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A GRAMMAR OF EUCHEE (YUCHI)

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by

Mary Sarah Linn


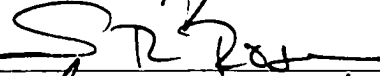
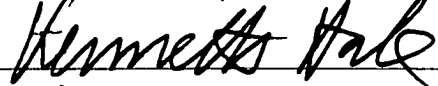
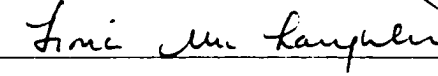
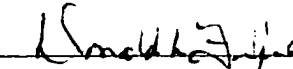
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B.A., Wichita State University, 1985

M.A., University of Kansas, 1993

Submitted to the Department of Linguistics and the Faculty of the Graduate School of the University of Kansas in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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## ABSTRACT

The Euchee language is an American Indian language isolate. It is the language of the Euchee people, who originally lived in the North American Southeast and now live in the state of Oklahoma. This is the first comprehensive grammar of their language. It includes a description of the phonology, the morphology, and the syntax. The data is presented so that it is immediately accessible to linguists of any theoretical persuasion. The presentation should also make the information accessible to lay readers, in particular to interested members of the Euchee Tribe. It is written in the proposed Euchee orthography. The data used for this grammar were gathered primarily through elicitation of grammatical forms and texts with native speakers.

Euchee has a large inventory of sounds. There are 38 consonants and 11 vowels. The consonants include a series of glottalized stops, fricatives, and resonants. The vowels include nasal contrasts. The syllable structure is a fairly rigid CV, but the phonology is distinguished by contraction of syllables. There are two major dialects of Euchee today.

Euchee is largely a polysynthetic language. However, the morphemes are not as bound as formerly thought. Instead, many affixes are independent particles which cliticize to their host in unstressed contexts. Euchee recognizes four main parts of speech, the noun, verb, adjective, and adverb. However, the formal criteria for these are difficult to establish. Euchee has basic SOV word order and is head-marking, and so the morphology is largely made up of suffixes and post-clitics. The exception is pronominal agreement, which are all prefixes on noun and verbs. Particles, including postpositions, follow the head.

Euchee is a stative-active language. Verbs that are states (stative) are distinguished from verb that are events (active). The pronominal agreement reflects the semantic role of the core participants. State verb require a patient pronominal as their sole participant. Event verbs require actor pronominal prefixes as their sole participant, and an actor and patient pronominal for two-place verbs. Adding participants or reducing the number of participants is shown by valence prefixes on the verb. Since participant information is encoded on the verb, the nouns may be freely dropped in discourse. Euchee also has a rich mood system, where mood particles are highly combinatorial for subtle nuances in meaning.

This dissertation includes two texts. One is an example of formal, ceremonial speech. The other is a short sermon ending in a prayer. There is also a small collection of proverbs.

## **DEDICATION**

**K'asosci 'Yuciha hénō hōdowā, 'Yuciha hénō kele hōfede,  
nāde hōwæle khehe 'abe. 'Yuciha 'ahe hēga 'ya, k'asosci desā hōdowā.**

**I dedicate this book to the Euchee people, to the Euchee who are here now, and those who have gone before. To the Euchee who will come here, I give this book to you as well.**

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

This dissertation would not have been possible without the financial and technical support from many people and institutions. I would like to thank Dr. T. Dale Nicklas for his support of student field linguists at KU and his help with computer programs. Grants from Phillips Fund of the American Philosophical Society, The California American Indian Languages Fund, and Yale University's Endangered Language Fund provided me with the much-needed equipment and travel support. The Yuchi Class of Sapulpa, through a cultural grant from the United Methodist Church, helped finance many of my trips from Lawrence to their classes. The University of Kansas Summer Fellowship, the Applied English Center, and particularly the Department of Linguistics have all provided me with support. My last year of fieldwork was fully funded through a National Science Foundation Doctoral Dissertation Improvement Grant (NSF 98-10886). I would like to thank the Center for Research, Inc. (CRINC) at the University of Kansas for their help in writing and administering my NSF grant. Finally, this dissertation is under the patronage of the International Council for Philosophy and Humanistic Studies, UNESCO, United Nations. I commend all of these institutions for their support of field linguists and maintenance of endangered languages.

As in all creations, this dissertation did not occur in a void. Many linguists and anthropologists working on American Indian languages have helped me over the years, and I owe them much for their insights and direction. In particular, I thank Lewis Ballard, Marcellino Berardo, Jack Martin, Margaret Mauldin, Ken Miner, Marianne Mithun, Pamela Munro, Dale Nicklas, Giulia Oliverio, Robert Rankin, Keren Rice, David Rood, William Sturtevant, and David Skeeter. I wish to especially thank Jason Baird Jackson, for being such a wonderful colleague in the field, for being such a staunch supporter of my work,

and for giving me insights and courage in the links between language and culture. To my colleagues in the linguistics Ph.D. program at KU, I owe many many thanks. I had wanted a lively group to discuss linguistics with, and I found that *and* friendship with Supath Kookiattikoon, (Mr.) Hangyoo Khym, Ivonne Heinze, Sohn, Marcellino Berardo, John Kyle, Virginia Wang and Giulia Oliverio. We lived through a lot together, and they were good times.

My family and friends provided steadfast support throughout my doctoral studies. For his understanding of human strength and weakness, and for his critical mind and adherence to the highest standards in all sciences, I thank Hélio Ricardo da Silva. My grandparents, the late Mrs. Velma Bernice Siler Lovett for your story, and the late Mr. and Mrs. Herbert Peterson Linn, who taught me about being a historian. A special, loving thanks to those who were close by throughout, in both thoughts and deeds. These are Cheryl Linn Wertheimer, Nancie Linn Shaw, Les Linn, Jodi Hitchcock, Lourdes Analia Puegener, Donna and Carol Eades, Katherine Harris and Irene Tsuneta, and the wonderful wonderful Sgt. Frank Harjo. My parents Nancie Lovett Linn and Louis Gore Linn gave me everything I ever needed to accomplish all things, and then encouraged me to do it.

So many Eucheé families (*Yuciha'inō*) have shown interest in my work and have opened their lives, homes, and hearts to me. I thank you all. I would like to especially thank the family of the late Jimmie Skeeter, for support of me and language work in the community. I am forever in debt to the late Mr. William Cahwee for initially making me feel so comfortable and being patient with my first attempts at being a field linguist. In addition, Mr. Henry Washburn, Mrs. Josephine Keith, Mrs. Maggie Marsey, Mrs. Martha Squire, and the late Mr. Mose Cahwee have worked closely with me through the years.

None of this could have been possible without the Wildcat-Bigler families, especially Golaha Josephine Wilcat Bigler, and Clarence Bigler, Maxine Wildcat Barnett, and Gregory Bigler and his wife and Dawn, and their daughters Shawna

Warrington and Millie Eliza Nasiqua Bigler. They took me in, and literally fed me, clothed me, humored me for these years now. I have been blessed in many ways, but especially that life has given me two families.

And finally, I couldn't have had a better advising committee. Graduate folklore contains many committee horror stories, but mine has been helpful and accommodating in every way. Fiona McLaughlin, often from abroad in Africa, and Ken Hale, even in retirement and many miles away, found the time to give me excellent guidance and questions. From Sara Thomas Rosen I learned more than could ever be put down in words, from her expectation of excellence in syntactic argumentation to her fostering collegial relationships. She always listened to my ideas, no matter how far out there they got. Her extraordinary work in argument structure, and openness to the possibilities of human language gave me many of the linguistics tools I needed. More important than all, however, is her friendship. And last, but not least, I have had the honor to be the student of Akira Yamamoto. He saw some potential in me that no one else had and so started me down this path, and then has always been there along the way. He taught me patience and precision, and he taught me right from wrong in my chosen field. He will always be my role model.





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## ABBREVIATIONS IN INTERLINEAR TRANSLATIONS

The following is the list of abbreviations found in the interlinear translations, verb paradigm charts, and notes in parentheses. When there is only one or two morphemes associated with each term, they are given under 'Form.' If there are multiple morphemes or changing forms, the forms are not indicated.

<u>Abbreviation</u>	<u>Meaning</u>	<u>Form</u>
1	1 <sup>st</sup> person	
2	2 <sup>nd</sup> person	
3	3 <sup>rd</sup> person	
(A)	alienable possession	
ABLE	ability mode	<i>te</i>
ACT	actor	
ACTIVE	verbalizer, active verbs	<i>ē</i>
AFFIRM	affirmation mode	<i>hō</i>
(BPD)	Big Pond Dialect	
BEN	beneficiary (benefactive Case)	
CL	noun class	
COM	accompaniment (comitative Case)	<i>k'ā-</i>
COMP	comparative	
CPLT	completive	<i>-de</i>
DET	determiner	
DIM	diminutive	<i>-ne</i>
DIR	direction particle	
DUAL	dual inclusive	
(EF)	Euchee female	
(EFH)	Euchee female honorific	
(EH)	Euchee honorific	

(EM)	Euchee male	
EMPH	emphatic	-:le
ENC	encouragement, empathetic	-læ
(EXCL)	exclusive 1 <sup>st</sup> person plural	nō-, nē-
EXPECT	expectation mode	ʼya
FOC	focus	ʼwa
FREQ	frequent action	-he
FUT	future	
HAB	habitual action	-ne
HEAR	auditory evidential	-ke
INTENT	intensive mode	-nō
(I)	inalienable possession	
(INCL)	inclusive 1 <sup>st</sup> person plural	ʼō-
(INAN)	inanimate	
(IMP)	impersonal human	go-
(LIE)	lying position	-è
LOC	location particle	
<i>m.s.</i>	men's speech	
(NE)	non-Euchee	
NEG	negative	nē-
NOM	nominalizer	-ne
PAST	past imperfective	jē
PAT	patient	
PERF	past perfective	-fa
PL	plural (person, noun, stem)	
PLUS	[+ participant] valence prefix	*yo
POSS	possessive pronominal	
POT	potential	gō
O	Yes/No question	ʼle

REC	recipient (dative Case)	
RECIP	reciprocal	<i>k'a-</i>
REDUP	reduplicated morpheme	
REPEAT	repeated aspect	<i>-le</i>
SG	singular (person)	
(SIT)	sitting position	<i>-ci</i>
(STAND)	standing position	<i>-fa</i>
STATIVE	verbalizer, stative verbs	<i>-le</i>
SUB	subordinator	<i>-ci, -fa, -ha, -he</i>
SUP	superlative	
[UN]	unanalyzed morpheme	
w'.s.	women's speech	
'YU	' <i>yu</i> stem	' <i>yu</i>



## STANDARDIZATIONS

The following is a list of standardizations used in examples.

		<u>Example</u>
<i>In Eucheé:</i>		
/	unpredictable variation	gohāne/gahāne
 <i>In interlinear translation:</i>		
-	separates morphemes	1SG.ACT-sew-HAB
.	separates multiple meanings of one morpheme	1SG.ACT be.located
( )	provides additional pronominal information	3SG(EF).PAT 2SG(I).POSS
/	shows fused morphemes	ACT/PLUS
+	stem boundaries in compounds	`yaste+bado
 <i>In English gloss:</i>		
.	separates multiple word-level meanings	`cut, cut off`
/	separates multiple sentence level meanings	`I go/I'm going`
=	a more natural English translation	
( )	information left out the given utterance	`He got (it)` `I know (I was here)`

## SOURCES

Speakers of Euchee, those who are with us and those who have gone on, whose words are in these pages:

Mrs. Maxine Wildcat Barnett	Mrs. Josephine Barnett Keith
Mrs. Josephine Wildcat Bigler	Mrs. Maggie Cumpsey Marsey
Mr. James Brown, Sr.	Mrs. Ida Clinton Riley
Mr. Madison Bucktrot	Mr. Jimmie Skeeter
Mr. Mose Cahwee	Mrs. Sadie Greene Skeeter
Mr. William Cahwee	Mr. John Snow
Mr. Semour Frank	Mrs. Martha Fox Squire
Mr. Neddie Frank	Mr. Waxin Tiger
Mrs. Lochar Green	Mr. Henry Washburn
Mrs. Nancy Harry	Mrs. Nancy Wildcat

Sources other than my field notes are given in parentheses and abbreviated as follows. Unless otherwise noted, the phonemic transcriptions and interlinear analyses are mine, not from the source. In all instances, the data have been checked with current speakers.

GW	Gunter Wagner (1934), Sketch
AG	Albert Gatschet (1885), Field Notebook
JC	James Crawford, unpublished notebooks and rough sheets roman numerals refer to his notebook numbers ex: (JC IV: 45) unmarked references refer to rough sheets
GB	Gregory Bigler (in prep)
FS	Frank Speck (1904), A Sketch of Yuchi
LB	William Lewis Ballard (ca. 1970-75) letters refer to his notebook numbers ex: (LB C: 21)

## CHAPTER 1: DETAILED CONTENTS

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## CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

The Euchee language is the ancestral language of the Euchee (Yuchi) people. The Euchee were removed from their original homeland in the Southeast of the United States to Indian Territory (Oklahoma) in 1832-34, and most still live in eastern Oklahoma, in and around the municipalities of Sapulpa and Kellyville, Hectorville and Mounds, and Bristow and Depew. There are approximately 1,500 Euchee people today. The Euchee are not federally recognized, so most are enrolled in the Muscogee (Creek) Nation or the Absentee Shawnee Nation.

### 1. THE NAMES OF THE EUCHEE

The Euchee call themselves Eucheaha (Yuchiha or 'Yuchiha in the orthography used in this work) in their language. The plural suffix /-ha/ is used on the names of many tribes, and refers to both the group and the individual. The glottalized form is not prevalent today although it can still be heard. The meaning of the name is not clear. Ethnographer Frank Speck stated that *yuchi*, meaning 'far away' or 'from over there,' could be an answer to the common Southeastern greeting 'Where are you coming from?' and then became mistaken as the name of the tribe (Speck1909: 13). According to Speck, speakers at the turn of the century felt that this was a legitimate explanation, although it is apparently his derivation and not one given by the speakers. The word *yu* does mean 'over there, yonder,' and it is also the word for 'house' and 'town.' In addition, *ci* means 'to sit or live somewhere.' Then, the word could mean '[people who/we] live over there.' Yet, speakers today do not agree that this, or Speck's version, is an accurate translation. Swanton, too, rejected the 'over there'

definition, and instead claimed the name to be of Hitchiti origin, from *Ochese*, meaning 'people of another language' (Swanton 1946).

The Euchee people also refer to themselves as *Tsoyaha*, which is translated as 'Children of the Sun.' The word *iso* means 'sun,' and *-ha* is the plural suffix used for peoples, but *ya* does not have any apparent synchronic or diachronic connection with seed, offspring, or origination. Whether the word yields to this analysis or not, the Euchee people see themselves as the Children of the Sun, attested in their creation mythology and rituals. Although *Tsoyaha* is sometimes used to refer to the tribe as a whole, it is more likely that *Tsoyaha* originally referred to a band, town, or family within the tribe. In a migration legend told by Ekilarne Cahwee (Ekił'ane, or Mr. Lewis Long) and collected by Frank Speck (Speck 1904), the tribe split, with one group going 'west over the mountains' and the other remaining. The group which remained were the *Tsoyaha*, and according to Ekilarne, the *Tsoyaha* were the Euchee removed to Indian Territory. Thus, all the Euchee known today would be *Tsoyaha*. However, many other elders refer to some Euchee, but not all, today as being *Tsoyaha* (Mrs. Phoebe Bucktrot Jones, Mr. Henry Washburn, personal communication).

The Euchee first became known to Europeans under the name *Chisca*, and were known as such consistently throughout the Spanish period.<sup>1</sup> In 1540, Hernando de Soto became the first European to penetrate North America in his brutal search for gold and slaves. The accompanying chroniclers indicate that the expedition heard of the *Chisca*, a tribe living in the Upper Tennessee Valley. The *Chisca* aroused considerable interest in de Soto because it was reported that they had gold. De Soto sent two men to go ahead of the expedition to investigate. Although the two may have stayed in a small *Chisca* town, they did not succeed in reaching the heart of the tribe, and de Soto made no further attempts to reach the *Chisca* (Hudson, 1997: 203-7). First contact came in 1567 under Sergeant Hernando Moyaho de Morales, who burned two villages after

finding no gold. Such a violent encounter, of course, precluded any attempt to record any of the Chisca language, which could have verified that they were Euchee.

Another historical name that has been associated with the Euchee is Westo. Around 1670, this tribe was located on the Savannah River around present day Augusta, Georgia. Swanton (1946: 213-14) states the Westo were a band of Euchee. Although there was a Euchee town on the Savannah River in present day South Carolina by 1707 (Crane 1918), it is unlikely that the Westo were Euchee. Instead, the Westo were most likely an Iroquoian band (Crane 1918) or a loose confederacy of culturally differing tribes including Iroquoian and Timucuan, as convincingly argued by Juricek (1964). It is interesting to note that Gatschet (1885: 36-38, 42) attempted to see if the name Westo, and other tribes around the Westo, such as Edisto (Timucuan), had any meaning to his Euchee consultant, Mr. David Barnett. However, Mr. Barnett had no recognition of these names as tribes, and one can see in the notes his struggle to assign any meaning to the names in Euchee.

Early documentation of the tribe and their language included the spellings Yuchi, Uchi, Uche, Utchee and Uchee.<sup>2</sup> Published historical, anthropological, and linguistic literature settled on the spelling Yuchi by the early 20th century. Yet today, most, though not all, Euchee identify with the 'eu' spelling. The first appearance of this spelling is found in the 1832 Tribal Census Rolls of the 'High Log (Euchee)' Town. This spelling does not appear again until the Presbyterian Church opened a mission and boarding school in Sapulpa, Oklahoma, in 1894, and named it Euchee Mission.<sup>3</sup> The Euchee Mission played a central role in the modern history of the Tribe. The school remained open as a boys school through the 1947-48 school year, with nearly every Euchee family having some memories or association with the school. In addition, the first director of the school, Mr. Noah Gregory, was Euchee and also the first Euchee Christian preacher. He helped found Pickett Chapel (Pickett Indian United Methodist Church), which has

been a continuous influence in the lives of many Euchee families and the greater Euchee community. Pickett Chapel has had a consistent use of the 'eu' spelling.

When considering which spelling to use in this grammar, I decided on the popular spelling over the more academic spelling precisely because of the academic feeling associated with the 'yu' spelling. This grammar is, after all, a grammar by and for the Euchee people, as much as for linguistic community.

## **2. PERTINENT HISTORY OF EUCHEE**

### **2.1 BRIEF HISTORY OF THE EUCHEE TRIBE IN RELATION TO THEIR LANGUAGE**

Very little will be mentioned here about the Euchee culture as there are two extensive ethnographics of the Euchee Tribe. Frank Speck (Speck 1909) published an account of Euchee life and culture as it was in the early part of this century. At that point, the tribe was still relatively insulated from the influences of white culture, and Euchee was still the dominant language. More recently, Jason Jackson (Jackson 1998) has provided a particularly insightful account of modern Euchee culture and belief systems, and the enduring oral traditions which connect everyday Euchee life to the past.

The Euchee belong to the Southeastern culture area, and more broadly to the Eastern Woodland culture area. Their culture and economy revolved around the production of corn and other crops, supplemented with hunting and trade; identification with a town as the primary social unit beyond the family unit; social stratification with hereditary chiefs; and shared cosmological, ritual, medicinal and gender role beliefs and practices with other Woodland peoples, among others (Jackson 1998).

The Euchee homeland at the time of European contact in the mid-1500's was in the southeast of the United States, primarily in the mountainous region now comprising eastern Tennessee and the Upper Tennessee Valley. Their neighbors included various Muskogean speaking peoples, the Cherokee

(Iroquoian), various small eastern Siouan tribes, and the Shawnee (Algonquian), with whom they have had a long-standing alliance and friendship (Jackson 1998). The Euchee also had a high degree of multi-lingualism common in the Southeast (Booker 1992). One artifact of this is that they share the common Southeastern word for interpreter, the Euchee variant being *'yatike*. From the late 1600's, bands or towns emerged throughout the Southeast, and the accounts are often inscrutable and sporadic. Jackson (1998:34-47) provides the first readable account of the locations and movements of the Euchee towns, along with the political climate of the times.

By the mid 1700's, the Euchee were politically allied with the emerging Creek Confederacy, but it must be emphasized that they remained culturally autonomous. Benjamin Hawkins, the American Indian Agent to the Southern Tribes from 1796 to 1816, remarked of the Euchee on the Chattahoochee, "They retain all of their original customs and laws and have adopted none of the Creeks" (quoted in Swanton 1922). During this time, there were at least three main Euchee towns, with smaller satellite villages and others scattered throughout the territory of the Creek Confederacy. Perhaps the largest, known as Euchee Town, was on the Chattahoochee River, Georgia, in Lower Creek country. This town had ties with the Cussetah as it was formed when the Cussetah chief, Captian Ellick, married three Euchee women. Several towns are recorded among the Upper Creek. On the Tallapoosie River, Alabama, many Euchee lived in the Shawnee-Euchee town of Sauwanogee. There was also a Euchee town on the Savannah River in South Carolina. In addition, there were Euchee among the Seminole in peninsular Florida.

The Euchee were forcibly removed to Indian Territory in the 1832-34 along with the other tribes of the Creek (Muskogee) Confederacy. They settled in the northwestern part of Creek (Muskogee) Nation, throughout what are now Tulsa, Creek, Okmulgee, and Wagoner counties. Most likely, the early Euchee settlements corresponded directly to towns in the Southeast, but these links are



not known today. In 1884, linguist Albert Gatchset recorded at least eight Euchee towns and settlements: Snake Creek, Polecat Creek, Deep Fork Creek, Black Jack Town, Wialaka, Duck Creek Town, Big Pond Town, Red Fork, and the 'Shawnee-Yuchis' living west of the other settlements (p. 80). Most Euchee continue to live in the original settlement area. Today, there are three distinct areas, each with a ceremonial ground and/or church as its heart. These are Polecat Ceremonial Ground and Pickett Chapel Indian United Methodist Church, near the municipalities of Kellyville and Sapulpa; Duck Creek Ceremonial Ground, close to Hectorsville and Mounds; and Sand Creek Ceremonial Ground and Muttoloke Indian United Methodist Church, near Bristow and Depew.

Residing inside of the Creek (Muscogee) Nation, the Euchee remained isolated from white culture, and indeed from complete absorption into Creek culture, as they remained aloof from their neighbors (Jackson 1998: 49-50). Enrollment of Indians, and the allotment of Indian lands began in 1895, and many Euchee men were actively involved in fighting against federal troops enforcing allotment. The fragmentation of the Euchee settlements through allotment, followed by the influx of white settlers when Oklahoma was given statehood in 1907, was the first step in language loss. The mission school system was established in the Muscogee (Creek) Nation during the nineteenth century. but after allotment increasing numbers of Euchee attended these boarding schools. Many young Euchee were enrolled in the Euchee Mission Boarding School in Sapulpa, Oklahoma, but many others were sent to schools throughout the state, including Sequoyah (in Tahlequah), Chilocco (in north central Oklahoma), Dwight Mission (near Vian), Wialaka (now spelled Weleetka, in Leonard), and Eufala Girls School (Eufala). Although students of Euchee Mission Boarding School did not tell of the kinds of beatings associated with native language use reported at other schools, the school required English and the boarding school system itself took students outside of the home for extended periods of time. Later the public schools demanded knowledge of English. Mrs.

Josephine Keith, like most speakers today, remembers not understanding her classes during the first year of public school, and being embarrassed because she could not participate in the same ways as the other children. In many families, the older siblings actively taught English at home to their younger brothers and sisters in order to keep them from repeating their humiliating experience, and many of these younger children never fully socialized in Euchee.

Still, by the 1930's, while English became the language of the market, work, and school, Euchee remained the dominant language of most Euchee homes. Yet, World War II brought with it an end to Euchee-English bilingualism. Although the many Euchee had participated in the Civil War and World War I, it was their active involvement in World War II that ushered in the rapid decline of the language. Nearly every able bodied Euchee man enlisted, and many Euchee women went into Tulsa and as far away as Los Angeles to participate in the war effort. Mrs. Josephine Wildcat Bigler was a 'Rosie the Riveter' in Tulsa during the war. Many of these women met men from outside of their tribe, married, and moved away from the community. Among those remaining in Euchee country, many remained in the work force after the war and were thus away from their families and community during much of their everyday lives. The men, too, returned to take jobs as truck drivers or laborers outside of their immediate communities. The traditional agricultural economy that bound them together was broken. The fragmentation of their economy after World War II was devastating to the coherence of earlier patterns of community life. Many also returned to find that they were no longer thinking in Euchee. Mr. William Cahwee often spoke of the fact that he returned from the war in the Pacific unable to speak fluently with his father Ekilarne. He vowed then to never forget his language, but many others did not make this conscious and continuing effort.

Finally, some parents, having themselves endured hard economic and social conditions in dustbowl Oklahoma before the war, and saw the economic opportunities in white society, actively suppressed Euchee in their homes. Many

middle-aged Euchee today report that their parents spoke the language only among themselves and spoke English with their children. To these young people, Euchee became a code language, something that adults used when they did not want their children to understand them.

Awareness of the necessity to keep their language began about this same time. There has been a continuing effort of dedicated people to teach the language for many years. Chief Madison Bucktrot, Sr., Chief of Sand Creek Ceremonial Ground, taught Euchee in the public school at Gypsy, Oklahoma, in 1953. Mr. John Snow held community language classes in October through January of 1975-6. About the same time, Mrs. Sadie Skeeter began holding classes for her grandchildren and other interested children. The classes met at Liberty Mounds school for several years. Mrs. Addie George also taught classes through the 1970-80's, primarily for her family but open to anyone. Mr. Larry Cahwee has incorporated Euchee into his classes in Kellyville public schools for many years now. Finally, Mrs. Linda Harjo has incorporated Euchee curriculum into her Title 9 program in Sapulpa Public Schools.

Around 1990, two classes began for adults which have been particularly influential in the current movements to revive the language and maintain its use in ceremonies. Mr. William Cahwee began classes in Glenpool. The classes met once a week for several years and included tapes made by Mr. Cahwee on the material covered in class. In Sapulpa, Mrs. Maggie Marsey began classes with the help of Mr. Gregory Bigler, an active learner of the language. The two classes merged and became known as the Euchee Language Class of Sapulpa. At first they decided on a consistent writing system for the class and using this system, they generated much vocabulary. They quickly realized that words were useless without knowing how to put them into sentences. Consequently, the class developed several books filled with words, sentences, analyzed

parts of sentences, small dialogues, and texts. The class also grew into a much-needed social occasion for Euchee speakers to get together and speak the language. For many of them, it was the only time during a week that they got a chance to speak their language, and for some who had not spoken in years it gave them the opportunity to become fluent again.

The class took on other projects as well. They sponsored their first Language Camp in 1993. The two-day camp was well-attended and spurred an active interest in language revival in the community. One of the most significant outcomes of the camp was a beginning class for children. This class, too, combines speakers, primarily Mr. Henry Washburn, Mr. Mose Cahwee and the late Chief Jim Brown Sr., and Mr. Dimmie Washburn, with younger and more active teachers, Mr. Richard Grounds and Mrs. Linda Harjo. The classes have been successful and have included frequent camps, fieldtrips, classes during the ceremonial cycle on the Ceremonial Grounds, and garden projects. In addition to the language camps, the Euchee Language Class of Sapulpa began a Master-Apprentice program for the young teachers.

In the spring of 1997, I conducted a Language Status Survey of the Euchee language. This survey was initiated by the Euchee (Yuchi) Tribe of Indians, Inc., as partial fulfillment of their Administration for Native Americans Planning Grant. At that time, there were fifteen fluent speakers, all over the age of 65. Today there are thirteen. Six speakers are male; two of these are too elderly to do language work; two are out of state and have little communication with other Euchee. This is important since Euchee makes grammatical distinctions based on the gender of the speaker. The health of each of the speakers, and thus their ability to participate in data collection, varies from day to day. Fortunately, the remaining speakers of Euchee are highly committed to

reviving and preserving their language. They participate as actively as possible in community efforts to maintain the language. There are more semi-speakers, people in their middle years who understand the language but have little to no speaking ability.

Like other moribund languages, the environments in which the language is used has diminished over the years. There is still one household in which Euchee is the primary language of daily communication. This household consists of two adults over 60. Outside of events specifically designed for language use, everyday Euchee is still heard whenever two or more speakers are together. This may be at funerals, in the kitchen at Pickett Chapel, one family camp at Polecat Ceremonial Ground, or other community events. Prayers at any community or family meal are preferred in Euchee if a speaker is in attendance. Story-telling, whether traditional animal tales, ghost stories, or personal narratives is rare now. The legends and mythology remain in oral tradition but only in English. Speech giving in Euchee at public events does not appear to be common today, although it was as late as 1996. Extended ceremonial oratory at the ceremonial grounds and formal preaching in Euchee no longer exists. Preaching in Euchee took place on a regular basis as late as 1978. At the Ceremonial Grounds, dance calls, dance encouragements, leader announcements and other shorter ritual genres continue to be conducted in Euchee. However, these tend to be highly ritualized or memorized text today, with the notable exception of two men who are actively learning the language (Jackson and Linn 2000).

Although there is not a community-wide effort to revive Euchee as a daily language, there is a great appreciation for Euchee as the community's ancestral language. Euchee is felt to be the preferred language for ritual at the ceremonial grounds, for prayer and song in the United Methodist Church services, and for blessings in family and

community contexts. Mrs. Maxine Wildcat Barnett attests that to sing and pray in Euchee is the best way for her to communicate with God. Speakers are vocal in belief that if the language is lost, then their identity is lost. As Mr. William Chawee stated, "We will just be Indians, not Euchee."

## 2.2 GENETIC AFFILIATION OF EUCHEE

The Euchee language is not demonstrably related to any known language. Thus, Euchee is classified genetically as an isolate language. However, there is continuing debate over its possible affiliation with the Siouan language family. Sapir (1921) proposed the genetic connection between Euchee and the Siouan language family. Although he did not give any evidence for this classification, it has stuck with Euchee as a classification to either prove or disprove. Few linguists have gone beyond this in search for other possible relationships.

Haas (1951), in her pursuit of a larger Gulf family, investigated Sapir's Siouan-Yuchi classification, but did not find adequate evidence to support the claim. Haas (1951; 1964) also suggested ties with Proto-Athabaskan, through its connection to Siouan, but dropped this as well. In both cases, she limited her work to phonological comparisons of cognate sets. Elmendorf (1963, 1964) began research into a possible connection with the Yukian family (using Yuki and Wappo data) in California. Once again, the link relied on the connection between Siouan and Euchee. Elmendorf also looked at lexical resemblances, and then used what he called 'item sets,' which were morphemes with broad phonological and semantic similarities. In the end Elmendorf made no firm commitment to any Yuchi-Yukian relationship. More recently Rankin (1996; 1997) has renewed the interest in proving the Siouan-Yuchi hypothesis, this time

searching for grammatical evidence between Euchee and improved Proto-Siouan data. The search in this direction continues to yield interesting information into shared history, whether the shared history is genetic or sheds light on the nature of contact between two unrelated peoples. However, no hypothesis has generated sufficient data to place Euchee firmly into any language family (Crawford 1979; Linn 1997a), and the question of the classification of the Euchee language is far from being resolved.

To give an idea of the time depth for genetic relatedness of Euchee to any other language family, we can look at the time depth of the Siouan language family and its proposed relationship to Euchee. Proto-Siouan is estimated to be 2-4,000 years from the present. This means that 2-4,000 years ago, all the tribes comprising the Siouan language family were together speaking one common language--the proto-language, or the predecessor language. The demonstrated Catawban branch is distantly related to Proto-Siouan at a time depth significantly previous to this 4,000 years (Rankin to appear). If Euchee is related to Proto-Siouan-Catawban, then the relationship must predate the Catawban split by a time depth great enough to obscure its obvious relationship to Proto-Siouan. Thus, we are looking at a time depth of at least 8,000 to 10,000 years for a possible relationship to Proto-Siouan-Catawban, and probably an equal amount for any other potential relationship.

With only very deep genetic relationships possible, there will never be an abundance of evidence, and it is clear that evidence of deep genetic relationship can not come only from phonology and cognate sets but must also rely on morphological and syntactic evidence. One of the goals of this grammar is to provide a thorough Euchee description that can aid comparative linguists in teasing out shared grammatical paradigms. Hopefully, Sapir's Siouan-Yuchi connection can be firmly established or be safely put aside so that comparative linguists can look for other connections.

## 2.3 VARIATIONS OF EUCHEE

The Euchee language shows variations due to region and gender. There are also formal and informal registers. These are noted throughout the grammar, but are introduced briefly here.

Two regional dialects are spoken today, and there is some evidence to suggest that a third existed during the nineteenth century in Oklahoma. One dialect corresponds directly to the Big Pond Town. This Tribal Town was the farthest west of the Euchee towns/ceremonial grounds, around present day Depew. Big Pond ceased to be an active ceremonial ground in the first decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Most of the Big Pond people became part of the Sand Creek Ceremonial Ground. Thus, most speakers who come (or whose parents came from) from Big Pond or Sand Creek speak what is called the Big Pond Dialect. The Big Pond Dialect is marked by regular phonological (vowel heightening) and morphological variation from what is spoken at Polecat (Sapulpa-Kellyville) and Duck Creek (Hectorville-Mounds). See Chapter 2 for a description of these variations. The differences are minimal, and speakers from the different regions can completely understand each other. Some speakers are fluent in both dialects.

Speakers carry no judgements of which dialect is better or worse. In fact, they stress that both are good Euchee. I use the Euchee spoken at Polecat and Duck Creek communities throughout this grammar. I do this only because the differences are easily described in terms of variation from what is spoken in Polecat and Duck Creek. In addition, the Big Pond Dialect represents fewer speakers (and a smaller community) today in comparison with the speakers who come from Polecat and Duck Creek. I use the abbreviation BPD for examples which are given in the Big Pond Dialect; otherwise, the Euchee spoken in Polecat and Duck Creek will be given in all examples.



There is a good possibility that during Gatchet's time there was another regional dialect. Gatschet worked in the southernmost area Euchee habitation, and his notebooks reveal consistent phonological variations from either the Big Pond Dialect or the Polecat/Duck Creek Euchee in the speech of his first (probably three) consultants. The most consistent variation is the raising of /o/ to /u/ in several morphemes. For example, Gatschet consistently records *ku-* for the human, 3<sup>rd</sup> impersonal pronominal. In both dialects today this is pronounced *ko-/go-*. Although there is not an abundance of evidence for a third dialect, the likelihood of a third exists as there were at least three distinct and geographically dispersed Euchee areas at the time of the Tribe's removal to Indian Territory.

The language also contains lexical variation, especially in new words, such 'car,' 'curtain,' and 'television.' Whereas some of the variation in lexical items is systematic between the two dialects, many instances are not. They are better attributed to family variations. One reason for the differences is due to shortening words. Nouns in particular can become extremely long, and some parts may be dropped off (See Chapter 5). In some cases, a shortened form has become the standard form in one area/family, but has remained long in others. In addition, there may be several ways to shorten a word. Some families have shortened a word in one way and others in another way, and these shortened forms became the norm. This is not a new occurrence but has been happening throughout the history of the language. Another source for the difference is that many of these newer items appeared in everyday use after the tribal members were dislocated from each other due to allotment. When a new cultural item was introduced, they would describe it one way, and another family described it another way. In most of these cases, they are

similar enough, or accurate enough in their descriptions that speakers can understand the different words.

The question of regional dialects was examined in a master's thesis by Abia (Abia 1994). She concluded that there was no dialect variation in Euchee. Instead, all variation was confined to lexical variation, which in turn was due to language loss. However, Abia worked with only three speakers, two of whom are speakers of one dialect. The other is quite fluent in both dialects. Furthermore, she concentrated on lexical items which are variable in the ways mentioned above.

In addition to regional dialects and variation, Euchee varies according to the gender of the speaker, known within the community as 'men's and women's speech.' In brief, women use different 3<sup>rd</sup> person pronouns than men. However, the distinction based strictly on gender is not so clear cut, but is better described in terms of formal and informal speech styles, where women are more formal when referring to men. This is fully explored in Chapter 6, The Noun and Noun Phrase.

Formal and informal speech styles, or register, can also be seen in different speech genres in the Euchee repertoire. Informal speech genres such as conversation, instruction, personal narrative, and telling ghost stories will make liberal use of shortened forms and contractions (see Chapter 2 Phonology). However, too much contraction, or the inability to recall or use full forms, is not considered good Euchee. Fluent speakers called this "slanging the language." This is becoming more common today, as some speakers use shortened forms exclusively and are no longer able to easily reconstruct full forms.

Formal oratory, such as public speech giving and public prayers, is noted by the use of full forms. Ceremonial speech is the highest register and in addition to the use of full forms, it is marked by differences in phonology. One example of ceremonial speech, the Dance Call, is given

in Appendix I and is analyzed in Chapter 2 (see also Jackson and Linn 2000). Formal genres include ceremonial speech at the ceremonial grounds, public speech giving, prayers, and sermons. Skillful oratory has long been a prized quality for the Euchee, and speakers are noted for their ability to speak formally.

### **3. EARLIER DOCUMENTATION OF THE EUCHEE LANGUAGE**

The Euchee language was first recorded in 1736 by Philip Georg Friedrich von Reck. The young von Reck led a group of Lutheran Salzburgers, forcibly expelled from the Catholic Salzburg, to begin a new colony in Georgia. The colony was funded by the England's Georgia Trustees, who had funded the New Charles colony under General James Oglethorpe, who later became the first Governor of South Carolina. The Salzburgers founded the town of Ebenezer on Ebenezer Creek, a tributary of the Savannah River, but were later forced to move their settlement to the head of Ebenezer Creek and the Savannah River. It was here at New Ebenzer that von Reck made several trips up the Savannah to visit a Euchee town. He kept a sketchbook of the voyage, the new settlement, the new flora and fauna he encountered, and the faces, customs, clothing and implements of the Euchee he visited. Most drawings in his sketchbook are accompanied by a description, and then words in Euchee (spelled Uche), Creek, German, and a few with the French or English words as well. In all von Reck wrote down twenty-two Euchee words and names. Most of the words are recognizable today.<sup>4</sup>

The first vocabulary was taken down around 1820 by Nathaniel Ware. This is apparently the vocabulary that was sent to Peter Deponceau at the American Philosophical Society in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Deponceau recorded his having received a vocabulary of

the Euchee language, which he remarked looked like no other language he had seen before. A copy in Ware's vocabulary in Albert Gastchet's hand states that the vocabulary was collected 'east of Coosa River' in Georgia. In 1826, John Ridge, a Cherokee linguist, collected another vocabulary. Ridge reportedly collected the vocabulary from a Euchee chief who was visiting Washington (Gallatin, 1836: 97)<sup>5</sup>. However, Ridge's manuscript of the Euchee (Uchee) and Natchez vocabularies includes a note from John Ridge to Albert Gallatin in which he gives the location of the tribe:

The Uchees reside on both sides of the Chatoochie [sic] river below Fort Mitchell and between said river and Flint River and are supposed to be upwards of 1000 souls. (Ridge 1826)

It is safe to assume, then, that the chief was from the Euchee on the Chattahoochee River. Ridge collected around 244 words, short phrases and conjugations and numerals. He noted that the sounds in Cherokee and Euchee were similar, so he was familiar with most of the sounds he heard in Euchee that stumped others. Unfortunately, some of the distinction he probably heard were lost because he used, sometimes inconsistently, the English orthography to record the Euchee. The Ridge and Ware vocabularies were published together by Gallatin (1836: 301-367) as part of a comparative vocabulary of Indian languages.

Several other short vocabularies were recorded in the nineteenth century after the Euchee were removed to Indian Territory. Around 1861, the missionary Mrs. Alice E.W. Robertson was asked to collect Euchee vocabulary by General Albert Pike, who was interested in comparing Euchee and Natchez. She collected some 1300 words. This collection, on slips at the National Anthropological Archives, is attributed to General Pike.<sup>6</sup> In 1901, at the end of his *Euchee field notebook*, Albert Gatschet

recopied around 150 of Pike's vocabulary and made additions and notes. Mrs. Robertson also recorded three transliterated passages from the Bible in Euchee. Later in the nineteenth, John Wesley Powell collected 26 separate lexical items. The entries consist solely of the name of the tribe, generic human terms, such as 'man' and woman,' and body parts. He included plural variations for some words and the 'my' 'your (singular)' and 'his' possessive prefixes for each of the body parts, for a total of fifty entries. He recorded some aspiration and nasalization but no glottalization (Powell ca. 1896). L.F. Hadley recorded cardinal numbers from 1-1,000, 16 verbs, 10 adjectives, and 46 nouns, mainly animal names. He uses, for the most part, the standard phonetic writing system of the day, and accurately recorded nasalization, but no glottalization or aspiration. There is also a page-long list of bird names in Euchee from an unidentified collector. The Euchee names appear alongside a number which the collector identifies as coming from the 'Bird Book'.<sup>7</sup>

The Swiss linguist Albert Gatschet collected the first significant body of data on the Euchee language. He worked in Concharty district, Indian Territory, from November 1884 to March 1885.<sup>8</sup> Concharty, mainly a Lower Creek settlement, is the southeastern limit of Euchee habitation. Gatschet worked with three young boys at a mission school, most probably Wialaka at Leonard.<sup>9</sup> However, after a few days he began work with Mr. David Barnett 'of Kantchati,' and had much contact, if not linguistic consulting, with Sam Brown, Sr., who ran a trading store in Leonard. This field notebook contains 89 pages of words, sentences, and paradigms, several transcribed song texts, and three transcribed legend texts: *Tsa'htsa: Crawfish (Origin of the Earth)*, *Origin of the Yuchis*, and an untitled text on the origin of cedar as medicine. In addition to its obvious value for grammatical analysis, for the first time, a linguist had accurately recorded nasalization, glottalization, and to a lesser extent,

aspiration throughout the language. In 1888, Gatschet published a brief synopsis of characteristics of the Euche language in *Science*. Despite its rather old-fashioned rhetoric and terminology, every word of it is accurate.

In addition to Gatschet's field notes, the National Anthropological Archives also house several documents on Euche that he prepared later. One is a vocabulary collected during his fieldwork in 1885 (MS# 1440-NAA). The vocabulary follows John Wesley Powell's schedule for the *Introduction to the Study of Indian Languages*. The schedule is not completed, but does contain 552 words which he pulled from his field notes. The other is entitled 'Some Grammatic Elements of the Yuchi Language' (MS# 1594-NAA) and dated 1901. In this manuscript, he lists numerous examples under headings such as reduplication, substantive plural, personal pronouns, possessive positions, and so on. In most cases, there is not a complete set of examples, and there is no discussion or analysis. However, the document is valuable for its organized data. Gatschet also recopied the *Origin of the Earth* text under the title *Origin of Dry Land* (published in Gatschet 1893).

Frank Speck began work with the Euche in 1904. He worked mainly in the western Euche settlements of Sand Creek and Big Pond. He did not record who his primary linguistic consultants were for his vocabulary and grammatical analyses. However, he collected tales in Euche from Ekił'ane (Ekilame Cahwee, or Mr. Lewis Long), Mr. Washington Holder, and Mr. Joe Allen. He collected nineteen tales, a migration legend, several proverbs and lore, and one narration entitled 'Regarding God' (NAA MS# 1278 and MS# 3133). His text notebooks comprise a major contribution to the record of the Euche language. However, each needs extensive work with a current speaker, to the point of being re-elicited, as Speck was not consistent in recording nasalization, aspiration, and glottalization.

Speck later prepared several manuscripts: 'Verb Conjugations, Pronouns, sentences, noun declensions' (NAA MS# 1595),<sup>10</sup> a 'Vocabulary' (in NAA MS# 1278), and a 'Sketch of the Yuchi Language' (NAA MS# 1776). While Speck's ethnographic work with the Euchee was impeccable, his linguistic work falls short. Besides the aforementioned problems with the phonology, the grammatical sketch contains major omissions and faulty analyses. For example, he describes the pronoun system as 'exceedingly simple' (p.12), and he gives only two noun classes (p. 34), the rest he calls 'frequent modifiers.' Unfortunately, Speck's Euchee language data and analysis is not reliable and can not be used extensively.

Speck was Franz Boas' student at Columbia University, and Speck apparently did not fulfill the Boas mission in terms of linguistics. Thus, Boas sent his student Günter Wagner into the Euchee community in the late 1920's. Wagner spent a total of five months with the Euchee. He did much of his work with the preacher at Pickett Chapel, Mr. Maxey Simms, who, like many people of his time in Indian Territory, was trilingual. Mr. Simms was half Creek, and he grew up speaking Euchee and Creek (Muskogee). He learned English later. There is no evidence in any of his texts that Mr. Simms' fluency in Creek or English affected his ability to speak Euchee. In fact, those who remember him do not recall his Euchee as anything but excellent, and he was considered a good Euchee orator in his preaching style. Wagner also worked with Mr. Larry Brown, and the Clinton family from Sand Creek, including the young Ida Clinton (Riley). When I met Mrs. Riley at the age of 92, she clearly remembered 'the German' who had come around and collected stories from her and her parents.

The amount Wagner collected and transcribed in five months, without the benefit of modern equipment, is truly phenomenal. He

published a monumental collection of myths, legends, animal tales, and personal narratives entitled *Yuchi Tales* (1930). The collection is invaluable today for their linguistic, historical, and cultural content.

A sketch of the language followed in 1934. This work has been the most complete published documentation of the language to date although the sketch is primarily an inventory of phonetic sounds, morphemes, and morphological paradigms. Some aspect and mood morphemes are omitted or the description of their placement is incorrect. Wagner describes the phonetic inventory but does not include a phonemic analysis. Throughout the following chapters, I will highlight discrepancies between Wagner's analyses and my own.

World War II prevented Wagner from publishing a planned Euchee dictionary. He had sent his English-Euchee manuscript to Boas for editing. This manuscript survives in the American Philosophical Society Library in Philadelphia. However, the Euchee-English manuscript was lost with Wagner's other unpublished work and notes.<sup>11</sup>

Research on Euchee after Wagner was again sporadic and incomplete. While working on Creek, Mary Haas collected some Euchee data over several days in 1940. Her notes remain unpublished. Carl Vogelin sent his student Hans Wolff to do work on Euchee in 1947. From Wolff's correspondence with Frank Speck, he was interested in collecting information on the pronominal prefixes for comparison with Siouan languages. Wolff collected material in Sapulpa for a few months in 1947, from which he published a brief analysis of the phonemes and pronominal inventory, which focused mainly on gender variation (1950), and an instructional narration text with analysis (1951). In 1950, Emil Benveniste reinterpreted Wagner's analysis of the two negative preclitics in Euchee using Wagner's *Tales* as data.

James M. Crawford and William Lewis Ballard both worked on the language in the 1970s. Ballard began his work on Euchee in Georgia with Mrs.



Addie George, but between 1970 and 1975 he completed more extensive fieldwork in Oklahoma with a variety of speakers. He collected texts from Chief John Brown, Mrs. Louanna Barnett, Mrs. Segie Bighead, Mr. and Mrs. Nellie and Ekilame Cahwee, Mrs. Salo Felix, Mr. Seymour Frank, Mrs. Liza George, Mrs. Louchar Green, Mrs. Ada Harry, Mrs. Nancy Harry, Mrs. Goldie Littlehead, Mr. and Mrs. Acey and John Snow, Mr. Bill Staley, Mr. John Tiger, and Mr. Waxin Tiger. Ballard's recordings are especially valuable as he had the opportunity to record monolingual Euchee speakers. He has graciously allowed me access to all of his field tapes and their transcriptions.

Ballard published two articles on the bound pronominal affixes (1975; 1978). The first contains his phonemic analysis and describes some Euchee morphophonemics; the second is a further description of the pronominal inventories and suggests a classificatory scheme for the five sets of pronominal prefixes. Unfortunately, his transcriptions and analyses show reliance on a non-fluent speaker. His phonological and morphological analyses depart significantly from all other analyses, including my own. So, although the 1970's saw a renewed interest in studying Euchee, there were conflicting reports from the field, which caused even the phonemic inventory to be in question.

Crawford worked intensively in and around Sapulpa with Mrs. Nancy Wildcat and with Mr. Seymour Frank and Mr. Neddie Frank in the summers of 1970 and 1971 and briefly in 1973. He published a phonemic inventory (1973). Regrettably, Crawford died before he was able to complete the dictionary he was preparing. The American Philosophical Society Library houses his collection of notebook, notes, manuscripts, and the thousands of cards he was compiling for the dictionary. His notebooks and rough sheets of sporadic sorted data with their brief comments have been extremely valuable to me. Most importantly, they have been significant in completing a picture of the continuity and changes in two centuries of Euchee, from Ridge in the early 1800's, Gatschet in 1880's, Wagner in the 1930's, Crawford in the 1970's to what I have collected in the

1990's. In some ways, Crawford has been an advisor *in absentia* to me, as his questions scribbled in corners have often led me into a new (and correct) direction or confirmed my own suspicions.

One such note written on a rough sheet is worthy of reproduction here. Crawford managed to capture the obstacles that have clearly plagued all the linguists who have worked with Euchee:

Features that make Yuchi difficult to analyze

1. contractions
2. homonymy
3. what appears to be arbitrary nasalization of vowels of some morphemes (they do not appear to be contractions nor operations of a morphological process)
4. no formal distinctions between noun and verb, or any word class
5. vowel harmony?

Upon finding this note I was immediately relieved to know that I was not the only one with these problems, but frustrated by the problems that none seemed to have overcome.

More recently there has been renewed interest in Euchee for historical and comparative purposes. Dale Nicklas re-examined the pronominal classes (Nicklas 1994). He took a phonological approach to the history of the pronominal classes instead of the classificatory approach proposed by Ballard. Nicklas worked on data from Wagner (1930; 1934). And recently, Robert Rankin (1996, 1997) has reopened investigation into the genetic affiliation of Euchee and Siouan using Wagner (1934) and Ballard (1973; 1978).

In summary, although quality data exist on Euchee in manuscript and notebook form, previous research has not produced a full documentation of any level of the grammar, and there has been no significant work on the syntax. Most attention has been paid to the genetic classification of the language, but this, too, has been limited by insufficient grammatical data.

#### 4. GOALS AND CHARACTERISTICS OF THIS GRAMMAR

This is the first comprehensive grammar of the Euchee language. I have tried to include all family and dialect variations whenever possible, but some unintentional oversights are inevitable in such a work. All languages are complex and changing, and so there will always be a need for more work into the subtleties and richness of the Euchee language. It is my hope that this grammar can be a starting point from which more work on the phonology, syntax, and pragmatics of the language can be explored.

The extensive coverage of aspects of the language in this grammar is due to several factors. First, I have been able to compare my findings and draw on the work of all those before me. The work of Gatschet, Wagner, Ballard, and Crawford have been particularly invaluable to me in this endeavor. Second, I have tried whenever possible to include not only what is possible in the language, but also what is not possible in the language. This has meant untold hours of grammatical elicitation, and much patience and expertise on the part of the speakers. It has created some humorous times as well. When testing the limits of certain morphemes, speakers have laughingly admonished me, 'That is just plain bad Euchee!' Which of course is what I wanted to know. In addition to the direct elicitation of forms, I have relied heavily on data from texts. I have endeavored to use both historical and contemporary textual information, and both formal and informal narrative styles. Some of these texts are found in Appendix I.

Most importantly, I have had continuous interaction with the speakers of Euchee for six years. This continuity has given me a depth and breadth into the language and its use. I have not only been allowed into the Euchee community, but blessed with the generosity of the people. Many families have lent me their personal family recordings. Mrs. Phoebe Bucktrot Jones let me use recordings of her father, the late Chief Madison Bucktrot; Mrs. Sarah Skeeter McNac let me use a recording of her mother, the late Mrs. Sadie Green Skeeter with her

mother; The Euchee (Yuchi) Tribe of Indian, Inc. and the family of the late Chief Jim Brown, Sr., graciously allowed me access to a video tape of Chief Brown; and Mr. Gregory Bigler has generously let me use hours of video taped storytelling, along with extensive use of the materials collected by the Euchee Class of Sapulpa. In addition, Ballard's recordings and transcriptions substantially increased my base of recorded Euchee speakers, and I have enjoyed many hours with current speakers reviewing these tapes, as it has brought back memories for them to hear these voices again.

I have been fortunate to work with speakers, both male and female, and their families from all three Euchee geographical areas. This has enabled me to have a better understanding of the variations that occur within the language. I had the opportunity to work with the late Mrs. Louanna Barnett, the late Mrs. Mae Tulsa, and the late Mr. Dimmie Washburn. I have gained many insights from Mr. Gregory Bigler and Mr. Richard Grounds, who are actively learning the language. I owe my understanding of the Euchee language to the dedication of those that have worked closely with me over these years: Mrs. Josephine Wildcat Bigler, Mrs. Maxine Wildcat Barnett, Mrs. Maggie Cumsey Marsey, Mrs. Martha Fox Squire, Mrs. Josephine Barnett Keith, and Mr. Mose Cahwee. I could not have begun this project without the guidance of the very talented and eloquent speaker, the late Mr. William Cahwee. His gifts as a natural linguist, and his willingness to help others, were extraordinary. Finally, Mr. Henry Washburn has been a most dedicated teacher. His keen ability to sort out the impossible and his patience, often stopping to 'kick that around,' made it possible for me to finish this work.

There may be skeptics who do not believe that there could be fluent speakers of Euchee at the end of the twentieth century. However, I must stress that not only are all the speakers superb speakers of the Euchee language, they do not vary significantly either lexically or grammatically from monolingual speakers recorded by Gatschet in 1885,

Wagner in 1928-9, or the monolingual and bilingual speakers recorded in the 1970's Crawford and Ballard. In fact, upon seeing Gatschet's field notes for the first time, I was struck by how similar his entries are to mine: I could easily read his entries and found forms in his that I had not found any other descriptions about in the language.<sup>12</sup> Ridge's 1826 vocabulary shows inflectional morphemes not published by Wagner, but certainly appear in my work (and a few were being noted by Crawford as well). Additionally, the language has not been affected by neighboring languages. There has been remarkably very little borrowing of English words, nor of Muscogee or Shawnee, the Euchee preferring to create their own words instead.

There are some phonological shifts as are noted in Chapter 2, but even these are remarkably small for the intense contact with English since allotment in 1895 and Oklahoma statehood in 1907. There is also some loss in the honorific and familial classification system, which are commonly susceptible to cultural and language shift. However, it should be noted that even these changes occur almost solely in the speech of men, implying that Euchee women are more conservative in their speech than Euchee men. This phenomenon is well documented in other languages throughout the world.

It is my hope that this grammar will be used within as well as outside of the Euchee community. Since Euchee is not like any other language spoken today, there is ample data here for testing linguistic theories for many years to come. In addition, a better understanding of Euchee can aid in typological studies of the languages of the Americas and of all human language. And again, perhaps a more complete grammar can shed light on the history of the Euchee people. In addition to these, it is my sincere hope that the Euchee people will be able to use the grammar in the preparation of language class materials. I hope adult

language learners can use it as a resource, and all Euchee can pick it up and feel pride in their heritage language.

The aim to serve the needs of two distinct communities has made the presentation of this grammar a hybrid. I have followed the descriptive tradition as closely as possible. In this way, the data can be useful to linguists working in any theoretical persuasion. It is not, however, strictly in keeping with formal descriptive grammars. In attempting to make the grammar accessible to the members of the Euchee Tribe, I have chosen to use terms more likely to be found in a teaching grammar. Linguistic terminology is placed in parentheses. I have also found the traditional categories unwieldy for describing Euchee. The separate designations 'morphology' and 'syntax' simply do not work, and so I have organized the grammar by building words (derivational morphology) into phrases (inflectional morphology and syntax) and then into clauses (syntax). It is my hope that this grammar will aid the trained linguist, the Euchee language teachers, and the interested lay reader in understanding how the Euchee language works.

## **5. THE WRITING SYSTEM**

There is no standardized orthography for Euchee. Yet, there is a practical and accurate way of writing the language. The orthography used throughout this work was developed by the participants of the Euchee Language Class of Sapulpa. This included Mrs. Maggie Marsey, Mr. William Cahwee, Mrs. Josephine Bigler, Mrs. Maxine Barnett, Mrs. Martha Squire, Mrs. Mae Tulsa, Mr. Henry Cahwee, Mr. Gregory Bigler, and Mr. Richard Grounds. They collaborated with Akira Yamamoto of the University of Kansas and myself over a series of classes and meetings in 1994-95. After several years of use, I have made one slight change to

the original inventory of vowel symbols. In the end, it is essentially the same as the orthography developed by James Crawford in collaboration with speakers (Mrs. Addie George, Mr. Mose Cahwee, and Mrs. Nancy Wildcat) in the 1970's.

While developing this orthography, the speakers had several concerns which we wanted to meet. First, the writing system needed to include all the sounds necessary in Euchee. As these are quite a few, the second concern was that there would be as few multiple symbols as possible and no hyphens between syllable. This cuts down on the written length of words considerably. Third, the symbols would be as close to the English equivalents as possible to help learners. The fourth consideration was the overall ease of writing and typing the language in this way. Fifth, the speakers wanted a system that they could be proud of in looks—it needed to look like other Indian languages but also be distinctly Euchee. Overall, this way of writing Euchee fulfills all these need. It is accurate in addition to being easy to read, write, and learn.

**NOTES**  
**CHAPTER 1**

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1 There is some archeological evidence that the Chisca may not have been Euchee but Shawnee (Bauxar 1957).

2 In a 1942 letter to Mr. Grant Foreman of Muscogee, Chief Sam W. Brown, Jr. gave several other local spellings and versions of the name Euchee:

- (i) 'Euchee name was Euchitows put a Muskokee accent on the later [sic]. Some time the name spelled Yuchi choyuha [tsoyaha] vdji youchia and Euchitou.' (Brown 1942)

Like the first one attributed to the Creek/Muscogee language, the last one, 'Euchitou,' is apparently from the Creek. The -a on the name 'youchia' is apparently corruption of -ha. And 'vdji' shows influence from the Creek alphabet, with the 'v' as the mid-central vowel.

3 None of the early Indian Territory records of the Euchee language, or Creek Nation records give this spelling. Although there was no standardized spelling for the tribe at that time, it is interesting to speculate on the different spelling adopted by the missionaries. The 'eu' spelling may have been adopted as it reflects the spelling in 'Eucharist'. However, it is also probable that it comes from the glottalized pronunciation 'yuciha, the Euchee name for the tribe. In the latter part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Mrs. Sadie Skeeter and Mr. William Cahwee, both talented native speakers and teachers of the language, used an 'e' before glides to differentiate the glottalized from the non-glottalized glides (Skeeter 1976; Cahwee no date). This is a logical way to represent the glottalized glides because they are preglottalized, resulting in a vowel-like initiation. It is not impossible that the missionaries heard this difference and noted it in the same way, with the spelling 'eu'.

4 The sketchbook is available in a modern version with notes on the Indian words (Hvidt 1990). James Crawford helped William Sturtevant with the Euchee translations; Mary Haas participated in the Creek translations.

5 Gallatin's copy of Ridge's vocabulary includes corrections from Ridge and the note only that the vocabulary was collected by Ridge from 'a Uchee chief' (Gallatin, ca. 1826: 7v).

6 I learned about the true authorship of the Pike vocabulary from personal communication with Jack Martin.

7 In 1999, I worked with faculty and students in the Division of Ornithology, Natural History Museum at the University of Kansas, but we were unable to determine the name or date of the 'Bird Book' which is used as a reference for the Euchee bird names. William Sturtevant states that the author of this short list of bird names may be Jeremiah Curtain (personal communication).



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8 The NAA has erroneously dated his field notebook 1901. This is apparently due to the fact that the front pages are gone, and Gatschet added the note at the end concerning the accuracy of the data, which he dated 1901 at the time he made the amendment.

9 One of the boys may be a William Frederick, as this name appears at the top of the third page of his field notebook. This name is not in the memory of elders today, and I was not able to find it in either the 1890 or 1895 census rolls. In 1901, he amended the end of his field notebook with the statement that the first twenty pages, or those pages taken down while working with the boys, were not reliable. Those pages contain marginalia where he notes variation between the boys and Mr. Barnett and more accurate transcriptions.

10 The author of this manuscript is listed in the NAA as anonymous. However, it is in Speck's printed handwriting. The NAA is in the process of changing the authorship to credit Speck.

11 This information comes from personal communication with Jason Jackson, reporting his communication with William Sturtevant.

12 James Crawford's notebooks also reveal some of these patterns and forms. Wagner's field notes no longer exist.

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## Chapter 2: The Sound System

### 1. INVENTORY OF SOUNDS (PHONEMES)

Euchee has 38 distinctive (phonemic) consonants, 6 distinctive oral vowels, and 5 distinctive nasal vowels. The vowels do not contrast by length. The language distinguishes plain (unaspirated), aspirated, ejective, and voiced stops and affricates. The rest of the consonant inventory is notable for its contrasts by glottalization. There is a full series of voiceless and glottalized fricatives, including labio-dental fricatives /f/ and /f̥/ which are rare in the Southeast. In addition, there are four resonants (nasal stop /n/, lateral /l/, and glides /w/ and /y/) which also contrast by glottalization.

The inventory of Euchee consonant and vowels is not uncommonly large in comparison to several other Native American languages, such as those in the Salish and Athapaskan families. Yet, it is notably larger than the inventories in the languages surrounding the Euchee in the Southeast, which range from a small 12 consonants (Shawnee, Southern Algonquian) and 16 (Eastern Muskogean languages) to 17 (Tutelo, Ohio Valley Siouan<sup>1</sup>) and 19 (Cherokee, Southern Iroquoian). Most have 5-vowel systems which contrast by length (Tutelo has an additional 3 nasal vowels), and Cherokee has a 6-vowel system contrasting by nasality and length. None come close to rivaling Euchee in the richness of distinctive sounds.

It is unfortunate that many equate a large inventory of distinctive sounds with complexity. The earliest writings about the Euchee give an almost fearful account of their language having 'clicks of the Hottentots' and 'the warbling of prairie-chickens' (reported in Gatschet 1884). Euchee, of course, has neither clicks nor clucks. Despite its full inventory of sounds, Euchee phonology is considerably straight forward.

The orthography used here was developed in the mid-1990's by the Euchee Language Class of Sapulpa. It is essentially phonemic, meaning there is one symbol (or combination) for every distinctive sound. Because of this, it is well-suited for representing the underlying forms and most surface forms. Therefore, it is used throughout this work for all phonemic representations. When surface phonetic forms are not available in the orthography, standard Americanist phonetic symbols are used. In the phonetic forms, the nasal hook (ᵛ) is used instead of the orthographic tilde (ã) in order to use the space over the vowels for stress and pitch information. See Section 5 in Chapter 1 for a history of this writing system, and Appendix II for a Pronunciation Guide based on English equivalents.

## 1.1 CONSONANTS

Figure 2.1 gives an overview of the distinctive sounds (phonemes) in Euchee. The distinctive sounds are described in this section.

Figure 2.1 Phoneme Inventory: Consonants

	Labial	Alveolar	Alveo-Palatal	Velar	Glottal
<b>Stops:</b>					
voiceless	p	t		k	'
aspirated	ph	th		kh	
glottalized	p'	t'		k'	
voiced	b	d		g	
<b>Affricates:</b>					
voiceless		ts	c		
aspirated		tsh	ch		
glottalized		ts'	c'		
voiced		dz	j		
<b>Fricatives</b>					
voiceless	f	s	sh		h
glottalized	f'	s'	sh'		
<b>Lateral Fricatives:</b>					
voiceless		thl			
glottalized		thl'			
<b>Laterals:</b>					
voiced		l			
glottalized		l'			
<b>Nasals:</b>					
plain		n			
glottalized		n'			
<b>Glides:</b>					
plain	w		y		
glottalized	w'		y'		

*Stops and Affricates (Obstruents)*

The stops and affricates contrast in place of articulation (bilabial, alveolar, alveo-palatal, and velar) and in laryngeal action (unaspirated, aspirated, glottalized, and voiced). The contrasts are illustrated with minimal and near minimal pairs below.

- (1) /p/ pa 'sack'  
 /ph/ pha 'cut'  
 /b/ ba 'burn' (verb)  
 /p'a/ gop'a 'Creek person'

/t/	gota		'to set a date'	ti	'rock'
/th/	gotha		'to pick'		
/d/	goda		'face'	di-	'I'
/t'/	t'i		'urine, bile'		
/k/	kyafa		'behind'		
/kh/	khyaka		'crane'	gokho	'neck'
/g/	go-	[go-] <sup>2</sup>	'human'		
/k'/	gok'o		'throat'		
/c/	cu		'boat'		
/ch/	chu		'bed'		
/j/	gokhaju		'armpit'		
/c'/	c'u		'drown'		
/ts/	tsa		'sleep'	tse	'water'
/tsh/	tshyathla		'red'		
/dz/	dze		'me'		
/ts'/				ts'ē [ts'ɛ]	'blue jay'

Glottalized stops are true ejectives. Speakers maintain their oral closures while the glottis is raised. The oral closure is released when the glottal closure is released. The glottalized stops and affricates which occur between vowels (i.e. not word initially) may be slightly voiced as the glottal release can occur immediately before the oral release and begin voicing. Ballard (1975: 164) stated that the glottalized stops are not ejectives but stop plus glottal stop sequences. However, in a consonant cluster made up of a stop plus glottal stop, the glottis would be released after the oral closure. This sequence does not occur with fluent Euchee speakers. In addition to this evidence, it is telling that the speakers consistently refer to the glottalized consonants as a single sound, while recognizing the glottal stop as a separate sound they hear it between vowels.

Aspiration has very little friction. In some speakers, the voiceless unaspirated alveolar stop /t/ is dental [t̪]. Unaspirated stops are often voiced in initial position, and may be voiced between vowels as well.

(2)	tsoshi	[dzoshi]	'sofki (corn drink)'
	tsē	[dzɛ]	'water'
	tidifa	[didifa]	'I'm wearing'
	tatane	[datane]	'plate'
	tapi	[dapi] - [dabi]	'salt'
	kegok'ōne	[gegogone] <sup>3</sup>	'hired hand, sharecropper, slave'
	wikæ	[wigæ]	'what'
	gok'ēne	[gog'ɛne]	'livestock'

There is much discrepancy between the linguists who have recorded Euchee as to the occurrences of the voiced and voiceless unaspirated stops; where some record a voiced stop, others a voiceless unaspirated stop and vice versa. In addition, some voiceless unaspirated stops recorded by Gatschet (1885) are fully voiced today, suggesting change over time. For example, Gatschet recorded the 3<sup>rd</sup> person impersonal pronominal prefix as voiceless unaspirated [ku-], and he gave the 1<sup>st</sup> person singular pronominal prefix as [ti-] (actor) and [tse-] (patient). Today these morphemes are voiced [go-], [di-] and [dze-], and are given above as minimal pairs with voiceless unaspirated stops. These voiced phones today are probably due to their initial position. It should be noted that while Wagner (1934) gave phonemic status to voiced phones, Mary Haas (Haas 1940) did not. For synchronic descriptive purposes, and for teaching, voiced stops in Euchee are distinctive. For historical purposes, their status is not secure.

### *Glottal Stop*

The glottal stop / ʔ / is a phoneme.

(3)	/ ʔ /	we'a	[we'a]	'They (non-Euchee) cry.'
	/h/	weha	[weha]	'They (non-Euchee) are there.'

The glottal stop is not clearly articulated in initial positions. However, it is obligatory between vowels.



*Fricatives (including the Lateral Fricative)*

Fricatives do not contrast by voicing, only by glottalization. Thus, there are voiceless fricatives and glottalized fricatives. Glottalized fricatives are ejectives. (4a) gives examples of the glottalized contrasts by the same place of articulation, and (4b) gives contrasts of fricatives differing by place of articulation.

(4)	a.	/f/	fa	[fa]				'to stand'
		/f'/	fā	[fʼa]				'evening'
		/s/	se-	[se]				'she'
		/s'/	s'e-	[s'e-]				'he' (women's speech)
		/sh/	shu	[shu]		sha	[sha]	'snake'
		/sh'/	sh'u	[sh'u]		sh'a	[sh'a]	'deficate'
		/thl/	thla	[thla]				'bullet'
		/thl'/	thl'a	[thl'a]				'lung'
	b.	/s/	ispi	[ispi]				'black'
		/sh/	ishpi	[ishpi]				'dirty'
		/sh'/	gosh'i	[gosh'i]				'clothes'
		/thl'/	gothl'i	[gothl'i]				'to cut'
		/h/	gohæ	[gohæ]				'to breathe'
		/f/	gofæ	[gofæ]				'to whip'
		/thl/	gothlæ	[gothlæ]				'to eat'

The labio-dental fricative /f/ is rare, occurring only in the following related morphemes.

(5)	fa, -fa	'to stand,' inanimate classifier, standing position
	-fa	past perfective
	-fa	general directional
	fā	'evening, night'

In some speakers, the teeth barely touch the lower lips, causing the /f/ to be nearer to a voiceless bilabial fricative [ɸ] or the clusters [hw] and [fw]<sup>4</sup> between vowels.

- (6) a. [kéhədothlá teci dithæ kédiφá]  
ke hō-do-thla te-ci  
LOC 3PL(EM).PAT-1SG.ACT/PLUS-do ABLE-SUB.CL(SIT)
- b. [hìdohwá]  
hi-do-fā  
3SG(INAN).PAT-1SG.ACT/PLUS-pound  
‘I pound (corn).’
- c. [tìkhalé ‘yusht’æ wè‘yap’q̣ jéfwa]  
ti-khale ‘yusht’æ we-‘yap’q̣ jé-fa  
rock-fine road 3PL(NE).ACT-spread PAST-PERF  
‘They (non-Euchees) put gravel on the road.’
- d. [dithæ ké difá]  
di-thæ ke di-fa  
1SG.ACT-want DIR 1SG.ACT-stand  
‘I want to do this for them.’

*Lateral, Nasals, and Glides (Resonants)*

Resonants consist of laterals, nasals, and glides. They are all voiced and contrast by glottalization.

(7)	/l/	-le	[-le]	‘stative verbalizer’
	/l/	-l’e	[-l’e]	‘Yes/No Question clitic’
	/n/	gonē	[goné]	‘baby’
	/n/	go’nē	[go’né]	‘to see’
	/w/	wedine	[wediné]	‘cow’
	/w/	go’wedene	[gò’wedené]	‘language’
	/y/	yō	[yɔ]	‘it boils, swells’
	/y/	‘yō	[‘yɔ]	‘star, spider, uncle’

The glottalized resonants are not true ejectives. The glottalization occurs slightly before to during, resulting in pre-glottalization and/or creaky voice, [l̠], [n̠], [w̠], and [y̠]. Euchee glottalized resonants are close to those found in Navajo, described as ‘the superimposition of glottal stop or creaky voice on a voiced sound’ (McDonough and Ladefoged 1993).

The distribution of [ʔ] is restricted to one morpheme, the Yes/No Question particle *ʔe*.

The sound [m] is not a phoneme, but an allophone of /n/, and it occurs in English borrowings, such as 'Walmart' and 'amen' and in English personal names, such as Martha, Millie, Maggie, Michael, etc...

## 1.2 VOWELS

Euchee has oral and nasal vowels. Both oral and nasal vowels contrast by height, backness, and lip-rounding. The charts in Figure 2.2 below provide an overview of the distinctive oral and nasal vowels.

Figure 2.2. Vowel Inventory

<u>Oral Vowels</u>			
	front	central	back (round)
high	i		u
mid	e		o
low	æ		a

<u>Nasal Vowels</u>			
	front	central	back (round)
high	ĩ		
mid	ẽ		õ
low	æ̃		ã

### *Oral Vowels*

There are six oral vowel phonemes, as shown in Figure 2.2. These are illustrated below.

(8)	/i/	gochi	[gochí]	‘eye’
	/e/	goche	[goché]	‘belly’
	/u/	gochu	[gochú]	‘penis’
	/e/	s’e	[s’e]	‘pond’
	/æ/	s’æ	[s’æ]	‘earth, ground’
	/æ/	gothæ	[gothæ]	‘to want’
	/a/	gotha	[gothá]	‘to pick’
	/e/	gothe	[gothé]	‘to play a sport’
	/i/	gothi	[gothí]	‘to ask for/beg’
	/o/	gotho	[gothó]	‘to come’
	/u/	gotu	[gotú]	‘to suck’
	/o/	goto	[gotó]	‘to go with’
	/o/	godó	[godó]	‘to touch’
	/a/	godá	[godá]	‘face’
	/e/	godé	[godé]	‘leg’

The low back vowel /a/ is lax. The word [depúle] ‘again’ contains the lax high back rounded vowel [u]. In addition, Big Pond speakers tend to pronounce the 1<sup>st</sup> person singular pronominal *do-* and the impersonal 3<sup>rd</sup> person pronominal *go-* as [du-] and [gu-], respectively, in rapid speech. An oral [ɔ] occurs as a product of contractions only (see Contractions below). The vowels [ɔ] and /a/, and sometimes /o/, can become [ə] in unstressed environments, but this is not regular. See section on “Unrounding, Centralizing, and Denasalization” below for more discussion.

### *Nasal Vowels*

There are five nasal vowel phonemes, which are illustrated below.

(9)	/i/	thosh'i	[thosh'í]	'hat'
	/ĩ/	thosh'ĩ	[thosh'ĩ]	'knee'
	/e/	gop'e	[gop'é]	'to drink'
	/ẽ/	gop'ẽ	[gop'ẽ]	'to grip, squeeze'
	/æ/	dithæ	[dithæ]	'I want'
	/ã/	dithã	[dithã]	'I pull'
	/o/	gok'o	[gok'ó]	'throat'
	/õ/	gok'õ	[gok'õ]	'to make'
	/a/	gowa	[gowá]	'to bite, bite off'
	/ã/	gowã	[gowá]	'to give'
	/õ/	'õ-	['õ-]	'we (inclusive)'
	/ã/	'ã-	['ã-]	'you (plural)'

The nasal high and mid vowels are lax, whereas the corresponding oral vowel is tense. That is, the /ĩ/ is realized as [ɪ]; /ẽ/ is realized as [ɛ]; and /õ/ is realized as [ɔ]. The sounds [ɛ] and [ɔ] are extremely low. The [ɛ] is so low that it is difficult to distinguish from [æ]. The [ɔ] is so low that it is hard to distinguish from /ã/ when unrounding takes place (see below). Only in highly stressed environments, such as comparative and superlative constructions, and interjections shown below in (10), do the allophones [ɔ] and [ɛ] can remain tense [ɔ] and [ɛ].

- (10) a. hē:ju                    or [hẽ:::nju]  
           hē-:-ju  
           oh my-really  
           'Oh my!!!'
- b. hē:la                    or [hẽ:::nla]  
           hē-:-la  
           quit-really  
           'Quit it right now!'

The high back vowel /u/ does not have a nasal phoneme /ũ/. However, an oral /u/ preceding the nasal consonant /n/ may become slightly nasalized, resulting in [ʊ]. The phoneme /ã/ occurs extremely rarely. In most cases, it is

the result of the oral /æ/ and the contraction of a following /n/ (see below). The phonemes /ī/ and /ā/ occur infrequently. This leaves the phonemes /ē/ and /ō/, realized as [ɛ] and [ɔ] respectively, occurring with great frequency.

The low front vowel [æ] is without doubt a phoneme today, as can be seen with the minimal pairs above in (19). Wagner (1934) did not posit /æ/ as a phoneme, nor did he discuss its occurrence in anyway, although it was recorded both by Gatschet and Speck before him. Wagner's first publication on Euchee, *Yuchi Tales* (1930), was written in phonetic transcription. In the introductory notes, Wagner indicates a difference between [æ], which he wrote as ä, and [a]. Surprisingly, then, there is no ä anywhere in the texts. The reason for its absence is unclear and could be due to a gross error by the typesetter, but its absence is a serious obstacle to using the texts. Later in the *Sketch* (1934), Wagner does not use or discuss [æ]. Yet, he was clearly indicating [æ], again by ä, in the dictionary manuscript that he was preparing after 1934. Since Wagner's ability to hear and transcribe Euchee was accurate in all other places, I imagine that he was not sure of the status of [æ] at the time he wrote the *Sketch*, and chose to under describe. It should not be taken as an indicator of the quality of the rest of his work.

The status of /æ/ is complex. It appears only where, but not in all cases. Wagner recorded [ɛ] [ɛ] or [a]. As mentioned above, [ɛ] is extremely low, and some speakers regularly shift between [ɛ] and [æ] in a given word or morpheme. For example, the negative preclitic [nɛ-] is in free variation with [næ-] across speakers. I can find no minimal pairs between /ē/ and /æ/. In these cases, then, [æ] can be considered an allophone of [ɛ]. In fact, it can be argued that all occurrences of the low front nasal [æ] are allophones of /ē/, resulting from contractions. The variation between /a/ and /æ/ is not predictable and minimal pairs can be found. It should be noted, however, that speakers from the western towns of Big Pond and Sand Creek often use /æ/ where others use /a/. Unfortunately this is not a one-to-one correspondence, so it cannot be confidently

treated as dialect variation, and the variation is not predictable. It does imply the possible origins on the emergence of /æ/ as a phoneme.

## 2. PHONOLOGICAL PROCESSES

### 2.1 INSERTING SOUNDS (EPENTHESIS)

#### *Inserting /n/, /m/, and /ŋ/*

The phoneme /n/ is inserted after nasal vowels. The phoneme /n/ assimilates to the place of articulation of the following consonant, creating the allophones [n], [m] and [ŋ].

The /n/ changes to the bilabial nasal [m] when it is inserted after nasal vowels before bilabial stops.

(11)	dāp'i	[dəmp'í]	'buttock/tail'
	hēpha	[həmp'háh]	'He cut.'

The /n/ changes to the velar nasal [ŋ] when it is inserted after a nasal vowel before a velar consonant. The bilabial glide /w/ responds to its velar feature for this rule.

(12)	dì'qkhi	[dì'əŋkí]	'my arm'
	tihewethla	[díhəŋwethlá]	'He went in.'

The /n/ remains a dental nasal [n] when it is inserted after a nasal vowel in all other places of articulation.<sup>5</sup>

(13)	nægōt'e	[næɡɔnt'é]	'nobody'
	sahāde	[sahánde]	'always'
	abēci	[abēnci]	'now/today'
	hēthl'a	[hínthl'áh]	'He digs'
	wafā hōfe	[waf'á hɔnfe]	'Where did he go?'
	hōhæ	[hɔnhæ]	'He smells.'

In addition, [n] occurs optionally phrase finally before a pause. However, this appears to be restricted to the past tense particle /-je/.

(14)	[ʔyʊʃtahá hɛk'á'ne jɛn]		
	ʔyushta-há	hē-k'ā-'ne	jē
	past.time-PL(INAN)	3PL(EM).ACT-RECIP-see	PAST
	'They used to have church.' (men's speech)		

Nasal vowels are often denasalized (see the discussion below). Often the epenthetic nasal consonant is the only clear indication that the preceding vowel is a nasal vowel.

#### *Inserting [x] and [h]*

The sounds [x] and [h] are inserted morpheme finally, after any oral unround vowel in stressed position. Compare examples in (15a) with (15b) below. The [x] and [h] are interchangeable, as shown in (15b).<sup>6</sup>

(15)	a.	weda	[wedáx]	'I go/I am going (right now).'
		wedā	[wedá]	'I will go/ I am going to go.'
	b.	sháya	[sháiya]	'squirrel'
		'shaya	[shaiyáx] ~ [shaiyáh]	'weeds'

The [x] and [h] are more prominent before pauses.<sup>7</sup> It should be noted that since nouns have ultimate stress, nouns given in isolation are actor to this rule, as seen in (16). Although it may occur with any oral unround vowel in stressed position, insertion occurs much more regularly after the low vowel [a].



(16)	gothi	[gothíx]	'ribbon'
	go'nākhi	[gò'naŋkhíx]	'arm'
	'ine	['inéx]	'persimmon'
	gode	[godéx]	'leg'
	di'ōthæ	[di'ɔnthæx]	'my hand'
	kepha	[kepháx]	'throw'
	gop'a	[gop'áx]	'to be born'
	'enda	['endáx]	'oh!'
	'yasta	['yastáx]	'board'
	hēthl'a	[hɪnthl'áx]	'He digs.' BPD
	dzodethæha	[dzodithæháx]	'my shoes'

More examples of [x] and [h] insertion follow:

- (17) a. [hithæhthæh]  
 hi-thæthæ  
 3SG(INAN).PAT-weave  
 'to weave'
- b. [ke 'léde khæh nègowíx]  
 ke 'le-de khæ ne-gowi  
 now Q-CPLT through 2SG.ACT-pass  
 'Are you finished?'
- c. [s'ethæh s'e'yú]  
 s'e-thæ s'e-yu  
 3SG(EM).POSS-heart 3SG(EM).ACT-hurt  
 'His heart is broken.'
- d. [kede s'i'éh dze'ǎ]  
 kede s'i-'ē tse-'ē  
 now little-ACTIVE water-ACTIVE  
 'It's about to rain.'

An important exception to the insertion process is the Yes/No question particle *'le*. Although always stressed and word final, neither [x] nor [h] follow this morpheme.

## 2.2 PALATALIZATION AND RETROFLECTION

Euchee has several localized instances of palatalization and retroflexion. The phoneme [s] palatalizes to [sh] before the high front vowel [i]. This occurs only in the fast speech in the Big Pond Dialect, and particularly affects the 3<sup>rd</sup> person Euchee female morpheme /syo-/ and the 3<sup>rd</sup> person Euchee male (women's speech) morpheme /s'yo-/.

- (18) a. wahále sionǔ → [wəhále shonɔ́] 'She (Euchee) has a lot.'  
 b. wahále s'ionǔ → [wəhále sh'onɔ́] 'He (Euchee) has a lot.'

The alveolar fricative /s/ is retroflexed [ʂ] in clusters [sp] and [st].

- (19) a. ispi → [iʂpi] 'black'  
 b. stiné → [ʂtiné] 'spoon'

The retroflexed /s/ occurs in all speakers but is more pronounced in some, becoming the alveo-palatal [sh]. This can create confusion between [ʂp], [ʂt] and [shp], [sht] clusters.

- (20) ispi → [iʂpi] ( → [ishpi]) 'black'  
 ishpi → [ishpi] 'dirty'

The voiceless unaspirated and glottalized alveo-palatal affricate /c/ and /c/ (and in theory /ch/ and /j/) are retroflexed in clusters with /w/:

- (21) sàcwané → [sàçwané] 'rabbit'  
 c'wǎé → [ç'wǎé] 'rub'  
 c'wahé → [ç'wahé] 'five'

### 2.3 MAKING DIPHTHONGS

There are two oral diphthongs in Eucheé.

(22) Oral Diphthongs

[ao]

[ai]

The diphthong [ao] is a product only of the vowel /a/ in contractions with the morpheme *we* ‘non-Eucheé.’ It does not occur with any other /a/ + /w/ sequence. The diphthong [ao] occurs in free variation with the [o] and [o:] in the same contraction environment (see Section 3.1, Contractions, below).

23) a. [ʼá wegwá jɛ] → [ʼáogwajɛ]

ʼá we-gwa je  
 LOC 3SG(NE).act-say PAST  
 ‘He said.’

b. [sháwenɔ] → [shaonɔ]

shá-wenɔ  
 snake-CL(NE)  
 ‘that snake’

The diphthong [ai] occurs in free variation with [a] when [a] is followed by [y].

(24) àyogwá → [àiyogwá] ~ [àyogwá] ‘You said.’  
 sháya → [sháiya] ~ [sháya] ‘squirrel’  
 kʼáyú → [kʼaiyu] ~ [kʼayu] ‘twins’  
 kʼàʼyushigé → [kʼàiʼyushigé] ~ [kʼàʼyushigé] ‘She’s stirring.’

### 2.4 LAXING VOWELS

Nasal vowels are lax in all environments except emphasis. However, the oral vowels /e/, /o/ and /a/ become lax in specific environments. The lax [ɛ] is not as low as the nasal [ɛ].<sup>8</sup>

The mid front oral vowel /e/ becomes [ɛ] ~ [ɛ̃] before the nasal phoneme /n/, even when [ɛ] is not nasal or fully nasalized.

- (25) dzéne → [dzéɛ̃] 'dog'  
 we'ne → [wɛ'né] 'He (non-Euchee) sees.'/e/ is realized

The /e/ becomes lax [ɛ] word finally before a pause. Speakers of Big Pond Dialect tend to resist laxing in this environment.

- (26) kede → [kéɛ̃] 'now'  
 kede'ate → [kède'átɛ̃] 'That's enough!'

Finally, the word final lax [ɛ] tends to lax any penultimate /e/, seen in (27a). This is a form of regressive vowel harmony. It appears that this is the source of the /u/ laxing to [ʊ] in (27b), although there is no other data to support a generalized penultimate laxing before [ɛ].

- (27) a. kede → [kéɛ̃] → [kéɛ̃] 'now'  
 kele → [kéɛ̃] → [kéɛ̃] 'enough'  
 pehe → [pɛhé] → [pɛhé] 'over'  
 tele → [t'élé] → [t'élé] 'together'  
 watehe → [wátɛhé] → [wátɛhé] 'what time'  
 tæsehe → [tæsehé] → [tæsehé] 'back and forth'  
 b. depule<sup>9</sup> → [depúɛ̃] → [depúɛ̃] 'again'

## 2.5 UNROUNDING, CENTRALIZING, AND DENASALIZING VOWELS

Lip rounding and nasalization, although distinctive features for the phonemes, carry a light functional load as they can be arbitrarily dropped. This creates much difficulty in distinguishing [ɔ] and /ō/ from /a/ and /ā/, and /o/ and /ō/ from these as well. Adding to this difficulty is that all these sounds, and occasionally /e/ centralize to [ə] in unstressed position and [ʌ] in stressed

positions. Clear cases of the round [ɔ] are found in contractions because lip rounding is a product of the contraction process itself (see below), but otherwise, [ɔ] and [ɔ̃] almost always occur as [ʌ] and [ʌ̃], respectively. There is a parallel between the high frequency of the allophones [ɛ] and [æ]: Both mid vowel phonemes, /e/ and /ē/, and the allophones [ɔ] (contractions) and [ɔ̃], occur more frequently in their allophonic variations. The problem of unrounding and centralization has frustrated all linguists since Gatschet and was explicitly observed by Crawford (1973:175).<sup>10</sup>

Denasalization happens regularly word finally. For example, the suffix /-jē/ is often [-jɛ], and the modal of possibility /-tegō/ can be [tegɔ̃], [-tego], or [-tegə]. Denasalization can also occur in roots and affixes close to the root in rapid speech, with no apparent loss of meaning. These generally can be reconstructed as nasal in slow speech. This seemingly arbitrariness has caused discrepancies in the work of different linguists. For example, Crawford (Crawford 1978) analyzes the habitual suffix as /-nē/ [-nɛ̃], which is then denasalized to [-nɛ] word finally. However, I analyze the habitual suffix with an oral vowel, -ne. The preceding /n/ can slightly nasalize the final vowel, creating [-nɛ̃], but this nasalized vowel is not as low as the nasal vowel [ɛ̃], in such morphemes as the negative preclitic [nɛ̃-] ~ [næ̃-] and the 2<sup>nd</sup> person singular [nɛ̃-]. In the majority of cases, the vowel in the habitual morpheme is not nasal, and the [-nɛ̃] allomorph is explained by word final /e/ laxing. The fact that there is no clear epenthetic nasal when the habitual morpheme is followed by the past tense morpheme -jē, creating [-nɛ̃jɛ] or [-nijɪ] in BPD, or when the nominalizer is followed by a noun class suffix, supports my analysis.

## 2.6 A NOTE ON VOWEL LENGTH

Vowel length is not phonemic, but grammatically significant.<sup>11</sup> The main function of lengthened vowels is to give grammatical information of the comparative/superlative, emphasis and contrast, and to a lesser extent the immediate future. Vowel lengthening is also an indicator of contracted morphemes (see below), although this is optionally produced in some speakers today. Wagner did not give vowel length phonemic status, but Crawford (1973) attributed phonemic status to vowel length while maintaining that the 'functional load ... must be light' since he was unable to find more than four forms where vowel length changed word meaning. The pairs, in his transcription, are as follows:

(28) Crawford's (1973: 176-77) evidence for distinctive vowel length

- |    |           |                 |
|----|-----------|-----------------|
| a. | /wethla/  | 'He goes.'      |
|    | /we·thla/ | 'hawk'          |
| b. | /shaya/   | 'weeds'         |
|    | /sha·ya/  | 'squirrel'      |
| c. | /seneŋ/   | 'bird'          |
|    | /se·neŋ/  | 'iron'          |
| d. | /dzonŋ/   | 'I am located.' |
|    | /dzo·nŋ/  | 'the sun'       |

The length distinction in set (28a) can not be reproduced by speakers today, as in (29a). The sets in (28b-c) are distinguished by the placement in stress, as seen in (29b-c). The stressed vowel is slightly longer than the unstressed vowel, but it is stress and not length which distinguishes the pairs. The set in (28d) is explained by the fact that the long vowel in 'the sun' is a result of a contraction, shown in (29d).

- (29) a. hɔwethla [hɔwéthla] 'He goes.'  
           wethla [wethla] 'hawk'  
       b. shaya [shaiyá] 'weeds'  
           sháya [sháiya] 'squirrel'  
       c. séne [séne] 'bird'  
           sene [sené] 'iron' (short form)  
           senecha [sènechá] 'iron' (long form)
- d. [dzèwenɔ̃] → [dzonɔ̃]  
     dze-wenō  
     sun-CL(NE)  
     'the sun'

## 2.7 PHONETIC INVENTORY

The distribution of phonemes and allophones are discussed in the sections above. Presented here are charts to summarize the phonetic inventory of sounds in Euchee. The differences between the phonetic inventory and the phonemic inventory are highlighted.

Figure 2.3. Phonetic Inventory: Consonants

	Labial	Dental	Alveolar	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
<b>Stops:</b>							
voiceless	p	t̪	t			k	ʔ
aspirated	ph		th			kh	
glottalized	pʔ		tʔ			kʔ	
voiced	b		d			g	
<b>Affricates:</b>							
voiceless			ts		c	x	
aspirated			tsh		ch		
glottalized			tsʔ	ɕ	cʔ		
voiced			dʒ		j		
<b>Fricatives:</b>							
voiceless	f φ		s	ʂ	sh		h
glottalized	fʔ		sʔ		shʔ		
<b>Lateral Fricatives:</b>							
voiceless			thl				
glottalized			thlʔ				
<b>Laterals:</b>							
voiced			l				
glottalized			lʔ				
<b>Nasals:</b>							
plain	m		n			ŋ	
glottalized			nʔ	ɳ			
<b>Glides:</b>							
plain	w				y		
glottalized	wʔ				yʔ		



Figure 2.4. Phonetic Inventory: Vowels

<u>Oral Vowels</u>				
	front	central	back	(round)
high	i			u
				ʊ
mid	e			o
	ɛ	ə, ʌ		ɔ
low	æ		a	

<u>Nasal Vowels</u>				
	front	central	back	(round)
high	ĩ			
	ɪ̃			ʊ̃
mid	ẽ			õ
	ɛ̃	ə̃, ʌ̃		ɔ̃
low	æ̃		ã	

All the oral and nasal vowels above can be lengthened, [uː], [oː], [ɔː], etc... in contractions and long, [i:], [e:], [a:] etc.... in comparison/superlative and emphatic structures.

<u>Diphthongs</u>				
	front	central	back	(round)
high	ai			
mid				ao
low				

### 3. SYLLABLE STRUCTURE

#### 3.1 THE SYLLABLE

The Euchee syllable is C(C)V(:)(E).<sup>12</sup> The canon allows onset clusters, lengthened vowels, and epenthetic (E) nasal and [x, h] codas. The most frequent syllable by far is a consonant onset and a vowel (CV). The following rules give Euchee specific segment restrictions.

#### (30) Cluster Restrictions

C1 (C2) V (N) is the canon, where:

- a. If C(2) is not present, C(1) can be any consonant.
- b. If C(2) is present, C(1) can only be an obstruent or pulmonic sibilant (/s/ and /sh/).
- c. If C(1) is an obstruent, C(2) can only be a pulmonic glide (/w/ and /y/).
- d. If C(1) is a pulmonic sibilant, C(2) can only be a voiceless stop or pulmonic glide.

Rules (b) and (c) allow the following examples of clusters:

(31)	thobyothlo	[thòbyothló]	'potato (Irish)'
	cwē	[cwɛ]	'rub'
	kwanē	[kwané]	'hoot owl'
	sh'wæ	[sh'wæ]	'poke salad, pokeberry'
	tsya	[tsya]	'dry'
	k'yæhānō	[k'yæhānó]	'watch' (verb)

Rules (b) and (d) allow the following examples of clusters:

(32)	'ispi	['ispí]	'black'
	'yusht'e	['yusht'é]	'road'
	gònshkhane	[gònshkhané]	'left' (direction)

Although Rule (d) allows for any of the voiceless stops to occur in the cluster, only /p t t' k k'/ are found.

### 3.2 LABIALIZED AND PALATALIZED SERIES VS. CLUSTER ANALYSIS

Wagner (1934: 304) analyzed the C2 glide clusters as labialized series ( $t^w$ ,  $t^w$ ,  $k^w$ ,  $k^w$ ,  $g^w$ ,  $c^w$ ,  $c^w$ ,  $f^w$ ) and a palatalized series ( $b^y$ ,  $t^y$ ,  $th^y$ ,  $d^y$ ,  $k^y$ ,  $kh^y$ ,  $k^y$ ,  $g^y$ ,  $ch^y$ ,  $ch^y$ ,  $c^y$ ,  $j^y$ ,  $s^y$ ,  $sh^y$ ). This analysis has justification. Labialization and palatalization do not appear to be conditioned by their environment. The labialized consonants occur before the [-round] vowels /e/, /ē/, and /a/, so they are not assimilating to round vowels. Similarly, the palatalized consonants occur before the non-high vowels /o/, /ō/, and /a/, so again the possibility of assimilation to vowel height is not a possibility. In addition, the palatalized consonants are not restricted to back consonants, as one might expect of palatalized allophones. Therefore, they are not allophones of their unlabialized or unpalatalized counterparts.

The arguments for the cluster analysis, as Crawford (1973) and I have posited, are not as concrete, but are equally feasible. First, the two series are quite asymmetrical. Such asymmetrical consonant inventories are not unheard of, and in fact several Native American languages have uneven inventories in regard to labialized consonants. Salish and Athapaskan languages are noted for their large obstruent inventories. However, it seems intuitively questionable to attribute two such series in a language with an already burdened consonant inventory when it can be explained by existing structure. The cluster analysis displaces some of the burden to the syllable structure. The syllable canon already accounts for sibilant plus stop clusters. The addition of /w/ and /y/ as possible clusters requires no change of the syllable structure, only a restriction for the type of C(1). The fact that not all consonants allow C(2) glides can be an artifact of language specific sequencing rules. Wagner posited the diphthong [io], which under this analysis can be analyzed as the cluster /Cy/, as in *thòbyothló* 'potato.'

Furthermore, palatalized consonants can be created as a by-product of contractions before veiar consonants and/or /i/, see 50) below for two such

examples. The vowel /i/ conditioning this change is lost in the contraction. Thus, the possibility exists that the palatalized consonants are products of contractions, although few can be reconstructed easily today. In these cases, /Cy/ can be analyzed as a diphthongs [iɔ] or [iɛ] and so on, just as the diphthong [ao] is a product of contractions. However, I have retained the /CyV/ even in clear instances of contractions, simply for consistency and economy.

#### **4. MORPHOPHONOLOGICAL PROCESSES**

##### **4.1 CONTRACTION: CONSONANT DELETION WITH VOWEL ASSIMILATION**

Wagner (1934: 302) states, 'Contraction is one of the most frequent processes of Euchee phonology. It occurs exclusively in rapid speech and the full forms can always be easily reconstructed.' Speakers today laugh when learners, who already find Euchee words long in comparison to their English counterparts, are further frustrated when a speaker says, 'Well, actually that's short for...'. Contraction is still the most pervasive phonological process in the language. Contractions are still easily reconstructed when they occur across word boundaries. However, they are not always apparent inside of noun compounds today.

The term 'contraction' is used to identify all instances in which a syllable is deleted *and* its deletion triggers a vowel change in the preceding syllable. The term 'contraction' is used with the speakers of Euchee and is quite useful for describing the phenomena. There are other instances of deleted syllables in the language. The term 'deletion' refers to deleted morphemes (a meaningful part of a word, or independent particle), and there is no change in the preceding syllable. Deletion occurs in longer noun compounds, and so is discussed in the Chapter 6, Section 2.3. The difference between contraction and deletion is illustrated below.

(33) Deletion

- |   |            |
|---|------------|
| a. [yàtigotsané]<br>ya-ti-go-tsa-ne<br>tree-in-human-sleep-NOM<br>'bedroom' | Full Form  |
| b. __tìgotsané<br>'bedroom'   | Short Form |
| c. yàtigotsá__<br>'bedroom'   | Short Form |

(34) Contraction

- |  |                 |
|--|-----------------|
| a. [cùp'iwenǫ́]<br>cup'i wenō<br>tree.frog CL(NE)<br>'the tree frog' | Full Form       |
| b. [cùp'ǔnǫ́] ~ [cùp'ǔ·nǫ́]<br>'the tree frog'                       | Contracted Form |

Contraction in Euchee is a morphophonemic process because it applies to syllables and in some cases is sensitive to specific word boundaries. Since a syllable is nearly always a morpheme (a meaningful part), a contracted syllable means a loss of important information. It is useful to see a list of the most commonly contracted morphemes.

(35) The most commonly contracted morphemes:

- |            |   |
|------------|---|
| <i>ne-</i> | 2 <sup>nd</sup> person singular actor                                       |
| <i>we-</i> | 3 <sup>rd</sup> person non-Euchee actor or patient, singular or plural      |
| <i>'o-</i> | 3 <sup>rd</sup> person plural Euchee actor or patient (women's speech)      |
| <i>hi-</i> | 3 <sup>rd</sup> person inanimate patient, singular or plural                |
| <i>ho-</i> | 3 <sup>rd</sup> person inanimate patient [+participant], singular or plural |
| <i>'yu</i> | verb root   |
| <i>-ne</i> | habitual aspect   |
| <i>-ē</i>  | active verbalizer   |

However, contraction is not random. There are specific rules that are followed. These rules allow contraction to be predictable. They also allow speakers to retrieve the information in these morphemes even when the syllable is contracted.

