

Chapter One: Introduction

1.1 Situating the A'aniih Language in Time and Space

A'aniih (Gros Ventre) is a member of the Algonquian language family, and is most closely related to the Arapaho language. The name now officially preferred for the language by the Tribe is A'aniih, which is a transliteration of the native word for the tribe, 'o'ooniih, meaning 'white clay' or 'white paint.' Both the terms A'aniih and Gros Ventre are widely used on the reservation. The term Atsina is sometimes used for the language, but this is a Blackfeet term, and is not used by the A'aniih themselves.

The language was earlier spoken in areas of central and southern Alberta and Saskatchewan and northern Montana, and was first documented in these areas in 1786 (XXX). The A'aniih were allied (though sometimes problematically) with the Blackfeet groups in earlier times, and were part of the High Plains nomadic buffalo-hunting culture. The language is currently spoken on the Fort Belknap Reservation in north-central Montana, a few miles south of the Canadian border, where the A'aniih have resided since 1878. This reservation, which covers over 650,000 acres, is shared with the Assiniboine (Nakoda) Tribe, who speak an unrelated Siouan language. There are nearly 7000 enrolled individuals in the two tribes, though the exact numbers of each tribe are not known precisely. To this day, individuals of the two tribes tend to live in separate settlements and maintain separate cultural identities. For example on the south end of the reservation around the Little Rocky Mountains, the town of Lodgepole is Assiniboine/Nakoda, while the town of Hays is A'aniih/Gros Ventre.

There are no remaining fluent first-language speakers of A'aniih. The last such speaker was Theresa Lame Bull Walker, who passed away in 2007 at the extraordinary age of 111. However, there are a number of older individuals who have varying degrees of passive knowledge of the language as well as some active knowledge. There are also others who have actively studied and learned it as a second language from the last speakers and are productive users of the language. Almost all of these latter individuals are involved in language revitalization efforts, and they are teaching the language to many younger A'aniih students.

Despite the fact that at least one fluent speaker survived into the twenty-first century, A'aniih stands out as one of the most poorly-documented Algonquian languages, at least in terms of published sources (excluding some languages of the East Coast that were last spoken in the 17th and 18th centuries). No grammar or dictionary of the language has ever been formally published, and there is only one bilingual text collection, published only very recently (Brockie and Cowell 2017). In fact, not even a single complete A'aniih text was ever published with modern linguistic analysis until 2016 (Brockie and Cowell 2016). There are however good unpublished sources, which constitute the basis for this grammar. These will be discussed below.

1.2 The "Arapahoan" Languages

Within the Algonquian family, A'aniih (henceforth AA when referring to the language specifically), Arapaho (henceforth AR) and Beesoowuyeitiit (the language of the Beesoowuunenino' – henceforth BS) make up a sub-family of closely related languages or divergent dialects, usually called the "Arapahoan" subfamily by linguists. Current understanding of the Algonquian languages suggests that the original Proto-Algonquian people lived in the northwest of the US and the southwest of Canada, and then spread eastward over time with various groups splitting off from the core (Goddard 1994). The Blackfeet were most likely a "cousin" group to the core Algonquian family, and were thus the first to diverge. The next

language groups to split off were Cree and the Arapahoan languages (Goddard 1994).

The three Arapahoan languages formed a dialect chain, with AR in the south, BS in the center, and AA in the north. The Beesoowunenno' merged with the Arapaho, most likely during the first half of the 19th century, and the language was documented only by a list of around 250 forms recorded by Alfred Kroeber in 1899. The last speakers passed away sometime during the first half of the twentieth century. AR is far better documented than AA (and still has fluent native speakers), so this language provides valuable comparative information for understanding some of the less-well-understood components of AA grammar. These languages are much more distantly related to Nowoo3ineheeyitiit (the language of the Nowoo3ineheeno'), which was documented only by a list of around 150 words and forms collected by Kroeber in 1899 (Cowell 2022). Although it has been called an "Arapahoan" language, and the speakers were culturally associated with the Arapaho (at least in the 19th century), this speech variety was clearly a separate language, highly divergent phonologically from the Arapahoan sub-family. In fact it was about equally closely related to this subfamily and to Cheyenne, and thus should not be considered linguistically as an Arapahoan language (Cowell 2022).

The Algonquian languages are all agglutinating, making extensive use of both prefixes and suffixes. They are also all polysynthetic, often combining two or more core lexical concepts into a single verb, and making use of noun incorporation. They all have free word order. They are also notable for their use of grammatical gender based on the categories of animate and inanimate (which do not coincide with living and non-living beings).

AA is characteristically Algonquian in these ways. It has changed drastically from its Proto-Algonquian (henceforth PA) origins however in the details of its phonology (sound system), and morphology and morphosyntax (grammar). The evolution of the sound system (historical phonology) can be securely traced from PA to Proto-Arapahoan (the common ancestor of the three-member sub-family, as opposed to AR proper). Goddard 1974 and Goddard 1998 cover the period from PA to Proto-Arapahoan, with the latter the most authoritative. Details of these changes are presented in Appendix One. These sound changes are all shared among AR, AA and BS. Subsequently, at some unknown time several centuries ago, AA began to develop as a separate language from AR and BS. The sound changes specific to AA, as described in Goddard 1974, are also presented in Appendix One.

1.3 Classical and Twentieth-Century A'aniih

The study of the historical development of the sound system (and grammar) of AA is based largely on reconstructions. The first actual documentation of AA (and of any Arapahoan language) occurred in 1786. Other useful documentation of basic vocabulary dates from the 1830s and 1850s. All of this early vocabulary data is presented in the Appendix Two. No truly extensive documentation of grammar, vocabulary and texts occurred until around the year 1900 however, in the work of John Sifton, S.J. and Alfred Kroeber. Kroeber visited the A'aniih in 1901, after having worked with the Southern and Northern Arapaho in 1899 and 1900 respectively. He recorded a good deal of vocabulary, basic grammatical information, and collected half a dozen texts (four of which are published in Brockie and Cowell 2019, and the longest of which is published for this first time as part of this grammar). Kroeber's original material can be found at the National Anthropological Archives in Suitland, MD. Sifton was a missionary who served both the Arapaho and the A'aniih at different times. He produced a dictionary and a grammar of AA, both of which are much more extensive than the material from Kroeber. He also translated various religious material into AA. Sifton's work is supplemented by

that of XXX other missionaries. Sifton's work, as well as that of the other missionaries, can be found in the archives of Gonzaga University in Spokane, WA.

In this grammar, I will refer to the language as documented by Kroeber and Sifton as "classical" AA. I choose this term because the language was used as the primary language of the community at that time, and learned by all members of that community. It is also useful to make this distinction because no further significant documentation and study of AA occurred until the work of Allan Taylor from the 1960s through the 1990s. Taylor published several articles, and most notably a 1994 "pre-final" version of an AA dictionary which contains practically every sentence he ever elicited, and is a gold mine of unanalyzed data. A second source is the field notes of John Cooper, S.J. which date from a somewhat earlier time period – the 1940s primarily. Cooper's work is for all practical purposes identical to that of Taylor, and unfortunately does not add notably to the documented grammar or vocabulary. By the time Taylor worked on the language, it had changed quite significantly, becoming "twentieth-century" AA. The combination of the changes and the gap in study and documentation has led to the decision to present this grammar in two separate sections. The first section describes classical AA – basically the language as learned and spoken by those born during the nineteenth century -- while the smaller second section describes the changes in twentieth-century AA.

It is important to note that the changes involved are not extensive enough to make the two varieties of AA separate languages, although if they were spoken concurrently, a linguist would certainly consider them separate dialects. There is a great deal of continuity in all areas of the language. This means that much of the documentation from Taylor is directly reflective of the language as described by Kroeber and Sifton, and can be used to reinforce the analysis of classical AA, particularly in the area of phonology, where Kroeber and Sifton's data is notably deficient. Thus I cite a number of forms from Taylor's 1994 dictionary as part of the description of classical AA. Such forms are only cited when they correspond with the data from Sifton and Kroeber however (or highlighted where they differ). Taylor's dictionary offers two advantages – precise marking of stress and vowel length, and many more lexical items and inflectional variations than can be found in Sifton and Kroeber. Taylor's work is foundational for understanding and re-transcribing the material from Sifton and Kroeber. At the same time, the latter offer many examples of discursive and grammatical features and complex lexical items that cannot be found in Taylor's work. In summary, the heart of the grammar is the description of classical AA, making use of all three key sources. The second part does not attempt to re-describe modern AA "from scratch" as a second independent language system, but rather notes the many small differences that developed by the end of the twentieth century. These differences are primarily morphological and morphosyntactic.

Note that I do not include stress markings from Kroeber and Sifton when citing their forms (except occasionally to illustrate continuities with Taylor's data), as their marking is incomplete and fundamentally different from Taylor's. It would be too confusing to have two (or really three) separate stress marking systems used which are not comparable.

1.4 Contemporary A'aniih and Revitalization

The grammar is supplemented by material recorded by some of the recent second-language learners, notably Terry Brockie, who worked extensively with Theresa Lane Bull Walker. It is further supplemented by discussion with Brockie and others who are now second-language speakers. I conclude the grammar with a third section, a "revitalization" grammar of AA. This section reflects discussions with the current teachers and learners. Because the chain of

transmission has undergone a bottleneck over the last thirty to forty years, the teachers have been in a position where they can actively reformulate the language that they choose to teach to younger learners, who have had no opportunity to interact with fluent speakers of twentieth-century AA. This is especially the case with less common or more complex structures, which the second-language learners themselves did not fully acquire during the earlier stage of their learning. Over the last ten to fifteen years, these second language learners have now achieved a deeper level of understanding of the language, through a combination of factors – learning more about AR and using it as a model for AA; working with linguists such as myself; rediscovering and re-engaging with the texts collected by Kroeber; and working with linguistic guidelines to better understand the data in Sifton, Kroeber and Taylor for themselves. As a result, these teachers have begun returning to classical AA for certain morphological features, thus effectively undoing some of the language change that occurred over the last century. In other cases however, common high-usage modern features have become well-established among the second-language learners, and are being retained in teaching. Thus current revitalized AA is an interesting combination of features transmitted “naturalistically” from the last fluent speakers to a bottleneck generation of second language learners to a new generation of young people, and other features which were effectively lost entirely from usage and naturalistic transmission, and which are now being relearned in a more “pedagogical” process of knowledge recovery. The final section of the grammar attempts to summarize the current state of decisions in regard to many of these features, in what is effectively another variety of AA “contemporary AA.” At the same time, there are a number of areas of the classical language which are still not well-understood by the current teacher generation, and the same thing could be said for the data in Taylor 1994, which even for myself as a linguist, has proved challenging to disentangle. So the final goal of this grammar is to make possible a systematic understanding of both classical and twentieth-century AA, in order to provide the basis for language revitalization teachers and specialists to best decide how to move forward with teaching and rebuilding their language.

I (no doubt somewhat naively and optimistically) hope that this grammar can be a reference for AA teachers and advanced learners. Therefore, I have tried to use a more colloquial style in the language description at least at some points (putting technical linguistic terms in parentheses for example). Similarly, I have decided to forego descriptive parsimony and elegance at times for a certain amount of repetition (especially concerning phonology). And I take a fairly atheoretical approach to the presentation here. Nevertheless, I believe I have presented a thorough description of the language that will meet the standards of academic linguists. I hope all will enjoy learning more about this fascinating language.

1.5 Summary: What is a Revitalization Grammar?

I have stated above that the third part of this book is specifically a “revitalization grammar” in that it provides a grammar of contemporary AA, which is the variety of the language being revitalized. But more generally the entire book is intended to be one example of a new genre of revitalization grammars, similar to publications in revitalization lexicography, such as a recent dictionary of Tunica (XXX). I define this genre by the following characteristics:

- 1) No fluent native speakers of a language are left, so the research is based predominantly or entirely on a closed corpus of earlier documentation, rather than primary fieldwork with speakers.
- 2) The community in question is actively seeking to revitalize the language.

- 3) The writer of the grammar has consulted with the community, and adopted community choices on issues such as language name, orthography, and so forth. Ideally, the writer should have familiarity or experience with the language teaching and revitalization programs currently ongoing in the community.
- 4) The grammar seeks to describe all varieties of the language in time and space, so that they can all serve as potential resources for the revitalized language (as opposed to describing one synchronic variety of the language). These may (as in this grammar) need to be described as separate stages or varieties of the language.
- 5) As a corollary to point (4), the grammar seeks to make all previous documentation accessible and comprehensible to the revitalization community.
- 6) The grammar may present overtly prescriptive targets for language recovery, in at least some language domains, based on recommendations from community revitalization workers. See chapter 16 and appendix 7.
- 7) The grammar may include invented examples and inductively filled-out paradigms (as long as they are clearly labeled as such) where no full original documentation of these is available. These may be based on the internal logic of paradigms, or on reference to closely related languages (such as AR in this case).
- 8) The grammar provides overt comparative references to the grammar of closely-related languages (such as AR) which can inform the analysis. (This is a specific request of the AA community).
- 9) The grammar attempts to avoid, parenthesize or else fully explain highly technical linguistic concepts. It is not, however, intended to be a language learning textbook, but a reference guide. In this grammar, all technical terms are defined at appropriate places in the text, and in the index the term can be looked up and a reference to the location of that definition within the grammar can be found.
- 10) If there is no other prior existing grammar of the language, a revitalization grammar will need to be a rigorous, technically-acceptable grammar of the language for the linguistics profession, as well as for the language community, since we must assume or at least hope that additional future linguists will be involved in the language revitalization projects.
- 11) In presenting underlying analyses of surface forms (i.e. the second line of the four-line format used in this grammar for presenting language examples) the preference will be for shallower underlying forms, closer to the surface forms, so that learners can more easily see the connections and benefit from the underlying analyses. This may include analyses that are more psychologically real to language learners, even if they are not the most elegant from a technical linguistic perspective. (See chapters four and five and discussions of the analysis of noun and verb inflections, for ex.)
- 12) Rather than proceeding immediately with phonology, then morphology, the grammar attempts to provide a general typological introduction to “how the language works” that will allow the user to better appreciate the more specific chapters that follow. See chapter two.
- 13) Such grammars should be aware of the ideological messages that their presentation and examples may send. In particular, a range of both traditional and modern sentences should be included if possible, so as to avoid ideologizing the language as only able to talk about the past. Also where possible culture-positive examples should be used – i.e. the grammar seeks to avoid using example sentences that refer to

- negative topics such as drugs or alcohol, and seeks to use sentences that illustrate or state cultural values where possible.
- 14) Related to the preceding, revitalization grammars should ideally present various stages of the language in terms of predictable or at least logical results of language change, rather than as the result of ‘language obsolescence.’ This is not to say that language obsolescence does not exist, but it is not a framework that should be used in revitalization grammars. Moreover, even from a purely technical standpoint, every effort should be made to explore and underline the linguistically coherent ways in which language changes – even late-stage changes – occur, rather than simply turning to the concepts of dominant-language contact or language ‘decay’ as easy explanations for changes in endangered languages. Thus one point of this grammar is to argue, from a strictly technical standpoint, against ‘obsolescence’ explanations for many AA phonological and morphological changes. See chapter 15, especially sections 15.8-15.10.
 - 15) Such grammars need to present especially detailed and clear information on new-word formation in the language, as this will be a key component of language revitalization. See section 3.2; chapter 4, especially 4.3 and 4.4.5; chapter 6, especially 6.3; chapter 9, especially 9.4; and section 17.6.
 - 16) Such grammars should cover all special domains of language usage, including personal names, placenames, traditional narrative, song, and prayer. See chapter 14.
 - 17) Related to the previous, the grammar should cover key interactional routines such as greetings and departures, politeness strategies, and other expressive interactive domains such as exclamations, as these domains are often highly salient targets of revitalization. See chapter 12, especially sections 12.3, 12.4 and 12.7.
 - 18) The index should include not just technical terms (‘evidentiality,’ ‘epistemic modality’) but everyday English-language equivalents to such terms (‘reportedly,’ ‘must be,’ speculation, deduction).
 - 19) Certain dictionary-like functions are needed in a revitalization grammar, especially in the case of polysynthetic languages. In particular in AA, there are many morphemes that occur only as medial or final elements of verbs. Recognizing these is crucial for rapid vocabulary learning as well as eventually for new word formation, yet such forms are largely inaccessible in a traditional dictionary, since they are “buried” within the word, and listing them as entries in the dictionary still means they occur scattered randomly throughout such a text. Here, such forms are grouped together, and an attempt has been made to provide an exhaustive listing. See sections 6.1.3.1 and 6.1.4.

Chapter Two: The Way A’aniih Works

2.1 Agglutination and Polysynthesis

This chapter is intended to give a general overview of AA as a communication system. AA is what linguists call an agglutinating, polysynthetic language. An agglutinating language can be thought of as one where prefixes, suffixes and similar grammatical forms are “glued” on to the main noun or verb, one after the other. AA makes extensive use of prefixes and suffixes, as well as infixes (which are inserted inside a word) and circumfixes (which are markers which consist of both a prefix and a suffix, but with a single combined meaning) to convey grammatical information. An AA verb will often have two to three prefixes and one to two suffixes. Consider the following (invented) sentence:

- 1) *‘aayóun^a* *’i{i}h ‘ii ‘iini[i]stóónínóó ‘ ?*
ʔaayó.u-niʔ ʔi-ih-ʔi.iʔ-ii-niisitó.ón-ínóóʔ
what-04S 3S-PST-INSTR-IMPERF-make(AI.T).DEPPART-P.POSS
‘What did they (habitually) make it with?’ (T 2.3)

In this grammar, by the way, Taylor’s sentences are normally reproduced exactly. However, individual sentences often contain minor irregularities that do not fit with the regular patterns of the language. In some cases, such as in this case, no alternative, unproblematic sentence can be found. When this occurs, sounds which are not expected to occur are put in brackets ({i} above), while sounds that would be expected to occur are put in square brackets ([i] above). Where stress varies from the expected however, this is corrected, and then a note is added to indicate Taylor’s original documentation. The first line represents actual pronunciation, whereas the second line (without italics) indicates underlying forms. The third line provides an explanation of each form in the second line.

The sentence contains a noun stem with one suffix, and a verb stem which has three prefixes (PST, INSTR, IMPERF) and a circumfix, which surrounds the verb on either side (3S + VERB + P.POSS = 3P). The various abbreviations are explained in the appendix, and are not important for the moment. Likewise the stress marks (í, î, etc.) will be explained in chapter three, and are not important for the moment. The key thing to understand is that the verb and noun stems are not really words in the way that English nouns or verbs are, but rather are units of meaning to which affixes are added to create actual surface, pronounceable words. In this case, the verb itself has also undergone secondary derivation (i.e. a new verb has been created by manipulating a base verb stem), from /niisitii-/ ‘make s.t.’ to a participial form /niisitó.ón-/ ‘a thing made.’ Many AA sentences actually consist of only a verb, because so much information is “glued on” (agglutinated) to the verb. (Note that whenever forms are cited in the text of the grammar, italic forms represent actual pronunciation, while non-italic forms in slants (/xxx/) are underlying forms.)

As a polysynthetic language, AA often combines two or more lexical concepts into a single word, especially a verb, and also incorporates nouns into verb stems, as in the following example:

- 2) *kónóóhónaakihiinaak^a.*
kónóóh-ón-aa-kíhiin-aa-kiʔ
IC.swollen-fur-AI.MID-tail-AI.MID-3S

‘He has a bushy tail.’ (T 2.329)

Polysynthesis means roughly ‘building multiple concepts into a single word.’ Here the descriptive/adjectival concept of ‘swollen’ is combined with two nominal concepts of ‘fur’ and ‘tail’ to create a single verb stem meaning ‘have a bushy tail.’ While this example is more complex than most, many AA verbs combine at least two lexical concepts, such as /ʔɔɔwúθaa-/ ‘walk down’ vs. /nɔɔʔááθaa-/ ‘walk around.’

Note in the second example there is only one grammatical affix (the suffix for 3S), so in this case it is the polysynthesis of lexical concepts that creates the richness of the form. In contrast, in the first example the agglutinated affixes produced the richness (with the verb itself being the relatively simple ‘make’). This is a general tendency in AA – it is relatively rare to combine an extremely rich polysynthetic stem with a large number of grammatical affixes.

2.2 Animacy of Nouns

Nouns are divided into two classes, animate (NA = noun.animate) and inanimate (NI = noun.inanimate). All living, animate things (people, animals, birds, insects, also heavenly bodies and spirits) are grammatically animate, while most non-living or non-animate things (tools, clothing, foods, body parts, most individual types of plants and trees, abstract concepts) are inanimate. However, there are a number of nouns which are unexpectedly treated as animate in AA, including rocks, drums, socks, belts, balls and other items (all listed in the appendices). Because the classification does not match “real world” animacy and is not completely predictable, noun animacy/inanimacy is a grammatical classification, similar to masculine and feminine nouns in Spanish or French. This distinction turns out to have a pervasive effect on AA grammar, as will be shown in the following section. Note however that there is nothing in the form of nouns which allows one to predict whether they will be animate or inanimate (unlike Spanish or Italian for example where nouns ending in /-a/ are almost all feminine).

There is also a distinction between obligatorily and non-obligatorily possessed nouns in AA. Both animate and inanimate nouns can be obligatorily possessed, which means that they *must* have a prefix indicating who the possessor is (‘his’ ‘my’ ‘our’ etc.). Common items that are obligatorily possessed are relatives and body parts, but other items such as lodges, arrows, and pets also fall into this category.

2.3. Verb Stem Classes in Relation to the NI/NA Distinction

The distinction between the two basic noun classes leads to the existence of four different classes of verb stems in AA: II (inanimate subject, intransitive), AI (animate subject, intransitive), TI (transitive, inanimate object) and TA (transitive, animate object). The different stem classes have unique stem shapes, and take different sets of inflectional (actual pronominal) affixes. Because AA nouns have no special animate or inanimate form as independent nouns, the different verb stems with which they are used are the most common way in which their class shows up in the language. Thus for example in talking about a yellow object, one must use the II stem /níhɔɔyɔ́-/ for NI nouns and the AI stem /níhɔɔnáhi-/ for NA nouns. Similarly, in talking about seeing something, one must use the TI stem /nɔɔhɔ́ɔt-/ in reference to NI nouns and the TA /nɔ́ɔhɔw-/ in reference to NA nouns. The pairs of stems are obviously related, but have differing final elements which identify the type of noun being referenced, even if that noun is not mentioned overtly in the sentence.

The pronominal affixes on the stems also differ: to say ‘it’ is yellow when talking about

an NI item like a leaf, one says *níhɔɔyɔɔ-h*, but when talking about an NA item like a ball, one says *níhɔɔnéh-kⁱ*. The same thing happens when one talks about seeing inanimate versus animate items: *ɔɔɔhɔɔt-ɔɔɔɔ* vs. *ɔɔɔhɔɔ-^{2h}* respectively for ‘I see it.’ Thus it is already clear that AA verb stems are much more specific than in English, and also that the affixes used to indicate person and number are complex, since they vary according to the stem type.

2.4 Verb Orders and Information Types

AA also has four verb “orders,” which are used to indicate the general nature of the information being conveyed in the utterance. The orders are the affirmative (to indicate positive, certain information), the non-affirmative (for questions, uncertainty, negations and other irrealis uses), the imperative (for commands and suggestions), and the conjunct (used in subordinate clauses, to indicate background information).

These orders have different sets of pronominal affixes associated with them. For example, all four orders can be seen below, applied to the single TA verb stem *nóhɔɔw*- ‘see s.o.’ The details of the inflectional affixes are not important at this point, other than to notice that they are clearly different from order to order even though they all refer to ‘we (exclusive) acting on him’ (examples are invented if there is no citation to a source):

- 3) Affirmative: *níhnóhɔɔbáakⁱ*.
nih-nóhɔɔw-á.aki?
 PST-see(TA)-1P/3S
 ‘We saw him.’ (T 2.192)
- 4) Non-affirmative: *neeihch ‘iinóhɔɔwóóbh*.
na-ih-cih?ii-nóhɔɔw-óó-bah
 1S-PST-NEG-see(TA)-1/3-1P
 ‘We didn’t see him.’
- 5) Imperative: *ɔɔɔhɔɔwúnh!*
ɔɔɔhɔɔw-ínih
 see(TA)-2S/3IMPER
 ‘See him!/look at him!’ (T 2.193)
- 6) Conjunct: *neeihnóhɔɔbáakiinínɔɔ*.
na-ih-nóhɔɔw-âakiin-ínɔɔ?
 1-PST-see(TA)-1P/3.DEPPART-1P
 ‘The one/him whom we saw.’

Obviously one of the biggest challenges in learning AA is handling the four different types of verb stems, combined with the four different verbal orders. These two components of the grammar are what drive much of the rich system of agglutination seen earlier (and in the immediately preceding examples).

2.5 Word Order and Other Means of Information Focusing

Syntactically AA is characterized by so-called “free” word order. In fact, word order is controlled by pragmatic factors, with new information typically occurring in the initial position in

the sentence. Similarly, contrastive information or other types of focused information occurs sentence-initially. The order is “free” in the sense that anything can occur in this initial position – grammatical subjects, objects or oblique participants, verbs, particles, etc. – with no special syntactic modifications or more marked structures needed to do this.

In addition to placing information in the initial position, AA has the ability to highlight information in other ways as well. Because of the availability of the agglutinating pronominal affixes, overt nouns can be and in fact most often are omitted from a sentence after initial introduction of the referent, so that overt use of a noun functions to highlight its saliency – a noun may be mentioned a second time in order to reactivate it in the discourse, for example, or for contrastive purposes.

