'earlier; first'
ma:fó:kabí:kan	'at the same time'
mó:tik	'in vain' ⁴
naksáhmi:p sáhmi:p	'sometimes'
pí:la	'merely; just'

The following are examples of the use of these independent adverbs.

- 37) apo-sí-k ássok im-nakátta-n
GRANDMOTHER-dim-subj EARLIER 3dat-GO:OFF-sw
/aposík ássok innakátta-n/
'Grandmama passed away on him first.'
- 38) traévis-ka-k ássok staí:ya-to-ŷ
PN-loan-subj EARLIER TAKE(sg)-III Past-phr:term
/tráviskak ássok staí:yatq/
'Travis took it earlier.'
- 39) ma:fó:kabí:kan ilá:-ci-t
AT:THE:SAME:TIME ARRIVE-3nonsg-Past
/ma:fó:kabí:kan ilá:cit/
'They arrived at the same time.'
- 40) ma:fó:kabí:kan naí:ka-n há:lo-li-:s
AT:THE:SAME:TIME SPEAK-sw HEAR-1ss-I Past
/ma:fó:kabí:kan naí:kan há:loli:s/
'I heard them speaking at the same time.'
- 41) mó:tik hí:ca-sáy-ok palk-ók óm ká:ha-n fáyli-to-ŷ
IN:VAIN SEER-art-subj:foc TRAIN-subj:foc BE SAY-sw QUIT-III Past-phr:term
/mó:tik hí:casáyok palkók óm ká:han fáytq/
'In vain the coroner said no more than, "It was the train (that did it.)"'

- 42) akkám̄mi-n athóm̄m-o:to-k kám̄mi-n thát̄k-o:to-k kám̄mi-n
 BE:S0-sw INDIAN-art-subj BE:S0-sw WHITE:PERSON-art-subj BE:S0
 atloc-o:to-k mó:tik óhya-k kám̄mi-ná:n-o-ŷ
 BLACK:PERSON-art-subj IN:VAIN ALL-subj BE:S0-adv-be-phr:term
 im-cokpí caffá:ka-n ʔopóh-ko-ná:n-o-ŷ
 3poss-HUNDRED BE:ONE-sw PASS:THROUGH(pl) -3neg(IIA) -be-phr:term
 /akkám̄min athóm̄mo:tok, kám̄min thát̄ko:tok, kám̄min atlocó:tok, mó:tik
 óhyak kám̄miná:now. incokpí caffá:kan ʔopóhkoná:now/
 'Deceased Indians are like that, deceased white people are like that,
 deceased black people are like that; in vain all are like that all
 the time. They all the time do not reach their hundredth year.'
- 43) á:ti mí:ta ilayókci-t pí:la hí:ca-t ʔopóh-híli-ŷhco-k óm̄mi-ŷhco-k
 PERSON OTHER ACT:LIKE-conn JUST SEE-conn PASS:THROUGH-1pls(IIA) -
 habit-ss BE-habit-ss
 /á:ti mí:ta ilayókci-t pí:la hí:cat ʔopóhhílihco óm̄míhco/
 'We are acting like different people, we are just looking at them
 and passing on by.'
- 44) polícka-k ík-l-o-:fó:ka-p yá:li sobáy-ko-to-ŷ
 PN-subj 3neg(IA) -ARRIVE-neg:comp-when-new:topp HERE KNOW-3neg(IIA) -
 IIIPast-phr:term
 pí:la bítlit-ni-á ostá:ka-ŷhco-k óm̄
 JUST DANCE-conn NIGHT BE:FOUR-habit-ss BE
 /políckak íklo:fó:kap yá:li sobáykotow. pí:la bítlit ni-á
 osta:káhcok óm̄/
 'When Paul Leeds had not yet arrived, it was unknown here. They
 merely used to dance for four nights.'
- 45) naksáhmi:p atanátka-li-tik mán sáhmi:p í:bi-li-ŷhco-k
 SOMETIMES GO:AROUND-1ss-conseq AGAIN SOMETIMES KILL-1ss-habit-ss
 /naksáhmi:p atanátkalitik mán sáhmi:p í:bilíhcok/
 'Sometimes I go around them, again at other times I kill them.'

Postpositions

Postpositions are nouns which are used to specify location. Formally, they are not distinguishable from noun modifiers; only in their semantics are they distinct. These words are the semantic equivalents of English prepositions. However, unlike English, which derives nouns from its prepositions, in Koasati, on the whole, the postposition and the postpositional noun are identical. Thus the Koasati equivalent of the English words 'out of; outside,' is acá, 'in front of; front' is bikkó, etc.

The following table lists the major postpositions in the language, together with the corresponding postpositional noun, if different.

TABLE 18.1

Postposition	Gloss	Postpositional Noun	Gloss
abá	'high up in'	-	'up'
acá	'outside of'	-	'outside'
apatahá ⁵	'beside'	-	'alongside'
ayakhá	'near (to speaker)'	-	'nearby'
bikkó	'in front of'	-	'front'
fí:na	'beyond'	(not attested)	-
hokkí:taha ⁵	'in the middle of'	hokkí:ta	'half'
hotahá	'amid'	-	'middle'
ilo:tałá	'on this side of'	-	'this side'
ittaltá:la	'between'	altá:la	'in-between location'
ittintałá	'on both sides of'	-	'both sides'
kołá tałá	'on the far side of'	-	'far side'
nó:ta	'under'	-	'underside'
obá:li	'behind'	-	'back'
olhá:si	'near (to hearer or some-thing at a distance)'	(not attested)	-

oḥá	'down to'	(not attested)	-
pá:na	'on top of'	-	'top side'
pilaha ⁵	'towards, from, at'	-	'away'
taḥá	'on the other side of'	-	'side'
waylí	'as far as'	-	'border'

Certain words in this table occur more often in other functions than as postpositions. For example, abá is more used as a noun meaning 'up,' or with accusative inflection, abón, as a verb modifier 'upwards.'

When the semantics of an utterance call for a pronoun followed by a postposition, the postposition is inflected with the ca-set of possessive pronoun prefixes. Note below the inflection of obá:li, 'behind.'

ac-obá:li	'behind me'
aci-bá:li	'behind you (sg)'
∅-obá:li	'behind her/him/it/them'
ako-bá:li	'behind us'
ahaci-bá:li	'behind you (pl)'

The following are examples of the use of various postpositions.

- 46) im-kopí mók im-ná:ho-ṽ ittó abá
 3poss-NEST ALSO 3dat-EXIST-phr:term TREE HIGH:UP:IN
 /inkopí mók inná:hq itto abá/
 'It also has its nest high up in a tree.'
- 47) im-kopí talibó:li-ṽhci okí ac-ón okḥaspi-fá
 3poss-NEST MAKE-progress WATER OUT:OF-obj:foc SWAMP-in
 /inkopí talibo:líhci okí acón okḥaspifá/
 'It makes its nest out of the water in the swamp.'
- 48) okí hátká apatahá okhoḥka-ṽhci
 WATER WHITE ALONG BE:WAVES:OF:SEA-progress
 /okí hátká apatahá okhoḥkáhci/
 'There are waves along the shores of the sea.'

- 49) talbó:ni apatahá im-íkso-ŷ ó:la-k
 PN ALONG 3dat-NOT:EXIST-phr:term TOWN-subj
 /talbó:ni apatahá imíksq ó:lak/
 'They did not have a town on the Calcasieu River.'
- 50) am-í:sa ayakhá-p fó:si sobá:ci-k hasáyka-ŷhco-k í:sa-ŷhci
 1sposs-HOUSE NEAR-new:topic BIRD MOCKER-subj BE:MANY-habit-ss
 dwell (pl)-pr gress
 /amí:sa ayakháp fó:si sobá:cik hasaykáhco i:sáhci/
 'Near my house there are many mockingbirds living.'
- 51) athómma-k í:s-o-ŷ maksfí:la ayakhá
 INDIAN-subj DWELL (pl)-be-phr:term PN NEAR
 /athómmak í:sq maksfí:la ayakhá/
 'There are Indians dwelling near Marksville.'
- 52) okí hokkí:taha piḷa-k o:-cokkó:l
 WATER IN:THE:MIDDLE:OF BOAT-subj loc-SIT(sg)
 /okí hokkí:taha piḷák o:cokkó:l/
 'The boat is sitting in the middle of the water.'
- 53) coyyí nó:ta coyyí afakco-fá í:sa-t yomáhli-ŷhco-k ómm-o-ŷ haciciniká-k
 PINE UNDER PINE SKIN-in DWELL (pl)-conn GO:ABOUT (pl)-habit-ss BE-
 be-phr:term SCORPION-subj
 /coyyí nó:ta coyyí afakcofá í:sat yomahlíhcómmq hacicinikák/
 'Under pine trees, in pine bark it seems that scorpions dwell and
 go about.'
- 54) hahci-fa laphá nó:ta im-í:sa talibó:li-t cokhalí:ka-t achalí:ka-t
 RIVER-in BANK UNDER 3poss-HOUSE MAKE-conn ENTER (sg)-conn EXIT (sg)-conn
 á:ta-ŷhci
 DWELL (sg)-progress
 /hahcifá laphá nó:ta imí:sa talibó:lit cokhalí:kat achalí:kat a:táhci/
 'At a river, underneath a bank it makes its den, and continues to
 enter in and go out.'

- 55) má:mi-n am-tá:ta má:ʔ-ok í:sa obá:l-on okhicasi-fá mat-cofótli-toho-k
 BE:THEN-sw 1sposs-FATHER ALONE-subj:foc HOUSE-BEHIND-obj:foc WINDOW-
 in afar-JUMP-realis-ss
 /má:min antá:ta má:ʔok í:sa obá:lɔn okhicasifá matcofótli-tohok/
 'And then, my father alone jumped out of the window in back of the
 house.'
- 56) cass-ón on-a-í:pa-l cass-apihčí oʔá-n
 CORN-obj:foc loc-gen:loc-EAT-1ss CORN-STEM DOWN:TO-obj
 /cassón oná:paɪ cassapihčí oʔán/
 'I am eating on the corn down to the cob.'
- 57) ló:ca-t atabí pá:na hátka-t pa-ballá:ka-t pa-hátka-t hací oʔá
 BE:BLACK-conn BACK ON BE:WHITE-conn loc-LIE(sg)-conn loc-BE:WHITE-
 conn TAIL DOWN:TO
 /ló:cat atabí pá:na hátkat paballá:kat pahátkat hací oʔá/
 'It is black, and white lies upon its back; there is white on its
 back down to its tail.'
- 58) tanihká-k biloksí-k s-tóklo-k í:s-o-ʏ falammí pilah-ón
 TUNICA-subj BILOXI-subj instr-BE:TWO-conn DWELL(pl)-be-phr:term
 NORTH TOWARDS-obj:foc
 /tanihkák biloksík stóklok í:sɔ falammí pilahón/
 'The Tunica and Biloxi dwell together: towards the north.'
- 59) niwalincí pilah-ón ónti-li-ʋhci
 PN TOWARDS-obj:foc COME(sg)-1ss-progress
 /niwalincí pilahón óntilíhci/
 'I am coming from New Orleans.'
- 60) aksalí i,h,s-ok s-bakóhli-t saykí pilah-ón
 KNIFE TAKE(sg),h:grade,-ss:foc instr-THROW-Past VULTURE TOWARDS
 /aksalí íhsok sbakóhli-t saykí pilahón/
 'Snatching up a knife, he threw it overhand at Vulture.'
- 61) mó:toho-n thátka-k okí taʔá ilmá:ka-k
 BE:THEN-sw WHITE:PERSON-subj WATER OTHER:SIDE:OF COME(pl)-ss
 /mó:tohon thátkak okí taʔá ilmá:kak/
 'And then, the white people came from the other side of the sea...'

- 62) bayboló taá oh-wíhli-k niá:li st-í:la-k á:ta-toho-k
 PN OTHER:SIDE:OF go:&-LOOK:FOR-ss MORNING instr-ARRIVE-ss DWELL-
 realis-ss
 /bayboló taá ohwíhlik niá:li stí:lak á:tatohok/
 'He went and picked them up on the other side of Bayou Blue and
 kept on bringing them in the morning.'
- 63) má:mi-n ifonó:si-p hahcí tał-ón ittacakkí s-cokkó:li-ŷhco-k
 BE:THEN-sw MAN'S:SISTER-new:top RIVER OTHER:SIDE:OF SAME:SEX:SIBLING
 instr-SIT(sg)-habit-ss
 ómni-n má:f-on ałí:ya-to-n
 BE-sw OVER:THERE-obj:foc GO(sg)-III Past-sw
 /má:min ifonó:sip, hahcí tałón ittacakkí scokkó:líhcómmin, má:fon
 ałí:yaton/
 'And then, his sister, who was dwelling with her younger sister on
 the other side of the bayou, went over there.'
- 64) kowí pokkó:l-o-ŷ basí:la waylí-p
 MILE BE:TEN-be;phr:term PN AS:FAR:AS
 /kowí pokkó:lq basí:la waylíp/
 'It is ten miles to Basile.'

The diminutive suffix can be used on postpositions. It gives an in-
 tensive meaning to the postposition, as in the following example.

- 65) sáhmi:p okí pá:na-si ittó insá:wa-k mast-o:-wáyka-fa
 SOMETIMES WATER OVER-dim TREE BRANCH-subj full-loc-FLY-in
 pa-cokkó:li-toho-k naksáhka-t
 loc-SIT(sg)-realis-ss MAKE:NOISE-conn
 /sáhmi:p okí pá:nasi ittó insá:wak masto:wáykafa pacokkó:lito
 hok naksáhkat/
 'Sometimes, it perches and calls out right over the water, where
 the tree branches are spread out over the water.'

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER 18

¹The emphatic/copular suffix -o- is here required because the statements are assertions that have not been put to the test; if they have been tested and found true, the suffix is not used.

²co:ban, 'to be big,' acts somewhat peculiarly. It frequently does not show the vowel length when in nominal compounds, to remain distinct from the apocopated form of aco:ban, 'to be old,' which can occur in the same environment, e.g. iscoba, 'big house; church;' isco:ba, 'old house.' This verb is of Class IIC; the negative form is co,ki,:b-o.

³Note the deletion of the copula. This is the most unmarked way of expressing equation in Koasati.

⁴The English rendering 'in vain' for mo:tik is an unhappy compromise between the involved circumlocutions produced by speakers to explain it and its obvious unitary meaning. Mo:tik is used when some facet of the action of a sentence is perceived as being wrong, faulty, or lacking in some necessary quality. The use of an affirmative or negative verb seems not to affect the meaning of a sentence with mo:tik. The use of this adverb clearly needs further study.

⁵These postpositions ending in the segment -ha are phonologically archaic. The postposition apataha is derived from Proto-Muskogean *apataha, 'beside' (Choctaw apata), and pilahá is from PM *pilaha, 'towards,' (Choctaw pilah). The reasons for the preservation of this element, usually lost in Koasati, are not clear at present.

CHAPTER 19
INTERJECTIONS

Interjections form an anomalous group of words. As a class they have aberrant phonology, having five vowels (a, e, i, o, u), with apparent contrasting length in final position,¹ an additional voiced stop, g, an additional fricative, x, and an additional tonal contrast, the falling (^). The following examples show minimal and near-minimal pairs for these contrasts.

- | | | |
|----|------|----------------------------------|
| 1) | hehé | 'giggling sound' |
| | hé: | 'go on!' (cry of encouragement)' |
| | xé | 'bad dog!' |
| 2) | húy | 'yick!' |
| | hóy | 'it is dripping' |
| 3) | gá | 'cry of surprise, used b men' |
| | ká:h | 'he says it' |

Certain interjections are clearly derived from verbs, others have no clear etymology. They are unlike nouns in that interjections can terminate in a consonant; they are also unlike verbs in that they can terminate in a vowel, indicating that the verbal phrase terminal markers are not applied to them as a class. From this evidence, it seems that interjections form a third word class, that of particles.²

Interjections can consist of single word utterances, or have a number of words, the meanings of which may not have direct relevance to the meaning of the whole phrase. The following obsolete interjectional phrase is an example.

- 1) hiná:p má-p mók alpí:sa-Ű:mo-Űhco-k
 NOW THAT-new:top ALSO BE:SUFFICIENT-adv-habit-ss

/hiná:p máp mók alpí:sá:móhcok/

'Oh my heavenly days!'³

As a general rule, however, an interjection consists only of a one-word element. In the following list of recorded interjections, following the gloss will be listed any word that seems related to the interjection.

<u>Interjection</u>	<u>Gloss</u>	<u>Related Word</u>
ákák	'cry of great blue heron'	
akkánkotik	'it is not O.K.'	akkámmín 'to be so'
alí:la:mɔ	'thank you;' 'you're welcome'	
alí:la:sɔ	'good enough!'	
alí:lɔ	'good indeed!'	
ǎ:lo	'hello!'	(from English)
amimá:m	'so what!'	
ày	'O.K.'	
áy	'ouch!'	
áyayáy	'OUCH!'	
bosó	'hello!' (said while shaking hands)	(from French <u>bonjour</u>)
é	'yes'	
ehó	'aha!' (flash of recognition)	
há	'ah!'	
hǎ:lo	'hello!'	(from English)
háv	'all right!'	
háy	'hello!'	(from English?)
hé:	'go on!' (cry of encouragement)	
hehé	'giggling sound; hee hee!'	
himá:kɔ	'wait a minute!'	himá:kan 'to be first'

hiná:p	'lo!' 'now!'	
hiná:p máp mók	'my goodness!'	
hít (var. híč ⁴)	'now!'	
híhà	'damn!'	
hó	'hey there!' (calling to someone)	
hò	'O.K.'	
húy	'yick!' (displeased surprise)	
jhí	'all right!'	
íksotq stímmáhm	'it's better than nothing!'	íksq 'it does not exist'
ínkq	'no'	
ínko:š (var. ko:š ⁴)	'no'	
ínkóhc	'it's not like that!'	
ínkóhci	'not so!'	
ínkomá:m	'perhaps not'	
kám	'just so'	akkámmin 'to be so'
kamawí	'is that what you think?' (asking for assent)	
ká:no:mo	'very good!'	ká:non 'to be good'
kappá:l	'shut up!'	kappá:lin 'to be quiet'
káxf káxf	'sound of fox barking' ⁵	káfkan 'to bark, of foxes'
kokokó:kq	'cock-a-doodle doo!'	
máh	'see!' 'look!'	
mahtakí:lo:s	'at last!'	
mámmítik	'O.K.' (said to agree with someone's statement)	
mó ⁶	'enough!'	
moliló	'all right!'	
mó:ling	'in spite of everything we have it!'	
mó:tik (v. mó:tikš ⁴)	'O.K.' (no longer in use)	

námnám	'yum yum!'	
ná:si inlá:híkkq	'nonsense!'	7
ò	'ah' (without comprehension)	
ó?o	'oh-oh!'	(from English)
púf	'ugh!' (exclamation of disgust)	
sá:laklaklak	'cry of the wild goose'	salaklá 'wild goose'
sá:likliklik	'cry of the sparrowhawk'	saliklí 'sparrowhawk'
stacayókp	'thank you;' 'you're welcome'	stayókpan 'be happy with'
stimmáhm íksotq	'it's better than nothing!'	íksq 'not to exist'
tǎ	'thank you'	
tà	'thanks' (depreciating)	
tów? tów?	'bang! bang!'	tokóhkan 'to explode'
ǔ:	'mm!' (sound of pleasure)	
wóx wóx	'bow-wow!'	wohwóhkan 'to bark'
wú	'eek!' (embarrassed surprise)	
xé	'bad dog!'	
?lá [ʔəlá]	'harrumph!' (moral disgust)	

The use of the various expressions for 'thank you' and 'you're welcome' is predicated on which term is used first. If ta is said, then one can reply with alí:la:mq or acayókp. If alí:la:mq is used first, then the response is acayókp. Or if acayókp is used first, then the response is alí:lamq. Use of hó or háw is a less formal way of saying 'you're welcome.'

The following are some examples of the use of interjections.

- 2) ?lá tokná:wa im-sokcá mat-im-áttí-k óm
HARRUMPH MONEY 3poss-POCKET afar-3dat-FILL(pl)-ss BE

/?lá. tokná:wa jsokcá matimáttík óm/

'Harrumph! He is filling up his own money bags!'

- 3) paló. ehó. má:ʔ-on cim-man,h,k-o-to-ʔ
FLYING:SQUIRREL AHA! ONLY-obj:foc 2sdat-TELL;h:grade,-be-III Past-
phr:term
/paló. ehó! má:ʔon cimmáhkotq/
'Flying squirrels. Aha! She only just told you about them.'
- 4) A: itt-ó:to-k ibisná:l-ok hiʔí:li-t B: ày. im-mánka-li-t
TREE-art-SUBJ BY:SELF-subj:foc IGNITE-Past YES 3dat-TELL-Iss-Past
A: /ittó:tok ibisná:l-ok hiʔí:lit/ B: /ày. immánkalit/
A: 'The trees at that time caught fire of themselves.' B: 'Yeah. I told them so.'
- 5) máh. haci-kámmi-lah-o-hónka-:si-n
SEE! 2plobj-BE:SO-irrealis-be-adv-dim-sw LO!
/máh! hacikámmilahohónka:sin/
'See! That is completely and utterly what will happen to you all!'
- 6) máh. hiná:p. falánk-áhi-má:m
SEE! LO! AWAKEN(sg)-intent-dubit
/máh! hiná:p! falánkáhimá:m/
'Look! Lo! He is getting ready to awaken!'
- 7) óʔo. am-akotám
OH-OH 1sdat-FALL:DOWN
/óʔo amakotám/
'Oh-oh, it fell down on me.'
- 8) A: na,ʔʔ,si. B: bítka sto:tamátka. A: ò. kámm-o:si-n
WHAT,Q, DANCE PASSING:BY OH BE:SO-dim-sw
s-cim-anó,ʔʔ,ka. B: ínko. ná:ho-k onàm.
instr-2sdat-FINISH(sg)(intr) NO. EXIST-ss BE:STILL
A: /náʔsí/ B: /bítka sto:tamatka/ A: /o. kámmo:sin scimanóʔká/
B: /ínko. ná:hok onàm/
A: 'What is it?' B: 'The Passing-in-both-directions dance.'
A: 'Oh (not comprehending). Does that finish them up with you?'
B: 'No. There is still another.'

Child language

The topic of child language is one which has never received any attention in Muskogean studies. In Koasati there is a small but distinctive set of forms used by children. These are here classified with interjections because they are one word utterances that do not follow usual rules for classification into nouns or verbs. Although I had little opportunity of observing the speech of very young children, it seems that these particular children's forms are most frequent when they are under the age of five or six, and are gradually replaced by adult forms, so that by the age of ten or eleven children's forms are sporadically used, and they are no longer used once children enter their teens.

The following list illustrates the most notable children's forms. This listing has to be considered minimal; almost certainly there are other forms that I did not have the opportunity to record.

<u>Children's form</u>	<u>Gloss</u>	<u>Adult form</u>
bómbom	'car'	mobí:la
cá	'look at it!'	hí:c
cicí	'penis; urine'	ikci; holiswá
cocó	'vagina'	ikcolí
ká	'crow'	lakcá
kákkak	'watermelon'	talakcí
kó:ko	'maternal aunt'	ikó:si/iskó:si
mí:mi	'milk'	pisí
námna	'sweet, good to eat'	campó:li
nánnała	'I want to sleep'	no:cilǫ
nicó	'meat'	nipó
oká	'water; drink'	okí; ískon

pá:pa	'bread'	tabáhka
pí:s	'I want to nurse'	pí:silá
wá:wa	'feces; to defecate'	laykí, hoppó:lan
wawáw	'train'	palkí
wó:wo	'grandfather'	awó

The regular adult forms for mother and father, má:ma and tá:ta seem to be children's forms in origin. Other terms for 'mother' are remembered these are iskí, which is no longer used, and picí, which is still used by some older persons. There is no other term for 'father' recorded, but from comparative evidence, it should have been *itkí.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER 19

¹This may be spurious. The interjection hé:, for example, may well have the underlying form /héy/. When the vowel i comes together with y the resulting pronunciation is [i:]; the same may be true for e and y.

²There are other particles which seem to serve discourse functions, such as má, máp, món and mók. These are discussed in Chapter 21.

³This is a good example of the difficulty of translating from Koasati to English. The majority of the glosses for interjections listed were derived from the observation of the context in which the Koasati interjection is used, and the English interjection which would be used in the same context was supplied as the gloss.

⁴The variant forms for these interjections are due to the presence of the obsolete 'male' phrase terminal marker -š. This indicates that these interjections, at least, are verbal in origin.

⁵Even though the verb káfkan would appear to be derived from the onomopoeitic animal call, it in reality has a clear PM etymology, from *kax^wka.

⁶Because Koasati speakers frequently use Koasati interjections in their English (for example, a woman said, contemplating the pounding of smilax root to make bread, "Púf! Hard work, look like!"), they frequently quote this interjection as being misinterpreted by native English speakers as being the word 'more' (this word being pronounced locally as ['mo:]).

⁷This is a complete phrase meaning, 'It is something of no value.'

⁸Speaker B, a very young woman interpreting for her aged grandmother, Speaker A, did not understand the words bítka sto:tamátka, and thought she had said kámno:sin stamanó:kah, 'I am finished with it.'

CHAPTER 20
SYNTAX AND SEMANTICS

Syntax

The syntax of a language is usually the most complex topic that a grammar has to cover, and such is true of Koasati. Another complete dissertation could be written on syntactic usages alone, so here the bare minimum of syntactic information will be given.