The first rule of contraction is that the contracted syllable must begin with a resonant consonant (/n/, /n/, /w/, /w/, /y/ /y/), the glottal fricative /h/ or the glottal stop /ʔ/. The list above in #) shows this quite clearly.

The second rule is that the syllable which is deleted must not bear primary stress. Contraction can take place within words and across word boundaries, but is restricted to unstressed instances. The stress rule can be seen below. In (36a), the singular non-Euchee class in *wenō*, where the second syllable is stressed. It is regularly contracted. However, in (36b), the plural non-Euchee class is *wénō*, where the *we* morpheme is stressed. The plural can not be contracted.

(36) Contraction, unstressed syllables

<p>a. [cùp'iwenǒ]          cup'i <u>wenō</u>          tree.frog CL(NE)          'the tree frog'</p>	<p>Full Form          singular, <i>we</i> unstressed</p>
<p>[cùp'ǔnǒ] - [cùp'ǔ·nǒ]          'the tree frog'</p>	<p>Contracted Form</p>
<p>b. [cùp'iwénǒ]          cup'i <u>wénō</u>          tree frog PL(NE)          'tree frogs'</p>	<p>Full Form          plural, <i>we</i> stressed</p>
<p>*[cup'unǒ] - [cùp'ǔ·nǒ]</p>	<p>*Unacceptable</p>

Finally, contraction is optional.<sup>13</sup> It occurs regularly in everyday speech. However, words may be uncontracted in slow speech, such as direct elicitation and teaching. Contracted forms are considered informal and thus inappropriate

for more formal speech styles, especially prayers and speeches at public gatherings. In these settings, speakers use full forms.

So, an unstressed syllable that begins with a resonant or glottal consonant can be deleted. When this type of syllable is deleted, it triggers a change in the vowel of the preceding syllable. In other words, when it gets deleted, it leaves behind important information and this information gets attaches to the vowel before it. For example, /w/ is made with round lips ([+round] feature). When a syllable with /w/ is deleted, it makes the vowel before it round as well. So, an /e/ [-round] will become an /o/ [+round]. If it did not leave behind this information, speakers would not be able to understand what is being said.

All contracted syllables follow the same phonological rules of deletion and feature Spreading. The features that spread are determined by the deleted syllable. When the syllable is deleted, the features of the deleted C and V are left behind. The features spread left, and the vowel preceding the contracted morpheme assimilates to these features (regressive assimilation).<sup>14</sup>

In addition to the feature spread, the preceding vowel may be lengthened. Vowel length in contractions is not as long as the long vowels found in the comparative/superlative and emphasis, and is therefore indicated [a·] in contrast with a long vowel [a:].

(37) [ya wekwé] → [yɔkwɛ] or [yɔ·kwɛ]  
ya we-kwē  
LOC 3SG(NE)-sing  
'He sings.'

Both Wagner and Crawford reported more consistent vowel lengthening than I find today, although it is still consistent in more conservative speakers. The loss of lengthening in contractions is especially apparent in noun compounds. This causes problems in determining the full forms of older noun compounds.

Contraction happens early in the phonology. The phonological rules given in Section 2 above apply *after* contraction has taken place. For example, the nasal consonants are inserted between a nasal vowel and the following consonant. When a nasal is inserted, it must match the place of articulation of the consonant. So, an [m] [+bilabial] is inserted before a /p/ [+bilabial], but an [ŋ] [+velar] is inserted before a /k/ [+velar]. This takes place after contraction, as can be seen in (38), where the *ne*- 2<sup>nd</sup> person pronominal prefix is contracted. The contraction leaves behind the feature [+nasal].

(38) Contraction then Nasal Insertion

- |    |   |                  |
|----|---|------------------|
| a. | [di ʔé nɛp'á jɛ́]                             | Full Form        |
|    | ti ʔe ne-p'a jɛ́                              |                  |
|    | in Q 2SG-see.about PAST                       |                  |
|    | 'Did you look in the box?'                    |                  |
|    | → [dil'ɛ́p'ájɛ́]                              | Contraction      |
|    | → [dil'ɛ́mp'ájɛ́]                             | Nasal Insertion  |
| b. | [k'a ʔé nek'ɔ́]                               | Full Form        |
|    | k'a ʔe ne-k'ɔ́                                |                  |
|    | thing Q 2SG-make                              |                  |
|    | 'Are you using it?/Are you finished with it?' |                  |
|    | → [keʔé·k'ɔ́]                                 | Contracted Form  |
|    | → [kel'ɛ́·ŋk'ɔ́]                              | Nasal Epenthesis |

The next sections are organized by the onset consonants. In each section, the specific features and systematic changes are discussed, along with any specific boundary restrictions.



### */w/ and /w/ Contraction*

Syllables beginning with /w/ can be contracted. Presumably, those beginning with the glottal /w/ can also be contracted, but no examples have been found. Overwhelmingly, the majority of /w/ contraction, and indeed contraction of any kind in the language, takes place with the *we* 'non-Euchee' morpheme.

When /w/ is contracted, the features [+round] and [+back] are left behind. These features affect the vowel of the preceding syllable. The affected vowel stays at the same height, but it moves back [+back] and becomes round [+round]. Thus, there is a regular backing and rounding in *we* contraction. Nasal and oral vowels follow the same pattern.

Some vowels seem not to be affected. However, there is a reason for this. The high vowel /u/ and the mid vowel /o/ are already back round, but it can be lengthened to show contracted. The nasal /ɪ/ does not contract because it would create a nasal /ũ/, which does not occur in Euchee.

It is convenient to see these changes. They are given below in phonetic transcription.

#### (39) Vowel Changes with *we* Contraction<sup>15</sup>

a. Front (Affected) Vowel				Back Vowel (Result)
i	+	(we)	→	u, u·
e	+	we	→	o, o·
æ	+	we	→	ɔ, ɔ·

b. Front (Affected) Nasal Vowel				Back Nasal Vowel (Result)
ɛ	+	we	→	ɔ, ɔ·
æ	+	we	→	ɔ, ɔ·

<b>c. Back (Affected) Vowel</b>				<b>Back Vowel (Result)</b>
o	+	we	→	o, o·
a	+	we	→	ɔ, ɔ· ([a, a·] de-rounded), or ao
<b>d. Back Nasal (Affected) Vowel</b>				<b>Back Nasal Vowel (Result)</b>
ɔ	+	we	→	ɔ, ɔ·
ɑ	+	we	→	ɔ, ɔ· ([ɑ, ɑ·] de-rounded)

The prominence of the lax back round vowel [ɔ, ɔ] in contractions, and consequently throughout the language, is quite clear from this list. Readers are reminded that the oral [ɔ] occurs only in contractions. The variation which occurs between [ɔ] and [ao]<sup>16</sup> when /a/ is affected is not predictable. The diphthong occurs in only a few instances, and they must be learned.

Examples of *we* contraction follow. They are organized by the vowel which assimilates, starting with the high front vowels and moving down and back, as in the list of these changes in (40):

- (40) a. [kifá kǐ wep'áx] → [kifá kúwep'áx] [i] → [u]  
 ki-fa ki we-p'a  
 DIR-LOC DIR 3SG(NE).ACT-look  
 'He looked over there.'
- b. ['yàshewwethl'ané] → ['yàshothl'ané] [e] → [o]  
 'yashe-we-thl'a-nē  
 coal-3(NE)-dig-NOM  
 'coal miner' (JC)<sup>17</sup>
- c. [khæwethlà] → [khyó:thla] [æ] → [ɔ]  
 khæ-wethla  
 through-3(NE).ACT-go  
 'He went through (it).' (JC)

- d. [got'ówenà] → [got'ónə] [o] → [o·]  
 got'ó-wenō  
 child-CL(NE)  
 'the child (non-Euchee)'
- e. ['yá wekwé] → [yá:kwé] [a] → [a·]  
 'ya we-kwē  
 DIR 3SG(NE).ACT-sing  
 'He sings.'
- f. [wèdzagowàwenó] → [wèdzawónó] [a] → [ɔ]  
 wedzagowā-wenō  
 possum-CL(NE)  
 'the possum'
- g. [shàwenó] → [shaonó] [a] → [ao]  
 sha-wenō  
 snake-CL(NE)  
 'the snake'

As seen above, the morpheme *we* can be contracted inside of stems, as in (40b), across word boundaries, with bound words (clitics) as in (40f-g), or independent word boundaries. However, there are two places where the *we* morpheme does not contract. First, *we* does not contract when it is the *head* of two-syllable compound. This can be seen below in (41a). In addition, *we-* does not contract when it is the non-Euchee *possessive* prefix. This is seen in (41b).

- (41) a. [dzòweyufá] Full Form  
 dzo-weyu-fa  
 1SG(A).POSS-oil-CL(STAND)  
 'my oil'  
 \*dzoyufa, \*dzo-yufa \*Unacceptable  
 'my oil'



- d. k'ōdi Contracted form, used exclusively  
'meat'

[k'alawe'ɛndí]  
k'a(la)-we-'ēdi  
thing-3SG(NE)-flesh  
'meat'

Full, historical form (Wagner ca. 1935)

[k'àwe'ɛndí] → [k'ɔ'ɛndi] → [k'ɔ́ndí]  
we- contraction /ē/ contraction

Examples of contraction with other /w/ syllables follow. These are mainly inside of noun compounds, as seen in (43a-b). The contraction in (43c) is with the irregular verb form *wesha*. Some speakers do not accept this contraction as proper.

- (43) a. [gokyɔwané]  
go-kyōwa-ne  
3SG(IMP)-think-NOM  
'thought'

→ [gokyɔ́ne]  
/w/ contraction

- b. [k'alawonjiné]  
k'a(la)-wāji-ne  
thing-buy-nom  
'store'

[k'awajine]  
/-la/ deletion

→ [k'anjine] ~ [k'ɔnjine]  
/w/ contraction

- c. [wafa weshajɛ]  
wafa wesha-jɛ  
where 2SG.ACT.go-PAST  
'Where did you go?'

→ [wafoshajɛ]

### */n/ and /n/ Contraction*

When a syllable beginning with /n/ (and presumably /n/) is contracted, the feature [+nasal] spreads to preceding vowel. Therefore, the preceding vowel becomes nasal. There is also consistent vowel lengthening associated with /n/ contraction. In addition, inserted nasals are also prominent.

The 2<sup>nd</sup> person singular actor *ne-* and patient *nedze* are regularly contracted in everyday speech. Example (44a) provides examples of the 2<sup>nd</sup> person singular pronominal contracted across the word boundaries. Examples of the habitual suffix *-ne* participating in contraction are not as frequent except when it is followed by the past tense, in order to create *-nejē* ‘used to.’ This can be seen in (44b). The nominalizer *-ne* is common within a noun compound, as in (44c), but is usually just deleted at the end of a noun.

- (44) a. [wafá nejí] → [wafá·nǰi]  
wafa ne-ji  
where.to 2SG.ACT-go  
‘Where are you going?/What direction are you headed?’
- b. [hibó neshá] → [hibó·nsha]  
hibo ne-sha  
bent 2SG.ACT-make  
‘You bend.’ (JC)
- c. [wigǣ nedzetí] → [wigǣ·ndzetí]  
wikǣ ne-dze-ti  
what 2SG-PAT-name  
‘What is your name?’
- d. [hɔdane:lewanijɪ] → [hɔdané:le ‘wá·njɪ] (BPD)  
hō-dane:-le ‘wa-ne jē  
3SG(EM).ACT-fast-really COP-HAB PAST  
‘He used to run real fast.’

- e. [th<sub>i</sub>nsɛ́] → [th<sub>i</sub>nsɛ́] or [thyɛ́sɛ́] (JC)  
 thi-ne-sē  
 string-DIM-fine  
 'silk'

Contraction is possible with the negative pre-clitic *nē-* - *næ-*. An example is in (45). However, many most speakers never contract the negative pre-clitic and do not find such examples acceptable.

- (45) [nɛ̀wedi'nǽ] → [nò-di'nǽ]  
 nē-we-di-'nē  
 NEG-3SG(NE).PAT-1SG.ACT-see  
 'I never saw them.'

*/y/ and /y/ Contraction*

The deletion of /y/ and /y/ causes the previous vowel to back. However, contraction of the stem *y<sub>u</sub>* and the historical [+participant] valence prefix *\*y<sub>o</sub>* causes unpredictable changes.

The regular contraction of /y/ occurs with the 2<sup>nd</sup> person singular actor [+participant] pronominal *y<sub>o-</sub>*. In (46a) the 2<sup>nd</sup> singular active [+participant] is contracted with the 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular Euchee (men's speech) pronominal, which creates ambiguity with the uncontracted sentence in (46b).

- (46) a. [William hɛ̀yo'æní] → [William hɔ̀'æní]  
 William hē-yo-'æne  
 William 3SG(EM).PAT-2SG.ACT/PLUS-ask  
 '(You) Ask William (for me).'
- b. [William hɔ̀'æní]  
 William hō-'æne  
 William 3SG.ACT/PLUS -ask  
 'William asked.'

c. [di'léyop'ajé] → [di 'lóp'ajé]  
 ti 'le yo-p'a jē  
 in Q 2SG.ACT/PLUS-see.about PAST  
 'Did you look in?'

The following is another example of /y/ contraction, which results in the lowering and lengthening of a back vowel. To most speakers, the contraction is a frozen form today.

(47) [go'yáka] → [gá·xka] or [gáka]  
 go-'yaka  
 person-white  
 'white person'

The morpheme 'yu- is a basic stem found as the head (leftmost morpheme) in a large number of compound verbs. See Chapter 4, Section 1.2 for a list of the 'yu- verbs and their meanings. In 'yu- stem verbs, the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person singular pronominal prefixes contract with 'yu-. The other pronouns do not participate in this contraction<sup>18</sup>. In most 'yu- stem verbs, the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person must contract.

In 'yu- stem contraction, the high vowel in the 1<sup>st</sup> person *di-* backs but also lowers to /o/. Speakers of Big Pond Dialect have retained some of the height, and pronounce the pronominal [du-]. The /n/ of the 2<sup>nd</sup> person singular morpheme *ne-* changes to /y/. The vowel in the 2<sup>nd</sup> person may be nasal /ō/, sometimes producing the low mid [yɔ̃], but often retains its height [yɔ], or oral /o/. These changes, which are best described as idiosyncratic, are given below.

(48) *di-* 1<sup>st</sup> person singular Actor  
 [di-] + ['yu-] → [do-] ~ [du-] (BPD)

*nē-* 2<sup>nd</sup> person singular Actor  
 [nē-] + ['yu-] → ['yo-] ~ [yo-]



One example of a *'yu-* verb paradigm follows. In (49a) the infinitive form of the verb 'to try' is given. (49b-c) gives the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person forms, which contract with the *'yu-* morpheme on the base of the verb. The other pronominal prefixes do not contract, and the 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular Euchee male actor in men's speech form is given as an example of these unacceptable contractions in (49d).

- (49) a. [go'yú'nɛ'nɛ]  
 go-'yu-'nɛ'nɛ  
 3SG(IMP)-'yu-try  
 'to try'
- b. [hìdì'yú'nɛ'nɛ] (underlying only) → [hìdò'nɛ'nɛ]  
 hi-dì-'yu-'nɛ'nɛ  
 3SG(INAN).PAT-1SG.ACT-'yu-try  
 'I try.'
- c. [hìnɛ'yú'nɛ'nɛ] (underlying only) → [hì'yò'nɛ'nɛ]  
 hi-nɛ-'yu-'nɛ'nɛ  
 3SG(INAN).PAT-2SG.ACT-'yu-try  
 'You try.'
- d. [hɛ'yú'nɛ'nɛ] → \*[hɔ'nɛ'nɛ]  
 hɛ-'yu-'nɛ'nɛ  
 3SG(EM).ACT-'yu-try  
 'He tries.'

In some instances of *'yu* stem contraction with the 1<sup>st</sup> person *di-* the result is a palatalized *dyo-*.

- (50) Hōdyogwajē. [hɔdyogwajɛ]  
 hō-do-'yugwa jē  
 3SG(EM).ACT-1SG.PAT/PLUS-tell PAST  
 'He told (it to) me'

The same idiosyncratic changes are found with the historical [+participant] valence prefix *\*yo*. The contraction of the valence prefix with the pronominal prefixes has resulted in permanently fused forms over time. The prefix *\*yo*

never occurs by itself today, and so it is a reconstructed form. The form of the [+participant] valence prefix is argued to be \*yo due its similarity to 'yu in contractions. See Chapter 3, Section 4.2.

Besides affecting the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person singular forms, the \*yo prefix has contracted with all of the pronominals. Presuming that the alternative *di-* actor set, given in Chapter 3, example (19), is the underlying form, then contraction is fairly regular. There is regular backing of the vowels, expected of /y/, and lowering, as seen with *di-* → *do-* with the 'yu stem above. Of course, this can be accounted for with the posited vowel /\*o/ as well. There is one notable exception, and that is the nasalization of the 3<sup>rd</sup> person non-Euchee singular and plural. One might expect that the 2<sup>nd</sup> person would be nasalized due to the underlying *ne-*, but it is not.

(51) Fusion with \*yo, di- actor set

Singular

1	di-	+	(*yo)	→	[do-]
2	ne-	+	(*yo)	→	[yo-]
3(EM) <i>m.s.</i>	hē-	+	(*yo)	→	[hɔ-]
3(EM) <i>w.s.</i>	s'e-	+	(*yo)	→	[s'yo-]
3(EF)	se-	+	(*yo)	→	[syo-]
3(EFH)	'ē-	+	(*yo)	→	['eyo-]
3(NE)	we-	+	(*yo)	→	[yɔ-]

Plural

1(INCL)	--	+	(*yo)	→	['ɔ-]
1(EXCL)	nē-	+	(*yo)	→	[nɔ-]
2	'āne-	+	(*yo)	→	['ayo-]
3(E) <i>m.s.</i>	hē-	+	(*yo)	→	['hɔ-]
3(E) <i>w.s.</i>	'i-	+	(*yo)	→	['o-]
3(NE)	we-	+	(*yo)	→	['yɔ-]

The next set shows the pronominals that are used for the patient of stative verbs (one-place verbs) and the recipient and beneficiaries. The 2<sup>nd</sup> person is presumed to be underlyingly /netse/, due to the 2<sup>nd</sup> person independent pronoun

*tse*. However, the *ne-* is dropped off. Today, speakers regularly use /s/ for /ts/ in the fused form. The palatalization in the 3<sup>rd</sup> person is likely due to /y/, and is accounted for with the palatalization of /y/ seen in (51) above.

(52) Fusion with \*yo, Patients of Stative Verbs; Recipients and Beneficiaries

Singular

1	dze-	+	(*yo)	→	[dzo-]
2	(ne)tse-	+	(*yo)	→	[(t)so-]
3(EM) <i>m.s.</i>	hē-	+	(*yo)	→	[hɔ-]
3(EM) <i>w.s.</i>	s'e-	+	(*yo)	→	[s'yo-]
3(EF)	se-	+	(*yo)	→	[syo-]
3(EFH)	'ē-	+	(*yo)	→	['eyo-]
3(NE)	we-	+	(*yo)	→	[yɔ-]
3(INAN)	hi-	+	(*yo)	→	[ho-]

Plural

1(INCL)	'ōdze-	+	(*yo)	→	[ōndzo-]
1(EXCL)	nōdze-	+	(*yo)	→	[nɔndzo-]
2	'ātse-	+	(*yo)	→	['aɔso-]
3(E)	hē-	+	(*yo)	→	[hɔ-]
3(NE)	we-	+	(*yo)	→	[yɔ-]
3(INAN)	hi-	+	(*yo)	→	[ho-]

The last set is the patient of event (two-place) verbs. They all undergo palatalization. Presumably the whole set regularized to the palatalized forms. There are no 3<sup>rd</sup> person actor patient forms because in event verbs the 3<sup>rd</sup> person is always the first pronominal in the series. Therefore, it was never in a position to contract with the valence prefix.

(53) Fusion with \*yo, Patient Participants of Event Verbs

Singular

1	dze-	+	(*yo)	→	[dzyo-]
2	netse-	+	(*yo)	→	[nedzyo-]

Plural

1(INCL)	'ödze-	+	(*yo)	→	[ɔndzyo-]
1(EXCL)	nödze-	+	(*yo)	→	[nɔndzyo-]
2	'ätse-	+	(*yo)	→	['ændzio-]

Thus, the regular contraction of the /y/ has resulted in fused pronominal forms.

*/h/ Contraction*

When /h/ is contracted, the feature [+back] spreads to the vowel of the preceding syllable, causing the front vowels to back.<sup>19</sup> The inanimate 3<sup>rd</sup> person pronominal patient prefixes *hi-* and *ho-* [+participant] participate in this contraction. Several examples follow in (54).

- (54) a. [gò'ɔkhihot'ó] → [gò'ɔkhyut'ó]  
go-'òkhi-ho-t'ò  
3(IMP).POSS-arm-3(INAN).POSS-seed  
'arm muscle' (JC)
- b. [tàgehænɛhòs'inɛ] → [tàgehænɔs'inɛ]  
tāgehænē-ho-s'i-nē  
pillow-3SG(INANIM).POSS-cloth-NOM  
'pillowcase' (JC)
- c. ['yāhothl'inɛ'æ] → ['yòthl'inɛ'æ]  
'ya-ho-thl'i-nē-'æ  
tree-3SG(INANIM).PAT/PLUS-cut-HAB-big  
'sawmill' (JC)

- d. [sènehistú] → [sènustú]  
 sene-hi-stu  
 metal-3SG(INANIM).PAT-crinkle  
 'fence'
- e. [tsé hothló] → ?[tsothló] or ?[tso·thló]  
 tsē ho-thlo  
 water 3SG.PAT/PLUS(INAN)-deep  
 'deep water'

The two contracted forms in (54e) are not acceptable to some speaker of Euchee, who judge them to be ungrammatical due to loss of information. See also Chapter 3, Pronominal Prefixes, for examples of contraction of the direct object *ho-*. The inanimate *hi-* prefix contracts inside of noun compounds, as seen in (54d), but on verbs *hi-* is simply deleted.

#### */V/ and /V/ Contraction*

The morpheme /ē/ can be contracted. The glottal stop does not affect the preceding vowel, but the [+nasal] feature of the vowel /ē/ can spread to the preceding vowel, and the vowel is lengthened.

- (55) a. [wikæ̃ʔ] → [wikæ̃ː]  
 wikæ-ē  
 what-dur  
 'What is it?'
- b. [sèsogwá té'édé] → [sèsogwa té·dé]  
 se-so-gwa te-'ē-de  
 3SG(EF).ACT-2PL.PAT-say ABLE-VPB-CMPLT  
 'She ought to have told you.' (JC)

- c. [hĩdi'yũ'ąda'ę] → [hĩdó'ąnda'ę] → [hĩdó'ąnda·]  
 hi-di-'yu'ąda-'ė      'yu- contraction      -'ė contraction  
 3SG(INAN).PAT-1SG.ACT-know-VRB  
 'I know it.'

In addition the 3<sup>rd</sup> person plural Euchee prefix 'o- used by women can be contracted. The preceding vowel assimilates to the [+back] feature of the deleted vowel.

- (56) a. [k'æthlé 'onɔ́] → [k'æthló.nə]  
 k'æthlē 'o-nō  
 which 3PL(E).ACT-be  
 'Whoever it was...' (women's speech)
- b. [hĩ'opa] → [húpa]  
 hi'opa  
 'full'
- c. f'ak'a'othlæ → [f'ak'ąthlæ]  
 f'a-k'a-'o-thlæ  
 evening-thing-3PL(E).ACT-eat  
 'evening meal' (women's speech) (LB F: 30)

The following are other instances of /V/ contraction. In many cases, the words are so commonly given in these contracted forms, that some speakers do not know the full forms. In example (57c), all variations are acceptable.

- (57) a. [go'ispi] → [gúspi] or [gúsipi]  
 go-'ispi  
 person-black  
 'African-American'
- b. [dze'ąthæ] → [dząthæ]  
 dze-'othæ  
 1SG(A).POSS-hand  
 'my hand'

- c. [hĩdi'yú'ada'ɛ] → [hĩdó'anda'ɛ] → [hĩdó'anda.] → [hĩdó.nda]  
 hi-di-'yu'ada-'ē      'yu- cont'n      -'ē cont'n      irregular  
 3SG(INAN).PAT-1SG.ACT-know-ACTIVE  
 'I know it.'

#### 4.2 VOWEL LENGTHENING AND NASALIZATION

Vowel length is distinctive to show comparison, superlative, and emphasis. Unlike the slightly lengthened vowels in contractions, the vowels are clearly long in comparative/emphatic constructions. They are often exaggerated both in comparatives and emphasis, respectively. As speakers say, “the longer the sound [vowel], the more ‘very’s’ you’re adding.” The last vowel of the stem is lengthened. In addition, it is accompanied by high pitch.

- (58) a. [dzèdishǎ:ɛ] → [dzèdishǎɛ:ɛ]  
 že-di-shǎ-'ē      že-di shǎ-:-'ē  
 1SG.PAT-EMPH-close-ACTIVE      1SG.PAT-EMPH-close-very-ACTIVE  
 'Stand close to me.'      'Stand real close to me!'
- b. ['yukhǒ::nle 'ahe]  
 'yukhō-:le 'ahe  
 far-very there  
 'a long ways over there'
- c. ['i hǒwá:le]  
 'i hō-wa-:le  
 tobacco 3SG(EM).ACT-chew-very  
 'He's really chewing (and chewing) that tobacco!'

Long vowels in comparative, superlative, and emphatic structures do not undergo vowel laxing.

When speakers show empathy or strong emotion, nasalization may extend throughout the word or phrase. Compare the statement in (59a) with the emphatic and sympathetic utterances in (59b).

- (59) a. [gòshinèhɛ̀nɔ́ 'ahɛ̀nci]  
 go-shi-ne-hēnō 'a-hē-ci  
 3(IMP)-pity-NOM-CL(EM) LOC-3SG(EM).ACT-sit  
 'He's sitting there really pitiful.'  
 = 'He is poor.'

[gòshinèhɛ̀nɔ́ 'ahɛ̀nci]	Basic form
→ [gòshiné:hɛ̀nɔ́ 'ahɛ̀nci]	Emphatic vowel lengthening
→ [gòshɪné::hɛ̀nɔ́ 'ahɛ̀nci]	Intensive/emotional nasalization
→ [gòshɪné::hɛ̀nɔ́ 'ahɛ̀nci]	Nasal vowel laxing
	(not in comparative long vowel)
'He's really poor!/He's really pitiful!'	

- b. [nɛ̀'ake'ɛ̀nthlá]  
 nē-'ake-'ē thla  
 NEG-that-ACTIVE 2SG.ACT.do  
 'Don't do that!'

To express the immediate future, the last vowel of the verb stem is nasalized, and can be slightly lengthened.

- (60) a. [wigǎhé'ɛ̀nshá]  
 wikǎ-hé-'ē ne-sha  
 what-LOC-ACTIVE 2SG.ACT-do  
 'What are you doing (right now)?'

- b. [wigǎhé'ɛ̀nshá·]  
 wikǎ-hé-'ē ne-shā  
 what-LOC-ACTIVE 2SG.ACT-do.FUT  
 'What are you going to do?'

- c. [dì wedá]  
 di-weda  
 1SG.ACT-wash.clothes  
 'I'm washing clothes.'

- d. [dì wedá·]  
 di-wedā  
 1SG.ACT-wash.clothes.FUT  
 'I'm going to wash clothes.'



### 4.3 REDUPLICATION

Euchee uses reduplication, the copying of a syllable, to express aspect. On verbs, reduplication indicates the action is consecutive or distributed over a physical distance. On adjectives (stative verbs) and location particles, reduplication indicates distributive qualities. See Chapter 4 for more details on the aspectual information conveyed through reduplication. Nouns created from verbs (nominalized verbs) can have reduplicated forms, but noun roots are not reduplicated. See Chapter 6, Section 2.3 (Nominalization) for more discussion.

Reduplication in Euchee is simple and highly regular. The rule is to copy the ultimate syllable of the stem. Both syllables bear primary stress.

#### (61) Reduplication in monosyllabic roots

a.	p`a	[p`a]	‘look at’
	p`áp`á	[p`á.p`á]	‘look around for/search’
b.	wa	[wa]	‘bite’
	wáwá	[wá.wá]	‘chew’
c.	pā	[pā]	‘yell, holler’
	pāpā	[pā.pā]	‘hoop’
d.	so	[so]	‘spot’
	sósó	[só.só]	‘spotted’
e.	ke	[ke]	‘there’
	kéke	[ké.ké]	‘here and there/several all around’

(62) Examples of reduplication in disyllabic stems:

a.	bithlí	[bi.thlí]	'turn around'
	bithlíthlí	[bi.thlí.thlí]	'turn in circles'
b.	íspi	[í.spi]	'black'
	íspispi	[í.spí.spí]	'maroon'
c.	yushú	[yu.shú]	'shake'
	yushúshú	[yu.shú.shú]	'shake/tremble'
d.	wede	[we.de]	'talk'
	wedédé	[we.dé.dé]	'talk/talk and talk'
e.	ahe	[a.he]	'there'
	ahehe	[a.hé.hé]	'here and there/spotted there'

Reduplicated location particles appear to be loosely bound. This is evidenced by the fact that the Yes/No Question particle *-le* may be attached between the base and its copy.

- (63) [ke'lékecíí]  
ke 'le ke ci-ci  
there Q there sit-REDUP  
'Do you know where he's at?'

#### 4.4 VOWEL HARMONY

There is evidence that Euchee had regressive vowel harmony. Due to the limited number of speakers today, it has become difficult to determine the precise rule (or rules if the dialects varied) of vowel harmony today. Compounding this problem is the fact that vowel harmony has apparently eroded with the influence of English, a language which does not have vowel harmony. This has created inconsistencies in the vowel harmony. Therefore, I present only a general discussion on vowel harmony in Euchee.

With all speakers who have vowel harmony in their speech, it is entirely optional. Speakers can give the word or phrase with or without vowel harmony.

In addition, the number of syllables affected by vowel harmony varies from speaker to speaker, and even in the speech of individual speakers. The harmony domain is usually over two syllables, *i.e.*, the penultimate syllable harmonizes to the ultimate syllable of a word, as in examples (64a-b, e, h). However, a vowel in other places in a word may harmonize to its preceding vowel, as in (64f). In addition, the domain may begin with the ultimate syllable and spread throughout an entire word, as in (64c). The vowel quality that harmonizes is also irregular. In most cases, the vowel harmonizes exactly to the preceding vowel, in terms of [ $\pm$ back] and/or [ $\pm$ high] vowel. Yet, in (64h) only the tense feature appears to harmonize, and in (64g) the tense and front feature.

- (64) a. ['wedeçhyá] → ['wedachyá]  
       'wede-çhya  
       talk-hard  
       'shout'
- b. [tsefá] → [tsafá]  
       tse-fa  
       water-cl(STAND)  
       'fever, blister'
- c. [hapha'æle] → [haphæ'æle] - [hæphæ'æle] (JC)  
       hapha-'æ-le  
       wide-big-STATIVE  
       'wide/It is wide.'
- d. [shpa'ó] → [shpo'ó]  
       shpa'o  
       'whistle'
- e. [s'æhé tiwi] → [s'æhí diwi]  
       s'æ-he ti-wi  
       ground-LOC in-get  
       'Get out (of the car)'

- f. [wèshtiné] → [wìshtiné]  
 we-shti-ne  
 3SG(NE).ACT-dance-HAB  
 'They used to dance.'<sup>21</sup>
- g. [kədə shta'ɛ́] → [kədə shtæ'ɛ́]  
 kede shta-ě  
 now now-ACTIVE  
 'It is snowing.'
- h. ['agá]  
 'ága  
 'day'
- ['agafá]  
 'aga-fa  
 day-LOC  
 'on the day of
- ['agat'é] → ['àgæt'é] (JC)  
 'aga-t'e  
 day-one  
 'next day'
- ['agále s'ǽ] → [ægæle s'ǽ]  
 'aga-le s'æ  
 day-LOC  
 'Good morning!' good

The Big Pond Dialect is particularly prone to regressive vowel harmony with the habitual and nominalizer suffix *-ni*.

- (65) a. gò'wedéní → [gò'wedíní] (BPD)  
 go-'wede-ni  
 3SG(IMP)-talk-HAB  
 'language, speech'
- b. séní → [síní] (BPD)  
 'bird'
- c. dzéne → [dzíne] (BPD)  
 'dog'

#### 4.5 SOUND SYMBOLISM

A small number of adjectives participate in sound symbolism, much like the sound symbolism found in Siouan languages. In Euchee, the alveolar sibilants /s/ and /ts/ palatalize to /sh/ and /c/, respectively, in order to show intensity. The sets<sup>22</sup> that participate in sound symbolism follow:

(66)	a.	sĩ	[s'ɪ]	'small'
		shĩ	[shɪ]	'broken'
		sh'yē	[sh'yɛ]	'bad, ugly'
	b.	sē, sǣ	[sɛ], [sæ]	'good, nice, beautiful'
		shē, shǣ	[shɛ], [shæ]	'happy, fun'
	c.	so	[so]	'soft'
		sho	[sho]	'ripe'
		hish'o	[hish'o]	'withered'
	d.	spa	[spa] ~ [ʃpa]	'pointed'
		shpa	[shpa]	'elongated, spread out'
	e.	'ĩspi	[ʔspi] ~ [ʔspi]	'black'
		'ishpi	[ʔshpi]	'dirty'
	f.	tsya	[tsya]	'dry'
		cya	[cya]	'hard'
	g.	tshyathlá, tshathlá	[tsyathlá], [tshathlá]	'red'
		chathla	[chathla]	'pink, magenta'

#### 5. STRESS AND INTONATION

Euchee has word level stress and sentence level pitch (intonation). Lexical stress is indicated in three ways: primary stress (á), secondary stress (à), and disyllabic words without stress are marked (ã) for clarity. Sentence level pitch patterns are marked, (a ↗) for rising intonation, and (a ↘) for falling intonation in this section, but are left unmarked in the other chapters. In

addition, the stressed syllable in information question pronouns are accompanied the rising pitch, which is marked (ǎ).

## 5.1 STRESS

Stress is the prominence of a syllable, generally by increased volume. In Eucheé, a higher pitch may accompany increased volume, but high pitch is not necessary. Wagner (1934:308) stated that there is no primary position of stress in a fixed syllable of a word. While variation exists, primary and secondary stress positions can be confidently assigned. All major parts of speech (nouns, verbs, and adjectives) have primary stress on the last syllable, and secondary stress on the first syllable. This pattern is found in both inflected (those with pronominal agreement) and uninflected words. In addition, particles, one-syllable word such as location particles and the past tense, are stressed.

Once this pattern is assumed, stress in Eucheé is extremely regular. However, it also has a significant consequence. Much of what was assumed to be attached to verbs and nouns are actually independent particles. Some particles can be unstressed, and then cliticize to the noun phrase, the verb phrase, or the adjective phrase. However, the result is that Eucheé is not nearly as synthetic as is generally believed.<sup>23</sup>

The stress patterns discussed below are not exhaustive of word or sentence types in Eucheé, but they are representative of the most common structures in the language.

Lexical stress is distinctive in Eucheé, but its functional load is light. There are a few lexical minimal pairs based on stress:

(65) Minimal Pairs due to Stress			
a.	góp'a gop'á gop'á	[góp'a] [gop'á] [gop'á]	'Creek person, tribe' 'go see about someone' 'to be born'
b.	sháhi shahí	[sháhi] [shahí]	'hot' 'earthworm'
c.	gow'éde gow'edé gow'éde gow'edé	[gow'éde] [gow'edé] [gow'éde] [gow'edé]	'to talk, to say a lot' 'to talk to' 'to talk' 'to call on the phone'
d.	sené séne	[sené] [séne]	'bird' 'iron'
e.	shayá sháya	[shayá] [sháya]	'weeds' 'squirrel'
f.	'yúp'a 'yup'á	['yúp'a] ['yup'á]	'up, high, high up' 'to look for, to look forward to'
g.	t'ele t'elé	[t'élɛ] [t'elÉ]	'more' 'another'

In addition to the pairs above, stress differentiates the singular animate class suffix, used as the definite article, from the plural animate class suffix. Several are given below (see Chapter 5, Noun Phrase, Section 3.1 for a full list):

(68) Animate Class, Definite versus Plural Stress		
-henō	[-hɛnɔ̃]	Euchee man, definite article (men's speech)
-hénō	[-hɛ́nɔ̃]	Euchee, plural (men's speech/BPD)
-senō	[-sɛnɔ̃]	Euchee woman, definite article
-sénō	[-sɛ́nɔ̃]	Euchee woman, plural
-wenō	[-wɛnɔ̃]	non-Euchee, definite article
-wénō	[-wɛ́nɔ̃]	non-Euchee, plural

*Stress Pattern of Nouns*

The majority of nouns have primary stress on the ultimate syllable of the stem. Nearly all disyllabic nouns are compounds (see Chapter 5, Section 2.1 for discussion and examples). The head is the leftmost root or stem, and the modifier is the right root or stem. Thus, the primary stress falls on the modifying element in the compound. This is true of simple (disyllabic) compounds, as shown in the (69a) examples below, and complex (polysyllabic) compounds, shown in the (69b) examples.

(69)	a.	[sæcú]	s'æ-cu	earth-bump	'hill'
		[yɔʃpí]	'yō-shpi	nut-black	'walnut'
		[dashí]	ta-shi	face-juice	'saliva'
		[dzot'ó]	tso-t'ó	sun-seed	'corn kernel'
		[dzɛthlá]	tsē-thla	water-frozen	'ice'
	b.	[s'ædagá]	s'æ+daga	ground+raised	'grave'
		[thòdabisæ]	tho+tapi+sē	seed+salt+good	'sweet potato'
		[hòdabithlí]	hoda+pithli	wind+turn	'tornado'
		[yàstebadó]	'yaste+bado	smoke+night	'fog'
		[thòspayɔstachá]	thospa+yōstacha	bug+shell+hard	'roach'

See also Chapter 5, Section 2.2 Compounding for more discussion on stress as a test for noun compounds versus modified nouns.

Counter examples of primary stress on the last syllable of nouns are abundant, although still the minority. A few are listed below:

(70)	góp'a	[góp'a]	'Creek person'
	go'íspi	[go'íspi]	'black person'
	go'yáka	[go'yáka]	'white person'
	chúk'o	[chúk'o]	'banana'
	'yásthe	['yásthe]	'smoke'
	sháfa	[sháfa]	'moon'
	'yúde	['yúde]	'floor of a building'
	tsyátsa	[tsyátsa]	'crawdada/crawfish'





- (73) a. [gop'éné]  
 go-p'e-ne  
 3SG(IMP)-drink-NOM  
 '(a) drink'
- b. [k'àgothlané]  
 k'a-go-thla-ne  
 thing-3SG(IMP)-eat-NOM  
 'food'
- c. [wàdes'iní] (BPD)  
 wàde+s'i-ne  
 summer+little-nom  
 'spring'
- d. [s'àcyahop'éné]  
 s'æ-cya+ho-p'ε-ne  
 earth-hard+3SG(INAM)-drink-NOM  
 'clay pipe'

In some cases, the nominalized verb retains the verbal stress pattern.

This is true of the 'yu stem verbs in (74a), and reduplicated verbs, as in the (74b-d) examples.

- (74) a. [chùtago'yúhane]  
 chu-ta+go-'yu-ha-ne  
 bed-on+IMP-up-PL.be.located-NOM  
 'sheets/bed covers'
- b. [s'ætéténe]  
 s'æ+te-te-ne  
 ground-brush-brush-NOM  
 'broom'
- c. [dādā]  
 dada  
 'corn crib'

- d. [k'athl'os'is'i]  
 k'athl'o+s'i-s'i  
 bread-litte-little  
 'sliced bread, slices of bread'

Inflected nouns follow the same pattern of primary stress on the last syllable. When an inanimate noun class is used for the definite article, the class is generally cliticized to the end of the noun. On one syllable noun, the stress is consistent with its being attached; that is the stress is on the last syllable, or the noun class. This is seen in (75a). However, the inanimate classes can be less integrated into the word, as seen in (75b). The stress falls on the last syllable of the animate classes. When an animate class is used, the noun class clitic may be integrated with the noun, as in (75c), or it may be independent, as in (75d).

(75) Definite Article (Noun Class) Suffix Stress

- a. [chu]  
 'bed'  
 [chufá]  
 chu-fa  
 bed-CL(STAND)  
 'the bed'
- b. [s'æpho'yuhé]  
 'cellar'  
 [s'æpho'yuhèci]  
 s'æ-pho+'yuhe-ci  
 ground-under+house-CL(SIT)  
 'the cellar'
- c. [dzené]  
 'dog'  
 [dzènewenǎ]  
 dzene-wenǎ  
 dog-CL(NE)  
 'the dog'

- d. [Josephíne senɔ́]  
Josephine CL(EF)  
'Josephine'

When an inanimate noun is plural, the inanimate plural particle *ha* is generally stressed and is an independent word.

(76) Inanimate Plural Particle Stress

- a. ['yas'í]  
'stick'

['yas'í há]  
'ya+s'i há  
wood+little PL(INAN)  
'sticks'

- b. [hòkwæné]  
'necktie'

[hòkwæné há]  
ho-kwæ-ne há  
3SG(INAN)-tie-NOM PL(INAN)  
'neckties'

- c. [k'àgothlané]  
'food'

[k'àgothlané há]  
k'a-go-thla-ne há  
thing-3SG(IMP)-eat-NOM PL(INAN)  
'food'

Secondary stress in multi-syllable nouns is more difficult to pinpoint. In most cases, the secondary stress falls on the first syllable of the noun. However, this stress is light. It is often negligible in discourse, or has the sense of a slightly longer vowel than the following syllables until the last (stressed) syllable.

- (77) a. [ʔàs'atí] ~ [ʔas'atí]  
       ʔas'a-ti  
       leaf-yellow  
       'autumn'
- b. [dzòthibyothló] ~ [dzo-thibyothló]  
       dzothi+byothló  
       medicine + round  
       'pill'

Secondary stress sometimes falls on the last syllable of the first compound (head) in complex compounds. In these cases, the compounds retain the pre-compound stress of a noun and its modifier phrase, although their status today is clearly that of a compound word.

- (78) a. [k'alâgo'yugwané]  
       k'ala+go-'yu-gwa-ne  
       something+3(IMP)-say-nom  
       'story'
- b. [ʔyasta'ègothlané]  
       ʔyasta-'è+go-thla-ne  
       board-ACTIVE+3SG(IMP)-go-NOM  
       'cradle'

Often complex compounds will have more than one secondary stress. These are not predictable, but always fall at the end or the beginning of a word boundary inside of the compound, as in (79a-b) respectively.

- (79) a. [k'èndik'athl'òsulik'æwá]  
       k'òdi+k'athl'o+sule+k'ã+wa  
       meat+bread+naked+together+bite  
       'hot dog'

- b. [s'æthæbihòtigok'óné]  
 s'æ+tapi<sup>24</sup>+hoti+go-k'õ-ne  
 land-salt+pay+3SG(IMP)-make-NOM  
 land payment  
 'tax'

The impersonal person prefix *go-* occurs on many nominalized verbs, as in (80a-b) and compounds with inalienable possessive nouns, as in (80c).

Secondary stress generally occurs regularly on the first syllable *go-*, but occasionally these constructions have secondary stress on the first syllable of the stem (*i.e.* the second syllable).

- (80) a. [go'yùshɛní] (BPD)  
 go-'yu-shɛ-ne  
 3SG(IMP)-pain-good-NOM  
 'happiness'
- b. [gowèdeco'ó]  
 go-wede-co'o  
 3SG(IMP)-talk-grandfather  
 'lawyer'
- c. [gothægo'yuné]  
 go-thæ+go-'yu-né  
 3SG.POSS(IMP)-heart+3SG(IMP)-hurt-NOM  
 'sorrow'

When a noun is inflected with any other possessive pronominal prefix, the secondary stress is optionally found on the pronominal prefix (the first syllable) or the first syllable of the stem (the second syllable). This appears to be a pragmatic choice to emphasize the idea of possession or not.

### *Stress Pattern of Verbs*

Verbs in Eucheé include adjectives and quantifiers. They are inflected for pronominal agreement, and as such are complete sentences. As a rule, uninflected verb stems have primary stress on the ultimate syllable, although exceptions can be found. When inflected, the final syllable of the stem still bears the primary stress with falling intonation.

- (81) a. [ˈyú]  
‘have pain or sickness’  
[dzeˈyú]  
dze-ˈyu  
1SG.PAT-pain  
‘I’m in pain./ I’m sick.’
- b. [saté]  
‘scrape’  
[dìsaté˘]  
di-sate  
1SG.ACT-scrape  
‘I’m scraping (it/them).’
- c. [cèkabá]  
‘burp/belch’  
[dìcekabá˘]  
di-ce+kaba  
1SG.ACT-stomach-swell  
‘I burped.’

There are two regular exceptions to primary stress on the last syllable of the verb stem. Reduplicated verbs have equal stress on both the last syllable of the stem and its reduplicated syllable, as in (82a-c). In addition, verb compounds with the head root *ˈyu* bear primary stress on the first syllable, as in (82d-f).

- (82) a. [gopóꞑꞑ]  
 go-pōꞑō  
 3SG(IMP)-hoot  
 'to hoot'
- b. [yꞑs'ós'ó\]  
 yꞑ-s'os'o  
 3SG(NE).ACT-cripple  
 'He (non-Euchee) is crippled.'
- c. [hìdi'né'né\  
 hi-di-'ne'ne  
 3SG(INAN).PAT-1SG.ACT-measure  
 'I measure.'
- d. [hꞑ'yústi\  
 hꞑ-'yusti  
 3SG(EM).ACT-deceive  
 'He deceives.' (men's speech)
- e. [hꞑ'yú'ne'ne\  
 hō-'yu'nē'nē  
 3SG(EM).ACT-try  
 'He tries.' (men's speech)
- f. [hꞑ'yútha\  
 hō-'yutha  
 3SG(EM).ACT-scratch  
 'He scratches.' (men's speech)

Primary stress on a verb stem changes only in commands (see below) or if there is the reciprocal 'each other/one another' or collective 'with/together' prefix on the verb. Then, the reciprocal prefix *k'a-* or the collective prefix *k'q-* bears the primary stress. These prefixes occur before the pronominal complex.

- (83) a. [gotyæ'yúne]  
 'to love'
- [gok'átyæ'yune]  
 'to love one another'



- b. [ʼaké goʼyúgwa]  
 ‘say something specific, talk about’  
 [ʼaké ʼɔkʼáʼyugwa\]  
 ʼake ʼō-kʼa-ʼyugwa  
 there 1PL(INCL)-RECIP-say  
 ‘We talk to each other.’
- c. [goʼwedé]  
 goʼwedé  
 ‘to talk to’  
 [sʼèdikʼɔʼwede jé\]  
 sʼe-di-kʼō-ʼwede jé  
 3SG(EM).PAT-1SG.ACT-COM-talk PAST  
 ‘I talked with him.’ (women’s speech)

Secondary stress occurs on the last syllable of the first prefix on the verb. Actor pronominal prefixes are one syllable, but 2<sup>nd</sup> person singular and plural patient pronominal prefixes, and 1<sup>st</sup> person plural (inclusive and exclusive) pronominal prefixes are made of the actor prefix with the 1<sup>st</sup> person singular patient prefix. Examples of secondary stress on pronominal prefixes follow.

- (84) a. [dijí\]  
 di-ji  
 1SG.ACT-go  
 ‘I’m going.’
- b. [dìcespʼfɛ\]  
 di-ce-spi-ē  
 1SG.ACT-stomach-full-ACTIVE  
 ‘I’m full’
- c. [sèdzeʼnɛ\]  
 se-dze-ʼnē  
 3SG(EF).ACT-1SG.PAT-see  
 ‘She sees me.’

- d. [nɛnʒɛditó\]  
 nedze-di-to  
 2SG.PAT-1SG.ACT-go.with  
 'I will go with you.'
- e. [s'ɛnɛndzɛtó\]  
 s'e-nedze-to  
 3SG.ACT(EM)-2SG.PAT-go.with  
 'He will go with you.' (woman's speech)
- f. [sɛsh'yɛ dishá\]  
 se-sh'ye                      di-sha  
 1SG(EF).PAT-bad    1SG.ACT-make  
 'I spoiled her.'
- g. [hì dok'ɔ\]  
 hi-do-k'ɔ  
 3SG(INAN).PAT-1SGA-make  
 'I used it.'
- h. [hì dostí\] (contraction with /'yu/)  
 hi-do-sti  
 3SG(INAN).PAT-1SG.ACT+'YU-deceive  
 'I deceive.'

The aspect suffixes are unstressed. The habitual suffix *-ne* can be stressed for emphasis; otherwise, the primary stress stays on the last syllable of the verb stem.

### *Adverbs and Conjunctions*

Although some adverbial ideas are expressed as aspect suffixes on the verb, Euchee has a closed class of independent adverbs expressing both time (aspect) and manner. Disyllabic adverbs follow the same stress patterns as disyllabic nouns and verbs: The last syllable bears the primary stress, as in (83a). Adverbs with three syllables tend to have primary stress on the penultimate syllable. While at first this appears to be different from the other content parts

of speech, it is, in fact, regular to verbs which have the primary stress on the last syllable of the stem. Adverbs with three syllables all end in one of two aspect suffixes *-le* 'again,' *-le* 'only,' or the morpheme *-de*, as in (85b). Thus, like verbs, the stress is in the stem, not the suffix. For more discussion on the relationship between verbs and adverbs, and analysis of adverbs, see Chapter 8 Syntax.

(85) Independent Adverbs

a.	hi'ne	[hi'né]	'at first, at present'
	safi	[safi]	'fast'
	desi	[desi]	'almost'
	t'ele	[t'elé]	'once, once again'
b.	sahōde	[səhɔ̃ndɛ]	'all the time'
	sahōle	[səhɔ̃nlɛ]	'always'
	dephule	[dɛphúɛ] ~ [dəphúɛ]	'again'
	'yukōle	['yukɔ̃nlɛ]	'a long time ago'
	tafale	[tafáɛ]	'before'

Conjunctions in Euchee follow the same pattern as adverb.

(86)	'ahēde	['ahɛ̃ndɛ]	'and then'
	nāde	[nándɛ]	'and, and then'
	'ādesō	['ándesɔ̃]	'and also'

A few disyllabic adverbs and conjunctions have primary stress on the first syllable. These cases are probably all shortened forms of trisyllabic adverbs.

The first syllable has been deleted, leaving the primary stress on the stem.

(87)	kede	[kéɛ]	'now'
	'akede	['akéɛ]	'right then' (GW: 372)
	ahēde	['ahɛ̃ndɛ]	'and then'
	hēde	[héɛ]	'and then'

### *Location Postpositions and Particles*

Euchee has independent location particles which are postpositions to the noun phrase.<sup>25</sup> The postpositions have a location root plus a general location/direction suffix, either *-he* 'location at or in, *-fa* 'movement to or from', *-le* 'movement along, or *-le* movement back to.' These general location/direction suffixes are always stressed. Many of the postpositions also function as location particles in Particle + Verb Constructions, see Chapter 4 Verb and Verb Phrase. The particles by themselves are one-syllable words. They generally bear prominent stress in the utterance, although they can be unstressed and cliticized to the beginning of the verb.

Independent location particles may be two or three syllables, as in (88a) and (88b) respectively. The stress pattern of independent location is like that of nouns, with the primary stress on the last syllable (accompanied by the high tone of the general location/direction suffix) and secondary stress on the first syllable.

#### (88) Independent Location Particles + Location Suffix

a. tihe	[tihé]	'inside'
tale	[talé]	'on top, back on again'
phohe	[phohé]	'under (objects or earth)'
læfa	[læfá]	'around'
b. tasefa	[dàsefá]	'on the other side'
tapehe	[tàpehé]	on top, tip top'
'yutafa	['yùtáfá]	'in front of'
'yufale	['yùfalé]	'from under/away from that direction'

The location particles in Particle + Verb Constructions do not generally have a location suffix. A large number of verbs in Euchee require a location or direction particle. These particles are pre-pronominal, coming before the pronominals on the verb, and have been treated as verb prefixes since Wagner (1934: 358-361).<sup>26</sup> The location particles are one-syllable words, and as such, they get stressed. The prominent stress, combined with the constituency test

using the Yes/No question particle *'le*, as seen in (89c), reveals that the particles are not prefixes but independent words.

- (89) a. [dabí khí dzothlá\]                      stress as independent location particle  
 tapi khi dzo-thla  
 salt DIR 1SG.PAT/PLUS-go  
 'Pass me the salt.'
- b. [ké sèyo'wedéjě\]  
 ke se-yo-'wede    jě  
 DIR 3SG(EF).PAT-2SG.ACT/PLUS-talk PAST  
 'You called her (on the phone).'
- c. [ke 'lé sèyo'wede jě\]  
 ke 'le se-yo-'wede    jě  
 DIR Q 3SG(EF).PAT-2SG.ACT/PLUS-talk PAST  
 'Did you call her (on the phone)?'

Thus, the location particles in Particle + Verb Constructions are not prefixes. However, they can become cliticized. This occurs when some other part of the sentence is given prominent stress for emphasis or clarification, and when the particles are contracted, as seen in (90).

- (90) a. ['á wegwá\]                                      →    ['aógwa\]  
 'a we-gwa  
 LOC 3SG(NE).ACT-say  
 'He (non-Euchee) said.'
- b. [dáwecá\]    →    [dɔcá\]  
 ta-we-ca  
 loc-3SG.PAT-step  
 'Step on it (a bug)!'
- c. [thlòstanicí díwep'a\]                                      →    [thlòstanicí dúp'a\] (BPD)  
 thlostane-ci              ti-we-p'a  
 box-CL(SIT)              in-3SG(NE).ACT-see.about  
 'He (non-Euchee) looked in the box.'

## *Clitics*

Clitics are bound words. The word it binds to in the phrase or clause is called its host. Just as affixes can be prefixes or suffixes, clitics can attach to the beginning (pre-clitic) or the end (post-clitic) of a word. Euchee has both pre-clitics and post-clitics. Unlike affixes, which are bound to a specific part of speech, clitics attach to a constituent, either a phrase or clause. For example, the noun classes always move to the end of the noun phrase, so they may appear after a bare noun, or a quantifier, or an adjective; they are not always attached to the noun itself. Since clitics can attach to several different hosts, they are more loosely bound than affixes. In Euchee, all one-syllable independent particles are stressed. If they are not stressed, due to emphasis elsewhere, they can become cliticized to a host. The difference between clitics and independent words, then, is mainly phonological.

The Yes/No question particle *'le* is an irrealis mode particle. It is always an independent word. It is not phonologically reduced, but carries with it a prominent stress. However, it has characteristics of a clause-level clitic. It prefers to be after the first complete phrase in a clause, called a 'second position' clitic. While *'le* prefers the second position, it can be placed at the end of any constituent in the clause. Because of this, it is a good test for constituency in Euchee. Chapter 8, Section 3.1 Yes/No Questions for examples.

Most of the independent particles can be several phrase-level clitics when unstressed. These attach to the phrase which they modify, and are typified by the noun class/determiner post-clitics, the plural particle, the tense particle. This is similar to the English 'not,' which must be attached to a host when it is phonologically reduced, as in 'doesn't.'

Only the negative pre-clitic *nē-* - *næ-* is always attached and can never be an independent particle. The negative pre-clitic attaches to the beginning of either the noun or the verb phrase, similar to the English 'I do not have any grandchildren' and 'I have no grandchildren.'<sup>27</sup> The evidence that they are bound

and not free comes from the fact they follow the stress patterns of the verb and noun. The negative pre-clitic bears secondary stress of the first syllable, although they are often emphasized for pragmatic purposes. See Chapter 8, Section 4 Negation.

## 5.2 INTONATION

Declarative sentences have falling intonation. In most sentences, the verb is in final position. The last syllable of the verb bears the primary stress with high-falling pitch. The example below shows the difference between word level and sentence level stress and intonation.

- (91) a. [sæ'é]  
       sæ-'e  
       land-CL(LIE)  
       'the land'
- b. [s'æ keciː\]  
       s'æ     ke     ci  
       grave   there sit  
       'There's a grave over there.'
- c. [s'æ ke ciː\]  
       s'æ     ke     ci  
       down    there sit  
       '(He's) sitting down there.'

Negative sentences have falling intonation. The negative pre-clitic can be stressed if the speaker wishes to emphasize 'not.'

- (92) a. [hɔ̃dik'ã'neː\]  
       hō-di-k'ã-'ne  
       3PL(E).PAT-1SG.ACT-RECIP-see  
       'I'm going to visit them.' (men's speech)

- b. [nəhòdik'á'ne\]  
 nē-hō-di-k'ā-'ne  
 NEG-3PL(E).PAT-1SG.ACT-RECIP-see  
 'I'm not going to visit them.' (men's speech)
- c. ['yākishalé nédzogósh'ɛ\]  
 'yakishale nē-dzo-gō'ē  
 watch NEG-1SG.PAT/PLUS-have  
 'I *don't* have a watch.'
- d. [nē'yakishalé dzogó'ɛ\]  
 nē-'yakishale dzo-gō'ē  
 NEG-watch 1SG.PAT/PLUS-have  
 'I have *no* watch.'

Information questions are indicated by rising pitch on the stressed syllable of the information (interrogative) pronoun. The end of the utterance has falling intonation. A full list of the information pronouns and their accent placements are found in Chapter 8.

- (93) a. [wahěnde 'yofa jɛ\]  
 wahēde 'yo-fō jē  
 why 2SG.ACT+'YU-cut.off PAST  
 'Why did you cut it off?'
- b. [wakhě'ɛ nendzèdithyá te\]  
 wakhe'ē neže-di-thyā te  
 how 2SG.PAT-1SG.ACT-help ABLE  
 How can I help you?'
- c. [wafá hɔ̃nfē]  
 wa-fá hō-fe  
 which-DIR 3SG(EM).ACT-go  
 'Where did he go?/Which direction did he go?'

The question 'What?' can have several intonation patterns depending on the meaning.



- |      |         |          |  |
|------|---------|----------|--|
| (94) | [wikǎ]  | ‘What?’  | (requesting information/ what is that?)    |
|      | [wikǎ\] | ‘What?’  | (didn’t understand or hear/ please repeat) |
|      | [wikǎ\] | ‘What?!’ | (frightened/surprised)                     |

The Yes/No Question particle always bears prominent stress and has the highest pitch in the utterance. This is true no matter where it attaches. Its placement is discussed in Chapter 8, but (92a) provides examples of several of its possible placements. The Yes/No Question particle can be left off, but this is rare. When it is, rising intonation indicates the question, as in (92b).

- (95) a. [k’ànjinéhé weshá ’lénthǎ\] (contraction)  
 k’ájine-he weshá ’le ne-thǎ  
 store-to 2SG.ACT.go Q 2SG.ACT-want  
 ‘Do you want to go to the store?’
- [k’ànjinéhé weshá nǎthǎ ’lé\]  
 ‘Do you want to go to the store?’
- [k’ànjinéhe ’lé weshá nǎthǎ\]  
 ‘Do you want to go to the store?’
- b. [k’ànjinéhé weshá nǎthǎ/]  
 ‘Do you want to go to the store?’

Commands have falling intonation. The primary stress is always the last syllable of the verb stem. Compare (96a) with (96b) below. In cases of extreme emotion or emergency, both syllables of the verb may be stressed equally, as in (96c). However, empathetic commands, or encouragement, normally have regular stress with the vowel of the stressed syllable lengthened, as in (96d).

- (96) a. [ǎnja\] (contraction)  
 ’á ne-já  
 LOC 2SG.ACT-say  
 ‘You said it.’

- b. [anjá\] 'Say it!'  
 c. [ánjá\] 'Say it!!' (now!)  
 d. [á:nja\] '(Go ahead) Say it!' (encouraging)

Eucluee uses the intensitive mode particle for some commands. In this capacity, the *nō* is stressed and associated with higher pitch.

- (97) a. [dzethyaɛ́ nɔ́\]  
 dze-tyō nō  
 ISG.PAT-help INTENT  
 'Help me, will ya!'

[dzetyɔ́\]  
 dze-tyō  
 ISG.PAT-help  
 'Help me (now!)!'

- b. [táci ná\]  
 ta-ci nō  
 up-stand INTENT  
 'Get up!'

[dáci\]  
 ta-ci  
 up-stand  
 'Get up!'

In negative commands, the last syllable is stressed, while the negative pre-clitic is the most prominent stress and associated with the high pitch.

- (98) a. [yùdashi-fá nɛ́khotá\]  
 `yudashi-fa nɛ-khota  
 door-CL(STAND) NEG-close  
 'Don't close the door!'

- b. [nǽgaka 'wedé\]
- |                        |       |
|------------------------|-------|
| nə-go-`yaka            | 'wede |
| NEG-person-white       | talk  |
| 'Don't speak English!' |       |

## 6. VARIATIONS OF EUCHEE

Euchee has variations based on gender, register, and region. Gender variation is limited to differences in pronominal agreement prefixes and in noun class particles. These are discussed in Chapter 6, Section 3.1 Noun Classes. However, women tend to have a more conservative phonology than men. There are also formal and informal registers. Formal registers include prayers, speech-giving, and ceremonial speech (Jackson and Linn 2000). The texts in Appendix I give examples of prayers and dance calls. In this section, the regional dialect known as Big Pond Dialect is described.

### 6.1 BIG POND DIALECT

The Big Pond Dialect (BPD) is spoken by people whose family were originally members of the Big Pond Ceremonial Ground. Big Pond has not been active since the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, and its members have spread out since this time. It is still mostly spoken by people living in the area of Depew, the closest municipality to the former Big Pond Ceremonial Ground, and Bristow, the largest municipality close to Big Pond and associated with Sand Creek Ceremonial Ground and Mutteloke Indian United Methodist Church. Ceremonial Grounds were originally Tribal Towns, and these towns have their roots in specific towns in the Southeast before the Euchee were removed to Oklahoma. Although the direct linking of the current Ceremonial Grounds to specific pre-removal towns has been lost, it is clear that these towns have their own regional



- c. [nékɛ wá dòciníjɪ]  
[nékɛ `wá dòciné jɛ́]  
ne-ke `wa do-ci-ne jɛ  
here-LOC FOC 1SG.ACT/PLUS-sit-HAB PAST  
'I used to live there.'
- d. [wikǎ níwǎnji]  
[wikǎ nɛwǎnji]  
wikǎ ne-wǎji  
what 2SG.ACT-buy  
'What did you buy?'
- e. [ʼa hɛ́gwa jɪ]  
[ʼa hɔ́gwa jɛ́]  
ʼa hō-gwa jē  
LOC 3SG(NE).ACT-say PAST  
'He said.'
- f. [kʼàthodé wíthá]  
[kʼàthodé wethá]  
kʼathode we-tha  
cotton 3SG(NE).ACT-pick  
'They picked cotton.'
- g. [goniwici weshoʼɛ́]  
[goneweci weshoʼɛ́]  
gone-we.ci we-sho-ʼē  
baby-CL(NE.SIT) 3SG(NE).ACT-soft-ACTIVE  
'newborn baby'
- h. [ʼyoshʼikǎkhǎ tʼehɛ níle dzɪ]  
[ʼyoshʼikǎkhǎ tʼehɛ nɛle dzɪ]  
ʼyoshʼikǎkhǎ tʼe-he ne-le dzī  
Wednesday one-LOC here-LOC 1SG.ACT.arrive.FUT  
'I'll be back next Wednesday.'

The vowel height in BPD appears to be underlying since other phonological rules, such as /e/ laxing, do not occur on these morphemes in BPD.



b.	[sɛncinok'ɔ̄ jɛ]	Polecat/Duck Creek
	sēci-ne      we-k'ō      jē	
	good-sit-NOM    3SG(NE).ACT-make    PAST	
	'He prayed.'	

Despite the consistency of height on morphemes, and their resistance to other phonological rules, some instances of height in BPD leave open the possibility that, at least at one time, the raising in BPD was not morpheme bound but a product of a more general heightening rule or vowel harmony. For example, some BPD speakers will pronounce *kede* 'now' as [kedi], but the spatial morpheme *-de* will not be [-di] in other occurrences. Additionally, in a few cases, a word final vowel will be heightened, such as (46) above, where the verb 'ask' *wene* is pronounced [wɛni] by BP speakers.<sup>28</sup> A possibility still remains that the BPD 2<sup>nd</sup> person singular pronominal prefix *nī-* and the 3<sup>rd</sup> person non-Euchee pronominal *wi-* are the result of regressive vowel harmony. Unlike the suffixes, and the location root *ni*, it is not mandatory that the 2<sup>nd</sup> person and 3<sup>rd</sup> person non-Euchee pronominals be high before non-high vowels. Although examples of these heightened pronominals exist in environments which could not produce harmony to height, the majority are before high vowels.

In addition to vowel height, BPD is actor to several other phonological differences. The palatalization rule given in (18) above is active only in BPD, and the word final /e/ laxing, given in (25) above is less prominent.

NOTES  
CHAPTER 2

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<sup>1</sup> The similarity between the Euchee phoneme inventory and those of the Siouan languages, especially those of the Dakota branch, is probably what lead Sapir to hypothesize a Euchee-Siouan relationship. Siouan stops contrast by aspiration (plain and aspirated) and glottalization, although not always by voicing (arguably a newer innovation in Euchee). However, the Ohio Valley (Southeastern) Siouan languages, neighbors to the Euchee, had collapsed the glottalized series creating smaller inventories. Like Euchee, Dakota Siouan languages have a full set of fricatives, but there are two /m, n/ to three /ŋ/ nasal stop phonemes where Euchee has only one nasal stop phoneme /n/. Siouan languages tend to have 5-vowel systems, with 3 or more nasal vowels, all contrasting by length. Euchee shows no phonemic contrast by length (see Sections 1.4 A Note on Vowel Length and 3.2 Vowel Lengthening in Emphatic, Comparative, and Superlative Structures).

<sup>2</sup> In this case, the 'human' morpheme is the bound root, see Chapter 5, Section 1, Noun Roots. The 'human' morpheme may also occur as a pronominal prefix Gatschet (1885) recorded the 3<sup>rd</sup> person impersonal pronominal prefix as voiceless unaspirated [ku-]. In addition, Gatschet gave the 1SG<sup>1</sup> person singular pronominal prefix as [ti-] (actor) and [tse-] (patient). Today these morphemes are voiced [go-], [di-] and [dze], although this is due to their initial position (see discussion in the text). However, the bound root go- meaning 'human' is always fully voiced.

<sup>3</sup> The verb *k'ō* 'to make, to do' is often produced [go] or [gə] in noun compounds. As a verb, it retains its ejective and nasal [k'ɔ̃].

<sup>4</sup> These allophones of /f/ suggest that the modern /f/ is recent in the language. It may have arisen from an earlier \*hw or \*xw, as did the /f/ in Muskogean. If this is the case, it could confirm borrowing from Muskogean Nicklas (1994b).

<sup>5</sup> Wagner (1934: 305) stated that the epenthetic [n] occurred only before the pulmonic dental stops. I have found them before any non-bilabial and non-velar consonant. Wagner (305) also did not find epenthetic nasals before ejectives, but I have found no such restriction.

<sup>6</sup> The velar fricative [x] was described by Wagner (1934: 306) as occurring "whenever an open or closed unnasalized vowel is followed by a dental or alveolar stop (d, t, t) or by a palatal stop (g, k, k)." (Wagner's notation for the unaspirated stops is [T] and [K].) Wagner marked [x] (voiceless dorsal-palatal fricative) or [χ] (voiceless velar fricative) consistently in these environments



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throughout the *Yuchi Tales* (1930). Wagner did not describe them in word final position. From the unpublished notes in phonetic transcription of both Crawford and Ballard, it is apparent that neither linguist were recording an occurrence of [x] or [χ]. Crawford did make a handwritten note in an unpublished phonology manuscript about the pre-aspiration of some aspirated stops. However, aspirated stops are the one stop environment that Wagner did not find [x] in.

<sup>7</sup> The epenthetic [x] and [h] are more pronounced in some speakers than others, and they are overall more clear and consistent in female speakers. Wagner consistently recorded [x] in male speakers as well as female. Therefore, I am assuming that their prevalence in women's speech today is due to the women being generally more conservative speakers than the men, and not that it was part of the difference between men's and women's speech styles.

<sup>8</sup> Crawford (1973) used the symbols [E] for the mean-mid front vowel of the lax oral vowel to distinguish it from the [ɛ] lower-mid front vowel of the lax nasal vowel.

<sup>9</sup> Wagner (1934: 371) recorded an [o], or [dɛpolé], not an /u/ or [u].

<sup>10</sup> In a few roots, the underlying vowel phoneme has been lost. Whenever this is the case, I use the orthographic 'v', used for [ɔ] in contractions and /q/, as it most often occur centralized, and [ʌ] in the morphemic representations.

<sup>11</sup> It is telling that speakers who write in Euchee are diligent in indicating nasal vowels but never attempt to distinguish length. In addition, when the Euchee Language Class of Sapulpa was meeting regularly (attended by most of the fluent speakers), they would often have discussions about vowel qualities such as nasality and laxing, such as whether to write [e] or [ɛ]. However, I never heard a discussion as to the length of a vowel.

<sup>12</sup> This is fundamentally the same analysis as Crawford, which he gave as C(C)V(:).

<sup>13</sup> For one speaker, contraction is not optional with the animate non-Euchee classifier. For this speaker, the contracted form marks the singular definite and the uncontracted form with the penultimate stress marks the plural of all animate non-Euchee nouns.

<sup>14</sup> An alternative hypothesis is that the deletion applies to the onset only and the features of the deleted onset and the remaining vowel assimilate. For descriptive purposes, the syllable deletion view is maintained.

The contraction process in Euchee can be accounted for quite elegantly with feature geometry (Linn 1995). The following is an example, using a deleted *we*-3<sup>rd</sup> singular actor, non-Euchee, pronominal agreement prefix. The *we* morpheme is contracted, and the features [+round] and [+back] from the [w] spread left to the preceding vowel. This accounts for the regular backing and rounding of the preceding vowels in *we* contractions.

i) *we-* Spreading Rule

[+round]  
[+back]

X

ii) Contraction: Feature Spreading Analysis

a. [dí wekwɛ̃ jɛ̃] Full Form  
 ti we-kwɛ̃ jɛ̃  
 in 3SG(NE).ACT-send PAST  
 'He sent him (non-Euchee) in.'

b. [+round]  
[+back]

|

t i w e k w ɛ̃ j ɛ̃ Underlying Specification

| | | | | | | |

C V C V CCV C V

∨ ∨ ∨ ∨

σ σ σ σ

c. [+round]  
[+back]

t i k w ɛ̃ j ɛ̃ Morpheme Deletion

| | | | | | | |

C V C V CCV C V

∨ ∨ ∨ ∨

σ σ σ σ



40) <u>Wagner's Description</u>	<u>Ballard's Description</u>
i + we becomes u	i + we → u
e + we “ o	e + we → o
a + we “ o, ao, or a	æ + we ↘
o + we “ o, oo	a + we ↘ → ɔ

<sup>16</sup> The structure of diphthongs in Euchee, following the analysis given in the text, preserves the CV tier. The structure is then:



<sup>17</sup> In this section on contraction, all of the examples from James Crawford (JC) are pulled from an unpublished manuscript entitled 'Yuchi' and his notes for this manuscript. The examples are from his notebooks of text and direct elicitation of forms with Mrs. Nancy Wildcat. The manuscript appears to have been for his class on the Euchee at Georgia State University.

<sup>18</sup> One speaker does contract the 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular pronominal /hɛ-/ to /hɔ-/.

<sup>19</sup> The vowel shifts for the *ho-* and *hi-* contraction look the same as in *we-* contraction, with the exception of the diphthong [ao] produced with assimilation to /a/. The diphthong [ao] is the sole evidence for the [+round] feature of the /w/ to spread left. Otherwise, like the /h/ deletion, the roundness is due to the fact that all back vowels in Euchee are round.

<sup>20</sup> Both [gúspi] 'black person' and [gáka] 'white person' are commonly used with all Euchee, even those who do not speak the Euchee language.

<sup>21</sup> This example is from Sadie Skeeter, who was from Duck Creek. Thus, this is not an instance of the Big Pond Dialect dialect variation /wi-/ instead of *we-*.

<sup>22</sup> Rankin (1997; from Ballard (1974:17) gives a set not listed here: *s'uile* 'naked' and *sh'uile* 'bald, bare.' I have checked this with three speakers (representing both dialects and both genders). All of them use only one *s'uile* for both meanings, and none have heard *sh'uile*. Since some speakers palatalize /s/ before a high vowel (see Section 1.2 of this chapter) is probable that difference here is due to the phonological palatization rule, not lexicalization.

<sup>23</sup> This is apparently the same conclusion that Crawford (1980) was reaching. What is interesting is that even though Euchee is not as synthetic as many of the languages of the Americas, it still behaves like a polysynthetic language, in the sense of Baker (1996). This includes the mandatory pronominal agreement, freer word order, and discontinuous constituents. Other characteristics are noted throughout this work. It should be noted that although the language is not tightly

---

bound together, the process of cliticization is productive. Its relationship to stress and the continuum with affixation need further attention.

<sup>24</sup> Speakers today cannot analyze this morpheme in the word for 'tax.' However, Wagner (ca. 1935) gives the word for 'tax' as [tapihotigok'óné]. In his example, the first morpheme [tapi] appears to be 'salt.' I am assuming his earlier transcription as [thæbi] is a possible corruption. As salt has always been a valued resource in human societies, it is possible that the word refers to payment by or for salt. As this idea became obsolete, the language appears to have added *s'æ* 'land' (and in some variations /k'ala/ 'thing') without having dropped the 'salt.'

<sup>25</sup> Many of the locatives are derived from nouns. For example, *s'æ* is the 'ground/earth' as well as 'down' and /ta/ is 'face' as well as 'on.' This can be one reason for their independent status and behavior with the location suffixes.

<sup>26</sup> Gatschet recorded only two Particle + Verb Constructions, and he wrote the particle separate from the verb (1885: 38). Speck (ca. 1904-1923) discusses 'general' locatives [locative particles] as separate particles (p. 41), but then he writes them on the verb or almost attached. This was a device he used 'when the connection is close' (p. 40). He later gives four 'specialized' locatives as 'nearer to being verbal prefixes' (p. 48). The difference between his 'general' and 'specialized' locatives is not clear, and is not the same as my distinction between the generalized location/direction suffixes and the locative particles.

Wagner, too, had trouble determining the status of the locative particles. The locative particles were treated as noun suffixes in his 1930 publication, and then changed to verb prefixes in the grammatical sketch (1934: 358). Neither Ballard nor Crawford discuss the locative particles, but in their field notes they are treated as attached to the verb and presumably treated as verb prefixes (Ballard ca. 1972-75; Crawford 1972-1973).

<sup>27</sup> Since verbs are inflected for person and can be full clauses, technically the negative preclitic is also a clause-level clitic. However, for the purposes of description of Euchee, it is more convenient to group the negative preclitic with the other phrase-level clitics.

<sup>28</sup> This could be argued to be a case of overgeneralization to the habitual morpheme [-ni].

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Figure 3.1. Regular Pronominal Agreement Prefixes

		Actor				Patient					
		di-		do-		dze-		dzo-†		dzio-††	
		Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
1	(INCL)	di-	'o-	do-	'o-	dze-	'ödze-	dzo-	'ödzo-	dzyo	'ödzyo
	(EXCL)		nō-		nō-		nōdze-		nōdzo-		nōdzyo
2		ne-	'ane-	yo-	'ayo-	nedze-	'ädze-	so-	'aso-	nēdzyo	ādzyo
3(EM)	<i>m.s.</i>	hē-/hō-	hō-	hō-	hō-	hē-/hō-	hō-	hō-	hō-		
3(EM)	<i>w.s.</i>	s'e-	'o-	s'yo-	'o-	s'e-	'i-	s'yo-			
3(EF)		se-		syo-		se-		syo-			
3(EFH)		'ē-		'ēyo-		'ē-					
3(NE)		we-	we-	yō-	yō-	we-	we-	yō-	yō-		
3(INAN)				hi-	hi-	hi-	hi-	ho-	ho-		

Shaded columns are forms fused with the [+Participant] prefix /\*yo-/.

† Patient participant of state verbs; recipient and beneficiary participants of event verbs

†† Patient participant of event verbs



### CHAPTER 3: PRONOUNS AND PRONOMINAL AGREEMENT

'[I] tried to write a grammar with Dr. Boaz [*sic*] of Columbia...but we gave it up as impossible. The pronouns of Yuchi was a little more than I could explain in English and Dr. Boaz didn't have a great lot of time to put on such work...'

--Ellen Allen (Euchee), Letter to Frank Speck  
June 1, 1947

#### 1. OVERVIEW

Pronouns 'I,' 'you' 'he/she/it' and so on may be separate words (called independent pronouns) or they may be attached to a verb or noun (called pronominal affixes). In Euchee, the pronominals are required even when the core participants are indicated by an independent noun phrase. Thus, pronominals cross-reference, or agree with, the noun.

Euchee has a rich system of pronominal agreement on the verb. The pronominals are prefixed to the verb stem. Each verb must be cross-referenced for each of the participants in the clause. Because of this, the participants may not be stated in independent noun phrases. Instead, the verb and its pronominal agreement are a complete sentence. In fact, after the first reference, or when the participants are otherwise known to the hearer, speakers do not use independent noun phrases.

The role of the participants in a sentence is not marked on nouns in Euchee. Instead, the pronominal prefixes reflect these roles. There are two sets of pronominal prefixes distinguished by role: The actor set and the patient set. The choice of pronominal set is determined by the inherent aspect of the verb. The actor set is used for all event verbs, and the patient set is used for all verbs showing a state. Therefore, the Euchee pronominal prefixes reflect a stative-active system.

The agreement system also interacts with a prefix which changes the number of participants in the clause (valence). An historical valence prefix, presumably \*yo-, adds one participant to an event: a one-place (transitive) verb is changed to a two-place (transitive) verb, and a two-place verb into a three-place (ditransitive) verb. The valence prefix comes between the verb stem and the pronominals. In this position, both actor and patient pronominal forms have contracted with the [+participant] prefix \*yo-, and they can not be un-contracted today. This lexicalized contraction is what has created the abundance of pronominal forms, or what Wagner (and subsequent linguists) called the four 'series' of pronominals.

Throughout this work, the pronominal sets are referred to with the 1<sup>st</sup> person singular forms *di-* actor set, *dze-* patient set, *do-* actor + participant set and *dzo-* - *dzyo-* patient + participant set, instead of Wagner's terms Series I, Series II, etc... The reason for this is pedagogical: The 1<sup>st</sup> person pronominal gives learners a more direct correspondence with the set, and the 1<sup>st</sup> person singular is the *only* pronominal form which can tell a learner which set is in operation.<sup>1</sup> The meaning of verbs can help a learner predict which set of pronouns to use, but there are many exceptions to the pattern. So, learners are encouraged to elicit the 1<sup>st</sup> person singular form when working with a speaker. This is also the reason that examples throughout this work are given in the 1<sup>st</sup> person singular form—not to encourage egocentrism, but to encourage accuracy and ease in learning.

Finally, the 3<sup>rd</sup> person pronominal prefixes show complexity due to the noun classes. Since every verb must be cross-referenced with the independent nouns, and since every noun in Euchee has a noun class, the pronominals must agree with the *class* of the noun. The noun classes are seen in the 3<sup>rd</sup> person, when referring to other people, living beings, places, things, or concepts. In addition, the noun class morphemes have variations according to the sex of the speaker. These variations (called honorifics) also affect the form of the pronominal

agreement. With noun class and honorifics, there are eight possible 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular pronominals. The 3<sup>rd</sup> person pronominal agreement is introduced below, but a full description of the noun class system and how it interacts with levels of formality is found in Chapter 6, Section 3.2.

## 2. PERSON, NUMBER, AND GENDER: BUILDING A EUCHEE PARADIGM

Euchee pronouns and pronominal agreement prefixes make distinctions according to person, number, and gender. Person includes 1<sup>st</sup> person, 2<sup>nd</sup> person, and 3<sup>rd</sup> person. 1<sup>st</sup> person refers to the speaker 'I' or 'me.' 2<sup>nd</sup> person refers to the hearer 'you.' 3<sup>rd</sup> person refers to someone who is not present at the time of the conversation, but is someone who is being talked about, 'he/him' or 'she/her.' The 3<sup>rd</sup> person may also refer to a thing 'it.' The 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> persons are participating directly in the conversation or speech act, but the 3<sup>rd</sup> person is not, and so is often called the 'non-speech act participant.' When listing pronouns and verb forms, the 1<sup>st</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup>, and 3<sup>rd</sup> persons are always presented in this order:

### (1) Person

1	di-	'I'
2	tse-	'you'
3	hē-	'he'
	se-	'she'
	hi-	'it'

In addition to person, the pronouns mark for number. In Euchee, the distinction is made between singular (one), such as 'I' and plural (two or more), such as 'we.' When giving verbs and their pronominals, the plural is presented across from the singular.

(2) Singular and Plural

	<u>Singular</u>		<u>Plural</u>	
1	di-	'I'	nō-	'we'
2	tse-	'you'	'ane- ~ 'ā-	'you all'
3	hē-	'he'	hō-	'they'
	se-	'she'		
	hi-	'it'		

The 2<sup>nd</sup> person plural 'ā- is the contracted form of 'ane-. Speakers rarely use the long form.

The 1<sup>st</sup> person plural makes another distinction as well, called the 'inclusive' and the 'exclusive.' The inclusive includes everyone: The speaker and the hearers (including someone else who is just listening), or someone else that the speaker and hearers are talking about (the non-speech act participants). The inclusive is often translated as 'we all.' The exclusive includes the speaker and any non-speech act participants, but excludes the hearer. This can be loosely translated as 'we but not you.' All Euchee verbs make the distinction between inclusive and exclusive 1<sup>st</sup> person.

(3) 1<sup>st</sup> Person Plural: Inclusive and Exclusive

	<u>Singular</u>		<u>Plural</u>		
1	di-	'I'	'ō-	'we all'	(INCL)
			nō-	'we (not you)'	(EXCL)
2	tse-	'you'	'a-	'you all'	
3	hē-	'he'	hō-	'they'	
	se-	'she'			
	hi-	'it'			

In addition, a few verbs make a further distinction called the ‘inclusive dual.’ This form includes only the speaker and one hearer (two people, or dual). It can be translated as ‘you and me.’

To illustrate the inclusive plural, exclusive plural, and inclusive dual, we will use a situation where Maxine, Josephine, and Pat went to Walmart. Later, they are all three sitting around talking, when Maxine says:

(4) Inclusive Plural

Maxine talking to Jo and Pat:

Walmarthe	<u>ō</u> fehe.	[wàlmarthé ’ōnféhe]
Walmart-he	<u>ō</u> -fe-he.	
Walmart-LOC	1PL(INCL)-go-when	
	‘When we (all) went to Walmart...’	

Since Maxine means ‘Josephine, Pat and me,’ the ‘we’ is the 1<sup>st</sup> person inclusive plural.

Another person, Katy, stops by. Katy did not go to Walmart with the others. Maxine wants to tell Katy what they bought, and so she says to Katy:

(5) Exclusive Plural

Josephine and Pat are listening. Maxine says to Katy...

Walmarthe	nek’ajule <u>nō</u> fe jē	[wàlmarthé nek’ajule nōfé jé]
Walmart-he	ne-k’aju-le	<u>nō</u> -fe-jē
Walmart-LOC	1PL-together-STATIVE	1PL(EXCL)-go-PAST
	‘We (but not you) went to Walmart...’	

Since Katy is excluded from the action, the ‘we’ is the 1<sup>st</sup> person exclusive plural.

Continuing our example, the next day Maxine and Josephine go back to Walmart, this time without Pat. Later, Maxine says to Josephine:

(6) Inclusive Dual

Josephine and Maxine together, Maxine says:

Walmarthe ’ōthlahe. [wàlarthé ’çnłáhe]  
Walmart-he ’ō-thla-he.  
Walmart-LOC 1PL(INCL)-go.DUAL-when  
‘When we (you and me) went to Walmart...’

Since ‘we’ means only the two of them (the speaker Maxine, and the hearer Josephine), the ‘we’ is 1<sup>st</sup> person inclusive dual. The inclusive dual is created by the singular verb stem plus the plural inclusive pronominal prefix ‘ō-. Another example of the 1<sup>st</sup> persons, using the verb (*go*)wi ‘to pass’ is given below.

(7) 1<sup>st</sup> Person Inclusive and Exclusive Plural and Inclusive Dual using the verb (*go*)wi ‘pass’

<u>di</u> wi	‘I pass’	
<u>’ō</u> wi	‘we, (you and me) pass’	<b>dual</b> (INCL)
<u>’ō</u> ya	‘we all pass’	(INCL)
<u>nō</u> ya	‘we (not you) pass’	(EXCL)

The dual only occurs with verbs where there is a different stem for the singular and plural (see Chapter 4, Section 1.4 Plural Stem Verbs).

Euchee also makes further distinctions in the 3<sup>rd</sup> person. These are called ‘gender,’ but they do not always refer to the sex of the person being talked about. In Euchee there are four basic genders: Euchee male (EM), Euchee female (EF), and any other living (animate) non-Euchee being, called the non-Euchee (NE), and the inanimate, non-living ‘things’ (INAN). The actual sex (‘he’ or ‘she’ or the English neuter ‘it’ for animals) does not matter for the non-Euchee.

Although Eucheese are distinguished by ‘male’ and ‘female’ in the singular, the plural does not make this distinction. For the Euchee ‘they,’ the sex of the group does not matter. So, ‘they’ can refer to a group of Euchee men, Euchee women, or mixed. The non-Euchee and the inanimate pronominal prefixes do not change in the plural.

(8) 3<sup>rd</sup> Person, Gender

	<u>Singular</u>		<u>Plural</u>		
<b>1</b>	di	'I'	'ō	'we all'	(INCL)
			nō	'we (not you)'	(EXCL)
<b>2</b>	tse	'you'	'ā	'you all'	
<b>3</b>	(EM)	hē-	'he'	hō-	'they' (E)
	(EF)	se-	'she'		
	(NE)	we-	'he/she/it'	we-	'they' (NE)
	(INAN)	hi-	'it'	hi-	'they' (INAN)

The speakers from Polecat and Duck Creek areas use the 3<sup>rd</sup> person Euchee *plural* pronominal *hō-* 'they' for the *singular* Euchee male 'he.' Big Pond Dialect does not do this. And in some verbs, the Polecat and Duck Creek speakers continue to use older singular pronoun *hē-*. This does not appear to be predictable. So, when the Polecat and Duck Creek speakers use the plural form, it is presented after the original *hē-* (now Big Pond) form. If no variation is given, all speakers use the same singular form.

(9) 3<sup>rd</sup> Person Euchee Male variations

	<u>Singular</u>		<u>Plural</u>		
<b>1</b>				(INCL)	
				(EXCL)	
<b>2</b>					
<b>3</b>	(EM)	hē-/hō-	'he'	hō-	'they' (E)
	(EF)	se-	'she'		
	(NE)	we-	'he/she/it'	we-	'they' (NE)
	(INAN)	hi-	'it'	hi-	'they'

The 3<sup>rd</sup> person is even richer. Speakers use different forms of the 3<sup>rd</sup> person Euchee male pronouns depending on the sex of the person that is

speaking. This is called 'men's speech' (*m.s.*) and 'women's speech' (*w.s.*). The women use a different pronoun for 'he' in everyday speech when talking about a Euchee man, but not about a Euchee woman. The difference is maintained in the plural, even though the sex of the group is not an issue.

(10) 3<sup>rd</sup> Person, Men's and Women's Speech

	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>
<b>1</b>		(INCL) (EXCL)
<b>2</b>		
<b>3</b>	(EM) <i>m.s.</i> hē- 'he'	hō- 'they' (E) <i>m.s.</i>
	(EM) <i>w.s.</i> s'e- 'he'	'o- 'they' (E) <i>w.s.</i>
	(EF) se- 'she'	
	(NE) we- 'he/she/it'	we- 'they' (NE)
	(INAN) hi- 'it'	hi- 'they' (INAN)

The forms and choice of the 3<sup>rd</sup> person Euchee prefixes show respect and formality. Forms which show respect are called honorifics. There is an additional pronoun ẽ- which both men and women use to refer to their grandmother, called here the Euchee Female Honorific (EFH). Some families do not use this form, but instead use the 3<sup>rd</sup> person plural Euchee (women's speech) 'o- to show respect for their grandmothers. In addition, *plural* forms can be used to refer to a *singular* person who is older and/or unrelated to the speaker. For example, a man refers to his wife with the plural pronoun hō-, and a woman refers to her husband with the plural pronoun 'o-. In these cases, the Euchee honorifics (EH) are the same as the Euchee plural forms so they are not listed separately.



(11) 3<sup>rd</sup> Person, Honorific Forms

	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>	
<b>1</b>			(INCL) (EXCL)
<b>2</b>			
<b>3</b>	(EM) <i>m.s.</i> hē- 'he'	hō- 'they'	(E) <i>m.s.</i>
	(EM) <i>w.s.</i> s'e- 'he'	'o- 'they'	(E) <i>w.s.</i>
	(EF) se- 'she'		
	(EFH) 'ē- 'she'		
	(NE) we- 'he/she/it'	we- 'they'	(NE)
	(INAN) hi- 'it'	hi- 'they'	(INAN)

The terms 'gender' and 'men's and women's speech' are not always accurate because the forms are used differently in different situations. There are other appropriate uses for the honorific, but these vary according to different families and according to the formality of the context in which they are used. See Chapter 5, Section 3.2 for details into men's and women's speech and the honorific system.

There is one more 3<sup>rd</sup> person pronominal prefix. The form *go-* is an impersonal (IMP) pronominal meaning 'one' or 'person.' It doesn't change form. It is used if the speaker is speaking in broad terms, and not referring to a specific individual and has the same removed or formal overtones as the English 'one.' Thus, it can be used to give instructions that all should hear (see Proverbs), in the construction of the invitational 'Let us...', and to refer to the whole Tribe. And since all verbs must have agreement, the impersonal *go-* can be used as a placeholder until the more specific or appropriate pronominal is used. Because of this function, it is given as the neutral form of a verb when introducing a verb or paradigm, such as (*go*)*shiti* 'to dance.' Wagner uses the term 'infinitive form' for a verb with *go-*. However, this is not an accurate term as there are no infinitive (uninflected, or without agreement) verbs.

The example in (12) gives the complete paradigm for the verb (*go*)*shti* ‘to dance.’ Since an animate object can not dance, the inanimate pronouns are not given.

(12) A Euchee Verb Paradigm: (*go*)*shti* ‘dance’

	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>	
<b>1</b>	<u>dishti</u>	<u>'ōshti</u> <u>nōshti</u>	(INCL) (EXCL)
<b>2</b>	<u>neshti</u>	<u>'āshti</u> ( <u>'ane-</u> )	
<b>3</b>	(EM) <i>m.s.</i> <u>hēshti/hōshti</u> (EM) <i>w.s.</i> <u>s'eshti</u> (EF) <u>seshti</u> (EFH) <u>'ēshti/oshti</u> (NE) <u>weshti</u>	<u>hōshti</u> <u>'oshti</u>  <u>weshti</u>	(E) <i>m.s.</i> (E) <i>w.s.</i>  (NE)

### 3. ONE-PLACE VERBS

Euchee classifies all verbs by their inherent lexical aspect. That is, verbs are divided by whether they are states or they are events. Events include all activities/processes, accomplishments, and achievements (Vendler 1967; Van Valin 1990). The pronominal agreement prefixes for the core participants are determined by the inherent aspect of the verb. There are two sets of prefixes possible for a one-place (intransitive) clause: the actor set and the patient set. The actor set is used for all events. The patient set is used for states. Thus, Euchee has a stative-active Case marking on the pronominal prefixes.<sup>2</sup>

#### 3.1 THE ACTIVE-STATIVE SYSTEM

A verb may require one core participant, called a one-place (intransitive) verb. One-place verbs can be either an *event* (process, accomplishment or

achievement) or a *state*. Other verbs require two participants, called a two-place (transitive) verb. Two-place verbs are always events in Eucree.<sup>3</sup>

- |      |    |                    |           |       |       |
|------|----|--------------------|-----------|-------|-------|
| (13) | a. | I ran.             | one-place | event |       |
|      | b. | I kicked the ball. | two-place | event | event |
|      | c. | I am short.        | one-place | state | state |

For example, in the sentences ‘I ran’ and ‘I kicked the ball,’ the *actor* is ‘I.’ Actors typically initiate an action, perform an action, effect others and the action, or have control over the action and themselves. In the sentence, ‘I kicked the ball’ ‘the ball’ is the *patient*.<sup>4</sup> Patients are typically not instigators, performers, or controllers, but are highly affected by the action.

In the sentence, ‘I am short’ there is no action at all; it is a state of being. The speaker ‘I’ is not an actor because the speaker can not initiate or control being short. Instead, the speaker ‘I’ is a patient, and the pronominal prefix reflects this role. In the sentence ‘I am short,’ the ‘I’ requires the patient pronominal prefix.

This pattern can be seen in 14a). The actor and patient roles in Eucree can be seen in the 1<sup>st</sup> person pronominals in 14b). The actor ‘I’ is *di-* and the patient ‘I’ or ‘me’ is *dze-*.

- |      |    |                           |                 |                       |
|------|----|---------------------------|-----------------|-----------------------|
| (14) | a. | <u>I</u> ran.             |                 | <u>actor</u>          |
|      |    | <u>I</u> kicked the ball. |                 | <u>actor, patient</u> |
|      |    | I am short.               |                 | <u>patient</u>        |
|      | b. | kes’æ <u>di</u> the       | ‘I ran’         | <u>actor</u>          |
|      |    | s’æ <u>hēdzeti</u>        | ‘He kicked me.’ | <u>actor, patient</u> |
|      |    | dzes’i’ē                  | ‘I am short’    | <u>patient</u>        |

Participants can not in normal circumstances instigate or control such actions as dying or sinking or falling. Instead, the participant is highly affected. However, Eucree still marks the sole participants as actors because the verb is an action not a state.

(15) Actors without initiation or control

dich'a	'I drown'
dis'a	'I vomit'
dit'ē	'I cough'
dit'o	'I menstruate'
diwado	'I die'
diwile	'I die'
ki dithla	'I fall down'
s'æ diwi	'I fall down'

Finally, a few verbs may require three participants, a three-place (ditransitive) verb. Like two-place verbs, three-place verbs are events. The third participant is always a *recipient*, someone who receives the patient, or a *beneficiary*, someone who benefits from the action. These are discussed in below in Section 5.

### 3.2 ONE-PLACE VERBS: EVENTS

#### *Di- Actor Set*

One-place verbs can be event verbs referring to an activity, process, or motion. If the verb is an event, the pronominal prefix must be from the actor set. The standard actor set of pronominals is given in (16).

(16) *Di-* Actor Pronominal Set

	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>	
<b>1</b>	di-	'ō- nō-	(INCL) (EXCL)
<b>2</b>	ne-	'ā- ~ 'æ- ('ane-)	
<b>3</b>	(EM) <i>m.s.</i> hē-/hō- (EM) <i>w.s.</i> s'e- (EF) se- (EFH) 'ē- (NE) we-	hō- 'o-  we-	(E) <i>m.s.</i> (E) <i>w.s.</i>  (NE)

The 2<sup>nd</sup> person plural is 'ane-, a combination of the 2<sup>nd</sup> person *ne-* and an apparent plural marker 'a-. However, the *ne-* generally contracts with the plural 'a-, resulting in a nasal /ā-/. (See Chapter 2, Section 4.1 for the rules of /n/ contraction.) In addition, some speakers pronounce the contracted form /ā-/ as /æ-/. Since the contracted forms are standard in everyday speech, they are used as the primary examples throughout.

A representative list of one-place event *di-* verbs follows in (17a). The list in (17b) contains one-place verbs that are allowed to become two-place verbs, as discussed in Section 4.2 below.

(17) One-place event verbs

a.	dishti	'I dance'
	distō	'I swim'
	dit'i	'I urinate'
	ditsha	'I sleep'
	diwē	'I awaken'
	di'ōcha	'I grunt'
	dikhō	'I make noise'
	dihēthu	'I slurp'
	diwējji	'I crawl'
	difafa	'I walk'
	dihæ	'I breathe'
	s'ædici	'I sit down'
	tsahe difa	'I stand up'
	s'ædi'e	'I lie down'
	k'adik'ō	'I work'
b.	diwawa	'I chew'
	dipha	'I chop'
	dithl'o	'I bake'
	diwōhō	'I play'
	dip'ē	'I drink'
	di'wede	'I talk'
	diho	'I plant'
	di'ade	'I hunt'

*Example: Typical di- Actor Verb: (go)k'æ 'to laugh'*

The verb *(go)k'æ* 'laugh' is a typical verb requiring the actor pronominal set. The actors are underlined.

••

(18) *(go)k'æ* 'laugh/be laughing'

<u>d</u> ik'æ	'I laugh'	
<u>n</u> ek'æ	'you laugh'	
<u>h</u> ĕk'æ/hōk'æ	'he laughs'	(men's speech)
<u>s</u> 'ek'æ	'he laughs'	(women's speech)
<u>s</u> ek'æ	'she laughs'	
<u>ĕ</u> k'æ/ <u>o</u> k'æ	'she (my grandmother) laughs'	
<u>w</u> ek'æ	'he/she (non-Euchee) laughs'	
<u>o</u> k'æ	'we all laugh'	(INCLUSIVE)
<u>n</u> ōk'æ	'we (not you) laugh'	(EXCLUSIVE)
<u>ā</u> k'æ/ <u>æ</u> k'æ	'you all laugh'	
<u>h</u> ōk'æ	'they laugh'	(men's speech)
<u>o</u> k'æ	'they laugh'	(women's speech)
<u>w</u> ek'æ	'they (non-Euchee) laugh'	

*Alternate di- Actor Set*

There is an alternative actor pronominal set, which varies from the standard set given in (16) in a several ways. The alternative *di-* actor set is given in (19). Rarely used forms are in parentheses. The differences are highlighted in the example and discussed below.