Already mentioned is the use of noun incorporation, as part of polysynthesis. This too has informational relevance. When a noun is first mentioned, it is usually not incorporated, but may be so on subsequent mentions. Cross-linguistically, noun-incorporation is widely used to demote the important of an object, and that is certainly the case in AA as well. Only certain (relatively common) nouns are incorporated as well. Thus polysynthesis is largely an information-oriented strategy. In general, ideas which are commonly or closely associated with each other are most likely to be combined in polysynthesis – thus ‘walk down’ or ‘walk around’ or ‘have a bushy tail’ as seen earlier. In contrast less common, more unusual or marked combinations of ideas do not normally get combined in this way – thus there is no lexicalized verb for ‘walk holding a ball’ or ‘walk with one’s shoulders hunched up’ or ‘have wrinkly elbows.’ These ideas would have to be expressed in multi-word combinations.

AA verb stems also can take a variety of secondary derivational suffixes. Some of these serve to detransitivize a verb and thus demote grammatical objects. Thus TA *tibkiut-* refers to breaking some specific NA item. But AI *tibkiucaaa-* refers to breaking ‘things,’ with the identity of the thing in question unspecified. Conversely other suffixes produce ditransitive, benefactive, applicative or other verb forms, which can promote oblique participants to a full grammatical object, marked on the verb via a pronominal affix. Thus TA *tibkiut-* can be converted to *tibkiutɔn-* ‘break s.t. belonging to s.o.’ With this verb, the marked grammatical object will be the possessor of the object broken, as opposed to the object itself. Thus a great deal of the agglutinative richness of AA can be understood in relation to strategies for altering verb stems in order to promote or demote a nominal referent from object status (i.e. a grammatical object marked overtly on the verb with a pronominal affix).

2.6 Person Hierarchy

It is common cross-linguistically to find person hierarchies – grammatical structures and features what distinguish between volitional human agents and non-humans, or non-volitional entities generally. This is pervasive in AA, and again helps to understand much of the structure of the language. For example, only true animate objects (living volitional beings) can normally be the subject of TI and TA verbs – alternative structures must be used when a rock or a stick is the “cause” of something, even if it is grammatically NA. To take another example, nouns with many different roles can be incorporated into verb stems, including things which in English would be considered the “subject” of the sentence (there is a verb for ‘the grass is abundant’ for example, though it might be better glossed as ‘there is grass-like abundance’). But volitional agents can never be incorporated into a verb stem. And much of the promotion and demotion of objects that occurs in AA verbs is focused on promoting humans and demoting non-humans, as in the example cited above where *tibkiut-* (focused on a broken NA object, such as a car for

example) is converted to *tibkúutɔn-* (focused on the possessor of the object: *nih-tibkúutɔn-ɔɔk*⁴ ‘he broken the thing belonging to her,’ with ‘him’ and ‘her’ being the two referents marked on the verb, and thus the focus of the sentence.

In summary, AA can be understood as a language where morphology and morphosyntax is the preferred means of conveying information (2.1) and of highlighting the nature (2.4) and importance (2.5) of certain specific information, with syntax being distinctly secondary in importance, and independent lexical items being extremely little used in comparison to English. Indeed AA could be considered a language which is the polar opposite of English in terms of how it organizes and conveys information. The information structures are also crucially impacted by the existence of the NA/NI distinction for all nouns in the language (2.2-2.3), as well as a strong person hierarchy (2.6). These last two features drive much of the variation in morphology and morphosyntax.

2.7 Male and female speech

AA is unusual among the world’s languages in that some consonants are pronounced different by men and women. In particular, where women say *ki-*, men say *či-*, and where women say *kya-*, men say *ča-*.

Chapter Three: Phonology

Phonology is the description of the sound system of a language. For AA, this includes the vowels and consonants, the way these can change when they come in contact with each other, vowel harmony, the syllables and stress system of the language, and the ways the stress system produces further changes in the actual pronunciation of words. AA vowels can also be either long or short, and they have tone (somewhat like Chinese).

Before beginning this section, it is important to explain the presentation of the data. Neither Sifton nor Kroeber marked stress, tone, or vowel length fully reliably, so technically it is difficult to speak in detail about the phonology of classical AA. In reality, based on a combination of comparisons with AR, the available historical documentation, and internal reconstruction, we can describe classical AA pronunciation reasonably reliably. Most importantly, when this is done there are no major differences from the phonology recorded in Taylor's modern data. This is a crucial result, as Taylor provides the only accurate indications of stress, tone (indirectly) and vowel length. Therefore forms cited are from Taylor whenever possible, but can be taken as representative of the classical data – though bear in mind that all of Taylor's data reflects female speech. As noted in the Introduction, I do not use any stress or tone indications provided in Kroeber and Sifton's data, except in a few rare cases to show correlations with modern data. This is done to avoid confusion, as their stress and tone markings are not equivalent to those of Taylor.

The AA community orthography is used in this dictionary for all cited actual language forms (the first line of four-line analyses in particular). All such forms cited within the text of the grammar are in italics. However, a more technically-oriented orthography is used to describe underlying forms (the second line of four-line analyses in particular). All such forms cited within

the text are in slanted brackets (/ /). The differences between the community and technical orthography are:

Community Orthography	Technical (Underlying) Orthography
<i>by</i>	/b ^y /
<i>ky</i>	/k ^y /
<i>ty</i>	/t ^y /
‘	/ʔ/
<i>áa(a), íi(i) etc.</i>	/âa/, /îi/ etc. (i.e. falling tone on long vowels)
<i>áa(a), íi(i) etc.</i>	/á.a/, /í.i/ etc. (i.e. bisyllabic sequences)

One orthographic compromise occurs: devoiced final vowels are written here (as they are in Taylor), but in a superscript form. Thus underlying /-kiʔ/ (3S, Affirmative, ‘she/he’) is written -*k’i* in Taylor, but -*kⁱ* here. This was done at the request of the community, since teachers report that without the superscript, beginning learners often pronounce the final devoiced vowels fully.

3. 1 Phonemic Inventory and Features

This section describes the basic sounds of the language.

3.1.1 Consonants

AA has the following phoneme inventory (IPA values are given where not obvious from the orthography): /b/, /b^y/, /c/[ts], /č/[tʃ], as in English ‘chase,’ /h/, /k/, /n/, /s/, /t/, /t^y/, /θ/, as in English ‘three,’ /w/, /y/, and /ʔ/, a glottal stop, as in English ‘oh-oh!’ The phoneme /č/ occurs only in men’s speech, and is replaced by /k/ in women’s speech. The phoneme /k/ also occurs in men’s speech (see Taylor 1982 for further considerations of what “men’s speech” actually involves, from a socio-cultural perspective), but in different environments from /č/. The phoneme /t^y/ is realized as either /t^y/ or /č/ in men’s speech, and as /k^y/ or /k/ in women’s speech.

Kroeber and Taylor often recorded /tʰ/, while Sifton recorded only /č/, but Kroeber shows notable hesitancy between the two options, as does some of Taylor's early documentation. See Salzamm 1969 for a discussion of this phoneme impressionistically, from a linguist who worked only briefly with AA but also worked extensively with AR. The phoneme /b/ has a notable allophone (alternate pronunciation, conditioned by surrounding sounds) [p], which occurs prior to /h/. Taylor writes this as *p*, but *b* is used in this grammar. Finally, the phonemes /n/ and /w/ each have an allophone /ʔ/ in final position in a word. See section 3.1.4 for further discussion of the treatment of this allophone in the grammar.

3.1.2 Vowels

The AA vowels are: /a/[ɛ], /e/[e], /i/[i], /ɔ/[ɔ], /o/[o], /u/[u], corresponding to the vowels in English 'set,' 'sate,' 'seat,' 'pop,' 'pope,' and 'boot' respectively. The vowel /i/ has a very notable allophone [i̠] following /c/ and /s/, which has no English equivalent. Otherwise, the phonetic values given in the preceding represent the quality of the values when long. When short, /i/ and /u/ in particular tend to be lowered and centralized, producing something closer to [ɪ] and [ʊ] as in English 'sit,' and 'put.' See also section 3.3.4 below for stress-induced shifts in vowel quality.

A more conservative representation of the vowel phonemes would be a four-vowel system of /a/[ɛ], /i/[i], /ɔ/[ɔ], /u/[u], and this is indeed what Taylor sets up for the underlying forms in his dictionary (1994) and what Salzmann proposes (1969). The phonemes /e/[e] and /o/[o] in the six-vowel system are, diachronically speaking, allomorphs of /a/ and /ɔ/ which occur immediately preceding /i/ and /u/ respectively, or where the only intervening consonants between these vowels and the /i/ and /u/ are /h/, /ʔ/ or /hʔ/. However, due to diachronic processes of vowel syncope and final-syllable loss, the /i/ and /u/ may now sometimes be absent, and thus a

six-vowel synchronic system must be set up.

There are no true diphthongs in AA. The historical origin of /ei/ and /ou/ sequences, where they can be determined, are always from PA forms that were originally bi-syllabic. These forms lost intervening *k: *eki > /e.i/, *oki > *o.i > /o.u/ (by progressive vowel harmony). (A dot(.) will be used to indicate syllable boundaries.) These forms typically retain their bi-syllabic character, as /e.i/ and /o.u/. Other /ei/ and /ou/ sequences result from multi-morpheme combinations, but again typically retain their bi-syllabic character (though see sections 3.1.2.1 and 3.3.8). Falling tone can however convert /e.i/ and /o.u/ sequences secondarily to /êi/ and /ôu/ respectively.

3.1.2.1 Vowel Length: there is a phonemic length distinction for all vowels, between short and long vowels:

- | | | | | |
|----|-------|--------|--------|-------|
| 1) | wosi- | ‘bear’ | wɔosi- | ‘bad’ |
| 2) | baθ- | ‘wood’ | bâaθ- | ‘big’ |

Sequences of three vowels also occur. Within a morpheme, these are always bisyllabic, as in *ni.iin* ‘tipi.’ They can also be the secondary result of morpheme combinations involving two underlying syllables. This is to say, there are no morphemes in which a true underlying double long vowel can be found.

True double-long vowels do occur in surface pronunciation however. One such example is *ni’óóót^a* meaning ‘good dog.’ The underlying form of the word is /niʔ-i-ʔótaʔ/ ‘good-GL-dog.’ Elision of the second glottal stop (as a vowel), and then extension of the quality of vowel following it to the entire resulting syllable, results in the sequence /niʔóóótaʔ/. Note also the spread of the stress from the original vowel to all three vowels in the sequence.

A similar phenomenon occurs with at least some speakers in cases where two syllables

have only vowels at the juncture. For example, an AI.O verb ending is /-ya.a/ (deriving from PA /*-ikan/). The form was bi-syllabic in PA, and maintained this bi-syllabic character in earlier AA (and in current AR, which has /-ye.i-/). However the most common surface pronunciation in Taylor's data is -yaaa-. In this case, the double long vowel occurs across the hiatus of /./ rather than /ʔ/. Another example is -yóóów^{uh} 'lodge' (as in 'óóóéíhóóów^{uh} 'Sun Dance or Offerings Lodge' (in morpheme combinations /y/ is lost after some other consonants, including /h/). The PA source of the form is *wikamikw- which gives earlier AA /-yó.ówuh/ (current AR /-yó.owu'/). But for the speakers documented by Taylor, this seems to have shifted to -yóóów^{uh}. The former syllable boundary has effectively become a vowel length, and the stress is now extended to the entire double-long syllable. This is a pervasive phenomenon in Taylor's data. Yet another example involves PA *seekih- TA 'frighten s.o.' This produces AA /né.eih-/ , as in *nih-néeih-óóókⁱ* 'he scared her' (T 2.187) or *nih-neeih-éikⁱ* 'they scared her' (T 2.187). But other inflections produce a different stress, resulting in forms such as *nih-nééih-éinóó* 'she scared me' (T 2.187). In the latter case, a bi-syllabic morpheme becomes mono-syllabic and the stress extends across the entire sequence.

3.1.2.2 Vowel harmony: AA has progressive o/u vowel harmony: a preceding /ɔ/ or /o/ or /u/ causes an /i/ to become a /u/, and the same process occurs across the intervening consonants /w/, /h/ and /ʔ/. A very common example (see FITG) is:

- 3) ʔiisi- PERF > ʔoh-uusi- when/where-PERF
- 4) ʔii- IMPERF > ʔoh-uu- when/where-IMPERF

(Note that in this grammar, I write all underlying vowel-initial forms with initial /ʔ-/ since this is always added in surface pronunciation. This is done to make the underlying and surface forms more closely resemble each other, and to make the underlying forms more intuitively accessible

for AA learners.)

Contrast also the first pair and second pair of verbs below:

- 5) $k^y ab\dot{i}\theta aa-$ ‘walk, walk past’
- 6) $k^y a\dot{r}\dot{i}\theta aa-$ ‘walk back, returning’
- 7) $t\dot{o}\dot{r}\dot{u}\theta aa-$ ‘stop walking’
- 8) $k^y a\dot{r}\dot{i}n\dot{o}\dot{r}\dot{u}\theta aa-$ ‘return and arrive by walking’

Also contrast the last two examples with $\theta\dot{o}k\dot{i}\theta aa-$ ‘walk through s.t.’ The /k/ blocks vowel harmony. On the other hand in $w\dot{o}\dot{r}\dot{o}w\dot{u}\theta aa-$ ‘walk farther’ or ‘walk over to the side’ the vowel harmony operates across /w/.

Diachronically, all instances of /u/ in AA are the result of vowel harmony, so at a very deep level, a three-vowel system of /a/, /i/ and /o/ could be set up for the language. As a synchronic result, there are no initial syllables in the language which contain an underlying /u/.

The language also has regressive e/o harmony: a following /o/ or /ɔ/ causes a preceding /e/ or /a/ to become an /ɔ/, and the same process occurs across the intervening consonants /w/, /h/ and /ʔ/.

- 9) $n\dot{o}.w\dot{o}t\dot{a}a\dot{n}\dot{a}w-$ ‘think highly of s.o.’ >

$n\dot{o}n\dot{o}w\dot{o}t\dot{a}a\dot{n}\dot{i}b-\acute{e}ik^i$ ‘she thinks highly of him’ (/w/ > /b/ by consonant mutation, /a/ lacking stress > /i/)

$n\dot{o}n\dot{o}w\dot{o}t\dot{a}a\dot{n}\dot{o}w-\dot{o}k^i$ ‘he thinks highly of her’ (based on T 2.351) (/w/ remains, regressive vowel harmony causes /a/ > /ɔ/, working across /w/)

This harmony explains the many examples of /k^yɔ-/ sequences in the language which otherwise appear to be phonologically unmotivated – they derive from /k^ya-/ via vowel harmony.

Both types of vowel harmony are iterative (occur repeatedly across the word until

blocked by some consonant which does not allow the harmony to continue). Note that inflectional affixes can drive vowel harmony in the noun or verb stem, as in the preceding example. Derivational suffixes do this as well.

3.1.2.3 Vowel Tone: AA has developed a phonemic falling tone. This tone occurs only on long vowels, and is marked on underlying forms in this grammar with a circumflex symbol: /bâaθɔɔ-/ ‘big’ > *bináaθóó-h* ‘it is big.’ This tone is the result of historical phonological processes (PA *V?C sequences > long falling vowels), and is not related to word stress or sentence-level prosody. It can therefore be considered a fixed feature of the individual morpheme where it occurs.

Falling tone can also occur secondarily however, as a result of morpheme juncture, as certain morphemes impose falling tone on the preceding morpheme. When this occurs on two-vowel (bi-syllabic) sequences, it converts them into a single syllable with falling tone. These sequences are actually slightly longer than the original two-vowel sequences, and are written in the popular orthography as double long.

10) *nihbíinéik*⁴.

nih-biin-é.i-ki?

PST-give(TA)-4/3-3S

‘She gave it to him.’ (T 1.339)

11) *neeihbiinéiit*⁵.

na-ih-biin-é.i:tɔ? > ne-ih-biin-êitɔ?

1S-PST-give(TA)-INVER-NOM

‘The one who gave it to me.’

Where the two-vowel sequence includes both a short and a long vowel, the falling tone

converts this into a single syllable of true double-long (i.e. triple) length with **falling tone**:

3.1.3 Phonotactics

Phonotactics describes the various sound combinations that are and are not permitted in a language. AA does not permit vowel-initial surface words, so where a form is vowel-initial in its underlying form, /ʔ-/ is added word-initially. Underlying consonant clusters are not permitted word-initially or word-finally, other than final /-hʔ/. Proto-Arapahoan had a very limited set of consonant clusters even word-internally (/hC/, /xC/). Modern surface AA consonant clusters are largely the result of vowel syncope of recent origin, and the only phonological consonant clusters are /hC/ and /θC/ from the Proto-Arapahoan forms.

AA also does not permit vowel-final words. For the most part an /-h/ has been added diachronically (i.e. over the historical development of the language) in such situations.

When the cluster /-hʔ/ occurs word-finally in situations where it is not otherwise dropped (see section 3.3.3), the cluster is reduced to /-h/ in singular nouns. When a plural or obviative inflection is added, this is then dropped in surface pronunciation (see 3.4.3 again), but it leaves the full /-hʔ/ cluster in place. Since clusters are not allowed finally in surface pronunciation, a vowel is added between the /h/ and the /ʔ/. The vowel used is the one which precedes the cluster, though this vowel can undergo further changes due to vowel harmony. An example is:

12) *batab^yiháhʔ* ‘old woman.DIM’ (c.f. AR *betebihehi*) > *bitib(y)i(i)háh* (with apparently optional lengthening of the penultimate syllable)

13) *batab^yiháhʔ-ɔh* ‘old women.DIM’ > *batab^yihóhʔɔh* > *batab^yihóhʔ* (due to loss of final unaccented /-Vh/ sequences) > *bitib(y)i(i)ihóhɔ* ‘

Likewise /*bahʔí.iiháhʔ*/ ‘old man’ > *bih* ‘*iiháh*, pl. *bih* ‘*iihóhɔ* ‘ and /*táʔiyɔɔnáhʔ*/ ‘child’ > *té* ‘*yɔɔnáh*, pl. *té* ‘*yɔɔnóhɔ* ‘ (contrast AR pl. *téi* ‘*yoonóh* ‘o’ with the final syllable of the plural

retained, and thus no insertion of a vowel between /h/ and /ʔ/).

Certain consonant-vowel combinations do not occur in AA. In particular, /u/ occurs only following the consonants /h/, /ʔ/, /w/ and /k/. In the case of /k/, the only occurrence involves the morpheme /-ku.u-/ indicating violent or rapid action, and the original form of this morpheme was /-ko.u-/. Conversely, /i/ does not occur following /w/. These CV restrictions are all due to the licensing (by /w/, /h/ and /ʔ/) or blocking (by other consonants) of vowel harmony.

3.1.4 The Issue of Final /-n/ and /-w/.

A major complication for describing AA is the issue of what happens to /n/ in final position in a word. The simple answer is that this /-n/ becomes /-ʔ/. From a purely technical linguistic standpoint, this final /-ʔ/ could be analyzed as an allophone of /n/ -- that is to say, a completely predictable variant of /n/. Since underlying representations of morphemes and words in this grammar are written with phonological processes such as consonant mutation and vowel harmony already applied to stems, it makes sense to apply this allophonic variation as well. Thus the underlying singular form of 'chief' would be written as /naak^yaaʔ/ while the plural form would be written /náák^yaan-ɔh/. Alternately, one could write these forms as /náák^yaan-/ and náák^yaan-ɔh/ in order to better preserve the underlying similarity, and then apply the /-n/ > /-ʔ/ transformation as a shallow, phonetic shift, similar to all the phenomena described in section 3.3, and appearing only in the surface form.

The problem with both these analyses however, is that speakers and learners experience and analyze these forms as *náák^yaa* ' and *náák^yaa-n^h*. In consulting with the language teachers, they prefer that this grammar present analyses of underlying forms in the most psychologically real way possible for current language users. Technically speaking, this means that one would have to set up an analysis whereby the stem of this and similar nouns is /naak^yaa-/, and that the

singular and plural forms would thus be /náák^yaa-ʔ/ and /náák^yaa-nɔh/. Rather than set up /-ʔ/ as a noun inflection marker for singular number however, I have chosen to simply write the glottal stop on the stem, as if part of the stem, thus leading to two stems: /náák^yaaʔ/ and /náák^yaa-/. I assume that professional linguists can accommodate for this decision since it is explained here, while AA users of the grammar will be better served by this more psychologically realistic presentation.

Note that the same issues occur with verbs. I present the 1S final on AI verbs as /-nɔʔ/ for example. A deeper analysis would actually write this as /-ɔɔn/, with the initial /n-/ actually being considered part of the verb stem. Indeed, in the non-affirmative, when no inflectional suffix occurs on the verb which I present as /k^yabíθaa-/ ‘walk,’ the actual form is /k^yabíθaaʔ/ > -*kibíθaa*’. This reflects the fact that the deep underlying form is /k^yabíθaan/. An analysis of *nihkibíθaanɔʔ* ‘I walked’ could in fact be presented in terms of AA phonology as:

- 14) *nihkibíθaanɔʔ* ‘
 nih-k^yabíθaan-ɔɔn
 PST-walk(AI)-1S

This does not reflect speaker analysis or psychological experience of the forms, however, so /nih-k^yabíθaa-nɔʔ/ is much preferable.

Final /-w/ is exactly parallel, with an allophone /-ʔ/ finally. Thus the stems for ‘dog’ are /ʔótáʔ/ (deep underlying /ʔótaw/) in the singular (> ‘ót^a) and /ʔótaw-iih/ in the plural. Similarly, VTI verb inflections are presented as 2S /-ɔwɔʔ/ and 3S /-ɔʔ/, rather than deeper underlying /-ɔw-ɔʔ/ and /-ɔw-Ø/ respectively (with /-ɔw-/ as part of the verb stem, similar to the final /-n/ of VAI verb stems).

3.2 Combining Morphemes

The following section describes the ways in which vowels and consonants change when morphemes (individual units of meaning), noun or verb stems, or words are combined.

3.2.1 Underlying Stems

Whenever a derivational or inflectional suffix is added to a noun or verb, or when a noun is used to create a secondary verb, or when a verb is altered to create a noun, the underlying stem of the noun or verb is used – that is to say, the full stem. The full underlying verb stem is the form which lacks any prefixes or suffixes, and is easy to recognize. The underlying full stem of AA nouns can be harder to identify however, as final vowels or consonants are often missing in the singular form. The full underlying form can be identified by looking at the plural of the noun, and then removing the underlying plural element. For nouns with /-ɔh/ plural, this is removed (ex. 16, 17). For nouns with /-iih/ or /-uuh/ plural, /-ih/ or /-uh/ is removed (ex. 18). For nouns with /-a-iih > -eeih/ or /-ɔ-uuh > -oouh/ plural, /-iih/ or /-uuh/ is removed (ex. 19). For nouns with /-ɔʔ/, this is reduced to /-ʔ/ (ex. 15). (In addition, any initial /ʔ-/ is not technically part of the underlying noun stem, but as noted earlier, this is still written as such in the grammar.) The resulting forms are the noun stems to which inflectional and derivational elements are added (see chapter XXX), and with which new stems can be created. Examples are:

15) *té'yɔɔnóhɔ* ‘children’ > *táʔiyɔɔnóhʔ-* (actually *táʔiyɔɔnáhʔ* due to vowel harmony)

16) *tɔwɔcinnítaan^{ɔh}* ‘Indians’ > *tɔwɔcinánítaan-*

17) *náákyaan^{ɔh}* ‘chiefs’ > *náák^yaan-*

18) *ʔh'ániih* ‘mountains’ > *ʔhʔáni-*

19) *báatéeih* ‘bows’ > *bâata-*

Plural, locative or diminutive suffixes can then be added to these noun stems, and verbs meaning ‘be a...’ and ‘have a...’ can also be created from them.

3.2.2 Glide Vowel

When two forms are combined, and the result would be two adjacent consonants (other than /hC/ combinations) a glide vowel /i/ is inserted. This glide vowel may then subsequently be deleted in surface pronunciation, but it often first produces consonant mutations (as described below) which make its underlying presence clear:

20) tatak- ‘roll’ + -kó.uhu- ‘rapid.motion’ > tatak-i-kó.uhu- > *tétickóuhu-* ‘roll around’

(/k/ + /i/ > /c/)

21) bâaΘ- ‘big’ + tanaayó.ɔʔ ‘muscle’ > bâaΘ-i-tanaayó.ɔʔ > *báastinádyóɔ* ‘biceps muscle’

3.2.3 Glide Consonant

When two forms are combined to create a stem or inflection, and the result would be two adjacent vowels a glide consonant /n/ is sometimes inserted. In the following, example 21 shows the use of a prefix with a full verb stem – where glide consonants would never be inserted – while example 22 shows the formation of a single verb stem, with insertion of the glide consonant:

22) *naa-nóóθóó-byiicíh-kⁱ* ‘he is still eating’ (with reduplication) (T 2.294)

23) *nóóθóó-n-ɔtóówu-kⁱ* ‘he is still breathing’ (T 2.294)

3.2.3.1 Lack of Glide Consonant: A glide consonant does not always occur, however, for reasons that are unclear. Sometimes, vowel sequences simply merge:

24) ʔɔɔsii- ‘across’ + -íhkahí- ‘run, jump, rapid motion’ > *‘óósííhk[h]i-ch* ‘jump across!’ (T 1.9).

25) *nɔɔcɔó-* ‘white’ (II) + -ih PLURAL > *nónɔɔcóouh* ‘they are white’ (see 3.3.1)

This merger *always* occurs with inflectional suffixes, as in example 25.