In the syntax part of this chapter, the following topics will appear: word order and word order variation, gapping, switch reference marking, verbal conjunction, conjunctive and disjunctive words, and sentence particles. These topics cover operations within a phrase or sentence, those that link sentences together, and those that operate on the discourse level.

Word Order

The basic word order of a sentence is Subject Object Verb (SOV). If there is an indirect object and the object is unmarked, the order is Subject, Indirect Object, Verb (SIOV). If both a direct and indirect object are overtly present, the order is usually Subject, Object, Verb, Indirect Object (SOVIO), although SIOOV can occur (see example 17, Chapter 13). If there is a locative phrase (a noun in one of the locational cases, a noun followed by a preposition, a locational noun) it follows the verb (SOVLoc).

As mentioned, the above is the most unmarked word order in the language. Because Koasati employs nominal cases, a great freedom of word order is permitted, and this freedom is used for semantic effect. In the following discussion there will be a certain amount of overlap in the areas covered by the various sentence elements, as whenever one element, by alteration

of word order increases in prominence, there can be a corresponding change in the prominence of other elements in the sentence.

Because nouns have an elaborate system of suffixes which add various kinds of focus to them as subjects and objects (see Chapter 13 for a discussion of these elements), word order variation is used most frequently to give prominence to the verbal element of the sentence, as there is no morphological machinery available to give a corresponding focus to verbs as there is for nouns. Indeed, some of the more unusual word orders encountered seem to be the result of allowing verbs to take primacy over nouns for various reasons. In the following discussion, although Subjects and Objects are the focus of discussion, word order variation involving these elements can be as much a result of linguistic attention being focussed on the verb as a real change in prominence of a noun.

Subject

The most unmarked position for the sentence Subject is before the verb in intransitive sentences, as in example 1, and before the object and verb in transitive sentences, as in example 2.

- 1) á:t-ok tóklo-t ittim-ilakasá:mo-toho-:li-mpa-ŷhco-k
 PERSON-subj:foc BE:TWO-conn recip:dat-FEEL:HUBRIS-realis-deduc-
 hearsay-habit-IVPast

/á:tok tóklot ittimilakasá:motoho:limpáhco/

'The two beings felt overweening pride in regard to each other, so it is said.'

- 2) stilapíhli-k pokkó im-apí:li-to-ŷ
 LEADER-subj BALL 3dat-THROW(sg)-IIIIPast-phr:term

/stilapíhlik pokkó imapí:litø/

'The leader threw the ball to them underhand.'

It is not rare to find the Subject following the verb. This can be due to an increase in prominence of the verb, but it most often occurs

when the Subject should logically occur between two elements of a compound verbal phrase. Thus it is extremely common with verbs of speaking, where the end of quoted speech must be followed by the verb of speaking, whereupon the noun, if it must be expressed, is reduced to following the verb, as in examples 3 and 4 below.

- 3) anók ómmi-:p im-síhli-ǂhc ká:ha-toho-:li-mpa-ǂhco-k lókba-k
 I-subj BE-subjunct 3dat-TAKE:OFF(pl)-can SAY-realis-deduc-hearsay-habit-IVPast HEAT-subj
 /'anók ómmi:p ǂsihlíhc," ká:hatoho:limpáhcok lókbak/
 'As for me, I am the one who can take them off of him," said Heat.'
- 4) anók ómmi-l-á-ǂ ká:ha-toho-:li-mpa-ǂhco-k á:ti loká:cas-ok á:ya-toho-k
 I-subj BE-Iss-intent-phr:term SAY-realis-deduc-hearsay-habit-IVPast
 PERSON ORPHAN-subj:foe GO:ABOUT(sg)-realis-ss
 /'anók ómmilá," ká:hatoho:limpáhcok á:ti loká:casok á:yatohok/
 'I will be the one," said an orphaned man who was going about, so it is reported.'

When a Subject should logically occur between the elements of a verbal complex, it is moved to a location after the verbal complex in order to prevent a disjunction of its elements. The following is an example of such a construction.

- 5) papátka óhya-k alwáhka-t afalikcók atákka-n st-ó:ta-to-ǂ có:ba-k
 SADDLE ALL-subj BE:RUINED-conn REINS-subj HANG(pl)-sw instr-ARRIVE:
 THERE-IIIIPast-phr:term HORSE-subj
 /papátka óhyak alwáhkak afalikcók atákkan stó:taǂ có:bak/
 'The horse brought back the saddle all ruined and the reins hanging down.'

Because the conjoined phrases papátka óhyak alwáhkak and afalikcók atákkan are governed by the verb stó:taǂ, they must obligatorily occur directly before the verb. Thus the Subject, có:bak, which should precede stó:taǂ follows the verb instead.

Finally, the order Verb Object Subject (VOS) is also possible, though

rather rare. Again, as in example 5, this order seems to occur to prevent the breaking up of conjoined verbs. The following is an example.

- 6) caffá apásli-t holihtá:ci-t wilaplí:ci-t acíhli-t paykahatká
FIELD CLEAR-conn MAKE:FENCES-conn PLOW-conn PLANT-conn COTTON

atló:ca-:sáy-ok
BLACK:PERSON-art-subj:foc

/caffá apáslit holihtá:cit wilaplí:cit acíhlit paykahatká
atló:ca:sáyok/

'The aforementioned black people cleared fields, made fences, plowed and planted cotton.'

In this example, the verbal complex prevents the Object, paykahatká, from preceding the verb acíhlit, as it should logically do, as well as preventing the Subject from preceding the verb.

Object

The most unmarked position for the Object is after the Subject and before the verb, as in example 2. If the subject is cross-referenced on the verb and does not have a nominal realization, the Object can occur as the first element of the sentence, as in the following.

- 7) kapcó st-ó,n,ta-toho-:fó:k-ok
EARTHWORM instr-BE:THERE,1pls(1B),-realis-when-ss:foc

/kapcó stón̄tatoho:fó:k.../

'When we took earthworms there...'

The order with the Object following the verb is quite unusual. Subject Verb Object does occur, in contexts where there is greater emphasis on the verbal element, as in example 8.

- 8) thátka-ha-k im-∅-maṭahlí haciciniká
WHITE:PERSON-pl-subj 3statobj-3stats-FEAR(pl)(aor) SCORPION

/thátkahak immaṭahlí haciciniká/

'White people fear the scorpion.'

Subject Verb Object word order also tends to occur in word-for-word

translations from English.¹

Example 6 shows how the Object is moved if it comes between members of a verbal complex; with a nominal subject the order is Verb Object Subject. The order Verb Subject Object never seems to occur.

Indirect Object

Indirect Object is cross-referenced on the verb by the dative (am-) set of pronominal prefixes. With non-third person Indirect Objects there is almost never a nominal Indirect Object. With third person nominal Indirect Objects, the most unmarked order is for the Indirect Object to follow the verb, as in the following example.

- 9) á:t-ok if-ón ínka-t wílfrid-ka ocó:si
PERSON-subj:foc DOG-obj:foc GIVE-Past PN-1n SON

/á:tok ifón ínkat wílfridka ocó:si/

'Someone gave a dog to Wilfred's son.'

As with other sentence elements, if the position of the Indirect Object should logically come between the elements of a verbal complex, its position is shifted. The only examples so far noted shift the position to before the verb complex, and when there is an overt Direct Object, the Indirect Object precedes that, as in the following example.

- 10) cokfík a:ti:pacobá oholimpá im-anó:l-áhi-k bán-ko-y
RABBIT-subj ELEPHANT FOOD 3dat-DEVOUR(sg)-intent-ss WANT-3neg(IIA)-
phr:term

/cokfík a:ti:pacobá oholimpá imanó:lahik bánkq/

'Rabbit does not want to devour the food pertaining to Elephant.'²

Locative

Locative phrases are the only nominal phrases which change in word order really affects. Lacking most of the focusing elements of other nominal phrases, and occurring most unmarkedly at the end of a phrase,

any shift in word order changes the prominence of the locative phrase.

The following is an example of the most neutral position of the Locative.

- 11) có:ba-k-ok ḥóyka-to-n im-í:sa-fa
HORSE-art-subj:foc RETURN(sg)-III Past-sw 3poss-HOUSE-in

/có:bakok ḥóykaton imí:safa/

'The horse returned to their house.'

The locative phrase can be emphasized by being brought to the head of the clause. A locative phrase in any position but directly after the main verb is emphasized to some degree. The following are examples of phrase initial locatives.

- 12) paká:li caffá:ka ónya-hayó só:ka-t st-anó:li-Ṽhco-k
FLOWER ONE ALL-iness SUCK-conn instr-DEVOUR(sg)-habit-ss

/paká:li caffá:ka ohyahayó só:kat stanó:líhcok/

'Within all of one flower it sucks and eats it (nectar) up with it.'

- 13) naks-ó-:li sobáy-ko-sk iscoba-fá amá:ka-to-n
WHO-be-deduc(nom) KNOW(sg)-3neg(IA)-conseq CHURCH-in GO(pl)-III Past-sw

/naksó:li sobáykosk, iscobafá amá:katon/

'Because they did not know who it might be, to the church they went.'

There is a lesser degree of emphasis if the locative phrase appears before the verb, but after the subject of the sentence, as in examples 14 and 15.

- 14) afalo-k caffha-hayó ná:ho-:p kan-k-á:ho:si-má:m
MORNING:GLORY-subj FIELD-iness EXIST-subjunct BE:GOOD-3neg(IIA)-adv-dubit

/afalók caffhayó ná:ho:p, kánká:ho:simá:m/

'If in the fields there is morning glory, it seems to be very bad.'

- 15) am-má:m-o:to-k im-holihtá caká:wa-hayó acíhli-Ṽhco:li-k
1poss-MOTHER-art-subj 3poss-FENCE ROUGH-iness PLANT-custom-IV Past

/ammá:mo:tok ḥholihtá caká:wahayó acíhlíhco:lik/

'My late mother used, in her garden, to plant them.'

Double locatives occasionally occur. The locative elements can occur together at the end of the phrase, as in example 16, or separated, as in example 17.

- 16) *ibisná:l-ok hí:ca-to-n tàmmi-n hahc-osí ó:bi-føn ayakhá*
 3:PRONOUN:SELF-subj:foc SEE-IIIIPast-sw LIE-sw RIVER-dim HOLE-adess
 NEAR

/ibisná:l-ok hí:caton tàmmi-n hahcosí ó:bifon ayakha/

'She herself saw him lying over in the hollow of a stream nearby.'

- 17) *má:fa-p ołá:-ci-t anóska-to-V iscoba-fá*
 OVER:THERE-new:top ARRIVE:THERE-3nonsg-conn FINISH(pl) (intrans)-
 phr:term CHURCH-in

/má:fa-p ołá:ci-t anóskato iscobafá/

'Over there they finished arriving there at the church.'

Gapping

There are several kinds of gapping (deleting of otherwise obligatory elements) in the language, of varying degrees of frequency. Subject cross-reference markers are gapped if several verbs have the same subject. The gapping is done by deleting the subject cross-reference markers on all verbs but the final one. The preceding verbs, which have a third person indicative form, are joined with each other and the final verb with the connective suffix *-t*. The following is an example.

- 18) *má:f-on mat-il-a-haláhka-t tabátli-t ałí:ya-li-k*
 OVER:THERE-obj:foc afar-reflex-gen:loc-PULL-conn CRAWL-conn GO(sg)-
 lss-ss

/má:fon matilahaláhkat tabátlit ałí:yalik/

'Over there I went crawling and pulling myself along.'

A noun subject or object may also be gapped in complex constructions if there is no switching of reference from that noun to any other. The following is an example.

- 19) tokná:wa-lá:na-k ihó:ca-p ná:ho-ųhco-toho=katík
PRECIOUS:METAL-YELLOW-subj LONG:AGO-new:top EXIST-habit-realis=encl

himá:ya-p íkso-má:mi-ųhco-ų ilhicá sámmi-ųhco:li ca-sobáy-ko-ųhco-ų
NOW-new:top NOT:EXIST-dubit-habit-phr:term APPEARANCE BE:HOW-habit-
deduc(nom) 1sstats-KNOW(sg)-3neg(IIA)-habit-phr:term

/toknawlá:nak ihó:cap ná:hóhcotoho katík, himá:yap íksomáhco.
ilhicá sáhco:li casobaykóhcq/

'There used to be gold long ago, but it is the case that now it never exists. I do not even know what its appearance is like.'

Verb gapping is not a linguistic function of frequent occurrence, but it does have one notable use. When asking what someone is doing when one cannot see the action, the question word or the surmised object of the verb is immediately followed by the verb ómmin inflected for the proper person, as in examples 20 and 21.

- 20) ná:s-on o,ųųų,m-ci
WHAT-obj:foc BE,Q,-2ss(IIA)

/ná:son óncí/

'What are you...?'

- 21) ahiss-ón o,ųųų,m-ci
MEDICINE-obj:foc BE,Q,-2ss(IIA)

/ahissón óncí/

'Is it medicine that you are...?'

The answer is also frequently gapped in the same way, as in examples 22 and 23.

- 22) kaf-ón ómmi-l
COFFEE-obj:foc BE-1ss

/kafón ómmil/

'It is coffee that I am...'

- 23) nip-ón ómmi-l
MEAT-obj:foc BE-1ss

/nipón ómmil/

'it is meat that I am...'

Unlike the English equivalents for the last four examples, Koasati forms are complete sentences. However, if complete comprehension is desired, full forms of the answers can be substituted. Examples 24 and 25 are the full forms for examples 22 and 23.

- 24) káf-ón ísko-li-ŷhco-k ómmi-l
COFFEE-obj:foc DRINK-1ss-habit-ss BE-1ss

/kafón iskolíhcok ómmil/

'I am drinking coffee.'

- 25) nip-ón hókfi-li-ŷhco-k ómmi-l
MEAT-obj:foc PUT:IN(sg)-1ss-habit-ss BE-1ss

/nipon hókfilíhcok ómmil/

'I am putting meat into it.'

It seems likely that most verbs can be used in this gapping construction.

The question phrase (nak) sámmin ó?mí, and its variant (nak) sáhmin ó?mí 'how is it that it is?' i.e. 'why?' can undergo gapping by the deletion of the element ó?mí, the verb ómmi inflected for the Interrogative. In such gapped sentences there is no verbal marking of the interrogative, only the initial element of the complex, which is not basically interrogative in nature.

Switch reference marking

Switch reference marking has been discussed to some degree already in Chapter 4 in relation to the order in the verbal suffix string in which these suffixes occur. There are two basic switch reference suffixes, each with a focus form. The suffix -k (focus form -ok) indicates that the following verb has the same subject as the previous verb; the suffix -n (focus form -on) indicates that the subject of the following verb is different from the previous. Examples 26 and 27 show the use of the same-subject switch-reference marker -k.

- 26) wasahwóhó:ka-k atawohká:ci-hawa-:s
BARK:OFTEN:AFAR-ss ECHO-audit-IPast

/wasahwóhó:kak atawohká:cihawa:s/

'One can hear the echoing of the dog pack barking from afar.'
- 27) jáekson lán̄gli mikkó-k a^í:ya-toho-k ó^t-ko-:si-t oh-^tóyka-to-ŷ
PN CHIEF-subj GO(sg)-realis-ss ARRIVE:THERE-3neg(IIA)-
dim-conn go:&-RETURN-III Past-phr:term

/jáekson lán̄gli mikkók a^í:yatohok ó^tko:si^t oh^tóykatø/

'The chief, Jackson Langley, went off, completely failed to arrive there; he went and came back.'

The following two examples show the use of the different-subject switch-reference marker -n̄.

- 28) athóm̄ma-k yomáhl̄i-n̄ calakkí ho-ká:ha-Vhco-k
INDIAN-subj GO:ABOUT(pl)-sw CHEROKEE distr-SAY-habit-IVPast

/athóm̄mak yomáhl̄in calakkí hokáhco/

'They called the wandering Indians Cherokees.'
- 29) hasha:láhka tóklo-má:mi-:p tammi-Vhco-toho-n̄ apicíkba yám̄mi-n̄
HOUR BE:TWO-dubit-subjunct LIE-habit-realís-sw FEVER BE:LIKE-sw

a^í,N,:ya-n̄ oh-ká:no-t anó:ka-to-n̄
GO(sg),n:grade,-sw go:&-BE:GOOD-conn FINISH(sg)(intrans)-III Past-sw

/hasha:láhka tóklo^{má}:mi:p, tammi^hco^tohon, apicíkba yám̄min, a^í:yan
ohká:not anó:katon/

'He lay there for about two hours (it was like a fever), and it [the seizure] went gradually away until he was all well again.'

The following examples show the interactions of the two kinds of switch-reference markers in a discourse context.

- 30) yá:li mók icofí-k cökkó:li-n̄ kó:si-k cökkó:li-n̄
HERE ALSO MATERNAL:UNCLE-subj SIT(sg)-sw MATERNAL:AUNT-subj

í,h,l-ok ittim-mán̄ka-to-ŷ
ARRIVE:HERE,h:grade,-ss:foc recip:dat-TELL-III Past-phr:term

/yá:li mók icofík cökkó:lin kó:sik cökkó:lin íhlok ittimmán̄katø/

'Here also his uncle dwelt, and his aunt dwelt, and he came here and they spoke to each other.'

- 31) jéf-ka mók mikkó mikk-ó-li-ska-n wacin-ó:to-n
 PN-loan ALSO BE:CHIEF CHIEF-be-deduc-conseq-sw ENGLISH-art-obj
 sobáy-ko-ska-n im-iyatí:ka mók acákk-ok ańí:ya-to-y
 KNOW(sg)-3neg(IIA)-conseq-sw 3poss-INTERPRETER ALSO FOLLOW-ss:foc
 GO(sg)-III Past-phr:term
 /jéfka mók mikkó. mikkó:liskan, wacinó:ton sobáykoskan, imiyatí:ka
 mók acákkok ańí:yatq/
 'Jeff was also a chief. Because he was a chief, and because he did
 not know English at the time, his interpreter also went along with
 him.'
- 32) mó:toho-n st-ilá-ci-to-n yá:li iscoba-fá tislá:na óhya
 BE:THEN-sw instr-ARRIVE-3nonsg-III Past-sw HERE CHURCH-in CANVAS ALL
 st-abonó:li-t st-ilá-ci-n im-tiyápl-ok ikó:si caffá:ka-t
 instr-WRAP-conn instr-ARRIVE-3nonsg-sw 3dat-OPEN(sg)-ss:foc AUNT
 BE:ONE-conn
 tiyáp,h,l-ok isbakkí koyófka-t topp-ón cökkó:li-n
 OPEN(sg),h:grade,-ss:foc HEAD BE:CUT:OFF-conn ANOTHER:SPOT-obj:foc
 SIT(sg)-sw
 /mó:tohon stilá:citon yá:li iscobafá, tislá:na óhya stabonó:lit
 stilá:cín, intiyáplok, ikó:si caffá:kat tiyáphlok isbakkí koyófkat
 toppón cökkó:lin/
 'And then, they brought him here to the church, they wrapped him all
 up in a sheet and brought him, and one of his aunts opened it, and
 his head was cut off and lying in a different spot.'

Sometimes a verb in an independent sentence in conversation will have a switch-reference marker if there is some kind of direct relationship or change in topic from that of the previous speaker. The following is a sentence so marked.

- 33) kalifó:niya-fon hókti-ǂhco-li-y-on yilahá-k
 PN-all RIPEN-habit-deduc-conseq-sw:foc ORANGE-subj
 /kalifó:niyafon hoktíhco:liyon yilahák/
 'But over in California these oranges must have ripened!'

The importance of switch reference in Koasati can not be underestimated; examples of its use appear throughout this work. Within the scope of this dissertation, all the uses and functions of switch reference can not be

exemplified or discussed, but only the broad outlines of the system have been sketched. Further study can only help to fill in the details of this important syntactic system.

Relative Clause equivalents

Unlike many other languages of the world, which have special constructions and vocabulary to handle relative clauses, Koasati does not have any distinguishing features that mark certain clauses as being relative. However, it does have constructions that can be translated as relative (even though in this language's own terms they are not 'relative'), and these will be discussed in this section.

Very frequently, the Koasati equivalent of a relative clause is a participial phrase, and thus in its own terms a kind of noun phrase. A participial construction is frequently used if the noun to be 'relativized' is in a locative case. Examples 34 through 37 give examples of such clauses.

- 34) am-tá:ta-k tayyí hí:ca-:sáy-ok ci-halk-ók óm
 1poss-FATHER-subj WOMAN SEE-pres:part-subj:foc 2sposs-WIFE-subj:foc
 BE

/antá:tak tayyí hí:ca:sáyok cihalkók óm/

'The woman that my father saw is your wife.'

- 35) akkó nipó is-pa-:sáy-on libátli-li-t
 THAT MEAT 2ss(1A)-EAT-pres:part-obj:foc COOK-1ss-Past

/akkó nipó íspa:sáyon libátlilit/

'I cooked the meat that you ate.'

- 36) ó:la-fa ańí:ya-li-:sáy-ok hahcí apatah-ó-:li-ís
 TOWN-in GO(sg)-1ss-pres:part-subj:foc RIVER BESIDE-be-deduc-1Past

/ó:lafa ańí:yali:sáyok hahcí apatahó:li:s/

'The town to which I went is along a river.'

- 37) scó:pa-fa-:sáya-ÿ ná:s-on có:pa-li-:sáy-on ca-ilhó:si-toho-ÿ
 STORE-in-art-sent:funct WHAT-obj:foc BUY-1ss-pres:part-obj:foc
 1sstats-FORGET-realís-phr:term

/scó:pafa:sáyà ná:son có:pali:sáyon calhóstohq/

'Contrary to what one might have thought I forgot that which I had bought in the store.'

In addition, interrogative/indefinite pronouns can have a relative use.

In the language's own terms these are embedded questions. Two examples are given below; further examples may be found in Chapter 14.

- 38) naksofá-k holcifó-p má:l-o-:li ca-sobáy-ko-ÿ
 WHICH-subj NAME-new:top RIGHT-be-deduc(nom) 1sstats-KNOW(sg)-3neg
 (IIA)-phr:term

/naksofák holcifóp má:lo:li casobáykq/

'I do not know which name is correct.'

- 39) naksofón aí:ya-k sobáy-híkk-o-ÿ
 WHERE GO(sg)-ss BE:KNOWN-3neg(IIIA)-phr:term

/naksón aí:yak sobáyhíkkq/

'It is unknown where it goes.'

Other than the constructions outlined above, 'relative' clauses are constructed by means of conjoining phrases with a switch-reference marker on the 'subordinate' clause. Such clauses are, however, in the language's own terms not subordinate, but are independent sentences that are coordinated by means of the switch reference markers. The following are examples of 'relative' clauses which are constructed in this manner.

- 40) ifá-n ðiyápli-li-n yáhka-:s
 DOG-obj STEP:ON(sg)-1ss-sw WEEP-1past

/ifán ðiyáplilin yáhka:s/

'The dog that I stepped on yelped.'

- 41) cassí-k caffá-hayó lokkó:li-n hí:ca-l
 CORN-subj FIELD-iness STAND(pl)-sw SEE-1ss

/cassík caffayó lokkó:lin hí:cal/

'I see the corn that is standing in the field.'

- 42) ipłó-k itto-fá pa-cokkó:li-toho-n łá:hi-li-t
SQUIRREL-subj TREE-in loc-SIT(sg)-realis-sw SHOOT:&:HIT-Iss-Past

/ipłók ittofá pacokkó:li-tohon łá:hilit/

'I shot the squirrel that was sitting in the tree.'

It should be noted that in discourse relative clause equivalents are not common. It is interesting, in light of the importance placed on relative clause formation in studies of universal grammar, to know that there are languages in which relative clauses, distinct from any other kind of clausal formation, do not exist.

Verbal Conjunction

Verbs can be joined together in two ways, by means of the connective suffixes -t and -h, or by the switch reference marker -k. Leaving the suffix -h out of the discussion for the present, on account of its rarity, there is a distinction between the use of the suffix -t versus the switch reference marker -k. The connective suffix -t is used when the actions are considered to be taking place more or less simultaneously; the marker -k is used when the actions are considered to be taking place in a sequence. In the following example the three actions of running over, killing and squashing are considered to be more or less simultaneous, thus requiring the connective suffix -t.

- 43) kottí hí:ca-li-:fó:ka-p mobí:la-k pa-konótli-t í:bi-t łibósli-:s
FROG SEE-Iss-WHEN-new:top CAR-subj loc-ROLL-conn KILL-conn SQUASH
(sg)-conn

/kottí hí:cali:fó:kap, mobí:lak pakonótlit í:bit łibósli:s/

'As I was looking at the frog, a car rolled over it, killed and squashed it.'

In the following example the actions of looking for, popping and eating are considered to be taking place in a sequence.

- 44) sámmo:si-n ci-banna-:k oh-wíhl-ok tokohlí:c-ok ís-p-o-ŷ
 SOMETIMES-sw 1sstats-WANT-subjunct go:&-LOOK:FOR-ss:foc POP-ss:foc
 2ss(1A)-EAT-be-phr:term

/sámmo:sin cibanna:k, ohwíhlok tokohlí:cok íspq/

'Sometimes, if you want it, you can go and look for it, pop it, and eat it.'

The following example shows both -t and -k used together in a complex sentence. Note also the use of switch reference in its formation.