(19) Alternative *di-* Actor Pronominal Prefix Set

	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>	
<b>1</b>	di-	('ō-)	(INCL)
		nĕ-	(EXCL)
<b>2</b>	ne-	'ā - 'æ- ('ane-)	
<b>3</b>	(EM) <i>m.s.</i> hĕ-	(hĕ-)	(E) <i>m.s.</i>
	(EM) <i>w.s.</i> s'e-	'i-	(E) <i>w.s.</i>
	(EF) se-		
	(EH) <i>w.s.</i> 'o-		
	(EFH) 'ē-		
(NE) we-	we-	(NE)	

In this set, male speakers from all areas (Duck Creek, Polecat, and Big Pond) use *hē-* for the 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular Euche male. In the more widespread *di-* set given in (16), only Big Pond speakers use *hē-*.<sup>5</sup> The 3<sup>rd</sup> person Euche plural generally has one form *ī-* used by both men and women.<sup>6</sup> However, in a very few instances, male speakers do not use *ī-* but use *hē-* for the 3<sup>rd</sup> person Euche plural. Note that when men use a different plural form, it is not *hō-*, which is used by men in all dialects in the standard *di-* actor set. And it should be noted that *ī-* is the women's speech form for the Euche plural noun class clitic. Thus, it is most likely that there were two forms, both *hē-* (men's speech) and *ī-* (women's speech) for the Euche plural at an earlier time, but now they have almost entirely collapsed into the one *ī-* form.

In the standard *di-* actor set, the women's speech Euche plural form *o-* is used as the singular Euche honorific *o-*. However, in this alternative set, the women's honorific form for men and sometimes older women is not the 3<sup>rd</sup> plural *ī-*, but retains the form *o-* for the honorific.

Verbs following this pattern also tend to have only one 1<sup>st</sup> plural form, which is *nē-*. The difference between the inclusive and the exclusive plural does not normally occur. Sometimes an inclusive plural form is distinguished in elicited contexts. When a speaker expresses this difference, the inclusive is the regular *ō-*, but the exclusive remains *nē-*. Notice that the 1<sup>st</sup> person plural of the alternative *di-* actor set is a homophone with the negative preclitic *nē-*. In addition, it should not be confused with the 2<sup>nd</sup> person actor *ne-*.

It is not predictable which verbs require the alternative set given in (19). Only a few verbs use it or variations of it, and many of these are irregular verbs in other ways (see Section 8 below).<sup>7</sup> The verbs that are known to require the alternative *di-* actor set are given in (20).



(20) Some verbs requiring the alternate *di-* actor set

(go)ji	'to go'
(go)thli	'to arrive'
(go)gō	'to come'
(go)nō	'to be/to be located'
hi(go)thlæ	'to think/to find'

3.3 ONE-PLACE VERBS: STATES

When a verb denotes a state, the pronominal prefix must be from the patient set. The patient pronominal set is given in 21).

(21) *dze-* Patient Pronominal Set

	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>	
<b>1</b>	<i>dze-</i>	'ō <i>dze-</i> nō <i>dze-</i>	(INCL) (EXCL)
<b>2</b>	<i>nedze-</i>	'ā <i>dze-</i>	
<b>3</b>	(EM) <i>m.s.</i> hē-/hō- (EM) <i>w.s.</i> s'e- (EF) se- (EFH) 'ē- (EH) 'o- (NE) we-	hō- 'i-/o- we-	(E) <i>m.s.</i> (E) <i>w.s.</i> (NE)

Patients are marked by the morpheme *dze-*. The morpheme *dze-* is the 1<sup>st</sup> singular patient, but the morpheme is also attached to the 1<sup>st</sup> plural and 2<sup>nd</sup> persons actor pronominals to create the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> patient pronominals. The patient marker *dze-* is stressed, so it has the secondary stress on the verb. The 3<sup>rd</sup> persons do not use the patient marker *dze-*, and so 3<sup>rd</sup> patients and 3<sup>rd</sup> actors have no distinguishing role markers. There is one difference in women's speech in the 3<sup>rd</sup> person Euchee plural. Big Pond speakers tend to use 'i- as the patient instead of 'o-. However, this is not a regular difference and not clearly dialectic.

The verbs denoting states are given in the following list:

(22) Verbs of state

dzeti	'I am named/I am called'	
dze'yu	'I am in pain/I hurt/I ache'	
dze'yule	'I regret'	(derived from 'yu)
dzes'ahē	'I get hurt/I get wounded'	
dzes'as'ahē	'I shake'	
dzesh'o	'I am tired, worn out'	
dzeshēshē	'I am ready'	(v.s. 'wait' di-)
dzeshushu	'I shake/I tremble'8	
dzegwa	'I mean'	(v.s. dogwa 'I say something')

In Euchee, adjectives are verbal. They require pronominal agreement prefixes, and they can have tense, aspect, and mode. However, unlike the state verbs in (22) above, adjectives require a verbalizer, either the stative verbalizer *-le* or the active verbalizer *-ē*. There are other differences as well. When used in noun compounds, the verbs in (22) require the nominalizer *-ne*, which the adjectives do not. Because of this, it is convenient and accurate to separate state verbs from adjectives.<sup>9</sup> Also see Chapter 7, Section 2 Adjectives. What is important here is that verbal adjectives denote states. All states, whether inherent or permanent (with the *-le* stative verbalizer) or temporary (with the *-ē* active verbalizer) require the patient pronominal set *dze-*. A list of adjectives (without *-ē* or *-le* for clarity) are given in (23). They are organized by types of states for later discussion, although Euchee makes no distinctions between these categories.

(23) Adjectival States

a. Physical Traits (Inherent: Can change over time, but no control)

dzesapa	'I am thin (build)'
dzehathli	'I am heavy (build)'
dzes'i'ē	'I am little'
dze'æle	'I am big'
dzeshu	'I am slow'
dzes'i'ē	'I am short'
dze'yæ	'I am thin, weak, sickly'
dzedapa'ē	'I am strong'
dzotho	'I am short'

b. Personality (Inherent)

dzesæle	'I am good/nice/ pretty'
dzesh'yæ'ē	'I am bad/mean/ugly'
dzehiki	'I am clever/evil'
dzetsobile	'I am straight/honest/lead a clean life'
dzedē'a	'I am timid/shy'

c. Temporary states

dzespi	'I am wet'
dzetsya	'I am dry'
dzedishā	'I am clean'
dze'ishpi	'I am dirty'
dzedā	'I am cold'
dzeshahi	'I am hot'
dze'naga	'I am rich'
dzedzā	'I am bruised'

*Example: Typical dze- Patient Verb: (go)sh'o 'to be tired, worn out'*

The verb *(go)sh'o* 'be tired or worn out' is a typical verb which requires the patient set. It is given in (24).

(24) (*go*)*sh'o* 'be tired, worn out'

<u>dzesh'o</u>	'I am tired'	
<u>nedzesh'o</u>	'You are tired'	
<u>hēsh'o/hōsh'o</u>	'He is tired'	(men's speech)
<u>s'esh'o</u>	'He is tired'	(women's speech)
<u>sešh'o</u>	'She is tired'	
<u>'ēsh'o</u>	'She (my grandmother) is tired'	
<u>'osh'o</u>	'She/He (older than me) is tired'	
<u>wesh'o</u>	'He/She (non-Euchee) is tired'	
<u>'ōdzesh'o</u>	'We (all of us) are tired'	(INCLUSIVE)
<u>nōdzesh'o</u>	'We (us, not you) are tired'	(EXCLUSIVE)
<u>'ādzesh'o</u>	'You all are tired'	
<u>hōsh'o</u>	'They are tired'	(men's speech)
<u>'ish'o/'osh'o</u>	'They are tired'	(women's speech)
<u>wesh'o</u>	'They (non-Euchee) are tired'	

#### 3.4 A CLOSER LOOK AT ACTORS AND PATIENTS

The choice between a one-place verb taking an actor or a patient is clearly based on the inherent property of the verb: Event verbs require an actor, state verbs require a patient. Yet, in some instances the system does not seem so neat. Some of these choices may not be clear to English speakers. In addition, speakers use a choice of actor or patient to show change of state in a very limited number of cases.

A few stative verbs require the actor pronominal prefixes, as in (25).

(25) 'States' with Actors

a.	dithopatō	'I am dizzy'
	dithyæ'yu	'I am stingy/I am jealous/I love'
	dithaha	'I am scared'
	di'yu'ōda	'I know'
	dityō	'I am angry'
	dit'as'i	'I am angry'
	dik'it'ā	'I am lazy' (GW)
	k'ahidita	'I am pleased' (GW)
	di'yōhō	'I am hungry'
b.	kediwī	'I am lost'
c.	dip'a	'I was born'

To the English speaker, these are all states. But to the Euchee speaker, these may not be exceptions at all. All of the verbs in (25a) are emotional or psychological states. It is well known that neither words nor concepts translate exactly from one language and culture to another. In this case, it appears that Euchee classifies emotional states as activities, whereas English classifies them as states.

Lexicalization, or how the verb stems were formed, can be another explanation. The verbs *thopatō* 'be dizzy' *thyæ'yu* 'be stingy, jealous' and *thaha* 'be scared' have the incorporated body parts *tho* 'head' and *thæ* 'heart.' Body parts are inalienable and must have an inalienable possessive prefix. The inalienable prefixes are the *di-* actor set of pronominal prefixes. (See Chapter 5, Section 3.3, for possessive nouns.) It is quite possible that the incorporated body part brought with it its inalienable, actor prefix. With the exception of *tyō* 'be angry,' all of the verbs in (25a) are two-syllable words and are probably compounds with an incorporated body part.<sup>10</sup> The verb *yōhō* is not transparent, but it too may have an incorporated body part as many of the physical actions do (see Chapter 4, Section 1.2).

The example in (25b) is also a case of lexicalization. Although to 'be lost' requires a patient in many languages (if a person is lost, he has no control and is

affected), in Euchee the verb is literally ‘to pass by,’ and ‘to pass’ is an active verb. Conversely, the emotional state ‘yule ‘to regret’ (found above in (22) is expected to be active in Euchee, but it requires the patient pronominal. This is because it derives from the state verb ‘yu ‘to hurt, ache.’ It is literally ‘to hurt again.’ Thus, when creating new words, the verb stem and the pronominal set appear to form a unit (Mithun 1991: 513-514). This leaves only (25c) ‘be born’ as an exception.

There are several more states that take the actor set of pronominals. These are given in (26). The initial or inherent state with a patient pronominal is given first, with the change of state following.

(26) More states with actors

a.	dzesapa	‘I am thin (build)’
	dzehathli	‘I am heavy (build)
	<u>d</u> idāne	‘I am fat’
	<u>d</u> isaga	‘I am light’
b.	dzeshu	‘I am slow’
	<u>d</u> isafi	‘I am fast’
	dzes’i’ē	‘I am little, thin, short’
	<u>d</u> ikē	‘I am tall’
c.	dzedapa	‘I am strong’
	<u>d</u> idapa	‘I am strong’

A pattern is emerging. Euchee may be interpreting the change of state as an event, although there is very few examples for this.<sup>11</sup> As in (26a) people can not change their build, but their weight can fluctuate. In (26b) ‘slow’ can be an initial state, and with work (control), a person can become fast. Most people start out short, but some grow to be tall. Of course, a person can not control being tall (just as they can not control being short). It may be that in (26b) the salient feature is markedness: Being fast and being tall are extraordinary qualities. In (26c) speakers have a choice of markers.

These are the only instances of this in the language. It should be noted that this notion of change of state does not affect other verbs or categories. For example, other temporary states all require the patient. Also, there is no change of pronominal in sentences such as 'I became old' or 'He got mean.' Neither can there be a change in pronominal when a state interacts with other aspect. As noted above, verbal adjectives require aspect suffixes. The stative verbalizer *-le* denotes an enduring or a permanent state, and the active verbalizer *-ē* denotes the meaning of the present or temporary state. A few adjectives may only take one of these, but most may use either in order to show the appropriate aspect. An example is given in (27).

- |      |    |                                      |   |
|------|----|--------------------------------------|---|
| (27) | a. | dzeshu <u>le</u><br>dzeshu' <u>ē</u> | 'I'm slow' (I'm a slow person, runner...)<br>'I'm slow' (I'm slow today, right now) |
|      | b. | disaf <u>le</u><br>disafi' <u>ē</u>  | 'I'm fast' (I'm a fast person, runner...)<br>'I'm fast' (I did that fast for me)    |

The pronominals do not change with the change in aspect from duration (permanent) state present (temporary) state. This indicates that the system is still based on the distinction between event and state, not the nature of the state (inherent/changeable or permanent/temporary) or the varying abilities of the actor to control or instigate the event.

#### 4. TWO-PLACE VERBS: ACTORS AND PATIENTS

##### 4.1 TWO-PLACE VERBS

Active verbs can be one-place verbs, where the actor initiates an activity or motion, like those described above. Many other active verbs are events which require two participants, both the actor and a patient. The 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person actor pronominal prefixes are the same as the set in (16) above. The patient pronominal prefixes are from the set in (21) above.

A list of two-place (event) verbs follows in (28). These verbs follow the same pattern as the verb (*go*)*nē* ‘see’ and require the *di-* set of actor pronominal prefixes and *dze-* set of patient pronominal prefixes.

(28) Typical events: *di-* actor set

<i>dīhi</i>	‘I carry (something) on the back’
<i>dī'nē</i>	‘I see (something)/I'm looking at (something)’
<i>dishe</i>	‘I hide (something), put (something) away’
<i>dishi</i>	‘I stick (something)’
<i>dithæ</i>	‘I want (something)’
<i>dithe</i>	‘I play/I play (a sport)’
<i>dito</i>	‘I go with (someone)’
<i>diwa</i>	‘I bite into (something), bite (something) off’
<i>dicu</i>	‘I pound (something)’
<i>dī'yagwa</i>	‘I tell (something)’
<i>dī'ya</i>	‘I roast (something)’
<i>dī'yashē</i>	‘I burn (something)’ (JC III-96)
<i>diyaha</i>	‘I dip into (something)’ (JC III-96)
<i>diba</i>	‘I file (something) down’ (JC III-97)
<i>dibadē</i>	‘I twist (something)’ (JC III-97)
<i>dikhatē</i>	‘I lean against to block’

*1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> Person Actors: P-A-V Order*

The basic order of the pronominal prefixes on the verb is Patient-Actor-Verb Stem, or P-A-V. This means that the patient pronominal prefix is the first prefix, and the actor pronominal prefix is inside, closer to the verb stem.

The 3<sup>rd</sup> person pronominals are structurally in a different place from the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person prefixes. They are located before the patient and actor sequence. See Section 5.3 below for discussion about the location of the 3<sup>rd</sup> person. However, this structural difference does not always affect the linear order of the prefixes. So, when a 3<sup>rd</sup> person is the patient, and the actor is a 1<sup>st</sup> or 2<sup>nd</sup> person, the placement of the 3<sup>rd</sup> person outside of the rest is not noticeable. The order of the pronominals is still P-A-V. This is seen in (29) below. The structural order of the prefixes on the verb stem are seen in the box



in example (29). The linear order of the pronominals on the verb stem is given with three examples underneath the structural order. The pronominals are in line with the appropriate pronominal slot on the stem. These three examples are shown again in (29a'-c') with the interlinear translations. Although the 3<sup>rd</sup> person example in (29c) is clearly in the outermost slot, this can not be seen in the word order of (29c').

(29) P-A-V Order

3 <sup>rd</sup> person Patient	1 <sup>st</sup> and 2 <sup>nd</sup> Patient	1 <sup>st</sup> and 2 <sup>nd</sup> Actor		Stem
a. nedze-	di-	'nē		
b. dze-	ne-	'nē		
c. se-	di-	'nē		

- a'. Nedzedi'nē.  
nedze-di-'nē  
2SG.PAT-1SG.ACT-see  
'I see you.'
- b'. Dzene'nē.  
dze-ne-'nē  
1SG.PAT-2SG.ACT-see  
'You see me.'
- c'. Sedi'nē.  
se-di-'nē  
3SG(EF).PAT-1SG.ACT-see  
'I see her.'

When the patient is an inanimate object, the 3<sup>rd</sup> person inanimate patient pronominal prefix *hi-* generally does not appear on the verb. The exception is the required *hi-* verbs explained in Section 4.3 below. Instead, the object can be named, as in (30a), or referred to with a demonstrative pronoun, as in (30b) below. The patient may be left out all together after first reference or when the item is understood by the hearer, as in (30c).

- (30) a. K'as'ætochaci di'nē.  
 k'as'ætocha-ci di-'nē  
 car-CL(SIT) 1SG.ACT-see  
 'I see the car'
- b. Leci di'nē.  
 le-ci di-'nē  
 that-CL(SIT) 1SG.ACT-see  
 'I see it (the car)'
- c. di'nē 'I see/I see it'

*Example: Typical di- actor verb, P-A-V Order: (go)'nē 'to see, look at'*

An example of all the combinations with 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person actors, using the verb *(go)'nē* 'see, look at' is given below. Forms which are not semantically plausible, such as 'We all see us (not you),' are also not provided, neither are forms which require a reflexive pronominal, such as 'I see myself.' Reflexive pronouns are given in Section 6 below. Examples of inanimate 3<sup>rd</sup> person patients are also not given. The actors are underlined.

- (31) 1<sup>st</sup> Singular Actor *di-*
- |                 |                              |                  |
|-----------------|------------------------------|------------------|
| nedzedi'nē      | 'I see you'                  |                  |
| hēdi'nē/hōdi'nē | 'I see him'                  | (men's speech)   |
| s'edi'nē        | 'I see him'                  | (women's speech) |
| sed'i'nē        | 'I see her'                  |                  |
| 'ēdi'nē         | 'I see her (my grandmother). |                  |
| wedi'nē         | 'I see him/her (non-Euchee)' |                  |
| 'ōdzedi'nē      | 'I see us all'               | (INCLUSIVE)      |
| nōdzedi'nē      | 'I see us (but not you)'     | (EXCLUSIVE)      |
| 'ādzedi'nē      | 'I see you all'              |                  |
| hōdi'nē         | 'I see them'                 | (men's speech)   |
| 'odi'nē         | 'I see them'                 | (women's speech) |
| wedi'nē         | 'I see them' (non-Euchee)'   |                  |

- (32) 2<sup>nd</sup> Singular Actor *ne-*
- |                              |                                |                  |
|------------------------------|--------------------------------|------------------|
| <u>dze</u> 'nē               | 'you see me'                   |                  |
| <u>hē</u> 'nē/ <u>hō</u> 'nē | 'you see him'                  | (men's speech)   |
| <u>s'ē</u> 'nē               | 'you see him'                  | (women's speech) |
| <u>se</u> 'nē                | 'you see her'                  |                  |
| ' <u>ē</u> 'nē               | 'you see her (my grandmother)' |                  |
| <u>wē</u> 'ne                | 'you see him/her (non-Euchee)' |                  |
| ' <u>ōdze</u> 'nē            | 'you see us all'               | (INCLUSIVE)      |
| <u>nōdze</u> 'nē             | 'you see us (but not you)'     | (EXCLUSIVE)      |
| <u>hō</u> 'nē                | 'you see them'                 | (men's speech)   |
| ' <u>ō</u> 'nē               | 'you see them'                 | (women's speech) |
| <u>wē</u> 'ne                | 'you see them (non-Euchee)'    |                  |
- (33) 1<sup>st</sup> Plural (Exclusive) Actor *nō-*
- |                              |  |                  |
|------------------------------|--|------------------|
| <u>nedze</u> 'nē             | 'we (not you) see you'                   | (EXCLUSIVE)      |
| <u>hē</u> 'nē/ <u>hō</u> 'nē | 'we (not you) see him'                   | (men's speech)   |
| <u>s'ē</u> 'nē               | 'we (not you) see him'                   | (women's speech) |
| <u>se</u> 'nē                | 'we (not you) see her'                   |                  |
| ' <u>ē</u> 'nē               | 'we (not you) see her (my grandmother).' |                  |
| <u>wē</u> 'nē                | 'we (not you) see him/her (non-Euchee)'  |                  |
| ' <u>ādze</u> 'nē            | 'we (not you) see you all'               |                  |
| <u>hō</u> 'nē                | 'we (not you) see them'                  | (men's speech)   |
| ' <u>ō</u> 'nē               | 'we (not you) see them'                  | (women's speech) |
| <u>wē</u> 'nē                | 'we (not you) see them (non-Euchee)'     |                  |
- (34) 2<sup>nd</sup> Plural Actor *'ā- ~ 'æ-*
- |                                  |                                    |                  |
|----------------------------------|------------------------------------|------------------|
| dze' <u>ā</u> 'nē                | 'you all see me'                   |                  |
| <u>hē</u> 'ā'nē/ <u>hō</u> 'ā'nē | 'you all see him'                  | (men's speech)   |
| <u>s'ē</u> 'ā'nē                 | 'you all see him'                  | (women's speech) |
| <u>se</u> 'ā'nē                  | 'you all see her'                  |                  |
| ' <u>ē</u> 'ā'nē                 | 'you all see her (my grandmother)' |                  |
| <u>wē</u> 'ē'nē                  | 'you all see him/her (non-Euchee)' |                  |
| ' <u>ōdze</u> 'ā'nē              | 'you all see us all'               | (INCLUSIVE)      |
| <u>nōdze</u> 'ā'nē               | 'you all see us (not you)'         | (EXCLUSIVE)      |
| <u>hō</u> 'ā'nē                  | 'you all see them'                 | (men's speech)   |
| ' <u>ō</u> 'ā'nē                 | 'you all see them'                 | (women's speech) |
| <u>wē</u> 'ā'nē                  | 'you all see them (non-Euchee)'    |                  |

### *3<sup>rd</sup> Person Actors: A-P-V Order*

As mentioned above, the 3<sup>rd</sup> person prefixes are outside of the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> prefixes, yet when the 3<sup>rd</sup> person is a patient, the prefix order on the verb is not affected. However, whenever there is a 3<sup>rd</sup> person actor, the linear prefix order shows is affected. Instead of the Patient-Actor order, the 3<sup>rd</sup> actor comes before the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> patient prefixes, creating an Actor-Patient prefix order. The difference in the linear order of the prefixes can be seen by comparing (35a) and (35b) below. The example in (35a) shows a 3<sup>rd</sup> person *patient*; it is the same as (35c) above. The example in (35b) shows the 3<sup>rd</sup> person *actor*. Since there is only one place for the 3<sup>rd</sup> person on the Euchee verb, there can never be two 3<sup>rd</sup> person pronominal prefixes on any verb. When both the actor and the patient are 3<sup>rd</sup> person, it is always the *actor* prefix which is on the verb, as is shown in (35c).

(35) A-P-V Order: 3<sup>rd</sup> Person Actors

3 <sup>rd</sup> Actor and Patient	1 <sup>st</sup> and 2 <sup>nd</sup> Patient	1 <sup>st</sup> and 2 <sup>nd</sup> Actor		Stem
--------------------------------------	--	--	--	------

a. se-	di-	'nē		
b. se-	dze-	'nē		
c. se-		'nē		

a'. Sedi'nē.  
se-di-'nē  
3SG(EF).PAT-1SG.ACT-see  
'I see her'

b'. Sedze'nē.  
se-dze-'nē  
3SG(EF).ACT-1SG.PAT-see  
'She sees me'

c'. Se'nē.  
se-'nē  
3SG(EF).ACT-see  
'She sees him (or her)'

When the actor and the patient are both 3<sup>rd</sup> person, the actor agreement must appear on the verb, and the patient is given as an independent noun phrase. The phrase can be a personal name, as in (36a) below, and independent pronoun, as in (36b), or the noun, as in (36c), among others.

- (36) a. Sonny se'nē.  
 Sonny se-'nē  
 Sonny 3SG(EF).ACT-see  
 'She saw Sonny.'
- b. Hōdi se'nē.  
 hōdi se-'nē  
 3SG(EM) 3SG(EF).ACT-see  
 'She saw him.' (men's speech)
- c. Badole dathla se'nē  
 bado-le dathla se-'ne  
 night-last wolf 3SG(EF).ACT-see  
 'She saw a wolf last night.'

*Example: Typical di- Actor Verb, A-P-V Order: (go)'nē 'to see, look at'*

The example verb *(go)'nē* 'see, look at' is given below with the 3<sup>rd</sup> person actors. The 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular Euchee female *se-* 'she' is used for the actor for these examples because it is neutral to men's and women's speech variations (although the variation shows up again when the patient is male). Any of the 3<sup>rd</sup> persons work the same way. The 3<sup>rd</sup> person plural is also the same pattern, but an example is provided here for clarity. Again, the most neutral form is used, this time the non-Euchee *we-* 'they.' The 3<sup>rd</sup> patients are given in with independent pronouns. The actors are underlined.

(37)	3 <sup>rd</sup> Singular Actor	<i>se-</i> 'she'	
	<u>sedze</u> 'nē	'she sees me'	
	<u>senedze</u> 'nē	'she sees you'	
	<u>hēdi se</u> 'nē	'she sees him'	(men's speech)
	<u>s'edi se</u> 'nē	'she sees him.'	(women's speech)
	<u>sedi se</u> 'nē	'she sees her'	
	<u>'ēdi se</u> 'nē	'she sees her (my grandmother)'	
	<u>wedi se</u> 'nē	'she sees him/her (non-Euchee)'	
	<u>se</u> 'ōdze'nē	'she sees us all'	(INCLUSIVE)
	<u>senōdze</u> 'nē	'she sees us (not you)'	(EXCLUSIVE)
	<u>se</u> 'ādze'nē	'she sees you all'	
	<u>hōde se</u> 'nē	'she sees them'	(men's speech)
	<u>'odi se</u> 'nē	'she sees them'	(women's speech)
	<u>wedi se</u> 'nē	'she sees them (non-Euchee)'	
(38)	3 <sup>rd</sup> Plural Actor	<i>we-</i> 'they (non-Euchee)'	
	<u>wedze</u> 'nē	'they see me'	
	<u>wenedze</u> 'nē	'they see you'	
	<u>hēdi we</u> 'nē	'they see him'	(men's speech)
	<u>s'edi we</u> 'nē	'they see him.'	(women's speech)
	<u>sedi we</u> 'nē	'they see her'	
	<u>'ēdi we</u> 'nē	'they see her (my grandmother)'	
	<u>wedi we</u> 'nē	'they see him/her (non-Euchee)'	
	<u>we</u> 'ōdze'nē	'they see us all'	(INCLUSIVE)
	<u>wenōdze</u> 'nē	'they see us (not you)'	(EXCLUSIVE)
	<u>we</u> 'ādze'nē	'they see you all'	
	<u>hōde we</u> 'nē	'they see them'	(men's speech)
	<u>'odi we</u> 'nē	'they see them'	(women's speech)
	<u>wedi we</u> 'nē	'they see them (non-Euchee)'	

#### 4.2 CHANGING ONE-PLACE VERBS INTO TWO-PLACE VERBS

One place verbs can be made into two-place verbs. This is often accompanied by a slight shift in meaning. The change from one-place to two-place can be seen in the pronominal prefixes. In the examples in (39), the 1<sup>st</sup> person singular actor pronominal *di-* changes to *do-* when a second participant is added, and the 2<sup>nd</sup> person singular actor changes from *ne-* to *yo-*.

(39)	a.	<u>di</u> hæ	'I breathe'	(one-place)
		<u>doh</u> æ	'I smell (something) <sup>12</sup>	(two-place)
	b.	s'æ'e <u>ne</u> pithlo	'You rolled on the ground.'	(one-place)
		sey <u>op</u> ithlo	'You rolled her.'	(two-place)
	c.	k' <u>adi</u> k'ō	'I work'	(one-place)
		k'ala <u>dok</u> 'ō	'I make something'	(two-place)
	d.	<u>di</u> 'a	'I am crying'	(one-place)
		dzodzodiga <u>do</u> 'a'a	'I am crying/whining for candy'	(two-place)
	e.	<u>di</u> tishē	'I lied'	(one-place)
		hē <u>do</u> tishē	'I lied to him'	(two-place)
			'I lied for him'	(two-place)
	f.	sæle <u>di</u> 'wede	'I speak real good'	(one-place)
		<u>di</u> 'wede	'I am talking'	(one-place)
		<u>do</u> 'wede	'I preach (the gospel)'	(two-place)
			'I pray (for something)'	(two-place)
		kehō <u>do</u> 'wede	'I am phoning him'	(two-place)
		'oyo' <u>wed</u> achya	'You hollered/yelled at them'	(two-place)
	g.	<u>di</u> we	'I awaken'	(one-place)
		dowe	'I am dreaming (of something)'	(two-place)

The changes are not just in the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person singular, but are found throughout the actor pronominal prefixes. However, the changed actors are not simply another set of pronominal prefixes. Instead, they are the *di*- set of pronominal prefixes that are contracted with another prefix. This is explained below.

*The Historical [+Participant] Valence Prefix \*yo-*

The pronouns in (39) above differ from those in the *di*- actor set because the actor set has been contracted with another prefix. The pronominal prefixes are contracted with a valence prefix. A valence marker changes the number of



participants, and in this case, it increases the number of participants by one, or [+participant]. The contraction is so old that the pronominal prefixes and the valence prefix are permanently fused together. No speakers today, or since Euchee has been recorded, can *un*-contract these forms. The form of the lost [+participant] valence prefix appears to be \**yo-*, where the asterisk (\*) means that it is an historical form only.

Even though the [+participant] prefix is never found by itself, there is much evidence of its existence. First, the sets in (39) above point to a change in the pronominal form which occurs when a one-place verb becomes to a two-place verb. In Section 5.1 below, the examples (75) show that two-place verbs can be changed to three-place verbs with the same change in pronouns. The pronominal *di-* changes to *do-*, and the *ne-* to *yo-*. Therefore, it can be assumed that the change in pronominal indicates a change in the number of participants (valence). In addition, it can be assumed that the change is not participant specific, signaling only a patient, or a recipient, or a beneficiary. Instead, it happens when any of these participants are added. What is important is that in each case the number of participants increases by one.<sup>13</sup>

More evidence comes from the placement of the changed pronominals. Remember that the 3<sup>rd</sup> person prefixes are always on the outside of the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person prefixes. If the *do-* set is a separate series, then the changed form should 'move' with the 3<sup>rd</sup> person. However, it does not. In the examples in (40) below, the changed prefixes are always the ones closest to the verb stem. They are underlined for clarity.

- (40) a. s'edoshi            'I pity him'  
       b. s'edzoshi        'He pities me'  
       c. s'edi s'yoshi      'He pities him'

This shows that the change is occurring between the stem and the pronominal prefix complex. In fact, this is exactly where a valence prefix should be. Euchee has two other valence markers: The reciprocal prefix *k'a-* and the

accompaniment prefix *k'ā-*. The reciprocal prefix decreases the valence, and the accompaniment prefix increases the valence although the participants are still acting together. See Chapter 4, Section 3 for the description of the reciprocal and accompaniment prefixes. These valence changing prefixes are found between the verb and the pronominal prefix complex, as seen in (41). The sentences (41a-c), correspond to the pronominal prefixes in the sentences in (40a-c) above, repeated below (41a'-c') in for convenience.

(41) Valence Changing Prefixes

3 <sup>rd</sup> Actor/Patient	1 <sup>st</sup> and 2 <sup>nd</sup> Patient	1 <sup>st</sup> and 2 <sup>nd</sup> Actor	+/- Participant (Valence)	Stem
----------------------------------	--	--	------------------------------	------

*k'a-* 'reciprocal'  
*k'ā-* 'accompaniment'  
 \*yo- [+participant]

- |    |             |               |              |
|----|-------------|---------------|--------------|
| a. | <i>s'e-</i> | [ <i>di-</i>  | <i>*yo</i> ] |
| b. | <i>s'e-</i> | [ <i>dze-</i> | <i>*yo</i> ] |
| c. |             | [ <i>s'e-</i> | <i>*yo</i> ] |

- |     |                      |                         |
|-----|----------------------|-------------------------|
| a'. | <i>s'edoshi</i>      | ' <u>I</u> pity him'    |
| b'. | <i>s'edzoshi</i>     | 'He pities <u>me</u> '  |
| c'. | <i>s'edi s'yoshi</i> | ' <u>He</u> pities him' |

This is exactly where the change in the *di-* to *do-* pronominals occurs. In addition, when the accompaniment valence prefix *k'ā-* 'with' is in the valence slot, the actor *di-* does not change to *do-*, even though there are two participants.

(42) Valence prefix *k'ā-*, accompaniment

- |    |                       |                                    |             |
|----|-----------------------|------------------------------------|-------------|
| a. | <i>di'wede</i>        | 'I'm talking'                      | (one-place) |
| b. | <i>kehōdo'wede</i>    | 'I'm talking to him (on the phone) | (two-place) |
| c. | <i>hēdik'ā'wedejē</i> | 'I talked with/to him'             | (two-place) |

Again, this suggests that there is not a separate series, but a specific prefix which contracts with the pronominal prefixes.

Although the [+participant] marker is never found by itself today, it is assumed that at one time it could be and that it had a distinct form and that this form is \*yo. The evidence for the form \*yo- can be teased out by general contraction rules and a specific idiosyncratic contraction in the language. First, contraction is common throughout Euchee. Resonant consonants [w, 'w, n, 'n, y, 'y] and the glottal consonants [h, '] are deleted, affecting the vowel of the preceding syllable. See Chapter 2, Section 3.1 for specifics of the contraction process. It is therefore quite normal to find vowel change, especially backing and lowering such as *di-* to *do-*, as an indicator of contraction.

More specifically, the morpheme 'yu found in compound verb stems contracts with 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> singular actor pronominals. The 'yu- stem verbs are found in Chapter 4, Section 1.2. The contraction of 'yu with the 1<sup>st</sup> person singular changes *di-* to *do-*. Importantly, the 2<sup>nd</sup> person singular contraction with 'yu changes *ne-* to 'yo-. The change of the nasal resonant /n/ to /y/ in the 2<sup>nd</sup> person is highly idiosyncratic. Details on 'yu stem contraction can be found in Chapter 2, Section 3.1. The idiosyncratic result of 'yu stem contraction with the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person singular pronominals is the same as the change 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> singular pronominals due to valence. The two are given below in (43).

- (43) a. 'yu Stem Contraction
- |                          |            |   |     |   |            |
|--------------------------|------------|---|-----|---|------------|
| 1 <sup>st</sup> singular | <i>di-</i> | + | 'yu | = | <i>do-</i> |
| 2 <sup>nd</sup> singular | <i>ne-</i> | + | 'yu | = | 'yo-       |
- b. [+ Participant] Prefix Contraction
- |                          |            |   |           |   |            |
|--------------------------|------------|---|-----------|---|------------|
| 1 <sup>st</sup> singular | <i>di-</i> | + | <i>yo</i> | = | <i>do-</i> |
| 2 <sup>nd</sup> singular | <i>ne-</i> | + | <i>yo</i> | = | <i>yo-</i> |

By analogy with 'yu stem contraction, then, the changes in the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> singular with the [+participant] valence prefix can be accounted for with the form [yo-]. The /y/ is not glottal in the \*yo-, which accounts for the non-glottal yo- 2<sup>nd</sup> person singular. The vowel is assumed to be /o/, as it is consistent throughout all

the changes. The prefix \*yo- does not only contract with the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> actors, but the other actors as well. The changes are almost always regular; they are discussed in detail in Chapter 3 Phonology, Section 3.1.

*Do- Actor [+Participant] Set*

The actor pronominal prefixes that show a change in the number of participants is called the *do-* actor [+participant] set and is given below in (44).

(44) *Do- Set: Actor [+ Participant] Pronominal Prefixes*

	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>	
<b>1</b>	do-	'ō- nō-	(INCL) (EXCL)
<b>2</b>	yo-	'āyo-	
<b>3</b>	(EM) <i>m.s.</i> hō- (EM) <i>w.s.</i> s'yo- (EF) syo- (EFH) 'ēyo- ~ 'ēy- (EH) <i>w.s.</i> (NE) yō-	hō- 'o-  yō-	(E) <i>m.s.</i> (E) <i>w.s.</i>  (NE)

... ..

*Example: Typical do- actor [+participant] set: (go)shi 'pity (someone)'*

The verb *(go)shi 'pity'* provides an example of a *do-* actor [+participant] verb. Forms which are not semantically plausible, such as 'We all pity us (not you)' are not given below, neither are forms which require a reflexive pronoun, such as 'I pity myself.' Actors are underlined.

(45) 1<sup>st</sup> Singular Actor [+ Participant]

nendzedoshi	'I pity you'	
hēdoshi/hōdoshi	'I pity him'	(men's speech)
s'edoshi	'I pity him'	(women's speech)
sedoshi	'I pity her'	
'ēdoshi	'I pity her (my grandmother)'	
wedoshi	'I pity him/her (non-Euchee)'	
'ōdzedoshi	'I pity us all'	(INCLUSIVE)
or		
'ōdi wedoshi	'I pity us all'	
nōdzedoshi	'I pity us (not you)'	(EXCLUSIVE)
or		
nōdi wedoshi	'I pity us all (not you)'	
ādzedoshi	'I pity you all'	
hōdoshi	'I pity them'	(men's speech)
'odoshi	'I pity them'	(women's speech)

As can be seen in (46), the 2<sup>nd</sup> person singular acting on the 1<sup>st</sup> plural inclusive and exclusive has a regular form and an alternative irregular form. The irregular form of 1<sup>st</sup> plural inclusive and exclusive patient is *we*.<sup>14</sup> Speakers always include the 1<sup>st</sup> plural independent pronouns with this form. This keeps the form *weyoshi* 'you pity us' separate from *weyoshi* 'you pity him/her (non-Euchee)', and *weyoshi* 'you pity them (non-Euchee).'

(46) 2<sup>nd</sup> Person Actor [+Participant]

<u>dzeyoshi</u>	'you pity me'	
<u>hōyoshi</u>	'you pity him'	(men's speech)
<u>s'eyoshi</u>	'you pity him'	(women's speech)
<u>seyoshi</u>	'you pity her'	
<u>'eyoshi</u>	'you pity her (my grandmother)'	
<u>weyoshi</u>	'you pity him/her (non-Euchee)'	
<u>nōdzeyoshi</u>	'you pity us (not you)'	(EXCLUSIVE)
or		
<u>nōdi weyoshi</u>	'you pity us (not you)'	(EXCLUSIVE)
<u>hōyoshi</u>	'you pity them'	(men's speech)
<u>'oyoshi</u>	'you pity them'	(women's speech)
<u>weyoshi</u>	'you pity them (non-Euchee)'	

Since the 1<sup>st</sup> person plural forms do not change with the [+participant] prefix, the forms in (47) do not look different from those in (33) above with the verb 'see.'

(47) 1<sup>st</sup> Plural (Exclusive) Actor [+Participant]

<u>nedzenōshi</u>	'we (not you) pity you'	
<u>henōshi/hōnōshi</u>	'we pity him'	(men's speech)
<u>s'enōshi</u>	'we pity him'	(women's speech)
<u>senōshi</u>	'we pity her'	
<u>'enōshi</u>	'we pity her (my grandmother)'	
<u>wenōshi</u>	'we pity him/her (non-Euchee)'	
<u>'āddenōshi</u>	'we pity you all'	
<u>hōnōshi</u>	'we pity them'	(men's speech)
<u>'onōshi</u>	'we pity them'	(women's speech)
<u>wenōshi</u>	'we pity them (non-Euchee)'	

Like the 2<sup>nd</sup> singular above, the 2<sup>nd</sup> plural acting on the 1<sup>st</sup> plural exclusive has an irregular 1st plural exclusive form *we-*.

(48) 2<sup>nd</sup> Person Plural Actor [+Participant]

dze'ayoshi	'you all pity me'	
hē'ayoshi/hō'ayoshi	'you all pity him'	(men's speech)
s'e'ayoshi	'you all pity him'	(women's speech)
se'ayoshi	'you all pity her'	
ē'ayoshi	'you all pity her (my grandmother)'	
we'ayoshi	'you all pity him/her (non-Euchee)'	
nōdze'ayoshi	'you pity us (not you)'	(EXCLUSIVE)
or		
nōdi we'ayoshi	'you pity us (not you)'	(EXCLUSIVE)
hō'ayoshi	'you all pity them'	(men's speech)
o'ayoshi	'you all pity them'	(women's speech)
we'ayoshi	'you all pity them (non-Euchee)'	

The 3<sup>rd</sup> person patients are given with the animate demonstrative pronouns in (49) and (50) below.

(49) 3<sup>rd</sup> Singular (Euchee Female) Actor [+Participant]

sedzyoshi	'she pities me'	
senedzyoshi	'she pities you'	
lenō syoshi	'she pities him'	(men's speech)
les'enō syoshi	'she pities him'	(women's speech)
lesenō syoshi	'she pities her'	
le'ēno syoshi	'she pities her (my grandmother)'	
lewenō syoshi	'she pities him/her (non-Euchee)'	
se'ōdzyoshi	'she pities us all'	(INCLUSIVE)
senōdzyoshi	'she pities us (not you)'	(EXCLUSIVE)
se'ādzyoshi	'she pities you all'	
lehēnō syoshi	'she pities them'	(men's speech)
le'inō syoshi	'she pities them'	(women's speech)
lewenō syoshi	'she pities them (non-Euchee)'	

(50) 3<sup>rd</sup> Plural (Non-Euchee) Actor Pronominal

<u>w</u> edzyoshi	'they pity me'	
<u>w</u> enendzyoshi	'they pity you'	
lénō <u>y</u> ōshi	'they pity him'	(men's speech)
les'enō <u>y</u> ōshi	'they pity him'	(women's speech)
lesenō <u>y</u> ōshi	'they pity her'	
le'ēnō <u>y</u> ōshi	'they pity her (my grandmother)'	
lewénō <u>y</u> ōshi	'they pity him/her (non-Euchee)'	
<u>w</u> e'ōdzyoshi	'they pity us all'	(INCLUSIVE)
<u>w</u> enōdzyoshi	'they pity us (not you)'	(EXCLUSIVE)
<u>w</u> e'ādzyoshi	'they pity you all'	
lehénō <u>y</u> ōshi	'they pity them'	(men's speech)
le'inō <u>y</u> ōshi	'they pity them'	(women's speech)

*D=yo- Set: Patient [+Participant] of Two-Place Verbs*

As can be seen above, when the actor is a 3<sup>rd</sup> person, the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> patient is closer to the verb stem. These patients also contract with the [+participant] prefix. This has created a fused patient [+participant] set of pronominal prefixes as well. The patient [+participant] set that is used with patients of two-place *do-* verbs is given in (51).



(51) *Dzyo-* Set: Patient [+Participant] of Two-Place Verbs

	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>	
<b>1</b>	<i>dzyo-</i>	<i>'odzyō-</i> <i>nōdzyo-</i>	(INCL) (EXCL)
<b>2</b>	<i>nēdzyo-</i>	<i>'ādzyo-</i>	
<b>3</b>	(EM) <i>m.s.</i> (EM) <i>w.s.</i> (EF) (EFH) (EH) <i>w.s.</i> (NE)		(E) <i>m.s.</i> (E) <i>w.s.</i>    (NE)

There is no 3<sup>rd</sup> person of this set because of the 3<sup>rd</sup> person placement. No 3<sup>rd</sup> person patient is ever next to the valence prefixes. The 3<sup>rd</sup> person patient of a 1<sup>st</sup> or 2<sup>nd</sup> actor comes before the actors (basic prefix order), as in 35) above, and the 3<sup>rd</sup> patient of a 3<sup>rd</sup> actor is always a noun phrase.

*Other appearances of dzyo-*

The forms found in the *dzyo-* patient [+participant] are created in other contraction contexts. For example, in (52) below the contracted form given in the first line is *dzyo-*. However, this is not the patient [+participant] pronominal. The verb (*go*)*'yush'ē* is a *'yu* stem verb, which means the 2<sup>nd</sup> person actor *ne-* contracts obligatorily with the stem *'yu*. This creates the 2<sup>nd</sup> person pronominal prefix form *'yo-*, as can be seen in the second line of (52). The 2<sup>nd</sup> person actor *'yo-* then contracts with the 1<sup>st</sup> person patient *dze-*, creating *dzyo-* 'you-me'.

- (52) Di'le dziosh'ē fa? [di 'léndzioš'ě fa]  
 di 'le dze-'yo-sh'ē fa  
 1SG Q 1SG.PAT-2SG.ACT/PLUS+'YU-wait STAND  
 'Are you waiting for me?'

Contraction with the 'yu stem can create other confusing forms. The example (53) below may lead people to believe that the 3<sup>rd</sup> person has a *patient* [+participant], but it is an palatalized pronunciation of the actor *di-* contracted with the 'yu stem.

- (53) Hōdyogwa jē. [hōdyogwá jɛ]  
 hō-do-'yugwa jē  
 3SG(EM).ACT-1SG.PAT/PLUS-tell PAST  
 'He told (it to) me'

Palatalization with \*yo- is the potential source of the difference between the *dzyo-* patients and the *dzo-* patients given below.

*Dzo- Set: Patient [+Participant] of One-Place Verbs and Three-Place Verbs*

There is another set of patient pronominal prefixes which is fused with the [+participant] prefix. It is the set used for patient participant of a one-place (stative) verb. It is also used for the third participant of three-place verbs. Three-place verbs are discussed in Section 5 below. The *dzo-* set of patient [+participant] is given in (54) below.

(54) *Dzo-* Set: Patient [+Participant]

	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>	
<b>1</b>	dzo-	'odzō- nōdzo-	(INCL) (EXCL)
<b>2</b>	tso- ~ so- <sup>15</sup>	'aso-	
<b>3</b>	(EM) <i>m.s.</i> hō-	hō-	(E) <i>m.s.</i>
	(EM) <i>w.s.</i> s'yo-	'o-	(E) <i>w.s.</i>
	(EF) syo-		
	(EFH) 'ēyo- ~ 'ēy-		
	(NE) yō-	yō-	(NE)

Usually stative verbs can not have a second participant. The presence of a second participant would signal a change from state to action, just as it changes the nature of an active verb from an activity to an event. One verb exemplifies this ability, due to the process of lexicalization. The verb *(go)nō* 'to be with, have' requires the *dzo-* patient [+participant] set. The verb is derived from the stative verb *(go)nō* 'be located' and thus retains its patient marking when the second participant 'be located with (something)' is added. However, the other verbs in the list in 55) are not as clear, and there remains the possibility that the patient prefix *dze-* has fused with a morpheme in the verb stem.

(55) One-place verbs which require the patient [+participant] *dzo-* set.

dzonō	'I am with, I have'
dzogæle	'I am healed
dzotho	'I am short'
dzoju	'I am burned'

*Example: Typical dzo- Patient [+Participant], Stative Verb: (go)nō 'to be with, have'*

The verb *(go)nō* 'be with, have' is given here as an example of a *dzo-* verb. The verb can be used in possessive sentences (see Chapter [ ] Section [ ])

and in idiomatic expressions such as the one given in (56a). The different forms are given in (56b).

- (56) a. K'ala sæle dzonō.  
 k'ala sæ-le dzo-nō  
 thing good-really 1SG.PAT/PLUS-be.with  
 'Things are really good with me.'  
 = 'I'm feeling fine/I'm doing good.'
- b. dzonō 'I have'  
sonō 'you have'  
honō 'he has' (men's speech)  
s'yonō 'he has' (women's speech)  
syonō 'she has'  
yonō 'he/she (non-Euchee) has'
- 'ōdzonō 'we all have' (INCLUSIVE)  
nōdzonō 'we (not you) have' (EXCLUSIVE)  
'asonō 'you all have'  
honō 'they have' (men's speech)  
'onō 'they have' (women's speech)  
yonō 'they (non-Euchee) have'

#### 4.3 DISCUSSION OF 3<sup>RD</sup> PERSON: ANIMACY AND PLACEMENT

The sections above describe the placement of the 3<sup>rd</sup> person pronominal prefixes without substantiating the assumptions behind the description.

This section explains the reason for the placement of the 3<sup>rd</sup> person. To begin this discussion, it is first necessary to introduce the peculiarities of the 3<sup>rd</sup> person inanimate prefix.

##### *Inanimate 3<sup>rd</sup> Person*

Typical actors initiate or control an action or event. Typical actors are therefore animate. In Euchee, the distinction between animate and inanimate is based on self-volition, or the ability to initiate action. So, for example, a tree is

alive but because it can not move by itself, it is considered inanimate in Euchee. (See Chapter 6, Section 3.2, for discussion of the animate and inanimate classes in Euchee.) Since inanimate objects can not initiate or control action, they can not be actors. Euchee has no inanimate actor pronominal and resists sentences in which a 3<sup>rd</sup> inanimate would be the actor.

A 3<sup>rd</sup> inanimate can function as an actor in limited situations. The causer in (57a) below is ‘salt meat.’ Apparently the cause and effect is very tenuous (note the possibility mode *-gō*), or the effect takes place so slowly as to ‘become a state’ that the inanimte is possible. In both (57b) sentences, the actor is the wind. The wind is seen as able to have self-volition, and therefore participates in active sentences even though the wind does not require animate non-Euchee verbal agreement.<sup>16</sup> Since there is no 3<sup>rd</sup> inanimate pronominal, the verbs do not have agreement.

- 57) a. Wedzadapiha hōdāne thlategō.  
 wedza-japi-ha hō-dāne thla te-gō  
 pig-salt-CL/PL(INAN) 3SG(EM).PAT-fat make ABLE-PROB  
 ‘The salt meat will probably make him fat.’
- b. Sene wetsole hoda’ē tede s’æwi jēfa.  
 sene we-tsole hoda-’ē tede s’æ-wi jē-fa  
 bird 3SG(NE).POSS-house wind-ACTIVE MUST down-pass PAST-PERF  
 ‘The wind blew over the bird house.’
- c. Hoda daba ‘yuhe ‘yufa thede jē.  
 hoda daba ‘yuhe ‘yufa thede jē  
 wind strong house there hit PAST  
 ‘The tornado hit the house over there.’

In addition, inanimates may ‘fall’ and ‘sink’ in limited circumstances. Both ‘fall’ and ‘sink’ (literally, ‘to go under water’) are active verbs and require actors. The act of falling and sinking in normal circumstances have no initiation or control, so in these cases, an inanimate can be interpreted in actor position. However, speakers prefer to give some causer or context before the inanimate

falls or sinks; sentences without the stated animate causer are deemed awkward or unfinished. The example in (58a) comes from a tale by Ida Clinton (Riley). An evil cannibal turns his dog into a stone in order to catch a girl. The stone, although endowed with animate qualities, is still grammatically and inanimate thing. Before it begins its path, the cannibal causes it to roll. In (58b), the speaker caused his glass of tea to drop.<sup>17</sup> In (58c), the speaker was talking of a wartime experience in which a ship was bombed. The translation of the 'ship' sinking is ambiguous with the enemy (non-Eucheas) sinking. The 3<sup>rd</sup> person animate (non-Euchee) is *we-thla*, and the inanimate is *wethla* (see Chapter 5, Section 2.5 for a full description of 'go' verbs).

- (58) a. Ke 'yōbithli kesta wethla s'æ wi.  
ke 'yō-bithli ke-sta wethla s'æ wi  
DIR 3SG(NE).ACT-roll DIR-direction go down pass  
'He rolled (it) [the stone] that way (and) (it) went (and) fell.'  
(GW 1930: 226)
- b. S'æ dit'āwē s'æ wi.  
s'æ di-t'āwē s'æ wi  
down 1sg.act-drop down pass  
'I dropped (it) [a drinking glass] (and) it fell.'
- c. Tsepho wethla.  
tse-pho wethla  
water-under 3PL.ACT.go  
'It (the ship) sank.' [after it was bombed]  
or, 'The non-Eucheas sank.'

In special circumstances, then, the 3<sup>rd</sup> inanimate can participate as the actor. However, there is no 3<sup>rd</sup> person inanimate *actor* pronominal prefix. This indicates that both the meaning and the verb with no agreement are marked constructions.

In many cases, the 3<sup>rd</sup> inanimate pronominal does not appear on a one-place verb, even when the verb denotes a state and requires a patient.

- (59) a. 'Iste'ē tsobile.  
           'iste'ē   tsobile  
           road     straight  
           'The road is straight'
- b. Hē'ōki'e shē jēfa.  
     hē-'ōki-'e                   shē     jē-fa  
     3SG(EM).POSS-arm-CL(LiE) bad     PAST-PERF  
     'His arm is broken.'
- c. K'alafæ hile 'yush'o.  
     k'alafæ   hile   'yush'o  
     flower   all     wither  
     'The flowers have all withered.'
- d. Wetho fi'ē.  
     we-tho                       fi-'ē  
     3SG(NE).POSS-head   shine-ACTIVE  
     'His head (non-Euchee) is shiny/He is bald.'

Because of examples like these, and there is not an *actor* 3<sup>rd</sup> person inanimate, it has been said that Euchee does not have a 3<sup>rd</sup> person inanimate pronominal (Rankin 1997). However, there is a 3<sup>rd</sup> person inanimate *patient* prefix. This prefix is *hi-* and like the other pronominals has a fused form *ho-* patient [+participant].

The 3<sup>rd</sup> person inanimate prefix appears in location sentences, as can be seen in (60a-c).

- (60) a. Ta hihane. [dahihqni] (BPD)  
 ta hi-hā-ne  
 on 3SG(INAN).PAT-PL.be.located-HAB  
 'They (the pencils) are always on there (the table).'
- b. Tsēci 'yash'a hihā. [tsēci 'yash'a hihq]  
 tsē-ci 'yash'a hi-hā  
 water-CL(SIT) leaf 3PL(INAN).PAT-PL.be.located.EMPH  
 'The pond has leaves on it.'
- c. 'yōspa hihāhe  
 'yōspa hi-hā-he  
 pecan 3PL(INANIM).PAT-be.located-SUB  
 '...where the pecans are...' (GW 1934: 340)

In addition to location, they can appear on adjectives. They are regularly dropped off of adjectives that are primarily used to describe human conditions, but are found on adjectives which tend to be or are restricted to inanimate conditions. A list of these is found below in (61), organized by *hi-* and *ho-*. The list in (61c) includes probable *hi-* or *ho-* prefixes which have fused with the stem.

(61) Adjectives which have 3<sup>rd</sup> inanimate prefixes

a. hithli	'it is smooth, slippery'
hishahi	'it is hot (weather)'
hish'o	'it is withered'
hish'igē	'it is deep (a hole)'
hista	'it is shallow'
hibo	'it is bent'
hidzæ	'it is blue. it is bruised/blue'
hi'opa	'it is empty' (contracts to <i>hopa</i> )
hithe'ē	'it is last'
hikhi	'it is strange/it is evil'



b. hothole	'it is short'	
hogæle	'it is healed'	
hoju	'it is burned'	
hoda	'it is windy/wind'	(contracted <i>howeta</i> )
hohæ	'it is empty'	
howæ	'it is left over'	
hothole	'it is deep (water)'	
hoju	'it is burned'	
hoshu	'it is tied'	
holæfæ	'it is burst open/it is bloomed'	
hop'ale	'it is cloudy'	
c. hathli	'it is heavy'	
hæp'æ/hapha'æ/hopha'æ	'it is wide'	
hap'æs'i	'it is narrow'	

Ballard (1978: 180-181) states that these are 'absolute' forms, or ones in which the prefix is permanently attached to the stem. However, some of the adjectives can refer to humans, and when they do, the *hi-* or *ho-* is not part of them stem. Instead the appropriate animate patient is prefixed to the stem without *hi-* or *ho-*.

- (62) a. K'ōdi hoju jē.  
 K'ōdi ho-ju jē  
 meat 3SG.PAT/PLUS-burn PAST  
 'The meat is burned.'  
dzoju 'I am burned!'
- b. Se'ōthæ hidza'ē.  
 se-'ōthæ hi-dza-'ē  
 3SG(EF).POSS-hand 3SG(INAN).PAT-blue-ACTIVE  
 'Her hand is bruised.'  
dzedzā 'I'm bruised.'



### *Hi- Verbs: Required Inanimate Patient hi- 'it'*

A large set of verbs require the inanimate 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular patient prefix *hi-* 'it.' It is required with some, but not all, two-place (transitive) verbs. The prefix *hi-* is required with the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person singular actor when the patient is inanimate, or when the patient is animate but remains unspecified. The verbs which require *hi-* act normally in respect to pronominals. What is different about these verbs is that the inanimate patient pronominal is overt; in all other two-place verbs, the inanimate patient pronominals are dropped off. Since it is the first pronominal in the string, the required inanimate patient *hi-* receives secondary stress for the verb, but is often emphasized and quite prominent.

Wagner (1934: 357-58) analyzed the required object *hi-* as an instrumental prefix of very 'general character.' However, the analysis given here that the *hi-* prefix is the inanimate 3<sup>rd</sup> person pronoun is much more regular.<sup>18</sup> Wagner also stated that the infinite form of these verbs require an irregular prefix *ke-* instead of *go-*. An irregular infinitive form can not be duplicated today, although speakers give the simple form without any pronoun. The pronominal *ke-*, however, is an irregular pronominal form of the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person plural with *hi-* verbs.

The patient *hi-* only appears with the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person singular because Euchee verbs do not allow two 3<sup>rd</sup> person pronominals. Actor 3<sup>rd</sup> persons get marked over patient 3<sup>rd</sup> persons, so the 3<sup>rd</sup> person patient *hi-* can not appear on the verb when the actor is in the 3<sup>rd</sup> person. The 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person plural forms take an irregular pronominal *ke-* in place of *hi-* + 'ō- 1<sup>st</sup> plural inclusive, *hi-* + *nō-* 1<sup>st</sup> plural exclusive, and *hi-* + 'ā- 2<sup>nd</sup> person plural. In addition, required *hi-* verbs with 'yu in the stem, do not undergo this irregularity in the plural. Instead, the *hi-* can not, and the pronouns are regular. The irregularity of the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> plural persons is presently unaccounted for. A paradigm of a required patient *hi-* verb *hisha* 'to steal' follows is in (63), and a *hi-* verb with 'yu in the stem, as in (63).

(63) Example *hi-* Verb: *hi(go)sha* 'to steal (something)'

	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>	
<b>1</b>	hidisha kesha	kesha (EXCL)	(INCL)
<b>2</b>	hinesha	kesha	
<b>3</b>	(EM) <i>m.s.</i> hēsha/hōsha (EM) <i>w.s.</i> s'esha (EF) sesha (NE) wesha	hōsha 'osha wesha	(E) <i>m.s.</i> (E) <i>w.s.</i> (NE)

(64) Example *hi-* verb with contracted 'yu stem: *hi(go)'yu'neshē* 'to expect (something)'

	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>	
<b>1</b>	hido'neshe	'yu'neshēshē 'yu'neshēshē	(INCL) (EXCL)
<b>2</b>	hi'yo'neshe	'yu'neshēshē	
<b>3</b>	(EM) <i>m.s.</i> hē-/hō'yū'neshēshē (EM) <i>w.s.</i> s'e'yū'neshēshē (EF) se'yū'neshēshē (NE) we'yū'neshēshē	hō'yū'neshēshē 'o'yū'neshēshē we'yū'neshēshe	(E) <i>m.s.</i> (E) <i>w.s.</i> (NE)

When the inanimate patient is clarified in context, the *hi-* pronominal agreement marker remains on the verb. This can be seen in the elicited pair in (65a). The naturally occurring example in (65b) shows the 3<sup>rd</sup> person *hi-* as the only reference to 'it.'

- (65) a. Di hidok'ō. 'I use (something)'  
 Di 'yōthl'i hidok'ō. 'I use a knife.'
- b. Wikæ hisha? [wigæ hishó]  
 wikæ hi-sha  
 what 3SG(INAN).PAT-2SG.ACT.do  
 'What did you do with it?' (hi- verb)

This follows animate agreement patterns elsewhere in the language, although only the required *hi-* verbs retain their inanimate agreement.

When the named patient is animate, the inanimate *hi-* is replaced on the verb by the specific animate 3<sup>rd</sup> person referent. In this sense, the inanimate *hi-* acts as a place holder or generalized referent until the patient is specified. Again, this is normal agreement.

- (66) a. di hido'nēshē 'I depend on (someone/something).'  
 tse nēdzedo'nēshē 'I depend on you.'  
 'as'enō s'edo'nēshē 'I depend on him.'
- b. di hidosti 'I deceive (someone).'  
 'as'enō s'edosti jē 'I deceived him.' (women's speech)  
 di s'edze'yusti jē 'He deceived me.' (women's speech)

The following is a list of verbs which require the inanimate object *hi-*. In (67a) they are given in the 1<sup>st</sup> person so that the appropriate pronominal series can be seen. In (67b), all the verbs are *'yu* stem verbs, which means they are *di-* series verbs which contract in the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person with the stem *'yu*. See Chapter 4, Section 1.

(67) Required *hi-* Verbs

a. di hidibadāē	'I lock'	
di hidiche	'I lean against'	
di hidifā	'I pound corn'	
di hidipa	'I put on paint'	
di hidis'a'o	'I hiccup'	
di hidik'æ	'I laugh at it'	
di hidisha	'I steal (something)'	
di hidityō	'I help'	
di hi'opathla	'fill, put into, fill it up/it is full'	
di hididz'ō	'transplant'	(irregular verb)
di hidzæ	'find, think'	(irregular verb)

b. *'yu* stem verbs that require *hi-*

higo'yufōle	'to stop, cut off'
higo'yustēsté	'to sprinkle'
higo'yuta'a	'to depend on'
higo'yuthl'ēji	'to drive'
higo'yuthlo	'to singe'
higo'yun'e	'to measure'
higo'yú'neshē	'to expect'
higo'yú'ōda'ē	'to know'
higo'yú'ōdale	'to know again, remember, recognize'
higo'yúha	'to watch'
higo'yúha	'to waylay'
higo'yúpē	'to mend, patch, put over'
higo'yúse/higo'yúfē	'to rule'
higo'yústa	'to spread out'
higo'yústi	'to deceive, fake'
higo'yútwa	'to shout'

In summary, contrary to Wagner's analysis, *hi-* is not an instrumental prefix. Instead, *hi-* is the 3<sup>rd</sup> person inanimate patient pronominal prefix in Euclee. Importantly, the 3<sup>rd</sup> person inanimate pronominal is in the same place as the other 3<sup>rd</sup> person pronominal prefixes, that is, outside of the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person pronominal prefixes.

*Extending the argument to ho-*

By extension, then, the inanimate 3<sup>rd</sup> person *ho-* patient [+participat] pronominal prefix should be in the same place as *hi-*. In fact, the inanimate 3<sup>rd</sup> person patient *ho-* makes its appearance in much the same way as *hi-*. In order to contract with \**yo-* the 3<sup>rd</sup> patient pronominal *hi-* must be in a context where there is no 1<sup>st</sup> or 2<sup>nd</sup> person in between it and the stem. This happens in the simple (or base) forms of verbs. The simple forms are given in elicitation, such as when speakers are asked, ‘How do you say ‘to smell?’ If the requested verb is a two-place verb, and one that always requires the [+participant] prefix, then the 3<sup>rd</sup> inanimate prefix *ho-* is given with the verb stem. This parallels the use of *hi-* in the required *hi-* verbs described above. The 3<sup>rd</sup> inanimate *ho-* is preferred over the impersonal 3<sup>rd</sup> person *go-* for the simple forms given in (68).

- (68) a. ke hop’a                      ‘go see about him’  
          ke hēdop’a                  ‘I’m going to see about him.’
- b. hohæ                        ‘smell’  
          k’athl’odapisæ dohæ      ‘I smell the cake.’

The 3<sup>rd</sup> person patient *ho-* is also found in commands, which do not require the 2<sup>nd</sup> person actor to be stated.





prefixes, one would expect the 3<sup>rd</sup> person to have the patient marker *dze-*, which it does not. Therefore, it can be assumed that the 3<sup>rd</sup> person patient is where it can not get the patient role marking.<sup>19</sup>

There is still some question as to whether there are one or two 3<sup>rd</sup> person positions (one position for the 3<sup>rd</sup> Actor and one for the 3<sup>rd</sup> Patient).<sup>20</sup> Since there can only be one 3<sup>rd</sup> person pronominal on the verb at one time, one position is descriptively accurate. This fact can not be easily explained with two positions.

### *Gender and Animacy*

Nicklas (1994a) gives an historical explanation for the 3<sup>rd</sup> person pronominal prefixes being on the outer layer of the pronominal complex. He states that they are 'relatively new based on their position.' There is reason to believe that this can not explain the placement of the 3<sup>rd</sup> person. Irregular verb forms are generally considered to be relics of older forms in a language, and as such they are often used in the recreation of historical forms. The irregular pronominals in Euchee are given in Section 8 below, and the irregular stems in Chapter 4, Section 1.4. The irregular pronominal prefixes and the related irregular stems give an indication of the 3<sup>rd</sup> person prefix placement through time. The irregularity in both sets is due to the pronominal prefixes having fused with the stem. This irregularity is only found in the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> singular forms. If the 3<sup>rd</sup> person had been with the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person actor and patient agreement, it is reasonable to assume that they would have contracted and eventually fused, too. The fact that they did not indicates that the 3<sup>rd</sup> person has been outside of the other agreement for a long time, or at least as long as the irregular verbs.

Another explanation for the placement of the 3<sup>rd</sup> person pronominal prefixes can be due to animacy requirements in the language. As shown above, Euchee has a stative-active system of pronominal agreement. This differs from a nominative-accusative system, where the roles (subject and object) are marked

by their structural position. However, in a stative-active system, the roles are determined by the inherent aspect of the verb. What is crucial here is that the all active verbs--by far the majority of verbal expression in the language--require an actor, and the prototypical actor must be able to initiate or control an action. In other words, the actor must be animate. Animacy seems to be a motivating feature in Eucree. For example, the actor pronominal prefix is closest to the verb stem,<sup>21</sup> and it is the role that is required on the verb when both the actor and the patient are 3<sup>rd</sup> person. In addition, the inanimate 3<sup>rd</sup> person is not able to initiate action and is thus barred from participating as an actor.

1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> persons are clearly animate, immediate, and able to be actors. The 3<sup>rd</sup> persons are not necessarily animate, are removed from the discourse, and therefore are not clearly actors.<sup>22</sup> However, the 3<sup>rd</sup> person can be made animate through noun class (gender). Gender is a mechanism for making sure that the 3<sup>rd</sup> person is, in fact, a person or at least animate with *we-* 'animate, non-Eucree.' The placement of the 3<sup>rd</sup> person furthest from the verb stem appears to be a unique result of the animacy hierarchy.<sup>23</sup>

#### 4.4 DISCUSSION ON VALENCE AND TRANSITIVITY

Some two place verbs require the *do-* actor [+participant] even though they show no change in valence today. The verbs in (70a) do not have an alternate one-place activity reading which would require the *di-* actor set. It should be noted that the list excludes any *yu* stem verbs, whose contraction with the 1<sup>st</sup> singular pronominal prefix is also *do-*. The set in (70b) includes the *do-* verbs, which can be activity verbs. That is, they can occur without a patient (for example, in response to the question, 'What are you doing?'). Even so, they always occur with the *do-* actor [+participant] pronominal prefixes, not the expected *di-* actor set.

(70) Verbs which always require *do-* Actor [+Participant]

a. doch'wæ	'I hear (something)'
docwē	'I touch, rub up against (something)'
dofō	'I cut (something) off/I stop a flow'
do'naga	'I believe (something)'
dolaha	'I devour (something)'
dop'a	'I look for (something)/I look at (something)'
dop'ē	'I squeeze, grip (something)'
doshi	'I pity (someone)'
doshtō	'I close (something)'
dostæ	'I break off (something)/I harvest'
dostā	'I close (something)'
dothlæ	'I have fear, am afraid (of something)'
ke dotha	'I open (something)'
b. dot'æle	'I quit (something)'
dodi	'I wash (something)'
dothl'a	'I dig (for something)'
doka	'I rest/I rest (a body part)'

The difference between the *di-* actor set and the *do-* actor set has escaped previous analysis primarily because of the list in (70) above.<sup>24</sup> Especially when the verbs in (70) are compared to two-place verbs requiring *di-*, the difference is not immediately clear. The list of *di-* two place verbs from (28) above is repeated below in (71) for aid in this discussion.

(71)	Typical events: <i>di-</i> actor set (repeated from (28) above)
	dihi 'I carry (something) on the back'
	di'nē 'I see (something)/I'm looking at (something)'
	dishe 'I hide (something), put (something) away'
	dishi 'I stick (something)'
	dithæ 'I want (something)'
	dithe 'I play/I play (a sport)'
	dito 'I go with (someone)'
	diwa 'I bite into (something), bite (something) off'
	dicu 'I pound (something)'
	di'yagwa 'I tell (something)'
	di'ya 'I roast (something)'
	di'yashē 'I burn (something)' (JC III-96)
	diyaha 'I dip into (something)' (JC III-96)
	diba 'I file (something) down' (JC III-97)
	dibadē 'I twist (something)' (JC III-97)
	dikhatē 'I lean against to block'

Wagner (1934:328-330) noted that some verbs could have pronominal agreement from either the *di-* actor set or the *do-* actor set. He described the difference between the *di-* two-place (transitive) verbs and the *do-* (transitive) verbs in terms of specificity: The *di-* set by-and-large requires a general object and the *do-* set by-and-large requires a specific object.

Ballard (Ballard 1978) 169-184 states that the *di-* actor set is generally transitive verbs and the *do-* actor set is generally transitive verbs and verbs whose object is someone else's possession (p. 173). In his analysis, *di-* is derived from /d/ fused with *hi-*, an inanimate, unpossessed object. Likewise, *do-* is created from /d-/ and *ho-*, a benefactive or possessed object (p. 182). (The underlying /d/ differs from /dz/ in focus, where the /d/ verbs focus on the object and /dz/ verbs focus on the subject.) However, this analysis relies on the morphemes *hi-* and *ho-* being between the actor prefixes and the verb stem. This is contrary to the analysis in Section 4.3 above, where *hi-* and *ho-* are inanimate and are in the same position as the other 3<sup>rd</sup> persons, that is, outside of both the actor and patient positions. Importantly, however, Ballard's analysis shifted the

discussion towards the benefactive, which was taken up by Nicklas (1994a; ca. 1995).

Nicklas (ca. 1995) posited a morpheme *'o-* (admittedly a tentative form) between the stem and the pronominal complex. This was a very promising lead in the extrication of the [+participant] prefix. However, he analyzed this morpheme as a prefix marking the beneficiary only, not a general valence increasing prefix. Nicklas, too, placed the inanimate 3<sup>rd</sup> person prefix *hi-* inside the pronominal complex and not with the other 3<sup>rd</sup> persons. In his analysis, the beneficiary prefix *'o-* contracted with the inanimate prefix *hi-*, creating *ho-*. This form *ho-* is ultimately contracted with the other pronominal prefixes.

All of the previous researchers on Euchee pronouns used the structural positions of subject and object in their analysis. Thus, they were concerned with structurally different types of verb: intransitive, transitive and ditransitive verbs. Each of these verb types reflects a difference in valence, and many transitive verbs can have intransitive readings (and vice-versa), but overall this structural view of the language misses the fluid nature of valency in Euchee. Stuck in a more rigid view of transitivity, the difference between the verbs (70) and (71) had escaped clear definitions.

A stative-active system does not focus on the structural positions of subject and object (transitive verbs). Instead, the inherent aspect defines the type of verb (states and events) and therefore the roles of actors and patients. Events can be activity, process, motion verbs, which only need one participant. Or they can be events proper, whose actions are delimited by the patient. Although these categories exist in a subject/object language, the change in category is often accompanied by a change in verb. The [+participant] valence prefix changes activities into event, and two-place events into three-place events.

In terms of valence then, the *di-* verbs in (71) are event verbs which are always two-place. They have not changed from one-place verbs, and they can not easily change into three-place verbs. The *do-* verbs in (70) represent

lexicalized forms. They may have changed from one-place verbs. The one-place (activity or motion) usage has fallen away or shifted to another verb stem. An example of the lexicalization of *do-* could be *dofō* 'I cut (something) off/I stop a flow.' Both translations are two-place in English. However, the 'stop a flow' could easily have been a one-place (*di-*) action, but the specialization of the action requires an object 'the flow' in translation to English. The more general use 'to cut off something' refers to not only to water, but also someone's lane while driving, cutting off the electricity to a house or appliance, cutting off support for someone, and so on. This generalization could have begun 'I cut off the flow of the electricity/his money/his path,' which would have required the valence prefix and the contraction of *di-* to *do-*. The same argument can be made for Wagner's pair *di'yatsē* 'I set afire' and *do'yatsē* 'I burn [(something)]' (p. 328), and so on.

## 5. THREE-PLACE VERBS: RECIPIENTS AND BENEFICIARIES

Some events have three participants. These are three-place (ditransitive) verbs. There is always an actor and a patient, and the third participant who receives the patient (recipient) or benefits from the action (beneficiary) of the actor.

(72)	Sonny	kicked	the ball	to Sissy
	actor		patient	recipient
	Sonny	kicked	the ball	for Sissy
	actor		patient	beneficiary

### 5.1 CHANGING TWO-PLACE VERBS TO THREE-PLACE VERBS

Just as a one-place verb can become a two-place verb, a two-place verb can become a three-place verb. This happens every time an event is performed

for someone (the beneficiary) or to someone (the recipient). Also like the change from one-place to two-place verbs, the change from two-place to three-place is also signaled by the historical [+participant] prefix \*yo-, which has contracted with the actor pronominal prefix. The change from two-place to three-place can be seen in the examples in (73).

(73) Two-Place Changing to Three-Place Verbs

- |    |                          |  |               |
|----|--------------------------|--|---------------|
| a. | <u>hēd</u> ik'æha        | 'I'm watching him'                         | (two-place)   |
|    | wedzā <u>hēd</u> ok'æha  | 'I'm watching the hogs for him'            | (three-place) |
| b. | s'ī <u>d</u> iwa         | 'I bit off a little (of my food)'          | (two-place)   |
|    | <u>hēd</u> iwa           | 'I bit him'                                | (two-place)   |
|    | s'ī <u>hēd</u> owa       | 'I bit off a little (of his food) for him' | (three-place) |
|    | <u>d</u> owa             | 'I tried/tasted it (his food/for him)'     | (three-place) |
| c. | <u>d</u> iwāji jē        | 'I bought (it/something)                   | (two-place)   |
|    | <u>hēd</u> owāji jē      | 'I bought (it) for him' <sup>25</sup>      | (three-place) |
| d. | ditæ'e 'æ <u>d</u> iwe   | 'I took off my shoe'                       | (two-place)   |
|    | hētæ'e 'æ <u>hēd</u> owe | 'I took off his shoe for him'              | (three-place) |
| e. | 'æle <u>d</u> itite      | 'I'm gonna pull (it/a splinter) out'       | (two-place)   |
|    | 'æle <u>hēd</u> otite    | 'I'm gonna pull it out for him'            | (three-place) |
| f. | dak'echi <u>ked</u> ipha | 'I threw the ball'                         | (two-place)   |
|    | keh <u>ēd</u> opha       | 'I threw (it) to him'                      | (three-place) |
|    |                          | 'I threw (it) for him'                     | (three-place) |
| g. | <u>d</u> isha jē         | 'I stole (it)'                             | (two-place)   |
|    | <u>hēd</u> osha jē       | 'I stole (it) from him'                    | (three-place) |
|    |                          | 'I stole (it) for him'                     | (three-place) |
| h. | chyaso <u>d</u> ithi     | 'I beg for money'                          | (two-place)   |
|    | chyaso <u>hōd</u> othi   | 'I beg him for money'                      | (three-place) |
| i. | dithl'ithl'i             | 'I cut into/I mark (something)'            | (two-place)   |
|    | dothl'ithl'i             | 'I mark (something) (for someone)'         | (three-place) |
|    |                          | = 'I write'                                |               |

There is not a third set of pronominals for recipients and beneficiaries.

Instead, recipients and beneficiaries use a patient pronominal. In order to show that they are not patients, but a third participant, recipients and beneficiaries are marked with the [+participant], the *dzo-* patient [+participant] set of pronominals. The patient is left unmarked on the verb. It is forced to appear as an independent noun phrase. In (74a-b) below, the patient [+participant] *dzo-* is used for the recipient and beneficiary. In (74c), the patient + participant case is not shown because the recipients are the 3<sup>rd</sup> person, but it shows how the patient object may be stated as a noun phrase or left out of the sentence.

- (74) a. Dze t'elé chyaso kihōdzok'wē jē.  
 dze t'elé chyaso ki-hō-dzo-k'wē jē  
 me more money DIR-3PL(E).ACT-1SG.PAT/PLUS-send PAST  
 'They (my family) sent more money to me.'
- b. K'ōdi'le nedzothl'i te?  
 k'ōdi 'le ne-dzo-thl'i te  
 meat Q 2SG.ACT-1SG.PAT/DAT-cut ABLE  
 'Will you cut the meat for me?'
- c. Wedzawenó hēdok'æha.  
 wedza-wenó hē-do-k'æha  
 hog-PL(NE) 3SG(EM).BEN-1SG.ACT/PLUS-watch  
 'I'm watching (the hogs) for him'

The question in 75a) below is typical of the recipient pattern, but the response in (75b) the recipient is left off since it is clearly understood. Even when the patient and the recipient are inferred, the [+participant] prefix is required, and can be seen contracted with the actor prefix in (75b).



- (75) a. K'aso 'le hōyok'wē?  
 k'aso 'le hō-yo-k'wē  
 letter Q 3SG(EM).DAT-2SG.ACT/PLUS-send  
 'Did you send him the letter?' (men's speech)
- b. Le, dok'wē.  
 le do-k'wē  
 yes 1SG.ACT/PLUS-send  
 'Yes, I send it./Yes, I send (it to him).'

When all three participants are 3<sup>rd</sup> person, both the patient and recipient/beneficiary must be noun phrases. This is due to the fact that there is only one slot for 3<sup>rd</sup> person on the verb. Like two-place verbs, the *actor* pronominal agreement is on the verb, so the patient and third participant must be noun phrases. The order of noun phrases is either Patient-Recipient/Beneficiary or Recipient/Beneficiary-Patient. Generally, the relationship is clear, since patients are overwhelmingly inanimate objects.<sup>26</sup> In (76) below, both the patient and the recipient are animate, but the relationship is still clear because 'the baby' could not hold 'Mose' (her great-grandfather).

- (76) a. Goneseci Mose siowā.  
 gone-se-ci Mose sio-wā  
 baby-CL(EF)-(SIT) Mose 3SG(EF).ACT/PLUS-give  
 'She handed the baby to Mose.'
- b. Mose goneseci siowā.  
 Mose gone-seci sio-wā  
 Mose baby-CL(EF/SIT) 3SG(EF).ACT/PLUS-give  
 'She handed the baby to Mose.'

However, the (76b) tends to focus the handing to Mose instead of someone else, or 'She handed the baby to *Mose* (not Boston or Danny)'. See Chapter 8, Section 7 for focus and topic strategies.

When a speaker wishes or needs to make all three participants into noun phrases, the most common word orders are Actor-Patient-Recipient/Beneficiary and Actor-Recipient/Beneficiary-Patient. See Chapter 8, Section 1, for possible

variations in word order. (In 77a) below, the actor is clear because of the gender on the actor pronominal prefix. In (77b), both the actor and recipient are female, so the *recipient* noun phrase is made clear by the classifier. This is important when the word order changes.

- (77) a. Georgina gone Mose siowa  
Georgina gone-seci Mose sio-wā  
 Georgina baby-CL(EF-SIT) Mose 3SG(EF).ACT/PLUS-give  
 'She gave the baby to Mose.'
- b. Josephine senō Maxine chyaso siokwane.  
 Josephine senō Maxine chyaso sio-kwane  
 Josephine CL(EF) Maxine money 3SG(EF).ACT/PLUS-lend  
 Josephine lent Maxine money.'
- Maxine Josephine senō chyaso siokwane.  
 Maxine chyaso siokwane Josephine senō.  
 Josephine senō chyaso Maxine siokwane.

Any 1<sup>st</sup> person acting on a 2<sup>nd</sup> recipient or beneficiary has one irregular form 'aso- '1/2'. The form is probably from the locative 'a 'location away from the speaker' and the 2<sup>nd</sup> person patient *so-*. It is not clear why the 1<sup>st</sup> person actor pronominal prefixes were dropped.<sup>27</sup> Several examples of 'aso- follow in (78).

- (78) a. K'ala 'aso'æne dithæ.  
 k'ala 'aso-'æne di-thæ  
 something 1SG.ACT/2SG.DAT-ask 1SG.act-want  
 'I want to ask you something.'
- b. Chyaso kyæhe 'asowā.  
 chyaso kyæhe 'aso-wā  
 money extra 1SG.ACT/2PL.DAT-give  
 'I gave you all extra money.'
- c. Soshi'neha 'asodidi.  
 so-shi'ne-ha 'aso-di-di  
 2SG(A).POSS-clothes-PL(INAN) 1PL.ACT/2SG.BEN-wash-REDUP  
 'We washed your clothes for you.'
- d. Dataneha k'a 'asok'ō 'wa jē.  
 datane-ha k'a 'aso-k'ō jē  
 apron-PL(INAN) thing 1PL.ACT/2PL.BEN-make PAST  
 'We made the aprons for you all.'

Wagner (1934:332) states that some of the pronominal prefixes in three-place events (his 'intransitive objective series') are reversed. According to him, the 2<sup>nd</sup> person singular or plural receiving or benefiting from the action of any 1<sup>st</sup> person plural (inclusive and exclusive) requires A-P-V order. However, these irregularities can not be found naturally, recreated, or remembered today. Instead, speakers use the 'aso- contracted pronominal seen in (78c-d) above.

The irregular 'aso '1-2' can be extended to cover any plural recipient. However, regular pronominal prefix sequences exist for these forms. In (79a) below, the 'aso- is used for 'I-them,' but (79b) shows the regular form for this same sentence.

- (79) a. 'Aso'wedacha.  
 'aso-'wedacha  
 1SG.ACT/3PL.DAT-yell.at  
 'I hollered at them.'
- b. hōdo'wedacha.  
 hō-do-'wedacha  
 3PL(E).DAT-1SG.ACT/PLUS-yell.at  
 'I hollered at them.' (men's speech)

The 'aso- 'I—you' form is a homophone with the 2<sup>nd</sup> person plural patient 'aso- from the *dzo-* patient [+participant] set. A comparison follows in (80a-b). It is also ambiguous between a 2<sup>nd</sup> singular object and a 2<sup>nd</sup> plural object, as in (80c).

- (80) a. Chyaso kyæhe 'asowā.  
 chyaso kyæhe 'aso-wā  
 money extra 1SG.ACT/2SG.DAT-give  
 'I gave you extra money.'
- b. Chyaso kyæhe hō'asowā.  
 chyaso kyæhe hō-'aso-wā  
 money extra 3SG(EM).ACT-2SG.PAT/PLUS-give  
 'He gave you extra money.'
- c. Chyaso kyæhe 'asowā.  
 chyaso kyæhe 'aso-wā  
 money extra 1SG.ACT/2PL.REC-give  
 'I gave you all extra money.'

Wagner also gave the 1<sup>st</sup> person *singular* receiving or benefiting from the action of the 2<sup>nd</sup> singular or plural actor requiring A-P-V order. These are found today.<sup>28</sup> The switch in order is a clear signal that the participant marking is a recipient (REC) or beneficiary (BEN), not the patient. Examples of these can be seen below in (81).

- (81) a. Nedzok'wē 'le?  
 ne-dzo-k'wē 'le  
 2SG.ACT-1SG.REC-send Q (A-REC-V order)  
 'Did you sent it to me?'
- \*dzesok'we  
 dze-so-k'we  
 1SG.REC-2SG.ACT-send
- b. 'Ādzop'æ 'le  
 'ā-dzo-p'æ 'le  
 2PL.ACT-1SG.BEN-call.out Q (A-BEN-V order)  
 'Did you all call for me?'
- \*dze'asop'æ  
 dze-'aso-p'æ  
 1SG.BEN-2PL.ACT-call.out

*Example: Typical do- actor[+participant] Three-Place Verb: (go)wā 'to give'*

The verb *(go)wā* provides an example of a typical verb with a third participant, in this case a recipient. Like the two-place *do-* actor [+participant] verbs, 1<sup>st</sup> person plural patient may have the irregular form *we-*. The recipients are from the *dzo-* patient [+participant] set. Awkward or implausible forms are not included. The 3<sup>rd</sup> person patients are given with the independent pronoun. The 3<sup>rd</sup> plural works exactly like the 3<sup>rd</sup> singular, and so the 3<sup>rd</sup> plural forms are not included here. The actor forms are underlined. Irregular forms or orders are highlighted.

(82) 1<sup>st</sup> Person Singular Actor [+Participant]

<u>asowā</u>	'I gave (it) to you'	
<u>hēdowā/hōdowā</u>	'I gave (it) to him'	(men's speech)
<u>s'edowā</u>	'I gave (it) to him'	(women's speech)
<u>sedowā</u>	'I gave (it) to her'	
<u>'edowā/odowā</u>	'I gave (it) to her (my grandmother)	
<u>wedowā</u>	'I gave (it) to him/her (non-Euchee)	
<u>'ōdzedowā</u>	'I give (it) to us all'	(INCLUSIVE)
or		
<u>'ōdi wedowā</u>	'I give (it) to us all'	
<u>asowā</u>	'I gave (it) to you all'	
<u>hōdowā</u>	'I gave (it) to them'	(men's speech)
<u>'odowā</u>	'I gave (it) to them'	(women's speech)
<u>wedowā</u>	'I gave (it) to them (non-Euchee)'	

(83) 2<sup>nd</sup> Person Singular Actor [+Participant]

<u>nedzowā</u>	'you gave (it) to me'	
<u>hēyowā/hōyowā</u>	'you gave (it) to him'	(men's speech)
<u>s'eyowā</u>	'you gave (it) to him'	(women's speech)
<u>seyowā</u>	'you gave (it) to her'	
<u>'eyowā/oyowā</u>	'you gave (it) to her (my grandmother)	
<u>weyowā</u>	'you gave (it) to him/her (non-Euchee)	
<u>nōdzeyowā</u>	'you gave (it) to us (not you)'	(EXCLUSIVE)
or		
<u>weyowā</u>	'you gave (it) to us (not you)'	
<u>hōyowā</u>	'you gave (it) to them'	(men's speech)
<u>'oyowā</u>	'you gave (it) to them'	(women's speech)
<u>weyowā</u>	'you gave (it) to them (non-Euchee)	

(84) 3<sup>rd</sup> Person Singular (Euchee Female) Actor [+Participant]

<u>sedzowā</u>	'she gave (it) to me'	
<u>sesowā</u>	'she gave (it) to you'	
<u>'ahenō sewā</u>	'she gave it to him'	(men's speech)
<u>'as'enō sewā</u>	'she gave (it) to him'	(women's speech)
<u>'asenō sewā</u>	'she gave (it) to her'	
<u>'a'ónō sewā</u>	'she gave (it) to her (my grandmother)'	
<u>'awenō sewā</u>	'she gave (it) to him/her (non-Euchee)'	

se'ōdzowā	'she gave (it) to us all'	(INCLUSIVE)
senōdzowā	'she gave (it) to us (not you)'	(EXCLUSIVE)
se'asowā	'she gave (it) to you all'	
'ahōnō <u>sewā</u>	'she gave (it) to them'	(men's speech)
'a'ōnō <u>sewā</u>	'she gave (it) to them'	(women's speech)
'awénō <u>sewā</u>	she gave (it) to them (non-Euchee)'	

(85) 1<sup>st</sup> Person (Exclusive) Plural Actor [+Participant]

' <u>asowā</u>	'We give (it) to you'	
hēnōwā/hōnōwā	'We gave (it) to him'	(men's speech)
s'enōwā	'We gave (it) to him'	(women's speech)
senōwā	'We gave (it) to her'	
'enōwā/onōwā	'We gave (it) to her (my grandmother)'	
wenōwā	'We gave (it) to him/her (non-Euchee)'	

' <u>asowā</u>	'We gave (it) to you all'	
hōnōwā	'We gave (it) to them'	(men's speech)
'onōwā	'We gave (it) to them'	(women's speech)
wenōwā	'We gave (it) to them (non-Euchee)'	

(86) 2<sup>nd</sup> Person Plural Actor [+Participant]

' <u>ādzowā</u>	'you all gave (it) to me'	
hē' <u>ayowā</u> /hō' <u>ayowā</u>	'you all gave (it) to him'	(men's speech)
s'e' <u>ayowā</u>	'you all gave (it) to him'	(women's speech)
se' <u>ayowā</u>	'you all gave (it) to her'	
'e' <u>ayowā</u> /o' <u>ayowā</u>	'you all gave (it) to her (my grandmother)'	
we' <u>ayowā</u>	'you all gave (it) to him/her (non-Euchee)'	

nōdze' <u>ayowā</u>	'you all gave (it) to us (not you)'	(EXCLUSIVE)
or		
we' <u>ayowā</u>	'you all gave (it) to us (not you all)'	
hō' <u>ayowā</u>	'you all gave (it) to them'	(men's speech)
'o' <u>ayowā</u>	'you all gave (it) to them'	(women's speech)
we' <u>ayowā</u>	'you all gave (it) to them (non-Euchee)'	

## 5.2 THREE-PLACE VERBS

Some verbs always have three participants, whether or not all the participants are mentioned in a sentence. Many of these verbs are verbs of

speech, since we generally say something to someone else. The last verb given, *(go)t'ē* 'put,' requires a location as a third participant. They follow the same pronominal prefix patterns as for three-place verbs which have changed from two-place verbs. A list of these verbs are given in (87).

(87) Verbs that require a beneficiary or recipient

dok'wē	'I send/mail (something) to someone'
dowā	'I give (something) to someone'
dohā	'I take (something) from someone' <sup>29</sup>
dothl'āci	'I pray (to God) for something/someone'
dop'æ	'I call out (something) for someone'
'adogwa	'I say (something) (to someone)'
do'æne	'I ask (something) of someone'
do'yagwa	'I tell (something/a tale) to someone'
dot'ē/dot'æ	'I put (something) somewhere'

### 5.3 OTHER PARTICIPANTS: ACCOMPANIMENT, INSTRUMENT, AND SOURCE

Other participants besides patients, recipients and beneficiaries can be added to a sentence. They play roles such as accompaniment 'with' or instrument 'with' and source 'from.' Euchee does not use the [+participant] prefix to indicate the addition of these roles. Instead, they are expressed through other valence prefixes, specific verbs, and small clauses.

The accompaniment 'with someone' adds a participant, and the reciprocal 'to each other' demotes a participant. Both are shown with the valence prefixes *kā-* and *k'a-* respectively. The valence prefixes are described in detail in Chapter 4, Section 3. Still, an example of the accompaniment prefix *k'ā-* is shown in (88a) and the verbal accompaniment (comitative) *k'āju* 'together' is shown in (88b).



(88) Added Participant: Accompaniment

- a. Sedik'ā'wede jē.  
se-di-k'ā-'wede jē  
3SG(EF).PAT-1SG.ACT-COM-talk PAST  
'I talked with her.'
- b. Jo Maxine'inō nōk'aju k'anōthlæ je.  
Jo Maxine-'inō nō-k'aju k'a-nō-thlæ jē  
Jo Maxine-PL(E) 1PL(EXCL)-together thing-1PL(EXCL).ACT-eat PAST  
'I ate (lunch) with Jo and Maxine.'  
= 'Jo and Maxine, together we ate.' (women's speech)

An added participant may also be an instrument used to carry out an activity, such as 'with a hammer' or 'with my hand.' In most cases, a verb reflects the nature of the instrument used. However, when the instrument needs to be clarified, it is given in a small clause with the verb *hi(go)k'ō* 'use.' The small clause is first, followed by the main clause, which carries tense and aspect. An example is given in (89).

(89) Added Participant: Instrument

- Di'ōthæ hidok'ō hēdithede jē.  
di-'ōthæ hi-do-k'ō  
1SG(INA).POSS-hand 3SG(INAN).PAT-1SG.ACT/PLUS-use  
hē-di-thede jē  
3SG(EM).PAT-1SG.ACT-hit PAST  
'I hit him, I used my hand.'  
= 'I hit him with my hand.'

A participant may be a location 'to' or source 'from.' Locations are expressed by the general location and direction suffixes on the noun phrase, or by a postpositional phrase. See Chapter 6, Section 3.4 for location suffixes and Chapter 6, Section 4.5 for post-positions. The location source 'come from' or 'be from' is expressed with the Particle + Verb 'a-de. The source noun phrase

contains the direction suffix *-fa* or postposition phrase *'afa*. Location and source are the only roles which are shown on the noun phrase in Euchee.<sup>30</sup>

(90) Source

- a. Dæstiha Tahlequah-fa 'ade.  
 dæstiha            Tahlequah-fa        'a-de  
 basket-PL(INAN) Tahlequah-from    LOC-be.from  
 'Those baskets are from Tahlequah.'
- b. K'ōdiha Reasors-fa 'ade.  
 k'ōdi-ha            Reasors-fa            'a-de  
 meat-PL(ANANIM) Reasor's-from    LOC-be.from  
 'The meat is from Reasor's.'
- c. Nancy Harry Slick 'afa 'as'ede.  
 Nancy Harry Slick    'afa        'a-s'e-de  
 Nancy Harry Slick    there    LOC-3SG(EF).ACT-be.from  
 'Nancy Harry was from Slick.'

However, when the source is the third participant in a sentence *and* the source is human, the source is shown in a small clause. The source clause comes first, followed by the main clause. The pronominal prefix in the source clause does not necessarily take a patient pronominal but is determined by the inherent aspect of the verb—whether or not the verb is a state or active verb. Tense and aspect is shown on the main verb. See Chapter 8, Section 5.1 for details on small clauses.

(91) Added Participant: Source

- a. Williams'enō s'e'yagwa doch'wæ jē  
William-s'enō s'e-'yagwa do-ch'wæ jē  
William-CL(EM) 3SG(EM).ACT-tell 1SG.ACT/PLUS-hear PAST  
'I heard William saying it.'  
= 'I heard it from William.' (women's speech)
- b. Maxinesenō kesiowā diwāji jē.  
Maxine-senō ke-sio-wā di-wāji jē  
Maxine-CL(EF) DIR-3(EF).ACT/PLUS-sell 1SG.ACT-buy PAST  
'Maxine sold it and I bought it.'  
= 'I bought it from Maxine.'

## 6. REFLEXIVE PRONOMINAL PREFIXES

Reflexive pronouns are used when the actor and the patient are the same person, such as 'Martha saw herself in the mirror. The reflexive pronominal prefixes are given in (92). The reflexive is created by the patient followed by the actor pronominal in the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> persons, and by the morpheme *de* in the 3<sup>rd</sup> person.

(92) Reflexive *di-*

	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>	
<b>1</b>	dzedi-	'ōdze('ō)- nōdze(nō)-	(INCL) (EXCL)
<b>2</b>	(ne)dzene-	'ādze('ā)-	
<b>3</b>	(EM) <i>m.s.</i> hōde- (EM) <i>w.s.</i> s'yode/s'ede- (EF) syode/sede- (EFH) 'ēde (EH) <i>w.s.</i> 'ode- (NE) 'yōde-/wede-	hōde- 'ode- 'yōde-/wede-	(E) <i>m.s.</i> (E) <i>w.s.</i> (NE)

In simple sentences, 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person singular and plural and the 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular reflexive pronouns are regularly accompanied by the independent pronoun. The 3<sup>rd</sup> plural reflexives are accompanied by the appropriate animate demonstrative pronoun, or they may occur by themselves. This pattern can be seen with the verb *go'nē* 'see' in (94). The 2<sup>nd</sup> singular patient *ne-* is often contracted. The actor pronominals in the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> plural are often left off today. The short forms are the same as the patient pronominal prefixes except for stress. The reflexive pronominals follow regular stress patterns for the verb where the secondary stress is on the first syllable. In contrast, the patient pronominals stress the second syllable /dze/.

- (93) a. 'Ădzeshēshē 'le [ʔdzeʂeʂe 'lê]  
           'ădze-shē-shē 'le  
           2PL.PAT-ready-REDUP Q  
           'Are you all ready?'  
       b. 'Ădzè'nē'nē 'le [ʔdze'nɛ'nɛ 'lê]  
           'ădze-'nē-'nē 'le  
           2PL.REFL-see-REDUP Q  
           'Can you all see yourselves?'

In the 3<sup>rd</sup> person reflexive, the derived actor forms (from the *do-* set) and the basic actor (from the *di-* set) are acceptable, although most speakers prefer the derived set.<sup>31</sup>

The verb 'see' is given with the reflexive pronominal. The independent pronouns are given in the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> persons as well. Speakers generally use distributed action (reduplication) to express the plural reflexive of 'see.'

(94) Reflexive 'see'

di	dzedi'nē	'I see myself'	
tse	nedzene'nē	'you see yourself'	
	hōde'nē	'he is looking at himself'	(men's speech)
	s'yode'nē	'he is looking at himself'	(women's speech)
	syode'nē	'she is looking at herself'	
	'yōde'nē	'he/she (non-Euchee) is looking at himself'	
'ōdi	'ōdze'nē'nē	'we all see ourselves'	(INCLUSIVE)
nōdi	nōdze'nē'nē	'we (not you) see ourselves'	(EXCLUSIVE)
	'ādze'nē'nē	'you all see yourselves'	
lehéno	hōde'nē'nē	'they see themselves'	(men's speech)
'inō	'ode'nē'nē	'they see themselves'	(women's speech)
lewénō	'yōde'nē'nē	'they (non-Euchee) see themselves'	

Additional examples of reflexive pronominal prefixes examples follow in (95).