In other cases, the vowels merge but reduce:

26) *niikii-* ‘in a row, single file’ + *-íΘaa-* ‘walk’ > *níikííΘaa-h* ‘you all walk in a line!’ (T 2.174)

27) *niikii-* + *-ííih* ADV.PART > *níikííih* ‘in a row, single file’ (T 2.174)

The exact result in the last example is /*niikii-íh*/. This is not clear due to the vowels all having the same quality, but see /*nɔɔΘɔɔ-* ‘still, continuing’ + /*-ííih*/ > /*nɔɔΘɔɔ-úh*/ *nɔɔΘóóúh* ‘still, continuing’ (T 2.295) and /*aacinaa-* ‘very, extremely, truly’ + /*-ííih*/ ADV.PART > *aacinééih* ‘very, truly.’

The exact rules governing these three alternate results are not clear, although final /*-ííih*/ always behaves as shown above, as do the inflectional suffixes. **PREFIXING?? ADV**

3.2.4 Consonant mutation

The following consonant mutations occur at morpheme junctures in the context of word formation, in the order given. These results occur *after* the insertion of a glide vowel where necessary. Note that the results for /*i/y*/ also occur when the consonant is in final position. The symbol (m) indicates male speech. Surface forms are given here for the most part, but syncopated vowels are included in brackets for clarity.

/w/ prior to /*a/e/i/y*/ > /b/ *nɔnɔ́ɔ́taanɔ́w-wɔk*ⁱ ‘he thinks highly of her’
vs. *nɔnɔ́ɔ́taanib-éik*ⁱ ‘she thinks highly of him’

/w/ prior to /*i/y*/ > /b^(y)/ rare intermorphemically, but many examples internal to stems (*byíit* ‘ground,’ *báasíby*ⁱ ‘berry’ etc.)

/k/ prior to /*a/e*/ > /k^(y)/č^(y)(m)/ *ʔak-ɔh-* ‘block off by tool’ vs. *ʔaç-an-* ‘block off by hand’

/k/ prior to /*i/y*/ > /c/ *titikén-* ‘roll s.t.’ vs. *tétic[i]kóuhu-* ‘roll around’

/Θ/ prior to /*i/y*/ > /s/ *báaΘá* ‘aa-’ ‘have big head’ vs. *báas[i]kínaa-* ‘have big

buttocks'¹

/t/ prior to /i/ > /c/

kóut[o] 'óó- 'run late' vs. *kóucííh* 'late'²

EXCEPT /t/ prior to /i/ > /s/ *níh-nihiit-áak*⁴ 'we said to him' vs. *nihis-ính* 'say to him!'

occurs primarily with TA verb final /-t/³

/n/ prior to /y/ > /Ø/

kináataan-éhi- 'blue'(AI) vs. *kináataa-yóó-* 'blue'(II)

/y/ following a consonant > /Ø/, except following /b/, /k/ and /t/. See 'Sun Dance Lodge' above. Sequences of /C^yV/ are maintained when the following vowel is long (either underlying long or due to initial change), but normally secondarily reduced to /CV/ when the vowel is short and unstressed (with these vowels then undergo farther quality shifts in relation to stress, as described in section 3.3.4). The /^y/ may be optionally maintained when the vowel is short and stressed.

3.2.5 Vowel Quality Changes

The following vowel changes occur, regardless of vowel lengths:

¹ This alternation actually involves original PA *š, which as described in Appendix One, becomes /Ø/ prior to /o/ and /a/, but /s/ prior to /i/ and /y/.

² This alternation actually goes back to PA, when *t + *i > *Ø, so that *t and *Ø were already in opposition in PA. The latter two consonants then underwent their regular developments as described in Appendix One, with *t remaining /t/ before /o/ and /i/ and *Ø > /c/ prior to /i/ and /y/, thus producing this /t/ vs. /c/ contrast in many AA morphemes and stems.

³ This alternation actually goes back to PA, when *Ø + *i > *š, so that *Ø and *š were already in opposition in PA. The latter two consonants then underwent their regular developments as described in Appendix One, with *Ø > /t/ prior to /o/ and /a/, and *š > /s/ prior to /i/ and /y/, thus producing this /t/ vs. /s/ contrast in a few AA morphemes and stems.

/a/ + /i/ > /ei/

/ɔ/ + /i/ > /ɔu/ (via vowel harmony) > /ou/

3.2.6 Timing of Application of Vowel Harmony

Progressive vowel harmony is applied *prior* to the consonant mutations and vowel quality changes described above. Take for example:

28) nohʔɔɔw-i-ku.ukii-

shake/move-GL-violent/rapid.action(AI.T)-

> nohʔɔɔw-u-ku.ukii- > nohʔɔɔwkuukii-

In this case, had vowel harmony not been applied prior to consonant mutation, the result would have been /nohʔoow-i-ku.ukii-/ > /nohʔoob-i-ku.ukii-/ > *nohʔoobkiutii-, which does not occur.

In contrast, regressive vowel harmony is applied *after* the consonant mutations described above:

29) kaʔ- ‘lump, round, bump’ > kʲaʔ- (by consonant mutation)

kʲaʔ-ɔɔɔʔ > kʲɔʔ ‘ɔɔɔ’ ‘bread’ (‘baked lump’) (by vowel harmony)

3.2.7 Summary of Sound Changes Occurring Due to Morpheme Combinations

The following changes must be applied at morpheme or stem boundaries when additional elements are added or combined, in the following order:

- 1) Determine underlying stem.
- 2) Add glide vowel /i/ where necessary (and sometimes glide consonant /n/)
- 3) Apply ɔ/u vowel harmony.
- 4) Apply consonant mutation rules, in order given, and vowel quality changes.
- 5) Apply e/ɔ vowel harmony.

- 6) Apply falling tone produced by following morphemes.
- 7) Apply any changes required by phonotactic restrictions

3.3 Stress, syllable structure, and effects of stress

We have now described the basic sound system of AA and the way the sounds change when multiple morphemes or stems interact with each other. This might be called the fundamental or deep phonology of the language. In the following, we will examine what can be considered the shallower effects which stress produces on AA words, as actually used in speech. Stress is indicated in AA by raised tone (i.e. pitch) on a syllable, rather than by increased emphasis as in English. This is marked as *á*, *áá*, *é*, etc. Alternately, where a falling tone occurs in the proper position for stress, it can serve as the stress marker, since the fall is from a high to a non-high tone. The stress is applied to a full noun or verb stem – in other words, it is a part of the stem, not a part of individual morphemes (unlike tone). Once the stress is assigned to a stem, this produces further affects related to the overall syllabic structure and vowel quality of the stem. These are the subjects of section 3.3.

All of this is further complicated by the fact that there is also grammatical stress (which *is* a product of specific grammatical and inflectional suffixes), which produces further secondary stress shifts on the overall word, along with further affects on syllable structure and vowel quality. This is also covered in section 3.3.

3.3.1 Syllable structure

In this grammar, initial syllabic structure is analyzed as part of the underlying structure of morphemes and stems. These syllables then undergo secondary changes due to the assignment of pitch stress on a stem or overall word, which then leads to surface syllabic structure. Surface syllables can be either consonant or vowel-initial, and either consonant or vowel-final, so that

possible shapes include (where /:/ indicates a long vowel) V, V:, VC, V:C, CV, CV:, CVC, CV:C. /C/ can include either a single consonant or consonant clusters. Recall however that a glottal stop is added to any word that would otherwise be vowel-initial, and vowel-final words are also not tolerated, so some of the above syllable types do not occur word-initially or word-finally. Note also that final devoiced vowels (see below) do not constitute separate syllables.

There are restrictions on surface consonant clusters that can occur. Recall (section 3.1.3) that the only underlying consonant clusters in AA are of the form /hC/ and /θC/. Secondary clusters occur widely however due to vowel syncope. Nevertheless, there are important restrictions on these secondary clusters as well, which are discussed in section 3.3.5.

When two syllables combine, and the underlying result is /-VV.V-/, this is always shifted to -V.VV-, as AA does not allow syllables of the first type. An example is:

30) /nɔɔcɔ́-/ II ‘white’ + /-ih/ II.PL > /nónɔɔcɔ́-ih/ > *nónɔɔcɔ́.ouh* ‘they are white’

3.3.2 Stress

Stress is the most complicated aspect of AA phonology. Unlike falling tone, which is a component of the underlying form of a morpheme, stress is a prosodic feature applied at the stem level of a noun or verb, so a given morpheme may or may not have stress depending on the stem it is a part of. This is further complicated by a secondary level of grammatical stress, associated with various derivational and inflectional affixes, which can further shift the surface stress of a stem.

3.3.2.1 Lexical Stress on Stems: AA has a pitch-based stress system, in which a high pitch is assigned to a stressed syllable. Diachronically (i.e. historically in the past), the primary stress was assigned to the penultimate syllable of a singular noun, but due to processes of vowel syncope and final-syllable loss which have affected various noun stems differentially, stress

cannot be predicted in modern AA and must be considered a fixed part of the lexical information associated with each noun stem:

- 31) *wɔsí* ‘grass’ (< Proto-Arapahoan *wošíʔin*)
- 32) *néih*^{ah} ‘my son’ (< Proto-Arapahoan *ne.íʔheh*)
- 33) *kyénaa* ‘grouse’ (< Proto-Arapahoan *kéneen*)

Verb stems show a somewhat similar variability, though the stress on various derivational final elements is often fixed (see chapter six), thus making verb stem stress more predictable. In fact, it becomes difficult to say what is the “underlying” stress on a verb stem. For II, TI and AI verbs, the inflected singular forms are taken as showing underlying stress. For TA verbs, it turns out that Affirmative 1S/3S inflections and Imperative 1S inflections are the only ones that are variable – all other inflectional suffixes force a specific stress onto the preceding verb stem. Therefore these two inflections seem to lack their own stress: thus the stress on a verb stem where they occur is taken as the underlying stress.

Both nouns and verbs take secondary stress prior to the primary final stress. Diachronically this appears to have been assigned in a basic x-X-x-X-x metrical pattern to individual stems, moving right to left, backwards from the primary stress. In theory, such stresses would then be predictable, but in reality it is better to treat them again as part of the lexical information associated with a given noun or verb stem (or particle), as processes such as vowel syncope have obfuscated the earlier regularity of the patterns.

3.3.2.2 Grammatical Stress: When derivational and inflectional suffixes are added to a stem, this causes interactions between lexical stem stress and affix stress, which can lead to shifts in the overall stress pattern of the word, and the same is true for stem-stem compounding. Thus stress is a two-level process in AA, with underlying lexical stem stress being associated with

each lexical item, and then stress being modified and reassigned in the processes of affixation and compounding to produce a final word-level stress (where ‘word’ refers to the full phonological combination of all stems and affixes). Examples of stress shifts are:

- 34) *nɔ́ ‘úθaa-* ‘arrive’ (AI)
nɔɔ́ ‘úθaanɔɔ́’ ‘I am arriving’
nóú ‘uθáánaah ‘you (pl.) are arriving’ (/ -naah/ forces stress shift)
- 35) *bis^{‘i}* ‘stick, wood’
k’ééibis^{‘i} ‘box’ (‘container wood’)

In the last example, the underlying form is /basiʔ/. As already seen, unstressed short /a/ > /i/ in surface pronunciation, so this word lacks stress. When compounding occurs, there is now a preceding syllable available to take a clear penultimate stress, which was the preferred stress position diachronically, when stress was originally assigned, and remains so. All monosyllabic nouns show this vowel and stress behavior in compounds. More generally, once one has the unpredictable lexical stress information for a word, the rules that lead to final surface-level word stress allow for much more predictable assignment of this final stress.

3.3.3 Stress and Vowel Devoicing/Loss of final -Vh/?

Short vowels in final syllables devoice (unless they are stressed) when followed by /-h/ or /-ʔ/ or /-hʔ/. When the preceding consonant is /h/ or /ʔ/, the final short vowel and consonant are normally dropped (there are a few random unexplained exceptions). Contrast the following:

- 36) *nihbiíciwó(o)uh.*
 nih-biiciwó.uh-i-h
 PST-cook.s.t.(TA)-II.PASSIM-0S
 ‘I cooked it.’ (T 1.172)
- 37) *nihbiíciwóuhúuh.*
 nih-biiciwó.uh-í-ih

PST-cook.s.t.(TA)-II.PASSIM-0P
'I cooked them. ' (T 1.172)

In the first example, final /-h/ > Ø (with optional lengthening of the preceding syllable, apparently). In the second example, the underlying /-i-/ reappears in surface pronunciation (as /-u-/ due to vowel harmony), and the final vowels and consonant are retained due to the presence of the long vowel. In some cases even underlying *stressed* syllables of the form /h-Vhʔ/ are dropped – or more specifically, they are de-stressed due to a dispreference for final-syllable stress, and then become eligible to be dropped in the same way as in the preceding examples.

The second form in example 38 illustrates this:

- 38) *ʔiθeihóhɔ* 'girls' (NA.DIM.PL) < *ʔiθeiháhʔ-ɔh*
ʔiθeih 'girl' (NA.DIM) < *ʔiθeihahʔ* < underlying *ʔiθeiháhʔ*

When the preceding consonant is other than /h/ or /ʔ/, final /-ʔ/ is retained, and the underlying preceding short vowel appears as a devoiced release following the glottal stop. This can be written as the general rule /-CVʔ/ > -C^v:

- 39) *tɔwɔciní.iinɔn-* 'tipi' > singular *tɔwɔciní.iinɔʔ* > *tɔwɔciníin^o*
40) *bâak^yákin-* 'one's hand' > singular *bâak^yákiʔ* > *báak^yékⁱ*
41) *ʔóci-* 'arrow' > singular *ʔóciʔ* > *ʔcⁱ*

In the same situation, final /-h/ is also retained. When the pitch stress is on the penultimate syllable of the stem, the result is /-CVh/ > -C^h.

- 42) *bâak^yákin-* 'one's hand' > *báak^yékin^h* 'one's hands'

When the pitch stress immediately precedes however, the result is /-CVh/ > -Ch.

- 43) *bâatah* 'bow' > *báath*

It should be noted however that Taylor records a great deal of variation in forms such as in example 43. He records 'it is greasy' as both *kyáábíinih* and *kyáábíinh* for example (T 1.359).

Similarly to example 43, VII 04P and VAI 4P inflections /-nínɔh/ are pronounced as *-nính*. A certain degree of analogical remodelling seems to have occurred, as all noun plurals of form /-nɔh/ (no matter what the stress placement on the stem) are recorded by Taylor as *-n^h*.

3.3.4 Stress and Vowel Quality (Short Vowels)

Stress has a major phonetic affect on AA short vowels in non-final syllables. In contrast, long vowels are more stable in their quality, though they also show some stress-based shifts in quality. There are two different issues involved. First, /a/ is highly unstable, and shift according to whether it is accented or unaccented, in most phonological environments. Second, other short vowels shift specifically when in the phonological environment of following /h/, /ʔ/ or /hʔ/. We will begin by discussing the second situation.

Underlying /i/ shifts to /ɔ́/ when followed by /o/ and to /á/ when followed by /a/, across the consonants /h/ and /ʔ/. In other words, the vowel assimilates. This normally occurs with unstressed short /i/ as well, when it is not lost through syncope. A common situation involves TA verbs with causative final /-ih/:

44) *nɔɔhɔ́ɔ́cih-* ‘show s.o. s.t, make s.o. see s.t.’ (T 2.194)

nɔɔhɔ́ɔ́ch-éi ‘aa-ch’ ‘show it to me/us!’ (loss of unaccented /i/ due to syncope) (T 2.194)

> *nih-nɔɔhɔ́ɔ́cɔ́h-ɔ́kⁱ* ‘he showed it to him’ (T 2.194)

> *‘ó́tɔ́n-nɔɔhɔ́ɔ́cáh-ááán^o* ‘I’ll show it to you’ (T 2.194)

In some cases the result of this process is /yɔ́/ rather than just /ɔ́/, as in *nii’ihih* ‘bird,’ plural *nii’ihyɔ́hɔ́* (T 1.78). This occurs due to /i/ in the preceding syllable.

The vowels /o/ and /e/ are quite stable, as they are conditioned by /u/ and /i/ respectively. Short /u/ is also quite stable, conditioned by vowel harmony. Short /ɔ/ is not conditioned in any similar way, and shows some stress-based quality shift. In particular, when it is stressed and

occurs prior to /u/ with either /h/ or /ʔ/ intervening, it becomes /ó/:

45) /nɔʔúθaa-/ AI ‘arrive’ > *nih-nó ‘uθáá-ch* ‘they arrived’ (T 1.33)

In contrast, in the same environment when unstressed, it typically shifts to /u/:

46) *kyaabyóh ‘uhk*⁴.

k^yaab^yihʔɔhu-kiʔ

IC.fly.past(AI)-3S

‘He is flying by.’ (T 2.314)⁴

The second situation involves the most unstable vowel, /a/. When stressed, it usually becomes /é/. In contrast, when unstressed, it usually becomes /i/. Thus the vowel undergoes dissimilation. This occurs no matter what any intervening consonants may be. One common case where dissimilation occurs is in initial change:

47) /bâaθ-/ ‘big’ > IC /banâaθ-/ >

AI *bináaθéit-h* ‘he is big,’ II *bináaθóó-h* ‘it is big.’ (T 1.76)

This behavior is also particularly common in complementary TA and TI verbs, with complementary stress patterns:

48) TA *tébis-* ‘cut off with a knife’ (< /taw-as-/)

49) TI *tibéθ-* ‘cut off with a knife’ (< /taw-aθ-/)

Although this is the most common result, Taylor records examples that do not quite match this pattern:

50) /taw-an-/ ‘break by hand’

> TA *tábin-*, TI *tibén-*

In this case the TA form has *tábin-*, not **tébin-*.

⁴ Note that the /ɔ/ must be present to produce the assimilation in the preceding /i/, and only subsequently weakens to /u/, so this is a very shallow phenomenon.

Here again however, interaction across /h/ or /ʔ/ or /hʔ/ has an important conditioning effect. In particular, when /a/ and /á/ occur across these consonants, the dissimilation is prevented in following non-stressed vowels, and assimilation to /e/ occurs in preceding non-stressed vowels, as in the following:

- 51) /Θaʔ-an-/ ‘flatten by hand’
 > TA Θé‘an-, TI Θε‘én-

Here we get Θé‘an- rather than *Θé‘in-, and Θε‘én-, not *Θi‘én-.

The interaction of /a/ and /ɔ/ across these consonants normally blocks the dissimilation. See /kɔhʔ-an-/ ‘divide or split by hand’:

- 52) *kóh* ‘an-áakⁱ ‘I have split it in two’ (TA)
nih-kó(o)h ‘án-ɔɔkⁱ ‘he split it in two’ (TA)
nih-kh ‘án-^o ‘he split it in two’ (TI)
kóɔ-kóh ‘an-óɔh ‘divide them up!’ (TI.REDUP)

Similarly, TA *kóh* ‘as- ‘split, cut by blade’ also shows no dissimilation, though an alternative form *kóh* ‘us- is also attested which shows dissimilation (*kóh*ʔas- > *kóh*ʔis- > *kóh*ʔus- by vowel harmony).⁵

When short stressed /á/ follows /ɔ/, with the same consonants intervening, it sometimes

⁵ Note the unusual behavior of vowel harmony in this last example. As seen earlier, progressive vowel harmony must be analyzed as a deep phonological component of the language. But here it is applied to a vowel which has undergone what must normally be analyzed as a shallow phonetic result of stress – *after* that phonetic shift has occurred. This would appear to be some kind of secondary analogical o/u vowel harmony, rather than the primary form described earlier.

shifts to a diphthong, [aj], spelled -ɔi- in the popular orthography.

53) /nɔ.áhi-/ ‘go outside’ > nɔʔíhi- (T 2.83)

54) /kɔʔátaa-/ ‘explode’ > kʔítaa- (T 1.277)

55) /kɔʔátana-/ ‘cut open at the belly’ > kɔʔítaan- (FITG)

This is an ongoing change in the language, which is also occurring in AR. In the data from both languages, this quality shift is highly variable from speaker to speaker and even word to word.

Note the cases in ex. 52 where this does not occur.

With the AI stative final /-áhi/, this normally becomes expected *-éhi*. But following a preceding /i/ (again across /h/ and /ʔ/) this further shifts to *-íhi*.

56) AI *ninéi* ‘*ih-k^a*’ ‘he is stubborn’ (< né.iʔ-áhi-) (T 2.311)

57) AI *ch’i-téi* ‘*íhi*’ ‘he is not strong’ (< té.iʔ-áhi-) (T 2.307)

3.3.4.1 Stress and Vowel Quality (Long Vowels)

Stress-based shifts in vowel quantity also occur with stressed long vowels /aa/ and /ɔɔ/ when they are followed by /i/ and /u/ respectively, across the consonants /h/ and /ʔ/.⁶ In this case they shift to /éi/ and /óú/ respectively. This also optionally happens when the vowels are long but not stressed:

58) /náhʔi-/ AI ‘be three in number’ >

nii-nh ‘*i-ch*’ ‘they are three in number’ (syncope causes vowel deletion) (T 2.356)

⁶ Note that these vowel quality changes (as well as the earlier ones in section 3.4.4 involving /a/ and /ɔ/) are specifically a product of stress, and always involve intervening /h/ or /ʔ/. They are thus distinctive from the phonological vowel quality changes (section 3.2.5), whereby /ɔ/ and /a/ become /o/ and /e/ respectively, prior to /u/ and /i/ respectively, *regardless* of stress, but *only* when *no* consonant intervenes.

'ah-néh 'i-ních 'three of them' (stressed /a/ > /é/) (T 2.356)

néh 'i-ch 'there are three of them' (with Initial Change) (stressed /aa/ > /éi/) (T 2.356)

59) /nɔʔúθaa-/ AI 'arrive' >

nih-n 'úθaa-kⁱ 'he arrived' (syncope causes vowel deletion) (T 1.33)

nou 'úθaa-n^o 'you are arriving' (unstressed /ɔɔ/ optionally > /óú/) (T 1.33)⁷

nóú 'uθáánaah 'you (pl.) are arriving' (stressed /ɔɔ/ > /óú/) (T 1.33)

3.3.4.3 Stress and Phoneme Sequence /C^y-V/

When followed by a short, unstressed /V/ the sequence of /C^yV/ normally reduces to /CV/, although reduction to /C^y/ also occurs, prior /i/, including across /h/ or /ʔ/ (see ex. 60 and 61) or finally (see chp. 4, ex. 72). When long and stressed, the sequence normally occurs as /C^yVV/, but reduces to /CVV/ (occurring as /Céi/ or /Cóú/) when followed by /i/ or /u/ respectively, across /h/ and /ʔ/ (see ex. 62). Taylor documents /k^yaʔ-/ 'again' as:

60) *nii ky 'áákiínɔɔkⁱ*.

nii-k^yaʔ-i-ʔaakiín-ɔɔkiʔ

IMPERF-again-GL-speak.to(TA)-3S/4

'He is answering him.' (T 1.13)

61) *nih ky 'óó[ɔ]θóótináakⁱ*.

nih-k^yaʔ-i-ʔɔɔθóótan-á.akiʔ

PST-again-back.by.hand(TA)-1/3S

'I pushed him back.' (T 1.13)

62) *kéi 'áááθówwúh*.

k^yaaʔ-i-ʔaθówwú-h

⁷ These forms are actually recorded by Taylor as *nóú 'úθaa-*.

IC.again-GL-hurt(II)-0S

‘It’s hurting again.’ (T 1.13)

In contrast, he documents /kʷabi-/ ‘grease’ as:

63) *kyáábíính.*

kʷaabííni-h

IC.greasy(II)-0S

‘It is greasy.’ (T 1.359)

64) *ʔhkibiinikínn ʔ.*

ʔɔh-kʷabiinakína-noʔ

because-have.greasy.mouth(AI)-2S

‘Because you have a greasy mouth.’ (T 1.359)

3.3.4.3 Summary of Stress and Vowel Quality

Given the nature of the data from Taylor, it is unlikely that anyone would be able to provide phonetic rules to account for every single variation. But the best summary of the data is:

1) General Results:

/a/ > /i/ (unstressed)

/á/ > /é/ (stressed)

2) Special Results involving /h/ and /ʔ/:

/a/ and /á/ remain when preceded or followed by /ɔ/, across /h/ and /ʔ/

/a/ remains /a/ when preceded by /é/, across /h/ and /ʔ/

/a/ > /e/ when followed by /é/, across /h/ and /ʔ/

/á/ > /i/ (stressed) when preceded by /i/, across /h/ and /ʔ/

/ɔ(C)á/ > ɔ(C)í (where C = /h/, /ʔ/)

/áá/ > /éi/ prior to /i/, across /h/ and /ʔ/ (and optionally for /aa/)

/i/ > /á/ prior to /a/ (and sometimes for /i/ as well), /i/ > /ó/ prior to /ɔ/

/ó/ > /ó/ prior to /u/, across /h/ and /ʔ/

/ɔ/ > /u/ prior to /u/, across /h/ and /ʔ/

/óó/ > /óú/ prior to /u/, across /h/ and /ʔ/ (and optionally for /ɔɔ/)

Clearly /a(a)/ is the most complex phoneme in the language. Note that all of the assimilation and dissimilation phenomena described in this section are shallow phonetic features of the language. They do not cause consonant mutation, for example. Thus one can find surface words such as *kib*⁴ ‘grease’ illustrated above. The rule for consonant mutation is that /k/ + /i/ > /ci/. But here the underlying form is /k^yabiʔ/, so no /k + i/ mutation occurs.