- 45) má:mo:si-n iskocí hí,h,ca-l-ok walí:ka-t í,h,la-l-ok
 THEREUPON-sw SMOKE SEE,h:grade,-1ss-ss:foc RUN(sg)-conn ARRIVE,h:
 grade-1ss-ss:foc

it-hí:ca-li-toho-n alo:s-acíhka-k atiní:ka-ŷhco-n ómni-toho-n
 come:&-SEE-1ss-realís-sw RICE-FIELD-subj BURN(sg)-habit-sw BE-realís-
 sw

/má:mo:sin, iskocí híhcalok, walí:kat íhlalok ithí:calitohon
 alo:sacíhkak atiní:káhcon ómmitohon/

'And then, upon seeing the smoke, and upon arriving here running,
 I came and saw that it was the case that the rice field was afire.'

At times even if the actions are occurring at the same time, the verbs can be joined with -k if the actions are considered not to have an intimate relation with one another, as in the following example.

- 46) ci-ttacakkí-k hákti-ŷhco-k tàmmi-:s híni apatahá
 2sposs-BROTHER-subj BE:DRUNK-habit-ss LIE-IPast ROAD BESIDE

/cittacakkík haktíhcok tàmmi:s híni apatahá/

'Your brother is lying drunk beside the road.'

In this example, even though the subject is both drunk and lying down, the actions are conceived of as having occurred in a sequence, becoming drunk and then lying down. Thus the switch-reference suffix -k is used rather than the connective suffix -t.

The connective suffix -h is of much less frequent occurrence. It seems to subordinate the meaning of the verb that follows it to that of the verb to which it is attached. Its most frequent use is in associa-

tion with the verb bànnan, 'to want;'; the complex has the idiomatic meaning of 'to try to.' The following are two examples of this construction.

- 47) nó:ra-k ʔabóslɪ-h bànnan-k
PN-subj PUT:OUT-conn WANT-ss

/nó:rak ʔabóslɪh bànnak/

'Nora tried to put it out, and...'

- 48) ʔóhli-t kocó:li-h bànnan-t cákli-h bànnan-t ʔóhli-t
CHASE-conn PINCH(pl)-conn WANT-conn CHOP-conn WANT-conn CHASE-conn

walilí:c-áhi-k bànnan-ʔhɔci
CHASE:OFF (sg)-intent-ss WANT-p:progress

/ʔóhliɪt kocó:lɪh bànnat cákliɪh bànnat ʔohliɪt walilɪ:cáhiɪk bannáhɔci/

'They chase one and try to strike one with their talons, they try to peck one, and they chase one and want to make one run off.'

Other certain examples of -h occur only with the verb ómmin, 'to be,' as in the following.

- 49) mí:ta-k ómmi-:k sobayá:-ko-t amá:ka-h ómmi-ʔhɔco-k
OTHER-subj BE-subjunct KNOW(pl)-3neg(IIA)-conn GO(pl)-conn BE-habit-ss

/mí:tak ómmi:k sobayá:kot amá:kah ómmíhɔco/

'As for others, they are continuing to go on not knowing things.'

Certain conjunctive ideas, such as 'but,' 'because,' and 'if' are handled by means of the verbal suffixes in the Consequence slot (see Chapter 4). On the other hand the idea of 'or' is most generally indicated by putting the verbs between which there is a choice together in apposition, as in the following.

- 50) ná:s-ok ó VʔV,mmi if-ók ó,VʔV,mmi kat-ók ó,VʔV,mmi
WHAT-subj:foc BE,Q, DOG-subj:foc BE,Q, CAT-subj:foc BE,Q,

/ná:sok óʔmí. ifók óʔmí katók óʔmí/

'What is it? Is it a dog or is it a cat?'

Under repeated questioning, however, speakers will produce a lexical item

with the meaning 'or,' ílkq. This word, probably the old verbal noun of the obsolete verb 'to be,' *ka, with the copular/emphatic suffix, is placed between the verb phrases offered as a choice. Examples 51 and 52 show the use of this item.

- 51) if-ók ó,ʋʋ,mmi ílkq kat-ók ó,ʋʋ,mmi
DOG-subj:foc BE,Q, OR CAT-subj:foc BE,Q,

/ifók óʋmí ílkq katók óʋmí/

'Is it a dog or is it a cat?'

- 52) wa:k-im-pis-on ci-bá,ʋʋ,nna ílkq campó:l-on ci-ba,ʋʋ,nna
COW-3poss-MILK-obj:foc 2sstats-WANT,Q, OR SUGAR-obj:foc 2sstats-WANT,Q,

cim-kafi-fá
2sposs-COFFEE-in

/wa:kimpisón cibáʋná ílkq campó:lon cibáʋná cinkafifá/

'Do you want milk or do you want sugar in your coffee?'

Because the word ílkq has not yet been noted to occur in natural speech, the conditions for its proper use remain uncertain. It does seem likely that it is used when the alternative offered is an afterthought, and the sequential connection between the two sentences would be unclear.

Nominal Conjunction

When two or more nouns serve as subjects, objects or locatives in a sentence, there are three ways of indicating their conjunction. One method is by simple apposition. This is most frequently used with locative phrases, and occasionally with objects. The following are examples.

- 53) olá:na-hayó kopíhka-hayó salátli-t á:ya-ʋhci
BRUSH-iness TRASH-iness SLIDE-conn GO:ABOUT (sg)-progress

/olanhayó kopihkahayó salátlit a:yáhci/

'Through the brush and through trash piles it slithers about.'

- 54) okłaspi-fa hahc-osí apatahá im-í:sa talibó:li-t í:sa-Źhci
SWAMP-in RIVER-dim ALONGSIDE 3poss-HOUSE MAKE-conn DWELL(pl)-progress

/okłaspifá hahcosí apatahá imí:sa talibó:lit i:sáhci/

'In swamps and alongside streams they continue to make their dens.'

- 55) ma:fó:k-on có:ba wá:ka st-acití:-híli-Źhco:li-k
BE:WHEN-sw:foc HORSE COW instr-TIE(sg)-1pls(IIA)-custom-IVPast

/ma:fó:kon, có:ba wá:ka stacití:hílihco:lik/

'When this was done, we used to tie horses and cows with it.'

The second method is to use the listing suffix -o:t. This is the method that is most frequently used, and the suffix is freely used with subjects, objects and locatives. For further discussion of this suffix see Chapter 13. The following examples show the various connective uses of the suffix -o:t.

- 56) holcifó iknó:co-k itto halókp-o:t coyy-ó:t tol-ó:t
NAME SLEEPLESS:ONES-subj TREE SHARP-list PINE-list LAUREL-list

tolacob-ó:t itto ikíll-o:t itto koybóhk-o:t cowahl-ók ómmi-Źhci
MAGNOLIA-list TREE DEATHLESS:ONE-list TREE STOLEN-list CEDAR-subj:
foc BE-progress

/holcifó iknó:cok ittohalókp-o:t coyyó:t toló:t tolacobó:t
ittoikíll-o:t tokoybóhko:t cowahlók ommíhci/

'The names of the ones that do not sleep [trees that do not lose their leaves in winter] are holly and pine, laurel and magnolia, wax myrtle, jasmine and cedar.'

- 57) łat-ó:t kott-ó:t sakc-ó:t łacó mók í:pa-Źhci
FISH-list FROG-list CRAWFISH-list ACORN ALSO EAT-progress

/łat-ó:t kott-ó:t sakc-ó:t łacó mók i:páhci/

'It eats fish, frogs and crawfish, and also acorns.'

- 58) hikahí-p okłaspi-f-ó:t hahci-f-ó:t ho-có:ba-Źhco-k óm
TUPELO-new:top SWAMP-in-list RIVER-in-list distr-GROW-habit-ss BE

/hikahíp okłaspifó:t hahcifó:t hoco:báhco:k óm/

'Tupelo trees habitually grow in swamps and in rivers.'

The third method of noun conjunction is by means of the reciprocal verb prefix itti-/ittim- or the linking verbs á:san, 'to be with' (frequently with the reciprocal prefix as ittá:san) and stóklon, 'to be together, the latter derived from the verb tóklon, 'to be two in number.'

Examples 59 and 60 show the use of the reciprocal prefix in noun conjunction. Note that the initial noun is in the nominative case, and the following noun in in the autonomous case.

- 59) éd-ka-k ví:r-o:to itt-anátti-ŷhco-toho-li:s
PN-loan-subj PN-art recip-MARRY-habit-realis-deduc-IPast

/édkak ví:ro:to ittanáttíhcotoho:li:s/

'Ed and Vera, who is now deceased, married each other, as one might have expected.'

- 60) alo:s-acíhko-ha-k alo:s-acíhli-ha itt-acokcaná:k-á:ho:s
RICE-NON:PLANTER-pl-subj RICE-PLANTER-pl recip-QUARREL-adv

/alo:sacíhkohak alo:sacíhliha ittacokcaná:ká:ho:s/

'Those who don't plant rice and those who plant rice really quarrel with each other.'

A number of verbs preferentially use the reciprocal prefix when two or more nouns serve as their subjects. Among these are naí:kan (ittinnaí:kan) 'to converse, acokcaná:kan/acokcánkan (ittacokcaná:kan/ittacokcánkan) 'to quarrel/quarrel frequently,' anáttiin (ittanáttiin) 'to marry,' fáylin (ittifáylin) 'to divorce,' and bíhlin (ittibíhlin) 'to copulate.' The latter verb, considered rather risqué in its reciprocal use, is considered quite obscene without the reciprocal prefix, using the usual object pronoun prefixes.

Examples 61-63 show the use of á:san (ittá:san) to join nouns. Note that 62-63, where the two nouns are not third person, the non-third person pronoun is unmarked, and the verb is inflected for the first or second person plural.

- 61) ca-coktaykí-k im-oklá itt-á:sa-k tótka-t
 1sposs-DAUGHTER-subj 3poss-FRIEND recip-BE:WITH-ss RUN(pl)-Past
 /cacoktáykík imoklá ittá:sak tótkat/
 'My daughter and her friend ran with each other.'
- 62) ca-coktaykí-k itt-á:s-híli-k tót-hílka-t
 1sposs-DAUGHTER-subj recip-BE:WITH-1pls(IIA)-ss RUN(pl)-1pls(IIIA)-
 Past
 /cacoktáykík ittáshílik tóthílkat/
 'My daughter and I ran with each other.'
- 63) ca-coktaykí-k itt-ás-háci-k tót-hásk-ó?lí
 1sposs-DAUGHTER-subj recip-BE:WITH-2pls(IIA)-conn RUN(pl)-2pls(IIIA)-
 Q
 /cacoktáykík ittáshácik totháskó?lí/
 'Are you and my daughter running together?'
- Finally, the verb stóklon, 'to be together' can be used to join noun phrases. Case marking on the noun phrases is optional, so the first noun phrase can be in the nominative case and the second in the autonomous, both noun phrases may be in the nominative, both may be in the autonomous, or both may be in a locative case. Example 64 illustrates the first instance, examples 65 and 66 illustrated the second, example 67 illustrates the third and example 68 illustrates the fourth instance.
- 64) nitá-k cokfí stóklo-k ittim-biní:li-Űhco-toho-n
 BEAR-subj RABBIT BE:TOGETHER-ss recip:dat-VISIT-habit-realís-sw
 /niták cokfí stóklok ittimbiní:líhcotohon/
 'Bear and Rabbit habitually visited each other.'
- 65) a:ti:pacobá-k cokfí-k stóklo-k itt-afánka-t
 ELEPHANT-subj RABBIT-subj BE:TOGETHER-ss recip-MEET-conn
 /a:ti:pacobák cokfík stóklok ittafánkat/
 'Elephant and Rabbit met each other, and...'

- 66) albamó-k kowasá:ti-k stóklo-k í:s-o-ŷ haso:tammí pilah-ón
ALABAMA-subj KOASATI-subj BE:TOGETHER DWELL(pl)-be-phr:term WEST
TOWARDS-obj:foc

/albamók kowasá:tik stóklok í:sq haso:tammí pilahón/

'The Alabama and Koasati together dwell towards the west.'
- 67) anámpo-:fó:k-on jef-ka daglas-ka stóklo-k áttá-t attá-:c-áhi-:fó:k-on
ONCE:AGAIN-when-sw:foc PN-loan PN-loan BE:TOGETHER-ss GO (sg/du)-conn
GO (sg/du)-3nonsg-intent-when-sw:foc

/anámpo:fó:kon, jéfka dáglaska stóklok áttat attá:cáhi:fó:kon/

'One more time, Jeff and Douglas went, and when the two of them were about to go...'
- 68) yá:li-p alo:s-acíhka-fa-p oktaspi-fá stóklo-k hasáyka-ŷhco-k í:sa-ŷhci
HERE-ner:top RICE-FIELD-in-new:top SWAMP-in BE:TOGETHER-ss BE:MANY-
habit-ss DWELL(pl)-progress

/yá:lip alo:sacíhkafap oktaspihá stóklok hasaykáhco i:sáhci/

'Here, in the rice fields and in the swamps, many of them live.'

The idea expressed by the English conjunction 'or' is generally left unexpressed in Koasati. When a choice between two nouns is given, they are offered in apposition to each other, as a general rule. The following are two examples of this construction.

- 69) naksofá cí-ba,ŷ?ŷ, nna takkolcobá yilahá
WHICH 2sstats-WNAT,Q, APPLE ORANGE

/naksofá cibá?ná, takkolcobá yilahá/

'Which do you want, an apple or an orange?'
- 70) á:t-osi ná,V?V,:si ná:n-osi tayy-osí
PERSON-dim BE:WHAT:KIND:OF,Q, MAN-dim WOMAN-dim

/á:tosi ná?sí, ná:nosi tayyosí/

'What kind of a baby is it, a boy or a girl?'

Just as when pressed for a lexical item meaning 'or' in verbal conjunction, speakers can produce an item meaning 'or' in nominal conjunction. This is the suffix -o:kop, which is suffixed to the first noun in the choice; the

second item obligatorily takes the focus form of the accusative case, -on.

The following are two examples.

- 71) if-ó:kop kat-ón ci-ba,ŷʷŷ,nna
DOG-or CAT-obj:foc 2sstats-WANT,Q,

/ifó:kop katón cibáʷná/

'Do you want a dog or a cat?'

- 72) yilah-ó:kop takkolcob-ón cínka-l-á-ŷ
ORANGE-or APPLE-obj:foc GIVE:T0:YÓU(sg)-lss-intent-phr:term

/yilahó:kop takkolcobón cínkaláŷ/

'I am going to give you either an orange or an apple.'

It should be noted that most speakers find this construction strained, and prefer to find other methods to express the same idea. Thus the following is a more natural form of example 71.

- 72) if-ón ci-ba,ŷʷŷ,nna kat-ón ci-ba,ŷʷŷ,nna
DOG-obj:foc 2sstats-WANT,Q, CAT-obj:foc 2sstats-WANT,Q,

/ifón cibáʷná katón cibáʷná/

'Do you want a dog or do you want a cat?'

Because the suffix -o:kop has never been noted to occur in unforced speech, the conditions for its proper use remain unknown.

Conjunctive words

There are a plethora of conjunctive words in the language. These words are used primarily in discourse, at the beginning of sentences. These words relate the actions of the previous sentence to the following sentence in terms of sequence, dependence and causality. Additionally, nearly all of them are marked with switch-reference markers indicating whether the following sentence has the same or a different subject than the previous sentence.

Although these words are numerous, there are only three roots. These

are mámmín, akkámmin and *ma. The verb mámmín is used independently with the meaning 'to occur by chance, to happen;' it contrasts with the verb immayó:ban, 'to occur by a fortunate chance.' Mámmín in conjunctive words has the form má:min, due to degemination and compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel. As conjunctive words occur with much greater frequency than the verb mámmín alone does, these words have developed má:min as a distinctive root. In the same way, the verb akkámmin, 'to be so,' in conjunctive use has the variant root form akká:min. Although it occurs most frequently in its normal form, the variant form often occurs, especially in the speech of the young. It is likely that in the future the form akká:min will be generalized for use in conjunctive words. It should be noted that the initial syllable ak- in this word is frequently dropped in all but careful speech.

The root *ma, from which the conjunctive words ma:fó:kon, mó:tohon and their relatives are formed, no longer occurs independently. Like the other pre-Koasati monosyllabic verb roots, *a, 'to give,' *ka, 'to be,' and *ka:, 'to say,' this verb has been eliminated from the language except in changed or relic forms (see Chapter 3 for a discussion of the reflexes of the three latter verbs in the present-day language).

Finally the adverb himá:ya, 'now' occasionally occurs introducing sentences in discourse. It occurs with the new topic suffix -p or with the adverb mán, 'again;' it has not been noted to occur with any switch-reference suffixes.

The following table gives a list of the conjunctive words with a sketch of their usage and an English gloss. Examples of many of these words can be found in the texts presented in Chapter 21, and elsewhere in this dissertation.

TABLE 20.1

Conjunctive words

Conjunctive word	Switch-reference function	Usage	Gloss
má:min	sw	Indicates following action results from previous action	'then: t t at'
má:mik	ss		
má:mok	ss:foc		
máhmik	ss	Indicates following action occurs immediately after preceding	'right then'
máhmok	ss:foc		
má:miyon	sw	Indicates following action contradicts preceding action	'but then'
má:miyok	ss		
má:mo:sin	sw	Indicates following action dependent on previous action	'thereupon'
má:mo:sok	ss		
mántik	-	Indicates interpolation of new material	'but'
akkámmi:fó:kon	sw	Indicates following action is a conclusion drawn from the previous action	'this being so'
akkámmi:fó:k	ss		
akkámmi:fó:kok	ss:foc		
akkámmiyon	sw	Indicates following action takes place in spite of the previous action	'then despite this'
akkámmiyok	ss		
akkámmo:sin akká:mo:sin	sw	Relates all of the preceding action to the following action	'just so much'
akkámmiskan	sw	Indicates that the preceding action is the cause of the following action	'just like that'
akkámmisk	ss		
akkámmiskap	new:top		
akkántik	-	Indicates emphatic change from previous to following action	'but this being so'
ma:fó:kon	sw	Indicates preceding action takes place at the same time as the following, or is required before the following can take place	'then from that'
ma:fó:kok	ss		
ma:fó:kap	new:top		
mó:tohon	sw	Indicates following action occurs later in time than the previous, but does not depend on it	'then, and then'
mó:tohok	ss		
mó:tohoskap	new:top	Indicates preceding action needed to understand following	'then because of this'

Sentence particles

The sentence particles má, mó and ínko form an obscure and difficult element of the grammar of Koasati. Occurring at a low but steady frequency, almost entirely in conversation or dictated texts, these words, which native speakers cannot explain in English, require further study than has been given them so far. The particles má and mó are both affirmative, while ínko is negative. Because the use of the negative particle is much clearer than the affirmative ones, it will be touched on first.

The negative particle ínko, in various forms, is used in a sentence when a speaker makes a sudden shift in topic, either adding material or changing something mentioned previously in the sentence. When the particle ínko occurs without any following element, the final vowel is nasalized. The following are four examples of its use.

- 73) akkámmi-tik biyakha-sí yámm-o:si-Ŵhci ínko biyakhá-p cokí:bos-o-t
BE:SO-conseq CHICKEN:HAWK-dim BE:LIKE-dim-progress NO CHICKEN:HAWK-
new:top SMALL-be-conn

óm-m-o=katík kom-holcifó saliklí ká:ha-Ŵhci
BE-be=encl 1plposs-NAME SPARROWHAWK SAY-progress

/akkántik biyakhasí yámmosci, ínko, biyakháp cokí:bosot ómmo katík
kqholcifó saliklí ka:háhci/

'But this being so, it is a little like a little chicken hawk; no, perhaps it is a little chicken hawk; nonetheless our name for it is 'sparrowhawk.'

- 74) m-ó-kko-:p ci-noktatá:li-laho-Ŵ ká:ha-Ŵhco-k ínko mók
THAT-be-neg(III Cii) 2sstats-GET:BONE:CAUGHT:IN THROAT-irrealis-phr:
term SAY-habit-ss NO ALSO

ci-no:afitápka-laho-Ŵ ká:ha-Ŵhco-k
2sstats-BET:BONE:CAUGHT:CROSSWISE:IN:THROAT-irrealis-phr:term SAY-
habit-ss

/mókko:p, "cinoktatá:lilahq," ká:háhco, ínko mók,
"cino:afitápkalahq," ka:háhco/

'If it were not that, they said, "You will get a bone caught in your throat," no also they said, "You will get a bone stuck crosswise in your throat.'

- 75) ítto-n ha:láhli-t ínko mók atínni-t
WOOD-obj MOVE-Past NO ALSO BURN(pl)-Past
/ittón ha:láhlit, ínko mók, atínnit/
'They moved the wood, no also they burned it.'
- 76) fó:si mí:ta-p wáyka-:k ittabí pakó:li-t wáyka-Úhco-k ónk-on
BIRD OTHER-new:top FLY(sg)-subjunct LEG FOLD-conn FLY(sg)-habit-ss
BE(intrans)-sw:foc
o:bílli-p ínko-Úhci iyyí atákka-n wáyka-Úhci
GALLINULE-new:top NO-progress FEET HANG(pl)-sw FLY(sg)-progress
/fó:si mí:tap wáyka:k, ittabí pakó:lit waykáhco ónkon, o:bíllip
ínkóhci, iyyí atákan waykáhci/
'When another bird flies, it is the case that it flies with its legs
folded up. Not so the purple gallinule; it flies with its feet
hanging down.'
- The two affirmative particles má and mó are more difficult to character-
ize. They both seem to have some vague emphatic force, but what their
true semantic burden is, is not clear. The following are examples of the
use of these particles; note that má is much rarer than mó, and that the
latter usually occurs with a nasalized vowel. All are enclitic in nature.
- 77) konó-p im-bosóhka-:p st-ittihápka=má á:ti ná:s-ok ayakhá:c-íkko-Úhc
SKUNK-new:top 3dat-STINK-subjunct instr-FIGHT=part PERSON ANY:KIND:
OF-subj:foc APPROACH-3neg(IIIB)-can
/konóp imbosóhka:p, stittihápka má, á:ti ná:sok ayakhá:cikkóhc/
'As for when the skunk stinks, it fights with one, and no one can
approach it.'
- 78) talibó:li-li=má ca-wá:ci-Úh
MAKE-1ss=part 1subj-WAIT:FOR-delay:imp
/talibó:lili má cawá:cih/
'I am fixing it, wait then for me!'
- 79) hopá:yi-p alikcí=mó mathopá:yi-t
PROPHET-new:top DOCTOR=part CALL/FIND:BY:TELEPATHY-conn
/hopá:yip, alikcí mó, mathopá:yit/
'The prophet, a kind of doctor, found things/called lost people by
telepathy.'

- 80) akkám̄mi-tik tokóhka-:p iyyí:sa akóh-cíkko-:p cóffi-t askáhk-áhi=mó
 BE:S0-conseq POP-subjunct KETTLE COVER-2sneg(IIA)-subjunct JUMP(pl)-
 EXIT(pl)-intent=part
 /akkántik, tokóhka:p iyyí:sa akohcíkko:p cóffit askáhkáhi mó/
 'But this being so, when they pop, if you do not cover the kettle,
 they might come jumping out.'
- 81) iyyí ostá:ka-fí:n-on ho-báski-k ná:ho-Ÿ st-itta-panáyka
 FOOT BE:FOUR-like-sw:foc distr-BE:LONG-ss EXIST-phr:term instr-loc-
 BEING:SPUN
 talibó:li-to=mó
 MAKE-III Past=part
 /iyyí ostá:kafí:non hobáskik ná:hq. stittapanáyka talibó:lito mó/
 'The length is about four feet. Thus one does the spinning with it.'
- 82) himá:ya-p toccí:na-fí:n-on hikkí:li-k má:mi-k hassolwá
 NOW-new:top BE:THREE-like-sw:foc STAND(du)-ss BE:THEN-ss SPANISH:MOSS
 itta-panáyl-áhi=mó/
 /himá:yap toccí:nafí:non hikkí:lik má:mik hassolwá ittapanáyláhi mó/
 'Now, the two [strands] are standing about three feet [in length]
 and thus is the spanish moss about to be spun.'

The affirmative particles may be related to the adverbs mók and món, meaning 'also,' and mán, which means 'again.' Although from their form these adverbs look as though they could have switch-reference functions, they occur indifferently whether or not the subject of the sentence has changed. When following a noun they eliminate the case suffix of the noun, but do not take case themselves. The only trends noticeable are that mók most often occurs after a noun in a sentence, while mán and món occur more often in sentence initial or secondary position. Occasionally one of these adverbs will function like a particle, which leads to the supposition of their relationship. The following is an example.

83) ná:s-on í:pa-Vhco:li=mók ca-sobáy-ko-Y
 WHAT-obj:foc EAT-custom=ALSO 1sstats-KNOW-3neg(IIA)-phr:term

/ná:son i:páhco:li mók casobáyko/

'I also do not know what it usually eats.'

The function of particles and their relationships to the adverbs as outlined above is a topic that requires further study.

Semantics

The topic of semantics is also one of complexity and difficulty. The fact that no Koasati speaker is as fluent in English as in her or his own tongue, nor, except for rare individuals, tries to render a phrase from one into the other,³ makes understanding the finer shades of meaning difficult. Even when such shades come to be understood, rendering them in English is not simple. The common word-phrase in Traditional Narrative, ká:hatoho:limpáhok has been rendered as 'she(he) said, so it is reported.' However, this rendering lacks the nuances of completion, deduction, habituality and far distance in time that are basic to Koasati semantics.