- (95) a. S'æ 'yōdethede. [s'æ 'yòndet<sup>h</sup>édé]  
s'æ 'yōde-thede  
down 3SG(NE).REFL-hit  
'He (Rabbit) threw himself down.' (LB C:12)
- b. Di dzediwā! [dzèdiwá]  
di dzedi-wā  
1SG 1SG.REFL-bite  
'I bit myself!'
- c. Tse 'le nedzeneshi? [dzæ 'lɛndzeneshì]  
tse 'le nedzene-shi  
2SG Q 2SG.REFL-stick  
'Did you stick yourself?'
- d. 'Ist'æshēni hōs'ædi'ē hōdethla jē  
'ist'æshēni hō-s'ædi'ē hōde-thla jē  
army 3SG.PAT-kneel 3SG.REFL-go PAST  
'The army made him humble.'

- e. Goshibithli hi'nāgā hēdyok'i  
 goshibithli hi-'nāgā hēdyo-k'i  
 shirt 3SG(INAN).PAT-new 3SG(EM).REFL-get  
 'He got himself a new shirt'

The reflexive pronominal prefixes can also contract with the historical [+participant] prefix \*yo- when an argument is added and for verbs which have lexicalized the *do-* set of pronominals. The result is the reflexive *do-* paradigm, given below in 96). This same paradigm occurs when the reflexive contracts with a 'yu stem verb.

(96) Reflexive *do-*

	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>	
<b>1</b>	di dzedo-	'ōdi 'ōdzyo- (INCL) nōdi nōdzyo- (EXCL)	
<b>2</b>	dzē dzeyo-	'ādze 'ādzyo-	
<b>3</b>	(EM) <i>m.s.</i> hōdyo- (EM) <i>w.s.</i> s'yodyo- (EF) syodyo- (EFH) (EH) <i>w.s.</i> 'odyo- (NE) 'yōdyo-	hōdyo 'odyo- 'yōdyo-	(E) <i>m.s.</i> (E) <i>w.s.</i>   (NE)

Like the reflexive *di-* paradigm, the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person singular and plural are accompanied by the independent pronoun or appropriate animate demonstrative in simple sentences. The 3<sup>rd</sup> plural occurs with the animate demonstrative pronoun. However, some speakers use the reflexive *di-* set in the 3<sup>rd</sup> person plural.

An added argument with a reflexive is not very common, but instances where a person does something to someone else for their own benefit require the reflexive *do-* set. An example of a one-participant reflexive given is in (97a).

but in (97b) the man (represented by the subscript ‘i’) the hits someone else (the added participant ‘k’) for his own sense of revenge.

- (97) a. *hōdefæfæ* ‘He whipped himself.’  
 b. *hōdyofæfæ* ‘He<sub>i</sub> whipped him<sub>k</sub> for himself<sub>i</sub>.’

Examples of the reflexive with lexicalized *do-* and contracted with the stem *ʔu* are much more common. A few follow in (98).

- (98) a. *Sʔiodioshi:le!*  
*sʔiodio-shi-le*  
 3SG.REFL/PLUS-pity-very  
 ‘He really pities himself!’ (women’s speech)

- b. *Gop’a ʔle dzeyogwane?*  
*gop’a ʔle dzeyo-gwa-ne*  
 Creek Q 2SG.REFL+ʔU-say-HAB  
 ‘Do you call yourself Creek?’

- c. *Di dzedoshē:le*  
*di dzedo-shē-le*  
 1SG 1SG.REFL+ʔU-happy-very  
 ‘I’m so happy!’

*Di dzet’æshēhēnō got’e hōndeʔyushē:le ʔakehōnōne jē.*

*di dze-t’æ-shē-hēnō got’e*  
 1SG 1SG(A).POSS-father-DEC-CL(EM) person

*hōnde-yushē-le ʔake hō-nō-ne jē*  
 3SG(EM).REFL-happy-very there 3SG(EM).PAT/PLUS-be-HAB PAST

‘My father (Ekilame) used to be a real happy person.’

- d. *Lo:nō ʔyōdithæshale!*  
*lo:nō yōdio-thæsha-le*  
 that.CL(NE) 3SG(NE).REFL+ʔU-like-very  
 ‘That guy (non-Euchee politician) sure thinks a lot of himself!’

Verbs that always require a reflexive are given in (99) below.<sup>32</sup>

(99)	(gode)'yushē	'be happy/enjoy oneself'
	(gode)'a	'be embarrassed/be ashamed'
	s'æ (gode)thl'ēci	'pray'
	(go)s'ædi'ē (gode)thlane	'be humble/humble oneself'
	(gode)thede	'bump into (something)'

## 7. INDEPENDENT PRONOUNS

The independent pronouns are not attached to the verb. They are the actor pronominals in the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person singular, and the 1<sup>st</sup> person actor pronominal *di-* suffixed to the 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular actor pronominals and the 1<sup>st</sup> person plural pronominals. The 2<sup>nd</sup> person plural uses the patient form, and the 3<sup>rd</sup> person plural are the same as the reflexive forms. The independent pronouns are given in (100).

### (100) Independent Pronouns: Actor and Patient

	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>	
<b>1</b>	di	'ōdi nōdi	(INCL) (EXCL)
<b>2</b>	tse	'ādze	
<b>3</b>	(EM) <i>m.s.</i> hēdi/hōdi	(hōde)	(E) <i>m.s.</i>
	(EM) <i>w.s.</i> s'edi	('ode)	(E) <i>w.s.</i>
	(EF) sedi		
	(EFH) 'ēdi		
	(EH) 'odi		
	(NE) wedi	(wede)	(NE)

The 3<sup>rd</sup> person plural independent pronouns are rarely used. Instead, speakers prefer to use the animate plural demonstrative pronouns. These are given below for convenience, and are also described in Chapter 6, Section 4.2.



(101) Animate Plural Demonstrative Pronouns

lehenó	'those Euchee people'	(men's speech)
le'inó	'those Euchee people'	(women's speech)
lewenó	'those non-Euchees'	

The independent pronouns are the same for both actors and patients, which is consistent with the core participant roles (Case) reflected only on the pronominal prefixes and not on independent noun phrases. Some speakers do use the 1<sup>st</sup> person patient *dze-* as an independent pronoun, although they do not have a full set of patient independent pronouns. However, the independent use of the 1<sup>st</sup> person singular patient *dze* is not considered proper Euchee by most speakers.

The independent pronouns are used to show emphasis, as in (102a), and contrast, such as (102b).

- (102) a. Lesenō 'asegwa jēgō... [lèsenq' àsegwá jígó]  
le-senō 'a-se-gwa jē-gō  
that-CL(EF) LOC-3SG(EF).ACT-mean PAST-POT  
'She meant to say...'
- b. Di'le nedziosh'ē?  
di-'le nedzyo-sh'ē  
I-Q 2SG.PAT+'YU-wait  
'Are you waiting *for me*? (JC VIII-55)
- c. Gosh'istaleci yok'ō?  
gosh'istale-ci yo-k'ō  
jacket-CL/DET(SIT) 2SG.ACT/PLUS-make  
'Did you make the Green Corn jacket?'
- Honæ, Julia sedi siok'ō.  
honæ Julia sedi sio-k'ō  
no Julia 3SG(EF) 3SG(EF)ACT/PLUS-make  
'No, *Julia* made it.'

As mentioned throughout this chapter, the independent pronouns are used when the actor and the patient are both 3<sup>rd</sup> person. The actor is shown on the pronominal prefix, and the patient is stated with the independent pronoun.

- (103) a. S'edi se'yagwa. [s'edí se'yágwə]  
 s'edi se-'yagwa  
 him 3SG(EF).ACT-tell  
 'She told him.'
- b. Le'ínō kede syop'a. [le'ínə kédə siop'áx]  
 le-'ínō kede sio-p'a  
 this-CL/PL(E) now 3SG.ACT/PLUS-look.for  
 'She's looking for them right now.'

The 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> singular independent pronouns are used in citation forms. When giving examples of sentences with only the verb and its agreement, speakers (especially female speakers) will almost always give the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> independent pronouns. They may also be used in short answers without marked emphasis, contrast, or clarification. Gatschet's field notebook of elicited forms in Euchee is replete with these independent pronouns, and this led him to report that unlike other American Indian languages, Euchee had free pronouns (1888). However, the independent 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person pronouns are not prominent in extended conversation or 1<sup>st</sup> person narrations, except for the uses indicated above.

## 8. IRREGULAR PRONOMINAL PREFIXES

A number of verbs have irregular 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> singular forms. The pronominal prefixes, both actor and patient, are fused with the stem. In some cases, the 2<sup>nd</sup> person plural pronominal is fused with the stem also.

The process of regularizing irregular forms takes two paths. The verbs *go'a* 'to cry' and *gola'i* 'to shoot at' noted below have alternative regular paradigms. In a few other verbs, the pattern of the pronominal fused with the

stem remains, but then regular 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> pronominal prefixes have been added. The result is an irregular stem with regularized pronominal prefixes. These verbs are found in Chapter 4, Section 1.4.

#### 8.1 1<sup>st</sup> AND 2<sup>nd</sup> ACTOR PRONOMINAL FUSION WITH THE STEM

The verbs in (104-106) are irregular in the 1<sup>st</sup> singular and 2<sup>nd</sup> singular forms. The 1<sup>st</sup> singular actor pronominal *di-* ‘I’ and the 2<sup>nd</sup> singular actor pronominal *ne-* underwent contraction at some point in time and are now fused with the verb stem. The irregular pronominal+stem retains the [d] from the 1<sup>st</sup> singular pronominal *di-*, which is typical of non-sonorant syllable onsets in contraction. The sonorant [n] of the 2<sup>nd</sup> person *ne-* changes

(104) *k’ala (go)thlæ* ‘eat’

Note: This verb requires the object *k’ala* ‘thing’ or the short form *k’a*. See Chapter 4, Section 2.1 for *k’ala* verbs. The invitational command forms are not given in the 2<sup>nd</sup> person. Instead they are stylized as follows:

<i>k’athlænō</i>	‘(Come and) Eat!’ (said to one person) (short for 3 <sup>rd</sup> singular impersonal <i>gothlæ</i> )
<i>k’a’ōthlænō</i>	‘Eat! Everyone eat!’ (1 <sup>st</sup> plural inclusive)

	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>	
<b>1</b>	k'a dæ	k'a 'ōthlæ k'a nōthlæ	(INCL) (EXCL)
<b>2</b>	k'a shæ	k'a 'ashæ	
<b>3</b>	(EM) <i>m.s.</i> k'a hēthlæ/hōthlæ (EM) <i>w.s.</i> k'a s'ethlæ (EF) k'a sethlæ (EFH) k'a 'ēthlæ (NE) k'a wethlæ	k'a hōthlæ k'a 'othlæ  k'a wethlæ	(E) <i>m.s.</i> (E) <i>w.s.</i>  (NE)

(105) 'ake (go)nō                      'to be here, to be located'

Note: The plural stems, except for the 2<sup>nd</sup> person, can also be *ha*. See Chapter 4, example (27) for the plural stem *ha*.

	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>	
<b>1</b>	'ake dō	('ake 'ōnō) 'ake nenō	(INCL) (EXCL)
<b>2</b>	'ake yō	'ake 'æyō	
<b>3</b>	(EM) <i>m.s.</i> 'ake hōnō (EM) <i>w.s.</i> 'ake s'enō (EF) 'ake senō (EFH) 'ake 'ēnō (EH) 'ake 'onō (NE) 'ake wenō	'ake hēnō 'ake 'inō   'ake wenō	(E) <i>m.s.</i> (E) <i>w.s.</i>   (NE)

- (106) *(go)thla* 'go'  
*(go)k'āthla* 'go with/to take someone'

Note: This verb is irregular in several ways. It has the irregular 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> pronominal forms fused with the base, with the highly irregular addition of *we-* to both forms. It also has a different stem for the singular and the plural. Like the all plural stem verbs, it has a dual inclusive form, made from the 1<sup>st</sup> plural inclusive pronoun and the singular stem. Plural stem verbs are discussed in Chapter 4, Section 1.4. In addition, only the 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular Euchee forms are contracted forms.<sup>33</sup> See also Chapter 5 for tense and aspect with *(go)thla*.

	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>	
<b>1</b>	<u>weda</u>	<u>'ōthla</u> <u>'ōfe</u> <u>'nōfe</u>	<b>dual</b> (INCL) (INCL) (EXCL)
<b>2</b>	<u>wesha</u>	<u>'afe</u>	
<b>3</b>	(EM) <i>m.s.</i> <u>hōthla</u> (EM) <i>w.s.</i> <u>s'yothla</u> (EF) <u>syothla</u> (EH) <i>w.s.</i> <u>'othla</u> (NE) <u>wethla</u>	<u>hōfe</u> <u>'ofe</u>	(E) <i>m.s.</i> (E) <i>w.s.</i>   (NE)

## 8.2 1<sup>st</sup> AND 2<sup>ND</sup> PATIENT PRONOMINAL FUSION WITH THE STEM

The verbs in (107-113) are also irregular in the 1<sup>st</sup> singular and 2<sup>nd</sup> singular forms. However, in these the 1<sup>st</sup> singular *patient* pronominal *dze-* 'I' and the 2<sup>nd</sup> singular actor pronominal *nedze-* underwent contraction at some point in time and are now fused with the verb stem.<sup>34</sup>

- (107) *nehe (go)thli* 'arrive'  
*nele (go)thli* 'be back, return'

Note: Speakers often leave off both locatives *-he* or *-le* in fast speech, i.e. only the *ne* stem is mandatory when the context is clear.

	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>	
1	nehe dzi	nehe nethlī	(INCL/EXCL)
2	nehe shī	nehe 'æshī	
3	(EM) <i>m.s.</i> nehe hēthlī/hōthlī	nehe hēthlī/hōthlī	(E) <i>m.s.</i>
	(EM) <i>w.s.</i> nehe s'ethlī	nehe 'ithlī	(E) <i>w.s.</i>
	(EF) nehe sethlī		
	(EFH) nehe 'ēthlī		
	(NE) nehe wethlī	nehe wethlī	(NE)

- (108) 'ahe (go)gō 'come'  
'ahe (go)k'āgō 'come with (someone)'  
'bring (something)'

	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>	
1	'ahe dzō	'ahe nēgō	(INCL/EXCL)
2	'ahe jō (or gō)	'ahe 'æjō	
3	(EM) <i>m.s.</i> 'ahe hēgō/hōgō	'ahe hēgō	(E) <i>m.s.</i>
	(EM) <i>w.s.</i> 'ahe s'egō	'ahe 'īgō	(E) <i>w.s.</i>
	(EF) 'ahe segō		
	(EFH) 'ahe ēgō		
	(NE) 'ahe wegō	'ahe wegō	(NE)

(109) (*go*)'a 'cry'

Note: The verb (*go*)'a has been regularized in the speech of some speakers. When it is regular, it requires the actor pronominal set *di-*.

	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>	
<b>1</b>	ts'a	('ō'a) nō'a	(INCL) (EXCL)
<b>2</b>	ch'ya	'ach'ya	
<b>3</b>	(EM) <i>m.s.</i> hō'a (EM) <i>w.s.</i> s'e'a (EF) se'a (efh) 'ē'a (NE) we'a	hō'a 'o'a  we'a	(E) <i>m.s.</i> (E) <i>w.s.</i>  (NE)

(110) *gotwa* 'kill'

	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>	
<b>1</b>	tswa	'ōtwa nōtwa	(INCL) (EXCL)
<b>2</b>	cwa	'ayoshe	
<b>3</b>	(EM) <i>m.s.</i> hētwa (EM) <i>w.s.</i> s'etwa (EF) setwa (EFH) hōtwa (NE) wetwa	hōtwa 'otwa  yōtwa	(E) <i>m.s.</i> (E) <i>w.s.</i>  (NE)

(111) *(go)la'i* 'shoot, shoot at (something)'

Note: Some speakers have regularized the whole paradigm for a regular verb 'to shoot' *la'i*. To create 'shoot at' speakers add the locative particle *k'æbi* 'towards'.

	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>	
<b>1</b>	<i>dza'i</i>	<i>'ōla'i</i> <i>nōla'i</i>	(INCL) (EXCL)
<b>2</b>	<i>ya'i</i>	<i>'ala'i</i>	
<b>3</b>	(EM) <i>m.s.</i> <i>hēla'i</i> (EM) <i>w.s.</i> <i>s'ela'i</i> (EF) <i>sela'i</i> (efh) <i>'ēla'i</i> (NE) <i>wela'i</i>	<i>hēla'i</i> <i>'ola'i</i>   <i>wela'i</i>	(E) <i>m.s.</i> (E) <i>w.s.</i>   (NE)

(112) *hi(go)thlæ* 'think, find'

Note: This verb requires 3<sup>rd</sup> person inanimate *hi-* in the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person. See Chapter 4, Section 2.1.

	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>	
<b>1</b>	<i>hidzæ/hidze'ē</i>	<i>'ōthlæ</i> <i>nēthlæ</i>	(INCL) (EXCL)
<b>2</b>	<i>hishæ</i>	<i>'æshæ</i>	
<b>3</b>	(EM) <i>m.s.</i> <i>hēthlæ/hōthlæ</i> (EM) <i>w.s.</i> <i>s'ethlæ</i> (EF) <i>sethlæ</i> (EFH) <i>'ēthlæ</i> (EH) <i>'othlæ</i> (NE) <i>wethlæ</i>	<i>hēthlæ</i> <i>'ithlæ</i>    <i>wethlæ</i>	(E) <i>m.s.</i> (E) <i>w.s.</i>    (NE)



(113) *higo'ō*

'transplant'

	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>	
<b>1</b>	<u>hididz'ō</u>	( <u>'ō'ō</u> ) <u>nō'ō</u>	(INCL) (EXCL)
<b>2</b>	tse <u>hich'yō</u>	' <u>æch'yō</u>	
<b>3</b>	(EM) <i>m.s.</i> <u>hē'ō</u>	<u>hō'ō</u>	(E) <i>m.s.</i>
	(EM) <i>w.s.</i> <u>s'e'ō</u>		(E) <i>w.s.</i>
	(EF) <u>se'ō</u>		
	(NE) <u>we'ō</u>	<u>we'ō</u>	(NE)

NOTES  
CHAPTER 3

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<sup>1</sup> Actually, the 2<sup>nd</sup> person singular set can give the same information. However, eliciting 2<sup>nd</sup> person forms is hard to do with Euchee speakers, who tend to hear the requested sentence as a question and answer it. Given this, learners are encouraged to request the 1<sup>st</sup> person 'I' form instead.

<sup>2</sup> Mithun (1991) distinguishes active-stative marking from agent-patient marking systems. Active-stative are generally clean splits determined, whether the verb is an event or a state (lexical aspect). In agent-patient systems, the notions of agency, control, performance/instigation/effect, and the degree of affectedness, can all determine whether the verb takes an agent or patient. Often there are choices in this type of system, and overlapping with an initial active-stative system.

Based on Wagner's (1934) sketch, Mithun (1999: 213, 572) states that Euchee has agent-patient Case on the pronominals. As shown in the text, the system is not agent-patient but active-stative. The agentiveness of the actor does, or the affectness of the patient, does not control the actor or patient marking. Recategorizing the exceptions by control, performance, effect, instigation, and affectedness of the participants yields many more exceptions and demands more manipulation of the conceptual system. Even the few variations which point to a possibly emerging agent-patient system, given in (26) of the text, do not fall under a single criterion of 'control' or 'affectedness' of the participant, but rather the active sense of change in state.

Mithun (1991) points out that agent-patient systems emerged from active-stative systems as speakers naturally reinterpret the role of the actor in an event. Proto-Siouian-Caddoan-Iroquoian had an agent-patient system. The stative-active marking in Euchee has implications for those who believe that it belongs in this macro-phyla. It implies that Euchee, if it is part of this group, broke away before the agent-patient system was formed.

<sup>3</sup> Two-place verbs of emotion, such as 'likes,' hates,' fears,' etc... are all events in Euchee.

<sup>4</sup> The term 'patient' standardly refers to the thematic role of a person or thing undergoing the action of the predicate. A 'theme' is a person or thing moved by the action expressed in the predicate, and an 'experiencer' is the entity that experiences some state expressed by the predicate. I use 'patient' as a cover term for the thematic roles of patient, theme, and experiencer. All of these roles use the same Case marking in Euchee.

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A more accurate terminology might be 'actor' and 'non-actor.' However, I feel that the term 'patient' has certain pedological advantages in addition to being standard in the literature for active-stative and agent-patient languages.

<sup>5</sup> Crawford (rough notes) observed that some verbs used *hē-* instead of *hō-* for the 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular Euchee male (men's speech). However, he did not appear to tie it to this overall pattern or set, nor did he recognize a consistent free variation between the two forms due to dialect variation.

<sup>6</sup> Wagner (1934: 328) gives *'i-* as a women's speech 'respect' marker used by women to refer to related men who are older than they are. This would be equivalent to the *'ē-* pronoun for older related females. The 3<sup>rd</sup> singular pronominal *'i-* used for respect can not be elicited today, although it still occurs as the 3<sup>rd</sup> Euchee plural (women's speech) in the alternate *di-* actor set pronominal series, see (19) in the text.

<sup>7</sup> This set is characterized by the high vowels in contrast to the more standard set today which has mid to lower vowels. This, and the fact occur with more irregular verbs, makes it likely that this is an older set of pronouns. The standard set may be the result of overgeneralization of the *do-* actor + *\*yo-* set of pronominals. Overgeneralization seems to be happening with the Duck Creek and Polecat speakers who use the *hō-* instead of *hē-* in the singular as well. It is significant, then, that this set does not include an inclusive/exclusive distinction in the 1<sup>st</sup> plural.

<sup>8</sup> Speakers can also give (*go*)*yúshushu* 'to shake, tremble' which takes the active 1<sup>st</sup> person *do-*, which is *di-* contracted with the *'yu* stem.

<sup>9</sup> The list of stative verbs in (22) is admittedly small. An alternative analysis could be that the stative verbalizer *-le* is actually a durative or stative aspect suffix on the verb. In this analysis all the stative verbs (adjectives) carry this aspect suffix. The active verbalizer *-ē* would be inchoative and/or temporary aspect, and the list in (22) would be active verbs that have shifted to stative verbs over time. However, this analysis can not account for the fact that a durative aspect *-le* is not productive on other active verbs. For example, the suffix *-le* can not be used on a verb such as 'smoke' to get the reading 'smoke over a long period of time.' Therefore the analysis of two opposing verbalizers, the active and the stative verbalizer, is more elegant and descriptively accurate.

<sup>10</sup> Or, all emotional states could have all acquired the *di-* set by analogy of a few with incorporated body parts.

<sup>11</sup> The Caddoan and Iroquoian families have agent-patient marking, and they have exactly the opposite interpretation of inherent states. The inherent state requires an actor and the change of state requires a patient because the change significantly affects the patient (Mithun 1991: 527, 531).

<sup>12</sup> The verb can also have the reading 'I smell bad.' However, the reflexive form 'I smell myself' is more appropriate here or the verb (*go*)*so* 'to stink, smell bad.'

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<sup>13</sup> Nicklas (ca. 1995) posited a morpheme 'o- (admittedly a tentative form) between the stem and the pronominal complex. This was a very promising lead in the extrication of the [+participant] prefix. However, he analyzed this morpheme as a prefix marking the beneficiary, not a general valence increasing prefix. In addition, Nicklas following the lead of Ballard (1978), placed the inanimate 3<sup>rd</sup> person prefix *hi-* inside the pronominal complex and not with the other 3<sup>rd</sup> persons. In his analysis, the beneficiary prefix 'o- contracted with the inanimate prefix *hi-*, creating *ho-*. This form *ho-* is the ultimately contracted with the other pronominal prefixes. My analysis has the 3<sup>rd</sup> person inanimate prefix in the same place as the other 3<sup>rd</sup> persons (see Section 4.3 in the text).

<sup>14</sup> Presumably, the irregular form is older. Only a few speakers, those who are known to speak older and longer forms, use the irregular form today. In addition, some speakers recall the irregular forms, stating that it is how they used to hear it. The regularized forms were present in Wagner's time (1934: 330).

The irregular 2<sup>nd</sup> singular acting on 1<sup>st</sup> plural does not have an inclusive-exclusive distinction. The alternative *di-* actor set of pronominals, given in 19) of the text, also does not include an inclusive-exclusive distinction. This set is used in many of the irregular pronominal series. It is therefore possible that an earlier form of Euchee did not include the inclusive-exclusive distinction. (The irregular verb (*go*)*thla* 'go', however, has the inclusive, exclusive, and dual distinction.) Throwing caution to the wind, I will also venture to suggest that the 1<sup>st</sup> Plural Patient *we-* may be a variant of the 1<sup>st</sup> Plural Actor *ne-* found in the alternative *di-* set.

<sup>15</sup> The 2<sup>nd</sup> singular form *yo-* can sometimes be used as a patient of a one-place verb. It is never found as the 3<sup>rd</sup> patient form. It is also not accepted by some speakers as proper Euchee, but it does occur.

<sup>16</sup> In the tale 'The Sons of Howita (Wind) Killed by Old Man Iron (Sāne)', collected by Jeremiah Curtain from an unknown consultant, the wind is consistently *howita*. Curtain collected this tale in English ca. 1888. The analysis could be that *wi* is the animate non-Euchee morpheme *we* in the Big Pond variation. Or, *ho-* could be an inanimate on the stem *weda* 'go.' In Maxey Simms' tale 'Wind Seeks His Lost Sons and Kills the Iron Monster' (in Wagner 1931:76-81). Wind is definitely animate throughout, always requiring animate non-Euchee agreement. Mr. Simms never used the older full form *howeta*. It should also be pointed out that the Euchee word for wind may also be cognate with the Chitimacha form *howi-* 'wind blows' (Swanton 1942: 125).

<sup>17</sup> The sentence 'it fell' and 'it sank' are middle constructions. However, most would-be middle constructions are expressed in causative constructions. So, for example, in the sentence like 'the glass fell' the result must be given in the causative 'I broke the glass' or in the adjectival 'the glass is broken.'

<sup>18</sup> Instrumentals are verbal affixes which show the means or manner in which an event is achieved. Contrary to Wagner's finding, Euchee does not have an

instrumental prefix. Instead, his instrumental prefix *hi-* is the 3<sup>rd</sup> person inanimate patient pronominal, or ‘it.’

The reasons for the pronominal analysis are as follows. First, as seen in the text, *hi-* is the 3<sup>rd</sup> person patient pronominal. In all the instances of the supposed ‘instrumental’, *hi-* follows regular pronominal behavior. There is no reason to assume that it is not the 3<sup>rd</sup> person inanimate. In fact, after positing the instrumental, Wagner (1934: 358) states that in some cases ‘*hi-* simply expresses the relation to the object...(cp. the impersonal pronoun *hi-*).’

Second, the presence of one, unspecific instrumental does not follow the regular semantic pattern of instrumentals. Mithun points out that languages which have instrumentals, even across language families, display ‘remarkably similar’ pattern of instrumentals (Mithun 1999: 121,126). This consistent pattern includes prefixes which specify that the action took place with the hands, feet, mouth, full body weight, eyes, by natural forces, and with instruments of particular shapes and kinds. Mithun (p. 119) explains that instrumentals can generalize from specific noun-like meanings to a ‘network of associated meanings,’ making the existence of a single generalized instrumental possible. However, prefix *hi-* does not include any of typical instrumental distinctions, let alone as a single member is it part of the remarkable pattern. Additionally, a look at the verbs which require *hi-* (see list in 67) of the text) shows that for most, an instrumental reading is a stretch. However, the specified nature of a transitive easily encompasses any instrumental reading.

Wagner’s main evidence for a Euchee instrumental was the difference between the verbs ‘make’ an ‘make with/use’ shown below in (i-a), and given in a sentence in (i-b).

- (i) a. dok’ō            ‘I make’  
       b. hidok’ō        ‘I use./I make with.’

However, these are separate lexical items. An instrumental should be able to get a sentence like ‘I made the boat with a knife’ in one clause.

- (ii) a. Cu’e dok’ō ‘yōthl’i hidok’ō.  
       cu-’e        do-k’ō            ‘yō-thl’i    hi-do-k’o  
       boat-CL(LIE) 1SG.ACT/PLUS-make knife        3SG(INAN).PAT-1SG.ACT/PLUS-make  
       ‘I made the boat with a knife.’  
       Literal: ‘I made it, I used a knife.’
- b. \*cu’e yōthl’i hidok’ō. ‘I made the boat with a knife.’  
       \*yōthl’i cu’e hidok’ō.

---

Thus, the difference between Wagner's and my analysis the required *hi-* can be seen with the verb 'make with, use' below:

(iii) a. Instrumental Analysis (Wagner)

'Yōthl'i hidok'ō jē.  
'yōthl'i hi-do-k'ō jē  
knife INSTR-1SG.ACT/PLUS-make PAST  
'I used a knife.'  
= 'I made (it) with a knife.'

b. Inanimate Pronominal Analysis (Linn)

'Yōthl'i hidok'ō jē.  
'yōthl'i hi-do-k'ō jē  
knife 3SG(INAN).PAT-1SG.ACT/PLUS-make PAST  
'I used a knife.' = 'I used it, a knife.'

<sup>19</sup> This is also true of the Minimalist Program treatment of Case marking. Instead of picking up Case marking in AgrS and AgrO, the 3<sup>rd</sup> person would need to be in a place where Case does not need to be checked.

<sup>20</sup> This question comes from the placement of the Yes/No Question particle. It may come between the patient prefix and the verb stem, but it may not come between the actor prefix and the verb stem. This is seen below in (iv).

(iv) a. Millie se-'le 'āyuc'wæ fa?

Millie se-'le 'ā-yuc'wæ fa  
Millie 3SG.PAT-Q 2PL.ACT-wait stand  
'Are you all waiting for Millie?'

b. Millie se-'le shtine?

Millie se-'le shti-ne  
Millie 3SG.ACT-Q dance-HAB  
'Does Millie dance?'

This implies that there are two positions in the gender phrase. However, it is not clear why the both positions can not have *-le* intervene if the gender phrase is separate from the verb phrase. The other possibility is that the patient pronominal in (iv-a) is an independent pronoun. Then it is not immediately clear why the normal form *sedi* is not used. However, it is possible that the 1<sup>st</sup> Euche female prefix *se-* attaches to the stem *di* for independent pronouns, but may just as well attach to another stem, the verb stem or the Yes/No question particle, for example.

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<sup>21</sup> Travis (1994), Rice (2000), and Bybee (1985) among others, have suggested that the functional phrases closest to the verb stem are the most immediate in the interpretation of arguments.

<sup>22</sup> The 3rd 'person' may in fact be unspecified for person features (Benveniste 1956; Noyer 1997; Ritter and Rosen to appear). Only 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> persons have features for [+person] and [+number]. As a non-person, 3rd can not be animate. Euchee provides evidence for this proposal.

<sup>23</sup> The animacy hierarchy in Euchee also provides evidence for a separate gender phrase, or a functional projection GenP (Linn 1998; Linn and Rosen, in progress). This means that the traditionally accepted bundle of features in the Spec of AgrS and AgrO would not include gender.

<sup>24</sup> In addition, the contractions with the stem 'yu' confused the issue.

<sup>25</sup> As in English, the sentence 'I bought it for him' in Euchee is ambiguous between the two readings, 'the gift is for him' or 'I did the errand for him'

<sup>26</sup> Baker (1996: 192-198) notes that in polysynthetic languages, the recipient or beneficiary (his 'goal') of three-place verbs has patient (his 'theme') agreement. However, in Mohawk, the patient is required to be inanimate ('neuter'). This is not a requirement in Euchee, as can be seen in example (78) of the text, where the patient is the baby.

<sup>27</sup> This analysis is due to the fact that the location 'a' reappears on the 3<sup>rd</sup> person patients. These must be given as independent noun phrases. When the patient of a three-place verb is a demonstrative noun, it is almost exclusively given with 'a' plus the appropriate animate noun class instead of the more common *-le* and noun class. The 'a' demonstratives are seen in the example verb *(go)wá* 'to give' in the text. The *-le* demonstratives are used with all to-place verbs. The location 'a' is further away than *-le*, which makes sense as action of an three-place event extends away to another person.

<sup>28</sup> A possible explanation for this prefix order precedes from the analysis in endnote 26. If it is true that the actors dropped off as in the 'aso-' '1/2' irregular pronouns, perhaps given in independent pronouns, then they may have been reinserted at a later time. Instead of coming in between the fused recipient or benefactive pronominal and the stem, they may have attached to the beginning of the pronominal complex, creating the irregular order.

<sup>29</sup> The verb *hā* 'take' can not be used for 'carry' or 'bring.' The verbs *(go)k'athla* 'to go with' or 'to carry' and *(go)k'agō* 'to come with' or 'to bring' are used instead. Both contain the accompaniment prefix *k'ā-* 'with.' Therefore, the third participant of *hā* 'take' is a source 'from someone.' Apparently, the source participant in *hā* 'take' is treated like a recipient or beneficiary and not like other sources, which are clause construction (see example 93) in the text). This is probably because the source may be human, and when it is human, the person is highly affected. The same analysis holds for *(go)ki* 'to receive (from).'

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<sup>30</sup> This is expected in a polysynthetic where the Case roles are on agreement (Baker 1996).

<sup>31</sup> Wagner (1934: 333) gave only the derived set as the first reflexive series.

<sup>32</sup> Wagner (1934: 333) gave quite a few more verbs which he said occur exclusively in the reflexive. The verbs 'yu'ne'ne 'attempt, try' and 'yu'naga 'believe' can not be reflexive according to speakers today. Speakers can not use the verb *iyō* to mean 'fast' today. The rest of his list can occur both in the reflexive or with actor or patient pronominal prefixes.

<sup>33</sup> The pronominal look like the derived actor [+participant] forms. However, there is a possible alternative analysis. That is, the morpheme /we/ is part of the 3<sup>rd</sup> person stem, just as it is in the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person. The 3<sup>rd</sup> person Euchee pronominal prefixes have contracted with /we/ and not \*yo-. The vowel change would be the same, and the /y/ in the 3<sup>rd</sup> Euchee female and 3<sup>rd</sup> Euchee male (women's speech could be a result of palatalization with /s/). The 3<sup>rd</sup> non-Euchee retains the /we/ in the stem and has reanalyzed it as the pronominal prefix *we-*. This is supported by the 3<sup>rd</sup> person inanimate. There is not a 3<sup>rd</sup> inanimate actor, but the sentences in 58) of the text show inanimates 'going' with *wethla*. The morpheme /we/ is more clearly part of the stem in the related verb (*go*)*weda* 'have gone, went, left.' See Chapter 5, Section 2.5 for the paradigm of this verb.

<sup>34</sup> The underlying form of the 1<sup>st</sup> person singular patient is /tse/ and 2<sup>nd</sup> person singular patient is *netse-*. However, /tse-/ has become voiced [dze-] and the 2<sup>nd</sup> person has become [nedze-]. The voiceless /tse/ is important for understanding the continuing voiceless irregular forms, and the irregular 2<sup>nd</sup> person patient [+participant] /so-/ forms.



## CHAPTER 4: DETAILED CONTENTS

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Figure 4.1. The Verb Phrase: Prefixes and Pre-Verbal Information

Clitic	Independent Words		Prefixes				STEM
	Noun Patient	Direction and Location	3 <sup>rd</sup> Person Actor/Patient	1 <sup>st</sup> and 2 <sup>nd</sup> Patient	1 <sup>st</sup> and 2 <sup>nd</sup> Actor	Valence	
Negation nē- 'not'	k'a(la) 'thing'	'a 'there, over there' ke 'away from' ki 'towards speaker' khæ 'through' thla 'out of' pe 'above' pho 'under' s'æ 'down' ta 'on' ti 'in' 'ya 'across' 'yu 'up'	(Figure 3.1)	(Figure 3.1)	(Figure 3.1)	k'a- reciprocal k'ā- accompany  *yo- [+participant]	

#### 4.2 Verb Phrase: Suffixes and Post-Verbal Information

Suffixes		Independent Words		Clitics	
<b>S T E M</b>	Aspect	<b>Auxiliary Verb Stem</b>	Aspect	<b>Tense</b>	<b>Perfective Aspect</b>
	-ne habitual -le repeated -de completed	te 'can' he(te) 'must' læte 'might'	-ne habitual -de completed	jē 'past imperfective'	-fa
		<b>Mode Particles</b>	Aspect		
		wa reality gō potential nō intention 'ya expectation 'le question	-ne habitual		

## CHAPTER 4: THE VERB AND VERB PHRASE

This chapter describes the verb stem (derivational morphology) and its affixes (inflectional morphology), except for pronominal agreement, which is found in Chapter 3. Section 1 describes the ways in which the verb stem is formed. Section 2 describes verbs which are formed with some of their lexical information before the pronominal agreement prefixes. Section 3 covers the reciprocal and accompaniment valence prefixes. Section 4 contains the aspect suffixes. In all earlier work, tense and mode have been treated as verb suffixes. However, these are independent particles following the verb phrase. As such, they are discussed separately in Chapter 6: Tense, Global Aspect, and Mode.

### 1. VERB STEMS AND STEM FORMATION

#### 1.1 STEM VERBS

The most basic verb is a root which has not undergone any other formative process, such as compounding or verbalization (*-ē* and *-le*). These basic verbs are called stem verbs. Basic stem verbs are generally considered to represent some of the oldest vocabulary of a language. A list of regular stem verbs is given in example (1) below.

## (1) Basic Verb Stems

'a	'carry'	sta	'blow away'
'a	'be ashamed'	stæ	'break off, harvest'
ba	'file'	stō	'swim'
ci	'sit'	s'a	'itch, vomit'
cu	'pound'	s'u	'kiss'
cwē	'touch, rub up against'	she	'hide, put away'
che	'lean against'	shi	'pity'
ch'a	'drown'	shi	'stick'
ch'wæ	'hear'	shti	'dance'
di	'wash'	shtō	'close'
'e	'lie, lay down'	shu	'tie'
fa	'stand'	sh'a	'defecate, give birth'
hā	'take'	sh'o	'be tired'
hæ	'smell, breathe, live'	tha	'pick at'
hi	'carry on the back'	thæ	'want, need'
ho	'plant'	the	'play (a sport)'
ka	'rest'	thi	'ask for, beg'
ki	'receive'	tā	'set a date'
kwē	'send'	to	'go with'
khō	'crow, make noise'	tsha	'sleep'
k'æ	'laugh'	tu	'suck'
k'ō	'make, do, build'	twæ	'pass gas'
thlæ	'have fear, be afraid'	tyō	'be angry'
thl'a	'dig'	tyō	'help'
thl'i	'cut, scratch, make a mark'	tē/tæ	'put'
thl'o	'bake'	t'æ	'release, set free'
nē/næ	'blow'	t'ē	'cough'
'nē	'see'	t'i	'urinate'
pha	'chop, cut open, cut off'	t'o	'be on menstrual period'
p'a	'be born'	wa	'bite, bite off'
p'a	'see about someone'	wā	'give'
p'æ	'call out'	wē	'dream, wake up'
p'ē	'drink'	'ya	'roast'
p'ē	'squeeze, grip'		

Basic stems that are irregular in their plural or 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> singular forms are given in Section 1.4 below. Basic stems with irregular pronouns are not listed here, but are given in Chapter 3, Section 8. Some basic stems have required pre-pronominal information. These are given in Section 2 below.

In many cases, a stem verb may also be a stem noun without any change to the stem. Most, but not all, are body parts and bodily functions. Several examples are given in (2).

(2)	<u>NOUN</u>	<u>VERB</u>
che	'body, stomach'	'lean against'
hæ	'life'	'smell, breath'
shu	'rope'	'tie'
thæ	'heart, chest'	'want, need'
t'i	'urine'	'urinate'
t'o	'seed'	'be on menstrual period'
thæ	'heart'	'want'
'ya	'tree/wood'	'roast'

Not only stem verbs, but also compound verbs can be both nouns and verbs. A few are given in (3), and more are discussed in Chapter 6, Section 2.1.

(3)	<u>NOUN</u>	<u>VERB</u>
k'ëka/nōka	'tongue'	'lick'
(dze)'yada	'(my) tribe'	'(I ) am called'

## 1.2 COMPOUND VERB STEMS

Putting two lexical items together creates a new word, called a compound. Many verb stems in Euchee were created by compounding. Most verb compounding in Euchee is historical, and because of this the parts are not easily broken understood today. Wagner (1934: 347-49) uses the term 'compound verb' to refer to three different constructions: compounds that create new verb stems (discussed here), the Particle + Verb Constructions (below in Section 2.3), and to Causative Constructions (see Chapter 8, Section 5.1).

## *Compounds*

The inventory of Eucree words, both nouns and verbs (and those which can be both), is made up of the one-syllable basic stems. These basic stems may then compound with other stems to create the two or more syllable words in Eucree. Thus, all words with more than one syllable are compounds. The basic noun stem and noun compounding is very clear in regards to this structure. New nouns may enter the vocabulary readily by compounding and their internal structure is clear. Unlike noun compounding, which is highly productive and may use any major lexical category, verb compounding is not productive today. Very few new verbs exist, and the separate lexical items that make up compound verbs are not easy to identify today. Assuming that the structure of verb stems parallels that of the noun stem, all two or more syllable verb stems can also be assumed to be compounds. The few verbs that can be broken down and analyzed support this assumption. Two certain analyses are in (4).

- (4) a. Verb + Noun  
dzowi'i  
dzo-wi-i  
1sg.pat/plus-pass-blood  
'I bleed'
- b. Verb + Adjective  
di'wedacha  
di-'weda<sup>1</sup>-cha  
2SG.ACT-talk-hard  
'I yell at'

Importantly, the pattern of the few analyzable verb compounds follows that of noun compounds: The head of the compound is the left syllable. The head determines the part of speech, whether the new word is a noun or verb.

In many cases, the head stem is analyzable and the modifying stem is frozen. Some of these verbs are given in (5).

- (5)
- |    |                             |                                   |
|----|-----------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| a. | <u>di'ya</u><br>di'yatsē    | 'I roast'<br>'I burn (something)' |
| b. | <u>dok'wā</u><br>dok'wāthlæ | 'I tie around'<br>'I hang'        |
| c. | <u>dowā</u><br>dowāji       | 'I give'<br>'I buy'               |
| d. | <u>diba</u><br>dibadē       | 'I file'<br>'I twist'             |

A set of verbs end in -ē. This is the active verbalizer -ē, which has been lexicalized as part of the stem. Normally, the active verbalizer -ē does not participate as part of the stem (*i.e.* it is not part of the derivational morphology). They are also unlike normal verbalization with -ē in that they are not impersonal verbs—they can have any actor, not just 'it.' See Chapter 7: Other Verbal Structures for more detail on verbalization with -ē. Some of these verbs are clearly compounds, where the modifying stem is an adjective ending in the verbalizer -ē. These are seen in (6a). Others are no longer transparent; those are given in (6b).

- 6)
- |    |  |  |
|----|--|--|
| a. | <u>t'as'i'ē</u><br><u>k'ēs'i'ē</u><br><u>kyōnesh'i'ē</u><br><u>pashe'ē</u>                                       | 'hate' (UN+little-ACTIVE)<br>'sneer at, criticize' (UN+little-ACTIVE)<br>'be provoked' (mind+UN+bad-ACTIVE)<br>'be burning' (burn+?bad-ACTIVE) |
| b. | <u>dik'a'ē</u><br>tsobile <u>dik'a'ē</u><br>hidi'yū'ōda'ē<br><u>doho'ē'ē</u><br><u>dzedi'ē</u><br><u>dzego'ē</u> | 'I smile'<br>'I make an agreement'<br>'I know'<br>'I frighten (someone)'<br>'I am mean, I show off'<br>'I am here'                             |

Some common two or more syllable verbs which are not able to be analyzed are listed in (7).



(7)	di <u>ditishē</u>	'I tell a lie'	(UN + ?bad)
	di <u>dikyæha</u>	'I watch, I herd'	(UN + ?plural)
	di <u>dolaha</u>	'I devour (something)'	(UN + ?plural)
	di <u>dip'ade</u>	'I am crazy' ( <u>wep'ade</u> )	'It has rabies')
	di <u>dithede</u>	'I hit'	
	di <u>di'wede</u>	'I talk'	
	di <u>disathe</u>	'I shave'	
	di <u>dibithli</u>	'I turn'	
	di <u>dithl'āci</u>	'I chase, run after'	
	di <u>dithl'ōci</u>	'I push'	
	di <u>diwāhō/diwōhō</u>	'I play, play with'	
	di <u>di'yōhō</u>	'I am hungry'	
	di <u>dowage</u>	'I look for (something)'	
	di <u>dzedikhithla</u>	'I make a mistake'	
	di <u>dziochagō</u>	'I am pregnant'	
	di <u>dzo'yafa</u>	'I sweat'	
	di <u>hidibadē</u>	'I lock (something)'	

#### *Noun Incorporation*

Euchee displays traces of noun incorporation in a handful of verbs. Noun incorporation is a type of compounding where the direct object noun is compounded into the verb stem, creating a [noun + verb] stem. Noun incorporation is archaic in Euchee, and the instances are limited to the incorporation of body parts. Examples of this remnant incorporation of body parts are in (8).

#### (8) Incorporated Body Parts

- |    |                      |                                      |
|----|----------------------|--------------------------------------|
| a. | di <u>dichespi</u>   | 'I am full'                          |
|    | che-spi              |                                      |
|    | stomach-fill         |                                      |
| b. | di <u>dichekhaba</u> | 'I have a sour stomach/I belch' (JC) |
|    | che-khaba            |                                      |
|    | stomach-swell        |                                      |

- c. di dithæ'yu 'I love, I am jealous'  
 thæ-'yu  
 heart-pain
- d. di dik'ocha 'I'm thirsty.'  
 k'o-cha  
 throat-dry
- e. di dikyōwā 'I think'  
 kyō-wā  
 mind-give(?)
- f. di di'ōp'aso 'I point'  
 'ō-p'aso  
 finger-UN
- g. di dithopātē 'I am dizzy'  
 tho-pātē  
 head-UN
- h. di dichuda 'I listen'  
 chu-da  
 ear-UN

### *Yu Stem Verbs*

A large set of verbs have the morpheme *'yu* as the first syllable in the stem. There appears to be at least three, possibly four, different morphemes *'yu*. A small set is the basic verb stem *'yu* 'to be sick, in pain' and then several compounds made with this stem. A larger set consists of compounds with the verbalized locative *'yu* 'yonder, away from.' Another set has to do with the 'speech, mouth.' The last set fits the general pattern of remnant noun incorporation, where incorporated nouns act as a type of verb classification, in this case verbs dealing with the 'mind.' Although the original meaning and part of speech of the *'yu* morpheme is obscure in the 'speech/mouth' and 'mind,' the verbs fall nicely into these semantic categories.

The *'yu* stem verbs are important because as a group they behave uniquely: The stem *'yu* undergoes obligatory contraction with the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person singular pronominals. This contraction is discussed after the thematic groupings here, with examples in (13). Because of this contraction, all the examples in this section are given in the impersonal *go-* form of the verb.

The basic stem verb *'yu* 'to be sick or ache' is used in several serial verb constructions and in compounds. The basic stem verb and two serial verbs are given in (9a), and the compounds in (9b). The compounds (9b) participate in the contraction with pronominals.

- (9) a. *di dze'yu* 'I am sick, I ache, I hurt'  
*di dithæ dze'yu* 'I am sad, sorry' (Lit.=my heart I ache)  
*di dithæ dze'yu* 'I weep, mourm/ I have a broken heart'  
*di dithæ dze'yúle* 'I regret' (Lit.=my heart I ache again)
- b. *go'yútha(th)* 'to scratch'  
*go'yúsh'o(le)* 'to wither, be exhausted'  
*go'yúshu(shu)* 'to shake, tremble'

The largest set of *'yu* stem verbs have the locative *'yu* 'yonder' or 'away from' or *'yule* 'around' as the stem from which compounds are made. The

locative *'yu* can verbal, as seen in (10a). The compounds made with the verbalized locative *'yu* and *'yule* in the stem are in (10b).

(10) Spread out, Away from, Around

a. <i>'yu</i>	'yonder, away from'
<i>'yúē</i>	'to be spread out/It is spread out'
b. <i>go'yuk'ók'ó</i>	'to shake out, rinse out'
<i>go'yúē</i>	'to spread out'
<i>go'yúbā</i>	'to spread or sprinkle on, over, to sow'
<i>go'yúbitli</i>	'to crank' (away from + turn)
<i>go'yuhé'ne</i>	'to be curious' <sup>2</sup> ([ <i>'yuhé</i> ]= 'out there' + 'see')
<i>go'yúhō</i>	'to embrace, hug'
<i>go'yúk'ane</i>	'to sieve'
<i>go'yúkhwæ</i>	'to tie' [ <i>we'yú/yule go'yúkhwæ</i> tie around]
<i>go'yústa</i>	'to sprinkle (something) over'
<i>higo'yufōle</i>	'to stop, cut off'
<i>higo'yúha</i>	'to waylay'
<i>higo'yúpē</i>	'to mend, patch, put over'
<i>higo'yústē(stē)</i>	'to sprinkle'
<i>higo'yúthl'ēji</i>	'to drive'
<i>higo'yúthl'ō</i>	'to singe' (away + bake)
<i>k'ago'yushi</i>	'to stir'
<i>k'ago'yuthla</i>	'to trade' (away + go)

Another set clearly relates to the spoken word and the mouth and throat. The morpheme *'yu* does not resemble the modern terms *godash'i* 'mouth' or *k'ō* 'neck.' There is the possibility that the *'yu* in words for speech and throat are related to the locative 'yonder, away from.' Booker (1979: 221-222) gives the locative prefix *\*čok* in Muskogean 'inside' or 'coming from mouth.' This prefix is found in remnant compounding for a variety of words, not all mouth related. The set of speech and mouth related *'yu* stem verbs are in (11).

(11) 'Speech and Mouth'

go'yúgwa	'to tell or relate something to someone.'	
go'yústi	'to tell a lie'	
go'yúta	'to show, teach, charge'	
go'yutátá	'to train'	
go'yúdi	'to gargle'	(goti wash)
go'yune	'to blow on'	
higo'yúse/go'yúfē	'to rule'	
higo'yútwá	'to shout'	
kego'yútwá	'to spit'	
tago'yúē	'to shout, at a ball game'	(GW: 102)
ti'yuleha 'yagogwa	'to tell a story, tale, myth'	(Lit.= myth I tell)

The last category is the 'mind.' Here, the stem 'yu was presumably an incorporated noun, although the words *kyō* 'mind' or 'brain' and *tho* 'head' bear no resemblance to 'yu. (A noun stem 'yu 'house' could possibly be a metaphorical use of an older word for the concept of 'mind.') The set of 'mind' 'yu verbs are in (12).

(12) 'Mind'

gode'yúshē <sup>3</sup>	'to enjoy'	('yu + 'good')
go'yúsh'ē	'to wait'	
go'yunē('nē)	'to measure, to aim'	('yu + 'see')
go'yúnē'nē	'to try'	('yu + 'see' + REDUP)
higo'yúneshē	'to expect, to trust'	('yu + 'see' + 'good')
higo'yúta'a	'to depend on'	
higo'yú'ōda'ē	'to know'	
higo'yú'ōdale	'to remember, recognize'	
higo'yúha	'to watch'	
higo'yústi	'to deceive, fake, fool'	

The 'yu stem verbs act differently than any other verbs in regards to stress and their obligation to undergo contraction. Most verbs have the primary stress of the second syllable of the stem. However, the stress on thematic 'yu verbs is on the first syllable, or the morpheme 'yu. There are some exceptions. Most notably, when the second syllable is reduplicated to show consecutive or

distributed aspect, the stress follows the regular pattern for reduplication morphemes, and the primary stress is on the second and reduplicated syllables.

All of the 'yu stem verbs take the active pronominals *di-* 1<sup>st</sup> person singular and *ne-* 2<sup>nd</sup> person singular. However, the stem 'yu- undergoes contraction with the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person singular actor pronominals. No other pronouns contract with the stem. The contraction is idiosyncratic, producing the following forms:

(13) Yu Stem Contraction

*di-* + 'yu = *do-*  
*ne-* + 'yu = *yo-*

The forms created by the contraction of the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person actor with the 'yu morpheme are the same form as the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person singular actor [+participant] pronominals, *do-* and *yo-*, respectively (see Chapter 3, Section 4.2).

4

The complete conjugation of a typical 'yu stem verb, *go'yush'ē* 'to wait,' is given in (14). The contracted forms are underlined.

(14) *go'yush'ē* 'to wait': A 'yu Stem Verb in Contracted Form

	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>	
<b>1</b>	<u>dosh'ē</u>	'ō'yush'ē nō'yush'ē	<b>1</b> (INCL) <b>1</b> (EXCL)
<b>2</b>	'yosh'ē	ā'yush'ē	
<b>3</b> (EM) <i>m.s.</i>	<u>hē'yush'ē/hō'yush'ē</u>	<u>hō'yush'ē</u>	(E) <i>m.s.</i>
(EM) <i>w.s.</i>	<u>s'ē'yush'ē</u>	<u>'o'yush'ē</u>	(E) <i>w.s.</i>
(EF)	<u>se'yush'ē</u>		
(NE)	<u>we'yush'ē</u>	<u>we'yush'ē</u>	(NE)



(17) higo'yusti 'to deceive'

a. 'As'enō s'edosti jē.

'as'enō	s'e-do-sti	jē
Him	3SG(EM).PAT-1SG.ACT+'YU-deceive	PAST
'I deceived him.'		

b. Di s'edze'yustijē.

di	s'e-dze-'yu-sti	jē
Me	3SG(EM).ACT-1SG.PAT-deceive	PAST
'He deceived me.'		

c. \*di s'edzosti jē 'He deceived me'

The 'yu morpheme in verb stems has been problematic in earlier analyses of Euclee. Wagner (1934: 336) treated the morpheme 'yu as part of the 'amalgamation' between the pronoun and 'instrumental prefix' *hi-*. In other words, he analyzed the instrumental as being *hi-* in the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person singular, and 'yu on the stem for the rest of the conjugation. All instrumentals, then, took the 2<sup>nd</sup> series of pronominals, or the *do-* actor series. The immediate problem with this analysis is that not all verbs which require the prefix *hi-*, Wagner's instrumental prefix, have the morpheme 'yu in the stem; conversely, not all 'yu theme verbs take the prefix *hi-* in the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person. Wagner considered these irregular instrumentals. The prefix *hi-* that Wagner analyzes as instrumental is analyzed below as the inanimate 3<sup>rd</sup> person pronominal (see Chapter 3. Section 4.3).

### 1.3 REDUPLICATED STEMS

Reduplication of the final syllable of the verb stem is used to show consecutive (iterative) and distributed aspect. The phonology of reduplication is discussed in Chapter 2, Section 3.3.



### *Consecutive (Iterative)*

Some actions are repeated consistently or consecutively. This is consecutive (iterative) aspect. Often, this type of aspect is inherent to the meaning of the word. For example, 'to braid' is by nature an action which is repeated consecutively. Other times, the difference between an action done once and the same action done consecutively changes the meaning of the word. In this way, too, inherent aspect is lexical. Since consecutive aspect is lexical in nature, it affects the stem of the verb. Other aspects are found affixed to the end of the verb, in Section 4 below.

Most consecutive actions are expressed by reduplication. This means the last syllable of the stem is repeated. Both syllables bear equal stress, which is generally the primary stress for the verb. The instances below show a single action verb and a related consecutive action shown by reduplication. The lexical nature of this reduplication is clear.

- (18) a. diwa                                    'I bite'  
      diwawa                                   'I chew'
- b. di'yushu                                'I (give a) shake'  
      di'yushushu                              'I shake/tremble'

Additional examples given in the 1<sup>st</sup> person *di-* or *do-* forms. The stems are underlined:

- (19) a. doba                                    'I rub against'  
      dobaba                                   'I rub over and over'
- b. dodo.                                    'I touch, feel'  
      dododo.                                   'I feel around/mess around with/play with'
- c. dothl'i                                   'I make a mark, scratch'  
      dothl'ithl'i                                'I am writing'

d.	<u>dithl'i</u> <u>dithl'ithl'i</u>	'I cut' 'I slice'	
e.	<u>hōtha</u> <u>dothatha</u>	'he scratches (on the Clean Ground)' 'I am scratching (an itch)'	
f.	<u>di'a</u> <u>do'a'a</u>	'I am crying' 'I am whining'	
g.	<u>dik'æ</u> <u>dik'æk'æ</u>	'I laugh' 'I am laughing a lot/I am making fun of'	
h.	<u>dipā</u> <u>dipāpā</u>	'I yell, holler' 'I hoop'	
i.	<u>S'edop'a</u> <u>Wigæ yop'ap'a?</u>	'I'm looking for/at him' (women's speech) 'What are you looking/searching for?'	
j.	<u>se'yúta</u> <u>se'yutátá</u>	'she teaches' (' <i>yu</i> stem verb) 'she trains' (' <i>yu</i> stem verb)	
k.	<u>dop'ē</u> <u>dop'ēp'ē</u>	'I grip, squeeze' 'I poke at, around'	
l.	<u>dibithli</u> <u>dibithlithli</u>	'I turn around' 'I turn in circles'	
m.	<u>didaka</u> disha <u>didakaka</u> disha	'I open my mouth.' 'I yawn.'	(causative) (causative)

Some actions are always consecutively performed, and so only appear in the reduplicated form, such as those in (20). This is especially true of sound verbs, given in (20b).

(20)	a.	<u>diphæphæ</u> <u>diphapha</u> <u>dithæthæ</u> <u>diwējiji</u> <u>dobābā</u> <u>dofāfā</u> <u>dothl'ithl'ine</u>	'I am rowing' 'I peck' 'I am braiding/I am weaving' 'I am crawling' 'I brush, sweep, erase' 'I am walking' 'I fiddle/I play the violin'
------	----	---	---

b. <u>wewowo</u>	'(the dog) it is barking'
<u>wek'o'k'o</u>	'(the chicken) it is clucking'
<u>wekhōkhō</u>	'(the bird) it is crowing, singing'
<u>wekaka</u>	'it's cackling'
<u>khōkhō</u>	'it is making a loud noise (blowing, whistling)'
<u>shkwashkwa</u>	'it (a bucket) is clanging, clunking'

### *Distributed*

Reduplication is also used to show distributed actions. Distributed actions are those which happen in several different places. The action may be repeated or not, and may occur at the same time or not. In addition, the action may be separated by very close or distant proximity. What is significant is that the action is distributed over space.

In the examples below, the first in each set is the non-distributed action, and the second is the distributed action.

- (21) a. **Wedoshe.** [wèdošé]  
 we-do-she  
 3SG(NE).PAT-1SG.ACT/PLUS-hide  
 'I'm hiding from him.' (in one place)
- Wesheshe.** [wešéšé]  
 we-she-she  
 3SG(NE).ACT-hide-REDUP  
 'He's hiding/He keeps moving around.'
- b. **k'ada disha**  
 k'a-da                      di-sha  
 together-PL              1SG.act-make  
 'I include, put with'
- k'atete disha**  
 k'a-te-te                      di-sha  
 together-UN-REDUP      1SG.act-make  
 'I separate.'

More examples of the distributed action follow in (22).



- c. Yup'a wecha.  
 'yu-p'a we-cha  
 up 3SG(NE).ACT-jump  
 'He (Rabbit) jumps up.'

yup'ap'a wecha. 'He (Rabbit) hops, hops around'

#### 1.4 IRREGULAR VERB STEMS

Some stems are different in the singular from the plural (suppletive). Other stems have different forms in the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person singular only. Both have regular pronominals. Irregular pronominal verbs are found in Chapter 3, Section 8.

##### *Plural Stems*

Some verb stems distinguish the singular and plural by changing the verb stem (suppletive forms). In addition, these verbs are unusual in that they have a 1<sup>st</sup> dual inclusive form 'we two.' The 1<sup>st</sup> dual inclusive is formed with the singular base and the 1<sup>st</sup> plural inclusive pronoun 'ō-

Honorific language uses the plural forms to show formality and respect. It is not just the plural pronominal, but the complete plural verb form. So, with plural stem verbs, the honorific requires the plural pronouns 'ō- and hō- and the plural stems. Using the verb *s'æ(go)wi* 'to fall' from (25), an example of men's speech, in (24a) below, and women's speech, in (24b) is given below.

#### (24) Honorific Forms with Plural Stem Verbs

- a. Di dik'atōnō s'æhōyā.  
 di dik'atō-hōnō s'æ-hō-yā  
 I 1SG(I).POSS-spouse-CL(E).PL down-3PL(E).ACT-fall.PL  
 'My wife fell down.' (men's speech)

- b. Di dik'atō'onō sǎ'oyā.  
 di dik'ato'onō                      sǎ-'o-yā  
 I 1SG(I).POSS-spouse-CL(E).PL down-3PL(E).ACT-fall.PL  
 'My husband fell down.' (womens' speech)

A few speakers say that the plural pronoun and the singular base, such as *s'əhowi* and *s'ə'owi*, is possible, but that the plural stem considered proper. See Chapter 6, Section 3.1 for appropriate usage of the honorific system.

Verbs which have a different stem in the singular and plural are limited to those given below. In each case, the main verb is given first, followed by derived verbs which conjugate in the same manner. Since these verbs often have irregular pronoun forms, all the forms are given for each.

- (25) ke(go)wi                      'to pass by, to be lost'  
       (go)wile                      'die'  
       s'ǎ(go)wi                      'to fall down, to drop (something)'  
       'a(go)wi/ǎ(go)wi              'to fall off (of something)'  
       s'ǎhe (go)wi                    'to get out of a car'

Note: Besides the variations of (go)wi given here, it is a common verb in serial verb constructions.

	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>	
<b>1</b>	ked <i>wi</i>	ke'ō <i>wi</i> ke'ōyā kenōyā	dual (INCL) (INCL) (EXCL)
<b>2</b>	kenew <i>i</i>	ke'ayā/ke'ǎyā	
<b>3</b> (EM) <i>m.s.</i>	kehē <i>wi</i>	kehōyā	(E) <i>m.s.</i>
(EM) <i>w.s.</i>	kes'ew <i>i</i>	ke'oyā	(E) <i>w.s.</i>
(EF)	kesew <i>i</i>		
(NE)	kewew <i>i</i>	keweyā	(NE)

(26) 'yu(go)de 'fly'

	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>	
<b>1</b>	'yudide	'yu'ōde 'yu'ō'ō 'yunō'ō	dual (INCL) (INCL) (EXCL)
<b>2</b>	'yunede	'yu'æ'ō	
<b>3</b> (EM) <i>m.s.</i>	'yuhēde	'yuhō'ō	(E) <i>m.s.</i>
(EM) <i>w.s.</i>	'yus'ede	'yu'o'ō	(E) <i>w.s.</i>
(EF)	'yusede		
(NE)	'yuwede	'yuwe'ō	(NE)

(27) (go)nō 'to be'

Note: The related verb (*go*)nō 'to be located' is irregular in the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> singular forms. It is found in Chapter 3, example (108). It, too, may have the plural *ha* stem. In addition, the verb 'to be located with' (*go*)nō may have the plural stem. It can be seen in Chapter 3, example (56).

	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>	
<b>1</b>	dzoṅō	'ōnō 'ōha nōha	dual (INCL) (INCL) (EXCL)
<b>2</b>	yonō	'æha	
<b>3</b> (EM) <i>m.s.</i>	hōnō	hēha	(E) <i>m.s.</i>
(EM) <i>w.s.</i>	s'onō	'oha	(E) <i>w.s.</i>
(EF)	sonō		
(NE)	yōnō	weha	(NE)

- (28) (ne)ke (go)ci 'live, live there/stay, stay there'  
 ti(go)ci 'to get in a car'

Note: Irregular 2<sup>nd</sup> plural stem.

	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>	
<b>1</b>	kedoci	<u>ʔci</u> <u>'ōha</u> neha/nōha	<b>1 dual</b> (INCL) <b>1</b> (INCL) <b>1</b> (EXCL)
<b>2</b>	keyoci	'æca	
<b>3</b> (EM) <i>m.s.</i>	hēwi	hōha	(E) <i>m.s.</i>
(EM) <i>w.s.</i>	s'ewi	'iha	(E) <i>w.s.</i>
(EF)	sewi		
(NE)	wewi	weha	(NE)

- (29) (go)'æle 'to be big'

Note: The examples below include the verbalizer *-le*.

	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>	
<b>1</b>	dze'æle	'o'æle 'othlæle nōthlæle	<b>dual</b> (INCL) (INCL) (EXCL)
<b>2</b>	nedze'æle	'æthlæle	
<b>3</b> (EM) <i>m.s.</i>	hō'æle	hōthlæle	(E) <i>m.s.</i>
(EM) <i>w.s.</i>	s'e'æle	'ithlæle	(E) <i>w.s.</i>
(EF)	se'æle		
(NE)	we'æle	wethlæle	(NE)



(30) (go)gēle 'to be tall, long'

Note: The examples below include the verbalizer *-le*.

	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>	
<b>1</b>	dzegēle	'ogēle 'ogēthlæle nōgēthlæle	<b>dual</b> (INCL) (INCL) (EXCL)
<b>2</b>	nedzegēle	'ægēthlæle	
<b>3</b> (EM) <i>m.s.</i>	hōgēle	hōgēha	(E) <i>m.s.</i>
(EM) <i>w.s.</i>	s'egēle	'igēthlæle	(E) <i>w.s.</i>
(EF)	segēle		
(NE)	wegēle	wegēthæle	(NE)

(31) gothla 'to go'  
gok'āthla 'to go with/to take someone'

Note: The verb (*go*)*thla* 'to go' also has irregular 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> singular stems and pronominals. This verb is discussed in Chapter 3, Section 8, and with tense in Chapter 5, Section 2.5.

	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>	
<b>1</b>	weda	'ōthla 'ōfe 'nōfe	<b>dual</b> (INCL) (INCL) (EXCL)
<b>2</b>	wesha	'afe	
<b>3</b> (EM) <i>m.s.</i>	hōthla	hōfe	(E) <i>m.s.</i>
(EM) <i>w.s.</i>	s'iothla	'ōfe	(E) <i>w.s.</i>
(EF)	siothla		
(NE)	wethla	wefe	(NE)

*Irregular 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> Singular Stems*

Another set of verb stems is irregular only in the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> singular, and sometimes in the 2<sup>nd</sup> plural. The pronominals, however, are regular. This differs from the irregular stems in which the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person pronominals are fused with the stem. These are described in Chapter 3, Section 8. However, the irregular stems described here follow the same general pattern as the stems fused with the pronominals. This being so, it is probable that the stems here were fused with the pronominals, and then in order to regularize the verb, additional pronominals were affixed later.

- (32) (go)thla 'make, do'  
       'ake'e (go)thla 'did something/did it that way'

Note: *gothla* is used in causative constructions. See Chapter 8, Section 5.1 for discussion and list of causative verbs.

	<b><u>Singular</u></b>	<b><u>Plural</u></b>			
<b>1</b>	<u>d</u> isha	'o <th>thla</th> n'o <th>thla</th>	thla	thla	(INCL) (EXCL)
<b>2</b>	<u>n</u> esha	'asha/athla			
<b>3</b> (EM) <i>m.s.</i>	<u>h</u> e <th>thla</th>	thla	h'e <th>thla</th>	thla	(E) <i>m.s.</i>
(EM) <i>w.s.</i>	s'e <th>thla</th>	thla	'o <th>thla</th>	thla	(E) <i>w.s.</i>
(EF)	se <th>thla</th>	thla			
(NE)	wethla	wethla	(NE)		

(33) 'a(go)gwa 'to say'

	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>	
<b>1</b>	'adidza	'a'ōgwa	(INCL)
		'anōgwa	(EXCL)
<b>2</b>	'aneja	'ānja	
	(short: ānja)		
<b>3</b> (EM) <i>m.s.</i>	'ahēgwa	'ahōgwa	(E) <i>m.s.</i>
	(EM) <i>w.s.</i> 'as'egwa	'a'ogwa	(E) <i>w.s.</i>
	(EF) 'asegwa		
	(NE) 'awegwa	'awegwa	(NE)

(34) 'a(go)'ē 'think'

	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>	
<b>1</b>	'a dits'ē	'a 'ō'ē	(INCL)
		'a nō'ē	(EXCL)
<b>2</b>	'a nec'ya/c'yō	'a 'ac'ya	
<b>3</b> (EM) <i>m.s.</i>	'a hō'ē	'a ho'ē	(E) <i>m.s.</i>
	(EM) <i>w.s.</i> 'a s'e'ē	'a 'o'ē	(E) <i>w.s.</i>
	(EF) 'a se'ē		
	(NE) 'a we'ē	'a we'ē	(NE)

### 1.5 A NOTE ON VERBALIZATION

Any part of speech, including grammatical particles, may become verbs in Euchee. There are two verbalizers: *-ē* creates active verbs and *-le* creates stative verbs. Verbalization is usually part of the derivational morphology of a language. In other words, an affix that changes a noun to a verb is treated as

part of the verb stem. However, in Euchee, the verbalizers are not part of the verb stem. Instead, it is a particle which comes after the noun and can be cliticized to the new verb and mode auxiliary. Evidence for this includes the fact that the verbalizers do not participate in stem stress patterns, and the Yes/No question particle *-/e*, which comes after complete phrases, comes between the stem and the verbalizer *-ē*.

The mode auxiliaries and particles may follow noun stems, which also causes the stem to be interpreted as a verb. The verbalizers *-ē* and mode are introduced in Chapter 5. Verbalization is such an extensive and productive process in Euchee that it is treated separately in Chapter 7.

## **2. VERBS WITH REQUIRED PRE-PRONOMINAL INFORMATION**

Some verbs require information which appears before (to the left of) the pronominals on the verb. Although this information is outside of the pronominal complex, it is lexical in nature. This means it is required in the formation of that verb and often changes the meaning of a basic stem.

### **2.1 K'A VERBS: REQUIRED PATIENT *k'ala* 'THING'**

A few two-place (transitive) verbs require the direct object 'thing' *k'ala* in the formation of the verb. The full form is shown in (36a). In discourse the patient is generally in the short form *k'a*, as in (36b).

- (36) a. 'Ipathlæhe k'ala 'õthlæ. [i'pɔtæhé k'alá 'ɔtæ]  
 'ipathlæ-he k'ala 'õ-thlæ  
 noon-at thing 1PL(INCL).ACT-eat  
 'We're going to eat at noon.'
- b. 'Ipathlæhe k'a'õthlæ. [i'pɔtæhé k'a 'ɔtæ]  
 'ipathlæ-he k'a 'õ-thlæ  
 noon-at thing 1PL(INCL).ACT-eat  
 'We're going to eat at noon.'

The patient may be specified in an independent word. This is done on first reference, or later to reinforce or clarify the object. Even when the referent is clearly specified, *k'a* is still obligatory. Example (37a) shows the incorporated object read generally as 'it/them' or 'this/that.' In (37b), the named object appears along with the obligatory *k'a*.

- (37) a. K'a 'o'yushi. [k'a 'o'yúshi]  
 k'a 'o-'yushi  
 thing 3SG(EH).ACT-stir  
 She's stirring it.
- b. Tsoshi k'a'o'yushi. [dzoshí k'a 'o'yúshi]  
tsoshi k'a-'o-'yushi  
 tsoshi thing-3SG(EH).ACT-stir  
 She's stirring the tsoshi (sofki).

Several verbs which require the object *k'a/a* are in (38). They are in the short form, and the verb stem is underlined.

- |      |                      |                           |                        |
|------|----------------------|---------------------------|------------------------|
| (38) | k'a <u>dikithlō</u>  | 'I take (something) away' |                        |
|      | k'a <u>dikyōle</u>   | 'I remember'              |                        |
|      | k'a <u>dita</u>      | 'I am satisfied'          |                        |
|      | k'a <u>do'yushi</u>  | 'I stir'                  |                        |
|      | k'a <u>dik'ō</u>     | 'I work'                  |                        |
|      | k'a <u>dok'ō</u>     | 'I make (something)'      |                        |
|      | k'a <u>dothla</u>    | 'to trade'                | ( <i>yu</i> stem verb) |
|      | k'a (go) <u>thlæ</u> | 'to eat'                  | (irregular verb)       |

## 2.2 LOCATION PARTICLE + VERB CONSTRUCTION

Many verbs in Euchee require a location or direction particle in their formation. These are called Particle + Verb Constructions. The location particle is found preceding the pronominals on the verb. In most cases, the particle is one syllable, but the particle can have a general location suffix.

- (39) a. s'ǽ diwí                      'I fall, get out of a vehicle'  
b. s'ǽlé diwí                      'I get down of/out of something'

See Chapter 2, Section 5 for discussion on the stress of clitic particles.

The addition of the particle in the Particle + Verb Construction creates a new verb. Although the combination can keep the location meaning or be related to the original locative meaning, in most cases the combination is idiomatic (different from the sum of its parts). This contrasts with the postposition particles of noun phrases. For example, (40a) shows a location noun phrase, headed by the postposition 'ya 'across.' The same particle 'ya is used in the Particle + Verb Construction verb 'sing,' literally 'put across,' in (40b).

- (40) a. Postposition Phrase  
[Yastæde'e 'ya] nōfe.                      ['yùstæde'é 'yá nɔ́fé]  
yastæde-'e                      'ya                      nō-fe  
bridge-CL/DET(lie)                      across                      IPL(EXCL).ACT-go  
'We went [across the bridge.]'
- b. Particle + Verb Construction  
'Yakwēne ['ya dikwē.]                      ['yùkwɛ́ni 'yá diké]  
'yakwēne                      'ya                      di-k'wē  
song                      across                      ISG.act-put  
'[I put across] a song.' = 'I sang a song.'  
\*I put [across a song].

Another difference is between the postposition particles and the particles in Particle + Verb Constructions is the use of the general location suffixes *-he*, -

*fa*, and *-le*. These general location suffixes may be added freely to postposition particles to finely modify their meaning. However, as a general rule, the particle in the Particle + Verb Construction has been lexicalized without a general locative suffix, or it has been lexicalized with only one of the suffixes. They cannot be added freely to the particle in the Particle + Verb Construction. The difference between the two can be seen in (41).

(41) a. Postposition + General Location Suffix

Yastæde'e 'ya nōfe. 'We went across the bridge.'  
 Yastæde'e 'yale nōfe. 'We went back across the bridge.'

b. Particle + Verb

'Yakwēne 'ya dikwē. 'I sang the song.'  
 \*'Yakwēne 'yale dikwē. \*'I sang the song again.'  
 'Yakwēne 'ya dikwēle. 'I sang the song again.'

The following lists give some common Location Particle + Verb Constructions. They are organized by the location particle, and the verb stem is underlined.

(42) 'a Location 'there'

'a di'ote	'I keep, put there'
'a d <u>ichi</u>	'I sit there, live there'
'a di <u>ji</u>	'I dress up'
'a di <u>de</u>	'I been there'
'a di <u>ga</u>	'I get there, reach'
'a di <u>p'a</u>	'I glance'
'a di <u>pō</u>	'I take off' (?)
'a di <u>t'awē</u>	'I deliver, turn over'
'a di <u>s'e</u>	'I think'
'a di <u>tsa</u>	'I say'
'a di <u>wē</u>	'I untie, untwist, take off'
'a di <u>wi</u>	'I come off/I lose' (plural stem verb)
'a do' <u>ē</u>	'I care, care about'
'a do <u>ge</u>	'I call, talk about'
'a do <u>gwa</u>	'I say'
'a do <u>te</u>	'I stay there'

- (43) *ke-* Direction 'away from the speaker/to over there'
- |                            |                                |
|----------------------------|--------------------------------|
| <i>ke d<u>icha</u></i>     | 'I jump off of'                |
| <i>ke d<u>ifa</u></i>      | 'I stand there'                |
| <i>ke d<u>igo</u></i>      | 'I send for someone'           |
| <i>ke d<u>ipha</u></i>     | 'I throw'                      |
| <i>ke d<u>iwi</u></i>      | 'I pass by, pass to'           |
| <i>ke d<u>o'wede</u></i>   | 'I call on the phone'          |
| <i>ke d<u>ochi</u></i>     | 'I am here, I live here'       |
| <i>ke d<u>ostenō</u></i>   | 'I scatter'                    |
| <i>ke d<u>o'yutwa</u></i>  | 'I spit'                       |
| <i>ke d<u>ot'æ</u></i>     | 'I stand (something) up, bury' |
| <i>ke s'æ d<u>ithe</u></i> | 'I run'                        |
- (44) *ki-* Direction 'towards the speaker'
- |  |                          |
|--|--------------------------|
| <i>ki (dzo)<u>thla</u></i>               | 'pass (to me)'           |
| <i>ki (dzo)<u>k'wē</u></i>               | 'pass, give (to me)'     |
| <i>ki (dzo)<u>'wede</u></i>              | 'call (me) on the phone' |
| <i>ki d<u>ithla</u>/ki d<u>ithlō</u></i> | 'I escape, miss'         |
| <i>ki d<u>ithla</u></i>                  | 'I fall down, pass out'  |
- (45) *kya~kyæ~khæ* Direction 'through, along'
- |  |                                  |
|--|----------------------------------|
| <i>kyæ d<u>ifa</u>/khæ d<u>ifa</u></i> | 'I follow'                       |
| <i>kyæ d<u>iga</u></i>                 | 'I catch up with'                |
| <i>kya d<u>iwi</u></i>                 | 'I finish (pass through)'        |
| <i>kyæ ga</i>                          | '(it goes) fluently, to the end' |
- (46) *la* Location 'outside'
- |                          |                           |
|--------------------------|---------------------------|
| <i>lafa d<u>isha</u></i> | 'I break open'            |
| <i>lahe d<u>ipha</u></i> | 'I throw out, throw away' |
- (47) *thla* Direction 'out of'
- |                           |                                      |
|---------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| <i>thla d<u>ip'a</u></i>  | 'I peep out'                         |
| <i>thla d<u>ok'wē</u></i> | 'I pour out'                         |
| <i>thlahe k'ōda</i>       | 'take it out/there' (irregular verb) |



(48)	<i>pe</i>	Location 'above'		
	<i>pe weda</i>		'I go up, I climb'	(irregular verb)
	<i>pele weda</i>		'I join'	(irregular verb)
	<i>pe donō</i>		'I conquer, overcome'	(plural stem verb)
(49)	<i>pho</i>	Location 'under'		
	<i>s'apho di'e</i>		'I bury (=lie underground)'	
	<i>s'apho dokw'ē</i>		'I bury (=put underground)'	
	<i>s'apho wethla</i>		'I sink (into the ground)'	(irregular verb)
	<i>tsepho wethla</i>		'I sink (under water)'	(irregular verb)
(50)	<i>s'æ</i>	Location 'down, on the ground' Direction 'downwards'		
	<i>s'æ dīci</i>		'I sit down'	
	<i>s'æ di'e</i>		'I lie down, go to bed'	
	<i>s'æ diphocu</i>		'I kneel'	
	<i>s'æ dit'āwē</i>		'I drop (something)'	
	<i>s'æ dithl'i</i>		'I plow'	
	<i>s'æ diwi</i>		'I fall, get down, get out of/I drop (something)'	
	<i>s'æ dot'ē</i>		'I put (something) down/I set down'	
	<i>s'æ dothē</i>		'I run off'	
	<i>s'æ dok'wē</i>		'I drop (something)'	
	<i>s'æle diwi</i>		'I get down'	
(51)	<i>ta</i>	Location 'on'		
	<i>ta do'wede</i>		'talk about (someone)/I gossip/I complain'	
	<i>ta dīcha</i>		'I step on'	
	<i>ta dīci</i>		'I ride (a horse)'	
	<i>ta difa</i>		'I get on'	
	<i>ta dihē</i>		'I sweep'	
	<i>ta dithl'ōke</i>		'I push on'	
	<i>ta diyabō</i>		'I spread out'	
	<i>ta dok'wē</i>		'I tear'	
	<i>ta dothæ</i>		'I put up (a teepee)'	
	<i>ta k'ōnda</i>		'I take off'	(irregular verb /(go)thla/)
	<i>tawō dita</i>		'I appoint'	
	<i>tawō weda</i>		'I walk onto something, discover'	(irregular)
	<i>tahe disha</i>		'I turn over, uncover'	(irregular)

- (52) *ti*                      Location 'inside of'
- |                 |                  |
|-----------------|------------------|
| <i>ti difa</i>  | 'I wear'         |
| <i>ti diwi</i>  | 'I enter, go in' |
| <i>ti dithē</i> | 'I pull (on)'    |
- (53) *'ya*                      Direction 'across'
- |                   |                      |
|-------------------|----------------------|
| <i>'ya dogwa</i>  | 'I tell, talk about' |
| <i>'ya dikwē</i>  | 'I sing'             |
| <i>'yale diwi</i> | 'I turn and go back' |
| <i>'ya dotsē</i>  | 'I burn off'         |
| <i>'ya dipō</i>   | 'I sow, pour out'    |
- (54) *'yu, 'yup'a*              Location 'up in the air'
- |                        |                                  |                    |
|------------------------|----------------------------------|--------------------|
| <i>'yu dide</i>        | 'I fly                           | (plural stem verb) |
| <i>'yu weda</i>        | 'I grow up'                      | (irregular verb)   |
| <i>'yule dok'wē</i>    | 'I tie around'                   |                    |
| <i>'yup'a dok'wē</i>   | 'I raise, lift (something) up'   |                    |
| <i>'yup'a dīcha</i>    | 'I jump up'                      |                    |
| <i>'yup'ap'a dīcha</i> | 'I hop, hop around, jump around' |                    |
| <i>p'a difa</i>        | 'I slipped'                      |                    |
- (55) Miscellaneous Location and Direction
- |                   |                          |
|-------------------|--------------------------|
| <i>tsahe difa</i> | 'I stand, stand up'      |
| <i>tho dohō</i>   | 'I cover (something) up' |
| <i>kho dotha</i>  | 'I open'                 |
| <i>kō dita</i>    | 'I climb'                |

The verbs *k'wē* 'send' *wi* 'pass' and *thla* 'go' are generally found with a postposition particle. This is because the nature of the verb requires a location. For example, the sentence 'I sent a letter' is not complete without a location, such as 'I sent a letter to my cousin.' Moreover, these verbs are commonly found in Particle + Verb Constructions where the meanings are highly idiomatic. In these constructions, the particles with these verbs are also more likely to have a general location suffix.

Although many of these Particle + Verb constructions are given above, it is helpful to see these verbs with a range the locatives and their idiomatic

meanings. The verb *k'wē* (~ *k'wæ*) 'send' is given in (56a). Examples of cliticized particles follow in (56b), and then the independent particles with locative suffixes and the verb are in (56c). This pattern is followed for *wi* 'pass' in (57) and *thla* 'go' in (58). In addition to the location particles, the verb *k'wē* 'send' has some idioms that are created with adverbs and nouns. Because they behave like the particles (they are unchanging and always pre-verb), they are listed in (56d).

(56) Location Particle + *k'wē* 'send'

- |    |                                |   |              |
|----|--------------------------------|---|--------------|
| a. | <i>dok'wē</i>                  | 'I send.'   |              |
| b. | <u>y'a</u> <i>dok'wē</i>       | 'I sing.'   |              |
|    | <u>ta</u> <i>dok'wē</i>        | 'I tear (something) up.'                          |              |
|    | <u>thla</u> <i>dok'wē</i>      | 'I pour out'                                      |              |
|    | <u>s'æ</u> <i>dok'wē</i>       | 'I drop (something)'                              |              |
| c. | <u>yup'a</u> <i>dok'wē</i>     | 'I lift (something)/I lift (something) up'        |              |
|    | <u>dekhi</u> <i>dok'wē</i>     | 'I separate out (something)' <sup>6</sup>         |              |
|    | <u>thlahe</u> <i>dok'wē</i>    | 'I throw (something) away.'                       |              |
|    | <u>tanē</u> (hō) <i>dok'wē</i> | 'I sent (someone) off.'                           |              |
|    | <u>tahe</u> <i>dok'wē</i>      | 'I continue/I send further'                       | (JC III-109) |
|    | <u>'æpho</u> <i>dok'wē</i>     | 'I bury (something)'                              | (JC III-107) |
|    | <u>thlahe</u> <i>dok'wē</i>    | 'I pour (something) out'                          | (JC III-96)  |
| d. | <u>shwa</u> <i>dok'wē</i>      | 'I break off a piece'                             | (JC V-75)    |
|    | <u>dadzala</u> <i>dok'wē</i>   | 'I divide (something)/I split in two/I separate'  |              |
|    | <u>k'ækhæ</u> <i>dok'wē</i>    | 'I split (something) in half/I crack (something)' |              |

- (57) *wi* 'pass' (plural stem verb, see example (25) above)
- |                             |   |
|-----------------------------|---|
| a. <i>diwi</i>              | 'I pass'  |
| b. <u>'a</u> <i>diwi</i>    | 'I come off/I lose hold/I fall'   |
| <u>ke</u> <i>diwi</i>       | 'I pass by, I am lost'  |
| <u>kya</u> <i>diwi</i>      | 'I finish/I pass through'   |
| <u>s'æ</u> <i>diwi</i>      | 'I fall down/I get off of/<br>I get out of (a vehicle)/ I drop (something)' |
| <u>ti</u> <i>diwi</i>       | 'I enter/I go in'   |
| c. <u>s'æle</u> <i>diwi</i> | 'I get down'  |
| <u>sæpho</u> <i>diwi</i>    | 'I set in the ground/I bury'  |
- (58) *gothla* 'go' (irregular pronominal verb, Ch. 3, Section 8)
- |                            |                                      |
|----------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| a. <i>weda</i>             | 'I go'                               |
| b. <u>pe</u> <i>weda</i>   | 'I go up/I climb'                    |
| <u>'yu</u> <i>weda</i>     | 'I grow up'                          |
| c. <u>tawō</u> <i>weda</i> | 'I walk onto (something)/I discover' |
| <u>pele</u> <i>weda</i>    | 'I join'                             |

### 3. VALENCE PREFIXES: RECIPROCAL AND ACCOMPANIMENT

Euchee has two productive prefixes which come between the verb stem and the pronominals. These are the morphological reciprocal, the prefix *k'a-* 'each other', and the morphological accompaniments prefix *k'ā-* 'together with'. It should be noted that the reciprocal is different in form from the reflexive. The reflexive is found in Chapter 3, Section 7.

Both the reciprocal and the accompaniment change the nature of the verb in terms of its degree of transitivity, often referred to as valence. For example, an event may have one participant (one-place verb or intransitive), but may be changed to include another participant (valence increasing). The accompaniment 'together with' is a valence increasing operation. An event may have two participants (two-place verb or transitive), and the verb can be changed to have

one (valence decreasing). The reciprocal 'to each other' is a valence decreasing operation. The reciprocal and the accompaniment are productive, autonomous valence changing prefixes.

Euchee has an historical valence changing prefix which only appears in contracted form with the pronominals. This valence prefix marks the addition of a third participant (ditransitive, with a recipient or beneficiary participant) and/or the specificity of the second participant. This valence marker is discussed with the pronominals in Chapter 3, Section 4.2.

The pronunciation of these reciprocal and accompaniment prefixes can be problematic. The reciprocal prefix *k'a-* is a homophone with the short form of *k'ala* 'thing,' which is *k'a*.<sup>7</sup> The accompaniment prefix *k'ã-* differs only in nasality. However, the vowel sometimes rounds to *k'õ-* ([k'ɔ-]),<sup>8</sup> which is a homophone with the verb *k'õ-* 'to make, do.' More frequently, the vowel in the accompaniment prefix undergoes centralization and de-nasalization, creating the variations *k'v̄-* ([k'ʌ-]), *k'v-*, and *k'a-*, which is then a homophone with the reciprocal prefix *k'a-*. Some speakers today make no difference in pronunciation between the reciprocal prefix and the accompaniment prefix. And some speakers pronounce both *k'æ*, reflecting the /a/ - /æ/ variations described in Chapter 2, Section 1.3 Vowels.

### 3.1 RECIPROCAL *k'a-*

The reciprocal prefix is *k'a-*. It bears high pitch. A reciprocating situation is one in which the two (or more) participants act equally upon each other. This is translated as 'to each other' or 'to one another.' The reciprocal prefix is a valence decreasing operation. It does this in two ways. First, it can change a two-place verb (transitive) into a one-place (intransitive) verb. Instead of an actor (place 1) acting on a patient (place 2), the reciprocal raises the status of the patient so that the participants are acting equally in the event (place 1, plural

actors). This can be seen in (59), where the non-reciprocal sentences are followed their reciprocal counterparts.

- (59) a. Hēdzetede. [1 actor place, 1 patient place]  
hē-dze-thede  
 3SG(EM).ACT-1SG.PAT-hit  
 'He hit me.' (men's speech)
- Nōk'atedede.  
nō-k'a-thedede [1 actor place]  
 1PL(EXCL).ACT-RECIP-hit.REDUP  
 'We beat each other up/We hit each other repeatedly'
- b. Hēk'ātō hēthæ'yu. [1 actor place, 1 patient place]  
hē-k'ātō                      hē-thæ'yu  
 3SG(EM/I).POSS-spouse    3SG(EM).ACT-care.about  
 'He care about/loves his wife.' (men's speech)
- Hōk'āthyæ'yu. [1 actor place]  
hō-k'ā-thyæ'yu  
 3PL(E)-RECIP-care.about  
 'They care about each other./They love one another.'

The reciprocal can also raise the status of the patient to be equal with the actor, but leave the patient marked on the verb. In other words, it remains a two-place verb. In the examples below, the non-reciprocal verb is followed by a reciprocal verb.

- (60) a. 'nē 'see'  
k'a'nē 'visit, meet, see each other'
- b. Nedzedi'nē.  
ne-dze-di-'nē  
2SG-PAT-1SG.ACT-see  
'I see you.'
- c. 'Aga kyæfæde hōdik'a'nē. [ʔaga kyæfæde hō<sup>n</sup>dik'æ'nɛ<sup>n</sup>]  
'aga kyæfa-de hō-di-k'a-'nē  
day other.side-LOC 3SG(EM).PAT/PLUS-1SG.ACT-RECIP-see  
'I will visit him the day after tomorrow'
- (61) a. 'wede 'talk'  
k'a'wede 'have a conversation, talk to each other'
- b. S'e'wedede!  
s'e-'wede-de  
3SG(EM).ACT-talk.REDUP  
'He talks all the time!' (women's speech)
- c. Sek'awede 'le jē?  
se-k'a-'wede 'le jē  
3SG(EF).PAT-RECIP-talk Q PAST  
'Did you talk with her?'

The verbs that include the idea of doing with 'each other' and are always found with the reciprocal prefix are in (62a). The examples in (62b) can also take the accompaniment prefix *k'ā-*. The meaning does not change, but this ability reflects the closeness in meaning between the reciprocal and the accompaniment in some cases.

- (62) a. hōk'a'yuhō 'They embrace, hug each other'  
hōk'ash'u 'They kiss each other'  
hōk'ase 'They miss each other'  
k'abile 'It is aligned with each other/even, smooth'  
hēk'ahō 'They fight (with each other)'  
hōk'athale 'They line up (with each other)'  
k'ala dok'apa 'I pass something out (hand to each other)'
- b. hōk'a'ne 'They meet, visit, see each other'  
hōk'a'wede 'They converse, talk with each other'  
dik'a'wede 'I read'  
ki-/ke-(go)k'a'wede 'to phone each other'

### 3.2 ACCOMPANIMENT *k'ā-*

Accompaniment is expressed with the prefix *k'ā-*. It bears high pitch. An accompanied situation is one in which the actor does something with another person or persons. The accompaniment is translated as 'with' or 'together with.' The accompaniment prefix *k'ā-* marks the appearance of another participant in the event. Thus, the accompaniment is a valence increasing operation. The increase in participants with the prefix *k'ā-* can be seen clearly in the examples in (63):

- (63) a. gothla 'to go' (irregular)  
gok'āthla 'to go with someone' (irregular)  
'to carry, to take something' (irregular)
- b. 'agogō 'to come' (irregular)  
'agok'āgō 'to bring something' (irregular)

Some verbs have 'with' inherent in their meaning and always appear with accompaniment prefix. A list is given in (64).





- b. Henry nōk'aju Bristowhe nōthla jē.  
 H nō-k'aju Bristow-he nō-thla jē  
 H 1PL(EXCL).ACT-2.together Bristow-LOC 1PL(EXCL).ACT-go PAST  
 'Henry and I went to Bristow.'

(68) *k'ada* 'together, three or more in a reciprocating situation'

- a. Lewenō 'ok'ada k'ala 'othlæ 'ake 'iha.

le-wenō 'o-k'ada k'ala 'o-thlæ  
 this-(NE) 3PL(E)-PL.together thing 3PL(E).ACT-eat

'ake 'i-ha  
 there 3PL(E).ACT-PL.located

'They (non-Euchee) ate with them.' (women's speech)(JC II-24)

- b. Hōdzek'ada jē.

hō-dze-k'ada jē  
 3PL(E).ACT-1SG.PAT-PL.be.together PAST

'They (three or more) were with me.' (men's speech) (JC VII-113)

- c. 'yatikyæhane godik'ada.

'yatikyæhane go-di-k'ada  
 fireman 3SG(IMP).PAT-1SG.ACT-PL.be.together

'I was with the firemen/I was a fireman.'

(69) *k'āle* 'many together'

- a. Tsotho k'āle dok'wæ jē

tsotho k'ā-le do-k'wæ jē  
 corn together-really 1SG.ACT/PLUS-put PAST

'I piled up the corn.'

Noun compounds created with the reciprocal and accompaniment stem are found in Chapter 6, Section 2.2. Although historically related, the frequently used noun *k'ala* and its short form *k'a* is treated separately in word formation, found in Chapter 5, Section 2.2.

#### 4. ASPECT SUFFIXES

Unlike tense, which grounds an event or state in time, aspect shows the manner in which an event unfolds. Aspect may also mark the beginning or end of an event.

There are three types of aspect in Euchee. Each is realized with a different type of morphology and is described in separate places. I use the term 'inherent aspect' (Comrie 1976: 41) for consecutive and distributive aspect because they reflect nature of the action without manipulation of the participants. For example, 'rowing' is inherently a consecutive action, but someone rowing everyday (habitual action) is not. In addition, inherent aspect related to the creation of new lexical items, such as 'bite' (punctual) versus 'chew' (consecutive). The inherent aspect in Euchee, consecutive and distributed aspect, is shown by reduplication of the verb stem. They are found above in Section 1.3 Reduplicated Stems.

Euchee makes a basic distinction between events which are seen as a whole (perfective), without reference to how the event unfolds, and those events which are left open (imperfective) so that the internal structure can be looked into and further defined. The perfective/imperfective aspect is related to tense in Euchee. I refer to this basic opposition between whole events and open events and its relationship to tense as 'global aspect.' The tense and perfectivity follow the verb phrase and are discussed with Chapter 5: Global Aspect: Tense and Perfectivity.

Whenever the event is able to be opened up (imperfective), the internal structure can be specified further. For example, the event can be shown to repeat once or be done habitually. Aspects which show the internal structure are suffixes on the verb. The aspect suffixes in Euchee indicate two things: The nature of the continuous action or state and the end of an event. The continuous action is further delineated by whether an action is repeated once, shown with the repeated suffix *-le*, or whether the action is a habit, with shown the habitual



- (72) a. dikyōwā 'I think about'  
dikyōwāle 'I remember'
- b. dithæ dzeyu 'I am sad, mourn'  
dithæ dzeyúle 'I regret (something)'
- c. sewi 'she passes by/she is lost'  
sewile 'she died'
- d. dotē 'I put'  
dotēle 'I let go'
- e. dowā 'I give'  
dowāle 'I give up'

The repeated aspect suffix *-le* is cognate with the location and temporal noun suffix *-le*, which means 'back to' and 'last, ago, again' respectively (see Chapter 6 Section 4.5). Sometimes the direction reading 'back to' can also mean a repeated action.

- (73) a. Tí 'æha!  
ti 'æ-ha  
in 2PL.ACT-PL.be.located  
'Get in!/You all get in the car!'
- b. Tile 'æha!  
tile 'æ-ha  
in-back 2PL.ACT-PL.be.located  
'Get back in!/You all get back in the car!'

The fact that the repeated aspect morpheme *-le* is a suffix is shown by the placement of the Yes/No question particle *-le*, which appears outside of the verb and its suffixes.

- (74) a. Nek'ōle 'le?  
ne-k'ō-le 'le  
2SG.ACT-make-REPEAT Q  
'Did you repair it?'

- b. 'Opale 'le neshā?  
 'opa-le 'le ne-sha  
 fill-REPEAT Q 2SG.ACT-make  
 'Did you refill it?'

#### 4.2 HABITUAL *-ne*

The habitual expresses an action that takes place regularly or frequently over a long period of time. The habitual is expressed with the suffix *-ne*. The habitual suffix *-ne* can be stressed for emphasis; otherwise, the primary stress stays on the last syllable of the verb stem.

- (75) a. 'I hēwa. [i hɛwá] (BPD)  
 'i hē-wa  
 tobacco 3SG(EM).ACT-chew  
 'He's chewing tobacco.'
- b. 'I hēwane. [i hɛwání] (BPD)  
 'i hē-wa-ne  
 tobacco 3SG(EM).ACT-chew-HAB  
 'He chews tobacco.'

Additional examples follow. In (76-77) the examples compare other tenses with the habitual aspect. In (78), the meaning of the verbs changes from 'sit' to 'live' with the habitual. And (79) shows a reading of 'easily' with the habitual.

- (76) a. Dosh'ē.  
 do-sh'ē  
 1SG.ACT/PLUS-wait  
 'I'm waiting.'
- b. Neke dosh'ēne.  
 neke do-sh'ēne  
 here 1SG.ACT/PLUS-wait-HAB  
 'I'm always waiting here.'



- b. [k'astále wèčyqt<sup>hó</sup> 'igop'əní k'a dołæni ji] (BPD)  
 K'astale wechyātho 'igop'əne k'a dothlænejē.

k'astale wechyā-tho 'igop'əne  
 long.ago chicken-egg smoking.tobacco

k'a do-thlæ-ne jē  
 thing 1SG.ACT+'YU-go-HAB PAST

'Long time ago, I used to trade eggs for smoking tobacco.'

- c. Hēshtine 'le jē?

hē-shti-ne 'le jē  
 3SG(EM).ACT-dance-HAB Q PAST

'Did he used to dance?'