3.3.5 Stress and Vowel Syncope

Syncope (i.e. dropping) of short unaccented vowels is pervasive in AA. In fact, much of this syncope could better be described as devoicing rather than true deletion of the vowel, in my opinion. Perhaps because I speak AR, and know what the corresponding vowels would be in that language (where syncope is far less pervasive) I hear many of the vowels in AA that Taylor does not write, though clearly they are weakened compared to AR. It would perhaps have been better to write AA as Northern Cheyenne is written, with the vowels retained, but with a dot placed over the devoiced ones, but the community orthography of AA is now well-established, and I will treat the language in terms of syncope here.

Syncope occurs with unstressed short vowels, in a syllable immediately prior to or after a syllable with stress. It is extremely common in unstressed syllables of the form /CVh/ or /CVʔ/ -- to the extent in fact that AA could potentially be analyzed as having a distinction between plain, aspirated and glottalized consonants, or at least would have eventually reached that point had it

continued to be spoken continuously by a community of native speakers into the twenty-first century. Syncope can occur word-initially, medially, and finally. There are a number of restrictions on syncope however. We can take a single page of Taylor 1994 (2.245) and examine where syncope does and does not occur, looking at all forms including a short unaccented vowel (although I ignore closely parallel forms here, which provide no new information). Underlined vowels are syncope. By the way, I have chosen a page which includes some words on a rather unpleasant topic (smallpox) to recall the genocide that has contributed to the loss of the AA language in the community, as well as to recall the ancestors of my consultants who fought to survive so that hopefully the language can continue to live into the future.

65)

- a) táátééhikʔⁱ ‘he’s slow’
- b) cináátʔʊkʔⁱ ‘he’s moving this way slowly’
- c) nihcáátʔʊkʔⁱ ‘he moved this way slowly’ (glossed ‘is moving’)
- d) niisísinʊcʔʊkʔⁱ ‘he’s squinting’
- e) niisíikyʔʊkʔⁱ ‘he stretches himself’
- f) níisíwʔʊh ‘it (body part) is asleep’
- g) níitékyʔʊh ‘it’s teetering’
- h) nihbahííh ‘all of them’
- i) náátʔʊch ‘they stayed’
- j) ʔiwónííhóh ‘beans’
- k) binííʈʔʊch ‘they are coming, growing, sprouting’
- l) ʔiʔʊstʔh ‘his feet’
- m) niibííʈʔʊnííh ‘they are sticking out’

- n) nihnóóóθóniikʔⁱ 'he had smallpox'
- o) ʔóóʔahcíibahcííih 'did you ever...'
- p) nóóóθóniiʔ 'have smallpox'
- q) ʔáacinaanóóúnóóʔóókʔⁱ 'he's all broken out'
- r) nóóóθóníitʔ^o 'smallpox'
- s) nabésiibah 'my grandfather'
- t) nihʔiinékikʔⁱ 'he died'
- u) báásihóóch 'they gave it to them'
- v) towocinánítaanoh 'Indians'
- w) ʔówóhúúúh 'lots'

The data can be analyzed from the perspective that the default is to drop any short, unstressed vowel. One must then explain why this does not occur in some cases. Restrictions on syncope are:

- 1) it cannot produce syllable-*initial* sequences ʔC- or hC-. See j, l, o.
- 2) it cannot produce syllable-*initial* sequences of nC- other than when C = /h/ or /ʔ/. See s.
- 3) it cannot produce syllable-*initial* sequences of Cn-. See b, k. In fact, the only allowed syllable-initial sequences are Ch- and Cʔ- (where C is not /h/ or /ʔ/). These three rules obviously place major restrictions on word-initial syncope.
- 4) it cannot produce sequences of three consonants, other than -hCʔ-. See c, h, n, o, t.
The syllable structure of the -hCʔ- cluster is -VhC.ʔV-, by the way.
- 5) it cannot produce sequences of two consonants *finally* unless one of the two consonants is either /h/ or /ʔ/. See t. This rule obviously places major restrictions on

word-final syncope.

- 6) there is a dispreference for syncope to produce sequences of a stop or affricate + /n/, even when the form would be a syllable boundary /-C.n-/ See n, p, q, r.

An examination of the forms where syncope does occur in the list above shows that all of them involve /-CVh-/ or /-CVʔ-/ , with the exception of (a), which involves /-hVC-/ > /-hC-/ (which is very common, along with /-ʔVC-/ > /-ʔC-/ , not illustrated here), and (v), which involves /-nVn-/ > /-nn-/ (also very common). Another rule is:

- 7) even if two syllables are eligible for syncope, only one can actually be syncopated – both syllables on either side of the stress cannot undergo syncopation. The restrictions described above normally determine which syllable is eligible or most highly preferred for syncope.

Note that these rules still allow many different consonant clusters to occur word internally of the form /CC/ where /C/ is unrestricted, but unless they are allowed syllable-initially, these clusters always involve a syllable boundary /-C.C-/. Thus /ʔón.húusʔⁱ/ ‘yesterday’ and /nii.níis.kiikʔⁱ/ ‘he’s making it.’

Sections 3.2 and 3.3 are crucial for understanding the varying surface forms of a given morpheme in AA. For example /k^yaw-/ ‘past, by,’ when long, retains its vowel quality, as k^yaaw-. When short and unstressed, it shifts to kiw-. When short and stressed, it shifts to kéw-. Due to consonant mutation, these forms can also occur as kyaab-, kib- and kéb-. Finally due to regressive vowel harmony, they can also occur as kyɔɔw-. Note that we would expect kow- to also occur due to vowel harmony, but instead only kiw- and kéw- occur (see T 1.97-98 for many examples). This is important to note, because vowel harmony is a phonological process in AA, whereas surface shifts in vowel quality are a shallower phonetic process. While this analysis is

correct diachronically, and explains most synchronic results as well, this example shows that stress-based vowel quality shifts now effectively block or over-ride vowel harmony in short syllables, such that one gets *kiwó* 'ɔɔ- 'run' rather than expected *kɔwó* 'ɔɔ – but one still gets *kyɔɔwó* 'ɔɔ- with initial change (T 1.98).

To take another example of variation in morphemes, /nahʔi-/ 'be three in number' produces *-nh* 'i- unstressed and non-initially, but *néh* 'i- initially when stressed, and *-néh* 'i- non-initially when stressed. There are no unstressed initial examples, but these would be either *naah* 'i- (or *neih* 'i-: variability occurs) (see examples in T 2.356). Similarly /koʔu-/ 'remove from a whole' gives non-initial unstressed/stressed *-k* 'u-/*kó* 'u- and initial unstressed/stressed *koo* 'u or *kou* 'u-/*kóu* 'u-.

3.3.6 More on Derivation, Inflection and Grammatical Stress

The rules for grammatical stress must be specified for each grammatical suffix, and this is done in the appropriate sections of the grammar. In general, there is a large set of affixes which always force stress on to the syllable immediately preceding the affix. A few examples of these include:

AI 12 /-nih/

AI/TA 2P /-naah/

TA 3S/4 non-affirmative /-ookiʔ/

TA 1P and 2P non-affirmative /-bah/

There is then another large list of affixes which take stress themselves, and thus do not allow stress on the preceding syllable. A few examples of these include:

TI derivational final /-én/ (< /án/)

TA derivational final /-Θόhʔ/

AI derivational final /éhi/ (< /áhi/)

AI 4S /-níciʔ/

Note that the list above includes both inflectional and derivational affixes. There are other suffixes however which do not have inherit stress attached to them – including again inflectional and derivational ones. In this case, they are simply added to the end of the verb, and stress is assigned metrically to the suffix based on the existing stress on the verb stem, in an x-X-x-X-x pattern. These suffixes are also identified in the appropriate places in the grammar. Examples include TA causative /-(i)h/ and TA causative /-n/ used with middle voice AI verbs.

3.3.7 Deletion of Final Stress

A number of suffixes either have final stress associated with them, or have this added metrically in the process of derivation. However, final stress is dispreferred in surface pronunciation. Therefore, when final stress would otherwise occur, it is dropped, resulting in a large number of forms with ante-penultimate syllable stress. The underlying final stress returns however when some additional syllable is added secondarily. This feature can be variable in actual speech however. In AR, in elicitation, such final stress is often pronounced on an individual word, but then not used in actual sentence examples, and I suspect a similar situation occurred with AA based on listening to tapes made by Taylor. Speakers may also choose to maintain the final stress for emphatic reasons. Examples (T 2.447) are:

66) /nónoocóó-/ *nónocococ-h* OR *nónococóó-h* ‘it is white’ (II)

but always: /nónococóó.uh/ ‘they are white’ (II) > *nónococóouh*

Another example with ‘sharp’ (T 2.209) is *tós ‘óó-h* OR *tós ‘oc-h*, but always *tós ‘óouh* in the plural (recorded either as *tós ‘óouh* or *tós ‘óóúh* by Taylor). In this grammar, forms in inflection

and derivation tables are presented with underlying primary stress, including final stress, and the same is true with individual verb stems.

In actual spoken examples in the grammar however, the stress in line 2 represents the *actual* secondary stress that produced the surface forms and pronunciation – in other words, rather than represent stress on the verbs stems and on the derivational affixes separately in the form of primary stress, and leave it up to the reader to figure out how this would combine to produce the actual surface stress patterns, I have presented the stress in line 2 as already applied secondarily or grammatically. This makes stress in lines 1 and 2 match, which was felt to be a more useful process, especially for then allowing the reader to see how syncope and vowel quality changes result from this stress. Note however, this stress is only shown where it is accounted for by the grammar. The ways in which secondary stress is assigned (to various preverbs for example) remains unclear. Thus there are many additional stresses shown in Taylor's data (in line 1 of examples) that are not shown on line 2.

3.3.8 Spreading of Stress and Syllable Merger

In AA, vowel sequences of underlying bi-syllabic form -V.vv- can undergo breaking into three-syllable sequences of form -V.v.V- when stress is forced onto the final vowel by a following morpheme which requires pre-morphemic stress. Then, in surface pronunciation, the stress spreads across all three syllables, which coalesce into a single, stressed, double-long syllable. A good example is the morpheme /te.ei/ meaning 'inside a bag or container' (see T 2.402). As a TA verb, meaning 'put s.o. inside by hand,' it occurs as /té.ein-/ (*nih-téein-áak'i* 'we put him/her inside it'). As a TI verb, it occurs as /té.e.ín-/ (this is the common surface pronunciation in AR), as the TI derivational final /-[á]n/ forces the creation of an additional stress syllable in the root morpheme. However this form most commonly occurs as *tééin-* (*tinééin-^o* 'he has put it inside

s.t.’). Even in AR the form approaches this AA version in rapid speech, giving the subjective impression of a single, rising tone. Contrast also (T 2.401) *nii-téisi-* ‘they’re inside it’ with *tinééts-*ⁱ ‘he’s inside it’ (< /tiné.e.ísi-ʔ/). Likewise /kaʔé.e.íbasiʔ/ ‘box, container’ > *k’ééibis*ⁱ. In the final example /-basiʔ/ forced a stress onto the preceding syllable, while in the preceding one /-si-ʔ/ does the same.

These processes are similar to those already noted as occurring with prefixing involving VʔV sequences (see section 3.1.2.1) and with V.V sequences generally (see 3.1.2.1 again).

Such spreading of stress across syllables also seems to optionally occur in surface-level final syllables. Already noted in section 3.3.7 were the two alternate pronunciations of ‘they are sharp,’ either as *tóós ‘óouh* or *tóós ‘óóúh*. According to the analysis in this grammar, the first of these is most reflective of underlying syllable and stress patterns and the preference for penultimate stress in AA. Taylor certainly documents many examples of the second type however. The verb for ‘yell, holler, howl’ is /nító.ouhu-/. With normal vowel syncope rules, this results in an AI 3S form *nínítóouh-k*ⁱ. This is the common AR pronunciation as well. However Taylor also commonly records *nínítóóúh-k*ⁱ. Such a surface pronunciation, with spreading of the stress, reduces two syllables (as in AR pronunciation) to a single syllable.

In most of the cases discussed in this section, an underlying juncture of two vowels at a syllable boundary is elided to produce a single syllable. Sequences of three vowels become a double-long vowel, while sequences of two vowels expand to a double-long vowel as well. The case of prefixing involves a slightly different process, but again results in a double-long surface vowel. In all cases, pitch spreads across the entire resultant double-long vowel. In the examples seen in this section, that stress spreads from left to right, or merges from both sides in the middle, but it can also spread from right to left – see section 3.1.2.1, the example of ‘good dog.’

3.4 Summary

Given the variety of phonological processes that occur in AA, at different levels of phonological depth, it is perhaps useful to provide an example of how to get from a set of morphemes to a surface pronunciation. An example from Taylor 2.327 is the following, divided into canonical morphemes:

67) *nóhu* ‘*i*Θ*ei*h ‘*inii*Θ*ɔ*ɔ*h*ʰ*ɔ*t*ɔ*w*ɔ*ɔ*k*’ⁱ ‘*á*á*ski*wó.*u*wuk’ⁱ.
 nohun iΘaan-ihah? iniiΘ-ɔɔh-ôɔt-ɔwoo-kin aaΘ-kaw-o.uwu-kin
 this woman-DIM IC.how-see-TI-SELFB-3S how-past-swim-3S

‘This girl is learning how to swim.’

At the most basic level on line two, the morphemes have been assembled, with falling tone indicated as an inherent lexical property of the morpheme -ôɔt-. Note that progressive vowel harmony and its inverse, conversion of preceding /ɔ/ to /o/ and /a/ to /e/, has already been applied at the morpheme level.

Next, the phonological processes described in section 3.2 related to morpheme combinations are applied. A glide vowel is inserted in the last word. Progressive vowel harmony must be applied, though there are no inter-morphemic cases here. Then consonant mutation must be applied, leading to /aasi-/ and /k^yaw-/ in the final word. Then regressive vowel harmony is applied (though not applicable to this example). Then combinatoric stems replace the underlying stems, so /iΘaan-/ > /iΘaaʔ-/ > /iΘaa-/, Final /-ʔ/ replaces final /-n/ in /nohun/ and /-kin/. /iΘaa/ and /ihahʔ/ combine to create /iΘeihahʔ/, with following /i/ causing /a/ to change to /e/. Initial /ʔ-/ is applied to vowel-initial forms. Thus we get:

67a) nohuʔ ʔiΘeihahʔ ʔiniiΘɔɔhôɔtɔwɔɔkiʔ ʔaasi^yawo.uwukiʔ

At the next stage, lexical stress and its results, as described in section 3.4, are applied.

Based on dictionary knowledge, we can apply the stress to the stems: *nóhuʔ*, *ʔíΘeiháhʔ*, *-ɔwóó-* and *-ó.uwú-*. Secondary lexical stresses are apparently added at this stage in a metrical pattern (a process not fully understood) in the third and fourth words. Secondary grammatical stress shifts are then applied to the forms, though in this case none occur. Finally surface level phonetic features that are a function of stress are applied, including vowel syncope, vowel quality shifts and vowel devoicing. The falling tone in the third word takes on the primary stress in that word. Then */-kiʔ/ > -k^h*; the unstressed */i/* in the final word undergoes syncope (which can only occur if stress has already been added to produce *ʔáási-*); the unaccented */a/* in the final word dissimilates to */i/* (but cannot undergo syncope because this would lead to a three vowel sequence */-skw-/*); and the underlying stresses that would occur on the final syllables are dropped. The final */ahʔ/* in the second word loses dispreferred final stress, and then subsequently devoices and drops entirely following */h-/*. Restrictions on syncope prevent any additional syncope in the first syllable of the third word, or the final syllable of the fourth word. The result is then the final surface pronounced form:

67b) *nóhuʔ* *ʔíΘeih* *ʔiníΘɔɔhóɔtɔwɔɔk^h* *ʔááskiwóuwuk^h*.

Nóhuʔ optionally occurs quite often as *nóhʔ* in Taylor's data (though not as *nóh^u* as one might expect). In this example we do not see spread of stress to produce *-wóúuwuk^h* in the final word. Note nevertheless that in the sentence above, primary word stress is always either on the penultimate or antepenultimate syllable, with the latter preferred over potential final stress.

Chapter Four: Nouns, Pronouns, and Noun

Phrases

4.1 Noun Classes: Animate and Inanimate

Nouns are much less complex than verbs in AA with regards to both derivation (the formation of nouns themselves) and inflection (the marking of singular vs. plural, possession and other categories). As noted in Chapter Two, the most important feature of the nouns is the existence of two grammatical classes, animate and inanimate. Animate nouns include all people, animals, birds, fish, insects – any living, mobile being. Also included are all ghosts, spirits, and similar phenomena, as well as all astronomical bodies – the sun, the moon, stars. Most inanimate objects are grammatically inanimate. But there are many inanimate objects which are unexpectedly animate. These include some types of trees and other plants, some body parts, some clothing items, and a number of human-made objects (especially ceremonial objects, but also some household items), as well as a random list of a few other items. A list of all such unexpectedly animate nouns is included as an appendix to this grammar. The animacy/inanimacy division among nouns is characteristic of all Algonquian languages. Many speakers of AR and other Algonquian languages have suggested ways of predicting which nouns will be unexpectedly animate, but no fully convincing explanations have been put forward which can account for all of the data, even in a single language.

Unlike with verbs, where the verb stem shapes partially or fully indicate that a verb is II, AI, TI or TA, there is no way to distinguish NI as opposed to NA nouns by shape or form, so a noun's animacy can only be distinguished by the verb it agrees with – if a speaker describes a thing that is big as *bináasɔɔ-h* (II), then it is NI, whereas if it is *bináaséit-h* (AI), it is NA.

4.2 Noun Inflection

The single most important point to keep in mind in understanding AA nouns and the way the suffixes work is the difference between underlying noun stems which are consonant final and vowel final. In particular, all nouns whose plural ends in /-ɔh/ are considered consonant final, and those whose plurals end in /-iih/ or /-uuh/ are considered vowel final, as will be explained below. This difference determines how suffixes such as locative or diminutive are added, and also the way in which nouns compound with each other.

4.2.1 Plural

As with English, plural forms of nouns are indicated by a suffix in AA. As just described, there are two basic, underlying plural forms – either /-ɔh/ (NI and NA) or /-ih/ (NI and NA) (with a vowel harmony variant /-uh/). These underlying plurals are added to the full underlying noun stem. Some simple examples are:

- 1) *wɔsí* ‘grass’ (NI), *wɔsíⁱⁿ* ‘grasses,’ underlying stem *wɔsíʔin-*
- 2) *ʔiθaa* ‘woman’ (NA), *ʔiθaa^h* ‘women,’ underlying stem *ʔiθaan-*
- 3) *ʔóciⁱ* ‘arrow’ (NI), *ʔóciih* ‘arrows,’ underlying stem *ʔóci-*
- 4) *wósiⁱ* ‘bear’ (NA), *wósiih* ‘bears,’ underlying stem *wósi-*

Underlying stems ending in a vowel add /-ih/ while those ending in a consonant add /-ɔh/. While this sounds simple enough, we have already noted in chapter three that many singular AA nouns have lost final consonants, vowels or both in actual pronunciation, compared to the underlying form. Thus there is no way to tell from the singular of a noun what plural will be added – this must be learned for each noun, and is shown in the dictionary.

There is a third important plural, /-ɔʔ/. This occurs with nouns whose underlying form ends in /-hʔ/. All of these nouns are in fact diminutive forms. In reality, the plural of these nouns

is /-ɔh/, but as described in chapter three, this is entirely dropped in actual pronunciation, and the final /-hʔ/ becomes *-hɔ'*. This plural form also occurs on nouns indicating agents (underlying final /-ihiih/). Examples are:

- 5) ʔɔnɔ́hʔahíhʔ > ʔnɔ́h 'ihí(i)h, pl. ʔnɔ́h 'ihího ' or ʔnɔ́h 'ihyóhɔ ' 'boys' (NA)
- 6) nííʔíhíhʔ > níí 'ihí(i)h, pl. níí 'ihyóhɔʔ 'birds' (NA) (also documented as níí 'ihyóh)
- 7) táʔiyɔ́náhʔ > té 'yɔ́náh, pl. té 'yɔ́nɔ́hɔʔ 'children' (NA)

Note the optional lengthening of the final syllable in the singular, as seen in example 12, section 3.1.3. Note also the optional dropping of the final -ɔ', as in example 6.

The underlying plurals can be summarized as follows, in relation to underlying stems:

S	PL
-C	-C-ɔh > -C ^{ɔh}
-CV	-CVih
-hʔ	-hʔ-ɔh > -hɔʔ > -hɔ', -h

While the preceding description of singulars and plurals is technically correct, learners of AA will almost certainly learn the singular form of most nouns first, and then want to know how to make the noun plural. If we look at the singular-plural process from this perspective, it can be described as follows. Types 1-4 involve consonant-final nouns, type 5 involves diminutive-final nouns, and types 6-9 involve vowel-final nouns.

Type 1a: Nouns with singular ending in /CVV-ʔ/, for which the plural is /CVV-nɔh/ > -n^{ɔh}. These nouns replace the /-ʔ/ with the plural ending:

- 8) náákyaa 'chief' > náákyaan^{ɔh}
- 9) 'íθaa 'woman' > 'íθaan^{ɔh}

Type 1b: Nouns with singular ending in /CV-ʔ/ (surface form -C^V), for which the plural is /CV-nɔh/ > -n^ʰ. These nouns also replace the /-ʔ/ with the plural ending:

10) *ciibáak*ⁱ ‘sweat lodge’ > *ciibáakin*^ʰ

11) *náθis*ⁱ ‘my lip’ > *náθisín*^ʰ

Type 2: Nouns with singular ending in final /CV(V)h/, for which the plural is /-ɔh/. Note that these often show the effects of e/o vowel harmony across the final /-h/:

12) *nii* ‘*ihiih*’ ‘bird’ > *nii* ‘*ihíih*’^ʰ

13) *neih* ‘*ah*’ ‘my son’ > *neih* ‘*ɔh*’^ʰ

14) *θéih* ‘weasel’ > *θéih*^ʰ

Type 3a: nouns with singular ending in final /-C-iʔ/ (surface form -C^V), for which the plural is /C-ɔh/: 1

15) *‘icóów*^u ‘his thigh’ > *‘icóów*^ʰ

16) *‘óuw*^u ‘blanket’ > *‘óuw*^ʰ

Type 3b: nouns with singular ending in final /-C-iʔ/ (surface form -C^V), for which the plural is /-ɔh/, and which show consonant mutation between the plural and singular forms due to the final /-i/: 2

17) *‘ɔkíib*ⁱ ‘wheel’ > *‘ɔkíiw*^ʰ

18) *níícɔɔs*^[i] ‘willow’ > *níícɔɔθ*^ʰ

Note that the type 3 nouns appear to be vowel final. In reality however, the vowels in these cases have been added based on the model of types 1 and 2, so the actual nouns are consonant final, as their plurals show.

1 Note that these forms actually have deep underlying final /-C/, with the /-iʔ/ in the singular a remodelling based on types such as 1a and 1b which have this final etymologically, from /-in/.

2 As with type 1e, the final /-iʔ/ in the singular forms is an analogical remodelling.

Type 4: Nouns with singular ending in /-Vh/ or /-Vʔ/, which have lost the final syllable of the underlying stem, and add this back in the plural prior to /-ɔh/:

19) *wɔsɪ* ‘grass’ > *wɔsɪ*‘*in*^{ɔh}

20) *‘iθɔ* ‘his toe’ > *‘iθɔ*‘*ɔn*^{ɔh}

Type 5a: Nouns with singular ending in /-Vh/, which are diminutive in nature, and for which the surface plural is -ɔ‘. See examples 5-7 above.

Type 5b: Nouns with singular ending in /-V1V1V2h/, which have been reanalyzed as diminutives by modern speakers, and for which the plural is -ɔ‘:

21) *‘steeih* ‘sheep’ > *‘stééihɔ*‘

22) *b‘ánóouh* ‘turtle’ > *b‘ánóóúho*‘

Type 6: Nouns with singular ending in a final /-C-iʔ/ (surface form -Cⁱ), for which the plural is /-C-iih/:³

23) *‘ɔcⁱ* ‘arrow’ > *‘ɔciih*

24) *wɔsⁱ* ‘bear’ > *wɔsiih*

Type 7: Nouns with singular ending in final /C-Vh/ (surface form -Ch), for which the plural is /C-Viih/. Note that vowel quality changes often occur in these forms due to the effect of /ii/:

25) *báath* (bâata-h) ‘bow’ > *báateeh*

26) *‘itéth* (ʔitatɔ-h) ‘crane’ > *‘itétoouh*

Type 8: Nouns with singular ending in final /CVVh/ or /CVʔ/ for which the plural is /-iih/:

27) *‘iwɔsiih* ‘elk’ > *‘iwɔsiihiih* (underlying stem ʔiwɔsiih-)

³ As with types 1e and 1f, the /-iʔ/ in the singular of these forms is an analogical remodelling.

28) 'sto 'star' > 'tó 'uuh (underlying stem ʔótoʔu-)

Type 9: Nouns with singular ending in final /C-Vʔ/ (surface -^ʔ), which have plural /-C-Vw-iih/ > /C-Vbiih/:

29) woshóθ^a (wosihôθaw-i > wosihôθaʔ) 'horse' > woshóθibiih

30) 't^a (ʔataw-i > ʔataʔ) 'dog' > 'tibiih

Note that a number of rarer nouns are recorded with two different plural forms. See for example 'iky'óosⁱ 'tomahawk,' which has documented plurals 'iky'óosin^h (type 1b) and 'iky'óo[ɔ]siih (type 6) (T 2.374).