In this section of this chapter the following semantic fields will be discussed: meaning and stylistic use of the internal changes, terms denoting emotions, and idioms. It should be noted that this section, too, is merely an overview of the topic; a more in-depth study could be made that could reap a rich harvest of information.

Use of the internal changes

In Chapter 9 the forms and functions of the various internal changes were sketched out. In addition, the Indicative, the Aorist, the H-grade and the N-grade, have stylistic functions in discourse. Some of these functions will be sketched out below.

The Indicative is the most frequently used of the internal changes, because it is the only one which allows for extensive use of the system of verbal suffixes. The gnomic present, that is, the Indicative with no suffixes is rarely used. Instead, when an idea is to be conveyed in the present tense, the habitual or progressive suffixes are used. The choice between the two is based on the kind of action, whether it is something which goes on continually with little change, or whether the action, although at present occurring, may yet change. The following are two examples, the first with the habitual suffix, and the second with the progressive.

84) nihtá sáhmi:p niṭahasí-k cokí:bo:si-t có:ba iyyaksí yámmit
DAY SOMETIMES MOON-subj BE:SMALL-conn HORSE CLAW BE:LIKE-conn

cokkó:li-:p hasí hahpá íl-ká-Vhco-k máhmi-n
SIT(sg)-subjunct MOON/SUN NEW 1plS(IA)-SAY-habit-ss BE:THEN-sw

nihtá sáhmi:p onammi-t tonóhki-t cokkó:li-:p
DAY SOMETIMES BE:SAME-conn BE:ROUND-conn SIT(sg)-subjunct

hastahkí:c-á:ho:si-Vhco-k
GIVE:OFF:LIGHT-adv-habit-ss

/nihtá sáhmi:p niṭahasík cokí:bo:sit có:ba iyyaksí yámmit cokkó:li:p,
'hasí hahpá' ilkáh^hcok, máhmin nihtá sáhmi:p onammit tonóhkit
cokkó:li:p hastahkí:cá:hoscok/

'Some days the moon is small, and when it sits [in the sky] like a horse's hoof, we call it "new moon." Then, on some days, when it sits it is complete and round, and it really gives off a lot of light.'

85) iyyaksí-k ómmi-:k st-itta-hóhca-t iskaní wíhli-t í:pa-Vhci
CLAW-subj BE-subjunct instr-loc-DIG-conn INSECT LOOK:FOR-conn
EAT-progress

/iyyaksík ómmi:k stittahóhcat iskaní wíhlit í:páhci/

'As for its claws, it digs in the earth with them and looks for insects to eat.'

One of the more notable features of Plain Narrative, which also occasionally is found in Traditional Narrative, is the use of the histo-

rical present. This is manifested by the fact that some verbs, which should be marked for tense or aspect because the action is taking place in the past, do not show such marking. This stylistic device is used to make the narrative more vivid to the hearer and to give it more immediacy. In a text wherein historical present forms are used, occasional verbs will be marked with tense or aspect to cue the listener to the proper temporal location of the narrative. The following are two selections containing historical present forms; the verbs so used will be underlined in the word-by-word transcription.

- 86) tahollosí tánka-Vhco-n có:ba pa-cokkó:li-t ittacakkí
 SATURDAY BE:AFTERNOON-habit-sw HORSE loc-SIT(sg)-conn BROTHER
- cokí:bo:si-k obá:li lappá:li-n yá:li mók icofí-k cokkó:li-n
 BE:SMALL-subj BEHIND HANG:ON-sw HERE ALSO UNCLE-subj SIT(sg)-sw
- kó:si-k cokkó:li-n í,h,l-ok ittim-mánka-to-ŷ
 AUNT-subj SIT(sg)-sw ARRIVE,h:grade,-ss:foc recip:dat-TELL-IIIIPast-phr:term
- /tahollosí tankáhcon có:ba pacokkó:lit ittacakkí cokí:bo:sik
 obá:li lappá:lin, yá:li mók icofík cokkó:lin, kó:sik cokkó:lin
 íhlok ittimmánkatq/
- 'On Saturday afternoon he gets on his horse, and his little brother is hanging on behind him. Here also his aunt is dwelling and his uncle is dwelling, on his arriving here they spoke to each other.'
- 87) akkámni-tik am-má:m-o:to im-asilhá:ci-li-:p naksámni-n
 BE:SO-conseq 1sposs-MOTHER-art 3dat-ASK-1ss-subjunct BE:HOW-sw
- fó:si óhya sobá:ci-:si-Vhco-k ómni-n ká:ha-li-:p fó:si sobá:ci-k
 BIRD ALL MOCK-dim-habit-ss BE-sw SAY-1ss-subjunct BIRD MOCKER-subj
- fó:si im-polí:c-ok ómm-ok ómni-mpa-Vhco-k ká:ha-t am-mánka-k
 BIRD 3poss-PREACHER-subj:foc BE-ss:foc BE-hearsay-habit-IVPast
 SAY-conn 1sdat-TELL-ss
- ohayyí-n itto-fá s-pa-á:ta-t sobá:ci-k wáyka-t
 SUMMER-obj TREE-in instr-loc-DWELL(sg)-conn MOCK-ss FLY(sg)-conn
- ab-ón oht-ataká:ka-t tóyka-t itto insá:wa-fa má:l-on
 UP-obj:foc go:&-HANG(sg)-conn RETURN(sg)-conn TREE BRANCH-in SAME-obj:foc

it-pa-haccá:li-t naksáhka-t falakc-ón lakáwwi-t
 come:&-loc-STAND(sg)-conn MAKE:NOISE-conn WING-obj:foc LIFT-conn

tanatlí:ci-t itto insá:wa-fa s-pa-cóffi-t pa-á:ta-ǂhci
 MAKE:DESCEND-conn TREE BRANCH-in instr-loc-JUMP(pl)-conn loc-
 DWELL(sg)-progress

ká:ha-t am-mánka-ǂhco:li-k
 SAY-conn lsdatt-TELL-custom-IVPast

/akkántik amma:mo:to imasilhá:cili:p, 'naksámmín fó:si óhya
 sobá:ciscok ómmín,' ká:halí:p, 'fó:si sobá:cik fó:si impolí:cok
 ómmok ómmimpáhcok,' ká:hat ammánkak, 'ohayyín ittofá spaá:tat
 sobá:cik wáykát abón, ohtataká:kat hóykát itto insá:wafa má:lon
 itpahaccá:lit naksáhkát, falakcón lakáwwit tanatlí:cit ittinsá:wafa
 spacóffit paa:táhci,' ká:hat ammánkáhco:lik/

'But this being so, I ask my mother (who is now deceased), 'Why is
 it always mocking all the birds?' I say. 'The mockingbird is, so
 it is said, the preacher of the birds,' she says, telling it to
 me. 'In summer, it lives about in the trees, it mocks and flies
 up, goes and hovers in the air, returns to the same branch, comes
 and roosts on it, makes noise, it lifts up its wings and puts them
 down, it jumps about among the branches and lives among them,'
 she used to say, telling it to me.'

88) faplí-k í:la-:p afanka-Vhco-k amá:-háska-laho-ǂ-š
 WIND-subj ARRIVE-subjunct MEET-habit-ss GO(pl)-2pls(IIIA)-irrealis-
 phr:term-phr:term

acákki-t amá:-háska-n ómmi-DEL-š ká:ha-:p
 FOLLOW-conn GO(pl)-2pls(IIIA)-sw BE-phr:term-phr:term SAY-subjunct

ká:ha-t kom-mánka-toho-:li-y-on kosnó-k acakki-ǂhco-k
 SAY-conn lpldat-TELL-realis-deduc-conseq-sw:foc WE-subj FOLLOW-habit-
 ss

a,n,ǂí:ya-n ná:ho-k ittanátka-k ná:ho-ǂ í:sa waylí-k ittanátka-k
 GO(sg/du),lpls(IB)-sw WELL-ss STEPS-subj EXIST-phr:term HOUSE PORCH-
 subj STEPS-subj

ná:ho-toho-n má:fa yón pa-cayáhli-t aǂí:ya-li-y-ok
 EXIST-realis-sw THERE HERE loc-WALK-conn GO(sg/du)-lss-conseq-ss:foc

í:sa-k ca-kabalí:ci-y-on faplí-k ca-apí:li-n ca-konótl-ok aǂí:ya-li-k
 HOUSE-subj lsubj-MAKE:MISSTEP-conseq-sw:foc WIND-subj lsubj-THROW(sg)-
 sw lssstats-ROLL-ss:foc GO(sg/du)-lss-ss

itta-konótl-i-t á:ta-li-k á:ta-li-k á:ta-li-k ná:ho-k
 loc-ROLL-conn DWELL-lss-ss DWELL-lss-ss DWELL-lss-ss WELL-ss

holihtá caká:wa-k tallá:ka-Vhco-toho-n má:fa apatahá oht-ca-apí:li-n
 FENCE ROUGH-subj LIE(sg) (inan)-habit-realis-sw THERE BESIDE go:&-
 lsobj-THROW(sg)-sw

tabátli-t á:ya-li-tik ná:ho-n paká:li máhco-n wa:yáhlit-t
 CRAWL-conn GO:ABOUT(sg)-lss-conseq WELL-sw FLOWER BE:LIKE-sw
 TRANSPLANT-conn

takkol-lawísta-n takkolá máhco-t hibáhka-toho-n
 PEACH-SMALL(pl)-sw PEACH BE:LIKE-conn STAND(pl) (trees)-realis-sw

má:f-on mat-il-a-haláhka-t tabátli-t ańí:ya-li-k ańí:ya-li-k
 THERE-obj:foc afar-reflex-gen:loc-PULL-conn CRAWL-conn GO(sg/du)-
 lss-ss GO(sg/du)-lss-ss

/'faplık í:la:p, afan'áhcok amá:háskalaho:š. acákkít amá:háskan
 ó:š," ká:ha:p, ká:hat kommánkatoho:liyon kosnók acakkíhcok anńí:yan,
ná:hok, ittanátkak ná:hq. í:sa waylık ittanátkak ná:hotohon, má:fa,
 yón pacayáhlit ańí:yaliyok í:sak cakabalí:ciyon, faplık acapí:lin
cakonótlok ańí:yalik, ittakonótt á:talik á:talik á:talik, ná:hok,
 holihá caká:wak tallá:káhcotohon, má:fa apatahá ohtacapí:lin,
 tabátlit á:yalitik, ná:hon, paká:li máhcon wa:yáhlit, takkolawístan
 takkolá máhcot hibáhcotohon, má:fon matilahaláhcok tabátlit
ańí:yalik ańí:yalik.../

"When a wind comes, you are supposed to go meeting it. You are going with it!" he said, and even though he told it to us, we two are going along with it. Well, there are the steps; on the porch of the house there were steps, and over there, here I am going walking on it, but contrary to expectation, the house makes me miss my step [because of its shaking], and the wind throws me, and I go rolling, I keep on rolling and rolling and rolling, now, there was a picket fence, and over there against it it goes and throws me, and I go about crawling; now, there were flowers and plum trees and trees like peaches transplanted and standing, and over there I continuing and continuing to crawl, pulling myself along...'

The Aorist, by its very nature, is rare. Indicating that an action is unbound by considerations of time or aspect, its uses are few and specialized. However, because of this quality, the Aorist can be used stylistically with great effect. The following is one of the most striking examples of this use of the Aorist.

- 89) mó:toho-ska-p ańí:ya-n apó-k kom-ílli-n himá:ya-p ihossá
 BE:THEN-conseq-new:top GO(sg)-sw GRANDMOTHER-subj lpldat-DIE(sg)-sw
 NOW-new:top BE:EMPTY(aor)

/mó:tohoskap, aʔí:yan apok komíllin, himá:yap ihossá/

'Then because of this, she went on, and grandmother died on us; now there is a feeling of emptiness.'

The aorist form of the verb ihóssan, 'to be empty; feel empty,' ihossá, indicates that since their grandmother died, there is a feeling of emptiness among them that does not end. The feeling existed in the past, exists now and will exist so long as there are those who remember the way she was.

The h-grade, although primarily used to indicate the sequencing of events, also has other uses. Most notably it is used in connection with the verb ómmin to indicate that an action has just taken place. Many examples of this construction are given in Chapter 9, the following is a further example.

90) má:ʔi-k yilahá án,h,ka-n óm
PN-subj ORANGE GIVE:TO:ME,h:grade,-sw BE

/má:ʔik yilahá áhkan óm/

'Martha has just given the oranges to me.'

As indicated in Chapter 9, the h-grade indicates that one set of events follows closely on another. The following is an additional example of this use of the h-grade.

91) ho-síhno-:si-t anóska-:fó:k-on oco:si-ki-k
distr-BE:OLD-dim-conn FINISH(pl) (intrans)-when-sw:foc CHILD-pauc-subj

ommi-:k oh-wíhli-t st-ilá-,h,-:c-ok yá:l-on í:sa im-táll-ok
BE-subjunct go:&-LOOK:FOR-conn instr-ARRIVE,-h:grade,-3nonsg-ss:foc
HERE-obj:foc HOUSE 3dat-BUILD-ss:foc

/hosíhno:sit anóska:fó:kon, ocóskik ómmi:k ohwíhlit stiláhkok,
í:sa intállok.../

'When they had become very old, it was their children who came and looked for them and upon bringing them here, they built a house for them...'

As discussed in Chapter 9, the n-grade is not of frequent occurrence, because its functions have been largely taken over by other morphemes. Nonetheless, it does have one relatively frequent stylistic use; it occurs with the verb óhyan, 'to be all,' in nominalizations, where it gives the verb the meaning 'all with no exceptions; each and every one.' The following are two examples of the construction.

- 92) á:ti ó,N,hya-k banna-Ŵhci paká:li
PERSON ALL,n:grade,-subj WANT-progress FLOWER

/á:ti óhyak bannáhci paká:li/

'Simply everybody wants the flower.'
- 93) hassíkba-p ná:si ó,N,hya atínni-Ŵhco-k pahí mók
BRUSH:FIRE-new:top SOMETHING ALL,n:grade, BURN(pl)-habit-ss GRASS

mók wá:k-o:t có:b-o:t cokfí maátł-o:t akkámmi-k í:p-áhi-to
ALSO COW-list HORSE-list RABBIT WILD-list BE:S0-ss EAT-intent-III Past

im-atiní:ka:-p í:p-áhi-k im-íkso-Ŵhco-k
3dat-BURN(sg)-subjunct EAT-intent-ss 3dat-NOT:EXIST-habit-ss

/hassíkba-p ná:si óhya atinníhcok pahí mók wá:ko:t có:bo:t cokfí
maátło:t akkámnik í:páhitto imatiní:ka:p í:páhi-k imíksóhcok/

'Now a brushfire burns up just everything, even grass, and animals like cows and horses and wild rabbits, if what they would have eaten is burned up, there is nothing for them to eat.'

Terms denoting emotions

Despite the fact that emotions are universally felt by human beings, there is only a general correspondence in terms between various languages. This is true of Koasati and English. Although certain terms, such as noksí:pan, 'to be angry,' have exact equivalents, other terms are not so easily defined. For example the English terms 'pride,' 'to be proud' cannot be rendered easily into Koasati. The term stáyokpan can be used, but its literal meaning indicates that the subject is happy about some thing, which meaning lacks the connotations of 'pride.' Secondly the

term ilakasá:mon offers itself. Yet this term covers only what can be termed evil pride, or hubris. A term such as 'hubris' almost never occurs in everyday English speech; however in Koasati, not only is the term well known, but the comeuppance which characters suffer due to possessing ilakasamotilká is the theme of many of their traditional narratives.

What in this case is most interesting is that once there was a word, 'to be proud,' the now-forgotten akasá:mon, preserved only in the writings of Brinton. Thus a change in attitudes towards emotions seems to have led to the loss of a word to describe a certain one.

Another feature that is lost in going from one language to another is the linguistic relationship between terms for certain emotions. In English 'to be in mourning' and 'to mourn' are clearly related; in Koasati the first is rendered by ilaholló:cin, and refers to the social customs of mourning; the other is rendered by the verb compound imacíhba:sit yáhkan and refers to the overpowering feelings of sorrow expressed in weeping which occur after a death. This latter term in Koasati is in fact related to the verbs imacíhbá:cin, 'to grieve someone,' stimacíhban, 'to worry,' and imacíhban, 'to be sad, sorrowful.' Thus linguistic relationships among terms referring to emotions imply a linked attitude of the speakers towards these emotions.

Throughout the language there are a number of oppositions which are novel to the non-native speaker, for example the doublet oyyámmín, 'to be strong tasting,' versus topáksín, 'to be weak-tasting,' and the quadruplet asámhan, 'to be burnt, of boiled food,' libá:tlín, 'to burn of a hot solid or liquid,' atákban, 'to be burned by radiant heat,' and atíní:lín, 'to burn with fire.' However, oppositions such as these are logical and easily to assimilate, once the distinction has been made.

Other oppositions, especially in terms of emotional vocabulary, are rather more difficult to understand. For example, in Koasati there is no term exactly equivalent to the English 'hate' or 'dislike,' however the negative forms of three verbs are used to refer to the same emotional states. These are the negative form of bànnan (cabánkq, cibánkq, bánkq, etc.), 'to want; need,' used in the meaning of 'to hate a person or thing;' the negative of á:lon, 'to hope; think so; guess' (aká:lq, ascikí:lq, akí:lq, etc.) in the meaning of 'to dislike someone,' and used with human beings only; and the negative of alóstin, 'to be pleasantly surprised with something; to continue to enjoy something,' (amalokístq, cimalokístq, alokístq, etc.), used in the meaning of 'to dislike something,' and used only with inanimate objects.

The following table contains a list of the majority of terms relating to emotional states. All are verbs; nouns referring to emotional states are very rarely used in Koasati, in contrast to English.

TABLE 20.2

<u>Word</u>	<u>Verb Class</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
ayókpan	IIC	'to be happy'
stayókpan	IIC	'to be proud of something'
stimayókpan	IIC	'to love someone'
inká:non	IIA	'to be sexually sated'
stinká:non	IIA	'to like something'
stakanó:cin	IIIB	'to be interesting'
ayyihó:cin	IIIB	'to feel affection for someone'
alóstin	IIC	'to be pleasantly surprised with'
stjhwá:lon	IIC/IIICi	'to feel pity for someone'
stibák+in	IIC	'to be poor and pitiful'
imacíhban	IIC	'to feel sad, sorry; to find something difficult'

stimacíhban	IIC	'to worry'
á:lok imacíhban	IIC/IIC	'to worry about something'
imacihbá:cin	IIIB	'to grieve someone'
ayáhkan	IIIA	'to weep for someone'
imacíhba:sit yáhkan	IIIA	'to mourn for someone'
ilaholló:cin	IIIB	'to be in mourning'
imakasámkan	IIIA	'to be depressed; to despair'
okoyá:pan	IB	'to be lonely'
hákcan	IIC	'to be homesick'
imihóssan	IIC	'to have a feeling of emptiness'
ofáhyan	IIC	'to be ashamed'
ofahyá:cin	IIIB	'to shame someone'
nokyó:kan	IIIA	'to be shy'
o:wá:lan	IIICi	'to be crying and fretful, of a child'
ahó:pan	IB	'to feel heart-sick'
jhó:pan	IB	'to loathe someone'
inkó:han	IIICi	'to be evil'
noksí:pan	IB	'to be angry; evil-tempered'
noksipá:cin	IIIB	'to enrage someone'
palátlin	IIA	'to be cross'
ilpalá:lin	IIA	'to be angrily petulant; to pout'
imiyyí:hon	IIICi	'to be stingy; to be bored'
imayyí:hon	IIICi	'to be lazy'
ilahókban	IIC	'to be impatient'
onaná:kan	IIIA	'to be greedy'
ficcákkín	IIIA	'to be jealous-natured'

stjficcákkín	IIIA	'to be jealous of someone'
stakí:lon	IIC	'to be envious of someone'
hiná:ban	IIC	'to be superficially polite, but uncaring; to be a difficult person'
stilacó:ban	IIICi	'to be an uncooperative person'
stimilacó:ban	IIICi	'to be uncooperative with someone'
ilakasá:mon	IIICi	'to feel hubris; be overweeningly proud'
imilakasá:mon	IIICi	'to feel hubris in regard to someone'
poskanáhkan	IIIA	'to be spoiled in behavior'
poskanahlí:cin	IIB	'to spoil a child'
bolbóhlin	IIA	'to be nervous'
maťátlin (sg)	IIA	'to be afraid'
maťáhlín (pl)	IIA	
immaťátlin (sg)	IIA	'to fear something'
immaťáhlín (pl)	IIA	
imayóhkin	IIIA	'to have a fear of heights or of falling; feel trepidation'
stimilaholló:cin	IIIB	'to give someone the creeps'
yawópkan	IIIA	'to have a nasty shock or surprise'

These terms clearly fall into four great categories: terms that refer to pleasant or enjoyable emotions, terms that refer to sorrowful or unpleasant emotions, terms referring to emotions that are felt to be impolite or immoral, and terms referring to emotions of fear. This categorization is interesting in that terms for mixed emotions do not appear. Thus, although the Koasati have a lively sense of irony, both in their everyday lives and in their storytelling, there is no term for 'irony' in the language.

Terms for describing emotions form an interesting group within the domain of Koasati semantics; certainly a more complete study of these terms with comparisons to such terms in other Muskogean languages would be most worthwhile.

Idioms and idiomatic expressions

Idioms and idiomatic expressions are utterances which carry a semantic content in addition to or different from the surface semantics of the utterance. It is difficult to classify idioms by types, but two groups are readily apparent: idiomatic names for plants and (more rarely) animals, and idioms consisting of verbal prefixes in unusual uses. A majority of other idioms have to do with weather or other natural phenomena.

Certain locative prefixes of verbs have been noted in idiomatic uses. For example the verb triad pacokkó:lin (sg)/ pacikkí:kan (du)/ paí:san (pl) 'to sit on something,' has the additional meaning 'to ride horseback,' and by extension, 'to ride in any kind of vehicle.' In the same way o:wá:yan (sg/du)/ o:yomáhlín, 'to go about in water,' is used in the meaning of 'to swim, of animals which habitually live in water,' and is opposed to o:hápkán, 'to swim, of human beings, or other terrestrial animals.' The locative prefix compound on-a- also has an idiomatic use, in the triad onaá:tan (sg)/ onaáswan (du)/ onaí:san (pl), which not only means 'to exist on or in, as insects in fruit, but also 'to be on all sides of; to fly all around, such as butterflies or hummingbirds around flowers.' The locative prefix pa- has been noted in two additional idiomatic uses, in the verb pacáyhan, 'to be raised up above normal,' from cáyhan, 'to be tall;' and in the verb pair pacofótlin (sg)/ pacóffin (pl), 'to attack someone out of ambush; to strike (of snakes), derived from the verbs cofótlin (sg)/ cóffin (pl), 'to jump.' The loca-

tive prefix o:-/o:w- is used in the expression o:yó:bin, 'to be condensation,' from yó:bin, 'to be dewy; humid,' which is in turn derived from the noun yobí 'dew of fog or humidity.' Additionally the use of this prefix can be noted in the verbs o:wíllin, 'to drown,' from íllin 'to die,' and o:wí:bin, 'to drown someone,' from í:bin, 'to kill.'

The general locative prefix a- is often used idiomatically, with semantics that differ so much from that of the unprefixated verb, that a- should be sometimes considered a derivational morpheme rather than a locative prefix. The following table contains several examples of the idiomatic use of this prefix.

TABLE 20.3

<u>Unprefixated form</u>	<u>Gloss</u>	<u>Prefixated form</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
batápkán	'to be struck'	abatápkán	'to bump into something'
hí:can	'to see'	ahhí:can	'to govern'
holá:sin	'to lie'	staholá:sin	'to lie about someone'
hó:pan	'to be ill'	ahó:pan	'to be heartsick'
tanátlin	'to descend'	atanátkan	'to surround something'

Note that the prefixated form of batápkán, with the addition of the instrumental prefix becomes stabátpkan, meaning 'to have an automobile accident.'

The instrumental prefixes are notable for their idiomatic use; examples of such uses are given in Chapter 4.

A number of plants and a few animals have idiomatic names; many of these must have once had a mythological origin, but at the present, when speakers are asked why such names are used, they simply say that because it was a term their parents used, it is a term they use. Certain idiomatic names are loantranslations from English, such as a:tatiní:li incicó:ba 'the devil's

horse' for 'preying mantis,' the older form being tobiłí:li, and a:tatinf:li iyyaksí, 'the devil's claw' for the plant more commonly known as oslipó, 'cat's claw.' The following table contains a short list of such idiomatic names.

TABLE 20.4

<u>Word</u>	<u>Literal meaning</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
alahkobítli	'gourd dancer'	'moth'
albatá incassí	'alligator corn'	'swamp grass'
a:tilhiciksó imittó	'elf tree'	'mistletoe'
kaskimilpá	'warrior food'	'yaupon'
hakhintowá	'wild goose onion'	'wild onion'
sokpanó:li	'lung devourer'	'mosquito larvae'
tayyikáhno inná:ni	'best woman's husband'	'bittern bird'
solopí imboló	'ghost perch'	'white crappie'
ittiłlapátki	'narrow-eyed one'	'copperhead snake'

Many other idiomatic expressions are concerned with natural events. When there is a thunderstorm, and the lightning is flashing continuously, in addition to the usual comment, given in example 94, the idiom given in example 95 may be used.

- 94) malmáhk-á:ho:s
BE:LIGHTNING-adv

/malmáhká:ho:s/

'There is a great amount of lightning'

- 95) misíp-ko-ŷ
SHUT:ONE'S:EYES-3neg(IIA)-phr:term

/misípkq/

'He does not [even] shut his eyes.'