- d. 'Ake 'ocine jē.

'ake 'o-ci-ne jē  
 there 3SG(EH).ACT-sit-HAB PAST

'She (my grandmother) used to live there.'

In (81a) below, the copular 'wá must be used in order to put the verbal adjective with *-le* in the past tense. The habitual *-ne* is attached to the copula, not the adjective. Speakers also use the copular 'wá as a focus marker between a verb in the habitual and the past tense. This emphasizes the habitual 'used to,' as seen in 81b-c).

- (81) a. Hōdane:le 'wane jē. [hòdané:le 'wáni ji]

hō-dane:-le 'wa-ne jē  
 3SG(EM).PAT-fat-really-STATIVE COP-HAB PAST  
 'He used to be real fat.'

- b. 'Ōshtine 'wa jē. ['òshtiní 'wá ji]

'ō-shti-ne 'wa jē  
 1PL(INCL).ACT-dance-HAB be PAST  
 'We all *used to* dance.'



- c. K'a siop'ane wa jē.  
 k'a sio-p'a-ne wa jē  
 thing 3SG(EF).ACT/PLUS-sew-HAB be PAST  
 'She used to sew.'

The habitual suffix can be reinforced with the adverbs *sahāde* 'all the time' or 'always,' as in (82a). The focus marker *wa* can also create the emphatic 'always' reading, as in (82b).

- (82) a. Sahā:nde 'i hēwane. [sehɔ:nde 'i hɛwanɪ] (BPD)  
 sahā:-de 'i hē-wa-ne  
 always-very tobacco 3SG(EM).ACT-chew-HAB  
 'He chews tobacco all the time.'
- b. nōtsane'wa nōshtidehe [nɔtsanɛ'wa nɔshtidɛhɛ]  
 nō-tsa-ne 'wa nō-shti-de-he  
 IPL(EXCL).ACT-sleep-HAB be/FOC IPL(EXCL).ACT-dance-COMPL-FREQ  
 'We always sleep after we dance.' (JC IV-71)

The habitual suffix is also used to express change verbs into nouns. Basically, nominalization is seen to occur when the action is so habitual that it becomes frozen, or a noun. See Chapter 6, Section 2.3 for nominalization.

#### 4.3 IMMEDIATELY COMPLETED *-de*

The completive suffix *-de* indicates the immediate or recent end of an event, such as 'have just' or 'have already.' Examples (83a-b) compare the completive with the past tense. The two do not co-occur.

- (83) a. K'a dæ jē.  
 k'a dæ jē  
 thing 1SG.act.eat PAST  
 'I ate (sometime/last week/a while ago).'

- b. K'a dæde.  
 k'a dæ-de  
 thing 1SG.ACT.eat-CPLT  
 'I've already eaten./I just got through eating.'

The productivity of the completive *-de* is in question. Some speakers only use this morpheme on the verb 'to eat' and find it awkward or unacceptable in other contexts. Others can use it more freely, as in the examples in (84).

- (84) a. Donede.  
 do-ne-de  
 1SG.ACT+'YU-blow-CPLT  
 'I have already blown on it.'
- b. K'æshtu dishade.  
 k'æshtu di-sha-de  
 just.now 1SG.ACT-make-CPLT  
 'I just did it.'
- c. Wethlade  
 we-thla-de  
 3SG(NE).ACT-go-CPLT  
 'He (non-Euchee) has already gone.'

The question below in (85) is a frequently used example of *-de*. The question is used as an invitation to visitors, to get them to stay and visit and eat.

- (85) K'ala 'le 'āshæde?  
 k'ala 'le 'ā-shæ-de  
 thing Q 2PL.ACT-eat-CPLT  
 'Have you all already eaten?'

NOTES  
CHAPTER 4

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<sup>1</sup> The history of *weda* is not clear, but there are two possibilities. One is that the stem is *wede* 'talk,' and its parts are obscure. The stem became *weda* from regressive vowel harmony with /cha/. The other possibility is that /we/ is the basic stem for talk and /da/ is the old plural marker, as in *k'ada* 'together.' This would parallel a similar word 'to shout' *yudacha*, where *yu* refers to the mouth.

<sup>2</sup> Although the verb *go'yuhé'ne* 'to be curious' is thematically a 'Mind' verb, it is clearly a creation of the locative *yuhé*. The stress confirms this.

<sup>3</sup> The verb 'be happy' can take the pronominals *didzosh'æ'ē* or *dzedoch'æ'ē*, or can be *didzo di'yush'æ'ē*. Wagner gives only gives *tsedo-*.

<sup>4</sup> The contraction of the pronominal 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person actor pronominals with the *yu* stem has also created problems in distinguishing the verbs which take the *di*-actor set from the *do*-actor [+participant] set. Ballard (1975; 1978), and to some degree Wagner (1934), attempted a semantic classification of verbs by their pronominal prefix choice. The verbs with *do*- created by *di*- contracted with the *yu* stem were included in the set of *do*-pronominals created by *di*- contracted with the historical [+participant] prefix. This has led to confusion over the nature of the *di*- versus *do*- sets, and obscured the pattern of the *di*- and [+participant] contraction.

<sup>5</sup> The verb 'know' can be contracted further. See Chapter 2, example (55) for all the stages of contraction for this verb.

<sup>6</sup> The verb *dekhi dok'wē* 'I separate out' is usually reserved for plural items, such as *sofki* corn from field corn.

<sup>7</sup> Note placement with the *k'a(la)* in verb.

<sup>8</sup> Both Wagner (1934:336) and Speck (1918) give the collective prefix as [k'ɔ̃]. Crawford did not mark the collective differently from the reciprocal *k'a* and in his rough notes he refers to both as the reciprocal *k'a*. Lip-rounding is highly optional with the back round vowels /o/ ([o]), /ō/ ([ɔ̃]), /a/ ([a]), and /ā/ ([ɑ̃]). This being so, it is possible that the morpheme is actually /k'ō/ ([k'ɔ̃]), with unrounding creating /k'ā/ ([ɑ̃]), although adding lip-rounding from /k'ā/ to /k'ō/ is certainly possible as well in Euchee. I decided to posit /k'ā/ as the collective morpheme instead of /k'ō/ for several reasons. First, the phonetic data is not sufficient to posit /k'ō/. Second, the relationship between the two morphemes is easily seen with *k'a* 'reciprocal' and *k'ā* 'collective.' This is important to learners. Finally, the loss of the nasal in the collective morpheme in nouns is regular and always generates /k'a/; thus the change from /k'ā/ to /k'a/ is not as great, and the history of the morpheme is clearer. Again, this is advantageous for the learners.

## CHAPTER 5: DETAILED CONTENTS

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## **CHAPTER 5: TENSE, GLOBAL ASPECT, AND MODE**

### **1. OVERVIEW**

This chapter covers verb tense, global aspect (perfectivity), and mode. All of these follow the verb stem. They are independent words, some of which can be cliticized to the verb. Lexical aspect (consecutive and distributed action), which is shown through reduplication of the verb stem, and the aspect suffixes on the verb, are found in Chapter 4: The Verb and Verb Phrase. The future tense is expressed through nasalization of the final vowel of the verb stem. However, it is presented here with the other tenses instead of with the verb stem.

The order of presentation in this chapter does not work strictly from closest to the verb stem out, or from the furthest from the verb stem in. Instead, global aspect and tense is presented first because they are often used without any mode, and they control the aspect suffixes which can appear on the verb stem. The verbalizers are presented next. They, too, contain aspect. They create either stative or active verbs. Importantly, they are necessary for the description of mode auxiliaries. Then the mode auxiliaries are presented, and finally the mode particles, which are combined with tense and the mode auxiliaries for a variety of meanings and functions.

#### **1.1 CRITERIA FOR CLITICS VERSUS SUFFIXES**

All earlier work treated tense, perfectivity, verbalization, and mode as suffixes or clitics (bound words).<sup>1</sup> However, they are independent particles. And although they can become attached when unstressed, most remain independent and have prominent stress found on independent particles (See Chapter 2, Section 5.2). Affixes, on the other hand, follow the regular stress pattern for the verb. That is, primary stress falls on the last syllable of the stem. However, when the verbalizers, mode, or tense follow the stem, the particles are stressed

as independent words, as in (1a). Or they are unstressed when cliticized, and the primary stress remains on the last syllable of the stem, as in (1b).

- (1) a. 'Òdi'néne jě. [òdi'néne jě]  
'o-di-'nē-ne jě  
3PL(E).PAT-1SG.ACT-see-HAB PAST  
'I used to see them.' (women's speech)
- b. 'Yàsta'é thochúle. [yàsta'é t<sup>h</sup>oc<sup>h</sup>úle]  
'yasta-'e thochu-le  
board-DET/CL(LIE) thick-STATIVE  
'That board's thick.'

Besides stress, the placement of the Yes/No question particle /-'le/ can be used to determine suffixes on the verb from bound and independent particles following the verb. The Yes/No question particle must appear at the end of a phrase, and it prefers to attach to the second phrase in a clause. See Chapter 8, Section 3.1 for details of its placement. Since it attaches to the end of a complete phrase, it is the most reliable test for the end of the verb phrase in Eucheé.<sup>2</sup> In the examples below, (2a) shows that the ability mode *te* 'can' is separate from the end of the verb; (2b) shows the same of the past imperfective *jě*.

- (2) a. Nedzedito 'le te? [nɛndzɛ̀dító l'été]  
nedze-di-to l'e te  
2SG.PAT-1SG.ACT-go.with Q ABLE  
'Can I go with you?'
- b. S'edzo'æne 'le jě? [s'édzo'æné léjɛ]  
s'e-dzo-'æne l'e jě  
3SG(EM).ACT-2SG.PAT/PLUS-ask Q PAST  
'Did he ask you?' (women's speech)

The result is that the Eucheé verb is not as synthetic as was previously assumed. The verb stem has the pronominal and valence prefixes and only a

few aspect suffixes. All other aspect, tense, and mode are independent particles following the verb.

There are several problems in determining the linear order of tense, global aspect and mode particles. First, they are at the end of utterances and undergo phonological reductions. Some are dropped or are contracted with the auxiliary stems; the vowels reduce to 'v' ([ʌ] or [ə]) and voicing distinctions are faint, causing distinctions between particles to blur or be lost altogether without more historical re-creation. Second, some of the particles can be combined in different orders to create subtle nuances in mood and aspect. Third, some mode particles are resistant to placement tests (the Yes/ No question particle and the past tense) due to their meanings. These are usually put with the other mode particles until a more definitive placement is found. Finally, some of the information is carried by mode in Euchee is elusive to speakers. They are best understood in context, and so there needs to be more analysis of texts.

## **2. GLOBAL ASPECT: TENSE AND PERFECTIVITY**

Tense refers to the time in which a state exists or an event occurs. There are three tenses: past, present, and future. Euchee marks the past and future. The present tense is unmarked. Tense in Euchee is closely related to perfectivity—the aspect that treats the event or state as a whole. The imperfective refer to events that can have further description into the manner that the action unfolds. The past tense is marked for past imperfective or past perfective. The present and future are always imperfective. The future is marked for the immediate future and the indefinite future, which is related to possibility.



## 2.1 PRESENT

The present tense is unmarked. The present tense is essentially imperfective, meaning that the event can be opened up and its texture or structure can be further defined. So, verbs in the present can take the other aspect suffixes, such as the habitual and repeated. Without being marked for habitual, consecutive, repeated, etc., present tense verbs express that the action or state is in progress or continuing at the time of the utterance (progressive, continuous aspect), although they can represent something that is generally true.

- (3) a. Hōhæ. [hɔhæ]  
       hō-hæ  
       3SG(EM).ACT/PLUS-breathe  
       ‘He’s breathing./He breathes.’
- b. K’a hōk’ō. [k’ahɔk’ɔ]  
       k’a hō-k’ō  
       thing 3SG(EM).ACT/PLUS-make  
       ‘He’s working./He works.’
- c. Datane tidifa. [dàtané tìdifá]  
       datane ti di-fa  
       apron in 1SG.ACT-stand  
       ‘I wearing an apron.’
- d. ‘Ōdi ‘ōthlæ. [ʼʌndí ʼɔlæ]  
       ‘ōdi ‘ō-thlæ  
       1PL(INCL) 1PL(INCL).ACT-eat  
       ‘We’re eating.’

### *Emphasizing the Progressive Nature of an Action*

Euclée has two devices to express more clearly that something is in progress at the time of the utterance. The adverb /kéde/ ‘now’ or ‘right now’ is used, as in (4).

- (4) Kéde k'a hōk'ō. 'He's working right now.'  
 Kéde 'ōthlæ. 'We're eating right now.'

However, in some contexts /kéde/ 'now' can emphasize the beginning of the event. See Chapter 8, Section [ ] for examples of this usage.

Another device is the inclusion of a auxiliary (or helping) verb, either a position verb (sit, stand, lie) or the verb /(go)thla/ 'go'. The helping verb follows the verb phrase and it is not inflected for agreement and tense. In (5a-b), the position verb /fa/ 'stand' is used as an auxiliary verb. In (5c) the position verb /ci/ 'sit' is used. The verb /(go)shi/ is an active verb in Euchee, but using the noun 'pitiful' and the position verb 'sit' gives the state of being pitiful a more active, even progressive, feeling.

- (5) a. Di 'le nedzioc'wē fa?  
 di 'le nedzio-c'wē fa  
 I Q 2SG.PAT+'YU-wait stand  
 'Are you waiting for me?'
- b. Sæle yoθl'iθl'i falæ  
 sæ-le yo-thl'i-thl'i fa-læ  
 good-very 2SG.ACT/PLUS-mark-REDUP stand-ENC  
 'You are writing (in Euchee) good.'
- c. Gōshīnē: hēnō 'ahe ci! [gōshīnē: hənó 'ahé ci] (BPD)  
 gōshīnē: hē-nō 'ahe ci  
 pitiful.EMPH 3SG(EM).PAT there sit  
 'He's sitting there really pitiful.'  
 'He's really down and out/He's poverty stricken'

The verbalizer 'ē is also related to the present progressive on weather verbs and in temporary states, in contrast to the verbalizer *le* 'duration.' See Section 3 below.

## 2.2 PAST IMPERFECTIVE

The past tense is divided into past imperfective and past perfective action. The imperfective means that the action in the event can be opened up to see its internal structure, whether the event was finished ('I *went* to the store') or was in progress ('I *was going* to the store') at the time of the telling. Once the event is able to be opened up, the action can be shown to be habitual or the past repeated.

The past imperfective has two forms. The past imperfective *jē* occurs in simple sentences and on the main verb of a complex sentences. The past imperfective form /shē/ occurs in the dependent clause of a complex sentence.

### *Independent Clause: Jē*

The past imperfective in a simple sentence, or the independent clause of a complex sentence is *jē*, pronounced *jī* ~ *ji* in Big Pond Dialect.

- (6) a. 'A dis'æ jē! [ʼa dis'æ jɛ]  
       'a      di-s'æ      jē  
       LOC  1SG.ACT-think  PAST  
       'I thought it was so!'
- b. Lusenō k'aso sedokwā jē [Lu senɔ k'aso sedokwɔ jɛ]  
       Lu  senō      k'aso  se-do-kwā      jē  
       Lu  CL(EF)  letter  3SG(EF).PAT-1SG.ACT/PLUS-send  PAST  
       'I sent a letter to Lu.'
- c. Lale, k'ayutsolehe hēk'ōdā jē [lalé k'aiyutsolehe hɛk'ɔdɔ jɛ]  
       lale      k'ayutsole-he  hē-k'ō-dā      jē  
       yesterday  hospital-LOC  3SG(EM).PAT-RECIP-1SG.ACT.go  PAST  
       'Yesterday, I took him to the hospital.'
- d. 'Yudashifa wepa tē jē. [yudashifa wepa tɛ jɪ] (BPD)  
       'yudashi-fa      we-patē      jē  
       door-DET/CL(STAND)  3SG(NE).ACT-lock  PAST  
       'He locked the door.'

The imperfective past tense *jē* is not obligatory after first reference, unless the speaker wishes to emphasize the past nature of the event or state. In some cases of first reference, the past tense is still not given if the past nature of the event or state is understood. This is especially true of event which happen instantaneously (punctual aspect), as in (7c) below.

- (7) a. Yufa webane dok'ōjē. 'I painted the house.'  
 Yufa webane dok'ō. 'I painted the house.'
- b. Golaha 'a'ogwa,  
 Golaha 'a-'o-gwa  
 Grandma LOC-3SG(EH).ACT/PLUS-say  
 'Grandma said,'
- c. Hēwile. 'He died.' (men's speech)

The past imperfective can be used to show the recent change of state, in English 'became' (inchoative).

- (8) Sedaci tsyathla sē jē.  
 se-da-ci tshyathla sē jē  
 3SG(I).POSS-face-CL(SIT) red good PAST  
 'Her face, it was real red'  
 = 'Her face became red.'

The past imperfective with a habitual verb creates a habitual action in the past, or 'used to.' The verb has the habitual suffix *-ne*, which is followed by *jē*. An example of the past habitual is in (9) directly below; more can be found in Chapter 4, Section 4.2 Habitual *-ne*.

- (9) Habitual + Past Imperfective = 'used to'
- Khodzeha hōcyāne jē [k<sup>h</sup>odzeha hɔçyɔne jɛ]  
 kho-dze-ha hō-cyā-ne jē  
 neck-hair-PL(INAN) 3PL(EM).ACT-pick-HAB PAST  
 'They used to pick out their whiskers.'

Nothing comes between the habitual suffix and the past tense in the past habitual 'used to.' If mode information is needed, the mode auxiliary carries the habitual suffix that is immediately followed by the past tense.

The past imperfective particle *jē* can not follow the completive aspect suffix *-de*.

Verbal adjectives with the stative suffix *-le* or the comparative suffix *:-le* 'very' and verbal nouns require the copula 'wa before any past tense can be added. In (10a), the past imperfective *jē* follows 'wa; in (10b), the past habitual is expressed with *-ne* 'habitual' suffixed to the copula 'wa, and then followed by the past tense *jē*; and in (10c), the past perfective *jēfa* follows 'wa.

- (10) a. 'Ae:le 'wa jē! [ʼæ:lɛwvnji]  
           'æ:-le    'wa    jē  
           big-very COP PAST  
           'It was big!'
- b. Hōdabale 'wane jē. [hòdabále 'wá-ni ji] (BPD)  
           hō-daba-le                    'wa-ne    jē  
           3SG(EM).PAT-strong-STATIVE COP-HAB PAST  
           'He used to be strong.'
- c. Josenō k'asogatane 'wa jēfa [Jòsenó k'àsogatané 'wáj|ɸa] (BPD)  
           Jo-senō    k'asogatane 'wa    jē-fa  
           Jo-CL(EF) teacher    COP    PAST-PERF  
           'Jo was a teacher.'

Some speakers use the copula 'wa after any verb when adding the past tense *jē*. Since the past imperfective *jē* is not mandatory to express the past tense, it may be that these speakers feel that using the past tense particle is more emphatic, for clarification or focus. The copula 'wa is also used as the focus marker. Or, the reason may be historical. Since tense and global aspect are treated as separate from the verb phrase, the language may at one time have required a copula to carry this information.

### *Dependent Clause -Shē*

The past imperfective in a dependent clause is *shē*. The form helped mark a dependent clause, but it is not used regularly today. Some speakers still prefer it, some can use it interchangeably with the imperfective *jē* used in independent clauses, and others are not familiar with its usage. Several examples follow with the dependent clause underlined.

- (11) a. Nēdese 'yuk'ōga 'agæ hēdi'nē shēci.

nē-dese 'yuk'ō-ga 'agæ  
NEG-almost long.time-too it.been

hē-di-'nē shē-ci  
3SG(EM).PAT-1SG.ACT-see PAST.SUB-SUB.CL(SIT)

'It's hasn't been too long since I saw him last.' (men's speech)

- b. Got'onō wewado shē nēgotshyathla.

got'e wenō we-wado shē nē-gotshyathla  
person CL(NE) 3SG(NE).ACT-die PAST.SUB NEG-indian

'The man who died was not Euchee.'

- c. 'Yōshiga nōwē shēfa nēk'ala k'æthlē'ē jē.

'yōshiga nōwē shē-fa  
week.day two PAST/SUB-SUB/CL(STAND)

nē-k'ala k'æthlē'ē jē  
NEG-thing something PAST

'Nothing happened on last Tuesday.'

The adverb *hi'neshē* 'just/a short time ago' is formed with the dependent past tense *shē*. In addition, the dependent past imperfective *shē* is found on nouns as part of the noun class system, indicating that the person referred to is deceased (the decessive). See Chapter 6, Section 2.5 for the decessive suffix on nouns, and Chapter 8, Section 5 for more information on marking dependent clauses.

### 2.3 PAST PERFECTIVE

The past perfective is shown by past imperfective *jē* plus the post-clitic *-fa*, creating *jēfa*, or *jīfa* in Big Pond Dialect. The past perfective is used when the speaker wishes to emphasize the event as a whole. Because the event is seen as a whole, a past perfective event is always completed. The past imperfective tense *jē* may also be used for a finished or complete event. However, the difference is that the speakers wish to emphasize the wholeness of the event, not the fact that it is finished.

The past perfective *jēfa* is best understood in context, then. For example, in (12a) the speaker is telling about the different stages of the road to Pickett Chapel, and the internal structure of their laying gravel is not important. In (12b), the action is seen as a whole, even though the inherent aspect of the 'mark' must be consecutive. In (12c) the wholeness of the event underscores the finality of the event.

- (12) a. Tikhale 'yusht'æ weyap'ō jēfa                    [tik<sup>h</sup>ále 'yušt'æ wèyap'ɔ̄ jɛnfwá]  
           tikhale 'yusht'æ we-yap'ō                            jē-fa  
           gravel road 3SG(NE).ACT-spread PAST-PERF  
           'They spread gravel on the road.'
- b. Hōsoso hōdithla jēfa.                    [hɔ̄soso hɔ̄diɬa jɛfwa]  
           hō-so-so    hōdi-thla    jē-fa  
           3SG(EM).ACT/PLUS-mark.REDUP                    3SG(EM).REFL-make PAST-PERF  
           'He went and marked himself up.'  
           = 'He got a tattoo.'
- c. K'agothlæne ke hōwā jēfa.                    [k'agothlæni kohɔ̄wɔ̄ jɛfa]  
           k'agothlæne ke hō-wā    jē-fa  
           food DIR 3SG(EM).ACT/PLUS-give PAST-PERF  
           'He gave the food away.'

In some cases the event is seen as a whole in relationship to another finished event (the past perfect). The past perfective is used to show the earlier of the two (or more) events, exactly as the English 'had.'

- (13) a. Nēdzego'ē k'ala hēthlæ jēfa. [nɛdzego'ɛ k'ala hɛtɬæ jɛnfɑ]  
 nē-dze-go'ē k'ala hē-thlæ jē-fa  
 NEG-1SG.PAT-be.located thing 3SG(EM).ACT-eat PAST-PERF  
 'I wasn't there when he had eaten.'  
 = 'He ate without me.'

- b. Khæ hōdyoweda jēfa. [kʰæhɔdyowide jɪnfɑ] (BPD)  
 khæ hōdyo-weda jē-fa  
 through 3SG(EM).REFL-go PAST-PERF  
 'He'd already gone through (by the time we got there).'

- c. [tsòtʰiʃik'ɔné hɛŋkwá hɛwɛtɔ jɛn, nɛhɛgɔ'ɛ jɛfa nɪle tɔ jɛn]

Tsothishik'ōne hēgwa hēwethla jē,

tsothishik'ōne hē-gwa hē-wethla jē  
 doctor 3SG(EM).ACT-say 3SG(EM).ACT-go PAST  
 'He said he went after the doctor.'

nēhēgo'ē jēfa nɪle thla jē.

nē-hē-go'ē jē-fa nɪle thla jē  
 NEG-3SG(EM).PAT-be.located PAST-PERF back 3SG.act.go PAST  
 'he wasn't there (and so) he came back.' (men's speech/BPD)

- d. Hētishē jēfa hidzæle jē. [hɛntiʃɛ jɛnfɑ hidzɛle jɛ]

hē-tishē jē-fa  
 3SG(EM).ACT-lie PAST-PERF

hi-dzæ-le jē  
 3SG(IN).PAT-1SG.ACT.find.out-REPEAT PAST

'I found out that he (had) lied to me.' (men's speech)

The notion of whole event (perfective) probably extended from the completed whole event (perfect). The noun classes *-ci* 'sit' and *ha* 'inanimate plural' can be used as dependent clause markers. The noun class *-fa* 'sit' was



used to mark dependent clauses where the past event was seen as a completed whole in relationship to another past event.

The perfective may have been applied to the present tense as well as the past tense at one time. The phrase 'ake'ē 'the way it is' must have *fa* in the present tense. The phrase is perfective, that is, seen as a whole.

- (14) a. ??'Ake'ē                    'That's the way it is.'  
 b. 'Ake'ē fa                    'That's the way it is.'  
 c. 'Ake'ē jēfe                    'That's the way it was.'

#### 2.4 FUTURE

The immediate future and definite future is expressed by making the last vowel of the stem nasal.<sup>3</sup> The vowel may also be slightly lengthened. Lengthening is more pronounced when the final vowel of the stem is already a nasal vowel. The difference between the present and the immediate or definite future is clear in the pairs in (15).

- (15) a. Weda.                    'I'm going (now).'  
       Wedā.                    'I'm going to go (soon).'  
 b. Wikæ'ē neshā?            What are you doing (right now)?  
       Wikæ'ē neshā?            What are you going to do (today)?

When something is going to happen in the very near future, it is more certain to the speaker that it will actually happen, as in (16a) below. In addition, the definite future is used if the speaker is sure that it will take place or if he or she expects the hearer to be sure, as in (16b). This kind of certainty about the future may be due to the speakers sense of obligation or desire, such as in (16c), or if it is a common or habitual occurrence so that definite prediction is possible, as in (16d).

- (16) a. Tsoga dithl'ĩ. [tsogá dítʃ]  
 tsoga di-thl'ĩ  
 grass 1SG.ACT-cut.FUT  
 'I'm gonna cut grass (before it gets too hot).'
- 'Agahe les'enō se'nē. [ʼàgahé lès'enǒ se'nɛ̃]  
 'aga-he les'enō se-'nē  
 day-LOC him 3SG(EF).ACT-see.FUT  
 'She will see him tomorrow.' (women's speech)
- b. Wikæ ke yotĩ? [wikæ̃ gəyot[.]]  
 wikæ ke yo-tĩ  
 what DIR 2SG.ACT/PLUS-ask.FUT  
 'What are you going to ask for?'
- c. 'Aga badōfa 'ahe ditsā. [ʼága bàdǒfá 'ahé ditsá]  
 'aga badō-fa 'ahe di-tsā  
 tomorrow night-LOC there 1SG.ACT-sleep.FUT  
 'Tomorrow I'll sleep over (at your place).'
- d. Tsē'ē: [tsɛ̃'ɛ̃:]  
 tsē-ē:  
 water-VRB.FUT  
 'It's going to rain!' (looking at the sky)

When the event is expected to happen in the far enough future that there is a possibility that it may not occur, or if the speaker is unsure for any reason that it may not happen, then the future is expressed through the mode. The ability *te*, potential *late'ē* auxiliaries, and irrealis particles *'ya* and *gō* can all be used to express the future.

- (17) a. Hōdānele te gō.  
 hō-dāne-le te gō  
 3SG(EM).PAT-fat-STATIVE ABLE PROB  
 'He will (probably) be fat [when he is older].' (men's speech)



The verb (*go*)*thla* ‘go’ is one of most irregular verbs in the language. It can be used while the act of going is in progress, but it can also be used for general meanings of ‘going.’ The verb (*go*)*thla* is used in Particle + Verb Constructions (idioms), as in (19a), and Serial Verb Constructions, as in (19b). An event with (*go*)*thla* can be in the past tense, but when it is, it can *not* be used with the past imperfective *jē*. This can be seen by comparing (19c) with (19a) below.

- (19) a. *Thlahe k’ōda* (contracted form)  
*thlahe k’ā-weda*  
 outside RECIP-1SG.ACT.go  
 ‘I took it (the trash) outside.’
- b. *Wet’æfa nē’ōp’aso gothlane wá,*  
*wet’æ-fa nē’ōp’aso go-thla-ne ‘wa*  
 rainbow-CL(STAND) NEG-point 1SG(IMP)-go.HAB FOC  
 ‘Don’t go pointing at a rainbow.’
- c. *Wahe hōthla?*  
*wahe hō-thla*  
 where 3SG(EM).ACT/PLUS-go.to  
 ‘Where did he go?’

Finally, the verb (*go*)*weda* is always used with the past imperfective *jē* and is therefore *only* in the past tense. Examples of the differences are in (20).

- (20) a. *Wahe hēweda jē?*  
*wahe hē-weda jē*  
 where 3SG(EM).ACT-go.to PAST  
 ‘Where did he go?’
- b. *William dzothishi wenō hō’nē hōwethla jē.*  
*William dzothishi wenō hō-’nē hō-wethla jē*  
 William doctor CL/DET(NE) 3SG(EM).ACT-see 3SG.ACT-go past  
 ‘William went to see the doctor.’

The forms of each verb ‘go’ are given below.

(21) 'ahel'afa (go)ji 'be going'

	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>	
<b>1</b>	'ahe diji	'ahe 'ēji ('ōji) 'ahe nēji (nōji)	(INCL) (EXCL)
<b>2</b>		'ahe neji	
<b>3</b> (EM) <i>m.s.</i>	'ahe hēji	'ahe 'eji/hēji	(E) <i>m.s.</i>
(EM) <i>w.s.</i>	'ahe s'eji	'ahe 'iji/eji	(E) <i>w.s.</i>
(EF)	'ahe seji		
(EH)	'ahe 'oji		
(NE)	'ahe weji		(NE)

(22) *gothla* 'to go'  
*gok'āthla* 'to go with/to take someone' (see also *to*)

Note: This verb is irregular in two ways. It has the irregular 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> pronominal forms fused with the base, with the highly irregular addition of /we-/ to both forms. It also has a different stem for the singular and the plural. Like the all plural stem verbs, it has a dual inclusive form, made from the 1<sup>st</sup> plural inclusive pronoun and the singular stem.

	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>	
<b>1</b>	weda	'ōthla 'ōfe 'nōfe	<b>dual</b> (INCL) (INCL) (EXCL)
<b>2</b>		wesha	'āfe
<b>3</b> (EM) <i>m.s.</i>	hōthla	hōfe	(E) <i>m.s.</i>
(EM) <i>w.s.</i>	s'iothla	'ōfe	(E) <i>w.s.</i>
(EF)	siothla		
(NE)	wethla	wefe	(NE)

(23) (go)wɛdajē 'went/left'

Note: The stem is underlined.

	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>	
<b>1</b>	di <u>wɛdajē</u>	'ō <u>fɛjē</u> nō <u>fɛjē</u>	(INCL) (EXCL)
<b>2</b>	<u>wɛshajē</u>	'ā <u>fɛjē</u>	
<b>3</b> (EM) <i>m.s.</i>	<u>hēwɛdajē</u>	<u>hōfɛjē</u>	(E) <i>m.s.</i>
(EM) <i>w.s.</i>	s' <u>ɛwɛdajē</u>	'ō <u>fɛjē</u>	(E) <i>w.s.</i>
(EF)	<u>sɛwɛdajē</u>		
(EFH)	' <u>ɛwɛdajē</u>		
(NE)	wɛ <u>thlajē</u> /wɛ <u>fajē</u>	'yō <u>fɛjē</u> /wɛ <u>fajē</u>	(NE)

### 3. VERBALIZATION

Verbalizers make a verb out of another part of speech. There are two verbalizers in Euchee, *ɛ̄* and *le*. They differ in aspect. The verbalizer *ɛ̄* generally creates an active verb, one which is in the immediate present or the present progressive. The verbalizer *le* carries with it the aspect of duration, and so creates stative verbs. The verbalizer *ɛ̄* can be used productively with nearly all parts of speech, including the mode auxiliaries and the negative pre-clitic. The verbalizer *le* is restricted to adjectives and nouns.

The verbalizer *ɛ̄* can also be applied to adjectival states, where it carries continuative aspect. The different nuances in meaning and usage between adjectives with *le* and adjectives with *ɛ̄* are dealt with extensively in Chapter 7, Section 2.3.

The verbalizers are not stressed, and so they are treated as attached particles (clitics).

Verbalization can occur with the irrealis mode particles as well as the aspectual verbalizers. In some cases the choice is simply one of aspect over



attach, as seen in (25) below. Because of these facts, the verbalizer 'ē is treated as an independent particle which can cliticize (-'ē) to another stem.

The verbalizer 'ē carries the aspect suffixes for the new verb. Any needed mode auxiliaries, mode particles, and tense can follow the verbalizer.

The verbalizer 'ē can attach to nouns, as seen below.

(25) Noun + -'ē

- |    |                |                                    |
|----|----------------|------------------------------------|
| a. | di             | 'my thing'                         |
|    | di'ē           | 'It's mine'                        |
| b. | gotho          | 'child'                            |
|    | Hōtho'ē jē     | 'It was a child' (GW 1934: 350)    |
| c. | nēk'æthlē      | 'nowhere'                          |
|    | Nēk'æthlē'ē    | 'It's/that's all right'            |
| d. | tsē            | 'water                             |
|    | tsē'ē          | 'rain/ It is raining (right now).' |
|    | Lale tse'ē jē. | 'It rained yesterday.'             |
| e. | hidzō          | 'blue'                             |
|    | Hidzō'ē        | 'It is bruised'                    |
| f. | ti             | 'yellow'                           |
|    | ti'ē           | 'It became yellow.'                |

The verbalizer 'ē can attach to question pronouns, as in (26).

(26) Question Pronouns + -'ē

- |    |         |                |
|----|---------|----------------|
| a. | wahe    | 'where'        |
|    | Wahe'ē? | 'Where is it?' |
| b. | wikæ    | 'what'         |
|    | Wikæ'ē? | 'What is it?'  |

See Chapter 8, Section 3.2 for more discussion on the verbal nature of the question pronouns.



The verbalizer *ē* can attach to numerals, as in (27).

(27) Numerals + *-ē*

Lacuhe'ē.  
lacu-he-'ē  
seven-LOC-ACTIVE  
'It's at about 7 o'clock'

The verbalizer *ē* can attach to location particles, as in (28).

(28) Location + *-ē*

- |    |        |                                  |
|----|--------|----------------------------------|
| a. | 'ake   | 'there, right there'             |
|    | 'ake'ē | 'there is...'                    |
|    |        | 'That's the way it is'           |
|    |        | 'to be like'                     |
| b. | ti     | 'in, inside'                     |
|    | ti'ē   | 'It is inside.'                  |
| c. | 'yu    | 'yonder, away from'              |
|    | 'yu'ē  | 'to spread out/it is spread out' |

The verbalizer *ē* can attach to the mode auxiliaries and particles, as in (29).

(29) Mode auxiliaries + *-ē*

- |    |  |
|----|--|
| a. | 'Agahe læde'ē.                           |
|    | 'aga-he læde-'ē                          |
|    | day-LOC perhaps-ACTIVE                   |
|    | 'Maybe (it will be) tomorrow.'           |
| b. | Nēk'æthlæ'ē læ'ē.                        |
|    | nē-k'æthlæ-'ē                      læ-'ē |
|    | NEG-anywhere-ACTIVE      AFFIRM-ACTIVE   |
|    | 'Everything is all right (it sure is).'  |

The verbalizer *ē* serves as a stem for the negative pre-clitic *nē-*, as in (30).

(30) Negative pre-clitic *nē-* + *'ē*

- a. Nē'ēle  
nē-'ē-le  
NEG-ACTIVE-ONLY  
'(It is) either/or'
- b. Næ'ē jē  
næ-'ē jē  
NEG-ACTIVE PAST  
'No, I didn't (ever see any buffaloes)'
- c. Næ'ēne  
næ-'ē-ne  
NEG-ACTIVE-HAB  
'No, not anymore (I don't know, I have forgotten)'

The verbalizer *'ē* can also attach to adjectives. Since adjectives are already verbal states, the verbalizer *'ē* gives the adjective additional aspectual information. The verbalizer is read as a change of state (inchoative), such as (31) below. Or, it can be read as a temporary state, as in (31), where the speaker is commenting on a job done fast.

- (31) a. Chya'ē  
chya-'ē  
hard-ACTIVE  
'It got fried up.' (JC VI-38)
- b. Di dzesafi:'ē!  
di dze-safi-:'ē  
1SG 1SG.PAT-fast-very-ACTIVE  
'Man, I'm really fast!'

More on the active verbalizer of adjective stative verbs is found in Chapter 7, Section 2.3.

### 3.2 STATIVE VERBALIZER *-le*

The verbalizer *-le* attaches to nouns (weather, numerals, and color terms) and adjectives to create a stative verb. The created state is permanent or enduring.

Like the active verbalizer *-ē*, the stative verbalizer *-le* is not stressed. Therefore, it is treated as an independent particle which attaches to the stem. However, unlike the active verbalizer *ē*, the stative verbalizer *-le* is never a stem. In addition, there is no instance where the Yes/No question particle comes between the stem and *-le*. Instead, the Yes/No question marker *-'le* is used in place of the verbalizer *-le*. There is no clear evidence, then, that the verbalizer *-le* is ever an independent particle.<sup>4</sup>

The verbal adjectives and nouns with *-le* are permanent or enduring states. In fact, they are so permanent that they are just barely verb-like. Verbs can have tense, aspect, and mode. But because the verbal adjectives and nouns with *-le* are so static, they require the copula *'wa* inserted before they can be put into the past tense, or show other aspect and mode. Several examples are found in Section 2.2 Past Imperfective, example (10) above, and a few more are given here.

- (32) a. Wæt'e wesæle 'wa-ne.  
           wæt'e    we-sæ-le                                    'wa-ne  
           woman 3SG(NE)PAT-nice-STATIVE   COP-HAB  
           'She's usually a nice woman.'
- b. 'Yuciha héno hōwahale 'wa jē  
           'yuciha    héno    hō-waha-le                                    'wa jē  
           Euchee  PL(E)   3PL(E).PAT-many-STATIVE   COP PAST  
           'There were many Eucheese.' (men's speech)

The verbal adjectives with *ē* are temporary or changed states. Being more active-like, they do not require the copula. The differences between the

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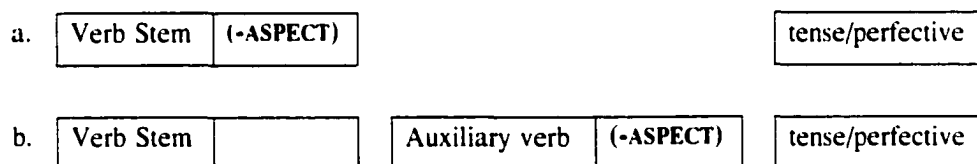
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#### 4. MODE AUXILIARY VERBS: ABILITY, NECESSITY, AND PROBABILITY

Languages can mark mode, which has three main functions. Mode refers to the speaker's attitudes towards the situation. Mode also show what we want to do through language. Finally, mode can reflect the knowledge we have about the situation. Euchee uses mode markers to express all of the functions.

Three modes--ability, necessity and probability--are expressed with auxiliary verbs. An auxiliary verb follows the main verb. It is unlike a main verb in that it does not have pronominal agreement. When there is no auxiliary verb, the main verb stem carries the aspect suffix, and then past tense and perfective (global) aspect may follow the verb. This can be seen in the order given in (a) in Figure 5.1. However, if a mode auxiliary is used, then the auxiliary *must* carry the aspect for the verb, as seen in (b) in Figure 5.1. The tense/perfectivity particles follow the mode auxiliaries.

Figure 5.1. Order of Tense, Aspect, and Mode



##### 4.1 ABILITY *TE*

Ability is shown with the auxiliary verb *te*, 'can' or 'be able to.' This auxiliary is the most commonly used auxiliary and has many other functions, as is shown below. Whenever *te* appears phrase finally, it undergoes laxing to [tɛ] or *tv* ([tʌ]). It sometimes get fully voiced to [dɛ] and can be confused with the completive *-de*. Combined with the encouragement mode *læ*, *te* it often becomes *tvlæ*. When *te* is used by itself and when it is un-stressed, it can be attached to

the end of the verb. However, in most cases, it carries stress and is an independent word.

*Ability: Te 'Can'*

The ability of the actor to complete the action in the verb may be due to 'internal' or 'external' forces. Internal force refers to the actor's physical abilities, mental abilities, or willingness to help. External force refers to social conditions, such as prior commitments or obligation to family and elders. The auxiliary verb *te* 'able' is used for both kinds of ability.

The examples give simple sentences which illustrate the basic use of *te* 'ability' in relationship to the main verb. In (35a) gives the ability 'can.' In (35b), the Yes/No question particle comes between the auxiliary *te* and the verb. In (35c) the negative ability 'can't' is given; it is predictably formed by the negative pre-clitic *nē-* on the beginning of the verb phrase and auxiliary *te* following the verb. Throughout, the auxiliary *te* can be nasalized *tē* in order to show emphasis and/or the future.

- (35) a. K'ala ke setyō tē. [k'álá ke setyɔ́ tɛ]  
           k'ala ke se-tyō                   tē  
           thing DIR 1SG(EF).ACT-help ABLE.fut  
           'She can help.'
- b. Nedzedito 'le te?  
           nedze-dí-to                   'le te  
           2SG.PAT-1SG.ACT-go.with Q ABLE  
           'Can I go with you?'
- c. Nēk'ala ke setyō tē. [nɛ́k'ála kesetyɔ́ tɛ]  
           nē-k'ala ke se-tyō                   tē  
           NEG-thing DIR 3SG(EF).ACT-help ABLE.FUT  
           'She can't help./She won't be able to help.'

Additional examples follow.

- (36) a. Nē'ahe segō tē.  
 nē-'ahe se-gō tē  
 NEG-here 3SG(EF).ACT-come ABLE  
 'She can't come.'
- b. K'ala siop'a te.  
 k'ala sio-p'a te  
 thing 3SG(EF).ACT/PLUS-sew ABLE  
 'She can sew.'
- c. Nēk'æthlæ gothla tē.  
 nē-k'æthlæ go-thla tē  
 NEG-anything 3SG(IMP)-do ABLE  
 'Nothing can be done.'  
 = 'There's nothing you can do.'
- d. Kede nēk'ala yochwæ te, netsa te.  
 kede nē-k'ala yo-chwæ te ne-tsa te  
 now NEG-thing 2SG.ACT/PLUS-hear ABLE 2SG.ACT-sleep ABLE  
 'Now you can't hear anything, so you can go to sleep.'

Female speakers prefer to use *te* combined with *gō* 'potential' or *læ* 'encouragement' in order to soften assertions about someone's or their own abilities.

Past ability is shown through the habitual past, or 'used to be able.' The habitual suffix *-ne* is attached to the auxiliary verb *te*. The past tense particle follows the auxiliary.

- (37) K'ala siop'a tene jē.  
 k'ala sio-p'a te-ne jē  
 thing 3SG(EF).ACT/PLUS-sew ABLE-HAB PAST  
 'She used to be able to sew.'  
 \*K'ala siop'ane te jē.

To express negative ability in the past, or 'could not,' the negative preclitic *nē-* is used and the past tense particle *jē* follows *te*.







(50a) below with the Yes/No question particle *'le*. Or they may simply be stated as a need, as in (50b). Notice also in (50b) that the auxiliary verb follows the verb in the dependent clause. The placement implies that the speaker can not get the car started, so being able to get the car running is the favor rather than simply going out to start it for her.

- (50) a. Dithotoneci k'ap'ochu 'le nedzothla te?  
 di-thotone-ci k'a p'ochu 'le dzo-thla te  
 1SG(I).POSS-scarf-CL(SIT)thing fold Q 1SG-PAT/PLUS-make ABLE  
 'Will you fold my scarf for me?'
- b. 'Yap'othleci kes'æ te dzothlā.  
 'yap'othle-ci kes'æ te dzo-thlā  
 car-DET/CL(SIT) run able 1SG.PAT/PLUS-make.FUT  
 'Start the car for me'  
 = 'Can you get the car started for me?'

Favors are granted just like giving permission. The speaker can use *te* 'ability' or *telæ* which give more participation and kindness to the favor.

Often favors are asked by the speaker stating their wishes or needs with the main verb *thæ* 'want.' Although these seem forward in English, they are perfectly polite in Euchee. An example follows.

- (51) Dapi dithæ [tápi dit<sup>h</sup>æ]  
 dapi di-thæ  
 salt 1SG.ACT-want  
 'I need the salt.'  
 = 'Pass the salt, please.'

Small clauses with 'want' are discussed in Chapter 8, Section [ ].

#### *Offering: Telæ, He*

The auxiliary *te* 'can' is used when offering to do something for someone else. The encouragement suffix *-læ* may be used for politeness, or deference in

assuming someone needs help. As seen in (52), the affirmative *-hō* is also used. In this case, speakers are also committing themselves to the offer.

- (52) Di s'edo'æne tēlā hō [dí s'èdo'æné tɛlæhə]
- |     |                              |          |        |
|-----|------------------------------|----------|--------|
| di  | s'e-do-'æne                  | tē-lā    | hō     |
| 1SG | 3SG(EM).PAT-1SG.ACT/PLUS-ask | ABLE-ENC | AFFIRM |
- 'I will ask him.'

If speakers wish to be more insistent in their offer, the necessity *-he* 'must' can be used to get someone to be helped.

- (53) Di hidita he. [dí hìditá hé]
- |     |                            |      |
|-----|----------------------------|------|
| di  | hi-di-ta                   | he   |
| 1SG | 3SG(INAN).PAT-1SG.ACT-hold | must |
- 'I must hold it.  
= 'I'll carry it for you!'

#### *Making Invitations: Telæ 'Let's'*

Invitations expressed with 'let's' in English, such 'Let's get going' or 'Let us pray,' are formed by using the impersonal pronominal prefix *go-* on the verb. The 'ability' auxiliary *te* follows the verb, which is suffixed with the encouragement mode suffix *-lā*.

- (54) a. S'i gokā telæ.  

s'i	go-kā	te-lā
little	3(IMP)-rest	ABLE-ENC

 'Let's rest a little.'
- b. Ke gop'a telā.  

ke	go-p'a	te-lā
DIR	3(IMP)-see.about	ABLE-ENC.EMPH

 'Let's go see about him.'



- (56) Dzēto'lāē thæ? (contracted form) [dzɛnto'læntʰæ]  
 dze-ne-to ʔe ne-thæ  
 1SG.PAT-2SG.ACT-go.with Q 2SG.ACT-want  
 'Would you like to go with me?'

Small clauses with 'want' are discussed in Chapter 8, Section 5.1.

*Physical Necessity: Tegō*

Physical necessity expresses physical conditions compelling the actor to complete the action. In most instances, physical necessity is expressed with the main verb *thæ* 'want, need.' See Chapter 8, Section 5.1 for sentences with *thæ*. However, in some cases, necessity is expressed with *tegō*, a combination of the ability and necessity modes.

- (57) Lachuhe ke 'ōfe tegō. [laɕuhé ké 'ʔfe téɡɔ]  
 lachu-he ke 'ō-fe te-gō  
 seven-LOC DIR 1PL(INCL).ACT-go ABLE-POT  
 'We must leave by 7 o'clock (in order to get there on time).'

*Social Obligation: Te'ēde 'should' and 'ought to'*

When social conditions compel the actor to complete the action of a sentence, the person is obligated to act. Social obligation appeals to a general social or moral norm. There can be degrees of urgency the speaker feels towards fulfilling this obligation. Weak obligation is expressed in English as 'should' or 'ought to.' Strong obligation or necessity, expressed in English by 'must' or 'have to,' is discussed below in 4.2. Social obligation assumes the ability of the actor to complete the task. Because of this, obligation in Euchee builds on *te* 'ability.'

In its longest form, social obligation is expressed with *te'ēde*. The stem is the auxiliary *te* 'can' with the verbalizer 'ē; the verbalized *te'ē* is then suffixed with *de*, presumably the completive.<sup>6</sup> Social obligation can be expressed without

*-de*, shortening the form to *te'ē*. In addition, the verbalizer *'ē* may be contracted, resulting in the preceding vowel becoming nasal. All the forms are given below.

(58) Forms of *te'ēde*

Sesogwa <i>te'ēde</i> .	'She ought to tell you.'	Full form
Sesogwa <i>tēde</i> .	'She ought to tell you.'	<i>'ē</i> contraction
Sesogwa <i>te'ē</i> .	'She ought to tell you.'	Short form
Sesogwa <i>tē/tæ</i> .	'She ought to tell you.'	<i>'ē</i> contraction

The contracted short form is *tē ~ tæ* is a homonym with the future and emphatic 'can' *tē*. Furthermore, the pronunciation *tæ* should not be confused with the main verb *thæ* 'want.' The placement is the same, and in the 2<sup>nd</sup> person singular the pronominal is often dropped.

Examples of *te'ēde* 'should/ought to' are given below in (59). In the first line (the orthography), the full or short *uncontracted* forms are given in order to keep 'should/ought to' separate from 'can.' The contracted forms appear in the pronunciation guide. The form *te'ēde* is glossed only as 'should.' Notice that in (59b), the completive *-de* appears on the comparative 'more.'

- (59) a. Wahe dot'ē te'ē? [wahé dot'é tɛ]  
 wahe do-t'ē te'ē  
 where 1SG.ACT/PLUS-put should  
 'Where should I put it?'
- b. Peshē'ēde k'ala k'ō te'ē. [peshé'ende k'alá k'ʌ tɛ]  
 peshē-ē-de k'ala k'ō te'ē  
 more-ACTIVE-CPLT thing make should  
 'I ought to work more.'
- c. Weshā te'ē. [wešá t'éɛ]  
 weshā te'ē  
 2SG.ACT.go should  
 'You ought to go.' (JC V-74-1)

- d. Tsebile s'edethla te'ē. [tsebīle s'èdeṭá tæ]  
 tsebile s'ede-thla te'ē  
 straight 3SG(EM).REFL-make should  
 'He needs to straighten himself up.'

#### 4.2 NECESSITY: *He, Hete*

Social necessity is expressed with the mode auxiliary verb *he* 'must,' although it rarely occurs by itself. The example in (53) above is a strong offer with *he* 'must.' Most of the time, however, the complete expression is *hete*. The stress falls on the stem *he* and is usually the highest pitch of the utterance.

#### *Strong Social Obligation: Hete 'must' and 'have to'*

Strong social obligation is shown with the compound form *hete* 'must' or 'have to.'

- (60) a. Ke sedop'a hetē  
 ke se-do-p'a hetē  
 DIR 3SG(EF).PAT-1SG.ACT/PLUS-see.about must.FUT  
 'I have to go see about her.'
- b. Tsothishik'ōnehe hēdzek'āthla hetē  
 tsothishik'ōne-he hē-dze-k'ā-thla hetē  
 doctor-LOC 3SG(EM).ACT-1SG.PAT-COM-go must.FUT  
 'He has to take me (to the doctor).'
- c. Kēde 'a dō hetē jē.  
 kēde 'a dō hetē jē  
 then there 1SG.be.located must past  
 'I had to be there.'

The expression of agreement and commitment in (61a) below uses *hete* and the irrealis mode particle *gō* 'potential'. It can be used formally and informally. The command in (61b) is a formal command which is only used by









## 5. MODE PARTICLES: REALIS AND IRREALIS

Euchee has a set of mode particles which express the speakers beliefs about what is real (irrealis) and what is unreal (the irrealis). There is one realis particle in Euchee. The particle *'wa* expresses certainty that a situation has occurred, is knowable, or is true. There are several irrealis particles. Most are concerned with future action. Since the future has not happened yet, it is 'unreal.' They express the potential *gō*, expectation *'ya*, intention *nō*. In addition, the Yes/No question particle is an irrealis particle in Euchee: If one questions the situation the truth, it is not yet real to the questioner.

All of the irrealis mode particles are verbalizers. They can follow nouns, adjectives, and quantifiers in order to give them a verbal reading. This function is introduced in each of the following sections. However, the process is treated as a whole in Chapter 7: Other Verbal Structures.

The realis/irrealis mode particles follow the verb or the mode auxiliaries. When the mode particles are combined with the mode auxiliaries, they tend to lose stress and become attached. However, when they function as the verbalizer for nouns and adjectives, they have stress and are independent particles.

### 5.1 REALITY: *Wa*

The particle *'wa* is the only realis particle. It conveys the meaning that a situation is true. It can be translated as 'is/was' or 'do/did.' It can be used forcefully to assert the speakers certainty of the truth, and in these cases means 'sure is/sure did.' Wagner (1934: 354) stated that *'wa* is an emphatic suffix. In contrast to the irrealis, the realis by asserting the truth is more emphatic. However, the particle *'wa* does much more than provide emphasis.

As the realis mode particle, it functions as the neutral copula 'be' verb. In other words, it 'couples' two nouns together as a sentence. The second noun

identifies the first noun. Because of this prominent role, the realis particle *'wa* is glossed in the interlinear text as 'COP' for copula. The copula function of *'wa* can be seen below.

- (66) a. Neke *'wa* ditsole.  
 neke *'wa* di-tsole  
 here COP 1SG(I).POSS-house  
 'Here is my house./I live here.'
- b. Di *'wa* k'asotane jē.  
 di *'wa* k'asotane jē  
 1SG COP teacher PAST  
 'I was a teacher.'

Besides *'wa* only the potential mode *gō* can serve as a copula, and it is marked for politeness. See Chapter 7, Section 2.1 identity verbal nouns.

The copula *'wa* also functions along with the irrealis particles *do* in creating verbal nouns. That is, the copula may be placed after a noun and it is interpreted as a verb. Such sentences have the impersonal or 'dummy' subject 'It is...' In (67) the noun *ti* 'yellow' is interpreted as an impersonal 'it is' sentence when followed by *'wa*.

- (67) Ti *'wa*.  
 ti *'wa*  
 yellow COP  
 'It's yellow.'

Verbalizing a noun often points out someone, such as 'It's Grandma.' However, speakers tend not to use the copula *'wa* for pointing out humans, even when they are sure who the person is. They prefer the expectation *'ya* or potential *gō* particles instead. This appears to be a politeness strategy. See Chapter 7, Section 2.2 for more examples and discussion of verbal nouns.

Verbal nouns, and permanent and enduring adjectives, in the present tense do not need a copula, but they require the copula in order to be put into

the past tense. The example in (68a) shows that adjectives that have the stative verbalizer *le* use the copula before the past tense particle. Adjectives that show enduring states but have lexicalized the active *ē* verbalizer also require the copula before adding tense and aspect. In (68b) the comparative *pe ē* ‘more’ requires the copula before the habitual can be suffixed.

- (68) a. Got'e 'æle 'wa jē.  
 got'e 'æ-le 'wa jē  
 man big-STATIVE COP PAST  
 'He became a man.'
- b. Hēfafa cha pe'ē 'wane  
 hē-fa-fa cha pe'ē 'wa-ne  
 3SG(EM).ACT-stand-REDUP hard more COP-HAB  
 'He's a mighty fast walker!'

More examples can be found in Section 2.2 Past Imperfective tense above, and in Chapter 7, Section 2.

The certainty of *'wa* is more apparent when it functions as a support verb for a main verb. This is the same as 'do' in English. The question in (69a) is followed by an answer in (69b). This answer keeps the main verb 'run' but the truth of the assertion is emphasized with *'wa* 'does.' Another answer to this question is in (69c). Here, the main verb is unstated and *'wa* carries all the verbal affixes.

- (69) a. Gregory henō ke s'æ 'le hēthene?  
 Gregory henō ke s'æ 'le hē-the-ne  
 Gregory CL(EM) there down Q 3SG(EM).ACT-run-HAB  
 'Does Gregory run?'
- b. Ke s'æ s'ethene 'wa [kɛ s'æ s'et<sup>h</sup>éne 'wá]  
 ke s'æ s'e-the-ne 'wa  
 there down 3SG(EM).ACT-run-HAB COP  
 'Yes, he *does* run.'

- c. Hō, s'e'wane  
 hō s'e-'wa-ne  
 yes 3SG(EM).ACT-COP-HAB  
 'Yes, he does.'

More examples of the certainty 'do' reading of 'wa are given below. In (70a) the speaker is expressing discouragement that Eucheese do not speak Eucheese in public, but other peoples use their languages in public. And in (70b), the first 'wa is the 'do' function and the second 'wa is the copular function.

- (70) a. Hō, 'yo'wane. [hɔ 'ɔ'wáne]  
 hō 'yo-'wa-ne  
 yes 3PL(NE).ACT-COP-HAB  
 'Yes, they sure do (speak Spanish in public).'
- b. Hēt'e 'wa 'ake'ē 'wa jē.  
 hē-t'e 'wa 'ake-'ē 'wa jē  
 3SG(EM.I)-father COP way-ACTIVE COP PAST  
 'He's like his father was.'

The realis 'wa is used to assert the truth more forcefully. In (71a) the speaker knows it is true because he saw the event take place. In (71b), the speaker is not just stating the participant's ability to walk, but she is contradicting a previous assumption that the person was not able to walk.

- (71) a. Newman 'wa hōshtō jē.  
 Newman 'wa hō-shtō jē  
 Newman COP 3SG(EM).ACT-cut.off PAST  
 'Newman cut it off (I know, I saw him).'
- b. S'efafane 'wa.  
 s'e-fa-fa-ne 'wa  
 3SG(EM).ACT-stand-REDUP-HAB COP  
 'He *can* walk.' (women's speech)

The more forceful assertion of the truth causes 'wa to function as a focus marker. A focus marker draws the hearer's attention to that part of the

utterance. It says that the focused information is the most important part of the utterance. When 'wa is serving as a focus marker, the interlinear translation is 'FOC.' In 72a( below, the best translation is 'It was Bill who told me,' rather than 'Bill told me.' Likewise, in (72b), 'I've been telling him *that*' may be emphatic, but the marker puts 'that' in focus at the beginning of the sentence.

- (72) a. Bill 'wa hōdze'yugwa  
 Bill 'wa hō-dze-'yugwa  
 Bill FOC 3SG(EM).ACT-1SG.PAT-tell  
 'It was Bill who told me.' (men's speech)
- b. 'A 'wa hōdogenē!  
 'a 'wa hō-do-ge-nē  
 there FOC 3SG(EM).PAT-1SG.ACT/PLUS-tell-HAB.EMPH  
 'That's what I've been telling him!' (JC V-75)

The realis 'wa and other focus strategies are discussed more fully in Chapter 8, Section 7.

## 5.2 POTENTIAL: *Gō*

In contrast to 'wa, the potential *gō* indicates that the speaker is not committed to the truth of the assertion. Thus, it is an irrealis mode. In English, the potential is expressed in several ways 'might,' 'could,' 'perhaps,' 'may be,' and even 'I guess.' These can also be expressed in the mode auxiliary *late* 'probability' discussed above in Section 4.3. The terms and meanings are very similar, and both are types of irrealis. However, 'potential' means that something is not yet in existence. The potential *gō* usually refers to the speakers doubts about future situations. So, 'potential' is used for the irrealis particle *gō*. 'Probable' means that something is likely. The probability auxiliary *late* usually refers to situations in the present. However, there is much overlapping in use. The difference can be seen in the two sentences below.

- (73) a. 'Ahe hēthligō abe.  
 'ahe hē-thli-gō 'abe  
 here 3SG(EM).ACT-arrive-POT today  
 'I wonder if he will come today.'
- b. 'Abe ne hēthli læte'ē gō.  
 'abe ne hē-thli læte'ē-gō  
 today here 3SG(EM)-arrive PROB-POT  
 'Maybe/Perhaps he will come today.'

The potential *gō* can be used as a copula, to put together two nouns as a sentence, and it is used as a verbalizer following a noun. It is also preferred over the other mode particles is not sure, as in (74a). However, it is also when a speaker knows something is true, but wishes to be polite. The potential is less direct and is therefore polite, as in (74b-c) or more modest, as in (74d).

- (74) a. Maxine 'yōthl'ine gō?  
 Maxine 'yōthl'ine gō  
 Maxine knife POT  
 'That is Maxine's knife?' (GB 38)
- b. Lu gō  
 Lu gō  
 Lu POT  
 'It's Lu (coming in).'
- c. Set'ē gō  
 se-t'ē gō  
 3SG(EF.I).POSS-father POT  
 He is probably her father.
- d. Dzenonō di gō. (contracted form)  
 dzene wenō di gō  
 dog CL(NE) mine POT  
 'That's my dog.'

The potential can follow verbs.



- (75) Nē'yucihale se'wede gō.  
 nē-'yucihale se-'wede gō  
 NEG-Euchee 3SG(EF).ACT-talk POT  
 'She (probably) can't talk Euchee.'

The potential *gō* is used after the mode auxiliaries in order to express 'might.' When combined with the mode auxiliaries, *gō* is unstressed and attaches to the auxiliary.

- (76) a. Tsothishik'ōnehe hēk'āda hetegō.  
 tsothishik'ōne-he hē-k'ā-da hete-gō  
 doctor-LOC 3SG(EM).PAT-COM-go must-POT  
 'I might have to take him to the doctor.'
- b. Tse'ē læte'ēgō.  
 tse'ē læte'ē-gō  
 rain PROB-ACTIVE-POT  
 'It might rain today.'
- c. Tsoga'e hēthl'i læte'ē jēgō lale.  
 tsoga-'e hē-thl'i læte-'ē jē-gō lale  
 grass-CL(LIE) 3SG(EM).ACT-cut PROB-ACTIVE PAST-POT yesterday  
 'He probably mowed the grass yesterday.' [It's a good possibility]

Attached to the ability *te*, *gō* means the future 'will probably.' The example in (77a) is a commonly used phrase. In (77b), the speaker believes that the boy will be large, but uses the potential to soften such an assertion.

- (77) a. Ke'ē disha tegō.  
 ke-'ē di-sha te-gō  
 way-ACTIVE 1SG.ACT-do ABLE-POT  
 'Maybe I will (do it).'
- b. Hōdānele tegō.  
 hō-dāne-le te-gō  
 3SG(EM).PAT-fat-STATIVE ABLE-POT  
 'He will probably be fat.' (men's speech)



#### 5.4 EXPECTATION: *Ya*

When a speaker expects that something will take place in the future or that something is the way it is, the particle *'ya* is used. The expectation *'ya* is only used with verbal nouns in the present tense, as seen in (80).

- (80) a. Wanō ne hōthli?  
wanō ne hō-thli  
who here 3SG(E).ACT-arrive  
'Who's arriving?'  
  
Henry 'ya.  
Henry 'ya  
Henry EXPECT  
'It's Henry./It's Henry, I expect.'
- b. Tshyathla 'ya.  
tshyathla 'ya  
red EXPECT  
'It (the Euchee coat) is red.'  
  
\*tshyathla 'ya jē.  
\*It was red'

The expectation *'ya* is used indicate the distant future.

- (81) 'Yuciha 'ahe hēga 'ya  
'yuci-ha 'ahe hē-ga 'ya  
Euchee-PL here 3PL(E).ACT-arrive EXPECT  
'The Euchee who will come here (after we are gone).'

The expectation *'ya* also functions as a Yes/No question particle. In questions about the future using a verbal noun, the expectation *'ya* is used instead of *'le*. As a question particle, *'ya* generally precedes the noun.

- (82) a. Ya weyugone?            'How about Friday?  
 b. Ya 'agahe?                    'How about tomorrow?  
     'Agahe ya?  
 c. Ya tse?                         'How about you?/Are you?'

Another use of *ya* is to ask for a favor. The expectation *ya* adds tentativeness and therefore or politeness, to the request.

- (83) a. Hok'wē 'ya?  
       ho-k'wē                         'ya  
       3SG(INAN).PAT/DAT-send    expect  
       'Will you send it?'         (JC:V-118)
- b. K'æhafa 'ya?  
       k'æha-fa                      'ya  
       watch-[UN]    EXPECT  
       'Will you watch them?' (JC:V-114)

The expectation *ya* also functions as the conditional 'if.' The particle follows the verb of the conditional clause. As in English, *ya* 'if' acts as the dependent clause marker. One example follows here, but more are provided in Chapter 8, Section 5.2.

- (84) Gregory ahe hēgæ 'ya, hēdik'ɔ'wede telæ.  
 Gregory    ahe        hē-gæ                            'ya  
 Gregory    here        3SG(EM)ACT.arrive    EXPECT  
 hē-di-k'ā-'wede                            te-læ  
 3SG(EM).PAT-1SG.ACT-COM-talk    ABLE-ENC  
 'If Gregory comes, I will talk with him.'

### 5.5 QUESTIONING: *Le*

The Yes/No question particle is an irrealis mode particle. Like the other particles, it can cause any stem to be read as a verb. In this case, the truth of

the situation expressed in the verb is questioned. This function of *'le* is clear in the examples below, where *'le* is the only verbalizing particle.

- (85) a. Maxine 'le sio'yōthl'i?  
 Maxine 'le sio-'yōthl'i  
 Maxine Q 3SG(EF.I).POSS-knife  
 'Is that Maxine's knife?'  
 b. Kede chya 'le?  
 kede chya 'le  
 now hard Q  
 'Is it hard (fried) yet?'

Unlike the other irrealis particles, the Yes/ No question particle can be used in all types of verbal constructions in order to ask a question. The placement is like a clitic in that must come at the end of a complete phrase and it prefers to be placed after the first full phrase in an utterance (the second position). The placement of the Yes/No question particle *'le* is detailed in Chapter 8, Section 3.1.

## 6. MODE BOUND WORDS: EMPHASIS AND EXCESS

### 6.1 EMPHATIC: *:-le* 'VERY' AND 'REALLY'

The emphatic post-clitic *:-le* attaches to the end of verbs to create the meaning 'very' or 'really.' The clitic lengthens the final vowel of the stem, and can be accompanied by nasalization on the final vowel and through the rest of the stem with emphasis. The nasal quality may also infect the form *:-le* so that it becomes *:-lae*. This should not be confused with the encouragement and empathy particle *lae*.

- (86) a. hōtatsa           ‘He’s noisy./He talks a lot.’ (men’s speech)  
 b. hōtatsa:le       ‘He’s noisy!/He really talks a lot!’  
 c. hōtātsā::le      ‘He’s *really* noisy!/He *really* talks a lot!’

Although the notions ‘very’ and ‘really’ are commonly used for the comparative and superlative of adjectives, nouns, and adverbs, the clitic *-:le* is used on verbs as well. In (87) below, examples (a-b) are active verbs and the rest are stative verbs.

- (87) a. Weshi.           ‘They (non-Euchee) are pitiful.’  
       Weshi:le.       ‘They (non-Euchee) are really pitiful.’  
       Weshi::le.      ‘They (non-Euchee) are *really* pitiful!’
- b. Se’yu’ōda.       ‘She knows’  
       Se’yu’ōdā:le!   ‘She knows a lot!/ She is smart’
- c. Hēdi’e.           ‘He’s mean’  
       Hēdi’e:le!      ‘He’s very mean/He’s cruel!’
- d. ‘ishpi           ‘dirty’  
       Dze’ishpi:le!   ‘I’m really dirty!’
- e. Dzesh’o.         ‘I’m tired’  
       Dzesh’ō:le!     ‘I’m very tired’

See Chapter 7, Section 2.3 for discussion of *-:le* and its relationship to the stative verbalizer *-le*, and Section 2.4 for the emphatic *-:le* on adjectives.

## 6.2 EXCESSIVE: *-Gā*

The particle *-gā* ‘too’ expresses the excess of an adjectival state. When it is used, it replaces the verbalizer. In this sense, it is a verbalizer with comparative content and not aspectual content. Tense follows the excessive *-gā* ‘too.’

- (88) a. K'a wahagā.  
           k'a      wahagā  
           thing  busy-EXCESS  
           'She's too busy.'

Unlike the emphatic *-:le*, the particle *-gā* can not be used on verbs. It is used only with adjectives. Because it is associated with adjectives, more examples and discussion of *-gā* is in Chapter 7, Section 2.4

#### 7. AUDITORY EVIDENCE: *-ke*

Evidentials are markers which indicate the source of information for a proposition. Euchee uses *-ke* to report an event that the speaker hears but does not see. It is therefore an auditory evidential.

A typical use of the auditory *-ke* is shown in (89a). The sentence is an assertion 'They're coming' and the evidential *-ke* gives the additional meaning of 'I hear them.' However, the verb cannot agree with the speaker. The same meaning can be expressed with verb *ch'wē* 'hear' in the main clause, as seen in (89b). This time the speaker is the actor of 'I hear' and there is no evidential.

- (89) a. 'Ahe 'igōke. [ʔhe 'igɔke]  
           'ahe 'i-gō-ke  
           here 3SG(E).ACT-come-HEAR  
           'They're coming (I hear them). (women's speech)
- b. 'Ahe 'igō doch'wē. [ʔhe 'igɔ doch'wɛ]  
           'ahe 'i-gō do-ch'wē  
           here 3PL(E).PAT-come 1SG.ACT/PLUS-hear  
           'I hear them coming.' (women's speech)

The evidential *-ke* are normally not used in questions. However, the Yes/No question in (90) is possible. However, the speaker is showing more excitement or surprise that they are coming rather than needing information. The position of the Yes/No question marker between the verb stem and the auditory *-ke* shows the evidential is a clitic.

- (90) 'Ahe 'igo 'leke? [ʼahé 'igɔ́ 'lékɛ]  
 'ahe 'i-gō 'le-ke  
 here 3SG(E).PAT-come Q-HEAR  
 'Are they coming (you hear them?)' (women's speech)

Although it usually becomes a fully voiced /g/ today, the auditory *-ke* is the same as the location suffix *-ke*, which means 'yonder' or 'way over there.' Like its locative meaning of 'far away,' the auditory *-ke* conveys the idea that the action is so far away that it can only be heard and not seen, as in (91a-b). The auditory *-ke* does not have to be used with all sound verbs, such as 'blow' in (91c), but can be attached to any non-sound verb to indicate that it was heard.

- (91) a. [dzènewénɔ́ 'yàp<sup>h</sup>ohé wènɔ́ɛ jé]

Dzenewénō 'yaphohe wenō ke jē.  
 dzene wénō 'ya-pho-he we-nō ke jē  
 dog PL(NE) tree-under-LOC 3SG(NE).ACT-be.located HEAR PAST  
 'The dogs were (way) out in the woods.'

- b. 'Ya 'ok'wa ke. [ʼya 'ok'wa kɛ]  
 'ya 'o-k'wa ke  
 across 3PL.ACT-put HEAR  
 'They're singing (I hear them in the church).' (women's speech)

- c. Khōkhō ke. [khɔ́khɔ́ɛ]  
 khō-khō ke  
 blow.REDUP HEAR  
 'Hear it (a train) blowing!' (JC-17)

Typically, evidentials indicate to what degree the speaker feels confident that the event is really occurring. However, using *-ke* does *not* carry any commitment on the part of the speaker to the degree of truth for the assertion; it is simply 'just heard.'<sup>10</sup> Even without imposing a commitment to the evidence, the auditory *-ke* contrasts with the unmarked form in the language. Verbs without *-ke* indicate the events or states that are seen or otherwise knowable



because of some other source, such as reports or common knowledge. In (92a) it is not clear where the speaker's knowledge of the fact comes from. The speaker could know that 'he is in the woods' because he is always out in the woods at this time, or because he was seen walking towards the woods, or because he said he was going there, or because someone else said he was going there. But in (92b), the evidence is clearly from the speaker's ability to hear him in the woods.

- (92) a. 'Yaphohe s'enō. [yàp<sup>h</sup>ohé s'enǫ́]  
'yapho-he s'e-nō  
woods-LOC 3SG(EM).ACT-be.located  
'He's out there in the woods.' (women's speech)
- b. 'Yaphohe s'enō ke. [yàp<sup>h</sup>ohé s'ènǫ́ gé]  
'yapho-he s'e-nō ke  
woods-LOC 3SG(EM).ACT-be.located HEAR  
'He's out there (I hear him) in the woods.'

## 8. ADDING FEELING: ENCOURAGING AND AFFIRMING

There are two mode particles that indicate the speaker's attitude towards the hearer or their own participation in an event. These are *læ* 'encouragement and empathy' and *hō* 'yes.' They come at the end of utterances, and are often combined with other modes, especially the ability *te*. Unlike the realis/irrealis mode particles, neither particle gives a verbal reading when following a noun or adjective.

### 8.1 GIVING ENCOURAGEMENT AND SHOWING EMPATHY: *Læ*

The mode particle *læ* is used to give encouragement to a listener. It is also used to show empathy. The encouragement *læ* can be stressed and be an independent particle, but it can be unstressed and attached to other the end of verbs or other mode particles, especially ability *te*. Some speakers regularly use

it at the end of utterances. For them, *læ* is a discourse marker rather like ‘okay’ in English.

The feeling of encouragement and empathy is clear in the two statements below.

- (93) a. Hi'yo'nē'nē jē.  
 hi-'yo-'nē-'nē jē  
 3SG(INAN).PAT-2SG.ACT+'YU-look.at-REDUP PAST  
 'You tried.'
- b. Hi'yo'ne'ne læ.  
 hi-'yo-'ne.'ne læ  
 3SG(INAN).PAT-2SG.ACT+'YU-look.at-REDUP ENC  
 '(It's okay) You tried.'  
 [said to comfort, or encourage to keep going]

Other examples follow.

- (93) a. Nē 'le k'æthlæ'ē læ. [nɛ'le k'æthlæ'ɛn læ]  
 nē 'le k'æthlæ-'ē læ  
 NEG Q wrong-ACTIVE ENC  
 'There isn't anything wrong?'
- b. Dithæ::le læ!  
 di-thæ-::le læ  
 1SG.ACT-want-very ENC  
 'I would really like that!'
- c. Nehe shici sã:le læ. [nihe shici sã:nle læ] (BPD)  
 nehe shi-ci sã-:le læ  
 here 2SG.ACT.arrive-SUB/CL(SIT) good-VERY ENC  
 'It's really good that you're here.'
- d. Nedzedik'ã'wedechi sã:lelæ. [nedzedik'ɔ'wedechi sã:nlelæ]  
 nedze-di-k'ã-'wede-ci sã-:le læ  
 2SG.PAT-1SG.ACT-COM-talk-SUB/CL(SIT) good-VERY ENC  
 'It's been really good to talk to you.'

Because it shows empathy, it is often used in greetings and in asking about one's health and welfare.

- (94) a. Sēgā'ē tsonō læ? (or Sēgā'ē, læ?)  
 sē-gā-'ē                      tso-nō                      læ  
 good-too-ACTIVE      2SG.PAT/PLUS-be      ENC  
 'Are you well/How are you?' (greeting)
- Sēgā'ē dzonō læ.  
 sē-gā-'ē                      dzo-nō                      læ  
 good-too-ACTIVE      1SG.PAT/PLUS-be      ENC  
 'I am well'
- b. Wahe'ē læ?  
 wahe-'ē                      læ  
 how-ACTIVE      ENC  
 'Are you well?' (sick in bed)
- c. Ke'lede hishēhē sonō læ.                      [ke'lede hishēhē sonō læ]  
 ke-'le-de      hishēhē      so-nō                      læ  
 now-Q      better      2SG.PAT/PLUS-be      ENC  
 'Are you feeling better?'

## 8.2 AFFIRMATION: *Hō*

The affirmative answer *hō* 'yes' also functions as a mode particle at the end of an utterance.<sup>11</sup> Wagner (1934: 354) states that *hō* is an emphatic suffix. The affirmative *hō* is emphatic in the sense that when one affirms one's commitment to a future action or affirms one's belief that something is possible, it is generally more emphatic than without such confirmation. However, the basic content and function is one of affirming and confirming not emphasis.

The affirmative *hō* ~ [h̃v] ~ [hv], and sometimes [hæ], is used to confirm one's commitment to a future action. It is most common when offering to do something, such as the example from (52) above. It is provided again here in (95a). It is also used when giving permission, as in (95b).

- (95) a. Di s'èdo'æne tēlæ hō [dí s'èdo'æné tɛlæhɔ̃]  
 di s'e-do-'æne tē-læ hō  
 1SG 3SG(EM).PAT-1SG.ACT/PLUS-ask ABLE-ENC AFFIRM  
 'I will ask him.'
- b. Wesha telæ hō  
 wesha te-læ hō  
 2SG.ACT.go ABLE.ENC AFFIRM  
 'I guess you can go.'

The affirmative can also confirm one's knowledge about a past event or state. An example is in (96a). Using *-hō* with past events often gives an emphatic quality to the statement, as in (96b).

- (96) a. [k'æɫɔ̃nɔ̃ 'a gwaçí hìdo'ondá'ɛ hɔ̃]  
 K'æthlōnō 'a gwaci hido'ōda'ē hō.  
 k'æthlē wenō 'a-gwa-ci  
 whoever CL(NE) LOC-say-SUB/CL(SIT)  
 hi-do-'ōda'ē hō  
 3SG(INAN).PAT-1SG.ACT+'YU-know AFFIRM  
 'I know who said that.' (JC IV-55)
- b. 'Acha wethlane hō.  
 'acha we-thla-ne hō  
 whistle 3SG(NE).ACT-do-HAB AFFIRM  
 'They really do blow their whistles [on the trains].' (JC)

In this usage, the confirmation usage of *hō* is a way of giving evidence (see Auditory Evidence above), but the affirmative *hō* is not necessary nor is it common when stating something that the speaker knows to be true. The utterance is usually left unmarked or the realis *wá* can be used.

The following expressions are used as mode with the affirmative 'yes' stem. The first is affirmative about the future, but still reserved. The second uses the ability *te* for the meaning 'could.'

- (97) a. Hō'ōlæ                      'Maybe'  
b. Hō'ō læde'ē te              'It could be'

NOTES  
CHAPTER 5

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<sup>1</sup> Wagner (1934) did not state how he determined suffixes from clitics. Tense and modes are suffixes (pp. 351-352, and pp. 353-355, respectively).

<sup>2</sup> The consequence is that tense and mode are treated as separate from the verb phrase in Euchee.

<sup>3</sup> It is probable that the future nasal is a contraction of the inchoative post-clitic *'ē* with the stem. This is normal contraction in Euchee (see Chapter 2, Section 4.1 Contraction). The immediate future fits semantically with the inchoative. In addition, the tense particles are grammaticalized from auxiliary verbs of position (Linn in prep). Sitting *ci* became the past imperfective *jē*. Standing *fa* became the present, as in *'ake'ēfā* 'That's the way it is.' It is also used in the past perfective *jēfa*. The lying *'e* would fit nicely into this pattern of grammaticalization, with *'ē* having the progressive and immediate future reading.

<sup>4</sup> Crawford was treating *le* as an aspect suffix 'duration' (rough notes). I reject this on the grounds of stress. Primary stress falls on the last syllable of a stem. So, for example, the habitual aspect suffix *-ne* gets primary stress on verbs, and when it acts as the nominalizer for verbs, it still gets primary stress on the end of the noun. If *le* were an aspect suffix like *-ne*, we would expect this same behavior, but is the last syllable, it should have primary stress. But, as stated in the text, it is not stressed.

In addition, the habitual *-ne* can be used on all verbs and verbal structures, but as a verbalizer *le* can not be attached to existing verbs. Since adjectives always have a verbalizer, it raises the question as to whether the adjective is underlying a verb, and that *le* is durative aspect and *'ē* is progressive aspect on the verb. However, without *le* or *'ē*, adjectives can not function as a verb. No such morphology is needed for other verbs (including stative verbs). In addition, *le* cannot be added to active verbs in order to get a reading of say, 'She lived *for a long time*.' or 'He smoked cigarettes *during his lifetime*.' Therefore, *le* is considered to be a cliticized verbalizer and not an aspect suffix.

The verbalizer *-le* is possibly related to direction clitic *-le*, meaning 'movement along or down a long object'. Other location clitics are used as aspect. For example, on nouns *-le* (a homonym with *-le* 'movement along or down a long object') is the direction 'back to,' and on verbs it is the repeated aspect. The distant location *-ke* indicates heard action verbs. The meaning of 'along an object' could be interpreted as 'a long time, over a long period of time.' However, this interpretation seems more likely under the 'duration' affix hypothesis of *le*. This is because it is not clear why *le* would get a 'verbalize' reading on some nouns but a 'direction' reading others. This can be explained if adjectives are underlying different from nouns or verbs.

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The cliticization of *le* does raise interesting speculation into the history and nature of suffixes in Euchee.

<sup>5</sup> Speakers read this hypothetical lengthening form as the future *weshī*: 'They (non-Euchee) will be pitiful.'

<sup>6</sup> It is not clear why the auxiliary requires the verbalizer before the completive *de* (if it is indeed the completive). Since auxiliaries are not fully verbal, it could be that Euchee requires an active verb in order to show completion. The verbalizer *ē* carries the present continuous aspect. A parallel is found in the adjectives formed with the duration *-le*. These require the copula *wa* before they can be put into the past tense.

<sup>7</sup> The extreme combination of modes is probably due to two factors. First, the Chief does very little direct speaking. The Speaker for the Chief usually speaks for the Chief. When the Chief does speak, it is the highest level of formality and politeness. In addition, this form is archaic and represents the fullest forms of Euchee.

<sup>8</sup> The analysis of *hetēde* is not certain. It could be the completive *de*, as with the 'should/ought to' *te'ēde* (also a tentative analysis). However, since the vowel is always reduced, the final vowel is not definitively reconstructable. The vowels which commonly reduce to *dv* make the possibilities *de*, /dē/, /da/, /dā/, and /dō/. Another possibility is that the *de* is not the completive, but particle of strong potential. This would parallel the structure *hetē gō* 'might have to' where *gō* is the potential mode.

<sup>9</sup> The speaker has regularized the form. The 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person singular forms of *(go)nō* 'come' are irregular. The 1<sup>st</sup> person form is *dzō* 'I come.'

<sup>10</sup> According to de Haan (De Haan to appear), scholars of epistemic modality argue that evidentials are related to doubt and certainty of the the proposition, but that grammars of individual languages report that speakers do not show differing degrees of certainty with evidentials.

<sup>11</sup> Another possibility is that *hō* is a discourse marker at the end of the utterances. However, it does not occur frequently in any person's speech, as one would suppose of a discourse marker.

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## CHAPTER 6: THE NOUN AND NOUN PHRASE

### 1. OVERVIEW

This chapter introduces the noun and noun phrase. This includes the basic stems and stem formation through compounding and the nominalizer *-ne* (derivation). It also includes the affixes and clitics which create a noun phrase (inflection), such as the noun class clitics, plural clitics, possession prefixes, and location suffixes. Following this are other modifiers which are used to extend the noun phrase.

There can be up to three noun phrases as participants in a Eucree sentence: the actor, the patient, and the recipient or beneficiary. However, the participants do not have to appear as overt noun phrases. The pronominal agreement prefixes on the verb indicate the participants in the event or state denoted by the verb. Therefore, if the participants in the sentence are clear from context, the noun phrases are omitted. Context includes previous mention in the discourse and shared world knowledge by the people engaged in the conversation. In discourse, the nouns may be reinserted for focus, emphasis, and clarification if needed.

Formally, it is difficult to distinguish nouns from verbs in Eucree. No one affix is able to distinguish the two. The traditional criteria for establishing nouns as a part of speech separate from verbs and adjectives are difficult to apply. This is illustrated below with some of the ways in which nouns, verbs, adjectives, and sentences share the same morphology.

The ability for nouns to show definiteness is one of the standard criteria for nouns. Although there is no definite or indefinite article, as in the English 'the' and 'a/an,' Eucree does have definite particles which are cliticized to the noun (see 3.1 below). Yet, the definite markers are not unique to the noun phrase. Instead, they are identical to location verb (*go*)*nō* 'be located' and

position verbs *ci* 'sit,' *fa* 'stand' and *e* 'lie. Examples (1)-(2) below compare definite nouns with simple sentences. Definite nouns can be seen in the (a) examples, while sentences containing a location or position verb that is identical to the definite marker on the noun are found in the (b) examples.

- (1) a. dathlawenō  
dàthla-wenō  
wolf-DET/CL(NE)  
'the wolf'
- b. Dathla wenō.  
dathlá we-nō  
wolf 3SG(NE).PAT-be.located  
'There is a wolf./A wolf is over there.'
- (2) a. tici  
ti-cí  
rock-DET/CL(SIT)  
'the rock'
- b. Ti ci.  
ti cí  
rock DET/CL(SIT)  
'There's a rock./A rock is over there.'

The stress and intonation is given on the second line in the examples above. In (1), the difference between the definite noun and the sentence is signaled by the placement of stress alone. However, this criterion does not always work, as can be seen in (2), where both the definite noun and the sentence have the same stress/intonation pattern.

Nouns can also be made plural (number), and this ability is also used as a criterion for nouns. Euchee nouns do bear number clitics. Yet, as with definiteness, the number suffixes are identical to the verb '(plural) be located.'

- (3) a. gōt'ehēnō  
gōt'e-hēnō  
person-CL/PL(EM)  
'the (Euchee) men' (men's speech)
- b. Gōt'e héno.  
gōt'e hē-nō  
person 3SG(EM)-be.located  
'There are the (Euchee) men.' (men's speech/BPD)
- (4) a. ti há  
ti há  
rock PL  
'rocks'
- b. ti ha  
ti ha  
rock (INAN).PL.be.located  
'There are the rocks.'

Nouns are also able to show possession. The Euchee possessive prefixes on the noun are identical to the actor and patient pronominal agreement on the verb. Possessive nouns are properly given with the noun class post-clitic. However, they are often dropped in discourse, thus adding to the similarity between the pronominal forms. In the examples in (5) below are given without its noun class post-clitic, but (5c) bears the noun class -'e.

- (5) a. diháé                    'my breath'  
      diháé                    'I'm breathing'
- b. ditháé                    'my heart'  
      ditháé                    'I want'
- c. dik'ó'e                    'my throat'  
      dik'ó'e                    'I'm choking'
- d. wèp'adé                    'rabies'  
      wèp'adé                    'He (non-Euchee) is crazy'

- e. yōshú                    'his (non-Euchee) rope'  
       yōshú                    'he (non-Euchee) ties'

The suffix *-ne* indicates that the noun was made from a verb. Such a suffix (a nominalizer) is usually a good test for a noun. However, *-ne* also has a counterpart as a verbal suffix. The habitual aspect suffix on verbs is also *-ne*. In (6a) there is a formal difference in stress, but the difference is negligible when spoken.

- (6) a. 'í gowané                'one chews tobacco'  
       `ì gowané                'chewing tobacco'
- b. 'yothl'íthl'íne            'you write'  
       'yothl'íthl'íne            'your writing'

Thus, the morphology usually reserved for nouns can be seen on verbs as well. Conversely, Euchee nouns can bear morphology normally associated with verbs and adjectives. The ability to show tense is usually reserved for verbs. However, in verbal noun structures (predicate nominals), a Euchee noun may be followed by the past tense particle *jē*. In (7a), the word 'chief' can not be a verb since it does not have the required animate pronominal prefixes.

- (7) a. Jim `wa p'athl'e jē  
       Jim `wa p'athl'e jē  
       Jim COP chief PAST  
       'Jim was chief.'
- b. k'agoyune ha jē  
       k'a-go-yu-nē                ha jē  
       thing-3SG(IMP)-sick-NOM PL PAST  
       'past illnesses/there were past illnesses' (JC)

Euchee nouns and verbs also share *-le* 'direction back' in both space and time' On the noun, the direction suffix *-le* means 'return to a location.' On the verb, *-le* has the aspect meaning 'to repeat the action.'

- (8) a. chu                    'bed'  
       chule                'back to bed'
- b. kyōwā                'to think'  
       kyōwāle            'to think again, to remember'

The only clear criterion for nouns in Eucree is based on constituency order. Demonstrative adjectives can occur immediately before a noun, but not a verb. If there is no demonstrative, the assignment of event or state (verb) and actor or patient (noun) must be derived from the meaning of the entire sentence.

## 2. STEMS AND STEM FORMATION (DERIVATIONAL MORPHOLOGY)

There are three main kinds of noun stems in Eucree: 1) basic stems 2) compounds, and 3) nouns formed from verbs with the nominalizing suffix *-ne*. Basic stems, both free and bound, are one syllable words. Two syllable basic stems are rare, if they exist at all, and multi-syllable basic stems do not exist. All multi-syllable nouns are compounds. Compounds comprise the largest group of Eucree nouns. Simple compounds are made from two stems, but complex compounds are made from two or more simple compounds or compounds followed by a nominalized verb. Most multi-syllable compounds can be seen as lexicalized noun phrases and clauses. Finally, noun stems may be created from verbs using the nominalizer *-ne*.

### 2.1 BASIC NOUN STEMS

#### *Free Basic Stems*

The following are the basic noun stems. They are considered free basic stems because they can be used without any possessive prefixes. Like the basic

verb stems, the basic noun stems are considered to be some of the oldest vocabulary in a language.

(9) Basic Stems (Free, Alienable)

'i	'tobacco	sta	'fingernail, claw'
pa	'sack	sta/stæ	'snow'
ti	'stone, rock	s'æ	'land, earth'
te	'mulberry	shi	'juice, fluid'
tē	'cedar tree	sha	'field, farm'
tho	'sweet potato	sha	'snake'
kē/gē	'horned owl	shu	'fish'
k'o/k'u	'Stomp Ground'	shtu	'shell'
tse	'water	shwæ	'poke salad'
tso	'sun	sh'e	'pond'
ts'ē	'blue jay' <sup>1</sup>	sh'i	'material, clothing'
chu	'bed'	sh'u	'handle, vine, orchard'
cu	'boat, canoe'	thla	'bullet, arrow'
fā	'afternoon, evening'	wæ	'time, summer, year'
sō	'tick' (arachnid)	'ya	'tree'
spa	'blackberry'	'yō	'star, spider'
spē	'piece of leather'	'yō	'hickory'

*Bound Stems*

Some basic stems must have a possessive pronominal prefix in order to be used. These nouns are inalienable because they can not be separated from their possessor. These bound stems include such terms as body parts and family terminology. Inalienable nouns may also be compounds, but the following list is of bound (inalienable) basic stems.

(10) Basic Stems (Bound, Inalienable)

'i	'blood'	t'ē	'father'
'o	'horn'	t'i	'urine, bile'
tæ	'shoulder'	t'o	'seed'
to	'breast'	de	'leg'
thæ	'heart'	kē/gē	'tooth'
tho	'head'	kho	'throat'

k'a/k'ā	'together'	sh'ī/sh'ē	'bone'
k'o	'neck'	thl'a	'lung'
ko/go	'human'	hæ	'mother'
cwa	'skin'	wæ	'female'
che	'belly'	'yu	'house, town'
chi	'eye'	'ya	'sweat'
chu	'penis'	'yō	'uncle'
sho	'body, waist'		

The bound basic stems include three stems, *go-* 'human/male', *wæ-* 'female', *'yu* 'house,' and *k'a- ~ k'ā* 'together' which are not body parts or family members. They are bound because they are always the head stem in a compound, as seen below. The bound stem *go-* 'human/male' is the same as the impersonal 3<sup>rd</sup> person subject pronominal prefix *go-* 'one, someone.' Although its part in noun stems is probably derived from the pronoun, it does have the stem meaning 'human/male.'<sup>2</sup> The examples of *k'a* 'together' in (11d) can not be analyzed further.

- (11) a. got'e  
go-t'e  
human-one  
'person'
- gone  
go-ne  
human-offspring  
'baby' (infant to toddler)
- b. wæt'e  
wæ.t'e  
female-one  
'woman'



- c. yufa  
 yu-fa  
 house-CL(STAND)  
 'house'
- yuhe  
 yu-he  
 house-LOC  
 'house, town'
- d. k'aju      'together, two in a reciprocating situation'  
 k'ada      'together, three or more in a reciprocating situation'

See Chapter 4, Section 3.3 for more on the reciprocal and accompaniment stems.

#### *Two-Syllable Stems and Shortening*

There are very few two-syllable stems that are not analyzable as compounds. Those that exist are probably compounds whose parts are no longer recognizable. This is due to two forces in the language. One is the loss of meaning over time of some basic stems used in compounds. For example many two-syllable nouns end in /ba/ or /da/, but there is no known independent assigned to /ba/ or /da/ today. In addition, the head of the compound (the left stem) may also become inscrutable over time. In this way, both parts may not be analyzable.

The most common loss of meaning is due to compounds which have been shortened over time and whose full forms are no longer remembered or able to be reconstructed. The words in their shortened form were learned by children at some point in the past, and the full forms are no longer remembered. There are two mechanisms for shortening words in Euchee. One is simply deleting a part of the word. The head of two-syllable compounds, especially common heads such as *k'a* 'thing' and *'ya* 'tree/wood,' and *go* 'human' are often deleted without any loss in meaning to native speakers. The pronominal agreement from nominalized verbs is commonly dropped, as is the nominalizer *-ne*. In addition to

deletion is the phonological process of contraction where a syllable is deleted and this affects the vowel of the preceding syllable. One of the effects of contraction is vowel lengthening, but even this indicator has generally been dropped from lexicalized contracted forms. See Chapter 2, Section 4.1 for contraction.

An example of an apparent two-syllable stem is *teshu* 'rope.' For most speakers, the parts are not separable or understandable today. However, the late Mr. William Cahwee pointed out that it is indeed short for *p'ateyōshune* 'rope' or ore accurately 'they handle horses.' The word undergoes all of the changes discussed above.

- |      |    |  |  |
|------|----|--|--|
| (12) | a. | p'ateyōshune<br>p'ate-yō-shu-ne<br>horse+3SG(NE).ACT+'YU-tie-NOM<br>'rope' | full form  |
|      | b. | p'ateyōshune<br>teyōshu<br>te:shu<br>teshu<br><br>teshu<br>'rope'          | full form<br>deletion<br>/y/ contraction<br>loss of vowel lengthening<br><br>short (common) form |

The result is a two-syllable word, which without the aid of an insightful or highly informed speaker, can not be firmly reconstructed. The words listed in (13a) below are examples of two-syllable nouns that resist analysis but are deemed to be formed by compounding. In (13b), the *-ne* may be the nominalizer suffix (see Section 2.3 below), or the *-ne* may be the archaic diminutive suffix (see Section 2.4 below), but the heads are not recognizable today.

### (13) Common, Unanalyzeable Compounds

a. dæsti	'basket'
jatyō	'raccoon'
thl'aya	'cherry'
te'ō	'bullfrog' (perhaps onomatopoeic)
thlækha	'white heron'
nānō/nvrv	'creek'
b. sené	'bird'
séne/síne	'metal, iron'
thine	'string'
spine/shpine	'grouse, guinea fowl'
dane	'fat, lard'
dzene	'dog'
'ine	'persimmon'
pene/pini (BPD)	'sassafras, sassafras stem'
shwene	'willow'
shtine	'spoon'

## 2.2 COMPOUNDING

Compounding is highly productive in Euchee. Outside of the very rare borrowings, compounding is the only source for new words entering the lexicon. A compound is a word created out of two stems, like 'blackbird' and 'babysit' in English. There is always a 'head' of the compound. The head is the stem which determines the part of speech. So, in the English examples, the head is on the right, as 'blackbird' is a noun and 'babysit' is a verb. However, in Euchee the head is the left stem. This can be seen in the examples below. In 14a), the noun 'insect' is made from the head *tho* 'head<small round things' and modified with the verbal adjective stem *spa* 'be elongated.' In 14b), the head is 'hands' and the modifier is the verb 'you wash in' with the nominalizer *-ne*.

- (14) a. thospa  
 tho+spa  
round.thing (N) + be.elongated (Adj)  
 'insect, bug'
- b. go'ōthætigodine  
 go-ōthæ+ti-go-di-ne  
 3SG(IMP).POSS-hand + in-3SG(IMP).ACT-wash-NOM  
your.hands+you.wash.in-NOM  
 'bathroom sink'

This order is expected for Euchee because throughout the language, all modifiers follow the head. For example, adjective clauses follow the noun phrase; location phrases (postpositions) follow the noun phrase; and the tense and mode follow the verb phrase.<sup>3</sup>

There are only a few exceptions to the head noun being the left stem. Most notably is the adjective *chya* 'hard, difficult, fast.' It may be used as the head, as seen in (15a). However, these may be cases where the head noun has been deleted. In (15b) the head of 'money' used to be a noun *ti* 'yellow' which referred to 'gold.' It is probable that (15c) also contained the head *se* 'metal' at one time.

(15) Adjective/Verb + Stem

- |                        |                    |
|------------------------|--------------------|
| a. <i>chyatsa</i>      | 'crawdad/crawfish' |
| b. (ti) <i>chyaso</i>  | '(yellow) money'   |
| c. (se?) <i>chyaka</i> | 'can/tin can'      |

There are three patterns of compounds in Euchee. The stems may both be basic stems. This is the simple compound. The second pattern is that the head may be a basic stem, and the modifying stem may be another compound or a nominalized verb. The third pattern is that the head may be a compound, and the modifying stem may be a compound or a nominalized verb. These words are generally long. The head may not be a nominalized verb. These patterns are discussed below.

Section provides examples of a basic stem used as the head for the many compounds. In this way, the vocabulary is expanded. Below is one basic stem being used in the creation many new words, but as the modifying stem. The basic noun is *sh'i* 'juice, liquid':

(16) Basic Stem as modifier in compounds

shi			'juice, liquid'
'yashi	'ya+shi	tree+juice	'pitch, sap'
'yash'ashi	'ya+sh'a+shi	leaf+juice	'tea'
dashi	da+shi	face+juice	'saliva'
tsoshi	tso+shi	corn+juice	'sofki'
chishi	chi+shi	eye+juice	'tear'
toshi	to+shi	breast+juice	'milk'

Between the productiveness of compounding and the fact that nearly all syllables are also a word, nouns are quite analyzeable. Most speakers are aware of the internal construction of nouns, and it gives them much pleasure to see how their ancestors named things. It also gives a mechanism for creating new words, a mechanism which they are often highly conscious of. More recently coined words, such as 'car', 'television', and 'curtain,' exemplify the creativity and they show regional and/or family variation. Here is an example of the variations for 'window.' The speakers' names and their families' original towns are given.