4.2.2 Noun Stress

For most nouns, the stress on the singular form is retained in the plural. A few nouns show stress shift in the plural however, in order to maintain penultimate syllable stress:

31) 'θ^o 'bone' (NI) > 'iθón^h 'bones' (underlying stem ʔiθon-)

See examples 6 and 28 above as well. Nouns which show this stress shift in the plural are for the most part not predictable, though all agent nouns show the shift (see section 9.1).

4.2.3 Obviative

NA nouns (but not NI) are inflected for obviative. This indicates that there are two third person participants being referred to in a sentence, and the obviative is the one which the speaker considers less important or salient in the discourse. In contrast, the more important participant is the proximate, which is not marked by any inflection. The three possible sets of inflections, which are added to the underlying noun stem, are (where C = consonant and V = vowel):

OBV.S	OBV.PL
-C-ɔʔ > -C ^o	-C-ɔh > -C ^h

-CV- <u>i</u> ʔ > -CVi‘	-CV- <u>ih</u> > -CVih
-hʔ- <u>ɔ</u> ʔ > -hɔ‘, -h	-hʔ- <u>ɔh</u> > hɔʔ > -hɔ‘, -h

Note that the obviative plurals /C-ɔh/ and /h-ɔʔ/ are indistinguishable from the proximate plurals.

The four surface forms of the nouns /ʔiθaan-/ /wósi-/ and /táʔiyɔɔnáhʔ-/ are:

	S	P
32) PROX	‘iθaa‘	‘iθaan ^{oh}
OBV	‘iθaan ^o	‘iθaan ^{oh}
33) PROX	wɔs ^{‘i}	wósiih
OBV	wósii‘	wósiih
34) PROX	té‘yɔɔnáh	té‘yɔɔnóh(ɔ‘)
OBV	té‘yɔɔnóh(ɔ‘)	té‘yɔɔnóh(ɔ‘)

Stress patterns with obviative inflections show the same patterns as described for plural inflections: the majority of nouns retain the same stress in singular and plural, while the few nouns that shift stress in the plural do so in the obviative as well: ‘ɔtó‘uu‘ ‘star.OBV’ and níi‘ihyóhɔ‘ ‘bird.OBV.’

As with the plurals, the same more surface-level analysis of obviatives could be carried out, producing nine different types of stems and their corresponding obviative inflections. An abbreviated version of that is presented here, for PROX.S > OBV.S:

Type 1a: náákyaa‘ ‘chief’ > náákyaan^o

Type 1b: no NA examples

Type 2: *néih 'ah* ‘my son’ > *‘íih ‘ǵhǵ* ‘his/her son’

Type 3a: no NA examples

Type 3b: *‘ǵkíib* ⁱ ‘wheel/wagon’ > *‘ǵkíiw* ^o. Note that many final sequences of *-w* ^o in AA become *-w* ^u.

Type 4: no NA examples

Type 5a: *té ‘ǵǵǵnáh* ‘child’ > *té ‘ǵǵǵnǵhǵ* ‘

Type 5b: *‘ǵteeih* ‘sheep’ > *‘ǵtééihǵ* ‘

Type 6: *wǵs* ⁱ ‘bear’ > *wǵsii* ‘

Type 7: *nih ‘ǵǵth/nih ‘ǵǵtǵh* ‘trickster’ > *nih ‘ǵǵtoou* ‘

Type 8: *‘iwǵsiih* ‘elk’ > *‘iwǵsiihii* ‘

Type 9: *wǵshǵǵθ* ^u ‘horse’ > *wǵshǵǵθibii* ‘

There are numerous examples of obviative nouns in FITG. A pair of examples (note also the associated obviative inflections on the verbs) are:

35)	<i>wǵǵčiiih</i>	<i>nahnih ‘ii ‘iiih</i>	<i>tǵǵǵniiih</i>	<i>tih ‘iisiiih</i>	<i>ciičaaanic</i> ⁱ ,
	wǵǵčiiih	nah=nih-ǵiiǵiiih	tǵǵǵniiih	tahǵiisiiih	ciičaa- <u>ni</u> ciǵ
	DUBIT	that=PST-when.ADV	as.if.ADV	want.ADV	enter(AI)- <u>4S</u>

‘Then it was almost as if he was wanting to come in,

<i>nuhu</i> ’	<i>‘innitaan</i> ’	<i>nuh ‘uu</i> ’	<i>‘ih ‘iino ‘unenitǵǵteeitǵn</i> ’.
nuhuǵ	ǵinanitaa- <u>no</u> ǵ	nuhǵuuǵ	ǵih-ǵii-noǵunanitǵǵt-éitǵ-noǵ
this	person- <u>OBV</u>	this.EMPH	3.PST-IMPERF-come.around(TA)-DEPPART.4/3S-OBV

this person, the one who kept arriving and hanging around her.’ (FITG 19)

36)	<i>‘ǵǵh</i>	<i>‘aasθaach,</i>	<i>nii ‘ihǵhǵ</i> ’	<i>‘ou ‘uhc ‘ǵcin</i> ’.
	ǵǵh	ǵaasiθaa-cih	niiǵihihǵ-ǵǵ	ǵouǵuh-cǵǵci- <u>ni</u> ǵ
	and	as.walk(AI)-3PL	bird- <u>OBV</u>	NPAST-sit(AI)- <u>4S</u>

‘But as they were going along, there was a bird sitting perched.’ (FITG 152)

4.2.4 Locative

Both NI and NA nouns can take locative inflections. These are used to indicate ‘at, in, on,

to, from' the noun in question. The exact meaning is dependent on the verb stem with which the noun occurs. The locative inflections are added to the underlying noun stem, and are as follows, continuing with the different types of underlying stems.

Locative Inflections:

C-aʔ > -C ^a (ex. 39)
Ca-iʔ > -Céi', Cɔ-iʔ > -Cóu' (ex. 42, 44)
Ci-iʔ > -Ci' (ex. 40, 41) or sometimes -Cii'
Cu-iʔ > -Cúu' (ex. 43)
hʔ-aʔ > -ha'

The locative always forces stress onto the syllable preceding the suffix. Examples are the following (from Taylor), with the accents given on the nouns for their underlying forms:

- | | | |
|-----|--|-------------------------------------|
| 37) | ʔɔkíiw-aʔ > 'ɔkíib ^a | 'at, in, on the wagon' |
| 38) | naci- > nac-iʔ > néc ^[ij] | 'in the water' |
| 38) | ʔɔhʔáni- > ʔɔhʔán-iʔ > 'ɔh'án ⁱ | 'on the mountain, in the mountains' |
| 40) | ʔa-siiθa-iʔ > 'asiíθééi' | 'in your eye' |
| 41) | ʔɔθééihóówuu-iʔ > 'ɔθééihóówúu' | 'in, at the Sun Dance lodge' |
| 42) | wɔnɔtɔnɔ-iʔ > wɔnɔtɔnɔ[u]' | 'at, in someone's ear' |

Note the slight irregularities in Taylor's data. For ex. 42 one would expect 'asiíθéi'. More generally, Taylor consistent records -ó' and -é' for -óu' and -éi'.

Nouns which have /-CVn/ as the final syllable of the underlying stem change this to /-VVn/ in the locative (as also occurs when the plural possessor suffix /-ínɔʔ/ is added):

- | | | |
|-----|-------------------------------|---|
| 43) | 'ehiis 'ohíutɔn ^h | 'bars or pieces of soap' (T 2.258) ⁴ |
| | 'ehiis 'ohíutóón ^a | 'on the soap' (T 2.258) |

There are a few nouns which have irregular locative forms and meanings. The noun /θâaci-/ meaning 'pine tree' forms a locative with long final /-ii-/ θâacii' which meant originally

⁴ Taylor actually records this form as ʔeihíisʔohíutɔn^h.

not ‘in/at/on the pine’ but rather ‘in the pine/the pine forest.’ It now means ‘Canada.’ The meaning of ‘in the pines’ is expressed by *Θάαcίν^a*, a newly developed form which treats the original locative as if it were a base noun (T 2.142). Similarly ‘*ᾠ*’*ανάάkyάán^a* means ‘at/on the rock’ as expected, but ‘*ᾠ*’*ανάάkyéí*’ means ‘in the rocks.’

Examples of locative nouns in discourse are:

- 44) *’ohuusaatenᾠčⁱ*, *’ou’úh’ihkoutaa’* *’iΘᾠ’ᾠᾠtaab^a*.
 ᾠh-iisi-ᾠatan-ᾠᾠčⁱ? *ᾠouᾠuh-ᾠihko.ut-aa?* *ᾠiΘᾠᾠᾠᾠtaaw-a?*
 when-PERF-take.out(TA)-3S/4 NPAST-throw.toward(TA)-3S/4 door-LOC
 ‘After he pulled it out, he threw it towards the doorway.’ (FITG 51)
- 45) *’ohuuč’iteein^ᾠ* *’ičiitᾠᾠᾠn^a...*
 ᾠh-ii-č^aᾠi-te.e.in-ᾠ? *ᾠi-čⁱiitᾠᾠᾠn-a?*
 when-IMPERF-back-put.inside(TI)-3S 3S-quiver-LOC
 ‘And he put them back in his quiver.’ (FITG 75)
- 46) *’in’* *’óhciič^ačⁱ* *’iniiΘenᾠᾠ[n^ᾠ]* *’idyaahin^a...*
 ᾠini? *ᾠh-cⁱič^ačⁱ? ᾠini-iΘanᾠᾠ-nᾠ? ᾠi-yaah-in-a?*
 That when-enter(AI)-3S 3S-father-OBV 4S-lodge-4.POSS-LOC
 ‘When she went in to her father's lodge...’ (FITG 256)

There are several additional examples in FITG – see lines 66, 146, 167, 200 and 299. Note that the locative and the plural are mutually exclusive – thus a locative noun is normally interpreted as singular. Locatives can be added to possessed forms, as in example 48.

4.2.5 Possession

All nouns can in principle be possessed, though in reality certain forms are never actually treated in this way (no one says ‘my man’ or ‘my woman’ for example). Possession is indicated by person prefixes, with number markers for both the nouns themselves and the possessors indicated by suffixes. Thus plural possessors are actually indicated by circumfixes.

One special class of nouns are those which are obligatorily possessed – and thus must occur at all times with a possession prefix. This includes relationship terms and most body parts,

plus a few other common items such as arrows, lodges or pets. There is a special “indefinite” possession suffix, meaning ‘one’s...’ which is also used with these obligatorily possessed nouns. Such nouns can be either NI or NA.

The other (majority) of nouns can be possessed, but are not required to be so. For many non-obligatorily possessed nouns, a possession theme suffix (underlying /-aw/) is added to the noun.

The possession inflections are as follows (see Sifton 123-26). Note that all suffixes are added to the full underlying noun stem.

INDEF	ba-/wɔ-
1S	na-/nɔ-
2S	ʔa-/ ʔɔ-
3S	ʔi-
4S	ʔi- -iniʔ > -in ⁱ (not documented in Sifton, but found in texts)
1P	na-/nɔ- -ínɔɔʔ
12	ʔa-/ʔɔ- -iniʔ > -in ⁱ
2P	ʔa-/ʔɔ- -ínɔɔʔ
3P	ʔi- -ínɔɔʔ
4P	ʔi- -íniʔ > -in ⁱ

Forms with /ʔa-/ are used when the first vowel of the noun is /a/, /i/ or /e/, while forms with /ʔɔ-/ are used when the first vowel of the noun is /ɔ/ or /o/. An example of this alternation is (Sifton 125):

47) *nɔ́-* ‘ɔɔcⁱ ‘my leg, my foot’ vs. *ná-taah* ‘my heart’

Objects possessed by 1S, 2S and 3S can distinguish between a single and plural possessed object. For all other possessors, no such distinction is possible (Sifton 123):

48) *nabiiθoout*^o *nabiiθooutɔn*^h

‘my coat’

‘my coats’

‘abiiθooutɔɔninɔɔ’

‘your (PL) coat’ OR ‘your (PL) coats’

When a full noun possessor is expressed along with the possessed object, the order is usually POSSESSOR.NOUN + POSSESSIVE.PREFIX + POSSESSED.NOUN

This sequence can be expanded to the left if the possessor is also possessed:

- | | | | | |
|-----|-------------|-------------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------------------|
| 49) | <i>‘in’</i> | <i>’ɔhɕiičaač⁵</i> | <i>’iniiθenɔɔ[nʔ]</i> | <i>’idyaahin^a...</i> |
| | ʔiniʔ | ʔɔh-cīičaa-čīʔ | ʔini-iθanɔɔ-nɔʔ | ʔi-yaah-in-aʔ |
| | that | when-enter(AI)-3S | 3S-father-OBV | 4S-lodge-4.POSS-LOC |
- ‘When she went in to her father's lodge...’ (FITG 256)

Note that some obligatorily possessed nouns have third/fourth person possessor prefix /ʔini-/ rather than /ʔi-/, including ‘father’: *ni-iθénɔɔ* ‘my father’ but *‘ini-iθénɔɔn^o* ‘his father.OBV.’ Sifton also gives examples of obligatorily possessed nouns where the 12 suffix is *inínⁱ* rather than just *-inⁱ* (125). 5

When a noun is underlying vowel-initial, a /k/ is added prior to /a/, /e/, and /i/ and a /t/ is added prior to /ɔ/ and /o/:

- 50) *-inánitááw-* ‘guest’ > *nakinénitáábⁱ* ‘my visitor’ (T 2.106)

- 51) *-ɔkíiw-* ‘wagon’ > *‘itɔkíiw^u* ‘his/her wagon.OBV’ (T 2.419)

When the plural or fourth person possessor markers are added to nouns with final /-Vn/ in the underlying stem, this lengthens to /-VVn-/:

- 52) *nabiiθóoutɔn^h* ‘my clothes’ > *nabiiθóoutɔɔnínɔɔ* ‘our clothes’

Many nouns with initial /w-/ replace this with /n-/, and then the possession prefixes are added. Thus *wɔtɔ́ɔ́h* ‘pants’ > *nɔnɔtɔ́ɔ́h* ‘my pants.’

5 This is perhaps due to reanalysis based on analogy with the many nouns which end in singular /-t/-k/, but with underlying stem ending in /-tɔn/-kin/, resulting in singular/12 pairs *-t*, *-tɔ́ɔ́ninⁱ* and *-k*, *-kííninⁱ*. This pattern was then extended to other nouns not ending in this plural, resulting in forms such as *ná-taah* ‘my heart’ *ná-tooh-oh* ‘my hearts’ (showing the underlying stem *-taah-*), but *‘a-tááh-inínⁱ* ‘our heart’ (125).

Many animate nouns, and some inanimate ones, take a special possession theme marker when they are possessed. This marker is normally /-(a)w/, producing the following inflected forms:

	S	P	AR:	S	P
PROX	-(a)b ⁱ	-(ɔ)w ^h		-(e)b	-(o)wo [‘]
OBV	-(ɔ)w ^o	-(ɔ)w ^h		-(o)w-	-(o)wo

This theme *replaces* the final underlying consonant of the noun when this is /-n/, and only /-w/ is added:

53) ʔinanítaan- ‘person’ > ʔinénitááw- ‘guest’ > *nakinénitáábⁱ* ‘my guest’ (T 2.106)

54) náácaan- ‘chief’ > naaçaaw- ‘one’s own chief’ (Sifton 128)

When other consonants are final, the full theme /-aw/ is added to these:

55) bahʔí.iih- ‘old man’ > báhʔi.iiháw- ‘one’s husband’ > *ibéh ‘iihów^o* ‘her husband.OBV’ (T 2.71)

56) batábih- ‘old woman’ > batábiháw- ‘one’s wife’ > *ibitébhów^o* ‘his wife.OBV’ (T 2.72)

Note that this ending always draws stress to the final syllable to which the ending is added.

Noun endings in underlying vowels add the theme /-iw/ rather than /-aw/, and they add it to the full underlying stem. Some consonant-final nouns have a longer version of this theme, /-iiw/, added to the *full* stem (as in ex. 56).

57) wóókóči- ‘cow’ > *nɔwɔkɔciibⁱ* ‘my cow’ (Sifton 128)

58) wósi- ‘bear’ > *nɔwɔsiibⁱ* ‘my bear’ (Sifton 130)

59) táʔiyɔɔn- ‘child’ > *naté ‘yóóniibⁱ* ‘my own child’ (offspring)

The possession theme is most commonly added to persons and animals, and to NA nouns more generally than NI nouns. The most common NI nouns that have the possessed theme are wood, water, blood, fire and a few others. For these NI nouns, when a possession theme is used, it changes the meaning of the noun: water becomes ‘my water gathered in a container’ and

likewise for wood, ‘my processed wood to be used for firewood’ and for blood ‘my blood gathered from a game animal in a container.’ It is also added to ‘day’ to indicate one’s birthday, and to ‘leaves’ to indicate one’s tea. Sifton 130-34 includes other examples including meat, berries, land, bed, blanket and house.

The indefinite possession marker is applied to obligatorily possessed items when one wants to make a generic reference to an item. It can be understood as either ‘someone’s X’ or just ‘an X.’ For example ‘my arrow’ is *ni-ičyah* (obligatory possession form, with diminutive suffix), but note the following example:

- 60) *niiθo'uuuuh baateeih nōh byiičōhō'* *'ou'uhniistōnaa'.*
niiθo?uuuh bāata-iih nōh bʸi-ičʸah?-ōh *?ou?uh-niisitōn-aa?*
 both.ADV bow-P and INDEF-arrow.DIM-P NPAST-make.for(TA)-3S/4
 ‘He made bows and arrows for both them.’ (FITG 132)

Note that when a third person possesses an object, the object is required to be grammatically obviative. In the following sentence the man’s wife is the main focus of the discourse, but because she is possessed by a third person, she must be obviative, and then the less important other man is also obviative:

- 61) *'inín'' kōn'' iich'iwōčiitein''.*
?i-niin-ō? kōni? ?ii-cih?i-wōčiit-e.ini?
 3S-wife-OBV anything IMPERF-NEG-say(TA)-4/4S
 ‘His wife would not say anything to him.’ (FITG 9)

While possessors of first and second person are not automatically obviative, they still can be obviative if they are the less important participant in a sentence:

- 62) *nih'itōbyáak'' 'in' 'aasinhiítōk'' 'áasin''.*
nih-?itōbʸá.a-ki? ?ini? ?aasi-nihíit-ōki? *?â-asi-nō?*
 PST-correct(AI)-3S that what-say.about(TA)-3S/4 2S-husband-OBV
 ‘She was right about your husband.’ (T 2.155)

When an already-obviative (i.e. fourth person) possesses something, the noun in question takes the fourth-person possession markers seen in the table above. Examples in texts (see also ex. 65) are:

eyes.’ Such forms are documented for AR.

4.3 Verbal Nouns

Many AA nouns are actually structurally (i.e. morphologically) verbs, which have become lexicalized as nouns, i.e conventionalized as fulfilling the role of a noun in discourse. Thus a giraffe is *‘aaniθɔn*², which is actually an AI verb meaning ‘it has a long neck.’ Syntactically, such verbs are placed in a nominal position in a sentence, can be modified by adjectives and other determiners, and can co-occur with other true verbs, so that one can say *nɔnɔ́hɔb-áak*⁴ ‘*aaniθɔn*-’ ‘we see a giraffe’ (lit. ‘we see a “it has a long neck“.’) These nouns are pluralized simply by making the verb plural, and likewise are made obviative simply by putting verbal obviative markers on them: *nɔnɔ́hɔw-ɔɔk*⁴ ‘*aaniθɔnɔn-níc*⁴ ‘he sees a “it has a long neck.OBV“.’ On the other hand, to add a locative suffix or to possess the forms, a true morphological noun (a deverbal participle) must be derived from the verb stem: /ʔaniθɔnɔ-/ > ‘*aniθɔnɔ́ak*⁴ ‘having a long neck.’ The locative and possessive inflections are then added to this form. For details on the derivation of these participles, see section **XXX**. An examples of such a verbal noun in discourse is:

65) *kɔnɔɔt’ɔs-* ‘*ohuuθθɔnɔ́ič*⁴ *‘in’* *‘aabičiih*
kɔnɔɔtɔʔɔs- ʔɔh-ʔiiθɔnɔ́ičii-čiiʔ ʔiniʔ ʔaabačiih
 ? when-fill(AI.T)-3S that big.ADV
 ‘When he had filled that big

‘ohuuto’ɔbyɔɔčiih *‘ii’iih* *byiihiciih...*
 ʔɔh-ii-tɔʔɔb^yɔɔčiiini-h ʔi.iʔiih b^yiihic-iih
 where-IMPERF-wide(II)-0S INSTR.ADV piece.of.manure-PL
wide flat area with buffalo chips...’ (FITG 280)
 (lit. ‘When he had filled that big “where it is wide” with buffalo chips...’)

4.4 Noun Derivation

4.4.1 Diminutives

A diminutive suffix can be added to nouns to indicate ‘a little one of...’. The suffix has two different underlying forms. One form is /-ihʔ/, which is added to nouns ending in /-ah/ (notably ‘young man,’ ‘old man’ and ‘old woman’) and to nouns with underlying stem /CV-/ (i.e. vowel final). A variant of this, /-ihíhʔ/, is added to *combinatoric* stems. Thus:

66) underlying stem ʔiθaan- ‘woman’ >

ʔiθaa- + -ihíhʔ > ʔiθeihíhʔ > ‘iθeih ‘girl’ (‘little woman’)

‘iθeihíhɔ ‘ or ‘iθeihyóhɔ ‘ or ‘iθeihóhɔ ‘ ‘girls’ (‘little women’)

The other underlying form is /-áhʔ/, which is added to full underlying stems of consonant-final nouns. Note that in some cases the singular form is retained as *-ah*, while in other cases such as example 67 (and 66), the suffix drops entirely in the singular, only to reappear in the plural.

67) ʔisíih-áhʔ > ‘isíih ‘winter bird, junco’

ʔisíih-áhʔ-ɔh > ‘isíihóhɔ ‘ ‘winter birds, juncos’

The suffix can also be used to indicate endearment, and thus something like ‘a cute little one of...’ (used especially with children). It is also used to indicate ‘a poor little one of...’ to indicate a degree of sympathy for someone (used especially with words like ‘old man’ and ‘old woman’).

4.4.2 Young of....

For people and animals only, there is also a suffix /-iθɔɔʔ/ that can be added to the underlying stem of nouns, and which means ‘a young...’. The reasons for the variation in stress in the two examples below are unclear.

68) wúúsh (< wúúsi-) cat
 wúúsiíθɔɔ ‘ kitten
 wúúsiíθɔɔn^h kittens

69) wósi- bear
 wósiíθɔɔ ‘ bear cub
 wósiíθɔɔn^h bear cubs

4.4.3 Vocatives

Vocatives are used in direct address, as in calling to someone ‘Father!’ or ‘Mother!’ There are two suffixes normally used for vocatives. The most common, which is used on obligatorily possessed forms, is /-óóh/. It is normally added to the full underlying stem as in ex. 70 and 71, though there are also cases where an alternative (suppletive) stem is used, as in ex. 72. Note that there is no distinction between a singular and a plural addressee:

- | | | |
|-----|--------------------------------------|--|
| 70) | nâ-aθáhʔah
náaθáh‘ah
náaθh‘óóh | >
my older brother
older brother(s)! |
| 71) | ná-bʔih
nébyh
nebyhóóh | >
my older sister
older sister(s)! |
| 72) | ni-iθánɔʔ
niiθénɔʔ
niiθóóh | >
my father
father! |

Less common, and used on a few non-obligatorily possessed nouns, is /-ákiʔ/, which is added to full underlying stems:

- | | | |
|-----|---|---|
| 73) | batábihíhʔ-
bitébyhíh‘ák ⁱ | old woman.DIM
old woman!, old women! |
| 74) | bahʔí.iih-
bih‘íih‘ák ⁱ | old man
old man!, old men! |
| 75) | tá‘iyɔɔnáhʔ-
té‘yɔɔnáh‘ak ⁱ | child.DIM
child!, children! |

See FITG 148 for another example.

The vocatives are lexicalized forms. The suffixes cannot be freely added to new nouns. There are also some nouns or forms of address that are inherently vocative. These include *báh* ‘friend!’ used between men (see Brockie and Cowell 2017:10), with an alternative form *bááníih* (AR *be*, *béeníi*). The women’s equivalent is *nɔtó*‘, longer form *nɔtó‘uh* (AR *notóú‘u*). Another form used between men, but only by older men talking to younger ones, is *wóósh* or *wóósih* (see FITG 92, 99, 127. The women’s equivalent is *‘it‘óoh* or *‘iit‘úhu*‘.

4.4.4 Deverbal Forms

Many other types of nouns can be derived from verbs, including agents, instruments, products, and so forth. These are discussed in chapter nine on deverbalization processes.

4.4.5 Compounding and Noun-stem Formation

4.4.5.1 Compounding: Compounding is widely used in AA to form nouns. Compounds involve a prenoun (a prefix used on nouns) added to an existing noun stem. In contrast, primary noun derivation involves the use of an initial element with a noun final to create a new noun stem. These processes involve different morpho-phonological rules. Prenouns, in particular, use combinatoric noun stems. The combinatoric stem differs from the full underlying stem (see chapter three) in that final /-n/ is dropped from the noun when this is the final consonant (see ex. 79 below), and in nouns of form /-eeih/ or /-oouh/, only the final /-h/ is dropped (see ex. 78 below). (The other types of underlying stems are unchanged.) When verb stems are used as prenouns, they also drop the underlying final /-n/ (which appears as surface /-ʔ/).