This idiom is clearly a reflection of the ancient belief that lightning was caused by the opening and closing of the eyes of the Thunderbird. This,

however, is not a Muskogean belief, but an Algonquian one. The Muskogean belief was that lightning consisted of the arrows of the Thunderer, reflected in the Koasati metaphor for lightning, given below.

96) winíhka im-łakí
THUNDER 3poss-ARROW

/winíhka ɨłakí/

'The arrows of thunder.'

The existence of the former idiom lends strength to the idea that the Koasati were in contact with some Algonquian peoples in former times.

When lightning hits something, it is referred to not as 'striking' or 'hitting' the object, but rather as standing upon it, as in the following.

97) malmáhka im-∅-małáhli-k ómmi-to-∇ malmáhka-p ittó pa-haccá:li-t
LIGHTNING 3statobj-3stats-FEAR(pí)-ss BE-III Past-phr:term LIGHTNING-
new:top loc-STAND-conn

winíhka-k ittó łá:hi-t akkammí:ci-:fó:k-on bán-ko-k
THUNDER-subj TREE SHOOT:&:HIT-conn DO:SO-when-sw:foc WANT-3neg(IIA)-
ss

/malmáhka immałáhlík ómmiɬ. malmáhkap ittó pahaccá:lit, winíhka
ittó łá:hit, akkammí:ci: fók:kon bánkok/

'They were afraid of lightning. Lightning struck trees (literally stood on trees) and thunder shot trees; when they did so, they did not like it...'

In addition, mirages are considered to be a form of lightning. Therefore when someone sees a mirage on the road, she would say the following.

98) itta-malmáhk
loc-T0:BE:LIGHTNING

/ittamalmáhk/

'There is a mirage,' literally 'there is lightning on the ground.'

When the weather has been continuously wet for many days, when people cannot go out to go to work or to do farming, or make money to buy food, as a comment on the situation, they can make the following remark to each

other.

- 99) pinakí anó:l-ok óm
 CACHED:FOOD FINISH(sg)-ss:foc BE

/pinakí anó:lok óm/

'The cached food is all eaten up.'

This is just a saying, as no one caches food any more, and as a general rule the word pinakí has come to mean 'box lunch.' Nonetheless it suggests to the hearer the deleterious effects of constant bad weather.

When the wind is blowing strongly, and one is out in the forest, and the tree branches creak in the wind, in addition to 100, which is the more usual comment, what is shown in example 101 may also be said.

- 100) ittó insá:wa-k naksáhka-hawa-:s
 TREE BRANCH-subj MAKE:NOISE-audit-IPast

/ittó insá:wak naksáhkahawa:s/

'One can hear the tree branches making noise.'

- 101) ittó insá:wa-k yáhka-hawa-:s
 TREE BRANCH-subj WEEP-audit-IPast

/ittó insá:wak yáhkahawa:s/

'One can hear the tree branches weeping.'

This idiomatic expression probably derived from the former belief that trees were intelligent, speaking beings. It is interesting that some speakers have a violent negative reaction to this idiom, even while admitting that others use it.

There are two idiomatic expressions regarding astronomical events. When one is out at night, and one sees a ring around the moon, one says the following.

- 102) niłahasí-k intál
 MOON-subj SET:TRAP

/niłahasík intál/

'The moon is setting out his trap.'

The origin of this idiom is totally lost, as no one now knows for what he is setting out his trap. The moon in Koasati mythology was male, and although the evidence is not complete, the sun was probably conceived of as being female.

When there is an eclipse of the sun or moon, in addition to the comment in example 103, the idioms in examples 104 and 105 can be used.

103) hasí-k itt-o:tamátl
SUN/MOON-subj recip-PASS:BY

/hasík itto:tamátl/

'The luminaries are passing by each other.'

104) okwá:la-k hasí limítka-ŷhci
TOAD-subj SUN SWALLOW(sg)-progress

/okwá:lak hasí limitkáhci/

'The toad is swallowing the sun.'

105) okwá:la-k niłahasí limítka-ŷhci
TOAD-subj MOON SWALLOW(sg)-progress

/okwá:lak niłahasí limitkáhci/

'The toad is swallowing the moon.'

The celestial Toad is a being otherwise unknown, and in discussing the subject, there was amused speculation as to whether when an eclipse was ending the Toad was vomiting up or defecating the sun.

Additionally, on a partly cloudy day, when the clouds pass in front of the sun, one does not say that the clouds hide the sun, but rather that they protect her, as in the following.

106) o:laci-k hasí atóm
CLOUD-subj SUN PROTECT

/o:lacik hasí atóm/

'The clouds hide (protect) the sun.'

In regard to animals, two birds have idiomatic epithets. The kingbird, hacipołí, is known by the epithet oybací, 'rainmaker,' because of the belief that if this bird is seen flying around, rainy weather is sure to come. The red-bellied woodpecker, cacahká, is known by the epithets hiplicí, 'snow maker,' and hiplicosí, 'little snow maker,' because of the belief that if someone shoots this bird in winter, it will cause it to snow.

When spring comes, and one hears the distinctive calls of the cardinal and the bullfrog, one of the following may be said:

107) tiskommá-k ohayí:c
CARDINAL-subj MAKE:SUMMER

/tiskommák ohayí:c/

'The cardinals make summer.'

108) hanono-k ohayí:c
BULLFROG-subj MAKE:SUMMER

/hanonók ohayí:c/

'The bullfrogs make summer.'

This idiom comes from the old belief that these animals, by their calls, cause summer to come. The above examples could be more loosely translated as 'the cardinals (or bullfrogs) usher in summer.'

When a bull is seen tearing the earth with its horns in anger, the following remark can be made.

109) wá:ka ná:ni-k ilá:bi-ŷhci
COW MALE-subj DRESS:HAIR:WITH:GREASE-progress

/wá:ka ná:nik ila:bíhci/

'The bull is dressing his hair with grease.'

It is still remembered that the Indians of past generations used to use bear grease in the dressing of their hair; apparently this saying arose

from analogy between the motion of the bull's head against the earth with the way one's hair was greased.

In regard to the owner of an animal or a slave, the owner is termed the 'person' of the animal or slave, so: ifá imá:ti, 'a dog's master.' The following is a further example.

110) paykahátka-n í:mo-:fó:k-on mók báyba baybá:ci-:fó:k námpo-n
COTTON-obj GATHER-when-sw:foc ALSO WEIGHT WEIGH-when BE:SO:MUCH-sw

st-ót-ko-:fó:k-on im-á:ti:sáy-ok tómmi-ŷhco-toho-n atló:ca
instr-ARRIVE:THERE-3neg(11A)-when-sw:foc 3poss-PERSON-art-subj:foc
WHIP-habit-realiz-sw BLACK:PERSON

/paykahátkan í:mo:fó:kon, báyba baybá:ci:fó:k námpon stótko:fó:kon,
imá:ti:sáyok tómmíhcotohon atló:ca/

'When they gathered the cotton, when the others weighed the weight, if it did not come out to just so much, the black people were beaten by their masters.'

A final idiom is used with animals: cats when purring are said to sing, as in the following example.

111) katí-k tálwa-ŷhci
CAT-subj SING-progress

/katík talwáhci/

'The cat is purring.'

In the human realm, there are two idioms used in games. In addition to the verb tó:lin, 'to play a ball game,' the verb 'to quarrel,' with the reciprocal prefix could be used idiomatically in the same sense, thus ittacokcaná:kan, 'to quarrel with one another; to play a ball game.' In addition, the verb háplín, 'to war against,' can be used with the dative prefix to mean defeat, as in the following.

112) á:ti-k páiki-k tótka-t s-bakóhli-n abatí:si-t
PERSON-subj BE:FAST-conn RUN(pl)-conn instr-THROW-sw CATCH-conn

s-bakóhli-t kohtá batápli-t im-hápli-ŷhci
instr-THROW-sw GOAL:POST STRIKE-conn 3dat-WAR:AGAINST-progress

/á:tík pálkík tótkat, sbakóhlin, abatí:sit, sbakóhlit kohtá
batáplít jhaplíhci/

'People run fast and throw it overhand; others catch it and throw
it and strike the goal post, and win against the others.'

The following discussion will contain miscellaneous idioms that were
noted, and did not fall into any one category. Doubtless there are many
other idioms that I did not have the chance to record.

When fruit is seen lying on the ground and swelling due to decay, the
following can be said.

113) ikfasókpa-t anó:ka-t tàmmi-:s
BE:SWOLLEN:BELLIED-conn BE:FINISHED(sg) LIE-IPast

/ikfasókpat anó:kat tàmmi:s/

'It is lying with its belly all swollen up.'

This idiom arose by analogy to the feeling brought on by a form of in-
digestion, called ikfasókpan.

Diseases are said not to be caught by a person, but rather to take a
person, as in example 114.

114) holpá shibáhli-k ci-í:si-laho-Ũ
ILNESS WITH:STABBING:PAINS-subj 2subj-TAKE

/holpá shibáhlik cí:silahə/

'You will catch pneumonia,' literally, 'pneumonia will take you.'

When a body part is paralyzed, it is said to be 'dead on' that person;
if something paralyzes it, it 'kills it on' the person. The verb sobáylin
is used with the dative prefix in such contexts to indicate whether or not
a person feels sensations. The following two examples illustrate this
idiom.

115) ilbi-k im-ílli-Ũhci
HAND-subj 3dat-DIE(sg)-progress

/ilbík imillíhci/

'His hand is paralyzed.'

- 116) a:pihčí hokkí:ta-n im-í:bi-t winíhka-k, akkámí-ska-n
 BODY HALF-obj 3dat-KILL-conn THUNDER-subj BE:S0-conseq-sw
 im-sobáy-ko-ǂhčí
 3dat-KNOW-3neg(IIA)-progress
 /a:pihčí hokkí:tan imí:bit winíhkak, kámmiskan ǂsobáykóhčí/
 'Half his body was killed on him by Thunder [paralyzed by a stroke],
 therefore he has no feeling in it.'

Note in this last example the idiom used to express a stroke.

A few verbs distinguish animacy of their subject; among these are ballá:kan (sg)/ balláskan (du)/ bálkan (pl) 'to lie (animate subject), and tallá:kan (sg)/ tálkan (pl) 'to lie (inanimate subject). Example 117 shows that death of an animate subject does not affect its grammatical animacy.

- 117) kottí-k ǂató:ka-t itta-bálk (not *itta-tálk)
 FROG-subj BE:SQUASHED(pl)-conn loc-LIE(pl) (an)
 /kottík ǂató:kat ittabálk/
 'The frogs are lying (an.) squashed on the ground.'

Euphemisms

Excretion, sexual functions and death are three topics which the Koasati feel reticence about, and in discussing such topics in mixed company generally use euphemisms. In sexually segregated groups, however, such euphemisms are much less likely to be used.

In regard to excretion, the two main verbs for this activity are hóswan, 'to urinate,' and hoppó:lan, 'to defecate.' Rather than using either of these terms, the polite way to announce that one is going to the bathroom is to use the verb ohǂóykan (sg)/ ohǂoyóhkan (pl), which literally means 'to go and return.' Thus one has the expression given below in 118.

- 118) oh-ǂóyka-l-á-ǂ
 go:&-RETURN(sg)-lss-intent-phr:term

/ohłóykalá/

'I am going to the bathroom.'

If one wants to be a little more specific and refer obliquely to urination, one can use the following expression.

119) okí íkba-k ca-taklahk-á:ho:s
WATER WARM-subj |sobj-BOTHER-adv

/okí íkbák cataklahká:ho:s/

'The warm water is really bothering me.'

The term for 'bathroom' is derived from the verb ohłoyóhkan, it is ohłoyohhilká imí:sasi, 'the little house of going to and returning from.' The term originally meant, and can still mean, 'outhouse.' There is a cruder term in use, itholippó:la, which means 'place of defecation.' And finally there is an extremely vulgar term for the same place, nipó cayátki imí:sa, 'house of ground meat.' This latter is considered so revolting that when it was accidentally uttered in the presence of a woman eating, she choked on her food, and complained most vehemently about having to listen to such talk.

There is also a euphemistic term for iccommí, 'anus;' it is owwasí, 'rear end; the behind.' However, there is no euphemistic term for hókcon, 'to fart,' as although people try not to fart publically, when it happens, others laugh. Additionally the term is used for the spraying of the skunk and of the stinkbug.

In the discussion of sexuality euphemisms also occur. There are euphemistic terms for the sexual organs taken from child language, for the term 'penis,' ikcí, the euphemism cicí is used, for the term 'vagina,' ikcó:li, the form cocó is used. To substitute for bíhlin, 'to have sexual intercourse with someone,' the term acákin, 'to follow someone,' is used; if

adultery is the subject, the form inkoybóhlin, 'to steal something from someone,' is preferred. To speak about rape, the euphemism tabátkan, 'to catch something,' is used. There is, however, no euphemism for the term 'to masturbate,' sáslin, as this is a topic that is never discussed in mixed company.

For the verbs 'to die,' íllin (sg/du)/ hápkan (pl), the most common euphemism is nákáttan, 'to go off; to disappear.' It is used in almost exactly the same way as the English euphemism 'pass away.' Another euphemism, which is rather rare, yet elegant, is hifoshilkák imanó:kan, 'for breath to finish on someone,' roughly meaning 'to breathe one's last.' That hifoshilká, 'breath' was another way of expressing solokcí, 'soul,' is attested by the now obsolete term for God, hifoshilká imí:si, 'Holder of Breath,' probably better translated as 'Owner of Souls.'

Humor

Humor is a topic too broad for treatment in a discussion of idiomatic usages, and deserves a study of its own. Nevertheless, punning and word plays occur, and will be briefly illustrated here.

Punning is a frequent method of humor among the Koasati. The following are some examples.

- | | | | | |
|------|----|--|----|---|
| 120) | A: | ittakla:ná:ci-l
SMOKE:MEAT-1ss | B: | ittak-locá:ci-l
fire:skin-BLACKEN-1ss |
| | | /ittakla:ná:ci/ | | /ittaklocá:ci/ |
| | | 'I smoke meat.' | | 'I blacken it on the outside!' ⁴ |
| 121) | A: | í-l-1a-DEL
ipls(1A)-ARRIVE-
phr:term | B: | ná:s-ok í,ǂǂǂ,11i
WHAT-subj:foc DIE(sg),Q, |
| | | /í/ | | /ná:sok íǂǂǂ/ |
| | | 'We are here.' | | ' <u>What</u> is dead?' |

- 122) A: bosó
HELLO

/bosó/

'Hello.'
- B: bosóhk. ná:s-ok bosó,ǂǂǂ,hka
STINK WHAT-subj:foc STINK,Q,

/bosóhk. ná:sok bosóhká/

'It stinks. What stinks?'

Interlingual puns between Koasati and English also occur, as in the following:

- 123) A: ci-ka,ǂǂǂ,:no
2sstat-BE:GOOD,Q,

/cikáǂnó/

'Are you well?'
- B: 'I'm not Chicano; I'm Indian!'

Word plays also frequently occur. The following are two examples of word plays directed at a Koasati man who had the effrontery to ask some people to their faces what their clan membership was (it is considered extremely uncivil to ask someone what their clan is; one must always ask a third party).

- 124) Q: á:ti ci-ná:s-o-k aǂ,ci,,ǂǂǂ,:ya
PERSON 2sstats-BE:WHAT:KIND-be-ss GO (sg),2ss(1IB),,Q,

/á:ti ciná:sok aǂcíǂyá/

'As what kind of person do you go?' i.e. 'What is your clan?'
- R: tayy-ók á:ya-l
WOMAN-subj:foc GO:ABOUT (sg)-lss

/tayyók á:yaǂ/

'I go about as a woman.'
- 125) Q: cim-ayiksá-k ná:s-óǂǂí
2sposs-CLAN-subj BE:WHAT-Q

/cimayiksák ná:sóǂǂí/

'What is your clan?'

R: nashollók cá-l-ko-ŷ ca-á:t-o-ŷ
WILD:ANIMAL-subj |sstats-BE:A-3neg(IIA)-phr:term |sstats-PERSON-
be-phr:term

/nashollók cálkq. acá:tq/

'I am not a wild beast! I am a human being!'

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER 20

¹When such SV0 constructions were offered, I would often rearrange the order of the elements as SOV, and offer it back to the speaker; frequently I was told how much better the SOV word order sounded, and was complemented on my learning of the language.

²It is not possible in this example for the phrase a:ti:pacobá oholimpá to be construed as a possessive phrase meaning 'Elephant's food.' Such an interpretation would require that oholimpá be an inalienably possessed noun, which it can never be. In this example oholimpá is the direct object of the verb anó:lin, 'to devour,' and has the zero allomorph of the accusative case suffix. A:ti:pacobá is the indirect object, in a benefactive sense of the action of the verb, and is cross-referenced on it by the dative prefix im-.

³There is little interface between Koasati and English use among Koasati speakers. Koasati is used in all situations where another speaker is present, and English is used with non-Indians. Thus the young mother buying ice cream for her child speaks to the child in Koasati, but to the clerk in English.

This lack of interface does not prevent loan words from being taken into the language, as shown in Chapter 17, but frequently such words are taken with no real understanding as to their meaning. For example, the term for 'slingshot' is a loan compound nikasótka shócca, borrowed from the colloquial local term 'nigger-shooter.' It is clear, however, that the agentive noun 'shooter' was not understood, so the Koasati agentive noun shócca 'shooter of things with' was added to indicate what a nikasótka was.

The great difficulty of some people in translating from one language to the other, even when they are tolerably fluent in both, attests to the separation of the two languages.

⁴The verb ittakla:ná:cin is made up of the verb la:ná:cin, 'to brown something,' and the obsolete prefix compound ittak-, itta- 'action in fire,' and ak- 'action on the skin or surface of something.' Thus the speaker replaced the recognizable element la:ná:cin with the verb locá:cin, 'to blacken,' in making the pun.

The following are a few other verbs with the obsolete prefix ak-; note the presence of either the locative prefix itta- or on-

Prefixed form	Gloss	Unprefixed form	Gloss
ittaksolóhlin	'to dry meat'	solóhlin	'to dry something'
ittakhíłłin	'warm oneself at a fire'	hiłłí:lin	'to catch fire'
ittaksóhlin	'to char something by fire'	-	
onaksóhlin	'to char something while cooking;	-	
ilonaksóplin	'to shed one's skin'	sóplin	'to skin something'

CHAPTER 21

TEXTS

Koasati Speech Styles: An Introduction

There are a number of speech styles in Koasati, some of them obsolete and others still productive. These speech styles will be exemplified in the texts analyzed in this chapter. The speech styles recorded are: Conversation; Plain Narrative; Literary Narrative; Instruction, or Didactic Narrative; Aphorism; Oratory; Song; and Lying Narrative.

Conversation

This form of speech is typified by short utterances, frequent use of graded verb roots, participial forms and interrogatives. Longer utterances show a tendency towards parallel restatement of an idea, which is more typical of the various kinds of Narrative. Only fragmentary examples of this speech style were recorded, due to the fact that the Koasati objected in no uncertain terms to the use of the tape recorder. This seems to be because the thought of unguarded speech being permanently recorded is repugnant to Koasati ideas of privacy. As examples of Conversation can be found elsewhere in this dissertation, and since no lengthy examples were available, this form will not be shown in this chapter.

Plain Narrative

This form of speech, called aṭihilká, 'story,' is typified by a generally straightforward recital of facts. The style of Plain Narrative can range from simple description, such as the many short texts on natural history, excerpts of which appear in this dissertation, to highly dramatic, such as the text concerning the destruction of the Williams' home by a tornado, which has also been excerpted. This kind

of narrative was frequently recorded. The example of this style to be given in this chapter is the Death of Dennis Abbey.

Literary Narrative

This form of speech is called cokfałihilká, 'rabbit story,' but its meaning is generally understood to include any kind of literary narrative, and so it has been translated elsewhere. This is the form in which myths and traditional tales are recited; because many of them are concerned with the Trickster-Hero Rabbit, his name has been given to the entire genre. Linguistically, most Literary Narratives are typified by the occurrence of the suffix string -toho-:li-mpa-ŷhco-ki-DEL [-toho:limpáhco] added to verbs at intervals. This string indicates that the action took place long ago, was habitual but is now completed, the knowledge of it may have been arrived at by deduction and that it was not experienced by the narrator, but rather the knowledge was obtained through hearsay. There is a tendency in Literary Narrative as in Plain Narrative for ideas to be put forth, then restated in a modified form. In some of the best examples of Literary Narrative, onomopoeic sound effects are added, such as [tímm] for the flight of the hummingbird, and [bú:mm] for the sound of Rabbit running. These tales are frequently accompanied by expressive gestures, which cannot, unfortunately, be expressed on paper. A goodly number of examples of Literary Narrative were recorded, even though the form is not as common as Plain Narrative. Almost all of the texts recorded by John R. Swanton in 1910 and 1930, however, are Literary Narrative. Mary R. Haas also recorded some examples of this genre in 1936. The example of this genre to be given in this chapter is the First Meeting of the Indians and the White People.

Instruction, or Didactic Narrative

Didactic Narrative, called olpinó, 'instruction,' is a relatively common and culturally important kind of narrative. It consists of the speaker making moral observations about human behavior using as a moral foundation the athómma imolpinó, 'Indian Instruction,' which is traditional Indian culture and behavior. This form frequently contrasts the moral lapses of the present with the ideals of the past. Such topics as mutual aid, respect for elders, willingness to learn, and obedience to cultural ideals are frequently discussed. The boundary between Didactic Narrative and Plain Narrative on the one hand, and Oratory on the other is hard to define. Plain Narrative occasionally leads into Didactic Narrative, and within Didactic Narrative some of the more deeply felt passages rise to the Oratorical level. Two excerpts from an Instruction will be given to illustrate this genre.

Aphorism

An Aphorism is a pithy phrase which succinctly describes some thing or action. Although this form is not given a name, Koasati speakers say in English that 'it takes something all the way to the end.' Only one speaker provided Aphorisms, but they were so many, and because they tended to be repeated identically on different occasions, that it seems that they are an actual genre, and not just the idiosyncratic productions of a highly fluent speaker. Four Aphorisms are given as examples of this speech style.

Oratory

Historically, Oratory was linked to religious and semi-religious occurrences; for example, speeches were always given before a ball game. With the abandonment of all non-Christian religious practices, Oratory as

a distinct genre seems to have gone into abeyance. It seems to be preserved only in certain passages of Didactic Narratives which are notable for stacatto production, extreme parallelism in structure, and the use of increased stress as a suprasegmental feature. As these features seem to be typical of Creek oratory, and because of the historical relationship between the Creek and the Koasati, it is likely that these passages are true survivals of Oratory.

It is possible that Oratory is preserved in the speech of the Indian lay-minister in his sermons, but he is a person who not only objects to having his speech recorded, but also believes that the language should not be taught to non-Indians. Therefore, no examples of his sermonizing style were recorded.

For examples of Oratory, two selections from different Didactic Narratives are given.

Song

This is an obsolete speech style. Called talilwá, song originally accompanied religious ceremonies and dances, was used in curing rituals and gave virtue to Indian medicine. With the Christianization of the Koasati, song was suppressed. Some older people know dance and curing songs, but they are not willing to convey them to others, or at least to non-Indians. Five Koasati dance songs were recorded by James Crawford from Arzilie Langley (Indian name a:silí, born ca. 1883, died 1975). These are the only Koasati songs preserved. They are typified by being musically complex, frequently covering a wide range of notes, as well as having complex rhythms and occasional changes in tempo. The Horse Dance Song will be given as an example.

Lying Narrative

Almost the only thing preserved of this speech form is the name, alciká:na. It seems to have been obsolete so long that no examples have been remembered, and few people even know of the term. Originally it may have been a boastful and self-laudatory speech; at the present it is remembered only as a story that is mostly lies.

PLAIN NARRATIVE

The following is an example of Plain narrative. This text was dictated by Martha John.

THE DEATH OF DENNIS ABBEY

himá:ka mó:na:p wá:ka im-tiḥí:ka-ṽhci á:ta-to-ṽ tánka-:si-ṽhco-n
 BE:FIRST:OF:ALL¹ COW 3dat-MILK-progress DWELL (sg)-III Past-Phr:term
 BE:AFTERNOON-dim-habit-adv

/himá:ka mó:na:p wá:ka intiḥí:káhci á:tatoṽ táncascon/

'First of all, he² was in the process of milking a cow, late in the afternoon.'

mó:toho-n devidpónco-k có:b-on pa-cokkó:li-t ó,h,ḥ-ok oh-wíhli-n
 BE:THEN-sw PN-subj HORSE-obj:foc loc-SIT (sg)-conn ARRIVE:THERE,h:grade,-
 ss:foc go:&-LOOK:FOR-sw

/mó:tohon devidpónco k có:bon pacokkó:lit óhḥok ohwíhlin/

'And then, David Poncho arrived over there looking for him riding horse-back.'

dénis-ka-k acákki-to-n có:b-on papátl-ok pa-cokkó,h,l-ok
 PN-loan-subj FOLLOW-III Past-sw HORSE-obj:foc SADDLE-ss:foc loc-SIT,h:grade,-
 ss:foc

/déniskak acákkiton có:bon papátlok pacokkóhlok/

'Dennis followed him, having saddled and mounted a horse.'

mó:toho-n halkí ocó:si-ki tóklo-n ho-nó:ci-to-ṽ
 BE:THEN-sw WIFE SON-pauc BE:TWO-sw distr-SLEEP-III Past-phr:term

/mó:tohon halkí ocóski tóklon honó:citṽ/

'At that time, his wife and two sons were sleeping.'³

mó:toho-n niṭá:li-:fó:ka-p có:ba-k-ok ṭóyka-to-n im-í:sa-fa
 BE:THEN-sw BE:MORNING-when-new:top HORSE-art-ss:foc RETURN(sg)-IIIPast-sw
 3poss-HOUSE-in

/mó:tohon niṭá:li:fó:kap có:bakok ṭóykaton imí:safa/

'Then, in the morning, the horse returned to their house.'