(17) Variations for 'window'

'yucip'i	'yu+cip'i	house+hole	Jimmie Skeeter, Polecat
'yacip'i	'ya+cip'i	wood+hole	Jim Brown, Sand Creek
tsacip'i	tsa+cip'i	side+hole	William Cahwee, Big Pond
cacip'i	ca+cip'i	side+hole	Henry Washburn, Sand Creek

To speakers, each variation is completely understandable, and they find it interesting to compare which characteristics their family or region chose to record compared to another family/region.

*Noun Compound or Noun + Clause Construction?*

The structure of noun compounds is 'noun head + modifier.' This is parallel to the structure of noun phrases. The noun phrase is 'noun + modifying clause.' So, in some cases it is difficult to tell a noun compound (a single word) from a noun followed by an adjective clause, or a noun followed by the verb (a sentence). Noun compounds contrast with a noun followed by an adjective clause or a complete sentence only in the placement of stress. The most prominent stress (primary stress) regularly falls on the last syllable of a stem, and secondary stress falls on the first syllable. This is seen below.

- (18) 'yá                      'tree'  
      'yash'á                'leaf'  
      'yàsh'ashí            'tea'  
      'yàstebadó            'fog'  
      'yàshtatàgothlæné    'table'

This can be seen in 19) below. The noun head is given in 19a), with primary stress on the last syllable. In 19b), the compound 'haybailer' is given. It is made with a nominalized verb as the modifying stem. It, too, has regular noun stress. In 19c) the parts are the same as the compound, but it is the sentence 'they bail hay.' This is interpreted as the sentence because the noun has stress on the second (last) syllable, and the pronominal has secondary stress for the verb phrase.

- (19) a. Noun Stress  
      tsogá  
      tso.ga  
      sun-UN  
      'grass'

b. Noun + Predicate Compound Stress

tsògá'yòk'wēné  
tsoga+'yō-kwē-ne  
grass+3(NE)ACT+'YU-tie-NOM  
'haybailer' (machine)

c. Sentence Stress

Tsogá 'yòkwēné.  
tsoga'yō-k'wēne  
grass 3PL(NE)ACT+'YU-tie.HAB  
'They (non-Euchee) bail hay.'

When the modifier is an adjective, it generally contrasts with an adjective clause because the verbalizers *-ē* 'active' or *-le* 'stative' are dropped, predictably, when they are part of a noun.

- (20) a. 'yòthl'igé  
'yō+thl'i+gē  
stinging.thing+cut+long  
long knife  
= 'sword'<sup>4</sup> (GW)
- b. 'yòthl'í géle  
'yòthl'í gē-le  
knife long-STATE  
'a long knife/It's a long knife.'

As new concepts enter the language, they are apparently described with an adjective clause first. As the concept becomes more stable, the clause becomes more integrated in to the noun as a noun compound, losing the verbalizers and taking on regular noun stress. In many cases, the structure is not clear. In some cases, speakers can treat the same concept as a compound or a clause. The interaction between the two is not stable and a fascinating area for further research.

*Simple Compounds*

Simple compounds are made of two basic stems. Much of the noun vocabulary of Euchee are simple compounds. Because the inventory of basic stems is small, simple compounds are a relatively closed set of words. Another result is that one stem gets used for the original meaning but then can expand to encompass similar entities. For example, as seen above the stem *tho* 'head' can expand to 'small round things.' When put into such groupings, the heads show varying degrees of semantic extension and separability. Most can still be independent word, and they form tight semantic groups. Other are still recognizable words, but they only appear as heads in compounds. Most of these can also be grammatical morphemes, such as *we-* 'non-Euchee' or *go-* human. A few more heads are bleached, or obscure in meaning without looking at the entire group. These stems can no longer be independent words. A schematic representation is given below.<sup>5</sup>

(21) Heads of Compounds

Independent stem	interpretable	productive
Loosely bound stem	interpretable	productive
Bound stem	interpretable only in group bleached obscure	not productive

Wagner (1934) called the heads of simple compounds 'thematic elements' and Rankin (1997) posits several of the basic stems as an archaic noun class system.<sup>6</sup> However, whether capable of being independent stems or bound and obscure, they are the heads of the compounds, not classification prefixes. Instead of being viewed as a solidified old system, the differences should be viewed as a current process of lexical affixation. However, lexical affixation precedes from compounding (Mithun 1997). The stem of a compound then becomes bleached. Euchee shows a definite link between compounding and the loss of meaning in stems, distinctly an early stage in lexical affixation.



Below are just a few sets of the many simple compounds found in Euhcee. They are organized by the relationship of the head to the compound.

(22) Heads are still independent, basic stems

a. *da*<sup>7</sup> 'face' < associated with the face

daba		'forehead'
dadi		'face'
dakha		'mouth'
dāp'i/dap'i		'nose'
dap'ida		'top of nose'
dashi	face+juice	'saliva'
dati		'cheeks, jaw'
dash'i		'upper lip'
dash'a		'lower lip'

b. *tso* ~ *dzo* 'sun' < traditional cultivated food and important plants<sup>8</sup>

tsotho	corn+head	'unshelled corn, on cob'
tsot'o	corn+seed	'shelled corn, kernals'
dzoshi	corn juice	'sofki'
tsotsa		'sofki corn, grits'
tsosh'u	corn+vine	'corn stalk'
tsokha(le)	corn+fine	'flour'
tsothi		'medicine'
tsot'i		'wild onion'
tsodi		'bean'
tsoga		'grass'
tsole		'home'
tsoda		'terrapin'
tsosodi		'sugar'
tsodis'i	bean+little	'pea'
tsothibyothlo	medicine+round	'pill'

c. 'ya 'tree' < trees, parts of trees, things made from wood

'yacu		'branch'
'yash'a		'leaf'
'yashi	tree+juice	'pitch, sap'
'yas'i	tree+little	'stick, switch'
'yaha	tree+plural	'wood, firewood'
'ya'e	tree+lying	'fallen tree, log'
'yaya		'dead tree'
'yapo		'peach, peach tree'
'yaso		'scratcher'
'yaso		'pine'
'yas'a		'chopped wood'
'yaste		'smoke'
'yafe		'prairie'
'yashe		'coal'
'yawa		'shade'
'yati		'fire'
'yaste, 'yasteste		'smoke'
'yada		'tribe/clan' (AG)
'yadaka		'log, ready to be used'
'yaphole	tree+under	'woods, forest'
'yas'iki/yash'iki		'wood ashes'
'yastiki		'Stickman'
'yaciki		'Poleboy'
'yahocwa	tree+its-skin	'bark'
'yasta/yashta		'board, chair'

(23) Loosely bound heads

a. *ko-* ~ *go-* 'human' < associated with humans, human activity

This list is only of words whose stem contains *go-*; it does not include the possessive *go-* given with inalienable nouns in elicited form or nominalized forms with *go-*.

gosha	human+?snake	'louse, lice'
gothi	human string	'ribbon'
gotho	human+seed	'child, toddler'
gone	human+DIM	'baby'
gojuho		'prisoner'
gon'ās'ā		doll, picture

b. *we* < living non-Euchee

This list is only of words whose stem contains *we*; it does not include the possessive *we-* given with inalienable nouns in elicited form or nominalized forms with *we-*.<sup>9</sup>

wechā	'chicken'
wedzā	'pig'
wedzē	'feather, hair'
wethla	'hawk'
weshta	'claw, fingernail'
westā	'winter'
wet'æ	'rainbow'
weyŷ	'deer'
we'yŷ	'star'
weyu	'lard, oil, grease' (also location 'around')
wedine	'cow'
wesvne	'nephew'
wecæt'æ/wecæthl'æthl'æ	'lightning'
wesāp'i	'whirlwind'

(24) Obscure, bound heads

a. *cī* < melons, squashes

cīk'o	squash+neck	'pumpkin'
cīsodi	melon+sugar	'cantaloupe'
cīshale		'watermelon'
cīsh'a		'coal flour'
cīko/juk'o		'banana'

b. *ta* < ?from locative particle *ta* 'on'

tat'wæ	'sand, dust'
tat'ē	'dust'
tak'ē	'ball'
tapi	'salt'
tape	'top, end'
dada	'corn crib'
dane	'fat'
tathla	'wolf'
tats'a	'noise'

### *Complex Compounds*

Compounds can be simple compounds made of two stems, as shown in 22-24) above, or complex compounds. It is easiest to classify complex compounds by their heads.

Complex compounds can be made with a basic stem. The modifying stem can be a postposition, and uninflected adjective or verb. These are shown below.

#### (25) Basic Stem Head + Postposition

a. s'æp'a	s'æ+p'a	earth+high	'hill'
b. tsebithlo	tse+bithlo	water+around	'island'
c. yutifa	yu+tifa	house+in	'inside'

#### (26) Basic Stem Head + Adjective (Uninflected)

a. tis'i	ti+s'i	rock+little	'pebble, chat, gravel'
b. 'yu'æ	'yu+'æ	house+big	'Big House' <sup>10</sup>
c. tikhale	ti+khale	rock+fine	'shale'
d. sētsyathla	sē+tsyathla	bird+red	'cardinal, redbird'
e. 'yayaka	'ya+yaka	tree+white	'sycamore'
f. wæ'nagā	wæ+'nagā	year+new	'New Year'
g. tsecuge	tse+cuge	water+sour	'wine, liquor'
h. pachya	pa+chya	sack+hard	'burlap sack'

#### (27) Basic Stem Head + (Uninflected) Verb

a. tsethla	tse+thla	water+freeze	'ice'
b. k'athl'o	k'a+thl'o	thing+bake	'bread'
c. dzobithli	dzo+bithli	sun+turn	'time'
d. sēs'ætichya	sē+s'ætichya	bird+run	'road runner'
e. k'ās'ætichya	k'ā+s'ætichya	thing+run	'car'

Next, the head noun may be a compound. The modifying stem may be fairly simple, as those above. These are shown below.

(28) Compound Noun Head + Noun

a. wechā+t'o	we.chā+t'o	chicken+egg	'egg'
b. k'ōditapi	k'ōdi+tapi	meat+salt	'salt meat/pork'
c. k'asotsole	k'aso+tsole	book+house	'library'

(29) Compound Noun Head + Adjective

a. 'ōthæcucu	'ōthæ+cucu	arm.heart+bumpy	'knuckle'
b. thospaso	thospa+so	insect+smelly	'stink bug'
c. gosh'istale	gosh'i+stale	clothes+spread out	'Green Corn jacket'
d. chyasoti	chyaso+ti	money+yellow	'gold'

(30) Compound Noun + Verb

a. k'asoshī	k'aso+shī	paper+broken	paper sack
b. k'alæfæ	k'a+læfæ	something+burst	flower
c. sēnekhap'a	sēne+kha.p'a	metal+through.pass	(steel) pipe

Or, the modifying stem can be a complex compounds. The modifying stem can be a compound noun with a possessive noun. In addition, there can be more than two stems in a complex compound: one head and two modifying stems. This is seen in (31d).

(31) Noun + Possessive Pronoun + Noun

- a. yahocwa  
ya-ho-cwa  
tree-3SG(IMP).POSS-skin  
'tree, its skin'  
'bark'
- b. cestahosh'u  
cesta+ho-sh'u  
stomache.3SG(IMP).POSS-string  
'belly, its string'  
'navel cord'

- c. dzeneyō'agæ  
 dzene+yō-'agæ  
 dog+3SG(IMP).POSS-day  
 'dog's day'  
 = 'August'
- d. thospayōstacya  
 thospa+yō-sta+chya  
 insect+3NE/POSS.shell+hard  
 'bug whose hshell is hard'  
 = 'cockroach (or any hard-shelled insect)'

Some of the most complex compounds are made with nominalized verbs. A nominalized verb can never be the head of a compound. See Section 2.3 below for nominalization. Only compound heads usually have nominalized verbs as their modifying stem. The exception is *k'a* 'thing,' as seen in (32c) below. Several examples of complex compounds with nominalized verbs are below.

(32) Compound Head + Nominalized Verb

- a. 'yastatagothlæne  
 'yasta+ta-go-thlæ-ne  
 board+on-3IMPERS-eat-NOM  
 'board-one eats on'  
 = 'table'
- b. gosh'itigots'ane  
 gosh'i+ti-go-ts'a-ne  
 clothes+in-3(IMP)-sleep-NOM  
 'clothes one sleeps in'  
 = 'bedclothes, pajamas'
- c. k'ahithlikethlane  
 k'a+hithli-ke-thla-ne  
 thing-smooth-LOC-go-NOM  
 'thing that goes over and smooths'  
 = 'iron/clothing iron'

- d. **chyakakho'yuthne**  
 chyaka+kho-'yutha-ne  
 can+up-open-NOM  
 'you open up cans with it'  
 = 'can opener'
- e. **chuhetho'yuhone**  
 chu-he+tho+'yu-ho-ne  
 bed-LOC+head+up-cover-NOM  
 'bedspread, bed covers'

After this, compounds can become highly complex, building on the patterns given above. In this way, there are many more possible patterns. A few are given below. Parentheses indicate morphemes that can be left out in shortened forms. The brackets indicate the head noun.

- (33) a. [Noun + Adjective] + Noun + Verb  
 thobyothlosapaweyugō  
 tho+bithlo+sapa+weyu-k'ō  
 head+round+thin+oil-make  
 'thin potatoes fried'  
 = 'potato chips'
- b. [Noun + Noun] + Adjective + Adjective  
 wedzak'ōditapisapa  
 wedza+k'ōdi+tapi+sapa  
 'pig-meat-salty-thin'  
 = 'bacon'
- c. [Noun+Verb] + Location + Verb + Possessive Noun  
 'yapithlotipaho'ist'ē  
 'ya+pithlo+ti-pa+ho-'ist'ē  
 wagon+in-burn-3SG((EMD).POSS-road  
 'wagon that burns its path'  
 = 'railroad' (GW)

d. [Noun+Locative+Deverbal Noun] + Noun+Deverbal Noun + Locative

k'alayup'alewines'ælehanehe  
k'a(la)+(yu)p'a-le+wi-ne+s'æ-le-ha-ne-(he)  
thing+high.up-STATIVE+go-NOM+earth-return-plural.be.at-where  
'thing that goes up in the air-where they land'  
'=where airplanes land'  
'=airport'

### 2.3 NOMINALIZATION

Verbs can be made into nouns. This is called nominalization. The resulting noun is called either a 'deverbal noun' or a 'nominalized verb.' In Eucheé, any verbal structure can become a noun. In order to do this, the nominalizer (NOM) *-ne* is suffixed to the verb. The nominalizer is derived from the habitual aspect suffix *-ne* on the verb (see Chapter 5, Section 4.2). Thus, there is the sense that a stable state of existence occurs when an action becomes habitual and this state is expressed in the form of nominalization. Nasalization is arbitrary on the nominalizer *-ne*.<sup>11</sup> Speakers of the Big Pond Dialect consistently pronounce the nominalizer *-ni*. In fact, this is one of the most distinguishing phonological characteristics of the dialect.

The nominalizer *-ne* is part of the noun stem onto which the inflectional morphology is suffixed or cliticized. Locatives such as *-he* or *-fa* are suffixed to the end of the noun stem (see Section 3.5), and class/determiner (Section 3.2) and plural (Section 3.3) post-clitics can be attached as well.

In the majority of nominalizations, the suffix *-ne* is accompanied by the impersonal *go-* 'one' pronominal on the verb. Wagner gives *go-* as the infinitive form of the verb and states nominalization in terms of the infinitive form. However, this is not the infinitive, but an impersonal form (see Chapter 3, Section 2). All verbs can use the impersonal 3<sup>rd</sup> person pronominal *go-*, meaning 'one' and often translated as a generic 'you.' Additional evidence that nominalization occurs on inflected verbs and not the infinitive is that deverbal



nominals also occur with 3<sup>rd</sup> person pronouns other than *go-* and with no pronoun in cases where the subject is inanimate. Therefore, any verb inflected in the 3<sup>rd</sup> person can be nominalized, although the majority of nominalizations occur with the impersonal pronoun *go-*.

(34) Basic Nominalization: *go-VERB-ne*

- a. *gok'æne*  
*go-k'æ-ne*  
 3SG(IMP).PAT-gentle-NOM  
 'pet'
- b. *go'wedene*  
*go-'wede-ne*  
 3SG(IMP).ACT-talk-NOM  
 'language, word, speech'
- c. *'igop'ene*  
*'i-go-p'e-ne*  
 tobacco-3SG(IMP).ACT-take in-NOM  
 'smoking tobacco, cigarette'

Additional examples follow:

- |      |                           |   |
|------|---------------------------|---|
| (35) | <i>gok'ë'nëne</i>         | 'visitor'                                       |
|      | <i>godzefane</i>          | 'fever'   |
|      | <i>gowæne</i>             | 'quilt'   |
|      | <i>gok'ëne</i>            | 'livestock'                                     |
|      | <i>goshine</i>            | 'pity, poverty, state of being poor or pitiful' |
|      | <i>gokyōwane/gokyō:ne</i> | 'thought'                                       |
|      | <i>gothæyune</i>          | 'love'  |

After *go-*, the 3<sup>rd</sup> person the non-Euchee pronouns *we-* (active *di-* series) and *yō-* (active *do-* series) are most commonly used, especially with nouns related to items adopted from white culture.

(36) Non-Euchee pronouns in nominalized verbs

- a. tsagawefæne  
tsaga-we-fæ-ne  
grass-3(NE).ACT-swing-NOM  
'sythe'
- b. p'ateyōshune  
p'ate-yō-shu-ne  
horse-3(NE).ACT/PLUS-tie-nom  
'rope'

Verbs can be nominalized with the Euchee 3<sup>rd</sup> person pronouns as well. In some cases, the verbs have two nominalized forms, one reflecting the male speech pronouns and the other reflecting the women's speech. This can be seen in the title for on the official positions during the annual Green Corn ceremony in (37a-b). The name for Green Corn is given in (37c). The parts of the word are no longer recognizable, but the reconstructed parts (given in the interlinear translation) contain the Euchee male pronoun in contrast to the word for 'tobacco' given above in (34c).

(37) Euchee pronouns in nominalized verbs

- a. hō'yuthane  
hō-'yutha-ne  
3(EM).ACT-scratch-NOM  
'he scratches (them)'  
'Scratcher' (men's speech)
- b. 'oyuthane  
'ō-yutha-ne  
3(EM).ACT-scratch-NOM  
'Scratcher' (women's speech)
- c. ï'apane  
ï-hō-p'e-ne<sup>12</sup>  
tobacco-3(EM).ACT-take.in-NOM  
'they use tobacco'  
= 'Green Corn'

When the sole participant of an active verb is inanimate, the inanimate pronominal prefix *hi-* or *ho-* is not used (see Chapter 2, section 4.3). No pronominal is used in a corresponding deverbal noun as well. Noun with 'it' as an actor in the verb can be seen in (38). Note that in (38c) the *go-* in 'bladder' is not the 3<sup>rd</sup> person impersonal pronoun for a verb, but the required 3<sup>rd</sup> person impersonal possessive pronoun for the bodily fluid 'urine.'

- (38) a. *s'ethl'ine*  
*s'e-thl'i-ne*  
 metal-scratch-nom  
 '(it) scratches metal'  
 = 'car brake'
- b. *cup'ætyone*  
*cup'æ-tyo-ne*  
 ear-hang-NOM  
 '(it) hangs from the ear'  
 = 'earring'
- c. *got'ihane*  
*go-t'i-ha-ne*  
 3SG(IMP).POSS-urine-hold-NOM  
 '(it) holds urine'  
 = 'bladder'

All patterns for verbs can be nominalized. The examples in 36a-b) show nominalized Locative + Verb Constructions. Verbs that require the object *k'a-* or *k'ala* 'thing' are nominalized in (39c-d). There is no reduplication of nouns in Euchee. However, reduplicated verbs, used to show repeated distributed action, can be nominalized, as seen in (39e-f).

- (39) a. *yagokwane*  
*ya-go-kwa-ne*  
 DIR-3SG(IMP).ACT-send-NOM  
 'song'

- b. kegonōne  
ke-go-nō-ne  
DIR-3SG(IMP).ACT-be-NOM  
'health'
  
- c. k'agothlane  
k'a-go-thlæ-ne  
thing-3SG(IMP).ACT-eat-NOM  
'food'
  
- d. k'agop'ene  
k'a-go-p'e-ne  
thing-3SG(IMP).ACT-drink-NOM  
'(a) drink'
  
- e. k'asoso  
k'a-soso  
thing-mark-REDUP  
'book'
  
- f. k'asogothl'i'thl'ine  
k'aso-go-thl'i'thl'i-ne  
paper-3SG(IMP).ACT-write-NOM  
'writing paper'

The same nominalization strategy of adding *-ne* to a verb is used to form nouns that are translated as '-ing forms' (or gerunds) in English, such as 'whittling' in 'Whittling is a fun hobby.'

(40) '-ing' verbs in English

- a. Nē'igop'ēne!  
nē-'i+go-p'ē-ne  
NEG-tobacco+3SG(IMP).ACT-drink-NOM  
'No smoking!'

- b. shuwane  
shu-wa-ne  
fish-?bite-NOM  
'fishing'
- c. gothl'ithl'ine  
go-thl'i-thl'i-ne  
3SG(IMP).ACT-scratch-REDUP-NOM  
'writing'

The pattern for expressing 'one who does X' nominalizations, or '-er' forms in English such as 'baker,' also does not differ from nominalization patterns given above.

- (41)
- a. k'asogotane  
k'aso-go-ta-ne  
book-3SG(IMP).ACT-teach-NOM  
'one who teaches books'  
= 'teacher'
  - b. go'wedeco'o  
go-'wede+co'o  
3SG(IMP).ACT-speak+grandfather  
'one who speaks like a grandfather'  
= 'lawyer, judge'
  - c. 'yatikyæhane  
'yati-kyæ-ha-ne  
fire+through-be.located-HAB  
'fireman'

Many professions use the verb (*k'a*)*k'õ* 'to do/make (something).'

- (42)
- a. gok'õne/gogone  
go-k'õ-ne  
3SG(IMP).ACT-make-NOM  
'worker, laborer, sharecropper, slave'

- b. shak'ak'ōne  
 sha-k'a-k'ō-ne  
 field+thing-make-NOM  
 'farmer'

In Euchee, the meaning of 'One who does X' is restricted to types of professions, and does not normally apply to someone involved in daily human activities.' For example, 'yagokwane has the nominal meaning 'song' but never 'singer.' Instead, these concepts are expressed with complete clauses. Even so, some common professions in the Euchee community today, such as 'truck driver,' 'cook,' and 'rancher' are also expressed through a clause, most often with the habitual aspect suffix *-ne*.

- (43) a. Demi wedine wewahle 'ahēō  
 Demi wedine we-waha-le 'a hē-ō  
 Demi cow 3PL(NE).PAT-many-STATIVE LOC 3SG(EM).PAT-have  
 'Demi has a herd of cows.'  
 = 'Demi is a rancher.' (men's speech)
- b. Harrison 'yapithl'o 'ithle:leha 'wa hēthlēchinejē  
 H 'yapithl'o 'ithle:le-ha 'wa hē-thlēchi-ne jē  
 H wagon long-very-PL/SUB FOC 3SG(EM).ACT-drive-HAB PAST  
 'He used to drive trucks.'  
 = 'Harrison used to be a truck driver.' (men's speech)
- c. di k'agothlæne dik'ō-ne  
 di k'agothlæne di-k'ō-ne  
 1SG food 1SG.ACT-make-HAB  
 'I make food.'  
 = 'I'm a cook.'

### *Shortening Nouns*

Nominalized verbs are commonly shortened. This is done by simply deleting one or more meaningful parts (morphemes). The most commonly deleted morphemes are the nominalizer *-ne* and the impersonal prefix *go-*. In addition to these, the commonly used heads, such as 'ya 'tree' and k'a 'thing' can

be dropped off. See examples (22-24) above for a complete list of the common head morphemes. All of these morphemes are predictable or redundant information. For example, the placement of nouns before the verb can give a verb a noun reading even without the nominalizer *-ne*.

- (44) a. 'yapithl'o(ne)  
       'ya-pithl'o-(ne)  
       wood-turn-(NOM)  
       wood that turns  
       'wagon, car'
- b. tak'ētiyane                   (long form)  
       tak'ē-ti-ya-ne  
       ball+in-go-NOM  
       'goal posts'
- ti'yane                         (short form)

Shortening nouns is not predictable. It is up to a speaker's preference if and when to shorten a word or not. A speaker might choose to shorten a noun in discourse to ease the burden of some long compounds. A speaker might also choose to shorten a noun for more aesthetic reasons, such as designing and keeping the rhythm or flow of a narrative. In most cases, the morpheme is simply dropped off in discourse after the first full reference, but a full form does not have ever be said at all.

Some nouns are clearly made from verbs, but they resist the nominalizer *-ne* today, having been lexicalized in the shortened form. The same is true for the impersonal *go-*. These words are not predictable and must be learned. A few examples of nouns that can not take the nominalizer or a pronominal prefix can be seen in (45).

(45) Shortened nouns

- a. *wep'ade*  
we-p'ade-(\*ne)  
3(NE).ACT-crazy  
'rabies'
- b. *tsagathl'ine*  
tsaga-(\*go/\*we)-thl'i-ne  
grass-cut-NOM  
'lawn mower (both motorized and horse-drawn)'
- c. *(tse)fok'wēne*  
(tse)-f'o-(\*we/\*go)-k'wē-ne  
(water)-underwater-send-NOM  
'Baptist'

Shortening should not be confused with contraction. In shortening, a morpheme is deleted and there is no phonological change to signal that it has been dropped. In contraction, there a morpheme is deleted and there is a regular and predictable change in sound of the preceding morpheme. See Chapter 2, Section 4.1 for a full description of contraction.

#### 2.4 MALE, FEMALE, AND DIMINUTIVE SUFFIXES

Euchee has three suffixes to indicate the male, female, and young of animals. The suffixes are *-gāne* 'male of the species', *-hāne* ~ *-hēne* 'female of the species' and *-ne* 'young, offspring', i.e. the diminutive. The male and female forms are probably archaic nominalized verbs, since they have share *-ne*. It is interesting to note that *hā* is the stem 'be old,' and addition to the idea of male and female, these suffixes indicate reproductive age in contrast to the young. The verbs stem is clearly seen in the creation of the nominalized form for older humans.



- (46) a. *gohāne/gahāne*  
 go-hā-ne  
 human-old-NOM  
 'old man'
- b. *wəhāne*  
 wə-hā-ne  
 woman-old-NOM  
 'old woman'

The step from *gohāne ~ gahāne* to *-gane*, and *wəhāne* to *-hāne ~ -hāne* is clear.

The term for human baby is a made with the 'young, offspring' morpheme. In addition, the word for human baby includes the offspring morpheme, which has the same phonological form as the non-nasal nominalizer.

- (47) *gone*  
 go-ne  
 human-offspring  
 'baby'

The suffixes are attached to a neutral species name. This is similar to English, where 'pig' or 'hog' is neutral, but separate words bear gender and age, such as boar (male), sow (female), and piglet (young). Although the suffixes can be applied to any animal, they are most commonly found with deer and domesticated animals. The animate non-Euchee noun class post-clitic follows these suffixes. A list of some of the more common instances of the male, female, and young suffixes follows:

- |         |                     |        |
|---------|---------------------|--------|
| (48) a. | <i>we'yō</i>        | 'deer' |
|         | <i>we'yōgane</i>    | 'buck' |
|         | <i>we'yōwə'nene</i> | 'doe'  |
|         | <i>(we)'yōne</i>    | 'fawn' |

b.	wechā wechagane wechahane/wechæhæne wechane	'chicken' 'rooster' 'hen' 'chick'
c.	wedīne <sup>13</sup> wedīgane wedīhæne/wedyæhane wedīnene	'cow/cattle' 'bull' 'cow, heifer' 'calf'
d.	wedzā wedzāgane wedzāhane/wedzæt'e wedzāhæ'æne wedzāne	'pig, hog' 'boar' 'sow' 'old sow' 'piglet'
e.	p'ate 'horse' p'ategane p'atehæne p'atene	'stallion' 'mare' 'colt'

The 'young, offspring' suffix *-ne* is not a productive diminutive suffix; it is older found in lexicaized forms. Instead, the adjective *s7* 'little' is either compounded with a noun or used in an adjectival clause. However, it is likely that *-ne* was a productive diminutive suffix outside of animal names at one time, as some other nouns still bear a diminutive *-ne* as part of their stem today. A few of these are given in pairs below.

(49)	a.	s'æp'a s'æ-p'a earth-high 'hill' 'mound'	s'æp'ane s'æ-p'a-ne earth-high-?DIM
	b.	shac`wane shac`wa-ne rabbit-?DIM 'rabbit'	shac`wa'æ shac`wa-'æ rabbit-big 'jack rabbit'

## 2.5 DECESSIVE SUFFIX

The suffix *-shē* is used to indicate that a person is deceased, and is best translated as ‘the late.’ The form of the suffix *-shē* is derived from the past tense particle *shē* which is used dependent clauses.<sup>14</sup> As a nominal suffix, it is attached to family relationship names in direct reference and proper nouns. The suffix bears the primary stress. The appropriate animate noun class post-clitic follows this suffix. It is not mandatory, but is used as additional information. It carries a feeling of respect and importance of the person, and a sense of loss of the person, rather as in the English phrase ‘the late Chief Brown.’

- (50) a. dí dzet’ē hēnō  
       di  dze-t’ē                  hēnō  
       1SG 1SG.POSS-father      CL(EM)  
       ‘my father’ (men’s speech)
- b. dí dzet’ē shē hēnō  
       di  dze-t’ē                  shē hēnō  
       I 1SG.POSS-father      late CL(E)  
       ‘my late father’ (men’s speech)
- c. Di dzet’āshē hēnō gôt’ehāde yushē:le ‘akehōnejē.  
       di  dze-t’ā-shē                  hēnō  
       1SG 1SG(A).POSS-father-deceased      CL(EM)
- gôt’e  hōde-yushē:-le                  ‘ake  nō-ne      jē  
       person 3SG.REFL-happy.very-STATIVE  there  be-HAB      PAST
- ‘My father used to be a real happy person.’
- d. Di diy’ōshē hénō nēhēdo’āda jē.  
       di  di-y’ō-shē                  hénō  
       1SG 1SG(I).POSS-uncle-deceased  PL(EM)
- nē-hi-do-’āda                          jē  
       NEG-3SG(INAN).PAT-1SG.ACT/DAT-know  PAST
- ‘I didn’t know my uncles.’

The decessive suffix may be contracted with the class suffix, as seen below.

- (51) a. Jerilyn set'æshæñō goshfīshone  
 Jerilyn se-t'æ-shē-hēñō goshfīshone  
 Jerilyn 3(EF.I).POSS-father-decease-CL(EM) stickman  
 'Jerilyn's father was a Stickman.'
- b. [k<sup>h</sup>yæ'aneshɛ:nɔ̄ hile hɔ̄k'a'ane]  
 Khyæleneshē:nō hile hōk'a'ne.  
 khyæ-le-ne-shē:-nō hile hō-k'a'-ne  
 through-STATIVE-NOM-decease-CL all 3PL(E).ACT-RECIP-see  
 'Those who have gone before, they will all see each other again.'

### 3. THE NOUN PHRASE (INFLECTIONAL MORPHOLOGY)

#### 3.1 IMPEFINITE NOUNS

Singular indefinite nouns are unmarked in Euchee. The indefinite meanings include the bare form, such as 'tree,' the individual indefinite form, such as 'He's sitting under a tree,' and the attributive indefinite form, such as 'Post oak is a tree.' There are no indefinite articles.

(52) Indefinite nouns

ti	'rock, a rock'
'ya	'tree, a tree'
sha	'field, a field'

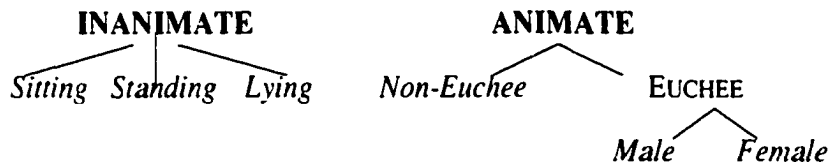
#### 3.2 NOUN CLASSES (GENDER) AND DEFINITENESS

##### *Overview*

Euchee has a noun class system, also known as a gender or concordial classifier system. Every noun in the language is assigned to a certain category, called its grammatical class. The class of the noun is marked by a noun class clitic attached to or found at the end of every definite noun phrase. The class of

the noun is also seen on the pronominal agreement prefixes on verbs, and in the possessive pronominal prefixes on nouns. There are six noun classes, given in *italics* in Figure 6.1.

Figure 6.1 Noun Classes in Euchee



The primary distinction in all Euchee nouns is between inanimacy and animacy. If the named object does not have the ability to *initiate action* (does not have *self-volition*), it is classified as inanimate. Tables, trees, meat, and computers are all examples of inanimate objects in Euchee. There are three distinct inanimate classes based on the inherent position of the referent: sitting, standing, or lying position. Nouns which refer to something which is has self-volition (such as humans, animals, and some natural phenomena) are classified as animate. Animate nouns are divided into two classes: those who are Euchee, and everything else (called ‘non-Euchee’). The Euchee class is divided by male and female.

In a true noun class system, a noun does not change its class once it has been assigned. This is the case with the classes given in Figure 6.1. The markers for the animate Euchee male class and animate Euchee female class have variations. These variations are socially deictic: They change in discourse depending on the social/familial status of the speaker in relation to the social/family status of the referent, and they include ideas of formality and informality. I analyze these variations as formal and informal speech styles, not as classes. I use the term ‘honorifics’ for the formal speech variations. The honorifics, and their variations by men’s and women’s speech, are described below. In the past, descriptions of the noun class were erroneously complicated

calling the honorifics and men's and women's speech variations additional classes (Wagner 1934; Wolff 1948; Linn 1997). The animate noun class system and the social variations have undergone clear and remarkable changes in the last 120 years. Noun class systems are often dynamic systems where the interaction between the language system and of a culture are seen. Shifts and obsolescence of noun class systems is a common symptom of language decline, but also of semantic shift, and family or dialect variation in usage. The mechanics of most of these changes are rarely documented, but in Euchee they can be gleaned from earlier records. These changes are noted below.

Noun classes are commonly fused with other grammatical functions, and in the case of Euchee, they show both noun class membership and definiteness. The class morphemes are cliticized to the end of noun phrase in order to make the phrase definite. Thus, they are generally translated as 'the' or 'that.' Besides being used as the definite determiner, the noun class morpheme is obligatory in all operations of definiteness in the language: possessive phrases, demonstrative adjectives and pronouns, and the interrogative pronoun 'which.' Another characteristic of noun class systems is that they are often in agreement with other constituents of the sentence. In Euchee, the noun class post-clitics must agree with the pronominal prefix on the verb.

#### *Inanimate Class--Sitting, Standing, Lying Positions*

Animacy in Euchee is based on the ability of the referent to have self-volition, or initiate movement. Thus, the inanimate class in Euchee includes all non-living things as well as some living beings such as trees, plants, and fungi. Inanimate nouns are further classified according to the inherent position of the referent. There are three positions: sitting, standing, and lying position. The class markers are created from the main verbs 'sit,' 'stand' and 'lie,' as shown in 50.

(53) a. Main Verbs of Position

ci	'sit'
fa	'stand'
'e	'lie'

b. Inanimate Noun Class Clitics

-ci	sitting position
-fa	standing position
-e	lying position

The position verbs are used in locative expressions as well. Animate and inanimate referents are often located and pointed out by their position, as shown in (54) below. See Section 3.4 for location suffixes and 4.5 postposition for other location expressions.

The noun class post-clitics are historically derived from these locative expressions. This is also plausible semantically. Once used to locate a specific referent, such as 'the rock that is sitting there,' they still make the noun definite. When attached to the end of a noun phrase, the class morpheme acts as a definite article, and often has the specificity of the demonstrative adjectives 'this' and 'that.'

(54)

ti	'rock, a rock'
tici	'the/this/that rock'
'ya	'tree, a tree'
'yafa	'the/this/that tree'
sha	'field, a field'
sha'e	'the/this/that field'

As locative position became grammaticalized as noun classes, the notion of position naturally extended to include that of spatial position, or shape. Sitting is extended to compact, roundish, or no definite shape. Standing is naturally extended to vertical, thin/elongated shape (i.e. tall), and lying to horizontal and thin/elongated (i.e. long or flat). The features of vertical-elongation (standing)

and horizontal-elongation (lying) are clearly distinguished from the more neutral roundish/no definite (sitting) shape. Because of this, the sitting class is used as a default class in Euchee.<sup>15</sup> Euchee does not have a separate class for flexible material such as cloth, leather, fiber, and sinew. This is in contrast to other Native American languages, particularly in the Siouian and Athapaskan families, which also grammaticalize position, shape, and consistency.

Typical examples of the nouns classes are given below:

(55) Typical *-ci* 'sitting' class

a. Sitting Position, Round Shape

dichichwæci	'my eyelid'
thlaci	'the bullet'
thoci	'the potato'

b. No Distinct Shape

k'asosoci	'the book'
k'ondici	'the meat'
thosh'ineci	'the hat'
gowæneci	'the shawl, the blanket'
pachaci	'the sack, burlap bag'
nākhaci	'the dress'

(56) Typical *-fa* class

Standing Position, Tall and Thin Shape

yuhefa	'the house'
yadash'ifa	'the door'
hēsh'igæfa	'the (deep) bowl, serving dish'
chyakafa	'the can'



(57) Typical -'e class

a. Lying Position, Long and Thin Shape

'ya'e	'the fallen tree'
'yadaka'e	'the log'
'yas'i'e	'the stick'
nānā'e	'the river'
gohi'e	'the tendon, sinew'
gothi'e	'the ribbon'
sh'une'e	'the vine'
thine'e	'the string/the piece of string'

b. Horizontal and Spread Out Shape

dzocwæ'e	'my skin'
'yafe'e	'the prairie'
sha'e	'the field'
s'æ'e	'the ground'
shta'e	'the snow (on the ground)'
tsoga'e	'the yard, the grass'
'yastabado'e	'the fog'

In polysemy, where two words look the same but have different meanings (although the meanings may be similar and do have a related history), the noun class post-clitic is often different. When these words are given out of context, the noun class is the only defining characteristic between them.

- (58) a. chufa 'the bed'  
chu'e 'the boat '
- b. dowōneci 'my spirit '  
dowōne'e 'my shadow'
- c. paci 'grocery sack'  
pa'e 'cotton picking sack'
- d. tsethlaci 'the block of ice, ice cube'  
tsethla'e 'the ice covering the ground'

e.	tsep'enefa tsep'ene'e	'the glass' 'the dipper'
f.	yadidafa yadidaci	'the barrel, drum (container)' 'the drum (musical instrument)'
g.	yastædeci yastæde'e	'the (driveway) bridge over a culvert' 'the bridge'
h.	yafa ya'e	'the tree, alive and standing' 'the fallen tree' (lexicalized with -'e)

Uncountable and mass nouns, such as liquids, meat, tobacco, are given only with the plural. The inanimate plural morpheme *-ha* is neutral to class. However, some mass nouns are made singular or countable when they are put into a container. The noun then takes the class of the container. The examples of 'tobacco' in (59) illustrate this.

(59)	i	'tobacco'
	di dzio'iha	'my tobacco'
	di dzio'ici	'my tobacco (in a sack, pouch)'
	di dzio'i'e	'my tobacco (in a rolled form; not store cigarettes)'

Most liquids in everyday use are in containers, and such containers are generally classified as *-fa* 'standing.'

(60) Liquids (in standing containers)

tsohifa	'the medicine (in the bottle)'
tsoshifa	'the sofki (in the tupperware)'
kafifa	'the coffee (in the mug)'

The ability of the mass and uncountable nouns to be singled out by the container they are found in, and not by a permanent class, is more like a noun classifier system.

Abstract nouns are found in all three categories. Although many of the nouns associated with verbalization (e.g. language, song, story, a lie) are

classified as *-e* 'lying position', motivation for classification of abstract nouns into one of the three positional categories is not transparent, having been obscured through time if indeed there ever was any.

(61) Abstract Nouns

a. *-ci* 'sitting' class

<u>dzeta</u> <u>paci</u>	'my strength'
<u>nōn</u> <u>æ</u> <u>k'aci</u>	'the truth'
<u>neh</u> <u>æ</u> <u>ci</u>	'your life'

b. *-fa* 'standing' class

gowōne <u>fa</u>	'the spirit'
dzo'y <u>afa</u>	'my sweat'
yoshæ'æne <u>fa</u>	'Christmas, Christmas time'
'ag <u>afa</u>	'the day'

c. *-e* 'lying' class

k'alagoyun <u>e</u>	'sickness'
dzod <u>i'e</u>	'my name'
Sue'e, John'e	'(the name) Sue/John'
'yuciha go'wedine'e	'the Euchee language'
k'ayul <u>e</u>	'the fable'
yagokwene'e	'the song'

There are three nouns that may be assigned to two different classes without changing the meaning of the word. These are 'ladder', 'broom', and 'nail'.

- (62) a. stækēnefa 'the ladder, upright'  
stækēne'e 'the ladder, on the ground'
- b. s'ætetenfa 'the broom, upright'  
s'æteten'e 'the broom, on the ground'
- c. sēk'achunfa 'the nail, sticking up in a board or driven in'  
sēk'achun'e 'the nail'

All have the salient feature of thin shape, either tall or long, and therefore all these cases are assigned to both *-fa* and *-e*. All have the ability to

therefore all these cases are assigned to both *-fa* and *-e*. All have the ability to

stand upright although they are not restricted to this position. Speakers do not have a preferred class for these items when they are given out of context, but the choice of noun class post-clitic for these three words depends on their position at the time of the reference. Noun classes should not change like this. However, these three words are exceptions in Euchee. Other semantically possible candidates for being able to change category are ungrammatical if dually assigned. All of these words are relatively new in Euchee, so it is quite possible that they were assigned the two most likely noun class post-clitics by speakers in different areas, and both have become acceptable now, favoring the position they are found in.

There is room in the assignment of inanimate class markers for verbal play. An unexpected noun class post-clitic may be used in order to accentuate or point out a peculiar or odd shape. For example, 'nose' is assigned to the *-chi* 'sitting' class. However, in one instance speakers found it humorous to use *-fa* 'standing' when referring to certain types of noses.

### *Animate Class*

The animate classes are used in the definite determiner (the noun class post-clitics), the plural (post-clitics), and in the pronominal prefixes on verbs and nouns. Throughout the discussion of animate noun class, examples are given with the noun class post-clitics *and* with pronominal prefixes. In some cases, the noun class post-clitics are rarely used, but the noun class is still active in the pronominal prefixes.

The first major division within the animate class is the differentiation between living beings who are members of the Euchee Tribe and those who are not members of the Euchee Tribe. Perhaps the most fascinating aspect of Euchee noun classes is this distinction between Eucheans and non-Eucheans, as this distinction does not appear to be grammaticalized in any other known noun class system. The strong equation of the classes with tribal membership is quite well-

known within the tribe, even with people who have little other knowledge of the language. It has become a source of unity and pride for their uniqueness from other tribal people.

Classification as a Euchee is restricted to people of Euchee ancestry. There are a few symbolic exceptions to this that occur in traditional tales and in some references to God. Euchee classification may come from either parent or a grandparent from either the father or mother's side. It does not matter if this line comes from the mother or the father, or if one can claim only one Euchee great-grandparent. Generally, everyone is known in the Euchee community, and so the division between Euchee and non-Euchee is quite clear. However, with more and more publicity of Euchee events, people of Euchee descent but with no upbringing in the tribe have come back into the community. If the speakers today do not know the grandparent or great-grandparent in question, then the person is assigned the non-Euchee class. Vague or secondhand knowledge of the ancestor does not guarantee Euchee class membership. It is doubtful, then, that Euchee class membership would include people whose only Euchee ancestry is beyond the memory or knowledge of the oldest speakers.<sup>16</sup>

The category of Eucheeness based on bloodline is unalterable. People of mixed heritage, say Euchee and Creek, but who identifies with their Creek family and participates solely in their Creek community still bear the classification of Euchee. Conversely, people who marry into the Euchee Tribe will not assume Euchee classification, no matter how long they have been married or the degree of participation in the community. Children adopted by Euchee families and raised in the community but who are not of Euchee descent are not classified as Euchee. Whereas the language does not allow change in category for Eucheeness, inclusion in the community is quite apparent in other social ways.

However, the equation of the *we* class morpheme with tribal membership is probably an innovation that occurred in the late nineteenth to early twentieth

centuries. Gatschet recorded in his field notes that inclusion in this class was restricted to full-blood Eucheas, noting that 'half-breed' Eucheas, including people of Eucheas and other Indian descent, were referred to with the *we* morpheme (1885: 51). It is unclear whether these people were considered full members of the Eucheas tribe or not as there are no ethnographic records on this topic. Probably, as more and more Eucheas married outside of the tribe, class inclusion on such strict bloodline became impossible, so the *we* class would have been forced to shift or be abandoned.

Gatschet also recorded that the *we*- personal pronoun was used to refer to '[Eucheas] Indian man and woman, when not related.'<sup>17</sup> If this were indeed the case, then the *we* classification had a much smaller, family scope, and not the larger tribal, or Eucheas scope it has today. In this sense, the *we* class could have been a grammatical device to remind people of marriagabilty, much in the same way as clans function. It may also have been a formal animate marker, similar to the way some speakers use other Eucheas classes today.

If animacy is divided into Eucheas and non-Eucheas, then such a division demands that all animals are non-Eucheas, along with all people who are not Eucheas. Thus, dogs, bears, chiggers, turtles, Creeks, Shawnees, whites, blacks and so on are all in the same non-Eucheas class. Recently, some non-Eucheas and Eucheas alike have assumed the classification of non-Eucheas to mean a prejudice against other peoples. It should be stressed, however, that speakers do not interpret this class as being derogatory in any way.

#### *Further Eucheas Classification: Honorifics and Men's and Women's Speech*

Informal speech is unmarked. Formality is marked by honorifics, and different honorifics are used by men (men's speech) and women (women's speech). Thus, the animate Eucheas male and female class suffixes have honorific variations and are subject to men's and women's speech variations.

Members of the Euchee tribe are further classified by the sex of the referent, so men and women are in separate classes. In addition, there is a grammatical distinction between the way that men and women refer to men. In other words, Euchee has a men's and women's speech, similar to that of Koasati (Haas 1944) and Yana (Hinton 1994: 139-143). Adopting the terminology preferred in the Euchee community, I use the terms 'men's speech' and 'women's speech.' However, this can sometimes be misleading because men can use women's forms and women can use men's forms in certain situations. It is the degree of formality towards the referent that determines the form used. Formal relationships show more politeness and respect. However, formal and informal relationships are interpreted differently by different families. Wagner (1934: 326-7) shows that there was considerable dialect and family variation even then, although he does not give the variations in these terms.

To begin, the unmarked forms are used in informal relationships. The forms differ if a man or woman is talking, and it is these forms that are generally referred to as men's and women's speech. These are given below:

(63) Informal Euchee Classes

-henō	Euchee man	(men's speech)
-s'enō	Euchee man	(women's speech)
-senō	Euchee woman	

Women can use the male form if the context is seen as informal. Mrs. Maxine Wildcat Barnett and Mrs. Josephine Wildcat Bigler use the male form of the pronominal prefix when giving old sayings or proverbs that have the impersonal meaning 'someone' or referring to any Euchee. Since there is not a reference to a specific man, the male form used by women is neutral or informal in this situation.

(64) 'Men's' speech for general 'Euchee'

- a. Godāp'i s'ahehe, gont'e hōdze'ne hōthægō.

go-dāp'i                    s'a-he-he  
3s(IMP).POSS-nose    itch-FREQ-FREQ  
'Whenever one's nose itches,'

gont'e    hō-dze-'ne                    hō-thægō  
someone 3PL(EM).ACT-1s.PAT-see    3S(EM).ACT-want-POT  
'someone want to see you, I guess.'

- b. Wanō 'i hōwajē?

wanō'i                    hō-wā-jē  
who tobacco 3SG(EM).PAT-give-PAST  
'Who gave him (or her) the tobacco?'

The women use another classifier for Euchee men in formal situations. Here, the notion of formality can be different. For some families, informal use stays with male family members, and formal use extends to men outside of the family. For others, informal use is with any man who is the same age or younger, and formal use extends to any man older than the speaker. For these same speakers, the class includes women who are older, regardless of their relationship. They interpret this form as showing respect. In both cases, the formal markers agree with the plural pronominal prefixes on the verb. Thus, the plural is used to mark formality, politeness, or respect.

(65) Formal Women's Speech

- a. Mrs. Maggie Cumpseh Marsey/Mrs. Josephine Keith/Mrs. Cahwee

-s'enō                    informal, any related Euchee man  
-onō                    formal, any unrelated Euchee man  
-ēnō                    formal, male or female grandchild to their grandmother



b. Mrs. Josephine Wildcat Bigler/Mrs. Washburn

-s'enō            informal, any same age or younger Euchee man  
-'onō/-hōnō    formal (respect), any older Euchee man or woman

Both men and women show respect to their spouses by using the specific forms. The forms agree with the plural pronominal suffixes.

(66) Respect for Spouses

-hōnō    my wife    men's speech  
-onō     my husband                      women's speech

A few examples are in (67).

(67) a. 'Yudihe 'ōnō.  
      'yudi-he            'ō-nō.  
      inside-LOC        3PL(E).ACT-be.located  
      'He (my husband) is inside.'

b. Hōtsa læte'ē.  
      hō-tsa            læte-'ē  
      3PL(E).sleep    PROB-ACTIVE  
      'She could be asleep.'

There is a specific form 'ēnō- and 'ē- for referring to one's grandmother. This, too, is a respect form. Wagner (1934: 326-7) gave this as being only for men in reference to their mother or grandmother. This is the case in the possessive and the noun class post-clitic, but both men and women may use it as the pronominal prefix. It should be noted, however, that this form is rarely used today. Only a few speakers recognize it.

(68) Unique respect form for Grandmothers (and mothers)

-'enō                    my grandmother, my mothermens' and women's speech

di dzehē'enō        'my mother'

'eti'e                'her (my mother's) name'

And finally, Wagner (1934: 326-7) recorded another respectful term *-inō* used by women to refer to any older men, related or not. Mr. Henry Washburn remembers his mother using this form, but it is not used today. However, it is the plural Euchee form in women's speech. It is the plural noun class post-clitic and the pronominal *ĩ-* is the 3<sup>rd</sup> person plural Euchee of the alternative *di-* actor set of pronominals. As a plural form, it was probably used as respectful speech.

(69) Older unrelated male

-inō                    formal, unrelated older male                    (women's speech)

Amos Tiger ĩ'yæne

Amos Tiger'ĩ-yæne

Amos Tiger<sub>3PL(E).POSS</sub>-daughter

'That was Amos Tiger's daughter.'

Like the inanimate classes, the animate Euchee classes are neutralized in the plural. The sex, age, and kinship of the group is not relevant. Only the difference between men's and women's speech is retained.

(70) Plural Euchee class

-hōnō/-hínō (BPD)    Eucheas                    (men's speech)

-inō                    Eucheas                    (women's speech)

Therefore, in mixed groups of Eucheas the significant feature is only their Eucheeness.

The animate Euchee noun class post-clitics, by nature, are restricted to vocabulary relating to humans, such as 'man' and 'woman' when they are Euchee, family relationships, proper nouns.

(71)	gōt'e	'man'	
	gohenō	'men'	(men's speech)
	gohane	'old man'	
	gohane'inō	'old man'	(women's speech)
	gōt'ehinō	'the (Euchee) people'	(men's speech)
	gōt'e'inō	'the (Euchee) people'	(women's speech)
	got'ewenō	'he (non-Euchee) people'	

### *Inclusions in the Non-Euchee Class*

As described in compounding, the animate morpheme *we* is used as a compound element to form some of the animal names, a few animal and human body parts, and some weather phenomena. Despite the original compounding, only the weather phenomena (rainbow, winter, and lightening) take the animate class suffix and agree with animate pronominals; the others take an inanimate noun class post-clitic.

(72)	wèt'æ wenō	'the rainbow'
	wèstv wenō	'the winter'
	wecæt'æ wenō/wecæthl'æthl'æ wenō	'the lightening'
	wesōp'i wenō	'the whirlwind'
	tsonō	'the sun' (contracted)
	shafa wenō	the moon (full form)
	'yō wenō	the star
	gon'āsh'a~wenō	the doll <sup>18</sup>

### *Children: Animate + Inanimate*

Children before the age of puberty and toys such as dolls and teddy bears can be given a hybrid classification of animate and inanimate. This is formed by the first syllable of the appropriate animate class, in other words, the gender-bearing morpheme. Instead of the *-nō* 'be' morpheme, the last syllable is always the inanimate 'sitting' class *-ci*. On verbs, the animate pronominals are used.

- (73) a. Gones'eci sekhaju.  
 gone-s'e-ci se-khaju  
 baby-EM-sit 3SG(EF).ACT-hold  
 'She's holding the baby.' (Euchee male baby)
- b. Millieseci kede sek'æha.  
 Millie-se-ci kede se-k'æha.  
 Millie-EF-SIT now 3SG(E).ACT-play  
 'Millie's playing.' (Euchee girl)
- c. Dzosageweci wedohv̄.  
 dzo-sage-we-ci we-do-hv̄  
 1PLOSS-bear-NE-SIT 3SG(NE).PAT-1SG.ACT-get  
 'I got my teddy bear.' (non-Euchee, teddy bear)

### Summary

The noun classes in Euchee are used to make a noun definite. They are translated as 'the' but often have the force of 'that' or 'that there.' They are also used to make a noun plural. However, the classes are reduced to a general 'inanimte' *ha* and the distinction between Euchee and non-Euchee in the animate class.

The class of the noun must agree with the verb. Therefore, the pronominal prefixes on the verb must agree with the noun class of the noun. However, there is not always a one-to-one correspondance of form, due to historical contraction in the pronominals (see Chapter 3, Section 4.2), and to shift and loss of the noun class post-clitics. Several examples of 'mismatch' are below.

- (74) a. Maggiesenō sioka.  
 Maggie-senō sio-ka.  
 Maggie-CL(EF) 3SG(EF)ACT/PLUS-rest  
 'Maggie's resting.'
- b. Akirawenō k'aso yōtātā.  
 Akira-wenō k'aso yō-tātā  
 Akira-CLASS(NE) book 3SG(NE).ACT+'YU-teach  
 'Akira is teaching them.'

When the noun class post-clitic is used as the definite determiner it is generally attached to the noun. However, the post-clitics must be placed at the end of the noun phrase. They are therefore at the end of any modification, as will be seen below. Because they move to the end of the phrase, they are considered clitics.

Noun class interacts with politeness. Some of the noun class clitics have different depending on the degree of formality. These are called honorifics. This is usually interpreted as men's and women's speech, with tending to womens use and retain more formality.

### 3.3 PLURAL NOUNS

Number, or plural, on nouns is shown with post-clitics that show noun class. Unlike the singular, definite noun class post-clitics, the plural post-clitics are almost always independent words.

Plurality is any number more than one; there is no dual suffix in Euche. The meanings include the indefinite bare plural (e.g. 'rocks'), the weak quantifier plural (e.g. 'some rocks'), and the definite plural ( e.g. 'the rocks'). The definite or indefinite readings are determined by context. The distinction between inanimate and animate nouns is retained in the plural. All inanimate nouns take the same plural post-clitic *-ha*. The classifications within the animate class each carry their own plural post-clitic.

There is one inanimate number suffix *-ha*. Thus, classification by position is neutralized in the plural.

#### (74) Inanimate plural *ha*

ti ha	'rocks, some rocks, the rocks'
ya ha	'trees, some trees, the trees'
sha ha	'fields, some fields, the fields'

Like the inanimate noun class post-clitics/determiners in the singular, the inanimate plural is made from a verb, the plural stem *hā* of the verb (*go*)*nō* 'be located.'

- (76) 'Yabo'æ ha neke hā.  
 `yabo'æ ha neke hā  
 apple PL there 3SG(INAN)-PL.be.located  
 'The apples are over there.'

The stem *ha* is also found in the quantifier 'a lot' *wahale*, or shortened to *hale*.

The inanimate plural is used with mass nouns and objects which are always found in the plural, such as those below.

- |      |                    |              |
|------|--------------------|--------------|
| (77) | wethosi ha         | 'lye'        |
|      | k'athlo ha         | 'bread'      |
|      | `ya ha             | 'wood'       |
|      | yash'ika ha        | 'ash/ashes'  |
|      | thoshi ha          | 'milk'       |
|      | tsokha(le) ha      | 'flour'      |
|      | gotya ha           | 'war'        |
|      | di dziot'ot'one ha | 'my kidneys' |

The plural marker was apparently required on mass nouns during the nineteenth century (Gatschet 1888), yet today it may be dropped from these nouns. However, they still do not have an assigned singular noun class post-clitic. Liquids in a container may be quantified in this way. Then, they take the noun class post-clitic of the container, which is generally *-fa*.

- (78) toshi ha 'milk, the milk'  
 toshifa 'the milk (in a glass)'

The inanimate plural is used in the creation of most names of tribes or peoples. However, the plural post-clitic is used to indicate both the plural and the singular when referring to a person from that tribe. The tribe as a whole will take the appropriate animate plural post-clitic at the end of the group name.

- |      |    |  |  |
|------|----|--|--|
| (79) | a. | Yuciha<br>Yuciha<br>Yuciha 'āyō<br>Yuciha hēnō | 'a Euchee person'<br>'(a groups of) Eucheese'<br>'all you Eucheese'<br>'the Euchee people' |
|      | b. | Tsalagiha<br>Tsalagiha<br>salagiha wénō        | 'a Cherokee'<br>'(a group of) Cherokees'<br>'the Cherokee people'                          |

Additional examples follow.

- |      |  |   |
|------|--|---|
| (80) | Cathaha<br>Tsalagiha<br>Kasaha<br>shagēha<br>shashiha<br>Spaniha<br>'yadaha/taha | 'Choctaw'<br>'Cherokee'<br>'Chickasaw'<br>'Sac and Fox'<br>'Osage'<br>'Mexican, Spanish'<br>'tribe, clan/clan' (AG) |
|------|--|---|

Other tribal names and names of people are not formed with the inanimate plural, but refer to plural entities. They are given below.

- |      |   |  |  |
|------|---|--|--|
| (81) | Gop'a <sup>19</sup><br>Yōst'a/yōst'as' <sup>20</sup><br>Dzenegothla<br>gotsyathla<br>go'ishpi/goshpi/gushpi<br>goy'akha, gakha<br>chispāspā | Creek<br>'Shawnee'<br>'Kiowa'<br>'Indian/Native American'<br>'black people' from<br>'white people'<br>'Asian people' | <br><br><br>=dog eater<br>=person red<br>=person black<br>=person white<br>=eyes pointed |
|------|---|--|--|

The number suffixes for the animate are identical to the class/definite suffix except for stress. The number suffixes have primary stress on the first syllable of the suffix; the class/definite suffixes have primary stress on the second (ultimate) syllable.

(82) Plural Animate Suffixes

-hě̃nō/-hinō (BPD)	Eucheēs	(men's speech)
-ĩnō	Eucheēs	(women's speech)
-wénō	non-Eucheēs	

'Compound subjects' have one plural post-clitic on the second noun. The plural post-clitic must agree with the 3<sup>rd</sup> person pronominal on the verb. Animate plural post-clitics on compound subjects may be dropped.

(83) Josephine Maxine henō hōdzok'ala.

Josephine Maxine	henō	hō-dzo-k'ala
Josephine Maxine	pl(E)	3PL(E).ACT-1SG.PAT-relative
Josephine and Maxine are my relatives. (men's speech)		

There are a few irregular plural nouns, mainly in family relationship terms. Irregular plurals are formed by reduplication of the second syllable of the stem, the exception being the word for 'women.' Some reduplicated forms still take a regular plural post-clitic in addition to the reduplication. Those are given with the suffix.

(84) Irregular plurals

dzowæn'e	'my sister'	(m.s.)
di dowæ'ne	'my sister'	(m.s.)
dzowæn'esenō	'my sister'	(w.s.)
dzowæn'en'ehě̃nō	'my sisters'	(m.s.)
dzowæn'en'eĩnō	'my sisters'	(w.s.)
di dzowæn'en'e	'my sisters'	



di dziotanehenō	'my brother' (m.s.)
di dzotanes'enō	'my brother' (w.s.)
di dziotatane	'my brothers'
di dzoda'ane	'my brother' (m.s.)
di dzodadane	'my brothers' (m.s.)
di dze'yænēsenō	'my daughter' (m.s./w.s.)
di dze'yæ'yænē	'my daughters'
di tsiotsone	'my daughter' (w.s./?m.s.)
di tsiotsone'inō	'my daughters'
di dzes'ænehenō	'my son' (m.s.)
dzēs'æne	'my son' (w.s.)
di dzes'æs'ænehēnō	'my sons' (m.s.)
di dzes'æs'æne'inō	'my sons' (w.s.)
di dzogotho	'my child'
di dziotho	'my child'
hēthothohēno/hōthotho	'little children, toddlers'
di dziojune'inō?	'my grandchild (m.s./w.s.)
dziojuneh'inō	'my grandchildren (m.s.)
dziojune'inō	'my grandchildren' (w.s.)
hōjjine	'his grandchildren'
wæt'ē	'woman'
wæ'æne	'women'
dish'ēsh'ē	'my bones'

### 3.4 POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS

Possession is shown through a pronominal prefix on the noun. In addition to the possessive pronominal prefix on the noun, the appropriate noun class clitic comes after the noun. It must agree with the class of the noun and the number (singular or plural). Two examples follow.

- (85) a. gothosh'ine 'hat'  
 dithosh'ineci  
 di-thosh'ine-ci  
 1SG(I).POSS-hat-CL(SIT)  
 'my hat'
- b. tiki 'track, footprints'  
 hētiki ha  
 hē-tiki ha  
 3SG(EM.I).POSS-track PL  
 'his tracks, his footprints'

Euclachee also marks alienable and inalienable possession. Inalienable possession marks those things that are inherently possessed. They can not be easily separated, lost, or given away. These generally include body parts and family members. They may also include other personal effects. Alienable possession includes things that can be gained and lost easily. They do not feel permanently possessable.

The possessive prefixes on the noun correspond to the pronominal agreement prefixes on the verb. Inalienable possession is shown with the active pronominal sets, the *di-* and less frequently, the *do-* actor [+participant] set. Alienable possession is shown with the stative series *dzo-* patient [+participant]. On the verb, this set is the patient of a stative verb (one-place), but more frequently it marks the recipient or beneficiary. Thus, the receiving and benefitting of the verbal use is carried over to the giving and receiving of objects. Euclachee has a third class of possessed nouns. These nouns use the *dze-* set of patient pronominals, that is, patients without an extra participant. These nouns have a close personal relationship with a person, but are in fact, alienable. They include 'shadow' and 'strength' along with some body parts. The *dzio-* set, the patient [+participant] of two-place verbs, is also used for close yet alienable possession.

In the example of inalienable *di-* possession below, the noun class of 'head' is *-ci* 'sitting position.' However, the singular changes to the plural inanimate noun class *ha* with the plural possession.

(86) Inalienable Possession *di-* actor set

<u>d</u> ithoci	'my head'	
<u>n</u> ēthoci	'your head'	
<u>h</u> ēthoci	'his (Euchee) head'	(men's speech)
<u>s</u> 'ethoci	'his (Euchee) head'	(women's speech)
<u>s</u> ethoci	'her (Euchee) head'	
<u>w</u> ethoci	'his/her (non-Euchee) head'	
<u>'</u> othoci		
(ōndi) <u>ō</u> ntho ha	'our heads'	(INCLUSIVE)
(nōdi) <u>n</u> ōtho ha	'our, not your, heads'	(EXCLUSIVE)
<u>ā</u> tho ha	'your heads'	
<u>h</u> ōtho ha	'their (Euchee) heads'	(men's speech)
<u>'</u> otho ha	'their (Euchee) heads'	(women's speech)
<u>w</u> etho ha	'their (non-Euchee) heads'	

The *di-* set includes most body parts, most family relationship terms, and a few other items that are felt to be essential or associated so closely with a person that they can not be separated. List of common words that use the inalienable *di-* set of possessive pronouns follows

(87) dichi	'my eye'
didithæha	'my feet'
dide	'my leg'
dithodzē	'my hair'
dip'æ	'my butt/tail' (also <i>dziop'æ</i> )
dit'ihane	'my bladder'
digo'yush'ane	'my uterus'
di'ōdi	'my flesh' (JC VIII-90) (but 'skin' <i>dziochwa</i> )

dik'oci	'my Stomp Ground, neighborhood, country'
ditsolefa	'my house' (also <i>dzetsole</i> )
dithosh'ineci	'my hat'
dithotoneci	'my scarf'
ditikiha	'my tracks'
diw'edene'e	'my language'
dihæ'e	'my breathe, my life'
dikyāne	'my mind'
dik'ati	'my friend' (also <i>dzek'ati</i> )
dik'ata/dik'atō	'my spouse'
didzene	'my dog' (also <i>dzedzene</i> and <i>dzodzene</i> )

The actor [+participant] pronominal agreement set is also used for inalienable possession. The 2<sup>nd</sup> person singular possessive prefix is irregular from the actor pronominal agreement *do-* set. In the example below, the 'fingernails' is plural, so the plural post-clitic *ha* is used throughout. Note that the 2<sup>nd</sup> person singular possessive form is irregular. This is indicated with the shading.

(88) Inalienable possession, *do-* set

<u>dosta</u> ha	'my fingernails'	
<u>nosta</u> ha	'your fingernails'	
<u>hōsta</u> ha	'his fingernails'	(men's speech)
<u>s'yosta</u> ha	'his fingernails'	(women's speech)
<u>syosta</u> ha	'he fingernails'	
<u>yōsta</u> ha	'his/her non-Euchee fingernails'	
<u>'osta</u> ha	'his fingernails'	
<u>'ōsta</u> ha	'our fingernails'	(INCLUSIVE)
<u>nōsta</u> ha	'our fingernails'	(EXCLUSIVE)
<u>āsosta</u> ha	'your alls fingernails'	
or		
<u>āndziosta</u> ha	'your alls fingernails'	
<u>hōsta</u> ha	'their fingernails'	(men's speech)
<u>'osta</u> ha	'their fingernails'	(women's speech)
<u>yōsta</u> ha	'their non-Euchee fingernails'	

The *do-* set is also inalienable possession, but it is limited to a very few family relationship terms and body parts.<sup>21</sup>

- (89) *do'ōthæci* 'my hand'  
*dosh'itotsane ha* 'my pajamas'

Both 'my hand' may be given with the inalienable pronominals, such as *di'ōthæ* 'my arm' *di'ōke'e* 'my arm.' However, the base for 'pajamas' is 'clothes,' which uses the alienable, or *dzosh'iha*.

Close, alienable possession is shown with the patient prefixes from the *dze-* set. An example of the possessive *dze-* set is given below, where the noun class of 'name' is the lying position *-e*.

- (90) Close, but alienable *dze-* set

<i>tseti'e</i>	'my name'	
<i>nēdzeti'e</i>	'your name'	
<i>hēti'e</i>	'his name'	(men's speech)
<i>s'eti'e</i>	'his name'	(women's speech)
<i>seti'e</i>	'her name'	
<i>weti'e</i>	'his/her non-Euchee name'	
<i>iti'e</i>	'his (my husband's) name'	(women's speech)
<i>eti'e</i>	'his (not related to me) name'	(women's speech)
<i>ōdzeti'e</i>	'our name'	
<i>nōdzeti'e</i>	'our name'	
<i>āndzeti'e</i>	'your name'	
<i>hēti'e</i>	'their name'	(men's speech)
<i>iti'e</i>	'their name'	(women's speech)
<i>weti'e</i>	'their non-Euchee name'	

List of common words that use the *dze-* set of possessive pronouns:

- (91) *di dzesh'ē'e* 'my bone' (of my body)  
*di dzesho* 'my body'  
*di dzedane* 'my fat' (on my body) (JC; also *dzyo-*)  
*di dzeto* 'my nipple, teat'

di dze'yada	'my tribe/my clan'
di dzedapa	'my strength'
di dzewāne	'my spirit, my soul'
di dzewōne	'my shadow'
di dzedzewenō	'my dog'
di dzes'æ	'my land'

Close yet alienable possession is also expressed with the patient [+participant] set that is used for the patient of two place verbs. In the example below, 'coat' requires the sitting noun class *-ci*.

(92) Close, alienable possession *dzio-*

di dziosh'i'æci	'my coat'	
di nēsh'i'æci	'your coat'	
di hōsh'i'æci	'his coat'	(men's speech)
di s'yosh'i'æci	'his coat'	(women's speech)
di syosh'i'æci	'her coat'	
di yōsh'i'æci	'his/her non-Euchee coat'	
di 'osh'i'æci		
di 'ōsh'i'æci	'our coat'	
di snōsh'i'æci	'our coat'	
di āndzesh'i'æci	'your coat'	
di hōsh'i'æci	'their coat'	(men's speech)
di 'osh'i'æci	'their coat'	(women's speech)
di yōsh'i'æci	'their non-Euchee coat'	

This set includes some, mainly soft tissue body parts, some family relationship terms, and some clothing. List of common words that use the *dzio-* set of possessive pronouns:

(93) di dzyodane	'my brother'
di dzyok'agodek'wæne'e	'my belt'
di dzyotsodzeħa	'my beads, my necklace'
di dzyoshu	'my fish'

di dzyothl'aha	'my lungs'
di dzyoy'ōpichi	'my liver'
di dzyot'ot'oneha	'my kidneys'
di dzyowe'i	'my blood'
di dzyodaneha	'my fat'
di dzyohi	'my vein' (JC)
di dzyop'æ	'my waist' (JC)

Truly inalienable possession is shown with the patient [+participant] set *dzo-*. The noun class for 'knife' is also the lying position *-e*.

(94) Alienable possession, /*dzo-*/ set

dzoyōthl'i'e	'my knife'	
soyōthl'i'e	'your knife'	
hōyōthl'i'e	'his knife'	(men's speech)
s'yoyōthl'i'e	'his knife'	(women's speech)
syoyōthl'i'e	'her knife'	
yoyōthl'i'ē	'his/her non-Euchee knife'	
ōdzoyōthl'i'e	'our knife'	(INCLUSIVE)
nōdzoyōthl'i'e	'our knife'	(EXCLUSIVE)
āndzeyōthl'i'e	'your knife'	
hōyōthl'i'e	'their knife'	(men's speech)
'oyōthl'i'e	'their knife'	(women's speech)
yoyōthl'i'e	'their non-Euchee knife'	

By far, the majority of nouns fall into this alienable category. Most everyday items use this set of possessive prefixes. The list is endless, but a feel of the scope of the alienable *dzo-* set follows.

(95)	di dzo'yōpi	'my liver' (JC; also dzyo-)
	di dzodane	'my brother' (JC; also dzyo-)
	di dzok'ala	'my relations'
	di dzotho	'my child'
	di dzo'wæt'enō	'my woman/wife'
	di dzo'yu	'my town'
	di dzos'æ	'my ground, my land' (also dzes'æ)
	di dzo'yas'a	'my wood'
	di dzo'yas'i	'my stick'
	di dzop'atewenō	'my horse'
	di dzowedza	'my pig'
	di dzoshpine	'my guinea fowl'
	di dzotæp'æ	'my turtle'
	di dzote'ē	'my bullfrog'
	di dzo'yasta	'my board'
	di dzocokha	'my flour'
	di dzodzot'ici	'my onion'
	di dzodzodiha	'my beans'
	di dzodzotha	'my unshelled corn'
	di dzok'ōdiha	'my meat (to eat)'
	di dzo'ih <u>a</u>	'my tobacco'
	di dzodabiha	'my salt'
	di dzoyaboci	'my peach'
	di dzoweyufa	'my oil'
	di dzotsē	'my water'
	di dzosh'ih <u>a</u>	'my clothes' (but also <i>dzyo-</i> , and <i>do-</i> 'pj's')
	di dzodatane	'my apron'
	di dzotak'ē	'my ball'
	di dzoyagok'wæne'e	'my song'
	di dzodithla	'my sofki block'
	di dzo'yadida	'my drum, my barrel'
	di dzo'wateshu	'my rope'
	di dzochu	'my bed'
	di dzok'asothl'ine'e	'my pencil'
	di dzok'asotichyaci	'my car'

Some speakers regularly palatalize the *dzo-* pronominal possessive prefix to *dzyo-*. Unfortunately, this blurs the distinction between the alienable set *dzo-* and the close but alienable set *dzyo-*.



*Independent Possessive Pronouns*

There is only one set of independent possessive pronouns. They are the same as the independent pronouns.

(96) Independent possessive pronouns

di	'mine'	
tse	'yours'	
hēdi	'his'	(men's speech)
s'edi	'his'	(women's speech)
sedi	'hers'	
wedi	'his/hers, non-Euchee'	
'odi	'his/hers, respectful'	
'ōdi	'ours (not yours)'	(INCLUSIVE)
nōdi	'ours, everybody's'	(EXCLUSIVE)
ādze	'yours (you all's)'	
hōdi	'theirs'	(men's speech)
'odi	'theirs'	(women's speech)
wedi	'theirs, non-Euchee'	

When the possessed noun is followed by a verb or adjective, it is the participant for the sentence. In these cases, the independent possessive pronoun must have the appropriate noun class clitic following it. The independent possessive pronouns are given as the second utterance in the pairs below. The first utterance sets up the context where the independent pronoun can be referential.

- (97) a. Nefa tsēp'enefa hohæ'ē  
ne-fa                      tsēp'ene-fa                      ho-hæ-ē  
that-CL(STAND) cup-CL(STAND) 3SG(INAN).PAT/PLUS-empty-ACTIVE  
'That cup is empty.'
- Difa hi'opale  
di-fa                      hi-'opa-le  
1SG-CL(STAND) 3SG(INAN).PAT-full-STATIVE  
'Mine is full.'

b. Di dzedzewenō we'ispi.  
 di dze-dze-wenō we-'ispi  
 1sg 1SG(A).POSS-dog-CL(NE) 3SG(NE).PAT-black  
 'My dog is black.'

Sā hōdiwenō we'ispi.  
 sā hōdi-wenō we-'ispi  
 also 3PL(E).POSS-CL(NE) 3SG(NE).PAT-black  
 'Theirs is black, too.'

When the independent possessive pronoun is the verb of the utterance, the pronoun does not have the noun class post-clitic. It may stand by itself at the end of the utterance. This is the position for the verb, which keeps it from being mistaken for the independent actor or patient pronoun. However, in most cases, the irrealis mode particle *gō* 'potential' functions as the verbalizer. Even when the possession is clear, as in 95b) below, the potential is used. This adds modesty to the claim of possession.

(98) a. 'Yufahe di. 'That house there is mine.'  
 b. 'Yufahe di gō. 'That house there is mine.'

### 3.5 LOCATION IN SPACE AND TIME

Euchee has four location and direction suffixes which express general notions of location and direction in space and time. When they are suffixed to nouns they function as Location Case (Local Case). Most are also able to suffix to verbs, where they have a variety of predictable aspectual meanings. They are also clearly distinct from the spatial relationships conveyed in the postpositions. In fact, they can be suffixed to the location postpositions to give additional location and direction information. The general location and direction suffixes and their meanings on nouns are given below:

(99) General Location and Direction Noun Suffixes

a. Location/Direction in Space

- he location: at, in
- fa movement in a direction: to, towards  
source: from
- le movement on a long object: down, along  
movement back: back to, back from
- (-ke location: yonder, over there)

b. Location/Direction in Time

- he future: next  
time or period of a day: at, by
- fa period of time: at, in, during
- le past: last, ago, again

The major distinction in location is between static location *-he* and direction towards a location *-fa*.

(100) Location *-he* vs. Direction *-fa*

- a. Wahe nēji? 'Where are you going?'  
Wafa nēji? 'What direction are you going?'  
'Where are you going?'
- b. Kellyhe 'yastabadole. 'It's foggy by/near/around Kellyville.'  
Kellyfa 'yastabadole. 'It's foggy in the direction of Kellyville.'

The location *-he* 'at, in' is used to indicate a place other than the place where the speaker is located.

- (101) Shaba tse'ē. 'It's raining in Sapulpa.' (spoken in Sapulpa)
- Shabahe tse'ē. 'It's raining in Sapulpa.' (spoken in Tulsa)
- Shabafa tse'ē. 'It's raining towards Sapulpa.' (spoken in Tulsa)

The following are more examples of the use of *-he* and *-fa*.

(102) a. Location: *-he*

Henry nōk'aju Bristow <u>he</u> nōthlajē.	'Henry and I went to Bristow.'
K'ajine <u>he</u> sewethla.	'She's gone to the store.'
'Abe k'ak'ōne <u>he</u> hēnō	'He's at work today.'
Circle K- <u>he</u> k'ahēk'ōne	'He works at Circle K.'
Oklahoma City- <u>he</u> 'ædide.	'I've been to Oklahoma City.'

b. Direction or Destination: *-fa*

Tulsaf <u>a</u> nōji.	'We're going towards Tulsa.'
Weyuganefa Stroud <u>fa</u> wedajē.	'I went over to Stroud on Friday.'
Californi <u>fa</u> diji wæ'nægatsefa	'I'm going to California in January.'

In addition to destination, *-fa* is used to indicate where something has come from, or its source.

(103) Source: *-fa*

a. Oklahomaf <u>a</u> 'ædide.	'I'm from Oklahoma.'
b. Dæstiha Tahlequah <u>fa</u> 'adigō	'Those baskets come from Tahlequah.'
c. Kafē Costa Ricaf <u>a</u> 'æde	'coffee from Costa Rica'

The location suffix *-le* indicates movement 'down/along a long object.' In many cases, the location particle *dishæle* 'along/alongside' is preferred over the suffix to indicate this movement. This can be seen in (104b-d) below

(104) Movement along a long object: *-le*

nekele 'this side'  
'afale 'that side'

a. 'Ist'ē <u>le</u> dip'ajē	'I looked down the road.'
b. *nān <u>ale</u> nōfeje	'*We walked down/along the creek bank.'
c. Nāna dish <u>æle</u> nōfejē	'We walked alongside the creek.'
d. Sēstu'e dish <u>æle</u> wedā	'I walked alongside the fence.'

The location suffix *-le* indicates 'back to.' It is a homonym with *-le* 'movement along a long object.' It has a much more productive use, however.

(105) Movement back to: *-le*

- |                             |                              |
|-----------------------------|------------------------------|
| a. 'Yuh <u>ale</u> nōfejē.  | 'We went back to the house.' |
| b. Chuf <u>ale</u> nōfejē   | 'We went back to the bed.'   |
| c. S'æ <u>le</u> nō'ōjē     | 'We laid back down.'         |
| d. Tulsaf <u>ale</u> nōfejē | 'We went back to Tulsa.'     |
| e. *Tuls <u>ale</u> nōfejē  | 'We went back to Tulsa.'     |

In addition to location in space, the suffixes *-he* and *-fa* and *-le* indicate general location in time. The suffix *-he* indicates the future when attached to words referring to time. The suffix *-le*, similar to its meaning 'back', indicates the past.

(106) Future *-he* vs. Past *-le*

wakesta <u>he</u>	'when, in the future'
wakesta <u>le</u>	'when, in the past'
badoc <u>i</u>	'tonight/this night'
bado <u>he</u>	'tomorrow night'
badol <u>e</u>	'last night'
'aga	'day'
'abe	'today'
'aga <u>he</u>	'tomorrow'
l <u>ale</u>	'yesterday'
'yush'it' <u>ehe</u>	'next week'
'yushit' <u>ele</u>	'last week'
wæ <u>he</u>	'next summer'
wæ nōw <u>ēle</u>	'two summers ago'

Also similar to its meaning of 'back again,' the suffix *-le* is used to express the idea of 'again.'

(107) Again: *-le*

- |                             |                         |
|-----------------------------|-------------------------|
| a. leci                     | 'this'                  |
| lec <u>ile</u>              | 'the same (this again)' |
| b. 'yus'iganōwēc <u>ile</u> | 'on every Tuesday'      |
| 'yus'iganōwē <u>ha</u>      | 'Tuesdays'              |

- c. hit'e 'one'  
hit'ele 'another (one)'

In addition to the future, *-he* is suffixed to numbers to indicate 'at' or 'by' that time of day. In this usage, the *-he* is not sensitive to tense; 'at' or 'by' a time can be in the past, future, or habitual present.

(108) Period or time of day: *-he*

- |                                |                             |
|--------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| a. Lacu <u>he</u> ke'ōfe tegō. | 'We must leave by 7:00.'    |
| b. Thlap'ē <u>he</u> adikæ jē. | 'I arrived at 10:00.'       |
| c. 'Ishtu <u>he</u> tat'ocine. | 'I get up at 6:00.'         |
| d. 'Ibathlā <u>he</u> anōkæ.   | 'We will be there at noon.' |

The suffix *-fa* is used with days of the week, months of the year, festivals, seasons and years to indicate 'on,' 'at' or 'in' that that date or time. The date or time may be in the past, future, or habitual present.

(109) Period or time: *-fa*

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| a. 'Yus'iganōwē <u>fa</u> nēdzedi'ne         | 'I will see you on Tuesday.'                   |
| 'Yush'ifa hēdi'nejē                          | 'I saw him on Sunday.'                         |
| b. Nōwē <u>fa</u> Cowetahe ahediji.          | 'I'm going to Coweta on the 2 <sup>nd</sup> .' |
| Wae 1924- <u>fa</u> dip'ajē                  | 'I was born in 1924.'                          |
| c. Arizona <u>fa</u> diji wæ'nægatsefa       | 'I'm going to Arizona in January.'             |
| tsothip'eni ag <u>fa</u> hēp'ajē             | 'He was born at medicine time.'                |
| 'yoshæ'ane ag <u>fa</u> nōk'ækada            | 'We're gonna meet on Christmas.'               |
| 'yoshæ'ane <u>fa</u> nōk'ækada               | 'We're gonna meet at Christmas.'               |
| Weyugane <u>fa</u> k'ala ke'ē gothlane dzonō |  |
| 'I have two things to do on/by Friday.'      |  |

The general direction suffix *-fa* is homophonous with the noun class post-clitic *-fa* 'inanimate, standing,' so there is the possibility that the location in time *-fa*, given above, is actually the inanimate standing noun class post-clitic. That is, all of the dates, days of the week, holidays and so on are definite, and definiteness is marked by the noun class post-clitic. It is possible that all these

time words create a semantic group, which takes the *-fa* ‘inanimte, standing’ class suffix. However, the phrase ‘on every Tuesday’ has the inanimate sitting suffix *-ci* followed by the suffix *-le* ‘again.’ Because of this, I am analyzing the *-fa* as the location in time suffix, not the noun class post-clitic.<sup>22</sup>

(110) 'yus'iganōwē	'Tuesday'
'yus'iganōwē <u>fa</u>	'Tuesday, on Tuesday'
'yus'iganōwē <u>ci</u> le	'on every Tuesday'
'yus'iganōwē <u>ha</u>	'Tuesdays'

In addition to the location/direction suffixes *-he*, *-fa*, and *-le*, Wagner (1934: 344) gave the location suffix *-ke*, meaning ‘location away from’ or ‘yonder/over there.’ I have been unable to elicit Wagner’s example (he only provided one) or find clear instances of this suffix on nouns. Like the other location/direction suffixes, *ke* is found on suffixed to location particles, with the meaning ‘X location over there,’ and it is used in the formation of ‘ake, meaning ‘there/over there’ along with the other three. It is also found suffixed to verbs, with the meaning ‘action is out there so that I can only hear it (see Chapter 5, Section 7). Unlike the other location/direction suffixes, however, it is a common locative and directional prefix in Particle + Verb constructions. Here it also means ‘movement away from the speaker actor’ (see Chapter 4, Section 2).

#### 4. EXTENDING THE NOUN PHRASE

In addition to inflectional morphology, the noun phrase may be extended and modified through the addition of words and phrases. The first two given below are demonstrative adjectives and possession with an independent noun. Each of these is placed before the noun they modify. The formation of the interrogative pronoun ‘which’ parallels that of demonstratives, and its placement s are similar to other modifiers, so it is included here as well. The noun phrase may also be extended through numerals and postposition particles.

may also be extended through numerals and postposition particl

In singular definite and plural noun phrases, the noun class clitic is placed at the end of the complete phrase.

#### 4.1 POSSESSION WITH AN IMPEPENDENT NOUN

When the possessor is an independent noun, the word order is **POSSESSOR POSSESSED**. Thus, the noun modifier is before the head noun. The possessee must also have possessive pronominal prefix. The prefix agrees with the possessor, and is chosen from the pronominal class the noun falls in.

- (111) a. *boshi yōmp'æ*  
           *boshi yō-p'æ*  
           cat 3NE(I).POSS-tail  
           'cat's tail'
- b. *ditsēhæ sionak'a*  
           *di-tsēhæ syo-nak'a*  
           1SG(I).POSS-mother 3sg(EF.A).POSS-dress  
           'my mother's dress'

Additional examples are below.

- |                             |  |
|-----------------------------|--|
| (112) <i>pat'e wedithæ</i>  | 'horse's foot'                         |
| <i>dzene yō'aga</i>         | 'dog's day'                            |
| <i>cīsha hot'o</i>          | 'watermelon seed' =watermelon its seed |
| <i>Sissy siogodatane</i>    | 'Sissy's apron'                        |
| <i>Josephine set'æshæñō</i> | 'Josephine's father'                   |
| <i>dzet'ē hīt'ē</i>         | 'my father's father' (men's speech)    |

#### 4.2 DEMONSTRATIVE ADJECTIVES AND PRONOUNS

Euchee demonstratives show two degrees of distance in demonstratives. These two distances are represented by three morphemes. *Ne* and *'a* correspond to the English 'this' and 'that' respectively. The third morpheme, *-le*, can be interpreted as either 'this' or 'that'. Speakers of the Bigpond Dialect do not use *'a*; instead, *-le* has the sole meaning 'that'. All linguists who have worked on the



language record only two distances. Therefore, it is not likely that /le represented a third intermediate distance, or that 'a was a further distance such as 'that, way over there,' in recent history.

*Ne*, 'a and *-le* are must have the appropriate class post-clitic to refer to a singular noun or the appropriate plural post-clitic to refer to plural nouns. As the definite suffixes on the noun often carry the same weight as the demonstratives, the use of a demonstrative has a clear pointing out, pointing to its location, or contrastive feeling. These same bound stems are used in the formation of place deixis 'here, there.'

The demonstrative adjectives are placed before the noun they modify. Euchee is basically a head-first language; that is, modification tends to be after the noun. However, the demonstrative-noun word order appears to be an areal feature of the Southeast, showing up in all the southeastern languages with the exception of Choctaw and Chickasaw. The class or plural post-clitic on the demonstrative adjectives must agree with the class assigned to the noun.

- |          |  |   |
|----------|--|---|
| (113) a. | <u>neci</u> k'as'ætichyaci<br>'afa yutigots'anefa<br>leci sētibāneci<br>le'e yasthæde'e  | 'this car'<br>'that bedroom'<br>'this stove'<br>'that bridge' |
| b.       | ne <u>ha</u> yapo'ætiti <u>ha</u><br>le <u>ha</u> de <u>ha</u><br>'aha senetha <u>ha</u> | 'these oranges'<br>'these/those mulberries'<br>'those forks'  |

In the demonstrative adjective construction, the class and the plural post-clitic may be dropped from the noun.

- (114) a. *Lefa yafa wikæ?*           ‘What is that tree?’  
*Lefa ya wikæ?*           ‘What is that tree?’
- b. *Neha yōthl’i hisala digō.*  
*ne-ha yōthl’i hisala di-gō*  
 these knife all 1SG.ACT-have  
 ‘All these knives are mine.’

In both dialects, the animate demonstrative pronouns are created from *-le* plus the appropriate animate noun class post-clitic. There is no differentiation between ‘this’ and ‘that’ in the animate. The inanimate noun class post-clitics in demonstrative pronouns do not overtly carry the ‘sit’ ‘stand’ ‘lie’ meaning; in other words, they are simply translated as ‘that rock’, not ‘that sitting rock.’ However, the animate noun class post-clitics in the demonstrative adjective are directly translated. So, for example, *le + senō* is translated as ‘this/that Euchee woman.’ The forms for ‘this/that Euchee man’ in men’s speech is irregular; ‘this/that non-Euchee’ is generally given in the contracted forms.

The animate demonstrative pronouns are often used as independent pronouns.<sup>23</sup> For this reason, they are all listed below.

(115) Animate Demonstrative Pronouns

a. Animate Singular

<i>lenō</i>	‘this/that Euchee man	(men’s speech)
<i>*lehenō/*lehōnō</i>		
<i>les’enō</i>	‘this/that Euchee man’	(women’s speech)
<i>lesenō</i>	‘this/that Euchee woman’	
<i>lewenō/lo:nō/lonō</i>	‘this/that non-Euchee’	
<i>le’onō</i>	‘this/that Euchee’	(respectful)
<i>leseci</i>	‘this/that Euchee girl’	
<i>les’eci</i>	‘this/that Euchee boy’	(women’s speech)
<i>lehēci</i>	‘this/that Euchee boy’	(men’s speech)
<i>leweci/loci</i>	‘his/that non-Euchee child’	

b. Animate Plural

lehōnō	'these/those Eucheés'	(men's speech)
lehīnō	'these/those Eucheés'	(men's speech/BPD)
le'īnō	'these/those Eucheés'	(women's speech)
lewénō	'these/those non-Eucheés'	

All demonstrative forms above may stand alone without the referenced noun. In this usage they are anaphoric, and thus are best termed demonstrative pronouns. *Neci* and *leci* and *'aci* are used in default when the noun class of the referent is not known. Examples of both inanimate, in (116a), and animate, in (116b-d), are given below. The examples in 109c-d) show the demonstrative pronoun being used as an independent pronoun.

- (116) a. Wikæ neci? 'What's this?'  
 Nefa hi'nāgā 'This (shirt) is new.'  
 Leci dohō. 'I'll take this one (chair).'  
 Le'e hothlo:le! 'That's real deep (the creek)!'  
 'Aci dothæ. 'I like that one (a nick-nack).'
- b. Lenō higehe kothla! (contracted form)  
 lenō higehe ke yo-thla  
 3SG(EM) away DIR 2SG.ACT/PLUS-go  
 'Take him away!' (men's speech)
- c. Lesenō nōk'aju tsothik'ōnehe nēji.  
 le-senō nō-k'aju tsothik'ōne-he nē-ji  
 that-CL(EM) 1PL(EXCL)-together doctor-LOC 1PL(EXCL).ACT-go  
 'He and I are going to the doctor.'
- d. 'Agahe les'enō sen'ē.  
 'aga-he le-s'enō se-n'ē  
 day-LOC this-CL(EM) 3SG(EF).ACT-see.FUT  
 'She will see him tomorrow.' (women's speech)

Some speakers prefer the demonstrative pronouns as independent pronouns over the actual 3<sup>rd</sup> person independent pronouns. See Chapter 3, Section 7 for the independent pronouns.

### 4.3 'WHICH'

The pronoun 'which' always requires a specific referent. Therefore, it is formed with question pronoun *wa* + the noun class or plural clitic becomes 'which.' Both its formation and its distribution is parallel to the demonstrative pronouns.

- (117) a. Yafa wafa 'a yogwa                    'Which tree are you talking about?'  
Ya wafa 'a yogwa.                    'Which tree are you talking about?'
- b. Got'ehōnō wahōnō hōnethæ?                    'Which man do you want?'  
Got'e wahōnō hōnethæ?                    'Which man do you want?'

Unlike the demonstrative, however, 'which' may also occur after the noun. If it occurs after the noun, it must be the last constituent in the noun phrase. Thus, if numerals or adjectives occur in the noun phrase, the interrogative pronoun is placed after these. This may be due to the fact that its formation carries the noun class post-clitic which must be the final element in the noun phrase.

- (118) a. Wawenō                    boshiwenō                    wenethæ?                    Which cat do you want?  
b. Boshiwenō                    wawenō                    wenethæ?                    Which cat do you want?  
c. Wawenō                    boshi                    wenethæ?                    Which cat do you want?  
d. Boshi                    wawenō                    wenethæ?                    Which cat do you want?

### 4.4 NUMERALS

Euchee has a decimal numeral system; that is, it is based on units of 10. The numerals follow the noun.

### *Cardinal Numbers*

Cardinal numbers are counting words, such as 'one, two, three....' They are also used for making precise plurals, such as 'one dog, two dogs, three dogs....' Cardinal numbers follow the noun. They also follow any adjectives modifying the noun. The noun class (if 'one') or plural marker then follows the numeral. The cardinal numbers are given below.

(119) a. Numbers 1-10

hit'é	'one'
nōwē	'two'
nakæ	'three'
dæthlæ	'four'
c'wāhé	'five'
'ishtú	'six'
lācu	'seven'
bifæ	'eight'
t'ekæ	'nine'
thl'æpé	'ten'

b. 10-19 'ten' + 'one' + *tawi* 'adds on'

thl'æpé hit'e táwi	'eleven'
thl'æpé nōwē táwi	'twelve'
thl'æpé nakæ táwi	'thirteen'
thl'æpé dæthlæ táwi	'fourteen'
thl'æpé c'wāhe táwi	'fifteen'
thl'æpé 'ishtu táwi	'sixteen'
thl'æpé lacu táwi	'seventeen'
thl'æpé bifæ táwi	'eighteen'
thl'æpé t'ekæ táwi	'nineteen'

c. 20-29 *khota* + 'two'

khòtanōwē	'twenty'
khòtanōwé hit'e táwi	'twenty-one'
khòtanōwé nōwē táwi	'twenty-two'
etc...	

d. 30-39 *khota* + 'three'

<i>khotanakæ</i>	'thirty'
<i>khotanakæ hit'e táwi</i>	'thirty-one'
<i>khotanakæ nōwē táwi</i>	'thirty-two'
etc...	

e. 40-90

<i>khotadæthlæ</i>	'forty'
<i>khotac'wāhe</i>	'fifty'
<i>khota'ishtu</i>	'sixty'
<i>khotalacu</i>	'seventy'
<i>khotabifæ</i>	'eighty'
<i>khotat'ekæ</i>	'ninety'

e. 100-900 /'isht'æ/

<i>'isht'æt'é</i>	'one hundred'
<i>'isht'ænōwě</i>	'two hundred'
<i>'isht'ænakæ</i>	'three hundred'
etc...	

f. 1,000-9,000 *'isht'æ'æ* 'big hundred'

<i>'isht'æ'æt'é</i>	'one thousand'
<i>'isht'æ'ænōwě</i>	'two thousand'
etc...	

The cardinal number 'one' *hit'e* is often shortened to *r'e*. In the shortened form, it is attached to the noun, and may be followed by the location suffixes.

(120) <i>dze</i>	'month'
<i>dzet'e</i>	'one month'
<i>dzet'ehe</i>	'next month'

### Ordinals

Ordinal numbers indicate position in a series, such as 'first, second, and third' in English. The ordinal numbers are identical to the cardinal numbers, except for the cardinal numeral *hit'e* 'one' which has a suppletive form *staha'ē* 'the

first.’ As ordinals are inherently definite, an ordinal must follow a singular noun and then be suffixed with the agreeing noun class post-clitic. The noun class post-clitic, then, distinguishes ordinal numbers from cardinal numbers. Ordinals, like cardinals, follow the noun and any adjectives. The class suffix is the last constituent in the phrase.

- (121) a. dzoyuhe shtaha’ēci  
 dzo-yuhe shtaha’ē-ci  
 1SG(A).POSS-house first-CL  
 ‘my first house’
- b. ‘yudas’i tsyathla nōwēfa  
 ‘yudas’i tsyathla nōwē-fa  
 door red two-CL  
 ‘the second red door’

#### *Numeral Adverbs*

Numeral adverbs indicate the numbers of times and action is done, such as ‘one time’ or ‘twice’ in English. The quantifier *hale* ~ *ha* ‘many’ is cliticized to the cardinal numbers to form the numeral adverbs showing repetition of action. Again, the form for ‘one’ is suppletive. The forms are given in (122a), followed by two examples.

- (122) a. saha/sahale ‘once, one time’  
 nōwēha, nōhale/nahale ‘twice, two times’  
 nakæha/nakæhale ‘three times’  
 etc...
- b. nōhale golaha ‘great grandmother = twice grandmother’
- c. Hāfa nōkyæhale shabahe widane!  
 hāfa nōkæ-hale shaba-he weda-ne  
 sometimes three-times Sapulpa-LOC 1SG.ACT.GO-HAB  
 ‘Sometimes I go to Sapulpa 3 times (in a day)!’

#### 4.5 POSTPOSITIONS

Euchee has a number of locative particles which express location and spatial concepts such as 'inside,' 'out,' 'on,' 'through,' 'up,' and 'over,' and two which specify location in water. They are like 'preposition' in English, but in Euchee word order they go after the noun, so they are called 'postpositions.' However, the noun class or plural clitic comes after the postposition, as seen in (119).

(123)	dæsti	'basket'
	dæstifa	'the basket'
	dæsti ti fa	'in the basket'

Some of the most frequently used postpositions are given again here below.

#### (124) Common Postpositions

khæ	'through'
læ	'around (not encircling)'
thla	'out'
ta	'on'
ti	'in, inside of'
pho	'under and thing or ground'
s'æ	'down'
cha	'on, not completely submerged in water'
f'o	'in, completely submerged in water'

The postposition particles may be suffixed with one of the location and direction suffixes. This adds movement or clarification to the location.

- (125) a. Keifer khæ nōfe.  
Keifer khæ nō-fe  
Keifer through 1PL(EXCL).ACT-go  
'We're going through Keifer.'



- b. Keifer læhe nōfejē.  
 Keifer læ-he nō-fe-jē  
 Keifer around-LOC 1PL(EXCL).ACT-go-PAST  
 'We went around Keifer.'
- c. 'Yasha'yæwa phohe hēha.  
 'yasha'yæwa pho-he hē-ha  
 arbor under-LOC 3SG(EM).PAT-PL.be.located  
 'They're under the arbor.'
- d. kyægoha wenō chahe wefa  
 kyægoha wenō cha-he we-fa  
 crane CL(NE) in.water-LOC 3SG(NE).ACT-stand  
 'The crane's standing in the water.'