Almost certainly related to this is the fact that a glide consonant /-n-/ is never used on noun prefixes (prenouns) prior to their addition to a following stem (see the contrasting examples with ‘still’ in 3.2.3). Such a glide consonant is never needed, since all surface stems are consonant-initial. It is likely this fact which encouraged speakers to drop the final /-n/ in noun stems and verbs stems as well, when they are used as the first element in a compound.⁶

⁶ Note, in relation to the conversion of final /-n/ to /-ʔ/ in surface pronunciation, that the singular form of nouns with /-iih/ plurals represent a reanalysis of the underlying forms. The nouns derive from PA nouns with final *kwaCi > *kɔɔC > *ɔɔC > *iiC > *iih*, *-ii*’. Thus there is no underlying final /-Vn/ here to convert to /-Vʔ/, unlike nouns which have /V-n-ɔh/ plurals (which derive from PA nouns with final *Vwa, by the way). But the nouns are treated as if such were the case.

Contrast the following:

	AA	AR
bear	<i>wóʂⁱ</i> < <i>wóʂiʔ</i> , pl. <i>wóʂiih</i>	<i>wox</i> , pl. <i>wóxuu</i>

Examples of prenouns plus nouns are:

- 76) *bááyiΘóu* ‘house’ > ‘*akis-bááyiΘóu*’ ‘little house’
- 77) *nítcááh* ‘river’ > ‘*ʔteei-nítcááh*’ ‘bighorn river’ > ‘*ákisʔʔteei-nítcááh*’ ‘little bighorn river’ (< ʔʔteeih-).
- | | |
|-------------------------------------|------------------------------|
| 78) <i>biníinénʔʔt^a</i> | 79) <i>niʔʔt^a</i> |
| biní.iináni-ʔʔtaʔ (< biní.iinánin-) | niʔ-i-ʔʔtaʔ |
| soldier/police-dog | good-dog |
| ‘police dog’ | ‘good dog’ |

It can be initially difficult to distinguish a prenoun + noun combination from an initial + final noun stem derivation, especially in the case of underlying vowel-initial nouns. One key determinant is the presence of consonant mutation on the prenouns. For example, notice the form of ‘little’ in the following:

- 80) ‘*aakiΘʔkoyáách*.

arrow	‘ <i>ʔcⁱ</i> < ʔʔciʔ, pl. ‘ <i>ʔciih</i>	<i>hoʔ</i> , pl. <i>hóʔii</i>
beaver	‘ <i>ábisⁱ</i> < ʔabisiʔ, pl. ‘ <i>ábisiih</i>	<i>hébes</i> , pl. <i>hébesii</i>

The pervasive presence of a final glottal stop on AA singular nouns, and most particularly the pervasive presence of consonant-final nouns with surface pronunciation -C^V from underlying /-CVʔ/ apparently led to the extension of this pronunciation to nouns such as /wʔs/ and /ʔʔc/ that actually would not be expected to have such a surface form, as can be seen from the AR equivalents. The vowel chosen for the V is based on the vowels present in the plural. The same reanalysis apparently occurred with the AI 3S final /-k/, which derives from PA *ta, with no underlying /-in/ present.

ʔaakaθ-ókoy-áá-cih

IC.little-lodge-VAI.MID-3P

‘They have little lodges.’ (Little Lodges Band of A‘aniih Indians)

Here we see the root /ʔaakaθ-/ ‘little,’ used as the initial element of a verb stem. When such roots are used as prenouns or preverbs however, a glide vowel /-i-/ is added prior to the following noun or verb stem (which is necessarily consonant-initial in AA). This causes consonant mutation in the case of /ʔaakaθ-/, converting it to *‘ákisi-* as in examples 76 and 77 (the latter reflecting /ʔaakaθ-i-ʔóteeih/). Even when the glide vowel drops due to syncope, the mutation remains, as seen in ex. 76.

The examples with ‘dog’ illustrate regular compound formation with vowel-initial stems. Such stems, to become full surface-level (i.e. spoken) nouns, must add an initial /ʔ-/. Since the forms are now consonant-initial, the glide /-i-/ must be added following the prenoun root. But then in surface pronunciation, the /-ʔ-/ is elided, so that /-VʔV-/ produces the surface pronunciation /-VVV-/ as in *ni‘óóót^a* ‘good dog.’ This is a special morpho-phonological rule specifically for compounds (and applies to preverbs plus verbs as well as prenouns plus nouns, since the processes work in the same way). Thus it is clear that prenouns are added secondarily to fully-derived surface forms of nouns, not to the underlying noun stem. Were ‘good dog’ a true initial-final combination, the result would be *ni‘ót^a*. The actual double long vowel can only be explained by the presence of the /-i-/ glide vowel, plus the elision of the surface /-ʔ-/.

Note that prenouns can be adjectival-type roots (ex. 76 and 79), but they can also be nouns (as in ex. 77 and 78), and multiple such prenouns can be added consecutively (as in ex. 78). Other briefer examples are:

81) /bâaθóni-/ ‘prairie dog’ + *‘íitaan^o* ‘town’ > *bâaθónííitaan^o* ‘prairie dog town’ (T

2.126)7

82) /náák^yaa-/ ‘chief’ + ‘oh ‘ánⁱ ‘mountain’ > *naakýóóh ‘ánⁱ* ‘Chief Mtn, MT’ (T 1.145)

83) /tɔwɔcinanítaa-/ ‘Indian’ + ‘iθaa ‘woman’ > *tɔwɔcinnitééiθaa* ‘Indian woman’ (T 1.434)

As seen in ex. 81 and 82, /V?VV/ and /VV?V/ produce the same results as /V?V/. The final vowel determines the quality of the entire sequence, except in cases of /ei/ and /ou/ combinations such as in ex. 83, where these remain (but always as *-eei-* and *-oou-* three-vowel sequences).

Note in contrast the result where /hC/ sequences result, they are simply retained, as this is an allowable underlying sequence in AA:

84) /nih-/ PST + ‘itɔbyáa- ‘tell the truth’ > *nih ‘itɔbyáakⁱ* ‘She told the truth’ (T 2.155)

4.4.5.2 Noun Stem Derivation (Creation): Noun stems are more closely bound units of meaning than compounds. When noun stem derivation occurs, a glide vowel /-i/ occurs at C + C junctions, and a glide consonant /-n-/ is used where vowels meet at junctures (something which never occurs in compounding). Examples of noun initials plus finals are:

85) *niisícááánɔθ^a*
niisíca.aa-n-ôɔθa?
work(AI.O)-GL-horse
‘draft horse’

86) *nisééihiiinɔθ^a*
nisáhi:-n-ôɔθa?
wild(AI)-GL-horse
‘wild horse’

87) *cih ‘iitáasiinɔθ^a*
cihʔi-itâas[in]i-n-ôɔθa?

88) *bíinotáaanɔθ^a*
bíinɔtá.aa-n-ôɔθa?

7 Taylor actually records *baaθ-* rather than *báaθ-*.

NEG-have.testicle(AI)-GL-horse	load(AI)-GL-horse
‘gelding horse’	‘pack horse’
89) <i>báaθóouh</i>	90) <i>báasii ‘ihiih</i>
bâaθ-ó.ouh	bâaθ-iiʔihiih
big-fox	big-bird
‘red fox’	‘big bird’

Like pre-nouns, noun initials can be either simple adjectival or nominal roots, or internally complex forms. The latter can be based on a verb stem (AI *niséhi-* in ex. 86, AI.O *niisícaaa-* in ex. 85) or even on a verb stem with incorporated nominal elements (AI /*cihʔiitâasii-*/ in ex. 87). Note that some noun finals are clearly derived from independent nominals (/nó.ouh/ > /ó.ouh/ in ex. 89, /niiʔihiih/ > /-iiʔihiih/ in ex. 90). Others occur only as finals (/ôθaʔ/ in ex. 85-88).

Most importantly, note that lack of consonant mutation in ex. 89, since there is no glide /i/ involved. Example 83 also illustrates a rule specific to stem formation: final /hi-/ in verb stems becomes long (/hii-/) when followed by another stem-forming element. This is why it is written as /hi:-/.

4.5 Pronouns

Pronouns are words that are used in place of nouns, such as the words ‘he’ or ‘it’ in English, in place the ‘the worker’ or ‘the box.’

4.5.1 Personal Pronouns

Personal pronouns are the most common and basic type of pronoun, represented by words in English such as ‘I, you, she, he’ and so forth. AA lacks true personal pronouns. There is however a verb /náá(ni)-/ II, /nááni-/ AI meaning ‘to be the one who/that...’ which is used for

pronoun-like expressions. Note the initial change on the verb:

	AA		AR
0S	<i>nináá-h</i>	It (is the one which...)	<i>nenéé-‘</i>
O4S	<i>ninááni-nh</i>	It (other one) (is the one...)	<i>nenééni-ni‘</i>
1S	<i>ninááni-nɔɔ‘</i>	I/me (am the one who...)	<i>nenééni-noo</i>
2S	<i>ninááni-n^ɔ</i>	You (are the one who...)	<i>nenééni-n</i>
3S	<i>ninááni-kⁱ</i>	She/he etc.	<i>nenééni-t</i>
4S	<i>ninááni-nícⁱ</i>	She/he (other one) etc.	<i>nenééni-ni3</i>
0P	<i>ninááni-ih</i>	They	<i>neneeni-‘i</i>
04P	<i>ninááni-níih</i>	They (other ones)	<i>nenééni-ni‘i</i>
1P	<i>ninááni-nh, 12 ninááni-nin?</i> CHECK		<i>neneeni-ni‘</i>
2P	<i>ninááni-naah</i>	You all	<i>neneeni-nee</i>
3P	<i>ninááni-ch</i>	They	<i>nenéé-3i‘</i>
4P	<i>ninááni-ních</i>	They (other ones)	<i>nenééni-ni3i</i>

These forms are actually fairly uncommon in natural discourse. They are used primarily for contrastive or identificational meaning: ‘I am the one who...’ (as opposed to you, for ex.), and are never used as simple pronouns. For example in the entire text of FITG, the longest AA traditional narrative documented, there is only one example of these verbal pronouns. Their most common usage is in predicate constructions (predicate nominal, adjective, locative or possessive) such as the examples below from Taylor:

91)	<i>ninááni-nh</i>	<i>‘ínɔɔ‘.</i>	92)	<i>ninááni-ních</i>	<i>‘íkɔyɔɔteihíin^{oh}.</i>
	<i>ninááni-nih</i>	<i>ʔi-inó.ɔɔʔ</i>		<i>ninááni-nícih</i>	<i>ʔi-kɔyɔɔteihíi-nɔh</i>
	be.the.one(II)-04S	3S-dish		be.the.one(AI)-4P	3S-belt-P

‘That’s his dish.’ (T 1.60)

‘Those are her belts.’ (T 1.59)

As verbs, the verbal pronouns have inherent present tense meaning. To say ‘I will be the one who...’ the adverbial *ʼtɔniíth* is used prior to the verbal pronoun – or, if there is another actual verb in the sentence, the adverbial precedes that verb instead. Taylor also provides examples with the prefix attached. Note that unlike all other verbs in AA, these forms retain their initial change even with prefixes:

- 93) *ʼóʼtɔnináánik^ʼ* *bíik^a náas^ʼ*.
ʼóʼtɔni-ninááni-kiʼ bíikaʼ ná.asiʼ
IC.FUT-IC.be.the.one(AI)-3Sin.turn 1S-husband
‘He’ll be my next husband.’ (T 1.58)

To say ‘I was the one who...’ the past tense marker is added to personal pronoun verb, or to the other verb in the sentence: *ninaani-nɔʼʼ nih-niiskyɔʼ-nɔʼʼ* ‘I was the one who did it’ (Sifton 173). It is also possible to add the prefix *toh-* meaning ‘let it be that...’ or ‘so that...’ to the verbal pronouns:

- 94) *tɔhninaanin^ʼ*.
tɔh-ninaani-nɔʼʼ
let.it.be-IC.the.one.who(AI)-2S
‘Let it be you.’ (who is chosen, who wins, for ex.) (Sifton 173)

Similarly, to say ‘I wish it were...’ the detached particle */-o.ouh/* is used, with the appropriate person marker added in a reduced form (*/na-/ > /n-/*, */ʼa-/ > /ʼ-/*, etc.) (Sifton 173):

- 95) *noouh ninaaninɔʼʼ*. ‘I wish it were me.’
96) *ʼoouh ninaanin^ʼ*. ‘I wish it were you.’

Subjunctive inflections can be added to the verbal pronouns to express the idea of surprise

(Sifton 173):

97) *ninaanahk!* ‘So *s/he* was the one!’

98) *ninaanahkɔnh!* ‘So *they* were the ones!’

Note again the presence of initial change, even though with subjunctive inflections one would expect this not to be the case. When used with interrogative, negative or dubitative prefixes however, the verbs do not have initial change, and take non-affirmative inflections. The AI verb *naani-* reduces to *naaʔ-* with singular forms.

99)	<i>ʔɔnǎáʔ</i>	<i>ʔwɔʔθhʔ</i>	100)	<i>ʔɔciínǎánin^{oh}ʔ</i>
	<i>ʔɔɔ=nǎáni-</i>	<i>ʔɔ-wɔʔθah</i>		<i>ʔɔɔ=cihʔii-nǎáni-nɔh</i>
	INTERR=be.the.one(II)	2S-knife		INTERR=NEG-be.the.one(II)-0P
	‘Is that your knife?’ (T 1.60)			‘Are those (not) the ones?’ (T 1.60)

101)	<i>ʔɔʔacíínǎáʔʔ</i>	102)	<i>ʔɔciínǎáninⁱ</i>	<i>ʔitonɔ́hɔʔʔ</i>
	<i>ʔɔɔ=ʔa-cii-nǎáni-</i>		<i>ʔɔɔ=cii-nǎáni-niʔ</i>	<i>ʔít-ɔníhʔ-ɔʔ</i>
	INTERR=2S-NEG-be.the.one		INTERR=NEG-be.the.one-4S	3S-horse-OBV
	‘Is that (not) you?’ (T 1.59)		‘Isn’t that his horse?’ (T 1.59)	

Taylor also documents examples where the verbal pronouns do not undergo these reductions, despite use of negative or interrogative. It is unclear if this is speaker variation, or if earlier the verbal pronouns never underwent reduction, or if in fact the lack of reduction is a later obsolescence phenomenon. An example is:

103) *ʔɔninǎáninaahʔ*
ʔɔɔ=ninǎáni-naah
INTERR=IC.be.the.one(AI)-2P

‘Are you folks the ones?’ (T 1.59)

Examples of the pronominal verbs in discourse are:

Context: A woman keeps using different things as a serving plate for a guest, and he keeps rejecting them. She uses yet another object:

104) *wuuuh tɔnɔɔninaah, wɔɔɔčiiteič^q.*
wuuuh tɔnɔɔ-ninaa-h wɔɔɔčiit-e.iči?
Ohhhh IC.almost-be.the.one(II)-0S say(TA)-4/3S
“‘Ohh, that’s almost it,” he said to her.’ (FITG 36)
(more literally ‘Ohh, that one is almost the one [that I like].’)

105) ‘*ɔthuutehi*’, *niiwɔɔčiitɔɔč^q.*
ʔɔ-tɔhūutahi? *nii-wɔɔčiit-ɔɔči?*
2S-where.from(AI) IMPERF-say.to(TA)-3S/4

“‘Who are you?’” he was saying to him.

ninaanɔɔ ‘ *ɔnɔɔwou* ‘*unɔɔ* ‘.
ninaa[ni]-nɔɔʔ *ʔnɔɔwouʔu-nɔɔʔ*
be.the.one(AI)-1S IC.be.chokecherry.bush(AI)-1S
“I am [the one who is] Chokecherry.” (Burrs)

106) *ninaah ne* ‘*iinɔnoouθaat^q*; *‘ohuuuh nɔtyiityiinɔɔ* ‘
ninaa-h na-ʔii-nɔnoouθaat^yi? *ʔohuuuh nɔt^yiit^yii-nɔɔʔ*
IC.it is(II)-0S 1S-IMPERF-travel(AI.PART) because.ADVlook for(AI)-1S
“‘That’s [the reason] why I venture about, to seek out

nɔnɔnkiit^o, *niiwɔɔtyiity^q* *naha* ‘ *‘nɔh* ‘*ah.*
nɔnɔnakiiɔʔ *nii-wɔɔt^yii-t^yi?* *naha?* *ʔnɔhʔah*
die(AI.PART) IMPERF-say(AI)-3S this young man
death,” this young man was saying.’ (War Story)

107) *ninaanity^q*, *nihkoutɔnh* *‘aθɔhɔbetiity^q*, *wɔɔtyiiteity^q*
ninaani-t^yi? *nohʔu[t^yesi]koutɔn-ah* *ʔaθɔhɔbat^yiit^yi?* *wɔɔt^yiit-e.it^yi?*
IC.it is(AI)-3S signal.s.o.(TA)-2P/3.IMPER mirror say(TA)-4/3S
“‘That one, signal him with a mirror,” the one

naha ‘ *‘aathɔhɔbeiitɔn^o* *‘ii* ‘*iih* *nɔtyinɔhɔɔɔɔɔɔ* ‘.

naha? ʔaaθɔɔhɔw-êitɔn-oʔ ʔiiʔiiih nɔtʔinɔɔhðɔɔɔ.ɔɔʔ
 this IC.look at(TA)-4/3S.DEPPART-OBV INSTR telescope
 who is looking at him through the spyglass said to the others.’ (War Story)

4.5.2 Indefinite Pronouns

The pronoun /ʔɔɔtɔʔ/, pl. /ʔɔɔtɔʔʔuuh/ means ‘some, others’ (AR hooʔooʔ-‘uu or hooʔooʔ-‘oʔ). See Sifton 183 {atá} and Brockie and Cowell 2017:10, 12.

The root for the word ‘one’ is used in a modified form /kʔááθah/ to mean ‘another one’ or ‘the other one.’ It can be used in plural and obviative form as /kʔaaθááɔnh/ and /kʔaaθááɔnɔʔ/. See FITG 53 for an example with the obviative, as well as Brockie and Cowell 2017:10. The AR cognate is /cééxoon-/.

The word ‘aayóuhu(u)h means ‘something.’ Plural is ‘aayóuhuuu or ‘aayóuhóóh.

The word ‘innítaa’ ‘person’ is used to mean ‘someone’ as well (see FITG 214, 216).

4.5.3 Pseudo-verbal and other “Presentational” Forms

Sifton (181) documents an AI verbal form /ʔiinaani-/, clearly based on the verbal pronoun verbs. This form is used to point out a referent, rather than as a pronoun referring to someone or something previously mentioned, and thus could be called a “presentational form” in that it presents a new referent to someone’s attention or into discourse. Although Sifton glosses the forms as ‘that one there’ a better gloss would apparently be ‘here is...,’ as the form parallels other proximal (i.e. ‘here’) forms, which have distal (i.e. ‘there’) counterparts, and the form may derive from /ʔiik-/ ‘here’:

	<i>‘iinaa’</i>	‘here s/he is’
3S	<i>‘iinaani-čⁱ</i>	‘this one here’
3P	<i>‘iinaani-ch</i>	‘these ones here’
3S	<i>‘iinaan-áhk^o</i>	‘this must be the one here!’
3P	<i>‘iinaan-ahkónh</i>	‘these must be the ones here!’

Presumably 4S and 4P forms existed as well, since this is the case for all of the other similar forms discussed below. One example of this form occurs in FITG, in line 47, but as an II verb with 04S inflection, translated as ‘that is it’ or ‘that’s the one,’ so presumably equivalent 0S, 0P and 04P forms existed as well.

Sifton also documents a longer AI pseudoverbal form /ʔiinaʔaan-/ (given as {ínêên}) (AR *niine* ‘een-). This form would be exactly parallel to forms such as /taataʔaan-/ ‘where is...?’ and /ʔaanaʔaan-/ ‘who is...?’ As with those forms, it takes *non-affirmative* (and conjunct subjunctive) verbal inflections. Taylor documents this form as well. Again, it is used to point out a referent, not as a pronoun referring to some previously known entity:

108)	<i>‘iin’aa’</i>	<i>nanáániit^o</i>	109)	<i>‘iin’aan^h</i>
	ʔiinaʔaaʔ	na-náániitɔʔ		ʔiinaʔaa-nɔh
	here.it.is	1S-doll		here.it.is-P
	‘Here is my doll.’ (T 1.61)			‘Here they are.’ (T 1.61)

Similarly, II pseudoverbal /ʔi.iyó.un-/ (Sifton 181) (AR *níiyóun-*, *híiyóun-*) is parallel to forms such as /ʔá.ayó.un-/ ‘what...?’ and has the same range of inflectional forms. It can also be glossed as ‘here it is,’ and again is used to point out a referent, rather than as a pronoun. Taylor documents the form as well:

- 110) *‘íiyóun^h ninéikyɔɔtɔθé’ nón^h* 111) *‘íiyóu’ ciscinnóɔɔ’*
 ʔi.iyó.u-nɔh nané.ik^yɔɔtɔθá-ʔih nón-nɔh ʔi.iyó.uʔ ciscicini-nó.ɔɔʔ
 here.it.is-P IC.be.six(II)-0P egg-P here.it.is glass
 ‘Here are six eggs.’ (T 1.61) ‘Here’s a glass!’ (T 1.61)

- 112) *‘ɔɔh ‘ou‘uhciinnaas[θ]innih* *‘ouhɔɔ’.*
 ʔɔɔh ʔouʔ-ih-ciini-naasiθani-ni.ih ʔo.ouhɔɔʔ
 And DUBIT-PST-down-left.laying(II)-04.ITER porcupine
 ‘But I guess there was [a quill of] a porcupine left behind in it.

‘iyou’ wɔɔčiicicɔɔnⁱ.
 ʔi.iyo.uʔ wɔɔčiicacɔɔ-niʔ
 Here.it.is think(AI)-4S
 ‘Look at this!’ he thought.’ (FITG 212-213)

- 113) *niiwɔɔɔh,* *‘aabiitibeinɔɔ’* *nɔɔθeeih* *‘innitaa’.*
 ni.iwɔɔɔh ʔaabiitaw-e.inɔɔʔ nɔɔθeeih ʔinanitaaʔ
 grandmother.VOC IC.steal.s.t.from(TA)-3S/1S maybe person
 ‘Grandmother, it looks like someone stole [my game] from me!

‘iyou’ ‘ou‘uh‘iciinaasibyi’.
 ʔi.iyo.uʔ ʔouʔuh-ʔi-ciini-naasib^yiʔ
 Here it is NPAST-?-down-laying.behind(II.PASSIM).0S
 Here is [a quill]; it was left behind [in the trap].’ (FITG 217-217)

The distal (distant, ‘there’) counterparts to there forms are II /ná.ayó.un-/ and AI /náánaʔaan-/ (AR *néeyóun-*, *nééne‘één-*), with the same pattern of inflectional forms:

- 114) *náayóu’ nicⁱ.*
 ná.ayó.uʔ naciʔ
 there.it.is water
 ‘There’s some water.’ (T 1.61)
- 115) *‘áánaa’ ‘ikébitɔkóɔɔn^h* *‘in’ náayóunính?*
 ʔáánaaʔ ʔi-kábitɔkóɔɔ-nɔh ʔiniʔ ná.ayó.u-nínɔh
 who 3S-tent-P that there.it.is-OBV.P
 ‘Whose tents are those [over there]?’ (T 1.61)
- 116) *náán‘áán^h té‘yɔɔnóhɔ’.*
 náánaʔáán-nɔh táʔiyɔɔnóhʔ-ɔh

there.it.is-P child-P
 ‘There are some kids [over there].’ (T 1.61)

- 117) *náán*['*ʒaa*‘ *bíi*θaa‘ *‘abii*θooutóón^a
*náána*ʒaaʔ *bíi*θaaʔ *ʒa-bíi*θó.outóón-aʔ
 there.it.is insect 2S-shirt-LOC
 ‘there’s a bug on your shirt!’ (T 1.61)

These forms – especially /ʒí.iyó.un-/ – can be used more loosely in discourse simply as phatic forms, meaning something like ‘hey, now listen up!’:

- 118) *‘iyou’* *wóccii*nicⁱ, *nii*θóó’ *‘otoouhs*óóóóóótehinⁱ.
 ʒi.iyo.uʔ wóccii-niciʔ niiθóóʔ ʒoto.ouh-sóó-sóóóóóótahi-niʔ
 here it is say(AI)-4S twin 2S.OBLIG-REDUP-play(AI)-12
 ‘[The other child] was saying: “Hey, Twin, let’s play!” (FITG 81)

- 119) *by*óóóóóó *θóó*óóóóóó, *‘iyou’* *wóó*óóóóóó *‘inii*θóóóóóóóóóóóó’:
 b^yóóóóóó θóóóóóó ʒi.iyo.uʔ wóóóóóó-e.ícih ʒi-niiθóóóóóóóóóóóó
 somewhat.ADV later.ADV here.it.is say(TA)-4/3P 3S-father-3P
 ‘Some time later, “Listen up!” their father said to them.’ (FITG 148)

4.5.4 Interrogative Pronouns

Questions involving ‘who?’ or ‘whose?’ or ‘which?’ use a pseudo-verbal interrogative pronoun /ʒá(á)naan-/.

- 120) *wóó*heih *‘anaaa’* *nóhu’* *‘ahniisinaah* *tih*‘*iiniibeič*ⁱ?
 wóóheih ʒanaaaʔ nóhuʔ ʒah-niisi-naah tahʒii-niiw-e.íciʔ
 well who this #-two(AI)-2P want-marry(TA)-4/3S
 ‘Well, which one of you two wants Found-in-the-Grass to marry her?’ (FITG 232)

Note that Kroeber consistently records this form as /ʒánaaʔ/ (and see AR *hénee*’), but Taylor always records it as /ʒáánaaʔ/.