ó:ṭa-to-n ó:ṭa-:k papátka óhya-k alwáhka-t
 ARRIVE:THERE-IIIPast-sw ARRIVE:THERE-subjunc SADDLE ALL-subj BE:RUINED-conn

afalikcók-k atákka-n st-o:ṭa-to-ṽ có:ba-k
 REINS-subj HANG:DOWN(pl)-sw instr-ARRIVE:THERE-IIIPast-phr:term HORSE-subj

/ó:ṭaton, ó:ṭa:k, papátka óhyak alwáhkat afalikcók atákkán sto:ṭatq có:bak/

'It arrived over there, when it got over there, the horse brought back the saddle all ruined and the reins hanging down.'

má:mo:si-n niṭá:li-:fó:k-on halkí-k hí:ca-toho-n có:ba-k akkámmit-ó:ṭa-n
 BE:THEREUPON-sw BE:MORNING-when-sw:foc WIFE-subj SEE-realis-sw HORSE-subj
 BE:HOW-conn ARRIVE:THERE-sw

/má:mo:sin niṭá:li:fó:kon halkík hí:catohon có:bak akkánt ó:ṭan/

'Thereupon, in the morning, his wife saw how the horse had arrived there.'

taholló niṭá:l-o-to-n halkí-:sáy-ok yawophíkon konohkac-osí
 SUNDAY MORNING-be-IIIPast-sw WIFE-art-ss:foc QUICKLY WAGON-dim

acitíff-ok có:ba-:sáy-on mí:ta có:ba acitíff-ok
 HITCH:UP-ss:foc HORSE-art-obj:foc OTHER HORSE HITCH:UP-ss:foc

st-ónti-to-ṽ lawísta pa-cikkí:l-ok
 instr-COME(sg)-IIIPast-phr:term LITTLE:ONES loc-KEEP-ss:foc

/taholló niṭá:loton halkí:sáyok yawophíkon konohkacosí acitíffok
 có:ba:sáyon mí:ta có:ba acitíffok stóntitq lawísta pacikkí:lok/

'It was Sunday morning, and his wife quickly hitched up this horse to the carriage and hitched up another horse to it, and came with her two little ones riding with her.'

má:mo:s-ok ocó:si-k ónka-k mat-hi:ca-ṽh hini-fá mat-wíhli-ṽh ikí ká:ha-to-ṽ
 BE:THEREUPON-ss:foc SON-subj QUOTH afar-SEE-delay:imp ROAD-in afar-LOOK:FOR-
 delay:imp MOTHER(voc) SAY-IIIPast-phr:term

/má:mo:sok ocó:sik ónkak, 'mathi:cəh hinifá. matwíhliḥ ikí!' ká:hatq/

'Then her son spoke. "Look over there along the road! Look for him over there, O mother!" he said.'

mó:toho-n íbisná:l-ok hí:ca-to-n tammi-n hahc-osí ó:bi-fon ayakhá
 BE:THEN-sw 3:PRONOUN:SELF-subj:foc SEE-III Past-sw BE:LYING-sw RIVER-dim
 HOLE-all NEAR

/mó:tohon íbisná:lok hí:caton tammin hahcosí ó:bifon ayakhá/

'Then, she herself saw him, lying towards the hollow of a stream nearby.'

ho-hí,h,c-ok im-ṭopóhí-ok ílmá:ka-to-n
 distr-SEE,h:grade,-ss:foc 3dat-PASS(pl)-ss:foc COME(pl)-III Past-sw

atló:ca-k cökkó:li-toho-n í:l-ok ittim-mánka-n
 BLACK:PERSON-subj SIT(sg)-realis-sw ARRIVE-ss:foc recip:dat-TELL-sw

/hohíhcok ṭṭopóhílok ílmá:katon atló:cak cökkó:tohon í:lok ittimmánkan/

'Having seen him, they came on, passing him by, and she arrived to a place
 where a Black man was dwelling, and they spoke to each other.'

atló:ca-k ónti-to-ṽ athómma iscoba-fá
 BLACK:PERSON-subj COME(sg)-III Past-phr:term INDIAN CHURCH-in

/atló:cak óntitṭ athómma iscobafá/

'The Black man came to the Indian church.'

má:mo:s-ok í,h,l-ok i:t-aí:ka-n oh-amá:ka-to-n im-awí:c-áhi-ṽ
 BE:THEREUPON-ss:foc ARRIVE,h:grade,-ss:foc come:&-TELL:STORY-sw distr-
 GO(pl)-III Past-sw 3dat-HELP-intent-phr:term

/má:mo:sok íhlok i:taí:kan ohamá:katon imawí:cáhj/

'Thereupon, upon arriving, he came and told the story, and everyone went
 off so that they might help him.'

má himá:ya-p naí:-híkkot-t àmmi-n
 THAT NOW-new:top SPEAK-3neg(IIIA)-conn BE:LYING-sw

/má himá:yap naí:híkkot àmmi-n/

'Now he (Dennis) was lying there speechless.'

alíkcí mók ho-hí:ca-tik sám-ko-n hopahki-fá niwalinci-fá mat-ho-tóhno-to-ṽ
 DOCTOR ALSO distr-LOOK-conseq BE:ABLE-3neg(IIA)-sw FAR-in PN-in afar-distr-
 SEND-III Past-phr:term

/alíkcí mók hohí:catik sánkon, hopahkifá niwalincifá mathotóhnotṭ/

'They also looked for a doctor, but were unable to find one, so they sent
 him off to a faraway place, to New Orleans.'

má:mo:si-n ifonó:si-k ałí:ya-toho-k á:ta-n himo,ŵ:, :ła-:si-ŵhco-n
 BE:THEREUPON-sw SISTER-subj GO (sg)-realis-ss DWELL (sg)-sw ONCE, intens, -
 dim-habit-adv

nałihilká caffá:ka-:si-ŵhco-n im-nałí:ka-to-ŵ
 SPEAKING BE:ONE-dim-habit-sw 3dat-SPEAK-III Past-phr:term

/má:mo:sin ifonó:sik ałí:yatohok á:tan himo:łascon nałihilká caffá:kascon
 innałí:katq/

'Consequently, his sister went to stay there, and just once was she able
 to have only one conversation with him.'

mók im-má:ya-:p nałí:-híkko-ŵhco-toho-n
 ALSO 3stats-BE:MORE-subjunct SPEAK-3neg(IIIA)-habit-real-is-sw

/mók immá:ya:p nałí:híkkóhcotohon/

'He spoke no more to her.'

mafá sobáyka-to-ŵ bakki-fá im-pałibítli-n sobáyka-to-ŵ
 OVER:THERE BE:KNOWN-III Past-phr:term HEAD-in 3dat-CRUSHED:IN-sw BE:KNOWN-
 III Past-phr:term

/mafá sobáykatq, bakkifá impałibítlin sobáykatq/

'Over there it was found out; it was found out that there was a spot on
 his head that was crushed in.'

mó:toho-n hifoshilká-k im-anó:ka-bá:no-n st-ilá-:ci-to-n
 BE:THEN-sw BREATH-subj 3dat-BE:FINISHED-abil-sw instr-ARRIVE-3nonsg-III Past-
 sw

iscoba-fá i-s-ballá:li-to-n himá:ya-p ombití:li-to-n
 CHURCH-in come:&-instr-LAY (sg)-III Past-sw NOW-new:top BURY (sg)-III Past-sw

/mó:tohon hifoshilkák imanó:kabá:non stilá:citon iscobafá isballá:liron
 himá:yap ombití:liron/

'Then, the breath of life having completely gone out of him, they brought
 him back to the church, came and laid him out, whereupon they buried him.'

Commentary

This story has many of the traits of good Koasati narrative. First, it is well plotted, moving directly from event to event. Secondly, the emotional states of the characters are not stated, but rather must be inferred from their words or actions. This is because a person's emotional states are part of his or her alı́:ya, or 'interior life;' this cannot be

speculated upon, or rather, in good narrative it is not permitted to be speculated upon. Words and actions are part of a person's alí:ta, or way of life,' which, being observable, can be reported. Therefore the wife's emotions on finding her husband's horse with the saddle ruined are not mentioned, but indicated by the fact that she hitches up the horses quickly to go and search for him. Additionally they are indicated by the fact that after she finds him, she finds someone else to continue on to the church to spread the word, then disappears from the narrative, presumably returning to her husband's side. The emotions of the churchgoers are not described, but indicated by the fact that they all go off to try to help him.

The structure and features of this text seem to be typical of dramatic narratives, and akin to those of literary narratives. In Plain Narratives where there is no thread of action running through the narrative, the structure is much less tightly organized.

LITERARY NARRATIVE

The following is an example of literary narrative, it was recorded on tape from Bel Abbey. The symbol [+] which occurs in the morphemic transcription indicates a pause to take a breath. Certain hesitations and errors, caused by nervousness in the presence of the recorder, have been removed.

THE FIRST MEETING OF THE INDIANS AND THE WHITES

mó:li:p + mók ómni -:p sammí:ci-t hí:ca-to-ŷ ca-sobáy-ko-tik +
 WELL ALSO BE-subjunct BE:HOW-conn SEE-III Past-phr:term 1sstats-KNOW
 3neg(IIA)-conseq

cim-mánka-l-á-ŷ +
 2sdat-TELL-1ss-intent-phr:term

/mó:li:p, mók ómni: p sammí:ci t hí:ca t ɔ casobáykotik, cimmánka l á /

'Well, as for that, I do not know exactly how they found them, but I will tell you.'

há:lo-li-ŷhco:li-k mafihn-ó-t óm mám-ko-to-ŷ
HEAR-1ss-custom-IVPast TRUTH-be-conn BE HAPPEN-3neg(IIA)-IIIIPast-phr:term

ínko-toho-t ómm-o-ŷ ca-sobáy-ko-tik +
NO-realís-ss BE-b -phr:term 1sstats-KNOW-3neg(IIA)-conseq

/há:loliŷhco:lik mafihnót óm mánkotq, ínkotohot ómmq, casobáykotik/

'I used to hear it as it were the truth. It didn't happen; perhaps that isn't so (i.e. it did happen), but I don't know.'

athómma-k í:sa-ŷhco-toho-n + yá:li ihá:ni-fa í:sa-ŷhco-toho-n +
INDIAN-subj DWELL(pl)-habit-realís-sw HERE LAND-in DWELL(pl)-habit-realís-sw

/athómmak í:sáhcotohon, yá:li ihá:nifa í:sáhcotohon/

'The Indians once were dwelling, here in this land they dwelt.'

thátka-k ilá:-ci:-fó:k-ok + thátka-k ilá:-ci:-fó:k +
WHITE:PERSON-subj ARRIVE-3nonsg-when-ss:foc WHITE:PERSON-subj ARRIVE-3nonsg-when

/thátkak ilá:ci:fó:kok, thátkak ilá:ci:fó:k/

'When the White people arrived, after the White people came,'

ná:ho-toho:-li-mpa-ŷhco-k athómma-k im-lónka-t im-tótkamá:mi-n
EXIST-realís-deduc-h arsay-habit-IVPast INDIAN-subj 3dat-HIDE-conn
3dat-RUN-dubit-sw

sobayá,h,l-ok +
KNOW(PI),h:grade,-ss:foc

/ná:hotoho:limpáhkok, athómmak illónkat intótkamá:min sobáyahlok/

'they existed, so it is said, and they knew that the Indians might run and hide from them.'

mámmi-tik athómma-k í:sa-ŷhco-toho-n + athómma-k yá:li í:sa-t +
HAPPEN-conseq INDIAN-subj DWELL(pl)-habit-realís-sw INDIAN-subj HERE
DWELL(pl)-conn

/mántik, athómmak í:sáhcotohon, athómmak yá:li í:sat/

'But, to change the subject for a moment, the Indians were dwelling, the Indians dwelt here, and'

ilanawíhli-t ná:s-o:t í:bi-t + í:pa-t + í:sa-ŷhco-toho-n
HUNT:GAME-conn SOMETHING-list KILL-conn EAT-conn DWELL(pl)-habit-realís-sw

/ilanawíhlit ná:so:t í:bit, í:pat, í:sáhcotohon/

'they hunted for game, and lived by killing and eating various sorts of things.'

thátka-k + ko-taťá + naksofón yomáhli-ŷhco-k ómmi-to-ŷ ilá::ci::fó:k +
WHITE:PERSON-subj 1plposs-SIDE WHERE GO:ABOUT(pl)-habit-ss BE-IIIIPast-
phr:term ARRIVE-3nonsg-when

/thátkak kotaťá naksofón yomáhlíhcómmiŷ ilá:ci:fó:k/

'Wherever the White people were going about on our side of the ocean when they arrived,'

himá:k afánka món ómm-o-t ómmi-to-ŷ
BE:FIRST MEETING ALSO BE-be-conn BÉ-IIIIPast-phr:term

/himá:k afánka món ómmot ómmiŷ/

'it seems to also have been the first meeting.'

himá:k ilá::ci-n món itto:tamátli-to-ŷ ilá,h,-c-ok +
BE:FIRST ARRIVE-3nonsg-sw ALSO TRADE-IIIIPast-phr:term ARRIVE,h:grade,-
3nonsg-ss:foc

/himá:k ilá:cin món itto:tamátliŷ iláhco/

'On first arriving, they also came to trade with them.'

thátka-k ilá::ci::fó:k piť-ón áťka-t st-o:w-ilá::ci::fó:k-on +
WHITE:PERSON-subj ARRIVE-3nonsg-when BOAT-obj:foc BE:PUT:IN(pl)-conn
instr-loc-ARRIVE-3nonsg-when-sw:foc

/thátkak ilá:ci:fó:k, piťón áťkat sto:wilá:ci:fó:kon,'

'When the White people arrived, when within a boat they arrived over the water,'

athómma-k í:sa-toho-k hí,h,c-ok im-tóťka-toho-:li-mpa-ŷhco-k +
INDIAN-subj DWELL(pl)-realis-ss SEE,h:grade,-ss:foc 3dat-RUN(pl)-realis-
deduc-hearsay-habit-IVPast

/athómmak í:satohok híhcok intóťkatoho:limpáhco/

'the Indians dwelling there, on seeing them, ran from them, so it is said.'

im-tóťka-:fó:k-on + im-tóťka-:fó:k afán-híkkon-n
3dat-RUN(pl)-when-sw:foc 3dat-RUN(pl)-when MEET-3neg(IIIA)-sw

/intóťka:fó:kon, intóťka:fó:k afáhíkkon/

'When they ran from them, after they ran from them, they did not meet them.'

ná:s-ómm-o-:li-,V?V,-sa. sámmi-n im-tó,V?V,tk-o ká:ha-toho-:li-mpa-Vhco-k
WHAT-BE-be-deduc-,Q,-IPast WHY-sw 3dat-RUN(pl),Q,-be SAY-realis-deduc-
hearsay-habit-ss

thátka-k +
WHITE:PERSON-subj

/!na:sommo:lí?sá. sámmin intótkó." ká:hatoho:limpáhco thátkak/

'Whatever could it be? Why must they run off?' the White people said,
so it is reported.'

má:mi-n im-tótká-t akkámmit í:sa-n + naksámmit:p
BE:THEN-sw 3dat-RUN(pl)-conn DO:SO-conn DWELL(pl)-sw SOMETIMES

im-tótká-ná:na-n im-lónka-ná:na-n +
3dat-RUN(pl)-adv-sw 3dat-HIDE-adv-sw

/má:min intótkat akkánt í:san, naksámmit:p intótkaná:nan illónkaná:nan/

'And then, they kept on fleeing from them so; sometimes they all ran from
them, at other times they all hid from them.'

athómma-k im-Ø-maťáhlí-k ómmi-toho-k akkó á:ti-k
INDIAN-subj 3stats-3statobj-FAEAR(pl)-ss BE-realís-IVPast THAT PERSON-subj

ná:si akkámmit-n ik-hí:c-o-má:mi-Vhco-:li-sk +
SOMETHING BE:SO-sw 3neg(IA)-SEE-neg:compl-dubit-habit-deduc-conseq

/athómmak immaťáhlík ómmi-tohok, akkó á:tik ná:si akkámmin ikhí:comáhco:lisk/

'The Indians were afraid of them, because they had never seen such people
as those.'

im-Ø-maťáhlí-k ómmi-toho-:li-mpa-Vhco-k im-tótká-t í:sa-n +
3stats-3statobj-FAEAR(pl)-ss BE-realís-deduc-hearsay-habit-IVPast 3dat-RUN
(pl)-conn DWELL(pl)-sw

/immaťáhlík ómmi-toho:limpáhco. intótkat í:san/

'It is said that they were afraid of them. They kept on fleeing from them.'

mó:toho-n thátka-k ónka-k sámmit-Vhco-k afánk-ok im-naťí:-kílko-há:lo-k
BE:THEN-sw WHITE:PERSON-subj QUOTH-ss HOW-habit-ss MEET-ss:foc 3dat-SPEAK-
1plneg(IIIA)-seq-ss

ho-ká:ha-:p im-tótká-h im-lónka-ná:na-n +
distr-SAY-subjunct 3dat-RUN(pl)-conn 3dat-HIDE-adv-sw

/mó:tohon, thátkak ónkak, "sammíhco afánk innaťí:kílkohálok," hoká:ha:p
intótkah illónkaná:nan/

'Then the White people said, "How can we get to know them before we speak
to them?," as they all ran and hid from them.'

im-istilka-fá hí:ca-:p + iha:n-ó:bi máhco-toho-k im-ná:ho-n +
 3poss-DWELLING-in SEE-subjunct EARTH-HOLE BE:MORE:OR:LESS-realís-ss 3dat-
 EXIST-sw

/imistilkafá hí:ca:p, iha:nó:bi máhcotohok inná:hon/

'If they looked into their dwellings, (those they had were somewhat
 sunken in the earth),

im-í:s-im-tíww-o:to-k ná:ho-n í:sa-ŷhco-toho-n +
 3poss-HOUSE-3dat-OPENER(pl)-art-subj ER,sw DWELL(pl)-habit-realís-sw

/imí:sintíwwo:tok, ná:hon, í:sáhcotohon/

'they who were the openers of their houses, um, that those others dwelt in,'

thátka-k hí:ca-:p athómma im-istilka-fón má:lo-k +
 WHITE:PERSON-subj SEE-subjunct INDIAN 3poss-DWELLING-all OWN-subj

á:ti im-istilka-fá má:lo-k ho-hí:ca-y-on +
 PERSON 3poss-DWELLING-in WON-subj distr-SEE-conseq-sw:foc

/thátkak hí:ca:p athómma imistilkafón má:lok, á:ti imistilkafá má:lok
 hohí:cayon/

'if the White people looked into the Indian's own dwellings...people's own
 dwellings were looked into, but contrary to expectation,'

athómma ná:s-ok íkso-t im-askáhka-t tótká-t im-lónka-t wasátka-toho-n +
 INDIAN ANY:KIND-subj:foc NOT:EXIST-conn 3dat-EXIT(pl)-conn RUN(pl)-conn
 3dat-HIDE-conn GO:OFF(pl)-realís-sw

/athómma ná:sok íksot, imaskáhkak tótkak illónkat wasátkatohon/

'there were no Indians of any kind, they had gone out and run and hid from
 them and disappeared.'

má:mo:si-n + sammí,ŷ:,ci-ŷhco-k + afán,h,k-ok
 BE:THEREUPON-sw DO:HOW,intens,-habit-ss MEET,h:grade,-ss:tuc

im-naŷi:-hílka-ŷ:mo:-li-ŷhc á:lo-t í:sa-toho-n
 3dat-SPEAK-1pls(IIIA)-adv-deduc-can THINK-conn DWELL(pl)-realís-sw

/má:mo:sin, sammí:cihcok afáhkak innaŷi:hílká:mo:líhc á:lot í:satohon/

'And then, "How ever would it be possible for us to meet and speak with
 them?," they kept on thinking.'

sám-ko-n sammí:c-áhi-k sobáy-ko-t thátka-k
 BE:ABLE-3neg(IIA)-sw DO:HOW-intent-ss KNOW-3neg(IIA)-Past WHITE:PERSON-subj

/sákon sammí:cáhi-k sobáykot thátkak/

'It was impossible; the White people did not know how they might do it.'

ishilk-ók s-yomáhli-toho-k + okhomí s-yomáhli-toho-k +
 DRINK-subj:foc instr-GO:ABOUT(pl)-realis-ss WHISKEY instr-GO:ABOUT(pl)-
 realis-ss

/ishilkók syomáhlitohok, okhomí syomáhtohok/

'They (the White people) went around with liquor, they carried whiskey
 with them.'

tokoyofka-sí caffá:ka-n st-ołá:c-ok o-st-im-tallá:li-toho-:li-mpa-ųhco-k
 BARREL-dim BE:ONE-sw instr-ARRIVE:THERE-3nonsg-ss:foc go:&-instr-3dat-
 LAY-realis-deduc-hearsay-habit-IVPast

/tokoyofkasí caffá:kan stołá:cok ostintallá:toho:limpáhcok/

'They brought over one keg and went and laid it down for them, so it is
 said.'

o-st-im-tallá:li-:fó:k-ok + kopl-ó-t ómmi-:k ínko-:p +
 go:&-instr-3dat-LAY-when-ss:foc GLASS-be-conn BE-subjunct NO-subjunct

kafí stishilká máhco-t ómmi-to-ų +
 COFFEE DRINKING:WITH BE:MORE:OR:LESS-conn BE-IIIIPast-phr:term

/ostintallá:li:fó:kok, koplót ómmi:k, ínko:p, kafí stishilká máhcot
 ómmitq/

'When they laid it down for them, as for the drinking glass..if it were
 not such, it was more or less like a coffee cup...'

ca-sobáy-ko-tik + námpo-n im-táli-to-ų ca-sobáy-ko-tik
 Isstats-KNOW-3neg(IIA)-conseq HOW:MANY-sw 3dat-LAY(pl)-IIIIPast-phr:term
 Isstats-KNOW-3neg(IIA)-conseq

im-tal,h,l-ok łoyóhka-toho-:li-mpa-ųhco-k
 3dat-LAY(pl),h:grade,-ss:foc RETURN(pl)-realis-deduc-hearsay-habit-IVPast

/casobáykotik, námpo-n intáliitq casobáykotik, intáhlók łoyóhkatoho:limpáhcok/

'But, I don't know; how many they laid down for them I don't know, but
 having laid them down for them, they returned to where they had been, so
 it is said.'

má:mi-nathómma-k wasátka-n + athómma-:sáy-ok łoyóhka-t ilá:c-ok hí:ca-:p +
 BE:THEN-sw INDIAN-subj GO:OFF(PI)-sw INDIAN-art-subj:foc RETURN(pl)-conn
 ARRIVE-3nonsg-ss:foc SEE-subjunct

/má:min athómmak wasátkan, athómma:sáyok łoyóhkat ilá:cok hí:ca:p/

'And then, the Indians who had gone off, these Indians returned and came
 arriving, and when they saw it,'

athómma-k ʔoyóhka-t í:sa-toho-ʔ + athómma-k hasáyka-ʔhco-k í:sa-toho-k +
INDIAN-subj RETURN(pl)-conn DWELL(pl)-realis-phr:term INDIAN-subj BE:MANY-
habit-ss DWELL(P1)-realis-IVPast

/athómmak ʔoyóhkat ístohq. athómmak hasaykáhcoq í:satohok/

'The Indians kept on returning. There were many Indians there.'