When used in complete sentences and clauses, the postpositions generally occur with one of the general location/direction suffixes and are independent particles. However, when a postposition phrase is given by itself, they can be independent word, and therefore stressed. Or, they can be unstressed and cliticize to the noun. However, the end of the noun gets primary stress, so the difference is a matter of emphasis by the speaker. Some phrases tend to always be cliticized, as are the examples in (126).

- (126) hōthopé 'over his head'  
 hōdethætá 'on his feet'  
 hōdethæphó 'under his feet'

#### 4.6. VERBAL MODIFIERS

Adjectives and quantifiers, such as 'many' or 'few' are verbal structures. They follow the noun that they modify. However, they are always clauses. Adjectives and quantifiers are found in Chapter 7: Verbal Structures.

Adjective and quantifiers are dependent clauses. As such they must have a dependent clause marker. These are the noun class and plural post-clitics. Dependent clauses are treated in Chapter 8.

A few adjectives can appear non-verbal after a noun. These are restricted to common adjectives such as *'æ* 'big' and *s'i* 'small' and a few others. When these occur, the noun class or plural follows the adjective. These structures are most likely on their way to being compounds. A few examples follow. The second in each pair is the verbal adjective with the active verbalizer *-ē* or the stative verbalizer *-le*.

- (127) a. *'yō fi* 'a shining star'  
*'yō fifi'ē* 'a shining star/The star is shining.'
- b. *'ya 'æ* 'a big tree'  
*ya 'æle* 'a big tree/The tree is big.'
- c. *shu s'i* 'a little fish'  
*shus'i* 'a minnow'

Euchee can have recursive adjectival modification, although speakers prefer to have no more than two adjectives in a phrase. If the string contains a color term, the color term will always be the closest to the noun; numerals are always last. The noun class/determiner post-clitic attaches to the end of the noun phrase.

- (128) a. *hostane 'yakāci* 'the white box'  
*hostane 'yakā hohæ'ēci* 'the empty white box'  
*hostane 'yakā 'æle hohæ'ēci* 'the big empty white box'
- b. *k'asohl'ine titiha* 'yellow pencils'  
*k'asohl'ine titi hinēgāha* 'new yellow pencils'  
*k'asohl'ine titi hinēgāha nōwā* 'two new yellow pencils'

As can be seen above, the noun class/determiner post-clitic or the plural post-clitic follows the noun and its adjective(s). Although it follows the last modifier, the numerals are outside of the noun phrase.<sup>24</sup> They may have once been verbal structures.

**NOTES**  
**CHAPTER 5**

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<sup>1</sup> The word for blujay *ts̃* is probably onomatopoeic.

<sup>2</sup> The meaning 'human' is for the most part 'Euchee,' although the meaning has expanded in recent times. Gatschet recorded it as explicitly Euchee, but speakers today insist on *got'e* being all humans, not just Eucheese. The possessive pronominal *we-* versus *go-* on body parts definitely divides Euchee body parts from non-Euchee human body parts, and the pronominals *we-* versus *go-* in deverbal nouns also distinguish Euchee from non-Euchee human activities. There is no word *\*wet'e* meaning non-Euchee human, implying that humanness was restricted to Eucheese. This is not an uncommon separation in languages. On the other hand, the human marker is used to describe non-Eucheese for the names of races and some other Tribes:

(i)	gotsyathla	human-red	'Native Americans'
	go'ispi	human-black	'African, African-Americans'
	go'yaka	human-white	'Caucasians'
	gop'a		'Creek'

<sup>3</sup> This is the expected order in an APV (SOV) language. However, the head in the left position runs contrary (Williams and DiSciullo 1987), who argued that compound heads are universally the right stem. On a descriptive level, this is not upheld with quick perusal of grammars of most Native (SOV) languages. However, Williams and DiSciullo argue on theoretical grounds that the heads of all words are the right-most element, including derivational suffixes. Thus, the nominalizer (derivation) could be the head in Euchee. The nominalizer *-ne* is the same as the habitual aspect *-ne* on verbs (inflection). Noun and verb stems, as argued in the text, have little distinction. If they are indeed simply [+stem] underlyingly, and not specified for noun or verb, then the *-ne* is for all stems. The habitual suffix gives the verb a non-event reading, and non-events can be used in the syntax as nominals. Although the habitual is integrated more fully into the noun stem (it gets the primary stress for the noun) than on the noun (it is unstressed), it is still an inflectional affix. Thus, the heads in Euchee can still be argued to be the left stem, contrary to the universal right-head hypothesis.

<sup>4</sup> The word 'sword' *yōthl'igē* is no longer attested by speakers. They agree that this is a probable word for 'sword', but they have never heard the word used before. However, assuming that they would use this word for 'sword', they agree with the analysis differing 'sword' from 'a long knife'.

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<sup>5</sup> Wagner (1934: 317-18) also considered all two syllable stems to be compounds. He presented the bisyllabic compounds in three categories, combining the degree of interpretability of the head and modifying stem:

(ii) Wagner's Bisyllabic Compound Categories

Noun+Adjective	both independent words
Noun+Specifying Element	independent + bound and obscure
Theme Element+Specifying Element	both bound and obscure

Wagner's first two fall under my first group, and his last falls into my third group. The problem with Wagner's presentation is his wording and the amount of data that he gave to support these categories. The term 'theme element' is misleading; it sounds as if the first syllable were a classificatory morpheme. However, the first syllables are not classificatory morphemes, they are the heads of the compounds. Then, Wagner gave only a few examples of each of his categories and made no comments on the productivity of the stems as compound heads. He did not show the relationship of the arguably older bisyllabic compounds to noun modification and compounding in the language

<sup>6</sup> Rankin uses only heads *we*, *go*, and *da* as an ancient classificatory system. He compares these with phonetically and semantically similar classification morphemes in Proto-Siouan. The resemblance between these morphemes are striking and deserve continued attention, but the grammatical basis for their comparison—a classification system—is tenuous.

<sup>7</sup> The word for 'face' is commonly given with the noun class post-clitic *-ci* today. This is clearly the noun class post-clitic, however, and not a modifier as the possessive forms show: *didaci* 'my face' and *'odaha* 'our faces.'

<sup>8</sup> There is a good possibility that the stem of these nouns comes from the adjective *tsō/dzō* (today *dzv̄* or *hidzv̄*) meaning 'green/blue.'

<sup>9</sup> It is easy to confuse words which are formed with the *we-* as part of the stem and those which are *we-* given with the animate non-Euchee possessive prefix. Each must be tested by eliciting other possessive forms of the word. By this method I have eliminated some words commonly found in comparative literature as including *we-* as part of the stem. A few of these are given examples below so that the status of *we-* as the possessive prefix can be seen. The classifier or plural is given in parentheses:

(iii)	<i>shī</i>	'bone'
	<i>weshīha</i>	'Its/His bones (non-Euchee) // animal bones'
	<i>goshīha</i>	'someone's bones//human bones'
	<i>dishīha</i>	'my bones'
	<i>gosha</i>	'louse, lice'
	<i>wesha</i>	'his (non-Euchee) lice/ He has lice.'

<sup>10</sup> 'Big House' is a figurative usage for the clean ground or ceremonial ground.

<sup>11</sup> Crawford consistently records the nasal variation *-nē* in his field notes with Mrs. Nancy Wildcat. However, the *-ne* and *-nē* occur in free variation with speakers today, with a propensity towards the non-nasal variation. This is expected as there is denasalization at the end of words and phrases (see Chapter 2). Nasalization of this morpheme was not recorded before Crawford.

<sup>12</sup> This reconstruction was given by Mr. William Cahwee.

<sup>13</sup> The word for 'cow' is most probably derived from *wedi* 'buffalo' and the *-ne* diminutive. Today, speakers are not able to assign meaning to *wedi* by itself. However, Gatschet recorded it alone meaning 'buffalo' (1885) The modern term for buffalo, then, has been lexicalized from *wedi* and *ga* 'old man'.

<sup>14</sup> This is expected if all independent noun phrases are adjuncts, as proposed by both Jelinek (1983) and Baker (1996) for polysynthetic languages.

<sup>15</sup> For some speakers who are not as fluent socially, the inanimate classes have merged into one definite morpheme, similar to the English 'the.' The default class *-ci* 'sitting' is the definite morpheme.

<sup>16</sup> There is also some question of several families in Georgia who claim Euchee heritage as well. One speaker, who told of meeting one of these extended families, did not use the Euchee class with them. I do not know if this is because they were outwardly more clearly of African descent than of Euchee descent and thus did not seem Euchee to this speaker, or because there were no clear family ties.

<sup>17</sup> In his 'Some Grammatical Elements of the Yuchi Language,' Gatschet (1905) reworded 'not related' to read 'not of the same totem.' Although some Euchee elders refer to clans, many others do not remember a clan system growing up. Instead, they refer to a person's lineage association through their *k'u*, the tribal town or stomp ground.

<sup>18</sup> *Gon'āsh'āweno* is also the word for 'picture' and 'photo'. With this meaning, it always takes the inanimate noun class post-clitic *-ci*.

<sup>19</sup> Gatschet and Wagner recorded the word for 'Creek' as *gopa*. Gatschet's consultant, Mr. David Barnett, gives the translation as 'people burner' from when the Eucheas were at war with the Creeks. This is a plausible etymology, with *go-pā* being 'human-burn.' However, I (as did Crawford) get a clearly glottalized *gop'a* for 'Creek'. Mr. Henry Washburn stated that his mother thought it was because the Creeks stare at people. In this case, the etymology would be *go-p'a* 'human-look at.'

<sup>20</sup> The Euchee have been friends with the Shawnee since before removal. See Jackson (1998) for details of this ongoing relationship. This variation of the word 'Shawnee' translates as 'little Shawnee'. It does not refer to the current split in the Absentee Shawnee Tribe between North and South Little Axe Ceremonial

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Ground. Speakers do not think that the two words refer to the different Shawnee Tribes in Oklahoma, the Absentee, the Loyal and the Eastern Bands. Thus, it may have referred to pre-removal relationships.

<sup>21</sup> One of my female consultants reports that the possessive *do-* series is used mainly in men's speech for family terms. However, Wagner gives the opposite. He gives the *do-* set is used mainly in women's speech. The speaker today is from Polecat area, and Wagner worked mainly with speakers from Sand Creek and Big Pond areas. The speakers today from Big Pond Dialect do not use the *do-* for men's speech. So, the difference could be one of dialect variation.

<sup>22</sup> It was impossible to elicit a clearly definite 'the Tuesday' without the meaning 'on' because phrases such as 'the Tuesday before last' or 'the Tuesday when Richard was here' still contain the meaning 'on the Tuesday.'

<sup>23</sup> Both Gatschet and Speck recorded the demonstrative pronouns as the only independent pronouns.

<sup>24</sup> This is contrary to what I have proposed earlier. In Linn (1996) I asserted that the classifiers (and plural) morphemes must be the left-most constituent in a definite noun phrase.

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## **CHAPTER 7: VERBAL STRUCTURES**

Verbs have been treated extensively throughout this work. This chapter looks at other parts of speech which can be made into verbs. The process is quite productive in Euchee. Most parts of speech can be interpreted as a verb simply by adding a verbalizer (active and stative aspect), tense, or mode particle. This underscores the notion that stems are not marked for category but are interpreted as a noun or a verb in the syntax. If a stem is followed by verbal inflection, then it is a verb.

This chapter covers verbal nouns (predicate nominals), verbal adjectives (predicate adjectives), quantifiers, and location and position constructions.

### **I. VERBAL NOUNS**

Verbal nouns (predicate nominals) are sentences where a noun carries the main information. Verbal nouns convey different types of information. One is identity, where the person or thing is a member of a class given in the verbal noun. Another is equative, where the person or thing is simply renamed with the verbal noun. And finally, descriptions of weather and color are verbal nouns in Euchee.

#### **1.1 IDENTITY**

Identity relationships are shown with two nouns and 'wa 'be.' The first noun names the person or thing and the second noun gives the identity. The identity noun is the verbal noun. The particle 'wa 'be' is called a copula because it 'couples' the two nouns. The copula 'wa immediately precedes the verbal noun.<sup>1</sup> It is never inflected for agreement. See Chapter 5, Section 5.1. Tense



and mode may follow the verbal noun. Examples of identity verbal nouns are given in (1).

- (1) a. Simon 'wa p'athl'ē.  
 Simon 'wa p'athl'ē  
 Simon COP chief  
 'Simon is chief.'
- b. Jim shenō 'wa p'athl'ē jē.  
 Jim shenō 'wa p'athl'ē jē  
 Jim CL(DEC) COP Chief PAST  
 'Jim was Chief.'
- c. Newman 'wa go'wedene gō  
 Newman 'wa go'wedene gō  
 Newman COP Speaker PROB  
 Newman is the Speaker, I think.
- d. 'Wæt'e 'wa.  
 'wæt'e 'wa  
 woman COP  
 'She's a woman.'

The copula 'wa can be replaced by the *gō* 'probability.' This serves to soften a direction assertion about someone. When *gō* is used in the 1<sup>st</sup> person, it makes the assertion about oneself more modest. Both cases are indirect and more polite. The modest assertion can be seen in (2a), compared to (2b) which is stating a fact about the speakers earlier years. The copula is not necessary when the identity relationship is clear. However, in most of these cases, the verbal noun is marked as verbal by the probability mode *gō*. In (2c) the copula is not used, but the modal *gō* still appears after the verbal noun.

- (2) a. Di gō k'asotane gō.  
 di gō k'asotane gō  
 1SG PROB teacher PROB  
 'I am a teacher.'
- b. Di 'wa k'asotane jē.  
 di 'wa k'asotane jē  
 1SG COP teacher PAST  
 'I was a teacher.'
- c. Linda k'asogotane gō  
 Linda k'asogotane gō  
 Linda teacher PROB  
 'Linda is a teacher.'

## 1.2 EQUATIVE

Equative relationships are contain two nouns. The first noun names a person or thing. This is followed by the verbal noun, which renames or clarifies the first noun. Equative relationships do not use the copula 'wa. However, tense and/or mode particles may follow the verbal noun.

Giving family and other human relationships are equative structures. The first noun is the person's name, such as *Josephine* in (3a). The person's name is generally followed by their noun class, such as *senō* in (3a). Then their relationship to another person is given in the verbal noun, such as *selaga* 'her grandmother' in (3a). The verbal noun always has a possessive prefix since relationships are inalienable. Tense and mode may follow the verbal noun.

- (3) a. Josphine senō selaga.  
 Josphine senō se-laga  
 Josephine CL(EF) 3(EF/1).POSS-grandmother  
 'Josephine is her grandmother.'

- b. Eliza Bighead shenō selaga jē.  
 Eliza Bighead shenō se-laga jē  
 Eliza Bighead CL(DEC) 3(EF/I).POSS-grandmother PAST  
 'Eliza Bighead was her grandmother.'
- c. Maxine dzok'ala gō.  
 Maxine dzo-k'ala gō  
 Maxine 1SG(A).POSS-relative PROB  
 'Maxine is probably my relative.'
- d. Akira wenō nōk'atsogotane.  
 Akira wenō nō-k'atsogotane  
 Akira CL(NE) 2PL(EXCL/A)-teacher  
 'Akira is our teacher.'
- e. Lenō hēt'ē gō.  
 lenō hē-t'ē gō  
 LOC-3SG(EM) 3SG(EM/I)-father PROB  
 'That's his father.' (men's speech)

Another type of equative relationship points out a person. In English, the subject is the impersonal 'it.' In Eucheé, no pronoun is necessary. The person's name is given. The name is then followed mode, as can be seen in (4a-b). The copula 'wa is not used by itself in these structures, but must be used in order to use the past tense *jē*. This is shown in 4c).

- (4) a. Wanō'ē? 'Who is that?'

Lilian gō  
 Lilian gō  
 Lilian PROB  
 'She's Lilian.'

b. Wanō ne hōthli? 'Who's arriving?'

Henry 'ya.

Henry 'ya

Henry EXPECT

'It's Henry./It's Henry, I expect.'

Honæ, nē-Henry 'No, it's not Henry.'

c. Henry 'wa jē 'It was Henry'

\*Henry 'wa 'It is Henry.'

Other examples of equative verbal nouns follow.

(5) a. Wanō 'i hōwajē?

wanō 'i hō-wā-jē

who tobacco 3SG(E).REC-give-PAST

'Who gave him (or her) the tobacco?'

Jim 'wa jē 'It was Jim.' (GB)

b. Kede gotsane 'agæ.

kede gotsane 'agæ

now sleep time

'It's bedtime now.' (GB)

c. S'æ 'yushuci hōgwa.

s'æ 'yushu-ci hō-gwa

earth shake-SUB/CL(SIT) 3PL(E).ACT-say

'They say it was an earthquake.' (JC)

### 1.3 WEATHER

Weather descriptions are verbal nouns in Euchee. The weather noun requires the active verbalizer *-ē* for a present progressive reading and for adding the past tense *jē*.

(6) Weather Verbs with -'ē

a. Tsē'ē.

tsē-'ē

water-ACTIVE

'It is raining.' (also 'rain')

Lale tsē'ē jē.

lale            tsē-'ē            jē  
yesterday    water-ACTIVE    PAST  
'It rained yesterday.'

b. tsē'ē hoda k'aju

tsē-'ē            hoda    k'aju  
water-ACTIVE    wind    together  
'It is storming.' (also storm)

c. Shtæ'ē.

shtæ-'ē

snow-ACTIVE

'It is snowing.'

Tulsa kodōfāle sta'ē gi'ē.

Tulsa    kodōfāle    sta-'ē            gi'ē  
Tulsa    east            snow-ACTIVE    believe  
'I believe it's snowing west of Tulsa.'

d. Shtashtas'i'ē.

shta-shta-s'i-'ē

snow-REDUP-little-ACTIVE

'It's sleeting.'

e. Shtat'ot'ohe'ē.

shta-t'o-t'o-he-'ē

snow-egg-REDUP-LOC-ACTIVE

'It's hailing.'

f. Bado'ē.

bado-'ē

night-ACTIVE

'It is night./It is dark outside'

The stative verbalizer *-le* is used when the weather is more state-like.

- 6) Weather Verbs with *-le*
- a. Tsekhale  
tsē-kha-le  
water-fine-STATIVE  
'It is misty.' (also 'mist')
- b. Keli-he 'yastabadole  
Keli-he 'yastabado-le  
Kellyville-LOC fog-STATIVE  
'It's foggy by Kellyville.' (GB)
- c. Kede hop'ōle.  
kede hop'ō-le  
now cloud-STATIVE  
'It's cloudy.'
- d. Hodale.  
hoda-le  
wind-STATIVE  
'It's windy'
- Hoda dabale.  
hoda daba-le  
cloud strong-STATIVE  
'It's very windy/It's stormy/It's storming'

The examples above are not strictly divided between *ē* and *le*. In most cases, speakers have a choice depending on what they wish to express. This is seen in (7).

- (7) a. Tsekhale  
tsē-kha-le  
water-fine-STATIVE  
'It is misty.'
- Tsekha'ē  
tsē-kha-ē  
water-fine-ACTIVE  
'It is misting now.'

b. Kede hop'ōle.  
 kede hop'ō-le  
 now cloud-STATIVE  
 'It's cloudy.'

Kede hop'ō'ē.  
 kede hop'ō-'ē  
 now cloud-ACTIVE  
 'It's clouding up/It's getting cloudy.'

The other mode particles may be used instead of the verbalizers *-'ē* and *-le* to give the noun a verbal reading. This includes the adverbial clitic *-he* 'whenever' used in complex sentences.

- (8) a. 'Yastabadohe...  
 'yastabado-he  
 fog-FREQ  
 'Whenever it is foggy...'
- b. 'Yastabado gō  
 'yastabado gō  
 fog POT  
 'It's probably foggy./It seems foggy.'
- c. 'Yastabado:le!  
 'yastabado:le  
 fog-EMPH  
 'It's really foggy!'

#### 1.4 COLORS

Like the weather expression, the names for colors can be made into verbs. The color terms are given below in (9). In a few cases, the 3<sup>rd</sup> inanimate pronominal *hi-* and the animate non-Euchee *'yō-* can be used. These are in parenthesis.

(9) Color Terms

'ispi	'black'
'yáka	'white, light'
tshyathla	'red'
chyala	'pink'
(hi)dzō <sup>2</sup>	'green, blue'
ti	'brown, tan, (yellow, orange)'
ti'yaka	'yellow'
titi	'orange'
('yō)dzō, (hi)fā	'purple'
yasĩ/yash'æ	'gray'
'ispíspí	'maroon'

Color terms can be followed by any of verbalizers or mode particles, depending on the aspect or mode the speaker wishes to convey. However, there is often no discernable difference in meaning. This can be seen in (10a). However, the active verbalizer -'ē can have the reading 'to become' (inchoative) as seen in (10b), but is not necessary to get this reading, as seen in (10c).

- (10) a. tshyathla 'wa                    'It is red.'  
tshyathla 'ya                    'It is red.'  
'yakale                    'It is white.'  
'yaka gō                    'It is white.'  
'yaka wa jē                    'It was white.'
- b. Tshyathla'ē                    'It became red'                    (JC)
- c. Sedaci tshyathla sējē.  
se-da-ci                    tshyathla    sē            jē  
3SG(EF/I).POSS-face-CL(SIT)    red            good    PAST  
'Her face, it was good (and) red'  
= 'Her face became red./She got real red.'
- d. Dici sa 'ispi 'wa.  
di-ci                    sa            'ispi    'wa  
1SG-CL(SIT)    also    black    COP  
'Mine is also black.'



The color *tshyathla* 'red' is used to express 'to paint/color ones face.' The animate actor pronominal prefixes indicate this readings. No other copular mode or verbalizer is needed to indicate that the color term is a verb.

- (11) a. 'Otshyathla.  
       'o-tshyathla  
       3PL(E).ACT-red  
       'They colored/painted (their faces)' (women's speech)
- b. hēdaci hōtshyathla jē  
    hē-da-ci                           hō-tshyathla           jē  
    3SG(EM/I).POSS-face-CL(SIT) 3PL(EM).ACT-red PAST  
    'They colored/reddened his face.' (men's speech)

## 2. VERBAL ADJECTIVES

Adjectives are verbs in Euchee. They must be inflected for person agreement. Nearly all adjectives are states in Euchee, and therefore require patient pronominal agreement. See Chapter 3, Section 3 for states and patient pronominal prefixes. They can take aspect suffixes, and they may have tense and mode phrases following them. However, they require either the verbalizer *-ē* or the *-le* (or the emphatic *-:le*, see below) in order to function as a clause. These endings set them apart from other verbs. Because of this, it is convenient and appropriate to refer to them as adjectives and a separate part of speech from verbs.

### 2.1 STEM ADJECTIVES

Like verbs and nouns, there is a core vocabulary of basic stem adjectives. Basic stems are stems which have not undergone any other morphological process, such as compounding. The stem adjectives are given below in (12).

## (12) Basic Stem Adjectives

'æ	'big'
cha/chya	'hard'
fi(fi)	'shiny'
ga	'cold'
gē	'long'
hā	'old'
khā	'fine, ground up'
s'ī	'small, little, light'
s'u	'naked, bare'
sē/sā	'good, nice, pretty, beautiful'
sh'yē	'bad, ugly'
sh'ǣ	'skinny'
shpi	wet, moist
sta	'spread, flared'
sho	'soft, ripe, ready, tender, sore'
thl'a	'slow, slowly'
tho	'short' (in time)
ts'ō/ts'yō	'short, low' (in space)
tswa(tswa)	'easy'
tsya	'dry'
'yæ	'thin, sickly'
'yu	'spread out'

These basic stems and compound adjective stems (see Section 2.2 below) can be stems for other parts of speech as well. A few examples are given in (13).

(13)	<u>Adjective</u>	<u>Noun</u>	<u>Postposition</u>	<u>Verb</u>
	'yu	'be spread out'	'up'	
	'yup'a	'be high up'	'sky'	'up high'
	dapi/tapi	'be salty'	'salt'	
	bithlo	'be round'		'turn'

## 2.2 COMPOUND ADJECTIVES

Adjectives can also be made out of two or more stems, called a compound. Unlike nouns, compounding is not productive in adjectives. Because

of this, most compound adjectives are historical forms and their parts can not be easily determined today. Only a few lend to analysis. These are given in (14).

- (14) a. tapisǣ  
tapi-sǣ  
salty-good  
'be sweet/sugar'
- b. haphas'i  
hapha-s'i  
extended-small  
'narrow'
- c. hapha'ǣ  
hapha-'ǣ  
extended-big  
'wide'
- d. shpathla  
shpa-thla  
spread-go  
'spread out'

The following is a list of compound adjective stems.

(15) Compound Adjective Stems

'ishpi	'dirt'
'opa	'full'
baka	'bitter, spicy'
bithlo	'round'
cuge	'sour, soured'

(15) Compound Adjective Stems (continued)

daba	'difficult'
daba	'strong, hard'
dáshe	'ripe'
data	'folded'
desa	'clean'
gēga	'tall'
hathli	'heavy'
hapha'æ/hæp'æ	'wide'
haphas'ĩ/hap'æ	'narrow'
paka/baka	'bitter, spicy'
safi	'fast, swift'
sága	'light of weight'
sápa	'thin'
tapi/dabi	'sour, salty'
thochu	'thick'
'yup'a	'high up'

Some adjectives require the 3<sup>rd</sup> inanimate patient agreement prefix *hi-* or *ho-* patient [+participant] when referring to an inanimate. Otherwise, like verbs, adjectives do not show 3<sup>rd</sup> inanimate agreement. Because many refers to non-human states, and they are always given with the 3<sup>rd</sup> person inanimate when other adjectives do not, the *hi-* and *ho-* prefixes seem like they are part of the stem. However, those that can refer to human states, show that the inanimate prefixes are separate from the stem (See Chapter 3, Section 4.3). They are not listed among the basic stems in (12) because speakers do not recognize them as stems (without pronominal agreement).

(16) Adjectives that require 3<sup>rd</sup> person inanimate patient agreement

hibo	'bent'
hish'o	'withered'
hishahi	'hot (weather)'
hista	'shallow'
hithli	'smooth, slippery'
hogæ	'healed'
hohæ	'empty'
hophæ'æ	'wide'
hothlo	'deep (water)'
hotho	'short'
howæ	'left over'

### 2.3 THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN *-ē* AND *-le* ADJECTIVES

All adjectives must have a verbalizer, a mode particle, or the excessive or emphatic suffixes in order to be read as a verb. In addition, verbal adjectives are stative in Eucheé. They require the stative pronominal agreement prefixes. There are a few exceptions, and these are given in Chapter 3, Section 3.4. Adjectives generally describe the qualities or properties of a noun, and properties are state-like.

Because adjectives are stative verbs, it is natural that most adjectives will use the stative verbalizer *-le*. However, the active verbalizer *ē* can be used on adjectives. Even when the active verbalizer is used, the verb is still considered a state. The pronominal prefixes do not change from patient to actor pronominals. The active verbalizer *ē* is used to express a change of state (inchoative), or a temporary state when the speaker wishes to emphasize that the state is worthy of notice at the time of the utterance. Properties that are inherently enduring or permanent will never have the active verbalizer. Examples of these contrasts follow.

(17) Stative verbalizer *-le*

a.	pithlole	'It is round, curvy'	permanent
b.	'æle	'It is big.'	permanent
c.	sapale	'It is thin'	permanent
d.	dze'nagale	'I'm rich.'	enduring
e.	sæle	'It's good.'	enduring
f.	hi'opāle	'It is full.' (vessels only)	completed
g.	tsyale	'It is dry, dried up.'	completed
h.	hogæle	'It is healed.'	completed
i.	datale	'It is folded.'	completed

(18) Active Verbalizer *'ē*

a.	spi'ē	'It is wet'	temporary
b.	dishā'ē	'It is clean'	temporary
c.	dzesapa'ē	'I am thin'	temporary
d.	chúge'ē	'It is getting sour.'	change of state
e.	su'ē	'It is bare (now).'	change of state

Some of the contrasts are better understood in context.

(19) Permanent versus Temporary

- a. 'Yusht'æ'e hithlile.  
'yusht'æ-'e      hithli-le  
road-CL(LIE)      slick-STATIVE  
'The road is slick./It is (always) a slick road.'

'Yusht'æ'e hithli'ē.  
'yusht'æ-'e      hithli-'ē  
road-CL(LIE)      slick-ACTIVE  
'Hey, that road is slick.'

b. Dzesafile.  
dze-safi-le  
1SG.PAT-fast-STATIVE  
'I'm fast/I run fast.'

Dzesafi'ē.  
dze-safi-ē  
1SG.PAT-fast-ACTIVE  
'I am fast (I did that in record time.)'

(20) Permanent/Expected versus Surprise

a. Kodāle.  
kodā-le  
cold-STATIVE  
'It's cold out.'

Kodā'ē.  
kodā-ē  
cold-ACTIVE  
'Oh man, it's cold out!'

b. Hisosāle  
hi-sosā-le  
3SG(INAN).PAT-strong.flavor-STATIVE  
'It (Mexican food) is strong flavored.'

Hisosā'ē  
hi-sosā-ē  
3SG(INAN).PAT-strong.flavor-ACTIVE  
'(Watch out!) That is strong flavored.'

Below is a summary of the effects of *-le* and *-ē* on adjectives and also of verbal nouns.

(20) Summary of *-le* and *ē*

<i>-le</i> (relatively) permanent properties	'be tall'
enduring properties	'be a happy person'
completed states	'be folded'
<i>-ē</i> temporary states	'be wet'
change of state	'became hard'
unexpected quality	'be cold (to touch)'

A few notable exceptions occur. For example, *sæle* 'it is good' can not have the active verbalizer, and *sh'iē* 'it is bad' can not have the stative verbalizer. In addition, *sh'iē* 'it is broken' always has the active verbalizer even though it is a completed state.

2.4 ADJECTIVE EXTREMES: *-:le* AND *-gā*

Both the verbalizer *ē* and the permanent state *le* can be replaced by the emphatic *-:le* 'very, really'. The emphatic suffix also lengthens the vowel of the adjective stem. The length of the vowel indicates the intensity of the emphasis. The vowel may also be nasalized for emphasis. See also Chapter 2, Section 3.2 for vowel lengthening emphatic structures. The nasal may also extend to the emphatic *-:le*, creating *[-:lē]* – *[-:læ̃]*. The emphatic suffix *-:le* is not the permanent state *-le* with vowel lengthening because verbs may also be suffixed with the emphatic *-:le* 'very.' See Chapter 5, Section 6.1. Examples of the emphatic *-:le* follow.

- (21) a. Dzenonō wesh'æ:læ̃  
dzene wenō we-sh'æ-:læ̃  
dog DET/CL(NE) 3SG(NE).PAT-skinny-very  
'That dog's really skinny!'

The vowel lengthening in *-:le* 'very, really' is argued to be different from the permanent state *-le*. This can be seen in the fact that adjectives and other



parts of speech with verbalizer *-ē* can show emphasis by simply lengthening of the vowel of the stem. This can be seen in (22a). In some cases, the emphatic *-le* can be added, and then it comes after the verbalizer *ē*. The vowel lengthening remains on the stem, not with the suffix *-le* ‘emphatic.’ This can be seen in (22b).

- (22) a. 'Yash'aha shpi:'ē!  
 'yash'a-ha shpi-:'ē  
 leaf-PL(INAN) wet-EMPH-ACTIVE  
 'Those leaves are very wet.'
- b. 'Yō fi:'ēlē [ˈyɔfi:'ɛlə]  
 'yō fi-:'ē-le  
 star shiny-ACTIVE.very-very  
 'The stars are really bright!'

The verbalizer *ē* and the permanent state *le* can also be replaced by the excessive suffix *-gā*. The pronunciation of the excessive *-gā* [gā] should not be confused with the probability mode *gō* [gō]. Both are often pronounced [gṽ] - [gv].

- (23) hō'æle 'He is big.' (men's speech)  
 hō'ægā 'He is too big.'  
 hō'æle gō 'He is probably big.'  
 hō'ægā gō 'He is probably too big.'  
 hō'ægā lætehegō 'He is probably too big.'

More examples of the excessive *-gā* 'too' follow.

- (24) a. 'Ahende hætsihægā.  
 'ahende hætsihæ-gā  
 and.then quiet-too  
 'Then it was too quiet.'

- b. **Tats'agā.**  
tats'a-gā  
loud-too  
'It's too loud!'
- c. **Hothogā.**  
ho-tho-ga  
3SG(INAN).ACT-short-too  
'It's too short.'
- d. **Nēhothogā.**  
nē-ho-tho-gā†  
neg-3SG(INAN).ACT-short-too  
'It's not short enough.'

### 3. QUANTIFIERS

Quantifiers are words which give a relative or indefinite expression of quantity. Numbers give a definite quantity, such as 'five of them', but quantifiers such as 'many of them' or 'a few of them' give only an indefinite quantity. Quantifiers must have patient pronominal agreement. Most require the stative verbalizer *-le*. Only the emphatic *-:le* 'very' and the excessive *-gā* 'too' can be used in place of the stative verbalizer.

The quantifier *wahále* means 'many,' much,' a lot of,' 'a bunch of,' a ton of and so on. When the quantifier modifies a noun, the noun must be plural, having either the inanimate or the appropriate animate plural. Because it always refers to a plural entity, only the plural pronominal prefixes are appropriate. The quantifier *wahále* is the probable source for the inanimate plural noun *-ha*; the stem *ha* is also the plural stem of the verb *(go)nō* 'be, be located, and be located with.' The quantifier *wahále* is given below.

(25) *wahále* 'many'

<i>wahále/hále</i>	'many things'	
<i>hōwahále</i>	'many Eucheets'	(men's speech)
<i>'owahále</i>	'many Eucheets'	(women's speech)
<i>wewahále</i>	'many non-Eucheets'	
<i>'ōwahále</i>	'many of us'	(INCLUSIVE)
<i>nōwahále</i>	'many of us'	(EXCLUSIVE)
<i>'āwahále</i>	'many of you'	

Examples of the quantifier *wahále* follow in (26). In (26a) the noun 'fire' is a mass noun and so does not require the plural *-ha*. In (26b) the copular *'wa* is a place-holder for the past tense; the verb is *wahále*. In (26c) the sentence is exaggerated with the reduplication of the noun (an irregular plural form of 'bones') along with the quantifier.

- (26) a. Bristow agāfa 'yaste wahale.  
Bristow agāfa 'yaste wahale  
Bristow east fire many  
'There's a huge fire east of Bristow.' (GB)
- b. 'Yuciha héno hōwahale 'wa jē  
'yuciha héno hō-wahale 'wa jē  
Euchee PL(E) 3PL(E).PAT-many COP PAST  
'There were many Eucheets.' (men's speech)
- 'Yuciha'ínō 'ōwahale 'wa jē.  
'There were many Eucheets.' (women's speech)
- c. Dish'ēsh'ē hale dze'yu.  
di-sh'ē-sh'ē hale dze-yu  
1SG(I).POSS-bone-REDUP many 1SG.PAT-hurt  
'My bones hurt!'

When used with animals, *wewahale* is translated as 'flock', 'herd', 'swarm' and so forth.

- (27) a. **wedine wénō wewahale**  
 wedine wénō we-wahale  
 cow PL(NE) 3SG(NE).PAT-many  
 ‘a lot of cows, a herd of cows/There’s a herd of cows’
- b. **Dzene wethǣ wénō wewahale.**  
 dzene we-thǣ wénō we-wahale  
 dog 3SG(NE).ACT-wild PL(NE) 3SG(NE).PAT-many  
 ‘There’s a pack of wild dogs.’
- c. **Ke ʼlede nechespi?**  
 ke ʼle-de ne-chespi  
 there Q-CPLT 2SG.ACT-full  
 ‘Are you full?’
- ʼĀwahale howǣ.**  
 ʼā-wahale ho-wǣ  
 2PL.PAT-many 3PL(INAN).PAT-be.left  
 ‘There’s plenty left (for you all/everyone).’ (GB)
- d. **ʼOwāle ʼo-nēʼnē go**  
 ʼo-wāle ʼo-nēʼnē go  
 3PL(E).PAT-many 3PL(E).ACT-see.REDUP PROB  
 ‘They saw just a few of them’ (women’s speech) (LB C: 26)

The emphatic *-:le* can substitute for the stative *-le*. The last vowel of the stem is lengthened and nasalized in order to intensify the quantifier.

- (28) **ʼAke wénō sene wewahā:le!**  
 ʼake wénō sene we-wahā:le  
 there PL(NE) bird 3SG(NE).PAT-many.EMPH  
 ‘There’s a whole lot of birds over there!’

The excessive *-gā*, meaning ‘too’ or ‘very,’ can substitute for the stative *-le* in order to indicate ‘too much.’

- (29) **Kede wahagā tseʼē ōndzonō.**  
 kede waha-gā tseʼē ōdzo-nō  
 now many-too rain 1PL(INCL).PAT/PLUS-be.located  
 ‘We have too much rain now.’

The quantifier *sala* means ‘all of (a group).’ Like *wahále* ‘many,’ if the quantifier follows a noun, the noun must be in the plural. The quantifier *sala* is also used to express the indefinite pronouns ‘everything’ and ‘everybody.’ The forms of *sala* follow in (30).

(30) *sala* ‘all of (a group)’ ‘everyone’

hisala	‘all of them, everything’	
hēsala	‘all of them’ everyone’	(men’s speech)
’isala	‘all of them’ everyone’	(women’s speech)
wesala	‘all of them (non-Euchee)’	
’ōdzesala	‘all of us, everyone’	(INCLUSIVE)
nōdzesala	‘all of us, everyone’	(EXCLUSIVE)
’āndzesala	‘all of you all’	

The adverb *hile* also expresses ‘all,’ but it is not verbal, and so it does not change form.

The negative quantification ‘most of’ or ‘much of’ is formed by adding the negative pre-clitic *nē-* to ‘all.’ Thus, ‘most of’ and ‘a few of’ is literally ‘not all of.’ The negative form are *nēhisala*, *nēwesala* etc...

The quantifier *dzalale* means ‘both of (a plural).’ It can also mean ‘those two.’ The quantifier often appears in a short form *dzale*. The long forms are provided in (31).

(31) *dzalale* ~ *dzale* ‘both of’

dzalale	‘both of them/those things’	
hōdzalale	‘both of them/those Eucheese’	(men’s speech)
’odzalale	‘both of them/those Eucheese’	(women’s speech)
wedzalale	‘both of them/those (non-Eucheese)’	
’ōdzalale	‘both of us’	(INCLUSIVE)
nōdzalale	‘both of us’	(EXCLUSIVE)
’āndzalale	‘both of you two’	

The concept of ‘both’ can also be expressed with the *k’aju* ‘together, two in a reciprocating or accompanying situation’. See Chapter 4, Section 3.3 for more

discussion and examples of *k'aju*. The reciprocal *k'aju* 'together' also has pronominal agreement. When it refers to inanimates, it has the meaning 'both' and generally has the stative *-le*, as seen in (32).

- (32) *Gakale 'yuciha k'ajule hē'wede jē.*  
*gakale 'yuciha k'ajule hē'wede jē*  
 English Eucree both 3SG(EM).ACT-speak PAST  
 'He spoke both Eucree and English.'

The quantifier *wæle* refers to the rest of or the remainder of a group. It is also used for 'a few of' or 'a little of.' It is the same stem as the adjective *wæ* 'be left, be left behind.'

- (33) */wæle/* 'the rest of' 'a few of' a group
- |                  |  |                  |
|------------------|--|------------------|
| <i>howæle</i>    | 'the rest of/a few of them (inanimate)'  |                  |
| <i>hōwæle</i>    | 'the rest of/a few of them (Eucree)'     | (men's speech)   |
| <i>'owæle</i>    | 'the rest of/a few of them (Eucree)'     | (women's speech) |
| <i>yōwæle</i>    | 'the rest of/a few of them (non-Eucree)' |                  |
| <i>'ōdzowæle</i> | 'the rest of/a few of us all'            | (INCLUSIVE)      |
| <i>nōdzowæle</i> | 'the rest of/a few of us'                | (EXCLUSIVE)      |
| <i>'adzewæle</i> | 'the rest of/a few of you all'           |                  |

The quantifier *(hi)t'ēle* 'more' is created from the numeral *hit'e* 'one.' When it follows a noun, the noun must be plural, as seen in (34a). The quantifier 'more' is only appropriate in Eucree when used with inanimate references.

- (34) a. K'ōndi ha hit'ele dithæ.  
 k'ōndi ha hit'ele di-thæ  
 meat PL(INAN) more 1SG.ACT-want  
 'I want some more meat.'
- b. T'éle 'le nethæ? [t'èle'léthæ]  
 t'ele 'le ne-thæ  
 more Q 2SG.ACT-want  
 'Do you want more (food)?'

The stress on the first syllable is important so that the quantifier *t'éle* 'more' is not confused with *t'elé* 'another/the other.' This is created with the numeral 'one' and the location *-le* 'back to,' which is also the verbal aspect suffix 'repeat.' The noun is always in the singular, either indefinite ('another') or with the definite noun class ('the other'). The adjective 'another/the other' is seen in (35a), compared to the quantifier in (35b).

- (35) a. Stine t'elé dzowā.  
 stine t'e-lé dzo-wā  
 spoon one-back 1SG.PAT/PLUS-give  
 'Give me another spoon.'
- b. Stine t'éle dzowā.  
 stine ha t'éle dzo-wā  
 spoon PL(INAN) more 1SG.PAT/PLUS-give  
 'Give me some more spoons.'

Since 'another/the other' are more referential than the other quantifiers, and they can be pronouns, as in 'the other one,' they are more fully described in Chapter 6 Noun and Noun phrase.

Singular quantifiers refer to a all or part of a singular object. They are formed with a singular noun. In Eucheé, there is only one singular quantifier.

The quantifier *jobi* refers to all of a singular object. When the quantifier *jobi* follows a noun, the noun must be in the singular, and the pronominal prefixes refer to singular entities.

(36) *jobi* 'all of (a singular thing)'

hijobi            'all of it'  
wejobi           'all of it (animate, non-Euchee)'

The quantifier 'most of (a singular thing)' is created by the negative preclitic on the inflected *jobi* or on the noun.

(37) *nējobi* 'most of (a singular thing)'

nēhijobi  
nēwejobi

#### 4. EXISTENCE, LOCATION, AND POSSESSION

##### 4.1 THE WAY IT IS 'akeē - keē

The expression 'ake'e often shortened to ke'e has a variety of different meanings and uses. The phrase is the verbalized location 'ake 'there.' And although it may at one time have been purely existential 'there is,' the phrase has the more emphatic feeling today. It can mean 'that's the way it is' or 'it is that way.' It can mean '(to do something) in this manner.' It can be the comparative 'to be like (something else).' And it can mean 'to seem, feel like.' The phrase is essential to everyday Euchee. Some speakers pepper their speech with the phrase, and nearly all recall it as being something that they always used to hear the old people using.

The most common use of 'ake'e is 'that's the way it is.' It can also mean 'That's right.' The phrase is often given by itself. It can take all tense, aspect, and mode. When the phrase is the complete sentence, it requires *fa* 'perfective' in the simple present tense because the way something is can only be seen as a whole. However, the perfective in the present tense is irregular. A few examples are given below. The tense or mode particles are underlined. The



stress is always on the last syllable of the stem *'aké* and so the particles are written as cliticized.

(38)	<i>'Ake'ě</i>		
	<i>'Ake'ěfa</i>	'It is that way.'	perfective
	<i>'Aké'ěgō</i>	'It is that way'	potential, deference
	<i>'ake'ěte</i>	'It can be that way.'	ability
	<i>'Ake'ěnejě</i>	'It used to be that way.'	past habitual
	<i>'Ake'ěfānō</i>	'It will be that way'	perfective, intentive
	<i>'Ake'ějěfa</i>	'It was that way.'	past perfective
	<i>'Ake'ělā</i>	'Yes, it <u>is</u> that way!'	empathy
	<i>'Ake:'ěle</i>	'It <u>is</u> that way?!'	emphatic (shows surprise)
	<i><u>N</u>ake'ě'ya</i>	'No it isn't (the way you expect)'	negative, expect

The phrase can be more fully integrated into discourse, as seen below. In (38a) the present tense *fa* is not required.

- (39) a. *'Abēci 'ake'ě k'ala hōgwa'ěci*  
*'abēci 'ake'ě k'ala hō-gwa-'ě-ci*  
 today way-ACTIVE thing 3PL(EM).ACT-say-[UN]-SUB.CL(SIT)  
 'Today it's the way they said (it would be).' (JC)
- b. *'Ake'ěfa 'nē?*  
*'ake'ě-fa 'nē*  
 way-ACTIVE-PERF see  
 'That's the way it is, see?'
- c. *'Ake 'wa'ě 'a go'ě.*  
*'ake 'wa'ě 'a go'ě*  
 there cop'active there believe  
 'That's what I think.'

The phrase *'ake'ě* can also mean 'in a certain manner.' This meaning is seen below.

- (40) 'Ake 'le'ē nesha?  
 'ake 'le-'ē ne-sha  
 way Q-ACTIVE 2SG.ACT-do  
 'Are you gonna do it this way?'

The phrase can also mean 'to be like.' It is often shortened to *ke'ē* in this usage. This is a comparative structure and so is also seen in Chapter 8. However, a few examples are given here.

- (41) a. Shu ke'ē hēstōne.  
 shu ke'ē hē-stō-ne  
 fish way-ACTIVE 3SG(EM).ACT-swim-HAB  
 'He swims like a fish.' (men's speech)
- b. Hēt'e 'wa 'ake'ēwajē  
 hē-t'e 'wa 'ake'ē 'wa-jē  
 3SG(EM.A).POSS-father FOC way-ACTIVE COP-PAST  
 'He is like his father was.'

Finally, *'ake'ē* can be used to mean 'seem like' or 'feel like.'

- (42) a. kede wedzā tsash'ē di'ne ke'ē!  
 kede wedzā tsash'ē di'ne ke'ē  
 now pig rib 1SG.ACT-see way-ACTIVE  
 'Seems like I can just see those hog ribs now!'
- b. diha'ē ke'ē  
 di-ha-'ē ke-'ē  
 1SG.ACT-be.old-ACTIVE way-ACTIVE  
 'I feel old.'

#### 4.2 POSITION VERBS

The position verbs *ci* 'sit,' *fa* 'stand,' and *e* 'lie' are used in the construction of location expressions. The position verbs are existential, such as 'There's a snake,' although they may be translated with the position verb, such as, 'There's a snake lying there.' With inanimate noun, the position verb must agree with the noun class, which is its inherent position. This can be as seen in (43).

- (43) a. 'Yafa 'ahe fa.  
'yafa 'ahe fa  
tree-DET/CL(STAND) over there stand  
'There's that tree over there (that I was telling you about).'
- b. Ditsolefa yuhe fa.  
di-tsole-fa yuhe fa  
1SG(I).POSS-house-CL(STAND) over.there stand  
'My house is over there.'
- c. Thl'ostane tihe ci 'le?  
thl'ostane tihe ci 'le  
box inside sit Q  
'Is it (the new fan) in the box?'
- d. S'æ ke ci.  
s'æ ke ci  
grave there sit  
'There's a grave over there.'

The position verbs are the most common way of asking where something is located. In the examples below, the verb 'put' is in (44a), but the more commonly used position verbs follow in (44b).

- (44) a. Wahe yot'ē?  
wahe yo-t'ē  
where 2SG.ACT/PLUS-put  
'Were did you put it?'
- b. Wahe ne'e?  
wahe ne-'e  
where 2SG.ACT-lie  
'Where did you lay it?'  
= 'Where did you put it (a long object)?'
- Wahe ne'ci? 'Where did you put it (a roundish object)?'  
Wahe nefa? 'Where did you put it (a tall object)?'

With animate nouns, the position verb agrees with the position of the referent at the time of utterance. This can be seen in (45).

- (45) a. Sha 'akoci. (contracted form)  
 sha 'ake we-ci (full form)  
 snake there 3SG(NE).ACT-sit  
 'There's a snake (coiled).'
- b. Sha 'ako'e. (contracted form)  
 sha 'ake we-e (full form)  
 snake there 3SG(NE).ACT-lie  
 'There's a snake (uncoiled/slithering).'
- c. Gōt'e 'akofa. (contracted form)  
 gōt'e 'ake we-fa (full form)  
 man there 3SG(NE).ACT-stand  
 'There's a (non-Euchee) man there.'

The use of the position verbs for locating humans is used to further clarify the referent or to specifically point out the referent's position. The verb (*go*)*nō* 'to be located' is neutral to position and is more commonly used with human referents.

- (46) Gōt'e 'a wenō.  
 gōt'e 'a we-nō  
 man there 3SG(NE).ACT-be.located  
 'There's a man (non-Euchee) there.'

In addition to pointing out, the position verbs are used in other existential constructions. A few examples follow.

- (47) a. Gōshīnē: hēnō 'ahe ci! [gōshīnī: hənɔ́ 'ohé ci] (BPD)  
 gōshīnē: hē-nō 'ahe ci  
 pitiful.EMPH 3SG(EM).PAT there sit  
 'He's sitting there really pitiful.'  
 'He's really down and out/He's poverty stricken'

Louannie sedile 'a seci jē lale?  
 Louannie sedi-le 'a se-ci jē lale  
 Louannie 3(EF)-only LOC 2SG(EF).ACT-sit PAST yesterday  
 'Was Louannie by herself yesterday?' (LB F:13)

#### 4.3 POSSESSION THROUGH LOCATION

The notion of ownership, or 'to have something,' is expressed through location. The verb (*go*)*nō* 'be located' requires pronominal prefixes from the patient prefix *dze-* set. When the patient [+participant] prefixes (from the *dzo-* set) are used the meaning becomes 'to be located with' or 'to have.' The verb (*go*)*nō* 'to be located with/to have' is given in Chapter 3, example (56).

- (48) a. Chyaso wat'e sonō?  
 chyaso wat'e so-nō  
 money how.much 2SG.PAT/PLUS-be.located  
 'How much money do you have?'  
 = all the money you have
- b. K'alaha wahale sionō.  
 k'ala-ha wahale sio-nō  
 thing-PL/CL(INAN) many 3SG(EF).PAT/PLUS-be.located  
 'She has a lot of stuff.'
- c. k'a s'æthechya nōwē dzonō  
 k'as'æthechya nōwē dzo-nō  
 car two 1SG.PAT/PLUS-be.located  
 'I have two cars.' (JC V-97)
- d. Dadaha ke 'ihā 'odi'nēne jē. [dàdohá kɛ 'i'q̄ 'òdì'nɛnɛ́ jɛ́]  
 dada-ha ke 'i-hā  
 corn.crib-PL(INAN) there 3PL(E)PAT-PL.be.with  
 'o-di-'nēne jē  
 3PL(E).PAT-1SG.ACT-see-HAB PAST  
 'We used to have corns cribs, I used to see them  
 (the women using them).' (LB F:16)

Speakers can use (*go*)*nō* 'be located' with the *dze-* patient set and not the *dzo-* patient [+participant] set. The sentences are still interpreted as 'to be located with/to have.' The 1<sup>st</sup> singular and 2<sup>nd</sup> singular and plural forms are

irregular. See Chapter 3, example (108), for the complete irregular verb. However, speakers generally add the accompaniment prefix *k'ā* 'with.' This changes the meaning from ownership to having the thing with them at the time of speaking. Compare (48a) above with (49a) below. It can also mean a temporary ownership or guardianship, as seen in (49b).

- (49) a. Chyaso wat'e 'ak'āyō?  
 chyaso wat'e 'a-k'ā-yō  
 money how.much LOC-COM-2SG.be.located  
 'How much money do you have?'  
 = 'How much money do you have with you right now?'
- b. Sok'asoci ke k'ādō  
 so-k'aso-ci ke k'ā-dō  
 2SG(A).POSS-book-CL(SIT) here COM-1SG.ACT.be.located  
 'I have your book'  
 = 'I have your book with me (in order to return it).'  
 = 'I have your book (and I do not regard it as mine).'

In addition, the regular verb *go'ē* 'to be with/to accompany' can be used. It requires the *dzo-* patient [+participant] set of pronominal prefixes.

- (50) Nēchyaso dzogo'ē.  
 nē-chyaso dzo-go'ē  
 NEG-money 1SG.PAT/PLUS-be.with  
 'I don't have any money (with me).'

The verb *go'ē* is derived from *k'ā* 'to accompany' and the verbalizer 'ē.<sup>3</sup>

**NOTES**  
**CHAPTER 7**

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<sup>1</sup> This order is a little odd for an A-P-V (SOV) language. One expects to find the copula immediately following the verbal noun. This order is also inconsistent with the rest of verbalization in the language, which is found after the verbalized part of speech.

<sup>2</sup> An alternative word for 'green, blue' is *hiḥā*. However, it does not seem to be in widespread usage.

<sup>3</sup> Wagner (ca. 1935: 47) gives 'have' as *k'ā* 'to be with.' See Chapter 4, Section 3.3 for the stem uses of *k'ā*.

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## **CHAPTER 8: SENTENCES STRUCTURES**

This chapter describes how noun phrases, verb phrases (including the verbals structures), and particles are put together to form longer utterances. People do many things with language. We make statements concerning the world around us (declarative sentences). We ask questions, and sometimes command someone to do or not to do something. Each of these kinds of utterances has one (or more) specific constructions. Statement, question, and command forms can then be used for a variety of other functions. For example, questions can be used to make requests or invitations. Statements can also show empathy, expectation, or obligation. These functions are shown through the mode particles and auxiliaries following verbs and are found in Chapter 5. The first three sections of this chapter describes the construction (syntax) of utterance types.

In addition to types of utterances, an utterance may be simple or complex. A simple sentence has one clause. A clause has one main verb which shows agreement and may show tense, aspect and mode. Chapters 3 and 4 developed the verb phrase with pronominal agreement. The inflected verb phrase is the simplest complete clause in Euche. A complex sentence has more than one clause. The second clause may be embedded within the main clause, or the two clauses may be joined one after the other with a coordinating conjunction.

Sentences that are manipulated to focus the most important information in the sentence are given in the section 7.

## 1. BASIC DECLARATIVE WORD ORDER

This section describes the basic word order for Euchee. Although the noun phrase is free to move into many places, the word order in daily usage is fairly constant. Changes in word order generally create a change in focus and or for topicalization.<sup>1</sup>

The basic word order in a one-place declarative sentence is Actor (A) or Patient (P), then Verb (V). In a two-place verb, the order is Actor (A) then Patient (P), then Verb (V). These orders are illustrated below.

Since the participants are marked on the verb, they can be left out of sentences.

- (1) a. 'Ahōgwa.  
'a-hō-gwa  
LOC-3PL(E).ACT-say  
'They say'
- b. Wethyæyu.  
we-thyæyu  
3SG(NE).ACT-be.stingy  
'They restricted it (water).' (JC)
- c. Dzoshifa k'a se 'yushi.  
dzoshi-fa                      k'a              se-'yushi  
sofki-CL/DET(STAND)    thing              3SG(EF)-stir  
'She's stirring up the sofki.'
- d. Sedo'æne jē  
se-do-'æne    jē  
3SG(EF).PAT-2SG.ACT/PLUS-ask              PAST  
'I asked her (already).'              -

Because the information on the participants is marked on the verbs, it also allows the noun phrases to move. Speakers can still understand who is doing what to whom because that pronominal prefixes make it clear, even if the Agent and/or Patient is not in their usual places. In the sentence below 'Sissy loves

Sonny,' the pronominal agreement on the verb is *sio-*. This informs the hearer that the actor is female, so 'Sissy' must be the actor (the person doing the loving, not receiving the love). The possible word orders are shown in (2a-c). The basic word order (APV) is given first. The examples in (2d-f) have an asterix (\*) because they are impossible word orders.

(2) Word Orders 'Sissy loves Sonny.'

- |                                      |      |
|--------------------------------------|------|
| a. Sissy Sonny <i>siothæshane</i> .  | APV  |
| b. Sissy <i>siothæshane</i> Sonny.   | AVP  |
| c. Sonny <i>siothæshane</i> Sissy.   | PVA  |
| d. *Sonny Sissy <i>siothæshane</i> . | *PAV |
| e. * <i>Siothæshane</i> Sonny Sissy. | *VPA |
| f. * <i>Siothæshane</i> Sissy Sonny. | *VAP |

As can be seen, The actor or patient can be behind the verb. This is ususally done to emphasize the one that is remaining in front of the verb. An example is in (3a) where the speaker was emphasizing that the man in the pronominal prefix 'he' did not give up, rather than who he did not give up on. In (3b), the speaker is focusing on whether or not William was visited, not that Henry was the visiter. In (3c), the word order PAV is shown. That is because the Yes/No question marker gives Henry a verbal reading and puts him in focus, as seen in the gloss.

- (3) a. *Nēhēhōjē 'wæte senō.* [næ hihɔje 'wæte sɛnɔ]  
*nē-hē-hō-jē 'wæte sɛnō*  
 NEG-3SG(EM).ACT-give.up-PAST women PL(EF)  
 'He didn't give up on the women.'
- b. William 'le *hō'ne'ne jē* Henry.  
 William 'le *hō'ne'ne jē* Henry  
 William Q 3SG(EM)ACT.visit PAST Henry  
 'Did Henry see William?'  
 = 'Was William visited (by Henry)?'

- c. Henry'le William hō'ne'nejē  
 'Was it Henry that visited William?'

Even though noun phrases have the freedom to move when their information is marked on the verb, Euchee is an APV word order language. This order has far-reaching consequences on the rest of the language. One of the consequences is that all the modifiers follow the phrase they modify (their head). This is true of the noun phrase, where numbers and adjectives follow the noun, as seen in (4a-b). It is also true of the verb phrase, where mode and tense follow the verb, as seen in (4c).

- (4) a. sháya nōwē  
 squirrel two  
 'two squirrels'
- b. Nvnv hap'a'æle.  
 nvnv hap'a'æ-le  
 river wide-STATIVE  
 '(It's) a wide river'
- c. Wedā telæhō  
 wedā                    te-læ-hō  
 1SG.ACT.go.FUT    ABLE-ENC-AFFIRM  
 'I guess I can go.'

Some verbs require three participants. In three-place verbs, the patient is not marked on the verb so it must be stated as a noun phrase, unless the hearer already knows what the patient is. However, if they are, the order is Actor (A), Patient (P), and the third participant Recipient (R) or Beneficiary (B), and then the verb (V). Generally, all three participants are not stated. Again, this is because the verb carries the information. Generally, the actor is known and not state. The recipient/beneficiary is focused and placed before the patient. The typical order is illustrated below.

- (5) a. Mary sæthl'ēcine senōk'ō jē. (BPV)  
 Mary sæthl'ēcine se-nō-k'ō je.  
 Mary service 3SG(EF).BEN-2PL(EXCL).ACT-make PAST  
 'We had services for Mary.'

For an example of the possible three-place verb orders, see Chapter 3, example (77b).

Some verbs require a location, such as the verb 'put' or 'go to.' Required location phrases are always before the verb, and before the Patient.

- (6) a. Tsyasotithlanefa diji.  
 tsyasotithlane-fa di-ji  
 California-DIR 1SG.ACT-be.going  
 'I'm going to California.'
- b. Didzehē tiyōheni tsē tase'ō. [didzehæ tiyɔheni dzɛ tse'ʌ]  
 di-dzehē tiyōheni tsē ta-se-'ō  
 1SG(INA).POSS-mother bathtub water in-3SG(EF).ACT-put  
 'Mother put the water in the bathtub.'  
 'Mother filled the bathtub with water.'

When time phrases, adverbs or noun are added, they are more free to move location and times

- (7) a. Tsyasotithlanefa diji wæ'nægatsefa.  
 tsyasotithlane-fa di-ji wæ'nægatse-fa  
 California-DIR 1SG.ACT-be.going January-LOC  
 'I'm going to California in January.'

California-fa wæ'nægatsefa diji.  
 Wæ'nægatsefa Californiafa diji.

- b. Wikæ'ē neshajē lale?  
 wikæ-'ē ne-sha-jē lale  
 what-ACTIVE 2SG.ACT-do-PAST yesterday  
 'What did you do yesterday?'

- c. 'Abenci de Bosniafa gotsyaha.  
 'abenci de Bosnia-fa gotsyaha  
 now and Bosnia-LOC war  
 'And now there's a war in Bosnia.'

Eucllee can have discontinuous constituents. That is, a noun and its demonstrative pronoun, as in 'this man' can be separated from each other. When this happens, the demonstrative pronoun 'this, that, these, those' is placed after the verb. The example in (8) gives the noun phrase constituents 'this cake' together in (8a) and as discontinuous constituents in (8b).

- (8) a. Wanō neci k'athl'odapisæ hōk'ōjē?  
 wanō [neci                      k'athl'odapisæ] hō-k'ō-jē  
 who [this-CL(SIT) cake]                      3SG(E).ACT/PLUS-make-PAST  
 'Who made this cake?'
- b. Wanō k'athl'odapisæ hōk'ōjē neci?  
 wanō [k'athl'odapisæ] hō-k'ō-jē                      [neci]  
 who cake                      3SG(E).ACT/PLUS-make-PAST this-CL(SIT)  
 'Who made this cake?'

Discontinuous constituents are rare, but the word order is possible.

## 2. COMMANDS

Giving a command to a hearer ('you' 2<sup>nd</sup> person singular or plural) is marked in two ways. First, since commands are always addressed to the 2<sup>nd</sup> person, the pronominal agreement does not have to appear on the verb. They may be used for extreme emphasis, but are generally not necessary. In addition, a command has emphatic stress on the last syllable of the verb stem.

- (9) a. Dzetyō! [dzetyṓ]  
 dze-tyō.  
 1SG.PAT-help  
 'Help me!'
- b. S'æ ci! [s'ęcí]  
 s'æ cí  
 down sit  
 'Sit down!'
- c. Hodi! [hodí]  
 ho-dí  
 3SG(INAN).PAT-wash  
 'Wash up!'

Wagner (1934: 353-4) gives an imperative suffix *-nō*. This suffix is indeed used in some commands, but it not exclusively a command suffix. Instead, *-nō* is the mode particle of intent, which can be translated as 'intend to' or 'be fixin' to.' It is commonly found on commands, but it can not be used when the speaker needs an immediate response.

- (10) a. Dzekyō! 'Help me!' ('Quickly, I'm in trouble!')  
 Dzekyōnō! 'Help me!' ('Hey, give me a hand over here!')

The addition of *-nō* also makes the command more polite. The command form *dzekyōnō* is less of a order than a request. For example, there is no need for a mother to express 'intend to' or be polite when getting her child out of bed. Polite commands with intentive post-clitic *-nō* are used at the Ceremonial Grounds in the pre-dance Calls and during dances to encourage people to come out and dance. They are also used in public gathering to call people to the table. Some of these are given below in (11). The 1<sup>st</sup> plural inclusive pronoun is used in formal commands in order to express 'everyone.' This can be seen in (11b).



- (11) a. 'Aetyōnō!                    'Get out and help!'  
           Hægonō!                    'Hurry up!'
- b. K'a 'ōthlænō!                'Everybody eat!'  
           Sæ 'ōthl'ēcine!              'Pray for everyone.' (used by preachers)

When the relationship between the speaker and the hearer is formal, such as the hearer is much older than the person giving the command or is an elder in their own family, or distant, the speaker will continue to use the polite form even in immediate situations.

- (12) a. K'æhanō!            'Watch out!' (a male elder to an unrelated female elder)  
       b. Hōshinō!            'Have pity on him.'

In statements, the intent post-clitic *-nō* is used to express the immediate future as well as intent. However, commands with *-nō* do not express a differing degree of future tense than commands without *-nō*, such as 'Get up (now)' compared to 'Get up (early tomorrow).'

### 3. QUESTIONS

#### 3.1 YES/NO QUESTIONS: 'LE AND 'YA

Yes/No questions are a type of question where the expected answer is 'yes' or 'no.' Yes/No questions are formed with the irrealis mode particle 'le,<sup>2</sup> although 'ya can be used in the conditions described below. In addition to a mode particle, Yes/No questions are signaled by rising intonation.

Wagner (1934: 357) called the particle 'le a suffix and described the placement as verb final, except for the attachment to the negative pre-clitic *nē-*. This overlooks two important facts about 'le. First, it can be found at the end of most complete phrases (noun phrase, postposition phrase, verb phrase). Second, it has a propensity to be found in the second position (in the position after the

first phrase of a sentence). These facts make it a likely candidate for a clitic (or bound word). However, there is evidence that the morpheme is an independent word. First, *'le* is not reduced phonologically but always bears the most prominent stress of the utterance and is generally accompanied by high pitch. Second, like other irrealis particles, *'le* can be the verbalizer for verbal nouns.

The Yes/No question marker *'le* prefers to be in the second position, that is, after the end of the first phrase. When there is an independent noun phrase, the particle can be in second position (after the noun phrase) or after the verb phrase. In these positions, the question marker has scope over the whole sentence. If the particle comes after any other phrase, it changes the focus to that phrase.

Because the Yes/No question marker *'le* must appear at the end of a phrase, it can be used as a test to determine the boundaries of phrases (constituents). The end of phrases often coincides with the end of words, and as such, it has been helpful in determining suffixes from clitics. Therefore, most of the patterns are given below to amply illustrate its placement. Although not all the possible sentence patterns are given in the sections below, the rule that the Yes/No question particle must be at the end of a complete phrase and its preference for second position is illustrated in the common sentence patterns below. These are followed by the exceptions.

### *Regular Positions of 'le*

#### Verb Phrases

The Yes/No question particle is placed at the end of the complete verb phrase for a sentential reading of the question. The verb phrase is as follows.

1) If the question is comprised of only an inflected verb, and the verb requires no pre-pronominal information, then *'le* comes after the verb. This is the second position.

- (13) Net'ō 'le? 'Are you angry?'  
 Nek'ocha 'le? 'Are you thirsty?'  
 Nethæ 'le? 'Do you want some?'  
 Nekyōwāle 'le? 'Do you remember?'  
 Howæ 'le? 'Is there any left?'  
 Nēga 'le? 'Is that right?'

The fact that this is second position and not simply word final shows up when a tense or mode phrase occurs after the verb phrase.

- (14) a. S'eyo'æne 'le jē?  
 s'e-yo-'æne 'le jē  
 3SG(EM).PAT-2SG.ACT/PLUS-ask Q PAST  
 'Did you ask him?' (women's speech)
- b. Nedzedito 'le te?  
 nedze-di-to 'le te  
 2SG.PAT-1SG.ACT-go.with Q ABLE  
 'Can I go with you?'

2) If the question contains is comprised of only an inflected verb *and* that verb requires pre-pronominal lexical information *k'ala* 'thing' or a location particle, then 'le comes immediately after the required *k'ala* noun phrase and location phrase. This shows that although the required noun and location phrases are a (idiomatic) lexical unit, they are treated in the syntax as separate units.<sup>3</sup> Thus, 'le is after the first phrase. The examples in (15a) show the noun phrase *k'ala* or *k'a*, and (15b) show a typical variety of questions in Location Particle + Verb idioms.

(15) Verb with Pre-Pronominal Lexical Information: Idioms

- a. *k'ala* + Verb Constructions  
 K'ala 'le 'āshæde? 'Have you all eaten already?'  
 K'ala 'le hōk'ō? 'Is he working?'

b. Location Particle + Verb Constructions

Ke 'le seyo'wéde jē?	'Did you call her?'
Ki' le 'wéde jē?	'Did you call (me)?'
S'æ 'le newi	'Did you fall down?'
'Yuti 'le wethla jē?	'Did he (non-Euchee) go inside?'
'Ahe 'le neji?	'Are you going there?'
Ke 'le dōwā?	'Is that right?'

In Particle + Verb constructions 'le must come immediately after the location particle phrase. Speakers find 'le at the end of the verb either ungrammatical or very awkward, as seen in the examples in (16a) that have an asterix. The reading for 'le after a verb requiring *k'ala* is a little better, but speakers still prefer the second position, as in (16b).

(16) a. 'A 'le neja jē?	'Did you say that?'
*'A neja 'le jē?	
Ke 'le seyo'wéde jē?	'Did you call her?'
??Ke seyo'wéde 'le jē?	
b. K'ala 'le 'āshæde?	'Have you all eaten already?'
*K'ala 'āshæde 'le?	'Have you all eaten already?'
K'ala 'le hōk'ō?	'Is he working?'
??K'ala hōk'ō 'le?	'Is he working?'

The question below in (17a) gives a reduplicated location particle and verb stem. Interestingly, the particle 'le must go in between the stem location *ke* and the reduplicated location. And in (17b), the example shows two coordinated clauses, where the second clause is the question. The Yes/No question particle 'le is still second position in the question clause.

(17) a. Distributive Reduplication

Ke'leke cici? [ke'leke čiči]  
ke-'le-ke ci-ci  
there-Q-REDUP sit-REDUP  
'Do you know where he's at?'

b. In 2nd position of the question clause

'Ahe dō desō 'a'le yō  
'ahe dō de sō 'a 'le yō  
here 1SG.PAT.be.located and also here Q 2SG.PAT.be.located  
'I'm here, are you?' (JC VI-36)

See Chapter 4, Section 2 for pre-pronominal lexical information.

Negative Phrase

The sentential negative phrase is a pre-clitic on the verb phrase. The Yes/No question particle comes after the negative phrase, and so negative cliticizes to the Yes/No question particle.

- (18) a. Nē'le k'ashæ? 'Aren't you eating?  
Nē'le k'athle'ēlæ? 'There's nothing wrong, is there?  
Nē'le 'yo'ōda? 'Don't you know?'
- b. Nē'le k'ala hōk'ō? 'He isn't working?/Is he not working?  
\*Nēk'ala 'le hōk'ō?  
?Nēk'ala hōk'ō 'le?

Although the Yes/No question particle is in second position, its placement with the negative pre-clitic can also be due to the focus on the negative in negative questions.

Noun Phrases

When the question contains an independent noun phrase, 'le generally comes at the end of the complete noun phrase. This is the second position. However, speakers can (and do) put the Yes/No question marker after the verb

phrase when noun phrases are present, apparently without awkwardness and without a change in focus.

The examples in (19) show *'le* after noun phrases which contain only one noun with no modifiers.

- |      |                         |   |
|------|-------------------------|---|
| (19) | T'e 'le nethæ?          | 'Do you want one?' [t'e 'lɛnt <sup>h</sup> æ] |
|      | 'Yadi' le nethæ?        | 'Do you need a light?'                        |
|      | 'Igop'ene 'le nethæ?    | 'Do you want a cigarette?'                    |
|      | Neci 'le 'ayogwa jē?    | 'Is that what you meant?'                     |
|      | Gop'a 'le nedzeyogwane? | 'Do you call yourself Creek?' (JC)            |

The examples in (20) show *'le* at the end of larger noun phrases.

- |      |    |  |                                  |
|------|----|--|----------------------------------|
| (20) | a. | Tulsahe 'le neji?  | [t <sup>h</sup> ɔlsahé 'lé nɛji] |
|      |    | Tulsa-he 'le ne-ji   |                                  |
|      |    | Tulsa-LOC Q 2SG.ACT-go                                       |                                  |
|      |    | 'Are you going to Tulsa?'                                    |                                  |
|      | b. | 'Yaba'æ ha 'le siodi di?                                     |                                  |
|      |    | 'yaba'æ-ha 'le sio-di-di                                     |                                  |
|      |    | apple-CL/PL(INAN) Q 3SG(E).ACT/PLUS-wash-REDUP               |                                  |
|      |    | 'Is she washing the apples?'                                 |                                  |
|      | c. | K'ōte hōwahale 'le 'ahōkæjē?                                 |                                  |
|      |    | k'ōte hō-waha-le 'le 'a hō-kæ-jē                             |                                  |
|      |    | person 3PL(E).PAT-many-STATIVE Q here 3PL(E).ACT-arrive-PAST |                                  |
|      |    | 'Did a lot of people come?' (men's speech) (GB)              |                                  |
|      | d. | Chyaso 'ate'le hōnō?   |                                  |
|      |    | chyaso 'ate 'le hō-nō  |                                  |
|      |    | money enough Q 3SG(EM).PAT/DAT-be.located                    |                                  |
|      |    | 'Does he have enough money?' (men's speech) (JC VI-39)       |                                  |

The examples in (21) show sentences with a noun phrase, but *'le* is not in second position but comes after the verb phrase.

- (21) a. K'agoyutsole sa weshane 'le?  
 k'agoyutsole sa weshane 'le  
 hospital still 2SG.ACT.go-HAB Q  
 'Are you still going to the hospital?' (GB)
- b. 'Yaba'æha 'le siodidi?  
 'yaba'æ-ha 'le sio-di-di  
 apple-CL/PL(INAN) Q 3SG(EF).ACT/PLUS-wash-REDUP  
 'Is she washing the apples?'
- 'Yaba'æha siodidi 'le?  
 'Is she washing the apples?'

Because noun phrases can be expanded, and because *'le* can come at the end of the noun phrase or the verb phrase for sentential reading, the placement of *'le* can look rather haphazard to learners. However, the example sentence in (22) show that in all the placements, the rule that *'le* must occur at the end of a complete phrase is upheld. The phrases are marked with brackets [ ] in the interlinear translation.

- (22) a. Millie 'le se'äyush'ë?  
 [Millie] 'le se-'ä-yush'ë  
 Millie Q 3SG.PAT-2PL.ACT-wait.for  
 'Are you all waiting for Millie?'
- b. Millie senō 'le se'ayush'ë?  
 [Millie senō] 'le se-'ä-yush'ë  
 Millie CL/DET(EF) Q 3SG.PAT-2PL.ACT-wait.for  
 'Are you all waiting for Millie?'
- c. Millie senō se'ayush'ë 'le?  
 Millie senō [se-'ä-yush'ë] 'le  
 Millie CL/DET(EF) 3SG.PAT-2PL.ACT-wait.for Q  
 'Are you all waiting for Millie?'

### Independent Pronouns

A noun phrase may be an independent pronoun. In general independent pronouns are only used for emphasis, contrast, or clarification. When they do occur, they are almost always in sentence initial position. So, when a question has an independent pronoun, *'le* follows the independent pronoun.

- (23) a. Di'le dzeyosh'e?  
di 'le dze-yo-sh'e  
1SG Q 1SG.PAT-2SG.ACT+'YU-wait  
'Are you waiting for me?'  
  
b. 'Ōdi'le s'edzio'æne?  
'ōdi 'le s'e-dzio-'æne  
we Q 3SG(EM).ACT-1SG.PAT/PLUS-ask  
'Did he ask *us*?'  
  
c. Tse'le ke'ē nesha? [dze'le ke'ε.nʂa]  
tse 'le ke-'ē ne-sha  
you Q way-ACTIVE 2SG.ACT-do  
'Did *you* do that?'  
  
d. Di'le 'ādzegwa?  
di 'le 'ādze-gwa  
I Q 2PL.PAT-say  
'Do you mean *me*?'

### Postposition Phrases

The Yes/No question particle can appear after a postposition phrase. This can have very little change in scope, as shown in the (24a). However, in general the *'le* on a postposition particle emphasizes the exact placement, and thus changes the scope from sentential to the location phrase.



- (24) a. Thl'ostane tihe le ci?  
 thl'ostane ti-he le ci  
 box in-LOC Q sit  
 'Is it in the box?'  
 Thl'ostane le tihe ci? 'Is it in the box?'  
 Thl'ostane tihe ci le? 'Is it in the box?'
- b. Walmart yutihe le sionō?  
 Walmart yutihe le sio-nō  
 Walmart inside Q 3SG(EF).PAT/PLUS-be.located  
 'Is she *inside* Walmart (or waiting in the car)?'

*Exceptional 'le Position: Kede*

A notable exception to the end of phrase rule is with the adverb *kéde* 'now.' Whenever *kéde* is used, the Yes/No question particle is placed between the two syllables, resulting in *ke'léde*. This apparent infixation is exceptional in all of Euchee morphology. However, the irrealis modes, including *'le*, are verbalizers. And *-de* is the completed aspect suffix. Therefore, the likely form of *ke'lede* is not infixation, but the aspect suffixing to the verbal element *'le*. This is illustrated below.

- (25) ke 'lede  
 ke 'le-de  
 there Q-CPLT  
 'now?'

Although this is the probable structure, speakers treat the phrase as one word (indicating that *'le* cliticized to *ke*). The question particle with the adverb *kéde* 'now' is treated here as a whole, and is glossed 'now.Q' for convenience.

If *kéde* is present, the Yes/No question prefers to attach to this adverb, with very few exceptions for extreme emphasis elsewhere in the question. The Yes/No question particle can be moved after the verb phrase, but speakers rarely

do this outside of elicited forms. The adverb and Yes/No particle *ke'lede* is translated as 'yet' or 'now.' Examples are given in (26).

- (26) a. Ke'lede khænewi?  
 ke'lede khæ-ne-wi  
 now.Q through-1PL.ACT-pass  
 'Are we finished?'
- b. 'Yuciha go'wedene'e ke'lede 'yo'ōda? [i'yoɦɑndɑ]  
 'yuciha go'wedene'e ke'lede 'yo-ōda  
 Euchee language now.Q 2SG.ACT+'YU-know  
 'Have you learned to speak the Euchee language ?' (WC)
- c. Ke'lede hishēhe sonō læ?  
 ke'lede hishēhe so-nō læ  
 now.Q better 2.PAT/DAT-be ENC  
 'Are you feeling better yet?'
- d. Ke'lede nedzesh'o?  
 ke'lede nedze-sh'o  
 now.Q 2SG.PAT-be.tired  
 'Are you tired (yet/now)?'
- e. ke'lede 'ade sonō [ke'léda-dɛ sonɔ̃]  
 ke'lede 'ade so-nō  
 now.Q enough 2SG.PAT-have  
 'Do you have enough?'

No other adverbs work this way, as can be seen in (27).

- (27) a. 'Ade 'le? 'Is that enough?'
- b. Hile 'le? 'Is that all?'
- c. Sa 'le hostō?  
 sa 'le ho-stō  
 still Q 3SG(INAN).PAT/DAT-closed  
 'Is it still closed?'

- d. Sa hostō 'le?  
 sa ho-stō 'le  
 still 3SG(INAN).PAT/DAT-closed Q  
 'Is it still closed?'

*Exceptional 'le Position: Tense and Mode*

The Yes/No question particle can never be placed after the tense or mode phrase. The questions in (14) are repeated in (28) below, with the addition of the ungrammatical placement word finally after a tense or mode phrase.

- (28) a. S'eyo'āne 'le jē?  
 s'e-yo-'āne 'le jē  
 3SG(EM).PAT-2SG.ACT/PLUS-ask Q PAST  
 'Did you ask him?' (women's speech)  
 \*S'eyo'āne je 'lē?
- b. Nedzedito 'le te?  
 nedze-di-to 'le te  
 2SG.PAT-1SG.ACT-go.with Q ABLE  
 'Can I go with you?'  
 \*Nedzedito te 'le?

*Changing 'le Position: Focus*

When 'le is not in the 2<sup>nd</sup> position, it changes the focus of the question from the whole sentence to the phrase that it is immediately following. The difference can be seen in the meeting questioned in (29) below. Tuesday is the usual meeting day for this group. In (29a) the question is sentence-level scope. The question particle comes after the verb phrase and the verb 'see each other' is in question. However, in (29b) the verb is 'meet', but question does not focus on whether or not they will meet. Rather, the question particle comes after the noun phrase 'Monday' because it is different from the usual. So, 'Monday' is the focus of the question in (29b).

(29) a. Sentence-Level Scope

'Yush'igowefa nedzedi'ne 'le?  
'yush'igowe-fa nedze-di-'nē 'le  
Tuesday-on 2SG.PAT-1SG.ACT-see Q  
'Will I see you on Tuesday?'

b. Word-Level Scope: Focus

'Yushi'agalewifa 'le k'āle nehā?  
'yushi'agalewi-fa 'le k'ā-le ne-hā  
Monday-on Q together-many 1PL.ACT-PL.be.located  
'Are we gonna meet on Monday?'

Another example of change in focus by the placement of 'le is in (30).

(30) a. Maxine gowæne seyoki 'le jē.

Maxine gowæne se-yo-ki 'le jē  
Maxine quilt 3SG(EF).DAT-2SG/PLUS-receive Q PAST  
'Did you get the quilt from Maxine?'

b. Maxine gowæne 'le seyoki jē.

Maxine gowæne 'le se-yo-ki jē  
Maxine quilt Q 3SG(EF).DAT-2SG/PLUS-receive PAST  
'Did you get a quilt from Maxine?'

c. Maxine 'le gowæne seyoki jē.

Maxine 'le gowæne se-yo-ki jē  
Maxine Q quilt 3SG(EF).DAT-2SG/PLUS-receive PAST  
'Did you get a quilt from Maxine?'

d. Maxine gowæne se'le yoki jē.

Maxine gowæne se-'le yo-ki jē  
Maxine quilt 3SG(EF)-Q 2SG/PLUS-receive PAST  
'Did you get a quilt from her, Maxine?' (=How wonderful!)

*Ya Yes/No Questions*

The mode particle 'ya can also be used to ask Yes/No questions. The precise nature of the question varies, but all reflect the future and tentative nature of the copular use of 'ya. Wagner (1934: 357) gave a [-ya] as a suffix for

all Yes/No questions concerning the future, but this comprehensive usage does not exist today. In all instances, the question is short (noun) and the 'ya still functions as the predicate. The position of 'ya is sentence initial. These Yes/No questions are translated as 'how about.'

- (31) a. 'Ya weyugone?                    'How about Friday?  
       b. 'Ya 'agahe?                      'How about tomorrow?  
           ?'Agahe 'ya?  
       c. 'Ya tse?                          'How about you?/Are you?'

Another use of 'ya is to ask for a favor. The tentative 'ya adds deference, or politeness, to the request.

- (32) a. Hok'wē 'ya?  
       ho-k'wē                                'ya  
       3SG(INAN).PAT/DAT-send    expect  
       'Will you send it?' (= please send it)    (JC:V-118)  
       b. K'æhafa 'ya?  
       k'æha-fa    'ya  
       watch-UN    expect  
       'Will you watch them?'                    (JC:V-114)

#### *Yes/No Questions with Only Intonation*

Yes/No questions can be performed without 'le. In these questions, the rising intonation of the Yes/No question is exaggerated. In (33), the Yes/No particle is used, but in (33b), the same question is given with just the rising intonation. (33c) is another example of rising intonation.

- (33) a. Maxine 'le sio'yōthl'i?                    [Maxine 'lē sho'yɔt'i']  
       Maxine 'le sio-yōthl'i  
       Maxine Q    3SG(EF).POSS-knife  
       'Is that Maxine's knife?'

b. Maxine 'yōthl'ine gō? [Maxine 'yɔt'ine kɔʔ]

Maxine 'yōthl'ine gō  
 Maxine knife be.POT  
 'That is Maxine's knife?'

Hō, Maxine sedi.  
 hō Maxine sedi  
 yes Maxine 3SG(EF).POSS  
 'Yes, it's hers.'

c. Kede hōwethla? [kédɛ hɔwethlɔʔ]

kede hō-wethla  
 now 3SG(EM).ACT-go  
 'Should he be going now?'

### 3.2 INFORMATION QUESTIONS: *Wa*

Information (or content) questions are questions in which the response contains information beyond 'yes' or 'no.' Information questions contain a question word (interrogative pronoun). The question words not only signal that the clause is a question, but they indicate what kind of information is being asked. With the exception of *wikæ* 'what,' all the question words are formed with the question stem *wa*. The question word has rising pitch (indicated with a [ǎ]), but the end of question has falling intonation. With only a few exceptions, the rising pitch is on the second syllable of the information word. The list of question words is in (34).

(34)	wanǎ	'who'
	wikǎ	'what'
	wahǎ	'where'
	wafǎ	'where to'
	wahǎ'ēde	'why'
	wakeshtǎ	'when'
	wat'ǎ	'how much'
	wat'ǎhe	'what time'
	wakhǎ	'how'
	waci	'which (round one)'

The question word is generally found at the beginning of the sentence, as in (35a). However, when the question word refers to the actor of two-place verb, it can also be immediately before the verb phrase (*in situ*), as in (35b).

- (35) a. Wanō neci hōk'ōjē?  
           wanō  ne-ci                  hō-k'ō-jē  
           who  this-CL(SIT)          3SG(EM).ACT/PLUS-make-PAST  
           'Who made this?'
- b. Neci wanō hōk'ōjē  
               ne-ci                  wanō          hō-k'ō-jē  
               this-CL(SIT)  who          3SG(EM).ACT/PLUS-make-PAST  
               'Who made this?'

When the question word asks for information beyond the actor or patient roles, the question word stays immediately before the verb phrase, as in (36a). It can move to the beginning of the clause, but it must take the verb phrase with it, as in (36b). The information word can not move without the verb phrase, as seen in the ungrammatical question in (36c).

- (36) a. William wakestale hō'nē?  
           William  [wakesta-le  hō-'nē]  
           William  when-PAST  3SG(EM).PAT.see  
           'When did you see William?'
- b. Wakeshtale hō'nē William?  
               [wakesta-le  hō-'nē]          William  
               when-PAST  3SG(EM).PAT.see  William  
               'When did you see William?'
- c. \*Wakeshtale William hō'nē?  
               [wakesta-le]  William  [hō-'nē]  
               when-PAST  William  3SG(EM).PAT.see  
               'When did you see William?'

The verbalizer -ē can be used to make simple, impersonal information questions.

- (37) a. wahe                    'where'  
           Wahe'ē?            'Where is it?'  
       b. wikæ                'what'  
           Wikæ'ē?            'What is it?'

These verbalized question words are often used as the main clause in specific information questions. This causes the content verb to be an embedded clause. Thus, questions such as 'Where did you go?' or 'What is this called?' are literally 'Where is it that you have been?' and 'How is it that you call this thing?' Several examples of this construction are given in (38). In (38a) the content verb 'do' in the embedded clause is in the past tense. It is marked with *jē* 'past imperfective', but (38b) shows that the older past imperfective *shē* used for embedded clauses is also possible. The example in (38c) also shows that the content verb 'eat' is embedded since it has requires the begative pre-clitic *hæ-*, which also marks negative embedded clauses.

- (40) a. Wikæ'ē nesha jē 'ahe?  
       wikæ-'ē            ne-sha        jē        'ahe  
       what-ACTIVE      2SG.ACT-do   PAST    there  
       'What is it that you did there?'  
       ='What did you do there?'  
       b. Wikæ'ē nesha shē 'ahe?  
       wikæ-'ē            ne-sha        shē        'ahe  
       what-ACTIVE      2SG.ACT-do   PAST/SUB there  
       'What is it that you did there?'  
       ='What did you do there?'  
       c. Wahe'ēde hæk'ashæ?  
       wahe'ēde        hæ-k'a-shæ  
       why                NEG/SUB-thing-2SG.ACT.eat  
       'Why aren't you eating?'

It is possible that this focus structure was used as a device to emphasize the type of information question but has now become standard usage.



The question word *wanō* ‘who’ is formed with the question stem *wa* and the animate classifier *-nō*. The animate classifier is derived from the root *nō* ‘be located.’ Notice in (39a) that the Euchee male men’s speech pronominal *hō-* is used by women as well because the gender, age and family relationship of the referent is known to the speaker.

(39) Actor ‘who’

- a. *Wanō hōk’ōjē?*  
*wanō hō-k’ō-jē*  
 who 3SG(E)ACT/DAT-make-PAST  
 ‘Who made it?’
- b. *Wanō ’i hōwajē?*  
*wanō ’i hō-wā-jē*  
 who tobacco 3SG(E).PAT-give-PAST  
 ‘Who gave him (or her) the tobacco?’

When the person in question is the patient, and the actor is another 3<sup>rd</sup> person, then the actor is stated. The actor may come after the verb, as seen in (40a).

(40) Patient ‘who’

- a. *Wanō s’iok’ō Julia?*  
*wanō sio-k’ō Julia*  
 who 3SG(EF).ACT/PLUS-make Julia  
 ‘Who did Julia make it for?’
- b. *Wanō ne’nē?*  
*wanō ne-’nē*  
 who 2SG.ACT-see  
 ‘Who did you see?’

The question word *wikæ* (~ [wigæ]) is used for non-humans. Used by itself, it can have three different stress and intonation patterns which signal different questions.

- (41) a. Wikæ? [wikæʔ] 'What is that?' (seeking information)  
 b. Wíkæ? [wíkæʔ] 'What? (didn't understand or hear)  
 c. Wikæ?! [wikæ \] 'What is *that*?' (disbelief, disgust)

The information word *wikæ* does not change if the predicate is in the past or future. Examples of *wikæ* in full clauses follow in (42).

(42) *Wikæ* 'What'

- a. Wikæ segwa?  
 wikæ se-gwa  
 what 3SG(EF).ACT-say  
 'What did she say?'
- b. Wikæ'ē neshā?  
 wikæ-'ē ne-shā  
 what-ACTIVE 2SG.ACT-do.FUT  
 'What are you going to do today?'
- c. Wikæ'ē neshajē lale?  
 wikæ-'ē ne-sha-jē lale  
 what-ACTIVE 2SG.ACT-do-PAST yesterday  
 'What did you do yesterday?'
- d. Wikæ ne'æne nethæ?  
 wikæ ne-'æne ne-thæ  
 what 2SG.ACT-ask 2SG.ACT-want  
 'What do you want to ask?'

For some speakers, the question *wikæhe* 'What is it?' can be interchanged with *wikæ'ē* 'What is it?' with no change in meaning.

- (43) Wikæhe nēsha?  
 wikæ-he ne-sha  
 what-LOC 2SG.ACT-do  
 'What are you doing?'

The location question word *wæhe* is composed of the question stem *wæ* and the general location suffix *-he*. The parts can be seen in (44a); however, it

is glossed simply as ‘where,’ as in 44b). The question 44c) gives a frequently used question.

(44) *Wahe* ‘Where’

- a. *Wahe’ē?*  
 wa-he-’ē  
 wa-LOC-ACTIVE  
 ‘Where is it?’
- b. *Vi wahe senō.*  
 Vi wahe se-nō  
 Vi where 3SG(EF).PAT-be.located  
 ‘Where is Vi?’
- c. *Wahe’ēde?* [wahēnde]  
 wahe-’ē-de  
 where-ACTIVE-CMPLT  
 ‘Where have you been?’

The question word *wafa* implies movement ‘to where’ or ‘in what direction.’ It is composed of the question stem *wa* and the general direction suffix *-fa*. The composition can be seen in (45a); however, it is glossed as ‘where to,’ as in (45b).

(45) *Wafa* ‘Where to’

- a. *Wafa neji?* [wafá-nji]  
 wa-fa ne-ji  
 wa-DIR 2SG.ACT-go  
 ‘Where are you going? = What direction are you going?’
- b. *Wafa weshajē?* [wafá-shajé]  
 wafa weshaj-ē  
 where.to 2SG.ACT.go-PAST  
 ‘Where did you go? = What direction did you go?’

In most situations, however, *wahe* and *wafa* are used interchangeably. This can be seen in the (46a-b) below, where *wahe* is used with the same frequency and meaning as *wafa* in (45a-b) above.

- (46) a. Wahe neji? [wahɛ̃-nji]  
           wahe ne-ji  
           where 2SG.ACT-go  
           ‘Where are you going?’
- b. Wahe neshajē? [wahɛ̃-nshajɛ̃]  
           wahe weshajē  
           where 2SG.ACT.go-PAST  
           ‘Where did you go?’  
           = ‘Where were you?’

The commonly asked questions in (47) are always contracted in normal speech. The contractions are given above in the phonetic transcriptions and below using the spelling system.

- (47) a. Wahēnji?                   contracted form  
           Wahe neji?               full form
- b. Wafānji?               contracted form  
           Wafa neji?               full form

The verbalizer *ē* is not acceptable with *wafa*.

- (48) a. wahe’ē                   ‘Where is it?’  
           b. \*wafa’ē               ‘Where is it (going)?’

In addition, the verbal *Wahe’ē?* ‘Where is it?’ (presented in (37) above) can not be embedded in another clause for the reading ‘where is it *that* ...?’ An embedded question *wahe’ē* is ungrammatical, as seen in (49b) below. The reason for this is not clear.

- (49) a. **Wahe neji?** [wahẽ.nji]  
 wahe ne-ji  
 where 2SG.ACT-go  
 'Where are you going?'
- b. **\*Wahe'ẽ neji?**  
 wahe-'ẽ ne-ji  
 where-ACTIVE 2SG.ACT-go  
 'Where are you going?'

The question word 'why' appears to be a combination of *wahẽ* 'where' with the completive verbal ending *'ẽde*.

- (50) *Wahe'ẽde* 'why'
- a. **Wahe'ẽde siothla jẽ?**  
 wahe'ẽde sio-thla jẽ  
 why 3SG(EF).ACT/PLUS-go PAST  
 'Why did she go there?'
- b. **Wahe'ẽde hiyo'õda nethæ?**  
 wahe'ẽde hi-yo-'õda ne-thæ  
 why 3SG(INAN).PAT-2SG.ACT+'YU-know 2SG.ACT-want  
 'Why do you want to know?'
- Dakéde hido'õda dithæ.**  
 dakéde hi-do-'õda di-thæ  
 just 3SG(INAN).PAT-1SG.ACT+'YU-know 1SG.ACT-want  
 'I just wanted to know.'

The question word for manner is always in the verbal form *wakhẽ'ẽ* 'how.'

- (51) a. **Wakhe'ẽ 'a gogene**  
 wakhe-'ẽ 'a go-ge-ne  
 how-ACTIVE LOC 3SG.IMP-say-HAB  
 'How is that said?/How do you say \_\_\_?'

- b. Maggie tsothok'athl'o wakhe'ē sek'ō?  
 Maggie tsothok'athl'o wakhe'ē se-k'ō  
 Maggie corn.bread how 3SG(EF).ACT-make  
 'How does Maggie make (her) cornbread?'

There is a specific question word *wakeštā* 'how far.' It appears to be made of the stem *wa* and *keshta* 'distance.' If the expected response is 'far away' the question may be nasalized *wakhestā*. The typical question is given in (52a), followed by several appropriate responses in (52b).

(52) *Wakesta* 'How far'

- a. Wakeshta'ē 'ahe?  
 wakeshtā-ē 'ahe  
 how.far-ACTIVE there  
 'How far is it (over there)?'
- b. 'Yukhō::le 'ahe! 'A long ways off!  
 'Akeshtahe! 'A long way!  
 Nēdese 'yukhō 'ahe 'Not too far'  
 Keshta'ē 'It's near.'

The question word *wakeshta* 'how far' is modified with the general location suffixes *-he* 'here, in the future' and *-le* 'back again, past.' This creates *wákeshtahè* literally 'how far in the future' or 'when (future),' and *wákeshtalè* literally 'how far in the past' or 'when (past).'

The future sense of 'when' is given in (53) below.

(53) *Wakeshtahe* 'When, in the future'

- a. Wakeshtahe depule nedzedin'ē?  
 wakeshta-he depule nedze-di-n'ē  
 when-FUT again 2SG.PAT-1SG.ACT-see  
 'When will I see you again?'
- b. wakeshtahe nile shī  
 wakeshta-he ni-le shī  
 when-FUT here-back 2SG.arrive.FUT  
 'When are you coming back?'

- c. **Wakeshtahe sächine 'ok'õ?**  
 wakeshta-he sächine 'o-k'õ  
 when-FUT service 3PL(E).ACT-make  
 'When are they going to have the (funeral) service?'  
 (women's speech) (GB)

The past sense of *wakeshtale* is seen in (54) below.

(54) *wakeshtale* 'When, in the past'

- a. **Wakeshtale hōwile?**  
 wakeshta-le hō-wile  
 when-PAST 3SG(EM).ACT-pass.on  
 'When did he die?' (GB)
- b. **Wakeshtale hē'nē Simon?**  
 wakeshta-le hē-'nē Simon  
 when-PAST 3SG(EM).PAT-see Simon  
 When did you see Simon?

The question word 'how much' *wat'e* asks about a number or quantity, and so it is with *wa* and the number *t'e* 'one.' The information question *wat'e* stays immediately before the verb instead of moving to the beginning of the sentence.<sup>4</sup>

(55) *Wat'e* 'How much'

- a. **Wecha:nō wat'e wethæ?** [wiç<sup>h</sup>ɑ:nɔ wat'ẽ wet<sup>h</sup>æ]  
 wecha-wenō wat'e we-thæ  
 chicken-CL(NE) how.much 3PL(NE).ACT-want  
 'How much do they (non-Euchee) want for that chicken?'
- b. **Chyaso wat'e 'ātho?**  
 chyaso wa-t'e 'ā-tho  
 money how.much 2PL.ACT-go.with  
 'How much are you asking?'
- c. **Chyaso wat'e 'ak'āyō?**  
 chyaso wat'e 'a-k'ā-yō  
 money how.much LOC-COLL-2SG.ACT/PLUS-go  
 'How much money do you have?' (=with you right now)

The question word *wat'e* 'how much' can be suffixed with the general location suffixes *-he* to create the question word *wat'ehe* 'what time.' The answer must be a specific time, or number. The question word *wat'ehe* is used for both future time and past time. It does not have a past time variation *\*wat'ele*, like *wakhestahe* 'when, in the future' and *wakhstale* 'when, in the past.' The example in (56a) gives a typical *wat'ehe* question and specific time response.

(56) *Wat'ehe* 'What time'

- a. *Wat'ēhe nele shī?*  
*wat'ēhe ne-le shī*  
 what.time here-back 2SG.arrive.FUT  
 'What time are you coming back?'  
  
*Tsebithli nōwē. '2 o'clock'*
- b. *Wat'ehe hele hōthli?*  
*wat'ehe ne-le hō-thli*  
 what.time here-back 3SG(EM).ACT-arrive  
 'What time did he get here?' (men's speech)

The question 'which' is referential—it refers to a specific entity, one out of many in a group. Because *ḵ* refers to a definite object, it requires the appropriate singular or plural noun class post-clitic. It is never verbal.