In addition to the simple pronoun seen in the preceding example, there is also a set of interrogative pronouns which are pseudo-verbal in nature, with a meaning of ‘who is the one (who)....?’ They occur in the forms below (Sifton 175). The first forms ask the basic question, while the second set express special surprise at an unexpected or unknown person or arrival or special puzzlement. Note that in these and all pseudo-verbal pronouns, when subjunctive inflections are used, the final /-n/ of the underlying stem of the pronoun is dropped except in the case of obviative inflections.

ʒánaaʒáán-	who is/are...? (AI)
‘ <i>áán</i> ’ <i>áá</i> ’	who is s/he?
‘ <i>áán</i> ’ <i>áá-n</i> ⁱ	who is s/he? (OBV) (not documented in Sifton)
‘ <i>áán</i> ’ <i>áá-n</i> ^h	who are they?

<i>'áán'aa-nính</i>	who are they? (OBV) (not documented in Sifton)
<i>'áán'áá-hk'</i>	who could/might s/he be!?
<i>'áán'aa-náhk'</i>	who could/might s/he be!? (OBV) (not documented in Sifton)
<i>'áán'aa-hkónh</i>	who could/might they be!?
<i>'áán'aa-nahkónh</i>	who could/might they be!? (OBV) (not documented in Sifton)

There are similar pseudo-verbal 'what' forms (Sifton 175) (obviatives are formed as as above for all the sets below, but not listed here):

<i>ʔá.ayó.un-</i>	what is/are...? (II) ⁸
<i>'aayóu'</i>	what is it?
<i>'aayóu-n^h</i>	what are they?
<i>'aayou-háhk'</i>	what could/might it be!?
<i>'aayou-hahkónh</i>	what could/might they be!?

Another set of such forms asks 'where is/are...?' (Sifton 178)

<i>táátaʔáán-</i>	where is/are...? (AI)
<i>táát'áá'</i>	where is s/he?
<i>táát'áá-n^h</i>	where are they?
<i>táát'aa-háhk'</i>	where could/might s/he be!?
<i>táát'aa-hahkónh</i>	where could/might they be!?
<i>tootó.un-</i>	where is/are...? (II)
<i>tɔɔtóu'</i>	where is it?
<i>tɔɔtóu-n^h</i>	where are they? (not documented in Sifton)

No subjunctive forms of this latter pronoun are documented, but they could presumably occur.

Examples from Taylor 1994 illustrating forms not given by Sifton are:

121) *'áán'áánⁱ* *'ibiθótótɔɔn^o?*
ʔáánaʔáá-ni? *ʔi-biθɔɔtótɔɔ-ni?*
 who-OBV 3S-love(TA.DEPPART)-OBV
 'Who does he love?'

122) *'aayóunⁱ* *'íi'iy[h]ótáakⁱ?*
ʔá.ayó.u-ni? *ʔi-i.iʔ-iyɔhɔɔtáaki?*
 what-OBV 3S-INSTR-die(AI.PART)
 'What did he die of?'

123) *táát'áánⁱ* *'íiiniitótɔɔ^u?*

⁸ This stem likely derives from /aan-yo.un/.

táátaʔáá-niʔ ʔi-ciiniitóówuʔ-ɔʔ
 where-OBV 3S-car-OBV
 ‘Where is his car?’ (T 2.444)

124) táát ‘aanính ʔikoyóoteihíín^h?
 táátaʔaa-nínɔh ʔí-koyóoteihíí-nɔh
 where-OBV.P 3S-belt-OBV.P
 ‘Where are her belts?’ (T 2.444)

125) tɔtótún^h béih^h?
 tɔtót.u-nɔh bé.ih-ɔh
 where-P needle-P
 ‘Where are the needles?’ (T 2.442)

4.5.5 Possessive Pronouns

Pronominal forms meaning ‘mine’ ‘yours’ are based on the AI verb /ʔiniisitóówu-/ ‘to own s.t.’ There are two choices. Some speakers take the verb and use it as a simple noun. Others create a participle. Either way, the form is then possessed.⁹

	SING	PL
1S	<i>néiniistóów^u, néiniistóówúut^o</i>	<i>‘éiniistóówunⁱ (12)</i> <i>néiniistóówúnɔɔ‘ (1P)</i>
2S	<i>‘éiniistóów^u, ‘éiniistóówúut^o</i>	<i>‘éiniistóówúnɔɔ‘</i>
3S	<i>‘iiniistóów^u, ‘iiniistóówúut^o</i>	<i>‘iiniistóówúnɔɔ‘</i>
4S	<i>‘iiniistóówunⁱ, ‘iiniistóówúutooninⁱ</i>	<i>‘iiniistóów-únɔɔ‘ (?)</i>

The first forms listed under the singular are true nouns. The second forms listed are AI participles formed from the verb (/ʔiniisitóówúutɔn-/ ‘act of owning s.t.’). The plurals can also use the participles: *ʔéiniistóówúutóóninⁱ* ‘ours (incl.)’ etc. These forms are documented in Sifton 186-87 and by Taylor (2.91). They are uncommon in natural discourse. They can sometimes be used with a following noun as a possessive adjective/determiner, in which case they serve to emphasize the identity of the possessor (in comparison to the use of the standard possession markers):

126) *neeiniistóów^u* *biit* ‘*ɔwuh.*
 na-iniisitóówuʔ *bíitɔʔówuh*
 1S-own land
 ‘My land.’ (or more specifically ‘my own land’ or ‘my land’) (Sifton 187)

127) *‘ihéi* ‘*aach* *‘in* ‘ *‘éiniistóów^u* *baat* ‘*éinɔɔh!*
 ʔíih-é.iʔaa-ciH ʔíniʔ ʔa-iníisitóówuʔ *baataʔé.einɔɔ-h*
 lend-1P-2S.IMPER that 2S-own IC.stiff(II)-0S
 ‘Lend us that tarp of yours!’ (T 2.91)

⁹ AR uses a slightly different base verb, /niisitoo-/, and uses only the participial base /niisitôoton-/.

Roughly the same meaning can be conveyed by using the verb itself, in a relative clause construction:

- 128) *iwəshəθ*^a *in* *iiniistəwəwunə*.
ʔiwəsihəθ^a ʔiniʔ ʔiiniisitəwəwunə-nəʔ
horse that IC.own(AI)-1S
'The horse *I have/my* horse.' (S 186)

4.6 Noun Phrases

A noun phrase includes a main noun (with any inflectional affixes), along with any other words which modify the noun. This can include determiners ('that,' 'this'), adjectives and numbers, plus certain proclitics than can occur on nouns as well as verbs. A lexical prefix (technically a "prenoun") can also be applied to a noun. The word order in a noun phrase is fixed:

PART + DET + ADJ/NUM + PROCL + PRENOUN + NOUN

The particles referred to here are normally derived adverbial particles, which function somewhat like prepositions in English.

Two nouns are conjoined by *nəh* 'and' (which is optional – nouns can simply be listed one after the other as well). Disjunction is expressed by *noh w(ə)ʔééit*^o 'or.'

4.6.1 Prenouns vs. Full Verbal Modifiers

See section 4.4.5 for a full discussion of noun compounding and the use of preouns. Prenouns can also be detached from the noun stem using the derivational suffix /-ííh/. In this case, the detached adjectival particle occurs immediately prior to the noun. The form *bhííh* 'all' occurs especially commonly in this way (see several examples in FITG). Such detachment constructions are intermediate between a true attached prenoun and an independent verb-type modifier in terms of their pragmatics – they often occur with lexical combinations that are less common than those involving attached preouns, but more common than those with verbal modifiers, and they highlight the saliency of the modifier more than an attached prenoun, but less

than a verbal modifier.

4.6.2 Proclitics Occurring with Nouns

The most common proclitics that occur attached to nouns are ‘*ʋʋ*= (interrogative ‘is it a...?’) and *tʋʋč*= (‘where is...?’). The negative *ch ‘ii-* can also be attached to nouns.

4.6.3 Adjectival and Number Verbs

Note that there are no true “adjectives“ in AA. Words which perform this function are actually verbs. The same is true for numbers which modify nouns. Thus one actually says “the ‘it is red’ book“ for “the red book“ and “the ‘they are three’ books“ for “the three books.“ The modifying verbs have II and AI forms, which agree with NI and NA nouns respectively:

129) *téih ‘iinaaníih* *bʋʋ ‘óouh* *kyʋʋ ‘óúhúuh.*
tááhʔii-naaní-ih *bʋʋʔóó-ih* *kʸʋʋʔóúhú-ih*
 IC.want-be.the.one(II)-0P IC.red(II)-0P IC.round(II.DIM)-0P
 ‘I want red beads.’ (T 2.157)

130) *cʋʋkúusính* *bei ‘íhk^á* *koh ‘wóʋʋ ‘!*
cʋʋku.ut-ínih *baaʔáhi-kiʔ* *kʋhʔʋwó.ʋʋʔ*
 throw.to.here(TA)-2S/S.IMPER IC.red(AI)-3S ball
 ‘Throw me the red ball!’ (T 2.157)

4.6.4 Determiners

Determiners are as follows:

	NI	NA.PROX.S	NA.OBV, NA.PROX.P
this	<i>nóhuʔ</i>	<i>náhaʔ</i>	<i>nóhuʔ</i>
that	<i>ʔíniʔ</i>	<i>ʔíniʔ</i>	<i>ʔíniʔ</i>

This system is similar to AR. However, *náha* ‘(AR *néhe* ‘) was in the process of obsolescing in

classical AA. It shows up regularly in text #2 from Brockie and Cowell 2017 (p. 8, paragraphs 3, 6; p. 10, paragraphs 1, 3, 4; p. 12, paragraph 5). The form also shows up sporadically in a second text from 1901, "The Mouse and the Frog":

131) *ʷʷnaahaaneitʷʷnh* *ʷʷčiičⁱ* *nah^ʼ* *ʷʷciih.*
 ʷʷʷʷni-naahaaneitʷʷ-nih *ʷʷčii-čiʷ* *nahaʷ* ʷʷciih
 IC.FUT-that.where.be.located(AI)-1P say(AI)-3S this mouse
 "Let's both [search for] someplace where we can stay," the mouse (PROX) said.'

ʼaaah ʷʷčiiiteičⁱ *nuh^ʼ* *kʷkʷah.*
 ʷʷaaah ʷʷčiiit-e.ičiʷ *nuhuʷ* *kʷkʷah*
 yes say(TA)-4/3S this frog
 "Okay," the frog (OBV) said to him.' (Mouse and Frog)

132) *....nuh^ʼ* *kʷkʷah ʷʷčiiitʷʷčⁱ* *nah^ʼ* *ʷʷciikah.*
....nuhuʷ *kʷkʷah ʷʷčiiit-ʷʷčiʷ* *nahaʷ* ʷʷciikahʷ
this frog say(TA)-3S/4 this mouse.DIM
 ... 'the little mouse (PROX) said to the frog (OBV)' (Mouse and Frog)

These are, however, the only texts where a *nahaʼ/nuhuʼ* opposition occurs. The three other original texts in Brockie and Cowell 2017, as well as FITG have only *nuhuʼ*. Likewise none of the religious materials from Griva, Vasta or Sifton show examples of *nahaʼ*, and Sifton does not mention it in his grammar. Even in the "War Story" (text #2), the form is used irregularly – for plural as well as singular referents for example. Thus this form appears to have been already archaic in AA by 1900.

4.6.4.1 Definiteness and Identifiability. The determiners ('this' and 'that') often function as markers of definiteness rather than true contrastive demonstratives, thus approaching English 'the' in function. First mention of a referent in a discourse usually involves no determiner, but subsequent mentions normally include a determiner. In the following passage, a single sweat lodge is mentioned multiple times. There are no other contrastive sweatlodges under discussion or potentially available in the discourse, so there are no distinctions being made between 'this sweatlodge' and 'that sweatlodge.'

First mention of a referent, without determiner:

- 133) *wəweih* *niiθəwəh* *naaciih* *niisčyiich* *ciibaač^{qi}*.
wəweih *niiθəwəh* *naaciih* *niisič^yii-cih* *ciibâači?*
 okay father.VOC EMPH.ADV make(AI.T)-2S.IMPER sweat.lodge
 ‘Well, father, you must now make a sweat-lodge.’ (FITG 133)

Ten lines later, same referent mentioned again, with determiner:

- 134) *‘wəh nohu’* *‘aatəsiih* *‘ihctəbaaanəwəh,*
ʔəwəh nohu? *ʔaatəsiih* *ʔihctəba.aa-nəwəh*
 and thus IC.each.ADV shoot.into.air(AI)-3P.ITER
 ‘Every time they shot up into the air,

‘ou’uh’uunəwəh’əwəwəwə’wəh *nuhu’* *ciibyaáč^{qi}*.
ʔouʔuh-ʔii-nəwə-nəhʔəwəwəwəʔəwə-h *nuhu?* *ciibâači?*
 NPAST-IMPERF-REDUP-shaking/moving this sweat.lodge
 the sweat lodge shook and moved about.’ (FITG 143)

Three lines later, same referent mentioned again, with determiner:

- 135) *‘ou’uhnəwəhčihin^{qi}* *‘iinəwəninəwə’* *‘ihiciih* *nuhu’* *ciibaačiin^{qa}*.
ʔouʔuh-no.o.uhčahi-ni? *ʔi-inəwə-inəwə?* *ʔihiciih* *nuhu?* *ciibâačiin-a?*
 NPAST-run.outside(AI)-4S 3S-mother-3P from.ADV this sweat.lodge-
 LOC
 ‘Their mother ran out from the sweat lodge.’ (FITG 146)

The same pattern of determiner usage can be seen with the man who is a key character in FITG. In line 1, he is mentioned without a determiner, as he is not identifiable. He is next mentioned explicitly in line 6, as ‘that man.’ He is next mentioned in line 12 as ‘that man.’ He next occurs in line 16, as ‘this man.’ He does not appear again until line 59, where he is ‘that man’ again, this time with a relative clause to further clarify his identity after his long absence from the story.

Similarly, the mysterious visitor at the beginning of the story is first alluded to as simply a presence in line 6, and then receives reference as a pronominal affix in line 7. In line 8, ‘this person’ is mentioned, with a determiner, since the referent is already active based on lines 6 and 7 and is thus identifiable. In line 18 the person is mentioned again, this time as ‘this man.’ But then in line 23, when the man finally is allowed into the tepee, he is called simply ‘a man.’ This is apparently because he is no longer ‘that’ mysterious presence that has been referred to in the story, but now is ‘a’ (as yet non-identifiable) man who appears in person for the first time. He is next explicitly mentioned in line 49, now as ‘this man.’

To take one more example, the noun ‘trap’ occurs for the first time in line 189, without a determiner. It occurs again in line 196 without a determiner. Both times a young man is asking his grandmother to make a trap, but it is not yet made in 196, so is non-referential and non-identifiable. Subsequently, once the trap is made, it is referred to as ‘his trap.’

The determiners can also function as pronouns, in which case no noun follows them. This is most commonly the case when the determiner functions as the head of a relative clause:

- 136) *nuhu* ‘*naaatenowunich* *’iniičyohw*’, *wəwčiiih nahei* ‘*iiih* *’aatiniihwəč*⁴.
nuhu? *nii-ʔatan-owunicih* *ʔi-niič’ah-əʔ* *wəwčiiih naheiʔiiih* *ʔaataniih-wəčiʔ*
 this IMPERF-take.out(TI)-4P 3S-arrow.DIM-P DUBIT then.ADV
 watch.for(TA)-3S/4
 ‘The ones who were pulling out his arrows, then he watched for them.’ (FITG 76)

AA has a specific indefinite marker /*tóónih*/, which is used in non-referential situations, where categories of an item are referred to. The equivalent would be English ‘I’m looking for a red car.’ This could mean that there is a specific, known red car that the person is looking for (lost in a parking lot, for example). It could also mean however that the speaker simply wants a red car, such as when going car shopping. This latter case is non-referential, and this is when /*tóónih*/ is used in AA – or at least in situations where the existence of the item being searched for is not certain. In these situations, the verb optionally takes conjunct iterative inflections (though Sifton 188 records affirmative inflections):

- 137) *caacibiinéi* ‘*aach* *wəwəθh* *tóónah* *kóókóouniθó[ó]úh!*
caací-biin-é.iʔaacih *wəwəθah* *tóónih* *kóókó.uní.iθóó-ih*
 to.here-give(TA)-2S/1P.IMPER knife INDEF IC.thin(II)-0S.ITER
 ‘Give me a knife that’s thin!’ (T 2.438)

See FITG 187 for another iterative example.

The particle is also used in situations where a known set of items is being referred to, but the exact one is unknown (thus referential, but not identifiable):

- 138) *wənééi* ‘*inənin*h *tóónh* *’ii{i}nəkíító* ‘!
wəni-ʔaʔinən-inih *tóónih* *ʔiii-nəkíítóʔ*
 ALLAT-know(TA)-2S/3.IMPER INDEF 3S.IMPERF-look.for(AI.T.DEPPART)
 ‘Go find out what he’s looking for!’ (T 2.438)

- 139) *təwənh* *’iitəθe* ‘ *nii* ‘*aanaatəw* ‘, *’əwətəniih* *biinetin* ‘.
təwənih *ʔiitəθa-ʔih* *niiʔaanâat-əwəʔ* *ʔəwətəniih* *biin-atəwəʔ*
 INDER how.many(II)-0P IC.like(TI)- FUT.ADV give(TA)-1S/2S
 ‘As many things as you like, I shall give you.’ (Sifton 189)

In ex. 138, there is definitely an actual item, but it is not identifiable to the speaker. In this case, affirmative inflections are used.

4.6.4.2 Emphatic determiners. There is a derivational suffix that derives emphatic determiners (and a few other words), and which means ‘precisely...’ or ‘particular...’ The form is /-iin-/ (cognate with AR -*iino*). Examples are:

- 140) *wəwčiiih* *nahnih* ‘*ii* ‘*iiih* *təwətəniih* *tih* ‘*iisiih*⁴ *ciičaanic*⁴,

wóóčiih nah=nih-ʔiiʔiih tóyóniih tahʔiisiih ciičaa-niciʔ
 DUBIT that=PST-when.ADV as.if.ADV want.ADV enter(AI)-4S
 ‘Then it was almost as if he was wanting to come in.’

nuhu ‘*innitaan*’^o *nuh* ‘*uu*’ ‘*ih* ‘*iin*’*unenitóóteeitón*’^o.
 nuhuʔ ʔinanitaa-nóʔ nuhʔuuʔ ʔih-ʔii-nóʔunanitóót-êitón-nóʔ
 this person-OBV this.EMPH 3.PST-IMPERF-come.around(TA)-DEPPART.4/3S-OBV
 this person, the [particular] one who kept arriving and hanging around her.’ (FITG 19)

141) *nuh* ‘*uu*’ ‘*aan* ‘*aač*’ⁱ *nohu* ‘ *tih* ‘*iniibiič*’ⁱ?
 nuhʔuuʔ ʔaanaʔaa-čiʔ nohuʔ tahʔii-niiw-e.ičiʔ
 This it.is.who(AI)-3S this want-marry(TA)-4/3S
 ‘Who would want this one to marry her [in particular]?’ (FITG 237)

Taylor documents *tóókii* ‘for ‘where precisely?’ and ‘*íikii*’ for ‘here precisely’:

142) *tóókii* ‘ ‘*ahniiótówwótónóhaaa*’?
tóókii? ʔah-níitówu-wótónóhaaaʔ
 where.EMPH 2S.PST-first-go.to.school(AI.O)
 ‘Where [exactly] did you *first* go to school?’ (T 2.444)

143) *nóótón**[h]* ‘*inókóhúbh* ‘*íikii*’.
 nó-ótón-cihʔi-nókóhúbh ʔíikiiʔ
 1S-FUT-NEG-sleep(AI)-1P here.EMPH
 ‘We’re not going to sleep *here*.’ (T 1.401)

4.6.5 Noun Phrase Syntax

See the opening of section 4.6 for the unmarked order of noun-phrase constituents. See section 10.2 for further discussion of noun phrases, as well as marked noun phrase word order.

ⁱ The expected form here would be simply *tah* ‘*iih*’.

Chapter Five: Verbal Inflection

The verb is the richest area of AA grammar. Verb stems themselves are often bi- or tri-morphemic – in other words, expressing multiple lexical concepts in a single stem, as different smaller units of meaning combine to create an overall idea. These stems can also undergo secondary derivation to derive more specific or nuanced (and more complex) verb stems (see chapter six). The verbs then inflect (add prefixes and suffixes) for subject/actor, and in the case of transitive verbs, also for object/undergoer. As explained earlier (chapter two), the inflections vary according to the stem class of the verb (II, AI, TI, TA), as well as the inflectional order (affirmative, non-affirmative, conjunct and imperative).

Before beginning the discussion of inflection, we will first discuss the characteristic Algonquian pattern of proximate and obviative marking, which affects inflection for all stem classes and all inflectional orders except the imperative, and which is cross-linguistically unusual in that it involves marking “direction of action” for transitive verbs with animate agents and undergoers.

5.1 Proximate and Obviative System

In Algonquian languages such as AA, when two or more third persons are mentioned in the same sentence or longer section of discourse, the speaker must choose which is the more important (‘proximate’) and which is/are less important (‘obviative(s)’). There can only be one proximate third person, though there can be more than one obviative. The importance is not related to social rank, but rather to which of person (or thing) is the main topic of the sentence, conversation or narrative. Proximate/obviative is thus a ‘discourse prominence’ marking system.

In this grammar, 3 is used to refer to third person proximate, while 4 is used to refer to fourth person (third person obviative). Similarly, 0 is used to refer to inanimate third persons, and 04 is used to refer to obviative inanimates.

Here is an example of the system in action [from the entry Stampede]:

- 1) *kóokou’úhuh nihnééhóok^í ‘íwóshóóθibii’ nihótkuhnic^í.*
kóokou?úhuh? nih-ne.éih-óoki? ?íwósihóóθabii? nih-tókóhu-níci?
 grouse PAST-scare(TA)-3S/4 horse.OBV PAST-flee(AI)-4S
 ‘A (PROX) grouse scared the (OBV) horse, and the (OBV) horse bolted.’ (T 2.283)

Note that the noun referring to the obviative entity has special obviative marking (*‘íwóshóóθ^a* would be the unmarked proximate form). The TA verb ending *-óok^í* indicates that the *proximate* entity is acting on the *obviative* one. The AI verb ending *-nic^í* indicates that the *obviative* entity is doing that action.

Compare the first sentence to this (created) one:

- 2) *kóokou’úhuh nihnéeihéik^í ‘íwóshóóθibii’ nihtókuhk^í.*
kóokou?úhuh? nih-né.eih-é.iki? ?íwósihóóθabii? nih-tókóhu-ki?
 grouse PAST-scare(TA)-4/3S horse.OBV PAST-flee-3S
 ‘An (OBV) horse scared the (PROX) grouse, and the (PROX) grouse fled.’

Notice that in the new sentence, the only thing that has changed is the verb endings. The

ending *-éikⁱ* indicates that the *obviative* entity is acting on the *proximate* one. The verb ending *-kⁱ* indicates that it is the *proximate* entity doing that action. The grouse remains the most important ‘person’ or topic of the sentence, but it is now the horse which acts on the grouse.

On the other hand, the speaker could have treated the horse as proximate. In that case the second sentence would have the following inflections:

- 3) *kókou‘uhóhó‘* *nihnééhóokⁱ* *‘iwóshóθ^a* *nih-tókuhnicⁱ*.
kókou?uhúh?-ó? *nih-ne.éih-óoki?* *?iwósihóθa?* *nih-tókóhu-níci?*
grouse-OBV PAST-scare(TA)-3S/4 horse PAST-flee(AI)-4S
‘The (PROX) horse scared the (OBV) grouse and the (OBV) grouse fled.’

Note that (2) and (3) describe exactly the same reference-world event (in contrast to (1)). The only difference is which entity or participant is treated as proximate by the speaker. The proximate/obviative system requires marking direction of action on TA verbs (*/-e.i-/* means ‘obviative acting on proximate,’ */-ó-/-* means ‘proximate acting on obviative’). In addition, TI, AI or II verbs are marked for agreement with the proximate or obviative status of their subject. Note that ‘subject’ and ‘proximate’ do not necessarily overlap as categories – a subject can be proximate or obviative.

Unlike animate nouns, inanimate nouns do not take explicit obviative marking, but obviation occurs with them as well. This is visible due to the inflection on the verb. Pseudo-verbal NI pronouns do show explicit obviative marking, as do NI lexicalized verbal nouns. In the following, the pseudoverbal interrogative form ‘what is it?’ takes obviative marking:

- 4) *‘aayóunⁱ* *nóótónóóθówóokⁱ?*
?aayó.u-ni? *nó-ótóni-?óθów-óoki?*
what.is.it-OBV 1.FUT-feed(TA)-1S/3S.DEPPART
‘What shall I feed him?’ (Modified based on T 1.261)

The person or animal being fed is the proximate third person, so the thing that will be fed to the person or animal is a second ‘third person,’ which is therefore obviative. In contrast *?aayóu?* would be used for ‘what is it?’ if there were only one third-person in the sentence. Another example, with a verbal noun, is:

- 5) *niiθéyóóúhó‘* *kyóó‘óóniih.*
nii-θáyo.úh-ó? *k^yóó?óó-ní.ih*
IMPERF-mash(TI)-3S IC.round(II)-04P
‘She is mashing the potatoes.’ (T 2.247)

Contrast this with *kyóó‘óouh niniíké‘θé‘* ‘the potatoes have gotten moldy’ (T 2.123). The NI verbal noun ‘potatoes’ is plural in the latter case, whereas it is obviative plural in ex. 5, because there are two participants, and ‘she’ is treated as proximate.