ʔoyóhka-t ilá-,h,-:c-ok hí:ca-ka-p s-tallá:ka-toho-n
RETURN(pl)-conn ARRIVE,h:grade,-3nonsg-ss:foc SEE-art-new:top instr-LIE-
realis-sw

/ʔoyóhkat iláhcoq hí:cakap stallá:katohon/

'Having returned and arrived back, they who saw it (the keg) lying with it
(the liquor),'

tokoyofka-sí caffá:ka-t tallá:ka-n hí,h,c-ok + ho-hí:ca:-p +
BARREL-dim BE:ONE-conn LIE-sw SEE,h:grade,-ss:foc distr-SEE-subjunct

/tokoyofkasí caffá:kat tallá:kan híhcoq, hohí:ca:p/

'upon seeing the one keg lying there, when they saw it,'

ná:s-ok o,ʔʔ,mmi ká:ha:-k + ínko-ʔ ayakha:c-aska-ʔn +
WHAT-subj:foc BE,Q, SAY-subjunct NO-phr:term APPROACH-2pls(IIIB)-neg:imp

/'ná:sok óʔmí," ká:ha:k. "ínko. ayakha:caskán."/

'they said, "What is it?" "No! Do ye not approach it!"'

ná:s-o-t ómmi-toho-k cim-ho:pá:ci-laho-ʔ +
WHAT-be-conn BE-realism-ss 2sdat-HURT-irrealis-phr:term

/ná:sot ómmitohok cijho:pá:cilahq/

''Whatever it is will hurt you!''

ná:s-o-t ómmi-toho-k haci-í:bi-laho-ʔ ká:ha-t im-aybá:ci-toho:-li-mpa-ʔhco-k
WHAT-be-conn BE-realism-ss 2pobj-KILL-irrealis-phr:term SAY-conn FORBID-
realis-deduc-hearsay-IVPast

aláhka +
REMAINDER

/'ná:sot ómmitohok hacií:bihlahq," ká:hat imaybá:citoho:limpáhcoq alahká/

''Whatever it is will kill ye!'' they said, forbidding the rest, so it is
reported.'

má:mi-y-on atanáhka-t hí:ca-t í:sa-t atanáhka-t hí:ca-t í:sa-t +
 HAPPEN-conseq-sw:foc TURN-conn SEE-conn DWELL(pl)-conn TURN-conn SEE-conn
 DWELL(pl)-conn

/má:miyon, atanáhkát hí:cat í:sat, atanáhkát hí:cat í:sat,/

'But then, contrary to expectation, they kept on turning and looking at
 it, turning and looking at it, and...'

akkámmi-t í:s-áhpí-n + ná:ho-toho:-li-mpa-h + akkámmi-t í:s-áhpí-n
 BE:S0-conn DWELL(pl)-modal-sw ER-realis-deduc-hearsay-conn BE:S0-conn
 DWELL(pl)-modal-sw

/kánt í:sáhpín, ná:hotoho:limpah, akkánt í:sáhpín,/

'they kept on so, er, so it is said, they kept on so;'

má:mo:si-n + ná:s-ó?lí. ca-sobáy-ko-tik yámmi-Úhco-k s-tallá:ka-Úhco-k
 BE:THEREUPON-sw WHAT-Q 1sstats-KNOW-3neg(IIA)-conseq BE:LIKE-habit-ss

s-tallá:ka-Úhco-k ónk ká,h,ha-n +
 instr-LIE-habit-ss BE(intrans) SAY,h:grade,-sw

/má:mo:sín, "ná:só?lí. casobáykotik yáhcok stallá:káhcok ónk," káhhán/

'thereupon (one said), "What is it?" "I do not know, but it is lying
 there with it (the liquor) just like that," said another.'

má:mo:si-n caffá-k ónka-k ísko-t hí,h,ca-ták ká:ha:-p +
 BE:THEREUPON-sw ONE-subj QUOTH-ss DRINK-conn SEE,h:grade,-lsimp SAY-subjunct

/má:mo:sín caffák ónkak, "ískot híhcaták," ká:ha:p/

'Thereupon, when one person said, "Let me test it by drinking!'",

ínko-Ú ís-híska-Ún + kán-ko-Úhco-t ómmi-n +
 NO-phr:term DRINK-2ss(IIIA)-neg:imp BE:GOOD-3neg(IIA)-habit-conn BE-sw

/ínkə. ishiskán. kánkóhcot ómmín/

'''No! Do not drink it! It is bad by nature!'''

nas-kán-k-o-t ómmi-n is-,h,-hísk-ok ci-ílli-lahə-Ú ká,h,ha-n
 SOMETHING-GOOD-3neg(IIA)-be-conn BE-sw DRINK,h:grade,-2ss(IIIA)-ss:foc
 2sstats-DIE(sg)-irrealis-phr:term SAY,h:grade,-sw

/'naskánkot ómmín, íshhískok cíllilahə," káhhán/

'''As it is a bad thing, upon your drinking it, you will die," the other
 said.'

má:mo:si-n + anók-ómmi-l-á-ŷ anók-ómmi-l-á-ŷ
 BE:THEREUPON I-subj BE-Iss-intent-phr:term I-subj BE-Iss-intent-phr:term

ká:ha-toho-:li-mpa-ŷhco-k á:ti locá:cas-ok á:ya-toho-k +
 SAY-realis-deduc-hearsay-habit-IVPast PERSON ORPHAN-subj:foc GO:ABOUT (sg) -
 realis-ss

/má:mo:sin, "anók ómmilá. anók ómmilá," ká:hatoho:limpáhco á:ti
 loká:casok á:yatohok/

'Thereupon, "I shall be the one! I shall be the one!" said an orphaned
 man who was passing by, so it is reported.'⁴

im-aláhka íkso-t ibisna,V:,:t-o-:si-ŷhco-k +
 3poss-RELATIVES NOT:EXIST-conn 3:PRONOUN:ALONE,intens,-be-dim-habit-IVPast

/imaláhka íksot ibisna::loscok/

'Being without living relatives, he was completely and utterly alone.'

at-pahókfa-t á:ta-ŷhco-toho-k im-aláhka-k íkso-t +
 SOMEONE-JOIN-conn DWELL (sg) -habit-realism-IVPast 3poss-RELATIVES NOT:EXIST-
 conn

/atpahókfat á:táhcotohok, imaláhkak íksot/

'He used to live by joining up with people; his relatives were no more.'

loká:cas-ok ómm-ok á:ta-toho-k +
 ORPHAN-subj:foc BE-ss:foc DWELL (sg) -realism-IVPast

/loká:casok ómmok á:tatohok/

'It is as an orphan that he lived.'

anók-ómmi-l-á-ŷ mó:li:p + anók-ísko-l-áhi-nò ká:ha-:p
 I-subj BE-Iss-intent-phr:term WELL I-subj DRINK-Iss-intent-already SAY-
 subjunct

/"anók ómmilá mó:li:p. anók ískoláhinò," ká:ha:p/

"Well, I will be the one!" When he said, "I might just drink it,"

ínko-ŷ-ś ká:ha-t is-hiska-ŷn + ná:si-k kán-ko-ŷhco-t ómmi-toho-k
 NO-phr:term-phr:term SAY-conn DRINK-2ss(IIIA) -neg:imp SOMETHING-subj GOOD-
 3neg(IIA) -habit-ss BE-realism-ss

ci-ílli-laho-k ká,h,ha-n
 2sstats-DIE (sg) -irrealism-ss SAY,h:grade,-sw

/"ínko:ś.⁵ ká:hat, "ishiskán. ná:sik kánkóhcot ómmitohok cíllilahok,"
 kághan/

"Nay!" said another. "Do not drink it! As it is something bad by nature, you will die!"

ká:ha:-p á:ti loká:casi-k cilítka-t fáy-ko-toho:-li-mpa-ŷhco-k
SAY-subjunct PERSON ORPHAN-subj BEG-conn QUIT(sg)-3neg(IIA)-realis-deduc-
hearsay-habit-IVPast

ísko-h banna-k +
DRINK-conn WANT-ss

/ká:ha:p á:ti loká:casik cilítkat fáykotoho:límpáhco ískoh bannak/

'When he said this, the orphan man would not quit begging to try drinking it, so it is said.'

akkámmi-tik ísko-tik am-aláhka-k íkso-ska-n
BE:SO-conseq DRINK-conseq 1sposs-RELATIVES-subj NOT:EXIST-conseq-sw

á:ti ná:s-ok ná:s-on im-aci,kí,hb-o:s
PERSON ANY:KIND-subj:foc SOMETHING-obj:foc 3stats-BE:SAD,3neg(IIIC),-neg:
compl-IPast

/'kántik, ískotik, amaláhkak íksoskan, á:ti ná:sok ná:son imacikíhbo:s'/

"But all the same, be it drunk, because my relatives no longer exist, no one at all can feel sorry about anything."

ná:s-ok st-im-aci-hba-lah-o-kko:-s +
SOMETHING-subj:foc instr-3dat-BE:SAD-irrealis-be-neg(IIICii)-IPast

/'ná:sok stimacíhbalahokko:s'/

"Nothing will sadden anyone."

aná:t-o-ŷhco:li-ska-t á:ti ná:s-ok am-aci,kí,hb-o-ŷ +
I:ALONE-be-custom-conseq-conn PERSON ANY:KIND-subj:foc 1sdat-BE:SAD,3neg
(IIIC),-neg:compl-phr:term

/'ana:tóhco:liskat, á:ti ná:sok amacikíhboq'/

"Because I have been habitually alone, no one sorrows for me."

ísko-t am-mátta-t ká:no-ŷhco:li-laho-ŷ
DRINK-conn 1sstats-MISS-conn BE:GOOD-custom-irrealis-phr:term

/'ískot ammáttat ka:nóhco:lilahq'/

"It will be a good thing if I err in drinking it."

sámmi-toho-n hacim-mánka-l-á:s sobáyli-li-k ká,h,ha-n +
BE:HOW-realism-sw 2pldat-TELL-1ss-intent KNOW-1ss-ss SAY,h:grade,-sw

/'sántohon hacimánkalá:s sobáyliilik,' káhhhan/

"I want to know and tell you how it is," he said.'

stílapíhli-k ínko-ŷ-ś ná:s-o:si-ŷhco ís-cíkko-tík
 LEADER-subj NO-phr:term-phr:term SOMETHING-dim-habit DRINK-2ss(IIIA)-polite:
 imp

isnómma á:t-ok a,cí,:ta-halpí:s-o-ŷ ká:h-ok
 YOU:AS:WELL PERSON-subj:foc DWELL (sg),2ss(IIIC),-abil-be-phr:term SAY-ss:foc

/stílapíhlik, "ínko:ś. ná:sosco íscikkotík. isnómma á:tok
 ací:tahalpí:sq," ká:hok/

'The leader said, "Nay! Please do not drink even a little bit. You as
 well deserve to live.'"

im-aybá:ci:-p ik-há:l-o-k cilítka-t fáy-k-áhpi-n +
 3dat-FORBID-subjunct 3neg(IA)-HEAR-neg:compl-ss BEG-conn QUIT (sg)-3neg(IIA)-
 modal-sw

/imaybá:ci:p, ikhá:lok cilítkat fáykáhpín/

'When he forbade him, the other did not listen, and just did not quit
 pleading, and...'

é: ísk má:mi-k ká:h-ok + oh-im-fáyli-n +
 YES DRINK THEN-ss SAY-ss:foc distr-3dat-QUIT (sg)-sw

/'é:. ísk má:mik," ká:hok, ohifáylin/

"All right, drink it then," he said, and the other left off (begging).'

ísko-t hí,h,c sámmitoho-n kom-mánka:-k ká,h,ha-n +
 DRINK-conn SEE,h:grade, BE:HOW-realís-sw lpldat-TELL-subjunct SAY,h:grade,-
 sw

/'ískot híhc sámmitohon kommánka:k," káhhán/

'Take a drink of it that you might tell us how it is," he said.'

má:mo:si-n im-fáy,h,li-n á:ti loká:casí-k-ok +
 BE:THEREUPON-sw 3dat-QUIT (sg),h:grade,-sw PERSON ORPHAN-art-subj:foc

átt-ok ísko-toho:-li-mpa-ŷhco-k
 FILL (pl) -ss:foc DRINK-realís-deduc-hearsay-habit-IVPast

/má:mo:sín jfayhlin, á:ti loká:casíkok áttok ískotoho:límpáhcok/

'Thereupon, having left off with him, the orphan man filled up a container
 and drank, so it is said.'

ísko-k + ísko-t ańí:ya-k im-cokfolóhli-t st-anó:ka:-fó:ka-p +
 DRINK-ss DRINK-conn GO (sg)-conn 3stats-BE:DIZZY-conn instr-FINISH (sg)
 (intr)-when-new:top

/ískok, ískot ańí:yak, incokfolóhli stano:ka:fó:kap/

'He drank, and continued to drink, and now, when he was completely dizzy,'

ná:s-o-kko-toho-:li-mpa-ųhco-k +
SOMETHING-be-neg(IIICii)-realis-deduc-hearsay-habit-IVPast

/ná:sokkotoho:límpáhco-k/

'it is said that he was insensible.'

ná:s-o-kko-t á:ta-toho-:li-mpa-ųhco-k
SOMETHING-be-neg(IIICii)-conn DWELL(sg)-realis-deduc-hearsay-habit-IVPast

/ná:sokkot á:tatoho:límpáhco-k/

'He was in a state of insensibility, as it is reported.'

má:mo:s-ok im-cokfolóhli-t anó:ka-:fó:ka-p
BE:THEREUPON-ss:foc 3stats-BE:DIZZY-conn FINISH(sg) (intrans) -when-new:top

/má:mo:sok incokfolóhli-t anó:ka:fó:kap/

'Thereupon, when he was completely dizzy,'

himá:ya mán + naksáhka-t nas-kaha-k sobáy-híkko-tik
NOW ALSO MAKE:NOISE-conn SOMETHING-SAID-subj KNOW-3neg(IIIA)-conseq

aųí:ya-toho-:li-mpa-k
GO(sg)-realis-deduc-hearsay-IVPast

/himá:ya mán, naksáhkát naskahák sobáyhíkkotik, aųí:yatoho:límpak/

'Now also, he made noise and what he said was unintelligible, but he went on, so it is said.'

himá:ya mán ísko-k ko-kámmin + máh haci-kámmin-laho-hónka-:si-n
NOW ALSO DRINK-ss 1plstats-BE:S0-sw LOOK(intj) 2plstats-BE:S0-irrealis-adv-dim-sw⁶

/himá:ya mán, "ískok kokámmin." "máh. hacikámmilahohónka:sin"

'Now also they said, "Drinking does so to us!" "Look! That is completely and utterly what will happen to ye."'

hiná p has-hicá ká,h,ha-n
NOW 2pls(IA)-SEE(aor) SAY,h:grade,-sw

/" hiná:p hashicá," káhhan/

'"Now you see it!" they said.'

ná:s-o-kko-t á:ta-toho-:li-mpa-ųhco-k
 SOMETHING-be-neg(IIICii)-conn DWELL(sg)-realis-ueduc-hearsay-habit-IVPast

/ná:sokkot á:tatoho:límpáhcok/

'It is said that he was in a state of insensibility.'

ískó + aųí:ya-t ísko-t hákt-ok + ísko-n hákt-o-t ómmito-ho-k
 DRINK(aor) GO(sg)-conn DRINK-conn BE:DRUNK-ss:foc DRINK-sw BE:DRUNK-be-conn
 BE-realís-IVPast

/ískó, aųí:yat ískot háktok, ískon háktot ómmitohok/

'He drank, went on drinking and became drunk; he drank and was drunk.'

má:mo:s-ok + ísko-t hákti-t tám,h,m-ok itta-ballá:k-ok nó,h,ci-n +
 BE:THERUPON-ss:foc DRINK-conn BE:DRUNK-conn FALL(sg),h:grade,-ss:foc
 loc-LIE:DOWN(sg)-ss:foc SLEEP,h:grade,-sw

hí:c-ok i,ų:,sa-toho-:li-mpa-ųhco-k óhya-k
 SEE-ss:foc DWELL(pl),intens,-realis-deduc-hearsay-habit-IVPast ALL-subj

/má:mo:sok, ískot háktik támok ittaballá:kok nóhcin hí:cok
 ų::satoho:límpáhcok óhyak/

'Thereupon, they all were really keeping on watching him as he drank, got drunk, fell down and lay down on the ground.'

í:la-:p ílli-laho-k kom-ílli-n ílli-laho-k akkámmito-ųhco-k óm ká:h-ok +
 ARRIVE-subjunct DIE(sg)-irrealis-ss lpldat-DIE(sg)-sw DIE(sg)-irrealis-ss
 BE:SO-habit-ss BE SAY-ss:foc

/í:la:p, "íllilahok, komíllin, íllilahok káhcok óm," ká:hok/

'Going up to him, one said, "He will die, he is dying on us; such is the case, he is going to die."'

wá:c-ok í:sa-toho-:li-mpa-ųhco-k hí,h,c-ok +
 WAIT:FOR-ss:foc DWELL(pl)-realis-deduc-hearsay-habit-IVPast SEE,h:grade,-
 ss:foc

/wá:cok ístoho:límpáhcok híhcok/

'On watching him, they kept on waiting for it, so it is said.'

má:mo:si-n + akkámmito-ųhco-k hí:c-ok í:sa-n itta-támmito-:li-mpa-ųhco-k +
 BE:THEREUPON-sw BE:SO-habit-ss SEE-ss:foc DWELL(pl)-sw loc-LIE-realís-deduc-
 hearsay-habit-IVPast

/má:mo:sin, káhcok hí:cok í:san, ittattámmitoho:límpáhcok/

'Thereupon, they kept on watching him in the same way; he was lying on the ground, so it is said.'

tà,ŷ: ,mmi-n + ihó:ca sámmi-n tàmmi-t kostí:ni-toho-n ca-sobáy-ko-tik +
LIE,intens,-sw LONG:TIME BE:HOW-sw LIE-conn BE:AWARE-realís-sw 1sstats-
KNOW-3neg(IIA)-conseq

/tã:mmin, ihó:ca sámmin tàmmit kostí:nitohon casobáykotik/

'He really lay there; I do not know how long he lay there before he regained
consciousness, but...'

tàmm-áhp-ok + falán,h,k-ok + tàm-áhp-ok ilihá:lo-k ilkoyóhli-n +
LIE-modal-ss:foc AWAKEN(sg),h:grade,-ss:foc LIE-modal-ss:foc WAKE:UP-ss
MOVE-sw

/tàmáhpok, faláhkok, tàmáhpok ilihá:lok ilkoyóhlin/

'he just lay there, and he awoke; he just lay there, woke up and moved.'

máh hiná:p falánk-áhi-má:m ili-hamóhli-t ómmito-n falán,h,k-ok +
LOOK(intj) LO AWAKEN(sg)-intent-dubit reflex-RUB-conn BE-realís-sw
AWAKEN,h:grade,-ss:foc

/'máh. hiná:p. falánkáhimá:m." iliamóhli-t ómmitohon faláhkok/

''' Look! Lo! He is about to awaken!'' He was continuing to rub himself
as he was awakening.'

má:mo:si-n falánk-áhi-n im-asilhá:ci-toho-:li-mpa-ŷhco-k
BE:THEREUPON-sw AWAKEN(sg)-intent-sw 3dat-ASK-realís-deduc-hearsay-habit-
IVPast

sá,ŷ?ŷ,mmi + ná:s-ok sá,ŷ?ŷ,mmi ci-sámmí,ŷ?ŷ,:ci + sámmi-n on-ci-,ŷ?ŷ,-sa
BE:HOW,Q, WHAT-subj:foc BE:HOW,Q, 2sstats-DO:HOW,Q, BE:HOW-sw BE-2ss
(IIA)-,Q,-IPast

ká,h,ha-n +
SAY,h:grade,-sw

/má:mo:sin, falánkáhin imasilhá:citoho:limpáhcok, "sá?mí. ná:sok sá?mi.
cisámmí?cí. sámmin oncí?sá," káhhn/

'Thereupon, as he was awakening, it is said that they asked him, "How is
it? What is it like? How was it for you? How are you?" they said.'

má:m-ok ya?á-:sáya-ŷy ká:n-á:ho:si-toho-n st-innoc-ók +
HAPPEN-ss:foc THIS:ONE-art-sent:func BE:GOOD-adv-realís-sw instr-SLEEPING:
THING-ss:foc

/má:mok ya?á:sáyà, "ka:ná:hostohon stinnocók''/

'Then, this one here, contrary to expectation said, "It was a very good
sleep-making device.'''

st-innoc-ók ká:no-palámm-o-toho-n + akkám-mi-sk is-hók
 instr-SLEEPING:THING-subj:foc GOOD-adv-be-real-is-sw BE:SO-conseq DRINK-
 2plimp(IIIA)

/'stinnocók ká:nopalámmotohon, kámmisk ishók'/

'It was an extremely good device for sleeping. This being so, drink ye it!!!'

ís-hílk-o-:li-:p st-innoc-ók ká:no-palámmo-toho-n
 DRINK-1pls(IIIA)-be-deduc-subjunct instr-SLEEPING:THING-subj:foc BE:GOOD-
 adv-real-is-sw

/'íshílk:li:p, stinnocók ká:nopalámmotohon'/

'''If we were to drink it, it would be a very good device for sleeping.'''

st-am-ká:n-á,ŷ:,ho:si-n nó:c-o-to-k ká:no-palámm-o-toho-k ká,h,ha-n
 instr-1sstats-BE:GOOD-adv,intens,-sw SLEEP-art-subj BE:GOOD-adv-be-real-is-

/'stanka:ná:ho:sin, nó:co:tok ká:nopalámmotohok," káhhan/

'''I liked it very, very much; it was an extremely good sleep," he said.'

má:mo:si-n aláhka mók mafihn-ón ónk-o-:l-ok
 BE:THEREUPON-sw REMAINDER ALSO TRUTH-obj:foc BE(intrans)-be-deduc-ss:foc

mí:t-ok ísko-t mí:t-ok ísko-t itta-ballá:ka-t á:ya-toho-:li-mpa-Vhco-k
 OTHER-subj:foc DRINK-conn OTHER-subj:foc DRINK-conn loc-LIE:DOWN(sg)-conn
 GO:ABOUT(sg)-real-is-deduc-hearsay-habit-IVPast

ísko-k
 DRINK-ss

/má:mo:sin, aláhka mók mafihnón ónko:lok, mí:tok ískot mí:tok ískot
 ittaballá:kat á:yatoho:limpáhco ískok/

'Thereupon, the remainder of them, thinking it to be the truth, some drank
 and others drank; each lay on the ground and went about drinking, as it
 is reported.'

má:mo:si-n + akkamí:ci-Vhco-toho-k óm,h,mi-n + akkamí:c-ok athómma-k
 BE:THEREUPON-sw DO:SO-habit-real-is-ss BE,h:grade,-sw DO:SO-ss:foc INDIAN-
 subj

/má:mo:sin, akkamí:cíhcotohok óhmin, kammí:cok athómmak/

'Thereupon, as they were doing so, as the Indians were doing so,'

athómma-k itta-tammi-toho-n akkamí:ci-t itta-bálli-toho-n
 INDIAN-subj loc-LIE-real-is-sw DO:SO-conn loc-LIE:DOWN(pl)-real-is-sw

/athómmak ittatammi-tohon, kammí:cit ittabállitohon/

'the Indians were lying on the ground, they did so and lay on the ground,'

t hátk a-:sáy-ok il á-,h,-:c-ok + it-tabá:ka-toho-:li-mpa-ŷhco-k +
 WHITE:PERSON-subj:foc ARRIVE-,h:grade,-3nonsg-ss:foc come:&-CATCH(pl)-
 realis-deduc-hearsay-habit-ss

tóklo-ŷhco-t ómm-o-ŷ +
 BE:TWO-habit-ss BE-be-phr:term

/thátka:sáyok il áhcok, ittabá:katoho:límpáhcok, toklóhcot ómmq/

'And the aforementioned White people, upon arriving, came and caught some
 of them; about two in number.'

tabá:k-ok s-ŷoyóhk-ok + piŷa-fá st-oŷa-:c-ok áŷŷi-toho-k
 CATCH(pl)-ss:foc instr-RETURN(pl)-ss:foc BOAT-in instr-ARRIVE:THERE-3nonsg-
 ss:foc PUT:IN(pl)-realis-IVPast

/tabá:kok sŷoyóhkok piŷafá stoŷá:cok áŷŷitohok/

'They caught them, returned with them to the boat, and getting over there
 put them into it.'

kostí:ni-t anó:ka-:p im-naŷí:ka-:fó:k im-tóŷka-h bàнна-tik
 BE:AWARE-conn FINISH(intrans)-subjunct 3dat-SPEAK-when 3dat-RUN(pl)-conn
 WANT-conseq

ok-ó-:li-ska-n sám-ko-n
 WATER-be-deduc-conseq-sw BE:ABLE-3neg(IIA)-sw

/kostí:nit anó:ka:p, innaŷí:ka:fó:k, intóŷkah bànnatik okó:liskan sánkon/

'After they regained consciousness, when the others spoke to them, they
 tried to run away, but because they could tell that they were on the
 water, they were unable to.'

fayáhl-áhp-ok hiná:ya-p ponná:ci-t im-naŷí:ka-t
 QUIT(pl)-modal-ss:foc NOW-new:top TEACH-conn 3dat-SPEAK-conn

/fayáhlahpok, hiná:yap ponná:cit innaŷí:kat/

'Their having given up (trying to escape), now they spoke to them and
 taught them.'

im-naŷí:ka-t holikf-ó:t hokfí:ci-t + hokfí:ci-t anóslitoho-má:ŷ-ok +
 3dat-SPEAK-conn CLOTHING-list CLOTHE-conn CLOTHE-conn FINISH(trans)(pl)-
 realis-modal-ss:foc

/innaŷí:kat holikfó:t hokfí:cit, hokfí:cit anóstohomá:ŷok/

'They spoke to them, and gave them things such as clothing; they would
 have dressed them completely.'

ná:s-on aláhka mók im-mán-híkk-áhi-n + ilacití:k
SOMETHING-obj:foc REMAINDER ALSO 3dat-TELL-3neg(IIIA)-intent-sw BELT:ON

holikf-ó:t cínka-t naho-tilká ká,h,ha-n
CLOTHING-list GIVE:TO:YOU MAKE-1pls(IIICi)(aor)-SAY,h:grade,-sw

/ná:son aláhka mók immáhikkáhin, "ilacití:k holikfó:t cínkat nahotilká,"
káhhan/

'Also they would tell them nothing more than, "Belt on the clothing and
so forth that we made and gave you."

ittim-mán,h,ka-n óhya thátka-k + athómma o-st-acákki-n
recip:dat-TELL,h:grade,-sw ALL WHITE:PERSON-subj INDIAN go:&-instr-
ACCOMPANY-sw

/ittimmághan óhya thátka-k athómma ostacákkin/

'Having spoken to each other, all the White people went along accompanying
the Indians.'

holikf-ó:t hokfí:ci-t st-im-ókla-t + ishilk-ók á:sa-t st-afán,h,ka-n
CLOTHING-list CLOTHE-conn instr-3dat-MAKE:FRIENDS LIQUOR-subj:foc BE:WITH-
conn

st-afan,h,ka-n ísko-úhco-t ómni-n +
instr-MEET,h:grade-sw DRINK-habit-conn BE-sw

/holikfó:t hokfí:ci-t stimóklat, ishilkók á:sat stafághan, ískóhco-t ómni-n/

'They gave them things such as clothing and made friends with them with
it, as liquor was with them, and having met them with it, they (the
Indians) were now habitual drinkers.'