(57) *wa* + noun class/plural 'which'

- a. Inanimate, Singular and Plural
- |             |                          |
|-------------|--------------------------|
| <i>waci</i> | 'which (sitting thing)'  |
| <i>wafā</i> | 'which (standing thing)' |
| <i>wa'ē</i> | 'which (lying thing)'    |
| <br>        |                          |
| <i>wahā</i> | 'which ones'             |



b. Animate, Singular

wahēnō	‘which, Euchee man’ (men’s speech, BPD)
wahōnō	‘which, Euchee man’ (men’s speech)
	‘which, Euchee (gender non-known)’
was’enō	‘which, Euchee man’ (women’s speech)
wasenō	‘which, Euchee female’
wa’onō	‘which, Euchee man/woman’
wawenō or wa:nō	‘which, non-Euchee’

c. Animate, Plural

wahīnō	‘which, Euchee men’ (men’s speech, BPD)
wahōnō	‘which, Euchee men’ (men’s speech)
wa’īnō	‘which, Euchee men’ (women’s speech)
wawēnō	‘which, non-Euchees’

The interrogative *wa* has two possible placements. It most often occurs immediately before the noun it is individualizing. This is also the initial position of the sentence. In addition, it can remain immediately preceding the verb phrase. The examples in (58) show the different placements.

(58) a. Wawenō boshi wenethæ?

wa-wenō            boshi    we-ne-thæ  
 which-CL(NE)    cat        3SG(NE).PAT-2SG.ACT-want  
 ‘Which cat would you like?’

Boshi wawenō wenethæ?

boshi    wa-wenō        we-ne-thæ  
 cat        which-CL(NE)    3SG(NE).PAT-2SG.ACT-want  
 ‘Which cat would you like?’

b. Wahōnō got’ē nōwē hōnō hōnethæ?

wa-hōnō            got’ē    nōwē    hōnō    hō-ne-thæ  
 which-PL(E)    man    two     PL        3PL(E).PAT-2SG.ACT-want  
 Which two men do you want (me to call over here)?

Got’ē nōwē hōnō wahōnō hōnethæ?

got’ē    nōwē    hōnō    wa-hōnō    hō-ne-thæ  
 man    two     PL        which-PL(E)    3PL(E).PAT-2SG.ACT-want  
 Which two men do you want (me to call over here)?

More examples of 'which' follow in (59).

- (59) a. Waci hiyō:ndā thæ?  
 wa-ci hi-yō-'ōndā thæ  
 which-CL(SIT) 3SG(INAN).PAT-2SG.ACT-know 2SG.ACT-want  
 'What part do you want to know about?'
- b. Wafa 'yafa yo'æne?  
 wa-fa 'ya-fa yo-'æne  
 which-CL(STAND) tree-CL(STAND) 2SG.ACT/DAT-ask  
 'Which tree are you asking about?'
- c. Waha ne'nē?  
 wa-ha ne-'nē  
 which-PL(INAN) 2SG.ACT-see  
 'Which ones (museums in the South) did you see?'

#### 4. NEGATION

Euchee has two negative pre-clitics *nē-* and *hæ-*. The negative pre-clitic *nē-* is the most productive today.

##### 4.1 IMPEPENDENT CLAUSE: *Nē-*

The negative pre-clitic *nē-* can be stressed or unstressed. When it is stressed, it has high pitch. The pronunciation of *nē-* is often /næ-/.<sup>5</sup> The negative pre-clitic *nē-* can be attached to the verb or a noun. In both cases, it is the outermost clitic. Attached to the verb, it has scope over the verb and therefore the sentence, as in (60a-b), or clause, as seen in (60c-d).

- (60) a. Di dziošh'i'æci 'ahe nēdzō hetēde.  
 di dzio-sh'i'æ-ci 'ahe nē-dzō hetēde  
 1SG 1SG(A).POSS-coat-CL(SIT) there NEG-1SG.bring WARN  
 'I had better not bring my coat.'

- b. 'Yudash'ifa nēkhotha!  
'yudash'i-fa            nē-khotha  
door-CL(STAND)    NEG-open  
'Don't open the door!'
- c. K'ala nēs'egwa jē nēsæle.  
k'ala    nē-s'e-gwa            jē    sæ-le  
thing    NEG-3SG(EF).act-say    PAST    good-STATIVE  
'He didn't say something good.' (women's speech)
- d. We'wede desō nēke'ē tē  
we-'wede            desō    nē-ke-'ē            tē  
3PL(NE).ACT-talk    but    NEG-way-ACTIVE    ABLE.FUT  
'They (non-Euchee) talk about it, but it won't be done.' (JC VII-78)

Attached to the noun, the negative pre-clitic has scope over the noun phrase.

- (61) a. Nē'yōpane dzogo'ē.  
nē-'yōpane    dzo-go'ē  
NEG-pocket    1SG.PAT/PLUS-have  
'I have not pockets.'
- b. Nē'yuciha se'wede ke'ē.  
nē-'yuciha    se-'wede            ke-'ē  
NEG-Euchee    3SG(EF).ACT-talk    way-ACTIVE  
'She doesn't talk like a Euchee.'

When Yes/No Questions are negative, the question post-clitic is almost always attached to the negative pre-clitic.

- (62) a. Nē'le k'ala hōk'ō?  
nē-'le    k'ala    hō-k'ō  
NEG-Q    thing    3SG(EM)ACT/PLUS-make  
'Isn't he working?'

When the negative pre-clitic *nē-* is accompanied by the habitual suffix *-ne* on the verb, the negative is 'never' or 'not ever.'

(63) *nē-* V /-ne/ ‘Never, Not Ever’

- a. Nēsedik’ā’wedene. [nɛsɛdik’ɔ’wedɛnɛ]  
 nē-se-di-k’ō-’wede-ne  
 NEG-3SG(EF).PAT-1SG.ACT-COLL-talk-HAB  
 ‘I never talk with her.’
- b. Tholēshpēneha nēkewahēne. [tʰolɛshpɛnɛha nɛŋkɛwahɛnɛ]  
 tholēshpēne-ha nē-ke-wahē-ne  
 indian.turnip-PL(INAN) NEG-DIR-play-HAB  
 ‘Don’t *ever* be playing with Indian turnips!’
- c. Nēs’æsecine. [nɛs’æsecinɛ]  
 nē-s’æ-se-ci-ne  
 NEG-down-3SG(EF).ACT-sit  
 ‘She never sits down.’  
 = ‘She is always busy.’
- d. Nēhōtsane hōthæ.  
 nē-hō-tsa-ne hō-thæ  
 NEG-3SG(EM).ACT-sleep-HAB 3SG(EM).ACT-want  
 ‘He never wants to sleep.’

The negative pre-clitic *nē-* and the adverb *desō* or *sō* ‘also’ is translated as ‘yet.’ This is seen in (64a). It can also mean ‘not either,’ as seen in (64b).

- (64) a. Sā nēk’as’ek’ō. [sq nɛk’as’ek’ɔ]  
 sā nē-k’a-s’e-k’ō  
 also NEG-thing-3SG(EM).ACT-make  
 ‘He isn’t working yet.’ (women’s speech)
- b. ‘Asegwahe desōhō nēs’eyu’onda.  
 ‘a-se-gwa-he desō-hō nē-s’e-yu’onda  
 LOC-3SG(EM).ACT-say-SUB also-AFFIRM NEG-3SG(EM).ACT-know  
 ‘She says he doesn’t know either.’

The negative pre-clitic *nē-* rarely contracts. (65) is an example of the negative pre-clitic contracting with the non-Euchee pronominal *we-*.

- (65) Di sedzek'ǎ'wede læ, nǎnǎ. [dí sèdzek'ǎ'wedé læ nǎnǎ]  
 di se-dze-k'ǎ-'wede læ nē-wenǎ  
 1SG 3SG(EF).ACT-1SG.PAT-COM-talk but NEG-3SG(NE).PAT.be  
 'She talked to me, but not him.'

#### 4.2 DEPENDENT CLAUSE: *Hǎ-*

The negative pre-clitic *hǎ-* is used in dependent clauses.<sup>6</sup> However, to some speakers the difference between *nē-* and *hǎ-* has been lost. They use only *nē-* productively, while *hǎ-* has been retained in some fixed phrases.

The example in (66) shows a dependent clause with all the dependent markers: The dependent negative preclitic *hǎ-*, the dependent past imperfective *shē-* and the dependent clause marker *-ci* 'that.'

- (66) Hǎdithǎ shēci hi'yo'ǎda'ē  
 hǎ-di-thǎ shē-ci  
 NEG-SUB-1SG.ACT-want PAST-SUB.CL(SIT)  
 hi-'yo-'ǎda'ē  
 3SG(INAN).PAT-2SG.ACT+'YU-know  
 'You know I didn't want it.'

In some cases, the English translation hides the dependent nature of the clause. In (67a) below, the active verbalizer *-'ē* is used with the question word 'why.' Making a question word a verb is common in Euchee. The literal translation is given first with the dependent clause underlined. In (67b) both the adverb 'long time' and the noun 'rain' are verbal structures.

- (67) a. Wahe'ē hæ k'ashæ?  
 wahe-'ē                    hæ-k'a                    shæ  
 why-ACTIVE                NEG.SUB-thing            1SG.ACT.eat  
 'Why is it that you aren't eating?'  
 = 'Why aren't you eating?'
- b. kasta:le hætse'ē  
 kasta:-le                    hæ-tse-'ē  
 long.time-very            NEG-rain-ACTIVE  
 'It's been a long time since it hase rained.'  
 = 'It hasn't rained for a *long* time.'

In addition to marking dependent clauses, the negative pre-clitic *hæ-* is the preferred negative pre-clitic for verbalized nouns. These nouns retain their verbal structures when used in longer sentences. It is due to this fact that they have the dependent marker even when they are the complete sentence.<sup>7</sup>

- (68) a. got'e hæhōk'atō hōnō  
 got'e    hæ-hō-k'atō            hō-nō  
 man    NEG.DEP-spouse        3SG(EM).PAT-be  
 'He's an unmarried man/the unmarried man'
- b. hæ'yu'ebathl'ēle  
 hæ-'yu'ebathl'ē-le  
 NEG-noon-STATIVE  
 'before noon, no yet noon'
- c. k'ala hæse'ēci  
 k'ala    hæ-sē-'ē-ci  
 thing    NEG.SUB-good-active-SUB.CL(SIT)  
 'Things that are bad/bad things'
- d. hæk'ala go'yu'ōda ha  
 hæ-k'ala                    go-'yu'ōda            ha  
 NEG.DEP-thing        3(IMP)-know        PL(INAN)  
 'unknown things'

## 5. DEPENDENT CLAUSES

This section describes complex sentences which have two clauses: an independent (main) clause and a dependent (embedded) clause. An independent clause is fully inflected with agreement, and can be inflected for aspect, tense, and mode. It can be a complete sentence by itself. A dependent clause relies on another clause for part of its inflection or meaning, or both.

Euchee has two types of dependent clauses. Small clauses (non-finite complements) are characteristically different from the other dependent clauses (finite complements). Causative verbs, the verb 'want' and sensory verbs require small clause complements. The other dependent clauses include noun clauses (complements), adjective clauses (relative clauses), and adverb clauses.

## 5.1 SMALL CLAUSES

The small clause in Euchee is completely dependent on the main clause. The main clause carries actor agreement and can show aspect, tense, and mode. The verb in the small clause can never show aspect, tense or mode (non-finite). It is inflected only for the affected participant. However, the affected participant does not necessarily have patient marking. Instead, the affected participant has the role which the embedded verb requires, whether it is actor or patient.

### *Causative Constructions*

In causative constructions the main clause contains a verb of *cause* and the small clause contains a verb which shows the *effect*. The causative (main) clause follows the effect (embedded) clause. This clause order is fixed.

The causative verbs are *(go)thla* 'make, cause' and *(go)k'ō* 'make, do.' The verb *(go)thla* has an irregular stem in the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person singular; it is discussed in Chapter 4, Section 1.4, but repeated in (69) for convenience.

(69) (*go*)*thla* 'make, cause'

	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>	
<b>1</b>	disha	'ōthla nōthla	(INCL) (EXCL)
<b>2</b>	nesha	'asha/athla	
<b>3</b> (EM) <i>m.s.</i>	hēthla	hēthla	(E) <i>m.s.</i>
(EM) <i>w.s.</i>	s'ethla	'othla	(E) <i>w.s.</i>
(EF)	sethla		
(NE)	wethla	wethla	(NE)

The example in (70a) below shows the effect verb *wæ* 'save, leave behind' followed by the causative verb (*go*)*thla* 'to make, cause.' The effect verb is the embedded small clause, and the cause verb is the main clause. The past tense *jē* follows the main verb. It cannot follow the embedded verb. The main verb always has **actor** marking, because the causer initiates and controls the action. The cause verb also always requires a patient—the affected participant. The affected participant is the patient of the cause verb, but it is also the patient or actor of the embedded clause. In Euchee, the embedded effect verb will determine the role marking of the affected patient. So, in (70a) below, the embedded verb *wæ* requires **patient** marking, in this case *dzio-*. However, (70b), the embedded verb *tyō* 'be angry' requires **actor** marking, in this case *di-*.

- (70) a. *Dziowæle wethla jē*  
*dzio-wæle*                      *we-thla*                      *jē*  
 1SG.PAT/DAT-save      3SG(NE).ACT-make      PAST  
 'He left me behind.'
- b. *Dityō wethla jē.*  
*dī-tyō*                      *we-thla*                      *jē*  
 1SG.ACT-angry      3SG(NE).ACT-make      PAST  
 'He made me mad.'





- b. **Amanda Staci se'a sethla.**  
 'Amanda made Staci cry.'  
 \*'Staci made Amanda cry.'

A third participant is present when the embedded effect verb requires a patient. The word order is **Causer [Affected Patient V(Effect)] V(Cause)**. This basic word order is shown in (73a). However, the embedded clause can act like an independent clause in regards to word order. So, when the participants' roles in the embedded clause are clear, as they are in (73b) with 'Amanda' and 'bread,' the orders inside the embedded clause can be reversed.

- (73) a. **Staci Amanda k'athl'o sethlæ sethla.**  
 Staci [Amanda k'athl'o se-thlæ] se-thla  
 Staci [Amanda bread 3SG(E).ACT-eat] 3SG(EF).ACT-make  
 'Staci made Amanda eat the bread.'
- b. **Staci Amanda k'athl'o sethlæ sethla.**  
 Staci [k'athl'o Amanda se-thlæ] se-thla  
 Staci [bread Amanda 3SG(E).ACT-eat] 3SG(EF).ACT-make  
 'Staci made Amanda eat the bread.'

In addition, the affected participant can be at the end of the entire sentence. In (74a) below, the basic word order with the affected participant in the effect clause is given again in order to compare it with the affected participant at the end of the sentence in (74b). The causer can never be sentence final. Any participant in word final position must be the affected patient, as can be seen by comparing (74b) and (74c).

- (74) a. **Staci Amanda k'athl'o sethlæ sethla.**  
 Staci [Amanda k'athl'o se-thlæ] se-thla  
 Staci [Amanda bread 3SG(E).ACT-eat] 3SG(EF).ACT-make  
 'Staci made Amanda eat the bread.'

- b. Staci k'athl'o sethlæ sethla Amanda.  
 Staci [k'athl'o se-thlæ] se-thla Amanda  
 Staci [bread 3SG(E).ACT-eat] 3SG(EF).ACT-make Amanda  
 'Staci made Amanda eat the bread.'
- c. Amanda k'athl'o sethlæ sethla Staci.  
 Amanda [k'athl'o se-thlæ] se-thla Staci  
 Amanda [bread 3SG(E).ACT-eat] 3SG(EF).ACT-make Staci  
 'Amanda made Staci eat the bread.'  
 \*'Staci made Amanda eat the bread.'

Euchee does make distinctions for the force of the causer. The same verb (*go*)*thla* is used 'make' as well as for 'let' (permission), 'had,' and forced.'

### *Lexical Causation*

Causation in Euchee is a construction of two clauses (called analytic or periphrastic causation). As described above, the main clause shows the *cause* and the embedded small clause shows the *effect*. This structure often ends up creating a word or phrase (called lexical causation).<sup>8</sup> The new meanings are often idiomatic and so they can not be understood from the two original parts. For example, in (75a), the translation is that of an analytic causative construction. The two parts can be analyzed as 'make' and 'something happen' (in this case 'me mad'). However, in (70b), the two parts can not be analyzed separately as 'make me save.' Instead, it has a new meaning of 'leave behind.'

(75) a. Analytic Causation

Dityō wethla jē.  
dī-tyō we-thla jē  
 1SG.ACT-angry 3SG(NE).ACT-make PAST  
 'He made me mad.'

b. Lexical Causation

Dziowæle wethla jē  
dzio-wæle we-thla jē  
 1SG.PAT/DAT-save 3SG(NE).ACT-make PAST  
 'He left me behind.'

The verb (*go*)*thla* 'to make or cause' is the most frequent causative verb. As described above the causative verb (*go*)*thla* can be used in combination with any verb in order to 'make someone to do something' or 'make something happen.' The verb (*go*)*thla* 'make' is also the most frequent in the creation of new and idiomatic verbs. A list of these lexical causatives is given in (76).

(76) Lexical Causation with (*go*)*thla*

ba disha	'I set afire.'	(JC III-103)
cha/chya disha	'I dry (something)'	
daba(le) disha	'I tighten' or 'I make (something) strong'	
dabē disha	'I finish doing (something).'	(JC III-104)
dephole disha	'I repeat'	(JC III-104)
desa(le) disha	'I clean (something)'	
dihibadæ disha	'I locked (it)'	
gæge disha	'I rattle'	(JC III-104)
gēsē disha	'I sharpen' <sup>9</sup>	
hash'ē disha	'I burn (something) up'	(JC III-103)
hic'ō disha	'I bend'	(JC III-103)
hik'athole disha	'I get revenge'	
hile sh'yē disha	'I wear (something) out'	

(76) Lexical Causation with *(go)thla* (Continued)

hinō disha	'I grease (something)'	(JC III-103)
hito disha	'I wrap (something) up'	(JC III-103)
hohæ(le) disha	'I empty (something)'	
hohō disha	'I hook, fasten, join together'	(JC III-104)
hoju disha	'I burn (something)'	
hoti disha	'I pay for (something)'	(JC III-103)
howæ disha	'I save (something)'	
ke sæti disha	'I start (a car/a machine)'	
khasa disha	'I crumble (bread)'	(JC III-106)
'opale disha	'I refill'	(JC III-102)
pha disha	'I cut off (something)'	
pihē disha	'I shout'	(JC III-104)
sh'yē disha	'I spoil (a child)/I make (a child) bad'	
wæle disha	'I leave behind'	
s'æ wethl'i disha	'I plow' <sup>10</sup>	
yō disha	'I boil'	(JC III-102)
'yushu disha	'I shake (something) once'	(JC III-102)
'yugothla disha	'I raise or grow (something)'	(irregular)

The causative verb *(go)thla* is often in combined a with location particle. This is a Particle + Verb Construction, and the resulting form is always a causative verb. A few examples are given in (77).

(77) tahe disha	'I unlock'
lafa/læfæ disha	'I break (something) open'
thæhe disha	'I uncover.' (JC III-105)
thæle disha	'I turn (something) over.' (JC III-105)

The verb *(go)k'ō* 'to make, do, or build' is also used in causative constructions. Also like *(go)thla*, some clausal combination create new causative verbs. The verbs created with *(go)k'ō* are slightly less idiomatic than those with *(go)thla*. The verb *(go)k'ō* is regular, and it requires the *do-* actor [+ participant] pronominal prefix set.

(78) Lexical Causation with *(go)k'ō*

cha dok'ō	'I dry'
gosh'o dok'ō	'I am getting tired'
hagēshē dok'ō	'I play a joke.'
hitonē dok'ō	'I wrap something up.'

The verb *(go)k'ō* is often in combination with a noun. The created verb is always causative. A few are given in (80).

(79) gothlæne dok'ō	'I cook.'	[food I make]
hēti dok'ō	'I name him.'	[his name I make] (JC V-21)
hoshu dok'ō	'I tie something.'	[string I use]
nōshō dok'ō	'I draw a picture.'	[picture I make]
webane dok'ō	'I paint (something).'	[paint I use]
weyu dok'ō	'I fry something.'	[lard I use]
'yashta dok'ō	'I camp.'	[camp I make]

*The Verb (Go)thæ 'Want, Need, Wish'*

The verb *(go)thæ* 'want, need, wish' requires a small clause complement. In many cases, 'want' functions as a causative. For example, in a sentence such as 'I want you to go home' the speaker is attempting to cause the listener to go home. When the verb *(go)thæ* 'want, need' functions as a causative, it employs the same syntax as described above in Causative Constructions. Causative uses of 'want' follow in (80).

- (80) a. K'asoci dothl'i wethæ.  
k'aso-ci                      do-thl'i                      we-thæ  
paper-CL/DET(SIT) 1SG.ACT/PLUS-write 3SG(NE).ACT-want  
'They want me to sign the paper.'
- b. K'ala 'aso'æne dithæ.  
k'ala    'aso'æne                      di-thæ  
thing 1SG.ACT/2SG.PAT-ask 1SG.ACT-want  
'I want to ask you something.'

The verb (*go*)*thæ* ‘want, need, wish’ can also show desire (desiderative). In this sense, it also requires a small clause complement. However, unlike the causative construction, the actor (the wisher) can be the same person as the patient without requiring a reflexive verb in the main clause. Instead, the main clause (want) requires an actor, and the embedded clause (what is wanted) agrees with the person in the main clause. The embedded clause must have person agreement with the main clause. The role marking (actor or patient) in the embedded clause, like all small clauses in Eucheé, is determined by the *lexical aspect of that verb*. Several examples of the desiderative ‘want’ follows in (81).

- (81) a. tse dip'e dithæ  
tse di-p'e di-thæ  
water 1SG.ACT-drink 1SG.ACT-want  
‘I want to drink water./I want some water.’
- b. Wikæ s'ep'e s'ethæ?  
wikæ s'e-p'e s'e-thæ  
what 3SG(EM).ACT-drink 3SG(EM).ACT-want  
‘What does he want to drink?’ (women’s speech)
- c. Ke'lede ācuda āthæ?  
ke'lede ā-cuda ā-thæ  
now.Q 2PL.ACT-listen 2PL.ACT-want  
‘Do you all want to listen now?’  
= ‘Are you all ready to listen?’
- d. Pickett-he weda dithæ.  
Pickett-he weda di-thæ  
Pickett-LOC 1SG.ACT.go 1SG.ACT-want  
‘I need to go to Pickett’
- e. K'ōnvsha kes'ateneci dikyæ'aha dithæ.  
k'ōnvsha kes'atene-ci di-kyæ'aha di-thæ  
picture move-CL/DET(SIT) 1SG.ACT-watch 1SG.ACT-want  
‘I want to watch TV.’

Although the verb in the embedded clause must agree in person and number with the actor in the main clause, the verb (*go*)*thæ* ‘want’ may not have pronominal agreement if the actor is understood. This can be seen in (82).

- (82) a. Nedzedito 'le tē?  
 nedze-di-to 'le tē  
 2SG.PAT-1SG.ACT-go.with Q ABLE  
 ‘Can I go with you?’
- b. Dzeto 'le thæ?  
 dze-to 'le thæ  
 1SG.PAT-go.with Q want  
 ‘Do you want to go with me?’

### *Perception Verbs*

Perception verbs also require a small clause in Euchee. Perception verbs include (*go*)*ch'wæ* ‘hear,’ (*go*)*nē* ‘see,’ and (*go*)*hæ* ‘smell.’ Examples are in (83).

- (83) a. Williams'enō s'e'yagwa doch'wæ jē  
 William-s'enō s'e-'yagwa do-ch'wæ jē  
 William-CL(EM) 3SG(EM).ACT-tell 1SG.ACT/PLUS-hear PAST  
 ‘I heard it from William.’ (women’s speech)  
 =‘William told it and I heard it.’
- b. 'Ahe 'igō doch'wē. [ʔhɛ 'igɔ doɕ'wɛ]  
 'ahe 'i-gō do-ch'wē  
 here 3PL(E).PAT-come 1SG.ACT/DAT-hear  
 ‘I hear them coming.’ (women’s speech)

## 5.2 COMPLEMENT CLAUSES

Complement clauses (finite clauses) are embedded clauses that are much less dependent than the small clauses. The verb in the complement clause can





- (85) a. Lenō hido'ōda.  
 lenō hi-do-'ōda  
 that/(EM) 3SG(INAM).PAT-1SG.ACT/YU-know  
 'I know the man.'
- b. Kehēci hido'ōda.  
 ke-hē-ci hi-do'ōda  
 LOC-3SG(EM).PAT-sit 3SG(INAM).PAT-1SG.ACT/YU-know  
 'I know that he was here.'

In Euchee, a clause can only fill the required patient role of a two-place verb.<sup>11</sup> A noun clause is the patient (complement) of verbs of cognition and of utterance, generally known as reported speech.

### Cognition Verbs

The common cognitive verbs are listed below in (85). They are given in 1<sup>st</sup> person singular so that the verb class can be seen.

#### (86) Cognitive Verbs

hido'yu'ōda(ē)	'I know'	'yu stem verb
hido'neshē	'I expect, I trust'	'yu stem verb
do'nēga	'I believe'	
dikyōwā	'I think'	
dikyōwāle	'I remember'	
'a didzæ	'I think, find'	irregular 1/2 verb

These verbs require a noun clause complement. The noun clause precedes the main clause. The noun clause can be signaled by the singular inanimate sitting noun class post-clitic *-ci* attached to the end of the dependent clause. Or the past perfective *jēfa* can be used in the dependent clause. This is read as the past perfect 'had' and signals that the dependent clause is in a earlier relationship to the main clause. The subordinate clitic *-ci* and the past perfect *jēfa* can not co-occur.<sup>12</sup>

(87) Noun Clause Markers

-ci	'that'	singular inanimate sitting noun class
jēfa	'had'	past perfective/past perfect

Examples of noun clauses follow in (88).

(88) a. Agahe dōda nehethlici do'nēga:le.

agahe	do-'ōda	
tomorrow	1SG.ACT+'YU-know	
nehe	thli- <u>ci</u>	do-'nēga:-le
here	arrive-CL/SUB(SIT)	1SG.ACT/PLUS-believe-really

'Tomorrow, I know, I really believe it will come.'  
= 'I firmly believe that tomorrow will come.'

- b. Hētishæ jēfa hidzæle jē  
hē-tishæ jē-fa hi-dzæ-le jē  
3SG(EM).ACT-lie PAST-PERF 3SG(INAN).PAT-think-REPEAT PAST  
'I found out that he had lied to me. (men's speech/BPD)

- c. We'yō hē'yada 'wa hē'yu'ōda.  
weyō hē-'yada 'wa hē-'yu'ōda  
deer 3SG(EM).ACT.clan COP 3SG(EM).ACT-know  
'He knows that he is deer clan.' (men's speech)

The verb 'know' in the negative gives the meaning 'if, whether,' as seen in (89).

(89) a. Se'yagwateci nēhō'yu'ōda jē.

se-'yagwa-te- <u>ci</u>	nē-hō-'yu'ōda	jē
3SG(EF).ACT-tell-ABLE-CL/SUB(SIT)	NEG-3SG(EM).ACT-know	PAST

'He did not know whether she would tell.' (men's speech)

- b. Hōyu'onda'ēci nēhido'ōda  
hō-yu'onda'ē-ci nē-hi-do-'ōnda  
3SG.(EM).ACT-know-CL/SUB(SIT) NEG-3SG(INAN).PAT-1SG.ACT+'YU-know  
I don't know if he knows.

The verb 'doubt' is also a cognition verb, but the expression of outright doubt is avoided in Euchee.<sup>13</sup> When it occurs, it is given as an impersonal verb, as in (90).

- (90) Nēke'ē thla læde'ēgō [næk'e'ēθhlələde'ēngΛ]  
 nē-ke-'ē thla læde-'e-gō  
 NEG-way-ACTIVE do PROB-ACTIVE-POT  
 'It is possible that he didn't do it that way.'  
 'I doubt if he did it.' (JC IV-56)

### Reported Speech

Reported speech refers to noun clauses that give what someone said. Like other noun clauses, they immediately precede the main clause. The verb in the main clause is a verb of utterance. The most common verbs of utterance used in reported speech are given below in (91). The stems are similar to each other, but they require different pronominal prefix sets. The pronominal prefixes for the utterance verbs are given to the right of the English translation.

(91) Utterance Verbs used in Reported Speech

'a(go)gwa	'say (something)	<i>do-</i>
'a(go)gwa	'say (something)	<i>irregular 1/2 stem</i>
'a(go)ge	'say (something)	<i>do-</i>
'a(go)'yagwa	'tell about/tell a story/explain'	<i>di-</i>
'a(go)'yugwa	'tell/relate to someone'	<i>'yu stem verb</i>
(go)'æne	'ask'	<i>di-</i>

The following are examples of reported speech. They use a variety of tense, aspect and mode within the complement clause.

- (92) a. 'Agahe nōci 'ogwa.  
 'aga-he nō-ci 'o-gwa  
 day-LOC be-SUB.CL(SIT) 3PL(E).ACT/PLUS-say  
 'They say it will be tomorrow. (women's speech)

- b. K'ala nendzeyu jē hongwa jē.  
 k'ala nedze-yu jē ho-gwa jē  
 thing 2SG.PAT-sick PAST 3SG.ACT/PLUS-say PAST  
 'He said you were sick (but are not now).' (men's speech)
- c. 'Ahōgwa shafvnō bado thla. (contracted form)  
 'a-ho-gwa shafa-wenō bado thla  
 LOC-2SG(E).ACT-see moon-CL(NE) dark go  
 'They say it was a moon eclipse.' (men's speech)
- d. K'ala hido'ōda dithæha hijobi sedzogwa jē.  
 k'ala hi-do-'ōda di-thæ-ha hijobi  
 thing 3SG(INAN).PAT-2SG.ACT+'YU-know 1SG.ACT-want-SUB.PL everything  
 se-dzo-gwa jē  
 3SG(EF).ACT-1SG.PAT-say PAST  
 'She told me everything I wanted to know.'
- e. k'a k'æthlē'ēde 'anōgwa nōthæ  
 k'a k'æthlē'ēde 'a-nō-gwa nō-thæ  
 thing whatever LOC-2PL(EXCL).ACT/PLUS-say 2PL(EXCL).ACT-want  
 'We say whatever we like.'
- f. Nē'ikhōga keyoci hongwa.  
 nē-'ikhōga ke yo-ci hō-gwa  
 NEG-place there 2SG.be.located-SUB.CL(SIT) 3SG(EM)ACT-say  
 'He said for you not to stay here any longer.' (women's speech)
- g. Wet'æfa nē'ōp'aso gothlane 'wa, [wèt'æfá nē'çmp'asó gołanı 'wá]  
 wet'æ-fa næ-'ōp'aso go-thla-ne wá  
 rainbow-CL(STAND) NEG-point 1SG(IMP).ACT-go.HAB FOC  
 'Don't go pointing at a rainbow,'  
 hēgwanejē. [hēgwanijɪ]  
 hē-gwa-ne-jē  
 3SG(EM).ACT-say-HAB-PAST  
 'they used to say'

### *Adjective Clauses*

An adjective clause is a dependent clause that modifies a noun phrase. Unlike noun clauses, an adjective clause does not stand for one of the participants in the sentence. Instead, they are additional information. Adjectives are verbal in Euchee. Because of this, nearly all adjectives are clausal structures. A few adjectives can modify a noun without verbal endings, but these generally have become compounds or are in the process. See Chapter 5 Noun Phrase, Section 5, and Chapter 7 Verbal Structures, Section 2 for adjectives.

Adjective clauses immediately follow the noun that they modify. The end of the adjective clause is signaled by the appropriate noun class or plural clitic. The noun class clitic must agree with the noun the adjective is modifying. However, more than complement clauses, speakers tend to drop the dependent markers in long utterances.

- (93) a. Thlostane 'yakā 'æleci hohæ'ē.  
thlostane 'yakā 'æ-le-ci ho-hæ-'ē  
box white big-STATIVE-SUB.CL(SIT) 3SG(INAN)PAT.empty-ACTIVE  
'It's the empty big white box./the big empty white box'
- b. Dzene wethæ wénō wewahale.'  
dzene we-thæ wénō we-waha-le  
dog 3SG.ACT-wild SUB.PL(NE) 3SG.PAT-many-stative  
'There's that pack of wild dogs.'
- c. K'ōdi tsyatsya hōthlæ jē.  
k'ōdi tsya-tsya hō-thlæ jē  
meat dry-REDUP 3SG(EM).ACT-eat PAST  
'He's eating the meat that was fried./He's eating the fired meat.'
- d. Got'e we'ōthæha 'ispi:le newethlajē.  
got'e we-ōthæ-ha 'ispi:-le ne-we-thla-jē  
man 3SG(NE).POSS-hand-PL(INAN) black-very LOC-3SG(NE).ACT-go-PAST  
'A (non-Euchee) man with really dirty hands came by.'

- e. Wæt'e wæ 'yusht'æt'e sethla senō'nějē.  
 wæt'e wæ 'yusht'æt'e se-thla se-nō-'nē-jē  
 woman year hundred-one 3SG(EF).ACT-go 3SG(EF).PAT-see-PAST  
 'We saw a woman who is one hundred years old.'
- f. Dzotigotsane disa'ēha tidifa. [dzotikotsani disa'ēha didifa]  
 dzo-tigotsane disa-'ē-ha ti di-fa  
 1SG(I).POSS-pajama clean-ACTIVE-SUB.PL(INAN) in 1SG.ACT-stand  
 'I put on pajamas that are clean./I put on my clean pajamas'
- g. Harrison 'yapithl'o 'ithle:leha 'wa hēthlēchinejē  
 H 'yapithl'o 'ithle:-le-ha 'wa hē-thlēchi-ne jē  
 H wagon long-very-SUB.PL(INAN) FOC 3SG(EM).ACT-drive-HAB PAST  
 'He used to drive cars that are long.'  
 = 'Harrison used to be a truck driver.'

### *Adverb Clauses*

Adverb clauses are clauses that modify a verb or a whole clause. Adverb clauses give information about time, purpose and reason, and conditions on the action. Like adjective clauses, adverb clauses do not fulfill one of the required participants for the sentence but provide additional information. An overview of adverb clauses is given in (94). Adverb clauses can be signaled by a particles *-ci* or *-he* which are cliticized to the end of the dependent clause. This can be seen in (94a-d) below. The particle informs the speaker what kind of adverb clause it is. The adverb particle *-he* flags a habitual or 'whenever' relationship between the two clauses, and *-ci* indicates all other types of adverb clauses. Compare examples (94c) and (94d) below. Time adverb clauses may also use independent adverbs to signal the dependent clause, as in (94e), or may be determined by sequence and inference.

- (94) a. Nile hēthlici dzedoshē hēthlajē.  
 nile hē-thli-ci  
 back 3SG(EM).ACT-arrive-CL/SUB(SIT)  
 dzedo-shē hē-thla-jē  
 1SG.REFL+'YU-happy 3SG(EM).ACT-make-PAST  
 'He made me happy when/that he returned.'
- b. 'Yas'egwaci 'æle k'adita jē.  
 'ya-s'e-gwa-ci  
 DIR-3SG(EM).ACT-SING-CL/SUB(SIT)  
 'æ-le k'a-di-ta jē  
 big-STATIVE thing-1SG.ACT-pride PAST  
 'It made me proud that he sang.' (women's speech)
- c. Kiki hē'wedeci dzedoshē hēthla jē.  
 ki-ki hē-'wede-ci  
 away-REDUP 3SG(EM)-speak-CL/SUB(SIT)  
 dze-doshē hē-thla jē  
 1SG.PAT-happy 3SG(EM).ACT-make PAST  
 'He made me happy when he called.'
- d. Ki hē'wedehe dzedoshēle hēthlane.  
 ki hē-'wede-he  
 away 3SG(EM)-speak-LOC/SUB  
 dze-doshē-le hē-thla-ne  
 1SG.PAT-happy-STATIVE 3SG(EM).ACT-make-HAB  
 'He makes me happy whenever he calls me.'
- e. 'Agahēle hende 'ōyu'onda tegō  
 'agahe-le hende 'ō-yu'onda tegō  
 tomorrow and.then 1PL(INCL)-know can  
 'We (INCL) won't know until tomorrow.'



## Time Clauses

Time adverb clauses give information about the time of one event or the time relationship between two events.

Something that happens frequently or habitually is shown by clitic *-he*. This is usually translated in English as ‘whenever’ or ‘when.’ The *-he* ‘frequent’ is not aspect because it can not go on a single main clause. It always signals a dependent clause.

### (95) Frequent *-he* ‘whenever’

- a. Di’ōnthæ s’ahe  
di-’ōnthæ                      s’a-he  
1SG.POSS(INAN)-hand      itch-FREQ  
‘Whenever my hand itches,
- b. Sene wechyathla go’nehe,  
sene we-chyathla              go-’ne-he  
bird 3SG(NE).ACT?-red 3SG(IMP).ACT-see-FREQ  
‘Whenever you see a red bird,’
- c. Kwane goc’wahe,  
kwane                      go-c’wa-he  
hoot.owl                  3SG(IMP).ACT/DAT-hear-FREQ  
‘Whenever you hear a hoot owl,
- d. Yuciha hōwilehe,  
Yuciha                      hō-wile-he  
Euchee                      3SG(EM).ACT-die-FREQ  
‘Whenever a Euchee person dies,
- tsē’ēne.  
tsē-’ē-ne  
water-ACTIVE-HAB  
‘It always rains.’

- e. Tapi nē-hi-do-k'ō k'adæne.  
 tapi nē-hi-do-k'ō k'a dæne  
 salt NEG-3SG(INAN).PAT-1SG.ACT/DAT-use thing 1SG.ACT.eat-HAB  
 'I don't use salt when I eat.'

Sometimes 'when' can mean 'after.' In these cases, *-he* is also used.

- (96) a. K'a dædehe s'ædi'ejē.  
 k'a dædehe s'æ di'ejē  
 thing 1SG.ACT.eat-CMPLT-FREQ down 1SG.ACT-lie-PAST  
 'When I had eaten, I went to bed.' (JC IV-71)  
 'After I had finished eating, I went to bed.'
- b. Wedzādaneha hēthlædehe, hōdane thla.  
 wedzādane-ha hē-thlæ-de-he hō-dane thla  
 pork.fat-CL/PL(INAN) 3SG.ACT.eat-CMPLT-FREQ 3SG.PAT-fat go  
 'After he ate the salt meat, he got fat.'

And action which happens before another action is signaled with the dependent negative particle *hæ* at the beginning of the dependent verb phrase and *-le* is cliticized to the end of the verb. The negative particle is always stressed.

- (97) *hæ* V *-le* 'before'
- a. Hæ hoda daba:le hōdik'ā'nē'nē jē.  
 hæ hoda daba:-le hō-di-k'ā-'nē'nē jē  
 NOT wind strong-very-BEFORE 3SG(EM).PAT-1SG.ACT-COLL-visit PAST  
 'I visited him before the storm.'
- b. Sonny hæ nehēthlile kenōfe jē.  
 S hæ ne-hē-thli-le ke-nō-fe jē  
 S NEG here-3SG(EM).ACT-arrive-BEFORE LOC-1PL(EXCL).ACT-go PAST  
 'We left before Sonny got here.'

- c. Hæ k'a thlæle s'æ'e jē  
 hæ k'a thlæ-le s'æ'e 'ē  
 NEG thing 3SG.ACT.eat-BEFORE down-lie PAST  
 'He went to bed before he ate.' (JC IV-77)
- d. Hæ s'ædi'eले sǣ dothlāci.  
 hæ s'æ-di-'e-le sǣ do-thlāci  
 before down-1SG.ACT-lie-BEFORE good 1SG.ACT/DAT-pray  
 'Before I lie down, I pray.'

### Purpose and Reason

The expression of purpose, such as 'in order to' and reason, such as 'because,' is indicated by the order of clauses only. Listeners must infer from the meaning of the clauses the relationship between them.

#### (98) 'Because'

- a. Lenō hēdigo Sonny k'ahēk'ōne sǣ:lene.  
 le-nō hē-di-go  
 that-CL(EM) 3SG(EM).PAT-1SG.act-hire  
 Sonny k'a-hē-k'ō-ne sǣ:-le-ne  
 Sonny thing-3SG(EM).act-make-NOM good-really-ACTIVE-HAB  
 'I hired him because Sonny is a good worker.'
- b. Nēhō'yu'ondatejē nēhēdogwa jē hō.  
 Nē-hō-'yu'onda-te-jē  
 NEG-3SG(EM).ACT-know-ABLE-PAST  
 nē-hē-do-gwa jē hō  
 NEG-3SG(EM).PAT-1SG.ACT+'yu-tell PAST EMPH  
 'He could not have known about it because I didn't tell him.'  
 (JC IV-56)

## Manner

The the manner that someone does something or is, in English 'to do like' or 'to be like' someone or something, is expressed with 'ake'ē 'the way it is.' The manner 'ake'ē 'be like' is often shortened to *ke'ē*. The expression generally comes at the end of the dependent clause, as in (99a), but it can come at the end of the whole utterance, as in (99b).

- (99) 'Yuciha ke'ē se'wedene. 'She talks like a Euchee.'  
'Yuciha se'wede ke'ē. 'She talks like a Euchee.'

More examples follow. Example 108d) shows that the phrase 'ake'ē 'be like' must have the copula 'wa before the past tense *jē* can follow it.

(100) *ke'ē* 'be like'

- a. Shachwane ke'ē kes'əhēthe jē!  
shachwane ke'ē ke s'æ hē-the jē  
rabbit be.like there down 3SG(EM).ACT-run PAST  
'He ran like a rabbit!'
- b. Setāp'ish'ā ke'ē se'wedede.  
se-tāp'ish'ā ke'ē se-'wede-de  
3SG(EF).PAT.have.cold be.like 3SG(EF).ACT-talk-REDUP  
'She talks like she has a cold.'
- c. Di difafane ke'ē hēfafane.  
di di-fafa-ne ke'ē hē-fa-fa-ne  
1SG 1SG.ACT-walk-hab be.like 3SG(EM).ACT-walk-HAB  
'He walks like me.'
- d. hēt'e 'wa 'ake'ē 'wa jē  
hē-t'e 'wa 'ake'ē 'wa jē  
3SG(EM.I).POSS-father COP be.like COP PAST  
'He is like his father was.'

The expression 'to be different from' is expressed with *deke*. It can have pronominal agreement.

- (101) Hodane 'wa hēdeke 'wane.  
 ho-dane 'wa hē-deke 'wa-ne  
 3SG(EM.A)-brother COP 3SG(EM).PAT-differ COP-HAB  
 'He is different than his brother.'

### Conditionals

Conditionals state that 'if' one thing happens (the condition), a certain result is expected to follow. In addition, speakers can talk about past expectations with conditions, 'if this had happened, then....' Conditional clauses are signaled with the irrealis particle 'ya 'expect.' The particle comes at the end of the condition (dependent) clause.

- (102) 'ya 'if

- a. 'Abēci nep'e'ya nedzoju tegō  
 'abēci ne-p'e 'ya nedzo-ju tegō  
 now 2SG.ACT-drink EXPECT 2SG.PAT-burn ABLE-POT  
 'If you drink that [hot coffee] now, you might burn yourself.'
- b. 'Agahe shta'ē'ya 'yutihede adoci  
 'aga-he shta-ē 'ya 'yuti he-de 'ado-ci  
 day-LOC snow-ACTIVE EXPECT inside LOC-CPLT here 1SG.ACT/PLUS-sit  
 'If it rains tomorrow, I'll stay inside.'
- c. Andrew 'ahe hēgæ'ya, hēdik'a'wedete jēfa.  
 Andrew 'ahe hē-gæ 'ya,  
 Andrew here 3SG(EM).ACT-arrive EXPECT  
  
 hē-di-k'a'wede te jē-fa  
 3SG(EM).PAT-1SG.ACT-COM-talk ABLE PAST-PERF  
 'If Andrew had come, I would have talked with him.'

d. Chyaso hĕk'aju 'ya, nehe hĕthli tegō læ.

chyaso hĕ-k'aju 'ya  
money 3SG(EM).ACT-be.together EXPECT

nehe hĕ-thli te-gō læ  
here 3SG(EM).ACT-arrive ABLE-POT ENC

'If he has money, he would probably come here.'

The conditional can also be signaled by *'nehā*.

(103) *'nehā* 'if

a. 'Ake'ē gothla'nehā godzafa. [ʼake'ɛ goɬa'nihɿ godzafa]

'ake-'ē gothla-'nehā go-dzafa  
way-ACTIVE 3SG(IMP).go-IF fever  
'If you do, you will get a fever'

b. 'Ake'ē gothla'nehā go'ōp'ifa 'awine.

[ʼake'ɛŋgoɬa'nɛhɿ go'ɔmp'ifa 'æwini]

a'ke'ē go-thla-'nehā  
way-ACTIVE 3(IMP).ACT-go-IF

go-'ōp'i-fa 'a-wi-ne  
3SG(IMP).POSS-finger-CL(STAND) LOC-fall-HAB

'If you do, your finger will fall off'

## 6. COORDINATION

When two (or more) independent clauses are combined, and they are called 'coordinated.' Dependent clauses are signaled by marker following the clause. In contrast, coordinated clause markers come at the beginning of the second complete clause.



c. Sonny nehēthlide hēde kenōfe jē

Sonny ne-hē-thli-dē  
 Sonny here-3SG(EM).ACT-arrive-CMPLT

hēde ke-nō-fe jē  
 and.then LOC-1PL(EXCL).ACT-can PAST

'We left after Sonny got here.'

d. Dzedzafade hēde 'ædokwæ 'ahēde hishæle dzonō jē.

dze-dzafa-de hēde 'æ-do-kwæ  
 1SG.PAT-fever- and LOC-1SG.ACT/PLUS-vomit

'ahēde hishæle dzo-nō jē  
 and.then better 1SG.PAT/DAT-be PAST

'I was fevering and vomiting before I got better.' (GB)

e. Nēk'ala hēwāji de kele hēwethla jē.

nē-k'ala hē-wāji de kele hē-wethla jē  
 NEG-thing 3SG(EM).ACT-buy and back 3SG(EM).ACT-go PAST

'He didn't buy anything and came back (home).'

The immediate sequence of time is expressed with *nāde*.

(106) *nāde* 'and immediately'

a. Sonny nehēthli nā:de kenōfejē

Sonny ne-hē-thli  
 Sonny here-3SG(EM).ACT-arrive

nā:de ke nō-fe jē  
 and.then DIR 1PL(EXCL).ACT-go PAST

'We left when Sonny got here.'

'We left as soon as Sonny got here.'

'We left as quick as Sonny got here.'

b. Nāde k'ak'ōne keci.

nāde k'a-k'ō-ne ke-ci  
 and thing-make-NOM there-sit

'And there's work to be done here.'



The adverb *hāde* implies two events at the same time, such as ‘during’ or ‘while’ in English.

(107) *hāde* ‘and while’

Hoda daba kegō hāde hōdik’ǎ’nē’ne jē.

hoda	daba	ke	gō
wind	strong	here	come

hāde	hō-di-k’ǎ-’nē’nē	jē
while	3SG(EM).PAT-1SG.ACT-COM-visit	PAST

‘I visited while a storm was headed this way.’  
 ‘I visited him during the storm.’

Two nouns coordinated are usually simply put together in a sequence, but the short *de* can be used.

(108) a.	Millie Sagie	‘Millie and Sagie’
b.	Millie de Sagie	‘Millie and Sagie’

## 6.2 CONTRARY ‘BUT’

The contrary coordination ‘but’ is expressed with *lǎē*. The nasalization of *lǎē* is often dropped ([lǎ]). It is the same as the encouragement irrealis particle *lǎē*. Encouragement and the contrary seem like an odd union. It may have developed from politeness with the contrary. In (109a), the difference is negligible. However, in (109b), *lǎē* is more clearly a coordinator, being placed at the beginning of the clause instead of at the end.

(109) *lǎē* ‘but’

a.	Dzes’i:’ē ke difa jē golǎē.
	dze-s’i:-’ē                      ke    di-fa                      jē    gō    lǎē
	1SG.PAT-small-very-ACTIVE DIR    1SG.ACT-stand    PAST    POT    but
	‘I was very small, but I stood here.’

- b. Kafi nēdip'ē jē, læ 'abehō dip'e.  
 kafi nē-di-p'ē jē læ 'abe-hō di-p'ē  
 coffee NEG-1SG.ACT-drink PAST but today-AFFIRM 1SG.ACT-drink  
 'I didn't used to drink coffee, but now I do.' (JC IV-21)

### 6.3 IN ADDITION: *Desō*

Two sentences can be coordinated with *desō* or *sō* 'and also, also, too.'

#### (110) *desō* ~ *sō* 'and also'

- a. Di desō hōdi k'i'ya'a:le.  
 di desō hōdi k'i'ya'a:le  
 1SG and.also 3SG care-very  
 'He takes care of me, too!'
- b. Tse desā neji?  
 tse desā ne-ji  
 you also 2SG.ACT-go  
 'Are you going, too?'
- c. Maxinesō  
 'Maxine, too./Maxine is also.'

### 6.4 ALTERNATIVE 'OR' 'EITHER/OR'

The alternative 'either, or' is expressed with *nē'ēle*.

#### (111) *nē'ēle* 'either, or'

- a. Maggie k'athl'o sek'ō nē'ēle Josephine sek'ō.  
 Maggie k'athl'o se-k'ō nē'ēle Jo se-k'ō  
 Maggie bread 3SG(EF).ACT-make or Jo 3SG(EF).ACT-make  
 'Either Maggie or Josephine will make the bread.'
- b. Kafi nethæ'le nē'ēlæ toshiha'le?  
 kafi ne-thæ 'le nē'ēlæ toshi-ha 'le  
 coffee 2SG.ACT-want Q or milk-PL(INAN) Q  
 'Do you want coffee or milk?' (JC)

## 7. FOCUS STRUCTURES

The realis mode particle 'wa 'be/be certain' is used to focus information in the utterance. It is placed immediately after the information in order to show that it is the most important information in the sentence. The sentences are best translated as 'It was X that...' Several examples follow.

- (112) a. Di'wa hōdik'ada jē.  
 di-'wa hō-di-k'ada jē  
 1SG-FOC 3PL(EM).PAT-1SG.ACT-PL.be.together PAST  
 'It was me, I was with them.' (men's speech) (JC VII-113)
- b. K'athl'odapisē dithæ.  
 k'athl'odapisē 'wa di-thæ  
 cake FOC 1SG.ACT-want  
 'It is *cake* that I want (not the pudding).'
- c. Wædefa 'wa hēp'a jē.  
 wæde-fa 'wa hē-p'a jē  
 summer-at FOC 3SG(EM).ACT-be.born PAST  
 'It was in Big Summer that he was born.'

The active verbalizer and *-le* 'only' is also used to focus information. The sequence is attached to the end of a verb. These are best translated as 'All (I) did was....' The difference in focus can be seen in (113a) compared to (113b).

- (113) a. 'Ahe digōgō 'ē:lejē [ʼahe digægæ 'e:leje]  
 'ahe di-gō-gō 'ē-:-le-jē  
 there 1SG.ACT-arrive-REDUP be.INCHO-EMPH-REPEAT?-PAST  
 'All I did was travel around (when I was younger).'
- b. 'Ahe digōgōjē.  
 'ahe di-gō-gō-jē  
 there 1SG.ACT-arrive-REDUP-PAST  
 'I traveled around (when I was younger).'

- c. Kediji 'ě:le jě [kediji'ě:leje]  
 ke-di-ji 'ě-:-le jě  
 DIR-1SG.ACT-go be.INCHO-EMPH-REPEAT? PAST  
 'All I did was move around!'

The impersonal pronominal prefix *go-* is used to take focus away from the actor. They de-emphasize who does something. The actor may be unknown, or the speaker may not wish to cast blame or doubt on the actor. These are impersonal sentences, and are best translated as the passive.

- (114) a. Go'yushē disha.  
 go-'yushē di-sha  
 3SG(IMP).ACT-hurt 1SG.ACT-make  
 'I got hurt/I was made to hurt.'
- b. Go'nagane.  
 go-'naga-ne  
 3SG(IMP).ACT-believe-HAB  
 'It is believed'
- c. Sewilē goch'wæ.  
 se-wilē go-ch'wæ  
 3SG(EF).ACT-die 3SG(IMP).ACT-hear  
 'It is heard that she died.'

NOTES  
CHAPTER 8

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<sup>1</sup> The influence of pragmatic forces, such as topic and comment, is outside of the scope of this work. However, it should be noted that even in longer discourse, the word order A P V is consistent.

Euclhee has probably become more rigid in word order as speakers are more influenced from English. This is especially true with dependent clauses, which have lost some of their dependent clause marking in favor of a rigid word order. This is discussed under Dependent Clauses in the text.

<sup>2</sup> Wagner (1934: 357) gave the morpheme as the unglottalized [-lə] not /le/.

<sup>3</sup> Idioms often have an open position in them or are treated as syntactically separate. For example, the English 'kick the bucket' is an idiomatic phrase, but the verb 'kick' may change tense, as in 'He kicked the bucket' and 'She will kick the bucket soon.' In addition, the genitive Case is an open position in 'The cat got his tongue/Joe's tongue/my tongue...' and idioms can passivize, such as 'Joe took advantage of' and 'Joe was taken advantage of by...' In Euclhee, the open position in the *k'ala* and Location Particle + Verb idioms is the Yes/No question. The idioms can change tense and mode, but these phrases are outside of the verb phrase.

<sup>4</sup> The information question *wa'e* probably stays immediately before the verb because of the inclusion of the numeral *t'e* in its formation. Numerals, like most modifiers in Euclhee, follow the head noun. In a sentence with one independent noun phrase, the end of the noun phrase immediately precedes the verb phrase.

<sup>5</sup> Wagner (1934: 361-2) gave the pronunciation /na-/. The phones /a/ and /æ/ are often interchangeable, probably from dialect variation and the phone /æ/ can also be an Englishization of /ē/. (See Chapter 2, Section for a discussion on /æ/ and its relationship to /a/ and /ē/.) Given that Wagner posited /a/, it is probable that the morpheme is /næ-/ ~ /na-/. However, I have never heard the /na-/ pronunciation today. In addition, some speakers do clearly use *nē-*. The phone /æ/ does not raise to /ē/. It is because of this that I give the morpheme as *nē-* with the variation /næ-/.

<sup>6</sup> Wagner reported that it was in free variation with the negative pre-clitic *nē-*. Benveniste (1956) analyzed the two morphemes using texts from Wagner (1930). He determined that the pre-clitic *hā-* is used in dependent clauses while *nē-* is used in main clauses. Most data upholds Benveniste's analysis. However, some speakers can use the two interchangeably, preferring to use only the independent *nē-* in all cases. These speakers have also dropped the other dependent markers.

<sup>7</sup> Syntactic theory today says that noun phrases in polysynthetic languages are adjuncts (Baker 1996; Jelinek 1984). As adjuncts, they are embedded in the main clause, or they may occur adjoined in other places (depending on the freedom of word order in a specific language). This may be another reason why

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the nouns have the dependent marking. However, the non-verbalized noun phrases in Euchee consistently require the negative pre-clitic *nē-*.

<sup>8</sup> Because the combination can be treated as a lexical unit, Wagner called all causative constructions ‘compound verbs.’ I use the term ‘compound verbs’ to refer to two adjacent stems creating a new word.

<sup>9</sup> The word /*gēsē gothla*/ ‘to sharpen’ provides interesting historical information. It is literally ‘to make good teeth,’ which refers to the historical practice of filing one’s teeth to achieve the aesthetic quality of pointed teeth. The analysis of the word is below:

- i)      *gē-sē*            *go-thla*  
teeth-good      3SG.IMP-make  
‘to make good teeth’  
= ‘to sharpen’

<sup>10</sup> The word can include /*p’ate*/ and (for some speakers /*wate*/) ‘horse.’ The effect clause is always inflected for the non-Euchee (referring to ‘horse’). The analysis is given below:

- ii)      *P’ate s’æ wethl’i disha.*  
*p’ate s’æ*            *we-thl’i*            *di-sha*  
horse ground      3SG(NE).act-cut      1SG.ACT-make  
‘I make the horse cut the earth.’  
= ‘I plow’

<sup>11</sup> In many languages, English included, a noun complement may function as the actor or subject as well. However, this is near impossible to elicit in an SOV language.

<sup>12</sup> The past perfective/past perfect *jēfa* is argued to be the past tense *jē* and the subordinate post-clitic *-fa* from the singular inanimate standing noun class clitic.

<sup>13</sup> There is no verb ‘doubt’ for sentences such as ‘I doubt about him’ either. Instead the verb (*go*)*go’ē* ‘think, find’ is used.

- iii)      *Hēdze’ē.*  
*hē-dze’ē*  
3SG(EM).DAT-1SG.PAT.think  
‘I’m thinking about him/I’m finding out about him.’  
= ‘I doubt him.’

## Appendix I: Texts

### 1. DANCE CALLS

#### 1.1 Chief Jim Brown, Sr.

Recorded on videotape, 1994, by his family and Euchee Tribe of Indians, Inc. The recording was made during a teaching session for the men of Polecat Ceremonial Ground. Chief Brown did not give the fourth call during this session.

#### First Call

(1) Nande gowāha 'ayo, [nande gowqha 'aiyǫ]  
nāde gowā-ha 'āyo  
and member-PL 2PL.ACT  
'All you members.'

(2) kede yu'æle 'agonō! [kæde yu'æle 'agonǻ]  
kede yu-'æ-le 'a-go-nō  
now.INCHO house-big-DIR LOC-come-IMP  
'you all come back into the Big House!'

(2a) kede yufale 'agonō! [kæde yufale 'agonǻ]  
kede yu-fa-le 'a-go-nō  
now.INCHO house-CL(STAND)-DIR LOC-come-IMP  
'you all come back to the house.'

(2b) kede s'æsæle 'agonō! [kæde s'æsæle 'agonǻ]  
kede s'æ-sæ-le 'a-go-nō  
now.INCHO. ground-good-DIR LOC-come-IMP  
'you all come back to the Clean Ground.'

#### Second Call

(3) Nānde k'akōne keci. [nande k'ak'oni keči]  
nāde k'a-k'ō-ne ke-ci  
and thing-make-NOM there.is-CL(SIT)  
'There's work to be done here.'

(4) Kele hōthla yu'æle 'agonō! [kɛle hɔʔta yu'æle agonɔ́]  
 kele hō-thla yu-'æ-le 'a-go-nō  
 now.INCHO 3PL(Y).ACT-go house-big-DIR LOC-come-IMP  
 'Hurry up there and come into the Big House!'

(4a) Kele hōthla hifale 'agonō! [kɛle hɔʔta hifale 'agonɔ́]  
 kele hō-thla hifa-le 'a-go-nō  
 now.INCHO 3PL(Y).ACT-go inside-DIR LOC-come-IMP  
 'Hurry up and come back inside (the house)!'

(4b) Kele hōthla 'agonō! [kɛle hɔʔta 'agonɔ́]  
 kele hō-thla 'a-go-nō  
 now.INCHO 3PL.ACT(E)-go 2PL.ACT-come-IMP  
 'Hurry up and come back!'

### Third Call

(5) Nande p'athl'ēnō go'wedene hōdzowā [nande p'aʔ'ɛnæ go'wedeni hædzowɔ]  
 nāde p'aʔ'ē-hēnō go-'wede-ne hō-dzo-wā  
 and chief-CL(EM) human-talk-NOM 3S(EM).ACT-1S.PAT/DAT-give  
 'The chief has given me these words' [why not hē-dzo?]

(6) 'Andesala 'adi chudagowā! ['andasala 'adi ɕʰudagowɔ]  
 'ādze-sala 'ā-di chuda-gō-wā  
 2PL.PAT-all 2PL-EMPH listen-must-EXHORT  
 'for all of you, listen!'

### 1.2 Mr. William Cahwee (in the style of orator Mr. Jimmie Skeeter)

Recorded in 1995 by Jason Jackson during an ethnographic interview. Mr. Cahwee was not a caller, but he remembered Mr. Skeeter's style of calling. Mr. Skeeter was Speaker at Duck Creek Ceremonial Ground. Mr. Cahwee had been impressed by Mr. Skeeter's orator abilities and had made a conscious effort to be able recreate his performance. These Dance Calls are specific to the annual Green Corn Ceremony.



### First Call (for campers)

- (1) 'Yashta'ayagone 'ayō [yašta'ayagoni 'aiyɔ]  
'yashta'ayagone 'āyo  
camper 2PL.ACT  
'All you campers,'
- (2) k'alaha kede hele 'a'e'æ 'anō! [k'alaha kede hele 'ale'æ 'ɔnɔ]  
k'ala-ha kede hele 'ale-tē 'ā-nō  
thing-PL now all there-put 2PL.ACT-IMP  
'put your things away now!'

### Second Call

- (3) K'alaha hele 'ale'æ 'a [k'alaha hele 'ala'æ 'a]  
k'ala-ha hele 'ale-tē 'ā  
thing-PL all there-put 2PL.ACT  
'Put all your things away,'
- (4) kede gostaneci 'āndzeshēshē 'andzā 'āsha 'ā.  
[kede gostaniči 'qndzešęšę 'qndzɔ 'qša 'q]  
kede gostane-ci 'ādze-shēshē 'ādze-ā 'ā-sha 'ā  
now dance-CL(SIT) 2PL.PAT-ready 2PL.PAT-REFLEX 2PL.ACT-make 2PL.ACT  
'get yourself ready for the dance now.'
- (5) Gostaneci gothla hēgwa! [gostaniči goṭa hęgwa]  
gostane-ci go-thla hē-gwa  
dance-CL(SIT) 3s.IMPERS-start 3S(YM).ACT-speak  
'The dance is going to start, he says!'

### Third Call (for men who have taken medicine)

- (6) Go'yathlane 'āyo [go'yæṭlæni 'aiyɔ]  
go'yathlæne 'āyo  
poleboy 2PL.ACT  
'All you poleboys,'
- (7) Tsothi 'ayō, hōshti 'ayō [dzot<sup>h</sup>i 'aiyɔ, hɔṣti 'aiyɔ]  
tsothi 'āyō hō-shti 'āyō  
medicine 2PL.ACT 3PL.ACT(Y)-dance 2PL.ACT.EMPH  
'all you who have taken medicine, all you dancers,'

- (8) kede hele yufale 'āsha 'ā! [kede hele yufale 'qšə'q]  
 kede hele yu-fa-le 'ā-sha 'ā  
 now all house-CL(STAND)-DIR 2PL.ACT-make 2PL.ACT  
 'come to the house now!'
- (9) Gostaneci gothla hēgwa! [gostaniči goṭa hēṅwa]  
 gostane-ci go-thla hē-gwa  
 dance-CL(SIT) 3S.IMPERS-start 3S(YM).ACT-speak  
 'The dance is going to start, he says!'

Fourth Call (for the women shell shakers)

- (10) 'Wæ'nene 'āyō [wæ'nini 'aiyɔ]  
 'wæ'nene 'āyō  
 women 2PL.ACT.EMPH  
 'All you women.'
- (11) Dzōtha 'āyō k'ōne 'āyō [dzɔntʰa 'aiyɔ, k'ɔne(?) 'aiyɔ]  
 dzōtha 'āyō k'ō-ne(?) 'āyō  
 turtle 2PL.ACT use-HAB(?) 2PL.ACT.EMPH  
 'all you shell shakers, all you that use them.'
- (12) Kede hele dzotha weda weshēshē 'āshā!  
 [kede hele dzotʰa weda(?) wešəšə 'q̄nšq]  
 kede hele dzōtha weda(?) we-shēshē 'ā-shā.EMPH  
 now all turtle go(?) 3PL(NE).ACT-ready 2PL.ACT-make  
 'get the turtles ready now!'
- (13) Gostaneci kede gothla hēgwa! [gostaniči kede goṭa hēgwa]  
 gostane-ci kede go-thla hē-gwa  
 dance-CL(SIT) now 3s.IMPERS-start 3S(YM).ACT-speak  
 'The dance is going to start now, he says!'

2. AFTER SINGING EUCHEE HYMNS

Mr. Jess Long recorded himself in the late 1980's in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma. The tape, which includes several Euchee hymns, was recorded for Mr. Henry Washburn. Mrs. Josephine Bigler, Mrs. Maxine Barnett, and Mr. Henry Washburn provided the free translation. The text begins as discourse into his feelings towards the Euchee hymns. His style changes into preaching around . This is marked by more exaggerated intonation. By line the discourse is a

prayer. Note his use of the 3<sup>rd</sup> person Euchee plural for God and Jesus. This is the honorific usage in men's speech.

The text is given in block format in Euchee and then English first, followed by the interlinear translation format.

## 2.1 Euchee Block Text

(1) 'Ya gwaneha 'yadzogwa kedochihē, dzedo (yu)shæ:le. (2) 'Yagwane dabisæ:leha, ke'ē. (3) Doch'wæ kedochi (ke)'ē. (4) Ēnda nēk'æthlē'ē.

(5) Sæ:le gohætone. (6) Gohāne hōdzowā.

(7) Aga waha:le neke s'æta kedifa. (8) 'Adi'nē kedijihē, 'nēga:le. (9) Hidzo'ēne. (10) Hido'neshæ:'ē!

(11) K'æthlæhe wedā-falæ, sâ 'ahe hōfa. (12) K'ætæ:hē kedijifalæ, de sâ: 'ahe hōfa! (13) Ditsa kedi'e, dzodi sha:'ē kehōfa. (14) K'æthlæhe wedahe, hōdzeto. (15) K'ala tidocineci jēfala hōk'i'ya'ade. (16) Hōk'i'ya'a:le!

(17) Didzesā hōdik'i'ya'a:le. (18) K'agothlaneha hile kehe dzo'ē, kigotenaha jēfala sō. (19) Kedociteha dehade k'ala hōdzothla.

(20) 'Aga waha:le dziothole, hōdziohō. (21) 'Aga hōdzowājē.

(22) Dzes'i:'e kedifajīgolæ. (23) 'Abe neke'ēchi, tsēbithli 'ahediga kedifahe.

(24) Goshine waha:le hōdzowā, (25) de dzosh'æ'ē [hō-dzo-(ya)] k'adi'nē kedifahe.

(26) Nēgalelæ, hididz'ē.

(27) Hishæ:'ē t'ele k'alak'ōne. (28) Kehōdothlateci dithæ kedifa. (29) 'Yatabalē ke'ē godatenōci

(30) Hōdze ki'ya'a:lē, tse, dzesā:, 'ō:dzeki'ya'alē. (31) 'Ódzethæ:yu::'ē 'ake'ēdā

(32) 'Ēhe hōwethla: hō'i s'æstu hōthlajēfa. (33) De didze hōdzethæ:yuci, 'ahe hōwethla. (34) Hōwadejē go:la. (35) 'Aga nōk'yæ wātalehōcijē. (36) Hōhælē t'ele hōk'ō.

(37) Khyæleneshē:nō hile hōk'a'ne. (38) Hōk'a'nē ke'iha hōk'a'wedejēfā. (39) Do'nēgā:lelæ.

(40) Kede sâ ke'ē kenefate'ē. (41) Neke nōsēcine k'aneke dotā.

(42) Emen!

## 2.2 English Block Text

(1) As I sit here singing these songs, I am very happy. (2) These songs are very sweet, it seems. (3) The way I hear it sitting here. (4) Oh, and that's all right.

(5) The Lord is very good. (6) He gives me life.

(7) I have been on this earth many days. (8) I see as I walk, it's very true.

(9) That's what I think. (10) I trust him very much.

(11) Where ever I will go, He's still there. (12) Where *ever* I am going, and *still* He is there! (13) As I lay sleeping, He is standing close by me. (14) Where ever I go, He goes with me. (15) He takes care of me in my car. (16) He cares.

(17) He really takes care about me, too. (18) All the food, he gives me, where I live, also. (19) And the place for me to live, he makes those for me.

(20) Years ago when I was little, He took me. (21) He gave me this day.

(22) Although I was very small, I (stood) was there. (23) On this day, I arrived here at the appointed time. (24) He gives me a lot of pity. (25) And I am very happy as I see things (from where I stand). (26) It is true, I believe.

(27) The work should go forward in a better way. (28) I want to do this for them. (29) (I want the work) to go forward like a fireball.

(30) He takes care of me, you and me, He takes care of all of us. (31) He even takes care about you. (32) Alas, he (went and) shed his blood. (33) And because he cares for me, He went away. (34) He may have died. (35) On the third day, he arose. (36) He came back to life again.'

(37) Those who have gone before, they will all see each other again. (38) As they meet and talk to one another. (39) I believe it is very true.

(40) So, as you stand there now. (41) Be strong in the church.

(42) Amen.

## 2.3 Interlinear Translation

- (1) [ʔagwanehə ʔadzokwə kedočihe<sup>n</sup>]  
ʔa gwaneha ʔadzogwa kedocihē,  
ʔa-gwa-ne-ha ʔa-dzo-gwa ke-do-ci-hē  
LOC-sing-NOM-PL(INANIM) LOC-1SG.REFL?-sing LOC-1SG.ACT-sit-FREQ  
'As I sit here singing these songs,'

- [tsedoʃæ:le]  
 Dzedo-(‘yu)shæ:le.  
 dzedo-(‘yu)shæ:-le  
 LOC-1SG.REFLEX-happy-very-STATIVE  
 ‘I am very happy.’
- (2) [‘yagwane dabisæ::leha ke’ɛ]  
 ‘Yagwane dabisæ:-le-ha, ke’ɛ.  
 ‘ya-gwa-ne dabisæ:-le-ha ke-’ɛ  
 LOC-sing-NOM sweet-very-FREQ-PL(INANIM) way-ACTIVE  
 ‘These songs are very sweet, it seems.’
- (3) [doɕ’wa: kedoçi’ɛ]  
 Doch’wæ kedochi (ke)’ɛ.  
 do-ch’wæ ke-do-chi (ke)’ɛ  
 1SG.ACT-hear LOC-1s.ACT-sit way-ACTIVE  
 ‘The way I hear it sitting here.’
- (4) [‘ɛndax nɛk’æɬɛ’ɛ]  
 ‘Ènda nɛk’æthlɛ’ɛ.  
 ‘ènda nɛk’æthlɛ-’ɛ  
 oh all.right-ACTIVE  
 ‘Oh, and that’s all right.’
- (5) [sæ::le gohqntone]  
 Sæ:le gohætone.  
 sæ:-le go-hæ-to-ne  
 good-very-STATIVE 3SG(IMP)-breath-rule-NOM  
 ‘The Lord is very good.’
- (6) [gohqne hɔdzowɔ]  
 Gohāne hōdzowā.  
 go-hā-ne hō-dzo-wā  
 3SG(IMP)-breath-NOM 3SG.ACT-1s.PAT/DAT-give  
 ‘He gives me life.’
- (7) [‘aga waha::le neke stata kejjfwa]  
 ‘Aga waha:le neke s’æta kedifa.  
 ‘aga waha:-le neke s’æ-ta ke-di-fa  
 day many.(INANIM)-EMPH-STATIVE this earth-on LOC-1SG.ACT-stand  
 ‘I have been on this earth many days.’
- (8) [adi’neŋkediji:hɛ]

'Adi'ně kedijihě,  
 'a-di-'ně ke-di-ji-hě  
 LOC-1SG.ACT-see LOC-1s.ACT-go-FREQ  
 'I see as I walk.'

[nəgo:lɛ]  
 nəga:lɛ.  
 nəga:-le  
 truth-very-STATIVE  
 'it's very true.'

(9) [hɛdzo'ɛnɛ]  
 Hidzo'ěne.  
 hi-dzo-'ě-ne  
 3SG(INANIM).PAT-1SG.PAT/DAT-think-HAB  
 'That's what I think.'

(10) [hɛdo'ne ʂæ::'ɛ]  
 Hido'neshæ:'ě.  
 hi-di-yu'neshæ:-'ě  
 3SG(INANIM).PAT-1SG.ACT-trust-EMPH-ACTIVE  
 'I trust him very much.'

(11) ['æɫæ:hi widɔ ɸalɛ]  
 K'æthlæhe wedā falæ  
 k'æthlæhe wedā falæ  
 everywhere 1SG.ACT.go.FUT  
 'Where ever I will go.'

[sq 'ahe hɔfa]  
 sã 'ahe hõ-fa  
 sã 'ahe hõ-fa  
 still there 3SG(EH).ACT-stand  
 'He's still there.'

(12) [k'æɫæ:hɛ kidijjɸalɛ]  
 K'æthlæ:hě kedijjifalæ,  
 k'æthlæ:hě ke-di-ji falæ  
 everywhere.EMPH DIR-1s.ACT-go  
 'Whereever I am going.'

[de sq: 'ahe hɔfa]  
 de sã: 'ahe hõ-fa!

de sã- 'ahe hõ-fa  
 and still-EMPH there 3PL(EH).ACT-stand  
 'and *still* he is there!'

(13) [ditsa: kedi'e]

Ditsa kedi'e,  
 di-tsa ke-di-'e  
 1SG.ACT-sleep LOC-1SG.ACT-lie  
 'As I lay sleeping.'

[tsoduša:'ɛ kehɔfa]  
 dzodisha:'ẽ kehõfa.  
 dzo-disha-:'ẽ ke-hõ-fa  
 1SG.PAT/DAT-close-very-ACTIVE LOC-3PL(EH).ACT-stand  
 'He is standing close by me.'

(14) [k'ælæhe wedahe]

K'æthlæhe wedahe,  
 k'æthlæhe weda-he  
 everywhere 1SG.ACT.go-FREQ  
 'Where ever I go.'

[hɔdzeɔ]  
 hõdzeto.  
 hõ-dze-to  
 3PL(EH).ACT-1SG.PAT-go  
 'He goes with me.'

(15) [k'ala di doçineçijifala hɔk'i'ya'adɛ]

K'ala tidocineci jɛfala hõk'i'ya'ade.  
 k'ala ti-do-ci-ne-ci jɛ-fala  
 thing in-1SG.ACT/DAT-sit-HAB-SUB past-PERF

hõ-k'i'ya'a-de  
 3PL(EH).ACT-take.care.of-COMP  
 'He takes care of me in my car.' [in that which I ride in]

(16) [hɔk'i'ya'a:lɛ]

hõ-k'i'ya'a:-le  
 3PL(EH).ACT-take.care.of-EMPH  
 'He cares.'

(17) [didzesɔ hɔdik'i'ya'a:lɛ]

Didzet'æ hōdik'i'ya'a:le.

di-dzet'æ hō-di-k'i'ya'a:-le

1SG(INALIEN).POSS-father 3SG.ACT(EM)-1SG.ACT-take.care.of-EMPH-STATIVE

'My Father, he really takes care of me.'

- (18) [k'a::goʎaneha hile kehe dzo'ɛ]

K'agothlaneha hile kehe dzo'ɛ,

k'agothlane-ha hile kehe dzo-'ɛ

food-PL(INANIM) all here 1SG.PAT/DAT-be.with

'All the food, he gives me.'

[kegoʎanaha jinfala sɔ<sup>w</sup>:]

kigotenaha jɛfala sō.

ki-go-te-na-ha jɛfala sō

live

also

'where I live, also.'

- (19) [kedoçiteha dehade k'a'a hɔdzoʎa]

Kedociteha dehade k'ala hōdzothla,

ke-do-ci-te-ha

dehade

LOC-1SG.ACT/DAT-live-ABLE-PL(INANIM) and

k'ala hō-dzo-thla

thing 3PL(EH).ACT-1s.PAT/DAT-make

'And the place for me to live, he makes those for me.'

- (20) [ waha:le dziot<sup>h</sup>ole]

'Aga waha:le dzio-thole,

'aga waha:-le

dzio-tho-le

day many.(INANIM)-emph-STATIVE 1SG.PAT/DAT-small-really

'Years ago when I was little.'

[hɔdziohɔ]

hō-dzio-hō.

hō-dzio-hō

3PL(EH).ACT-1SG.PAT/DAT-take

'He took me.'



- (21) [’aga hɔdzowqjin]  
 ’Aga hɔdzowājē.  
 ’aga hō-dzo-wā-jē  
 day 3PL(EH).ACT-1SG.PAT/DAT-give-PAST  
 ‘He gave me this day.’
- (22) [dzes’i:’ē kedifajj golæ]  
 dzes’i:’e kedifajj golæ  
 dze-s’i:-’e ke-di-fa-jj go-læ  
 1SG.PAT-small-EMPH-ACTIVE LOC-1SG.ACT-stand-PAST POT-but  
 ‘Although I was very small, I (stood) was there.’
- (23) [’aba neki’ēči]  
 ’Abe neke’ēci  
 ’abe neke-’ēci  
 day this-daytime  
 ‘On this day,’
- [tsɛbi’i’ahedigya: kejifahe]  
 Tsɛbithli ’ahediga kedifahe.  
 tsɛ-bithli ’ahe di-ga ke-di-fa-he  
 water-turn here 1SG.ACT-arrive LOC-1SG.ACT-stand-[SUB?]  
 ‘I arrived here at the appointed time.’
- (24) [go:šine waha:le hɔdzowq]  
 Goshine waha:le hɔdzowā,  
 go-shi-ne waha:le hō-dzo-wā  
 3SG(IMP)-pity-NOM much.very.(INANIM) 3PL(EH).ACT-1SG.PAT/DAT-give  
 ‘He gives me a lot of pity,’
- (25) [de dzoš’æ’ē hɔdzya]  
 De dzosh’æ’ē hō-dzo-ya  
 de dze-’yush’æ-’ē hō-dzo-ya  
 and 1s.PAT/DAT-happy-ACTIVE 3PL(EH).ACT-1SG.PAT/DAT-[un]  
 ‘And I am very happy’
- [k’aji’nɛ kejifahe]  
 k’adi’nɛ kedifahe.  
 k’a-di-nɛ ke-di-fa-he  
 thing-1SG.ACT-see LOC-1SG.ACT-stand-now  
 ‘as I see things (from where I stand).’
- (26) [kɛŋga:lelɛ hɛjjido’ɛ]

Nēgalelǣ, hididz'ē.  
 nēgale-lǣ hi-di-dz'ē  
 true-ENC 3sg(INANIM).PAT-1sg.ACT-believe  
 'It is true, I believe.'

(27) [hɛʂæ:tele k'alogo'ni]  
 hishǣ:'ē t'ele k'alak'ōne  
 hishǣ:'ē t'ele k'alak'ōne  
 better.very next work  
 'The work should go forward in a better way.'

(28) [kehɔdoʃateci di<sup>h</sup>qi kedioʃa]  
 Kehōdothlateci dithǣ kedifa.  
 ke-hō-do-thla-te-ci di-thǣ ke-di-fa  
 LOC-3pl.PAT-1s.ACT/DAT-do-ABLE-SUB 1SG.ACT-want LOC-1SG.ACT-stand  
 'I want to do this for them.'

(29) ['yatabalɛ ki'ɛ kodatinɔŋci]  
 'yatabalē ke'ē godatenōci  
 'yata-balē ke'ē go-datenōci  
 fire-ball be.like to.go.forward  
 '(I want the work) to go forward like a fireball.'

(30) [hɔdzeki'ya'a:lɛŋ]  
 Hōdzeki'ya'a:lē  
 hō-dze-ki'ya'a:-lē  
 3PL(EH).ACT-1s.PAT-care.for-EMPH-STATIVE  
 'He takes care of me...'

[tse dze tsq: 'ɔ:ndzeki'ya'alɛŋ]  
 tse, dzesā:, 'ō:dzeki'ya'alē.  
 tse dze<sup>1</sup>-sā: 'ō:dze-ki'ya'alē  
 you me-also 1PL(INCL).PAT-care.for  
 'you and me, He takes care of all of us.'

(31) ['ɔndzethǣ:yu::'ɛ 'akɛŋtɔ]  
 'Ōdzethǣ:yu::'ē 'ake'ēdā  
 'ō-dze-thǣ:yu::-'ē 'ake'ēdā  
 1pl(INCL)-PAT-care.about even  
 'He even cares about you.'

(32) ['ɛhe hɔ'wɛʃa: hɔ'is'astu hɔʃ'ajifan]  
 'Ēhe hō-wethla: hō-'i s'ǣstu hō-thlajǣfa.

'ēhe<sup>2</sup> hō-wethla: hō-'i s'æ-stu  
 alas 3PL(EH).ACT-go.PAST 3(EH).POSS(ALIEN)-blood down-drop

hō-thla-jē-fa  
 3PL(EH).ACT-make-PAST-PERF

'Alas, he (went and) shed his blood.'

- (33) [tejidze hōdzet<sup>h</sup>qi:yunči]  
 De didze hōdzethæ:yuci.  
 De didze hō-dze-thæ:yu-ci  
 and me 3PL(EH).ACT-1s.PAT-care.about-SUB  
 'And because he cares for me,'

['ahe hōweŋa]:  
 'ahe hō-wethla  
 'ahe hō-wethla  
 there 3SG.ACT(EM)-go.past  
 'He went away.'

- (34) [hōwadjɪ go:lá]  
 Hōwadejē go:la  
 hō-wade-jē go:la  
 3SG.ACT(EM)-die-PAST POT-COMP  
 'He may have died.'

- (35) ['aga nōk'yæ wqt'ale hōčiji]  
 'Aga nōk'yæ wātale-hō-ci-jē  
 'aga nōk'yæ wā ta-le hō-ci-jē  
 day three FOC up-again 3PL(EH).ACT-sit-PAST  
 'On the third day, he arose.'

- (36) [hōhæle:ntele hōŋk'ɔ]  
 Hōhælē t'ele hōk'ō.  
 hō-hæ-lē t'ele hō-k'ō  
 3SG.ACT(EM)-breath-REPEAT again 3PL(EH).ACT-make  
 'He came back to life again.'

- (37) [k<sup>h</sup>yæ'anešɛ:nō hile hōk'a'ane]  
 Khyæleneshē:nō hile hōk'a'ne.  
 khyælene-shē:-nō hile hō-k'a-'ne  
 passed.by-DEC-EMPH all 3PL(EH).ACT-RECIP-see  
 'Those who have gone before, they will all see each other again.'

- (38) [hɔk'a'nɛ:ŋke'ɛha hɔk'ɔ'wede jɪfɔŋ]  
 Hɔk'a'nɛ ke'iha hɔk'a'wede jɛfɔ  
 hɔ-k'a-'nɛ [ke'iha] hɔ-k'a-'wede jɛ-fɔ  
 3PL(EH).ACT-RECIP-see.FUT [UN] 3PL(E).ACT-RECIP-talk PAST-PERF  
 'As they meet and talk to one another.'
- (39) [do'nɛŋgɔ:lɛlɛ]  
 Do'nɛgɔ:lɛlɛ.  
 do-'nɛgɔ:-lɛ-lɛ  
 1SG.ACT/DAT-believe-really-ENC  
 I believe it is very true.'
- (40) [kede sɔŋke'ɛ kenefɔ te'ɛ]  
 kede sɔ ke'ɛ kenefa te'ɛ  
 kede sɔ ke-'ɛ ke-ne-fa te-'ɛ  
 now so way-ACTIVE LOC-2SG.ACT-stand able-active  
 'So, as you stand there now,'
- (41) [neke nɔsɛŋɔni k'one kedotɔŋ]  
 Neke nɔsɛcine k'aneke dotɔ.  
 neke nɔ-sɛcine k'a-neke do-tɔ  
 this 1PL.POSS-church thing-this 1SG.ACT/DAT-want  
 'Be strong in the church.' or  
 'This our church, I charge.'
- (42) [e::mɛŋ]  
 'Amen'

### 3. SOME EUCHEE PROVERBS

Maxine Wildcat Barnett, Josephine Wildcat Bigler, William Cahwee recorded these proverbs in the summer of 1995.

- (1) Ts'a'iwɛnɔ kede yawekwɛ, tsothi kede shɛshɛgɔ. (Maxine Barnett)  
 'The locusts are saying that the green beans are ready.'

Ts'a'iwɛnɔ kede yawekwɛ, [ts'a'iwɛnɔ kede yawekwɛ]  
 ts'a'i-wɛnɔ kede ya-we-kwɛ  
 cicada-PL(NE) now LOC-3s(NE).ACT-sing  
 'The locusts are singing'

tsotiha kede shēshēgō. [dzotiha kede šɛšɛgɔ]  
 tso-ti-ha kede shēshē-gō  
 green.bean-PL(INANIM) now ready-POT  
 that the green beans must be ready now.

(2) Di'ōnthæ s'ahē, chaso dok'īgō. (Maxine Barnett)

'Whenever my hand itches, I'm going to get some money.'

Di'ōnthæ s'ahē, [di'ɔntʰæ s'ahɛ]  
 di-ōnthæ s'a-he,  
 1s.POSS(INALIEN)-hand itch-FREQ  
 'Whenever my hand itches,

chaso dok'īgō. [çʰaso dok'igɔ]  
 chaso do-k'ī-gō  
 money 1s.ACT/DAT-get-POT  
 'I'm going to get money.'

(3) Di'ōnthæ s'ahē, gok'æ'nene nehēthligō. (William Cahwee)

'Whenever my hand itches, visitors are coming.'

Di'ōnthæ s'ahē, [di'ɔntʰæ s'ahɛ]  
 di-ōnthæ s'a-he  
 1s.POSS(INALIEN)-hand itch-FREQ

gok'æ'nene nehēthligō. [gok'æ'nene nehɛtigɔ]  
 gok'æ'nene ne-hē-thli-gō  
 visiter here-3pl.ACT-come-POT  
 'visitors are coming.'

(4) Dichup'æ'e ko, gont'e go'wedede kede hēdzothlagō.

'Whenever my ear rings, someone is talking about me, I guess.'

Dichup'æ'e ko, [diçʰup'æ'e ko]  
 di-chup'æ-'e ko  
 1s.POSS(INALIEN)-ear-CL(LIE) ring  
 'When my ear rings,'

gōnt'e go'wedede kede hēdzothlagō. [gont'e go'wedede kede hɛndzotlagɔ]

gont'e go-'wedede kede hē-dzo-thla-gō  
 someone gossip now 3s(EM).ACT-1s.PAT/DAT-make-POT  
 'someone is talking about me, I guess.'

- (5) Godāp'i s'aehe, gont'e hōdze'ne hōthægō. (Maxine Barnett)

'Whenever your nose itches, someone wants to see you, I guess.'

Godāp'i s'aehe, [godqmp'i s'aehe]  
 go-dāp'i s'a-he-he  
 3s(IMP).POSS-nose itch-FREQ-FREQ  
 'Whenever one's nose itches,'

gont'e hōdze'ne hōthægō. [gont'e hɔndze'ne hɔtʰægɔ]  
 gont'e hō-dze-'ne hō-thæ-gō  
 someone 3pl(EM).ACT-1s.PAT-see 3s(em).act-want-POT  
 'someone want to see you, I guess.'

- (6) Sene wechyathla go'nehe, k'ala sæ:le gonō. (Josphine Bigler)

'Whenever you see a redbird, something good happens.'

Sene wechyathla go'nehe, [séne wèçyɑ́ɑ́ go'nehé]  
 sene we-chyathla go-'ne-he  
 bird 3s(NE).ACT?-red 3s(IMP).ACT-see-FREQ  
 'Whenever you see a red bird,'

k'ala sæ:le gonō. [g'ɑ́ɑ́ sæ:le gonɔ́]  
 k'ala sæ:le go-nō  
 thing good 3s(IMP).PAT-be  
 'something good happens.'

- (7) Kwane goc'wahe, næk'asæ:le goch'wæ.

'Whenever you hear a hoot owl, you will hear bad news.'

Kwane goc'wahe, [kwané koç'wahéh]  
 kwane go-c'wa-he  
 hoot.owl 3s(IMP).ACT/DAT-hear-FREQ  
 'Whenever you hear a hoot owl,'

næk'asæ:le goch'wæ. [nɛk'asæ:le goɕ'wæ]  
 næ-k'a-sæ-:-le go-ch'wæ  
 NEG-thing-good-very-VRBLZR 3s(IMP).ACT/DAT-hear.FUT  
 'you will get bad news.'

(8) Golaha 'a'ogwa 'yastabado-he, næk'æthlæhe fāfānō.

'Grandma said whenever it is foggy, don't go out walking!'

Golaha 'a'ogwa, [golahá 'à'ogwá]  
 golaha 'a-'o-gwa  
 grandma LOC-3s(EH).ACT/DAT-say  
 'Grandma said,

'yastabadohe, ['yàstabadohéh]  
 'yastabadohe  
 fog-FREQ  
 'whenever it is foggy,'

næk'æthlæhe fāfānō. [nɛg'ætæhéh fɔfɔnɔ]  
 næ-k'æthlæ-he fāfā-nō  
 neg-outside-LOC walk-IMP  
 'don't go outside walking!'

(9) Wet'æfa næ'ōp'aso gothlanewa, hēgwanejē.

'Ake'ē gothla'nehv go'ōp'ifa 'æwine wá hēgwanejē.

'Don't point at a rainbow, they used to say.  
 If you do, you're finger will fall off, they used to say.'

Wet'æfa næ'ōp'aso gothlane wá, [wèt'æfá nɛ'ɔmp'asó gołanı wá]  
 wet'æ-fa næ-'ōp'aso go-thla-ne wá  
 rainbow-CL(STAND) NEG-point 1s(IMP).ACT-go.HAB FOC  
 'Don't go pointing at a rainbow,'

hēgwanejē. [hɛgwanijɪ]  
 hē-gwa-ne-jē  
 3s(EM).ACT-say-HAB-PAST  
 'they used to say'

'Ake'ē gothla'nehā go'ōp'ifa 'awine ['akɛ'ɛŋgołɔ'nehɔ go'ɔmp'ifa 'æwini]

a'ke'ē go-thla-'nehā go-ōp'i-fa 'a-wi-ne  
 that.way 3(IMP).ACT-go-IF 3s(IMP).POSS-finger-CL(STAND) LOC-fall-HAB  
 'If you do, your finger will fall off'

wá hēgwanejē. [wá hēgwanijɪ]  
 wá hē-gwa-ne-jē  
 FOC 3pl(EM).ACT-say-HAB-PAST  
 'That's what they used to say.'

- (10) Tholēshpēneha nākwahōne wá, hēgwanejē, dze'ē hoda k'aju, hēgwanejē.  
 Leha tholēshpēneha hiki:le wa hēgwanejē.

'Don't be playing with Indian turnips, they said. It will storm, they said.  
 These Indian turnips are really dangerous, they used to say.'

Tholēshpēneha nākwahōne wá, [tʰòlɛʃpɛnihá nākwahɔní wá]  
 tholēshpēne-ha nā-ke-wāhō-ne wá  
 indian.turnip-PL(INANIM) NEG-DIR-play-HAB FOC  
 'Don't be playing with Indian turnips,'

hēgwanejē. [hɛŋgwanijɪ]  
 hē-gwa-ne-jē  
 3s(EM).ACT-say-HAB-PAST  
 'they used to say'

tsē'ē hoda k'aju, [tsɛ'ɛ hoda k'aju]  
 tsē'ē hoda k'aju  
 rain wind together  
 'it will storm'

hēgwanejē. [hɛŋgwanijɪ]  
 hē-gwa-ne-jē  
 3s(EM).ACT-say-HAB-PAST  
 'they used to say'

Leha tholēshpēneha hiki:le [léha tʰòlɛʃpɛhá hiki:le]  
 leha tholēshpēne-ha hiki:-le  
 these indian.turnip-PL(INANIM) dangerous-very-VRBLZR  
 'these Indian turnips are very dangerous'

wá hēgwanejē. [wá hɛŋgwanijɪ]  
 wá hē-gwa-ne-jē



FOC 3s(EM).ACT-say-HAB-PAST  
'that's what they used to say.'

- (11) Gont'e hēdikiha nākele gochane, wá hēgwanejē.  
'Ake'ē gothla'nehv̄ godzafa hēgwanejē.

'Don't put your foot inside another man's track.  
If you do, you'll get a fever, they used to say.'

Gōt'e hēdikiha nākele gochane, [gɔnt'ɛ hɛ̃ndikihá nākele gòčʰaní]  
gōt'e hē-diki-ha  
man 3SG(EM).POSS(INALIEN)-track-PL(INANIM)

nā-kele go-cha-ne  
NEG-there-back 3SG(IMP).ACT-step-HAB  
'Don't step in another man's track.'

wá hēgwanejē. [wá hɛ̃ngwanijí]  
wá hē-gwa-ne-jē  
FOC 3SG(EM).ACT-say-HAB-PAST  
'that's what they used to say.'

'Ake'ē gothla'nehv̄ godzafa [ʼake'ɛ goɬa'nihɿ godzafa]  
'ake'ē gothla'nehv̄ go-dzafa  
that.way 3s(IMP).go-COND fever  
'if you do, you will get a fever'

hēgwanejē. [hɛ̃ngwanijí]  
hē-gwa-ne-jē  
3s(EM).ACT-say-HAB-PAST  
'they used to say'

- (12) Yuciha howilehe dze'ene, k'ethlāhā hōfāfājē s'æfa tesaletla.

'Whenever a Yuchi person dies, it always rains, and washes his  
tracks away.'

Yuciha hōwilehe [yucihɑ hɔ̃nwilehé]  
Yucihahō-wile-he  
Euchee 3s(EM).ACT-die-FREQ

**‘Whenever a Euchee person dies,**

**tsē’ē-ne** [tsɛ’ɛnæ]  
**rain-HAB**  
**‘It always rains.’**

**k’ethlæhæ hōfāfājē** [check wherever] [k’ɛtæhæ hɔnfɔfɔjt]  
**k’ethlæhæ hō-fāfā-jē**  
**wherever 3s(EM).ACT/DAT-walk-PAST**  
**‘wherever he walked,’**

**s’æfa tesaletla** [s’æfá t̚ɛsɔlɛtá]  
**s’æ-fa tesa-le tla**  
**ground-CL(STAND)clean-STATIVE make**  
**‘the ground is made cleaned.’**

## Notes Appendix I

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<sup>1</sup> Speakers feel that the proper form for the independent pronoun 'me' should be *di* instead of *dze*. See Chapter 3, Section 7 for discussion of the independent pronouns.

<sup>2</sup> This is a Creek exclamation.

## Appendix II: Pronunciation Guide

The following list indicates the pronunciation of the Euchee orthography in relation to English sounds. Whenever possible, an English word with an equivalent sound is given. The sound is underlined. If not English equivalent exists, then a brief description is given. The linguistic description of the sounds and examples of Euchee word containing the sounds are found in Chapter 2: The Sound System, Section 1.

The orthography used throughout this work was developed in 1995 by the Euchee Language Class of Sapulpa. The history of this orthography is found in Chapter 1: Introduction, Section 5.

### VOWELS

<b>a</b>	<b>t<u>a</u>lk</b>	<b>ǎ</b>	<b>f<u>a</u>wn</b>	(lips are unrounded)
<b>e</b>	<b>h<u>e</u>y, or b<u>e</u>t</b>	<b>ē</b>	<b>B<u>e</u>n</b>	
<b>i</b>	<b>mach<u>i</u>ne, or b<u>i</u>t</b>	<b>ĩ</b>	<b>p<u>i</u>n</b>	
<b>o</b>	<b>o<u>o</u>pen</b>	<b>ō</b>	<b>d<u>a</u>wn</b>	(lips are rounded)
<b>u</b>	<b>fl<u>u</u>te</b>			
<b>æ</b>	<b>ba<u>a</u></b>	<b>ǣ</b>	<b>ma<u>a</u></b>	

### VOWEL COMBINATIONS

<b>ao</b>	<b>ab<u>o</u>ut</b>	(used in contractions only)
<b>ai</b>	<b>'I'</b>	(used in contractions only)

### ADDITIONAL VOWEL

<b>v</b>	<b>h<u>v</u>sk</b>	<b>ǰ</b>	<b>b<u>v</u>ndle</b>
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(used when the underlying vowel is unknown and in contractions)

## CONSONANTS

<b>b</b>	<b>bet</b>
<b>ph</b>	<b>pet; with a puff of air</b>
<b>p</b>	<b>apt, spin; without a puff of air</b>
<b>p'</b>	<b>glottal p; no English equivalent.</b>

The glottal consonants are made by closing the mouth at the 'p' or 't' or 'k' etc.... The air is allowed to build up before releasing the sound. This gives the p' t' k' and so on a slightly explosive quality.

<b>d</b>	<b>dye</b>
<b>th</b>	<b>tie; with a puff of air</b>
<b>t</b>	<b>itsy; stiff; no puff of air</b>
<b>t'</b>	<b>glottal t</b>
<b>g</b>	<b>game</b>
<b>kh</b>	<b>cat, <u>K</u>orea; with a puff of air</b>
<b>k</b>	<b>skirt, asked; no puff of air</b>
<b>k'</b>	<b>glottal k</b>
<b>dz</b>	<b>ads</b>
<b>tsh</b>	<b><u>tsetse</u> fly; with a puff of air</b>
<b>ts</b>	<b>cats; no puff of air</b>
<b>ts'</b>	<b>glottal ts</b>
<b>j</b>	<b>judge</b>
<b>ch</b>	<b><u>ch</u>urch</b>
<b>c</b>	<b><u>in</u>ch; no puff of air</b>
<b>c'</b>	<b>glottal c</b>
<b>h</b>	<b>happy</b>
<b>'</b>	<b>uh_uh (catch in throat)</b>

<b>f</b>	<u>f</u> un
<b>f'</b>	glottal f
<b>s</b>	<u>s</u> ister
<b>s'</b>	glottal s
<b>sh</b>	<u>sh</u> ine
<b>sh'</b>	glottal sh
<b>thl</b>	No English equivalent, but is the same as the 'r' in the Creek language. It is roughly equivalent to the 'thl' 'f <u>ifthly</u> .' To make the sound, the tongue is in the position for the 'l' but then air is pushed voicelessly but with friction along the sides of the tongue.
<b>thl'</b>	glottal thl
<b>l</b>	<u>l</u> and
<b>l'</b>	glottal l; the glottal sound is creaky and starts before the l
<b>n</b>	name
<b>n'</b>	glottal n; the glottal sound is creaky and starts before the n
<b>w</b>	<u>w</u> eave
<b>w'</b>	glottal w; the glottal is creaky and starts before the w
<b>y</b>	<u>y</u> es
<b>y'</b>	glottal y; the glottal is creaky and starts before the y

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