Commentary

This text is elaborately structured, and has many of the features typical
of Traditional Narrative. Successive restatement of an idea is notable,
as in the following lines kántik, ískotik, amaláhkak íksoskan, á:ti ná:sok
ná:son imacikíhbo:s / ná:sok stimacíhbalahokko:s / ana:tóhco:liskat, á:ti
ná:sok amacikíhbo / 'But all the same, be it drunk, because my relatives
no longer exist, no one at all can feel sorry about anything. / Nothing
will sadden anyone. / Because I have been habitually alone, no one sorrows
for me.' Another major feature shown in this text and typical of Tra-
ditional Narrative is the extensive use of quoted speech. Such a use

adds interest and immediacy to the narrative. That quoted speech is a recurrent feature of Traditional Narrative is shown by its occurrence in all examples of this genre gathered, even highly abbreviated versions. The whole narrative, as mentioned before, is highly elaborate, and could be divided into sections and scenes and verses, as Dennis Tedlock and others have done for literature from other American Indian languages. Such a study of this text would be a major paper in its own right, and is out of place in the context of this dissertation.

This text does deviate slightly from tradition. Because the end of the text was not the end of what the speaker wished to convey (he continued with a long discussion of the use of alcohol among the present-day Indians), it does not have the traditional ending. Most other examples of Traditional narrative terminate with the interjection tafhiyám, and the speaker spits, or makes a spitting sound. This was done to prevent one from developing a hunchback from telling these stories.

INSTRUCTION, OR DIDACTIC NARRATIVE

Didactic narratives, as a general rule are quite lengthy, and in places are difficult to interpret. Therefore, rather than giving an entire instruction, which would have to be heavily annotated for it to be understood in English, two selections of one Didactic Narrative will be given as examples. These were recorded on tape from Martha John; in the morphemic transcription, the sign for a pause, +, will not be given. This is due to Miss John's light and rapid delivery, which causes such pauses as there are to be of less significance than those in the speech of Mr. Abbey. This relatively rapid, lenis style of speaking is not usual, and is a result of nervousness and self-consciousness in the presence of the tape recorder.

GRANDMOTHER'S TEACHINGS

yá himá:yámmi-n í:sa-k ómmi-:p olpinó-k ómmi-:p,
THIS BE:NOW-sw DWELL(pl)-conn BE-subjunct INSTRUCTION-subj BE-subjunct

ná:s-ok oťá-:ci-lah-o-kko-ųhco-k
SOMETHING-subj:foc ARRIVE:THERE-3nonsg-irrealis-be-neg(IICii)-habit-ss

/... yá himá:yámmi-n, í:sak ómmi:p, olpinók ómmi:p oťá:cilahokkóhcok/

'... This right now, as for those now living, as for their culture,
they will not be achieving it.'

ihó:ca kom-olpinó kom-aybá:ci-ųhco-toho-k
LONG:TIME 1p-ss-INSTRUCTION 1pldat-FORBID-habit-real-is-IVPast

/ihó:ca komolpinó komayba:cíhcotohok/

'Long ago, they habitually taught us our culture by means of commands.'⁷

akkámmi-ska-n ómmi-:k nás-on sámmi-halpí:sa-k sámmi-t
BE:SO-conseq-sw BE-subjunct SOMETHING-obj:foc BE:ABLE-abil-ss BE:HOW-conn

amá:ka-ųhco-toho-k ilim-acíhb-áhi-:sa-h amá:ka-h ómmi-ųhco-k
GO(pl)-habit-real-is-ss reflex:dat-BE:SAD-intent-IPast-conn GO(pl)-conn
BE-habit-ss

/kámmiskan ómmi:k, ná:son sámmihalpí:sak sánt amá:káhcotohok
ilimacíhbáhi:sah amá:kah ómmíhcok/

'As for this being so, how they went along being able to do things, they
were going being sad in themselves (i.e. they felt guilt).'

akkámmi-:fó:k ná:s-on iliholló:c-ítkko-ųhco-toho-k
BE:SO-when SOMETHING-obj:foc MOURN-3neg(IIB)-habit-real-is-ss

/kámmi:fó:k, ná:son ilihollo:cíkkóhcotohok/

'When this was so, they used not to mourn for anything.'

mí:ta-má:hilo-k kom-apó-k kom-naťí:ka-k ónka-k
OTHER-IN:THE:CASE:OF-ss 1plposs-GRANDMOTHER-subj 1pldat-SPEAK-ss BE(intr)-ss

ná:si olpinó kom-aybá:ci-t st-aťí:ya-k ko-lawísta-tik
SOMETHING INSTRUCTION 1pldat-FORBID-conn instr-GO(sg)-IVPast 1plstats-
BE:SMALL(pl)-conseq

/mí:tamá:hilok, komapók konnaťí:kak ónkak, ná:si olpinó komaybá:cit
staťí:yak kolawístatik/

'In the case of other things, our grandmother was speaking to us, she
continued to instruct us in cultural things, even though we were small.'

kom-nałí:ka-k óhya ná:ni-ha-:si-ki-tik táyyi-ha-:si-ki-tik
 1pdat-SPEAK-ss ALL BE:MAN-pl-dim-pauc-conseq BE:WOMAN-pl-dim-pauc-conseq

ho-cikkí:li-n ónka-k hasn-ap akkámmit amá:-hásk-áhi-:p
 distr-KEEP-sw QUOTH-ss YOU:PL-new:top BE:SO-conn GO(pl)-2pls(IIIA)-intent-
 subjunct

ca-bán-ko-tik hacik-há:l-o-k ómmi-laho-ŷ-ś hasná:ł-ok kom-mánka-ŷhco:li-k
 1sstats-WANT-3neg(IIA)-conseq 2plneg(IA)-HEAR-neg:compl-ss BE-irrealis-
 phr:term-phr:term YOU:PL:ALONE-subj:foc 1pdat-TELL-custom-IVPast

/konnałí:kak óhya ná:nihaskitik, táyyihaskitik, hocikkí:lin ónkak,
 "hasnap akkánt amá:háskáhi:p cabánkotik, hacikhá:lok ómmilaho:ś
 hasná:łok," kommánkáhco:lik/

'She spoke to us all, even the ones who were boys, even the ones who
 were girls, she took care of them all and said, "I do not want it that
 you go on in such a way, but you alone will not be listening, " so she
 told us.'

mó:toho-ska-n himá:ya-p ipokkosi-ki-ha-k amá:ka-t anámpo-t
 BE:CONSEQUENCE-conseq-sw NOW-newtop GRANDCHILD-pauc-pl-subj GO(pl)-conn

anámpo-t itt-ipokkó:si-ki-t amá:ka-t nałihilká
 ONCE:AGAIN-conn recip-HAVE:GRANDCHILDREN-pauc-conn GO(pl)-conn SPEECH

ik-há:l-o-t amá:ka-h ómmi-ŷhco-k
 3neg(IA)-HEAR-neg:compl-conn GO(pl)-conn BE-habit-ss

/mó:tohoskan himá:yap, ipokkóskihak amá:kat anámpot ittipokkóskit amá:kat
 nałihilká ikhá:lot amá:kah ómmihcok.../

'Because afterwards, now, her grandchildren go on once again going on and
 having grandchildren for each other, and they are going on not listening
 to her speech...'

mó:toho-ska-li-n an-áp ca-ilhó:s-ko-k onámmi-ŷhco-k má:ł-on
 BE:CONSEQUENCE-conseq-1ss-sw I-new:top 1sstats-FORGET-3neg(IIA)-ss
 BE:STILL-habit-ss ONLY-obj:foc

/... mó:tohoskalin, anáp calhóskok onáhkok má:łon/

'It is to me as a consequence, ⁸ as for me, I alone still do not forget.'

an-áp an-atlawísta-k íkso-ŷhco-k=katík ná:ho-ŷhco-k ná:ho yámmi-t
 I(emphatic)-new:top 1sposs-CHILDREN-subj NOT:EXIST-habit-ss=encl EXIST-
 habit-ss EXIST BE:LIKE-conn

am-tayyosi-ki-há am-icofó:si-ki-ha yámmi-:p óhya
 1sposs-NIECE-pauc-pl 1sposs-NEPHEW-pauc-pl BE:LIKE-subjunct ALL

im-aybá:ci-t st-ałí:ya-li-Ųhco-k óm̄mi-Ųhco-k
 3dat-FORBID-conn instr-GO(sg)-lss-habit-ss BE-habit-ss

/ánáp amatławístak iksóhcok katík, ná:hóhcok, ná:ho yámm̄it antayyoskihá
 amicofóskiha yámm̄i:p, óhya imaybá:cit stałí:yalíhcok ómm̄íhcok/

'As for me, my children do not exist, but it is the case that there are
 ones, like having them, like my various nieces and nephews, I am
 continually instructing them all in proper behavior.'

akkám,haci,:ci-Ųnna-Ųh ká:ha-li-tik mí:ta-k óm̄mi-:k há:lo-n
 DO,2pls(11B),-neg:imp-delay SAY-lss-conseq OTHER-subj BE-subjunct HEAR-sw

mí:ta-k óm̄mi-:k ik-há:l-o-Ųhco-k
 OTHER-subj BE-subjunct 3neg(1A)-HEAR-neg:compl-habit-ss

/'akkahaci:cín̄ṅh," ká:halitik, mí:tak óm̄mi:k há:lon, mí:tak óm̄mi:k
 ikhá:lóhcok/

''Do not do thus and so, then!'' I say, but as for some, they listen, and
 as for others, they do not listen.'

it-hamát-hílka-Ųhco:li-ska-n thátk-o:t óm̄mi-tik
 come:&-MIX-1pls(111A)-custom-conseq-sw WHITE:PERSON-list BE-conseq

akkám̄mi-t hamát-hílka-:fó:k-on im-olpinó-k mí:ta-Ųhco:li-sk
 BE:S0-conn MIX-1pls(111A)-when-sw:foc 3poss-INSTRUCTION-subj BE:DIFFERENT-
 custom-conseq

itti-fáyli-toho-k
 recip-QUIT-realis-ss

/ithamáthilkáhco:liskan, thátko:t óm̄mitik, kánt hamáthílka:fó:kon,
 imolpinók mí:táhco:lisk, ittifáytohok/

'Because we are coming along habitually mixed, as with White people and
 such like, after we are so mixed, and because their culture is different,
 they (the Indians) have given their own up.'

akkám̄mi-:fó:k-on akkám̄mi-tik fáy-tákko-Ųhco-k anó-k im-aybá:ci-li-k
 BE:S0-when-sw:foc BE:S0-conseq QUIT-lsneg(11A)-habit-ss l-subj 3dat-FORBID-
 lss-ss

/kám̄mi:fó:kon, akkántik, fáytákkohcok anók imaybá:cilik.../

'When this is so, but this being so, I for one am not giving it up and I
 am instructing them in proper behavior...'

Commentary

These two selections show typical features of Didactic Narrative. One
 is the use of extremely long sentences. Another feature is their relative

difficulty, as a great deal of background material is left implicit, rather than being set out, as in other kinds of Narrative. This, in addition to shift in the point of view of the narrator from simply relating facts, to quoting speech, to making moral observations, makes this speech style the most opaque to the non-Indian listener. The one feature that Didactic Narrative shares with other styles is the use of repetitive phrases and structures, although not to the extent that occurs in other kinds of Narrative.

APHORISM

The following are five examples of Aphorism. All were dictated by Miss Martha John.

CYCLE OF LIFE

hofánti-toho-k có:ba-toho-k na:sincaksobáyli-toho-k mán anátti-toho-k
BE:BORN-realís-ss GROW-realís-ss GO:TO:SCHOOL-realís-ss ALSO MARRY-realís-ss

ocó:sí-toho-k himá:ya-p síhno-toho-k á:po-toho-k hó:pa-toho-k
HAVE:CHILDREN-realís-ss NOW-new:top GROW:OLD-realís-ss BECOME:GRANDMOTHER-
realís-ss FALL:ILL-realís-ss

ílli-toho-k ombítí:ka-toho-k tósb-o-y
DIE(sg)-realís-ss BE:BURIED(sg)-realís-ss ROT-be-phr:term

/hofánttohok, có:batohok na:sincaksobáytohok, mán anáttohok, ocó:sitohok,
himá:yap síhnotohok á:potohok, hó:patohok íllitohok, ombítí:katohok
tósbq/

'She is born, grows up and goes to school, again she gets married and has children, now she grows old and becomes a grandmother, she falls ill and dies, she is buried and indeed is decaying.'⁹

A SUDDEN STORM

nihtá-k ká:no-toho-:li-y-on o:laci ló:ca-k í,h,l-ok
DAY-subj BE:GOOD-realís-deduc-conseq-sw:foc CLOUD BLACK-subj ARRIVE,h:grade,-
ss:foc

óyba-t hasáyli-t fáyli-t hanabitilí-k s-haccá:li-n níhta-k ká:no-t
RAIN-conn BE:DOWNPOUR-conn QUIT(sg)-conn RAINBOW-subj instr-STAND(sg)-sw
DAY-subj BE:GOOD-Past

/nihták ká:notoho:liyon, o:lací ló:cak íhlok, óybat, hasáylit, fáylit,
hanabitilík shaccá:lin, nihták ká:not/

'The day was fine, but contrary to expectation black clouds gathered, and it rained and there was a downpour, it ceased, a rainbow came out, and the day was fine again.'

FIRE

tall-ón batápli-t cikápli-t ittó tospi-hayó hiþþí:li-t
STONE-obj:foc STRIKE-conn SPARK-conn WOOD ROTTEN-ines CATCH:FIRE-conn

atiní:ka-t toþkáybi-t hísto-t himá:ya-p apísli-toho-ʋ
BURN(sg)-conn BECOME:COALS-conn BECOME:ASH-conn NOW-new:top THROW:AWAY(pl)-
realis-phr:term

/tallón batáplit cikáplit ittó tospihayó hiþþí:lit atiní:kat toþkáybit
hístot, himá:yap apístohq/

'One strikes a stone and it sparks and it catches fire among the rotten wood, it burns, it becomes glowing coals, it turns to ashes and now they are thrown away.'

FRIENDS

itti-hí:c-ok ittim-naþí:ka-t ittim-afá:ka-t ittim-ókla-t akkám-m-o:s
recip-SEE-ss:foc recip:dat-SPEAK-conn recip:dat-LAUGH-conn recip:dat-MAKE:
FRIENDS-conn BE:SO-dim

/tihí:cok, tinnaþí:kat, timafá:kat, timóklat kám-mo:s/¹⁰

'On seeing each other, they speak to each other, they laugh with each other, they make friends with each other, and that is all.'

THE BABY

cokí:bo:si-toho-k athóm-ma-p hasí ostá:ka-:fó:k hí:si im-sahlí:ci-toho-k
BE:SMALL-realís-ss INDIAN-new:top MONTH BE:FOUR-when HAIR 3dat-SHAVE-
realís-ss

tabátli-toho-k cayáhli-toho-k
CRAWL-realís-ss WALK-realís-ss

/cokí:bostohok, athómmap hasí ostá:ka:fó:k hí:si jsahlí:citohok
tabátlitohok cayáhlitohok/

'It is small, and now the Indians in the fourth month (of its life) shave off its hair, it crawls, and then it walks.'

Commentary

Aphorisms have a number of linguistic characteristics. One is that an

Aphorism consists of a single sentence, which only optionally uses a phrase terminal marker. The other is the frequent use of the realis suffix -toho-. In Aphorism, this suffix is not necessarily translated in English using a past tense, as its use is to indicate an idealized sequence of events. Such a sequence is best rendered in English by a gnomic present, although to the Koasati mind, the completion of the action indicates its successful conclusion in the sequence. Where the suffix -toho- is used, it is connected to the following action with the switch-reference suffix -k. Where the realis suffix is not used, the actions are joined with the connecting suffix -t. It is difficult to understand the stylistic difference between the two kinds of Aphorism; but it seems those using -toho- are somewhat more formal than the others.

ORATORY

The following are two selections from two Didactic Narratives that have an Oratorical feel. The first is from an Instruction told by Martin Abbey, the second is one from an Instruction by Martha John. Because of the nature of Oratory, the arrangement of the Koasati and English in this section differs from the others.

on-o,kí,yb-o-k on-kasát-híkkó-k ho-ca,kí,hn-o-ŷ im-aka,kí,:n-o-ŷ
 loc-RAIN,3neg(IIC)-neg:compl-ss loc-BE:COLD:WEATHER-3neg(IIIA)-ss
 distr-BE:COLD,3neg(IIC),-neg:compl-phr:term 3stats-BE:HUNGRY,3neg(IIC)-
 neg:compl-phr:term

ká:no-h stalpí:sa-n í:sa-ŷhco-k óm
 BE:GOOD-conn BE:SUFFICIENT-sw DWELL(pl)-habit-ss BE

/onokíybok

onkasáthikkok

hocakíhnow

imakakí:now

'It does not rain on them

they do not suffer from cold weather

they are not cold.

They are not hungry.

ká:nox stalpí:san í:sáhcóm/

They are continuing on well enough.'

ká,h,no-n amá:ka-halpí:sa-toho-tik món im-ik-há:l-o-k ómni-Vhco-k
BE:GOOD,h:grade,-sw GO(pl)-abil-realis-conseq ALSO 3dat-3neg(IA)-HEAR-neg:
compl-ss BE-habit-ss

mí:t-ok ómni-:k ká:no-n am-mán-híkko-ŷ kom-mán-híkko-Vhco:li-k
OTHER-subj:fco BE-subjunct BE:GOOD-sw 1sdat-TELL-3neg(IIIA)-phr:term
1pldat-TELL-3neg(I..A)-custom-IVPast

im-mánka-toho-tik ponhá:lo-tíkkot omm-o-ŷ
3dat-TELL-realis-conseq LISTEN-3neg(IIICi)-conn BE-be-phr:term

ínko:p im-mán-híkko-Vhco-t ómm-o=katík an-áp am-apó mók am-mánka-n
NO-subjunct 3dat-TELL-3neg(IIIA)-habit-conn BE-be=encl I-new:top 1sposs-
GRANDMOTHER ALSO 1sdat-TELL-sw

am-iskó:si-ha-k mók am-mánka-n am-má:ma-k am-mánka-Vhco-toho-yá:l-on
1sposs-MATERNAL:AUNT-pl-subj ALSO 1sdat-TELL-sw 1sposs-MOTHER-subj 1sdat-
TELL-habit-realis-modal-sw:foc

an-tá:ta-k máŷ-on am-mán-híkko-t ómm-o-ŷ ca-cokí:bo-n am-ílli-toha-ŷ
1sposs-FATHER-subj ONLY-obj:foc 1sdat-TELL-3neg(IIIA)-conn BE-be-phr:term
1sstats-BE:SMALL-sw 1sdat-DIE(sg)-realis-phr:term

/káhnon amá:kahalpístohotik

món imikhá:lok ommíhcok

mí:tok ómni:k, "ká:non ammáhhikkø

kommáhhikkóhco:lik"

immánkatohotik

ponhá:lotíkkot ómmø

ínko:p immáhhikkóhcot ómmo katík

anáp amapó mók ammánkan

amiskó:sihak mók ammánkan

ammá:mak ammánkáhcotohoyá:l-on

'They could have gone on better, but,

they were also ones who do not obey.

As for some (they say), "I was not well-
taught,

we used not to be taught."

But they were taught,

perhaps they did not listen.

If not, perhaps they were not taught,
but on the contrary,

as for me, my grandmother taught me,

my various aunts also taught me,

my mother used to teach me from time
to time,

antá:tak má:ton ammahíkkot ómmq

my father alone perhaps did not
teach me.

cacokí:bon amíllitohq/

I lost him when I was small.'

Commentary

The transcription and translation of these selections has been arranged to show the verse structure which is typical of oratorical pieces. Repetition of ideas, seen in other kinds of Narrative, is especially notable here. In the second selection, the use of the verb mánkan, literally, 'to tell to,' but here with the meaning 'to teach by word of mouth,' reinforces the lesson the oration is trying to bring across, by its constant repetition.

All oratorical selections so far noted are didactic in character. This is not surprising, since they are preserved in Didactic Narrative; however, it is possible that Oratory may have been always of such a nature. Comparative studies of Oratory in other Muskogean languages (see Bell, 1979, 1983a, 1983b for studies on Creek oratory) will help to elucidate the original nature of Oratory in Koasati.

Song

Although there are speakers at the present day who know songs, they are unwilling to convey them to the outsider. Song had two main functions; to accompany religious and social dances, and to accompany curing rituals.

Only five Koasati songs have ever been recorded. These were taped in 1974 by James Crawford of the University of Georgia at Atlanta from Arzilie Langley (ca. 1883-1975), a woman of the Calcasieu River band of Choctaw who had married among the Koasati and lived with them for nearly three-quarters of a century. The songs she recorded were all social

dance songs. They consist of an unidentified dance song, the Snake Dance Song, the Passing-By Dance Song, the Buffalo Dance Song, the Duck Dance Song and the Horse Dance Song, which will be the one transcribed here. In addition she recorded one Calcasieu Choctaw song. A copy of these recordings was given to Mrs. Langley's grandson-in-law, Claude Medford, who provided a copy to Mr. Gene Burnham of Elton, who kindly provided a copy to me.

These songs are of interest, both linguistically and musically. Linguistically, the syllables sung are without meaning, yet are repeated with great accuracy within a song. These syllables contain phonemes rare in Koasati such as e, u and ʔ, in addition to having the initial consonant clusters hy and hw. The syllables are sung with a strong nasal quality; and the consonants are fortis in pronunciation, except in the Buffalo Dance Song, where the stops are noticeably lenis.

Musically, all the songs are in a pentatonic mode, typical of American Indian music, but alien to the Western tradition. Originally the songs were intended to be accompanied on a drum; sometimes with a second singer, as undated recordings of Alabama songs (probably made in the 1930's)¹¹ show. It is typical in these songs for the voice to range over an octave, and changes in tempo and time occur quite often. A notable feature of the Duck Dance Song is the use of triads, and in the Passing-By Dance Song the use of rapidly chanted words in the midst of the song.

Because of the extreme age of the singer, and the quality of the tape recording (four generations removed from the original) the key signature is only approximate, but the relative positions of the notes are recorded as accurately as I could hear them.

CÓ:BA BÍTKA (Horse Dance)

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Moderato

nao ka yao ka ni yo na ho ka nao ka ni yo

na ho ka nao ka yao ka ni yo hya ka ni yo

Allegro

hya ho ka he yo hi ha he yo hi ha he yo hi ha

he yo hi ha he yo hi ha a we wu ha he yo hi ha

Moderato

ha na he ya ka ni ya ti ya hi le ka ni yo

ti ya hi le ka ni yo ti ya hi le he le na

he le na hyo he le na he le na? he le na

he le na hyo he le na he le na he le na

ka ni yo ti ya hi le ka ni yo ti ya hi le

ka ni yo ti ya hi le ka ni yo ti ya hi le

a ya ta? o he he le na he le na hyo

he le na he le na he le na he le na

hyo he le na he le na ta yo ka

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER 21

¹The phrase himá:ka mó:na:p, although consisting of two words has a unitary meaning, indicating that what follows is the first event of a series of events to occur. An archaic form exists, imilpalá:pi mó:na:p.

²Because the narrator was asked specifically about the death of Dennis Abbey, she does not feel the need to mention him by name at this point.

³Note the lack of the nominative case suffix on the nouns in this sentence. This may be the result of mishearing a word final /k/, [kʰ], as [ʔ].

⁴The appearance of an orphan or orphans as heroes in Traditional Narrative is attested in a number of such narratives gathered by Swanton in 1910.

⁵The obsolete phrase terminal marker -ś is here used to give an old-time feel to the narrative. Note that it is not used consistently in the speech of the person using it, as it would have in real life.

⁶The switch in the order of the verbal suffixes here is remarkable, from the expected hacikámmihónka:silahon to the attested form hacikámmilahohónka:sin. The reasons for this change are unclear, but it was probably done for semantic or stylistic reasons.

⁷The verb aybá:cin, which is frequently rendered 'to forbid someone,' has another essential meaning, which is 'to instruct someone by means of admonitions; to inculcate proper behavior in someone.' That this meaning is in fact the primary one for this verb is attested by the meaning of the verbal noun aybacilká, which is 'law.'

⁸This form is difficult of interpretation. An element -li- following the consequential suffix -ska- is unknown, so this has been analyzed as

the first person singular subject suffix added to a verbalization of the sequence mó:toho-ska-. This interpretation is most uncertain.

⁹This last word was added as a humorous afterthought, and it made other listeners laugh. A sudden switch in tone in a narrative, such as the introduction of a delicate subject such as sex, death, or excretion is used to deliberately incite laughter. Such humor is strongly ironic.

¹⁰The initial syllables of the reciprocal prefixes itti- and ittim- are dropped here, as they often are in rapid or casual speech.

¹¹Taped copies of these recordings were kindly provided by Mr. Gene Burnham.

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