When NI and NA entities are both participants, the NA is almost always the proximate participant. With two NA entities, speaker choice is much more free. In one case however, obviative marking is obligatory, and thus can be considered “grammatical” rather than related to a speaker choice about discourse prominence. This occurs with objects or entities possessed by a

third person ('his wife, her friend, his blanket'). The possessor is proximate (whether or not explicitly mentioned in the sentence), and the possessed object is always marked as obviative:

- 6) *níith 'íih* 'my friend' (underlying ni-itah?íihah)
'íih 'íih 'your friend'
'iníith 'íihóh 'his/her friend-OBV' (underlying ?ini-itah?íihah-ó?)
- 7) *'íih 'óh* *níitóótóu 'únw 'óónicⁱ.*
 ?i.ih?ah-ó? *nii-tóó-tóó?únwóó?óó-níci?*
 her.son-OBV IMPERF-REDUP-stopping(AI)-4S
 'Her son stutters.' (T 2.309)¹
- 8) *'ihci 'íih* *nih 'íinwóówóonih* *'ibíiθout^o.*
 ?ihci?-íih *nih-?i.i-nwóówóó-nih* *?i-bíiθo.uto?*
 tear-PL PST-INSTR-wet(II)-04S 3S-shirt
 'His shirt got wet from his tears.' (T 2.215)
 (contrast with 0S 'it is wet': *nónóówóó-h* (T 2.435))
- 9a) *kónóó 'wóníih* *'in 'ón^h.*
 kónó.óó?óó-ní.ih *?in-ó?óó-nóh*
 IC.swollen(II)-04P 3S-ankle-P
 'Her ankles are swollen.' (T 2.326)
- 9b) *'in 'óníitón^h* *kónóó 'óouh.*
 ?inó?óníitó-nóh *kónó.óó?óó-ih*
 have.ankle(AI.PART)-P IC.swollen-0P
 'My ankles are swollen.' (T 2.327)

Example (7) shows that third-person-possession obviation is grammatical rather than pragmatic marking: the son is clearly the topic of interest in the sentence, with the mother not mentioned except via the possessive prefix, but the son is nevertheless required to be treated as obviative. More generally, several of the examples illustrate that obviation is a discourse-level phenomenon in AA. Even when there is only one overt noun in a sentence, proximate/obviative marking occurs, and this is the case with pragmatic as well as grammatical obviatives, as illustrated by numerous examples in FITG.

5.2 Affirmative Order Verb Inflections

As already described in the introduction, AA has four different types of verb stems, II, AI, TI, and TA depending on the animacy of the subject and object of the verb. The language marks inanimate (0) subjects and obviative inanimates (04) on II verbs. It marks animate first, second and third person subjects (1,2,3), as well as obviative third person subjects (4) on AI, TI and TA verbs. There is also a distinction between exclusive first person plural, which does not include the person being spoken to (1P), and inclusive first person plural, which does include the

¹ Taylor actually records *'íih 'óh^o* and *níitóótóu '-*.

person being spoken to (12), for AI, TI and TA verbs. Number as well as person are obligatorily marked, contrasting singular (S) and plural (P) (though in some cases the marking is ambiguous). In the affirmative order – i.e. positive, declarative, affirmative statements -- the pronominal affixes are all suffixes.

5.2.1 II Verb Inflections, Affirmative

II (inanimate subject, intransitive) verbs are used in reference to inanimate subjects.

	SING	PLURAL
0	-h, -‘	-ih, -’
04	-nh, -nính	-níh, -níníh

Details of II Verb Inflections, Affirmative (using underlying forms)

II Verbs	AA	AR (C & M 2008:75-76 + suppl.)
0S	-h	-‘
0S (-Θa- verbs)	-n > -ʔ	-‘
04S	-nih	-ni’
04S (-Θa- verbs)	-nínih	-níní’
0P	-ih	-‘i
0P (-Θa- verbs)	-ʔih > -ʔ	-’i
04P	-ní.ih	-ní’i
04P (-Θa- verbs)	-níní.ih	-níní’i

The second set of forms is used with verbs called /-Θa-/ verbs for short, because by far the most common such verbs are those ending in this final, which indicates falling, or final or resulting position. All of these verbs end in underlying /-n/. When the 04 suffix /ni-/ is added, the result is /-n/ + i (glide vowel) + /ni-/.

Full inflected forms of these verbs, reflecting classical AA, can be found in the Appendix.

5.2.2 AI Verb Inflections, Affirmative

AI (animate subject, intransitive) verbs are used in reference to animate subjects. The inflections used are the following:

	SING	PLUR
1	-nɔɔ‘	-nh, -‘
12	N/A	-nín ⁱ

2	-n ^o	-naah
3	-č ⁱ , -', -h	-ch, -', -ih
4	-níc ⁱ	-ních

Details of AI Verb Inflections, Affirmative (using underlying forms), are as follows:

AI Verbs	AA (Sifton)	AA (phonemicized)	AR (C & M 2008:76 + supplemental)
1S	-na	-nɔɔn- > nɔɔʔ	-noo
2S	-n	-nɔn > -nɔʔ > -n ^o	-n
3S	-ch	-či > čiʔ > č ⁱ	-t
3S (-na verbs)		-n > -ʔ	-'
3S (-CV verbs)		-h	-'
4S	-niz	-nicin > -níciʔ > -níc ⁱ	-ní3
4S (-na verbs)		-ninicin > -niníciʔ > -niníc ⁱ	-ní3
4S (-CV verbs)		-nicin > -níciʔ > -níc ⁱ	-ní3
1P	-nih	-nih > -nh	-ni'
1P		-ʔ	-'
12	-nin	-níniʔ > -nín ⁱ	-no'
2P	-nê	-naah	-nee
3P	-z	-cih > -ch	-3i'
3P (-na verbs)		-ʔih > -ʔ	-'i
3P (-CV verbs)		-ih	-'i
4P	-niz	-nícih > -ních	-ní3i
4P (-na verbs)		-ninícih > -niních	-ní3i
4P (-CV verbs)		-nícih > -ních	-ní3i

Note that 1P /-nih/ causes preceding /-aa-/ at the end of verb stems to change to /-ɔɔ-/ (this also occurs in AR). The accent is always forced onto the preceding syllable with this ending as well. Also note that the two endings /-nih/ and /-ʔ/ are conditioned phonologically, and are not in free variation. The /-ʔ/ ending is used with verbs ending in /-i(i)-/ and /-u(u)-/ (ex. 10-12,14(first verb), 15-17), as well as all verbs ending with a single final vowel (ex. 13), while the /-nih/ ending is used with all other verbs (ex. 14(second verb),18-19).

Concerning the /-ʔ/ ending, when the final vowel of the stem is long, it occurs as /-VVʔ/ (ex. 14(first verb)). When the final vowel is short, and the preceding syllable is also short, it generally occurs as /-Vʔ/ (ex. 10, 11, 12). When the final vowel is short and the preceding syllable is long, it occurs as /-ʔ^v/ (ex. 15-17). This also occurs when the final vowel is /-a/ (ex. 13). Note finally that the /-ʔ/ ending does *not* force stress shifts on the verb, unlike /-nih/. Examples from Taylor 1994 (but with classical AA translations) are:

- 10) 'iníyɔtéhí'.
ʔiníyɔtáhi-ʔ

- IC.clean(AI)-1P
 ‘We are clean.’ (T 1.157)
- 11) *ʔócihi* ‘.
 ʔócihi-ʔ
 IC.choke(AI)-1P
 ‘We are choking.’ (T 1.151)
- 12) *tónóuhu* ‘.
 tónó.uhú-ʔ
 IC.cold(AI)-1P
 ‘We are cold.’ (T 1.165)
- 13) *nih ʔitacisín* ^[a].
 nih-ʔitacisína-ʔ
 PST-flipped.over(AI)-1P
 ‘We turned over.’ (in a car, for ex.) (T 2.170)
- 14) *nih ʔi ʔókwuu* ‘, *náhaacciicóónh*.
 nih-ʔi.iʔ-ʔókwú-ʔ nahâaci-cihʔii-cóó-nih
 PST-INSTR-sick(AI)-1P that.why-NEG-come(AI)-1P
 ‘We got sick because of it, that’s why we didn’t come.’ (T 1.166)
- 15) *nihnɔʔnáb* ^a.
 nih-nɔnɔʔaabí-ʔ
 PST-make.mistake.in.speaking(AI)-1P
 ‘I made a mistake in my word.’ (T 2.183)
- 16) *ʔɔsibyóóuh* ^u.
 ʔɔsib^yo.óúhu-ʔ
 IC.stink(AI)-1P
 ‘We stink.’ (T 12.172)
- 17) *ʔítisín* ^a.
 ʔítasíini-ʔ
 IC.have.scar(AI)-1P
 ‘We have a scar.’
- 18) *niih ʔʔhóóónh* *ʔʔθáánh*.
 nii-cihʔóha.áá-nih ʔθáánh
 IMPERF-chop.things(AI.O)-1P meat
 ‘We’re chopping meat.’ (T 1.153)
- 19) *nihn ʔúθ ʔóónh*.
 nih-nɔʔúθɔʔóó-nih
 PST-close.eyes(AI)-1P
 ‘We closed our eyes.’ (T 1.161)

An example of the basic inflections for /no'úθaa-/ 'arrive' (with male pronunciation) is. Note the movement of stress in 1P, 12, 2P and 3P.

	SING	PLUR
1	<i>nɔɔ'úθaanɔɔ'</i>	<i>nóú'uθóónh</i>
12	N/A	<i>nóú'uθáánín^{qi}</i>
2	<i>nɔɔ'úθaan^o</i>	<i>nóú'uθáánaah</i>
3	<i>nɔɔ'úθaač^{qi}</i>	<i>nóú'uθáách</i>
4	<i>nɔɔ'úθaaníc^{qi}</i>	<i>nɔɔ'úθaaních</i>

The second set of AI third and fourth person endings are used on a restricted set of verbs called -na- verbs as a shorthand. These verbs all end in underlying /-n/. The most common are those endings is /-sin-/ meaning 'fall, lay, final position.' In first and second person, an /-a/ is added finally before the inflections. But in third person the final /-n/ > /-ʔ/. In the fourth person, the result is /-n/ + /a/ + /-ni-/ (obviative marker) + inflection. An example of such a verb is /kʷanisín-/ 'fall down (from above)' (see T 1.237 and 2.360) The final /a/ dissimilates when stressed and unstressed as expected, and then is lost through syncope when unstressed. The 3S and 1P endings are -CVʔ < -C^ʷ as expected, although Taylor often does not record the final vowel.

	SING	PLUR
1	<i>kyaansinnɔɔ'</i>	<i>kyaansín^a</i>
12	N/A	<i>kyaansinnín^{qi}</i>
2	<i>kyaansinn^o</i>	<i>kyaansinénaah</i>
3	<i>kyaanis^{qi}</i>	<i>kyaansi'</i>
4	<i>kyaansinníc^{qi}</i>	<i>kyaansíních</i>

A list of the verbs which take this inflectional pattern is included in the Appendix.

The third set of third and fourth person endings are likewise used on another restricted set of verbs. These are verbs which end in a consonant other than /-n/ in their underlying form, followed by a short vowel. The inflectional endings are then added, but 3S is simply /-h-/ and 3P is /-ih/. An example of such as verb is AI /bâaθé.ita-/ 'be big' (see T 1.76). Note that the final /-a/ dissimilates to /i/ when unstressed and /e/ when stressed, as expected, and then drops due to syncope prior to final /-h/. For 1P, /-CVʔ/ > -Cʷ^v.

	SING	PLUR
1	<i>bináaθéitinɔɔ'</i>	<i>bináaθéit^a</i>
12	N/A	<i>bináaθéitinín^{qi}</i>
2	<i>bináaθéitin^o</i>	<i>bináaθéiténaah</i>
3	<i>bináaθéith</i>	<i>bináaθéitéih</i> (also recorded as <i>bináaθéitéeih</i>)
4	<i>bináaθéitiníc^{qi}</i>	<i>bináaθéitiních</i>

A list of the verbs which take this inflectional pattern is included in the Appendix.

5.2.3 TI Verb Inflections, Affirmative

TI (transitive, inanimate object) verbs are used to refer to an animate actor acting on an inanimate object. Note that one cannot have an inanimate actor in AA.

	SING	PLUR
1	-ɔwɔɔ´	-ɔwúnh
12	N/A	-ɔwunín ⁱ
2	-ɔw ^o	-ɔwúnaah
3	- ^o	-ó´
4	-ɔwuníc ⁱ	-ɔwuních

Details of TI Verb Inflections, Affirmative (using underlying forms)

	AA (Sifton 71)	AA (phonemicized)	AR (C & M 2008:77)
1S	-awa	-ɔwɔɔn- > -ɔwɔɔʔ	-owoo
2S	-aw	-ɔwɔn- > -ɔwɔʔ > -ɔw ^o	-ow
3S	-∅	-ɔʔ > - ^o	-o´
4S		-ɔwunícíʔ > -ɔwuníc ⁱ	-owuníʔ
1P	-owunih	-ɔwúnih > -ɔwúnh	-owúni´/-owu´
12	-owunín	-ɔwuníníʔ > -ɔwunín ⁱ	-owúno´
2P	-owúnê	-ɔwúnaah	-owúnee
3P	-óu	-óʔuh > -ó´	-óú´u
4P		-ɔwunícih > -ɔwuních	-owuníʔi

Although the 4S and 4P forms are not documented by Sifton, they occur in texts recorded by Kroeber. An example of 4P is:

- 11) *nuhu´ naaatenɔwunich* *´iniiçyɔhɔ´,* *wɔɔçiih nahei´iih* *´aatiniihɔɔçⁱ.*
nuhuʔ nii-ʔatan-ɔwunicih *ʔi-niiç^yahʔ-ɔh* *wɔɔçiih naheiʔiih* *ʔaataniih-ɔɔçiʔ*
 this IMPERF-take.out(TI)-4P 3S-arrow.DIM-P DUBIT then.ADV watch.for(TA)-
 3S/4

‘The ones who were pulling out his arrows, then he watched for them.’ (FITG 76)

An example of an inflected TI verb (ʔitán- ‘get, take s.t.’) is the following:

SING PLUR

1	<i>'iiténɔwɔɔ'</i>	<i>'iiténɔwúnh</i>
12	N/A	<i>'iiténɔwunín^{ci}</i>
2	<i>'iiténɔw^o</i>	<i>'íitinɔwúnaah</i>
3	<i>'íitén^o</i>	<i>'íitinó'</i>
4	<i>'iiténɔwunic^{ci}</i>	<i>'iiténɔwuních</i>

5.2.4 TA Verbs, Affirmative Inflections

TA (transitive, animate object) verbs are used to refer to animate actors acting on animate undergoers. Note that one cannot have an inanimate actor in AA.

5.2.4.1 Direction-of-action theme markers: Before presenting the inflectional system for the TA verbs, we should first discuss the idea of “direction of action,” which is a key concept in Algonquian TA verbs, and which we have already seen in part in the discussion of proximate and obviative forms (5.1).

Algonquian – and therefore AA – TA verbs all have a direction of action “theme marker” (the standard Algonquian linguistic term) that indicates which direction action is going between the two participants. This is always the first part of the inflection, and works as follows (wherever there is no S or P indicated the form does not distinguish this):

-á.a-	action by 1P on 2 or 3
-é.iʔá.a-	action by 2 or 3 on 1P
-é.i-	action by 3 on 2 or 1S or 12, or 4 on 3
-ɔɔ-	action by 2 or 1S or 12 on 3, or 3 on 4
-í-	action by 2 on 1S
-áta-	action by 1S on 2

The second part of the inflections then further specify which of the multiple possibilities is doing or being done to:

-á.a- kiʔ	= action by 1P on 3
-á.a- nɔʔ	= action by 1P or 2
-é.iʔá.a- kiʔ	= action by 3 on 1P
-é.iʔá.a- nɔʔ	= action by 2 on 1P
-é.i- nɔʔ	= action by 3 on 2
-é.i- kiʔ	= action by 4 on 3
-ɔɔ- kiʔ	= action by 3 on 4
-ɔkiʔ	= action by 2 on 3 [this one is irregular]

The rest of the differences in the second part of the endings involve whether singular or plural is involved:

-ɔɔ-**kiʔ** = action by **3S** on **4**
 -ɔɔ-**cih** = action by **3P** on **4**

-á.a-**kiʔ** = action by **1P** on **3S**
 -á.a-**cih** = action by **1P** on **3P**

-é.iʔá.a-**nɔʔ** = action by **2S** on **1P**
 -é.iʔá.a-**naah** = action by **2P** on **1P**

Once one understands how the system works, it is both intricate and logical. Note that the possible second parts of the endings in the TA (in surface form) are:

	SING	PLUR
1	-nɔɔ ^ʔ	-X (does not occur finally)
12	N/A	-nín ⁱ
2	-n ^ɔ	-naah
3	-k ⁱ	-ch
4	-níc ⁱ	-nich

These are exactly the same as the AI endings.

5.2.4.2 Person Hierarchy: The final thing to understand is why the 1S and 1P endings never occur finally, which at first does not seem to make sense. In fact, there is a ranking or hierarchy of person markings in AA (and Algonquian generally). The higher ranked person marking is always placed in the end position. The hierarchy is as follows:

2 > (outranks) > 1S > 3 > 1P > 4

If one combine the direction-of-action theme markers with this hierarchy, this will explain the basis for all of the TA inflection markers.

5.2.4.3 TA Inflections: The easiest way to present the TA paradigms in three subsets, based on the different direction-of-action markers. These are called ‘local action’ (the first and second person markers: /-í-/ , /-áta-/ , /-á.a-/ , and /-é.iʔá.a-/), ‘direct action’ (the /-ɔɔ-/ marker), and ‘inverse action’ (the /-é.i-/ marker).

Local action

	AA (Sifton 50-62)	AA (phonemicized)	AR (C & M 2008:77-80)
1S/2S	-éttin	-étin ⁱ	-é3en
1S/2P	-etténnê	-iténaah	-e3énee
2S/1S	-ín	-ín ^ɔ	-ín
2P/1S	-innê	-inaah	-ínee

1P/2S	-ên	-áan ^{∞2}	-e.en
1P/2P	-ê'nê	-áánaah	-éénee
2S/1P	-éên	-éi'aan [∞]	-é.i'e.en
2P/1P	-éênê	-éi'áánaah	-é.i'éénee

Direct Action

	AA (Sifton 50-62)	AA (Sifton 50-62)		AA (Sifton 50-62)	AR	
		sg obj		pl obj		
1S/3	-∅	-h ³	-óu	-óouh	-o'	-óú'u
2S/3	-äch	-ǝč ^{qi}	-ǝz	-ǝch	-ot	-óti
3S/4	-āch	-ǝčč ^{qi}	-āch	-ǝčč ^{qi}	-oot	-oot
4S/4		-ǝčníc ^{qi}		-ǝčníc ⁱ	-ooní3	-ooní3
1P/3	-êch	-ááč ^{qi}	-êz	-áach	-é.et	-éé3i'
12/3	-ánin	-ǝčnín ^{qi}	-ánin	-ǝčnín ^{qi}	-óóno'	-óóno'
2P/3	-ánê	-ǝčnaah	-ánê	-ǝčnaah	-óónee	-óónee
3P/4	-āz	-ǝčch	-āz	-ǝčch	-óó3i'	-óó3i'
4P/4		-ǝčnich		-ǝčnich	-ooní3i	-ooní3i

An example of the rare 4S/4 inflection occurs in Kroeber's texts:

- 12) *noh nuhu' yenaanǝ'ǝwǝh, 'ou'uhnahei'tǝ'ǝwǝčníc^{qi}.*
 noh nuhu? yanaaniǝǝwǝh-ǝ ǝouǝuh-naheiǝi-tǝǝw-ǝčnícⁱ?
 And this IC.fourth(II)-0S NPAST-that.when-hit(TA)-4S/4
 'And on the fourth time, then he [OBV] hit her [OBV].' (Trickster gets a new wife)

Inverse Action

	AA (Sifton 50-62)	AA (Sifton 50-62)		AA (Sifton 50-62)	AR	
		sg subj		pl subj		
3/1S	-éina	-éinǝ'	-éina	-éinǝ'	-é.inoo	-í3i'
3/2S	-éin	-éin [∞]	-éin	-éin [∞]	-é.in	-é.inóni
4/3S		-éič ^{qi}		-éič ^{qi}	-é.it	-é.it
4/4S		-éiníc ^{qi}		-éiníc ^{qi}	-é.iní3	-é.iní3
3/1P		-éi'ááč ^{qi}		-éi'áach	-é.i'é.et	-é.i'éé3i'
3/12	-éinin	-éinín ^{qi}	-éinin	-éinín ^{qi}	-éino'	-éino'
3/2P	-éinê	-éinaah	-éinê	-éinaah	-éinee	-éinee
4/3P		-éich		-éich	-éi3i'	-éi3i'
4/4P		-éinich		-éinich	-é.iní3i	-é.iní3i

There are minor variations in the inflections. The /-i-/ marker shifts to /-ú-/ under the influence of vowel harmony. Thus *nii'áanib-ín[∞]* 'you like me' but *nǝhǝǝhǝw-ún[∞]* 'you see me.' Verbs

² Note that Taylor records this ending in modern AA as *-áán[∞]* or *-ááán[∞]*.

³ Taylor records an example of this form, plus the corresponding negative: *nééich'inéniitibílih táatéθǝnáh, ninóoukúutǝh.* 'I don't let him mistreat me; I throw him out.' (T 2.57)

ending in final /-ɔh-/ cause the /-é.i-/ marker to shift to /-ú.u-/ and /-áta-/ to /-úta-/. See these examples from Sifton 67 involving the verb /niisíkɔh-/ ‘whip s.o.’:

- | | | |
|-----|--------------------------|------------------|
| 13) | <i>nii-niisikh-uu</i> | ‘you PL whip us’ |
| | <i>nii-niisikh-uun</i> ʷ | ‘he whips me’ |
| | <i>nii-niisikh-uun</i> ʷ | ‘he whips you’ |
| | <i>nii-niiskh-utin</i> ʷ | ‘I whip you’ |

This same shift occurs in AR. Sifton also records shift of /-ɔɔ-/ to /-uu-/, which is not documented for AR:

- | | | |
|-----|---------------------------|-------------------|
| 14) | <i>nii-niisikh-uunaah</i> | ‘you PL whip him’ |
|-----|---------------------------|-------------------|

Examples of the inflections, with the verb /nóóhow-/ ‘see s.o.’ are:

Local Action:

- | | | |
|-------|--------------------------|----------------|
| 1S/2S | <i>nɔnóóhɔbétin</i> ʷ | I see you |
| 1P/2S | <i>nɔnɔhɔbáan</i> ʷ | We see you |
| 1S/2P | <i>nɔnóóhɔbiténaah</i> | I see you all |
| 1P/2P | <i>nɔnɔhɔbáánaah</i> | We see you all |
| 2S/1S | <i>nɔnóóhɔwún</i> ʷ | You see me |
| 2S/1P | <i>nɔnóóhɔbéi</i> ‘aan ʷ | You see us |
| 2P/1S | <i>nɔnóóhɔwúnaah</i> | You all see me |
| 2P/1P | <i>nɔnóóhɔbéi</i> ‘ánaah | You all see us |

Direct Action:

- | | | |
|-------|----------------------------------|---|
| 1S/3S | <i>nɔnóóhɔw^h</i> | I see him/her [ending is irregular] |
| 1S/3P | <i>nɔnóóhɔwóouh</i> | I see them [ending is irregular] |
| 2S/3S | <i>nɔnóóhɔwɔčⁱ</i> | You see him/her [ending is irregular] |
| 2S/3P | <i>nɔnóóhɔwóch</i> | You see them [ending is irregular] |
| 3S/4 | <i>nɔnɔhɔwɔkⁱ</i> | S/he sees him/her/them (other ones) |
| 4S/4 | <i>nɔnɔhɔwɔkⁱ</i> | S/he (other one) sees him/her/them (other ones) |
| 1P/3S | <i>nɔnóóhɔbáakⁱ</i> | We see him/her |
| 1P/3P | <i>nɔnóóhɔbáach</i> | We see them |
| 12/3 | <i>nɔnóóhɔwóónínⁱ</i> | We all see him/her/them |
| 2P/3 | <i>nɔnóóhɔwóónaah</i> | You all see him/her/them |
| 3P/4 | <i>nɔnóóhɔwóóch</i> | They see him/her/them (other ones) |
| 4P/4 | <i>nɔnɔhɔwɔkⁱ</i> | They (other ones) see him/her/them (other ones) |

Inverse Action:

- | | | |
|------|----------------------------------|-----------------------|
| 3/1S | <i>nɔnóóhɔbéinɔkⁱ</i> | S/he/they see me |
| 3/2S | <i>nɔnóóhɔbéin</i> ʷ | S/he/they see you |
| 3/2P | <i>nɔnóóhɔbéinaah</i> | S/he/they see you all |

4/3S	<i>κωνόδηκβεϊκⁱ</i>	S/he/they (other one) see him/her
4/3P	<i>κωνόδηκβεϊχ</i>	S/he/they (other one) see them
4/4S	<i>κωνόδηκβεϊνικⁱ</i>	S/he/they (other one) see him/her (other one)
4/4P	<i>κωνόδηκβεϊνιχ</i>	S/he/they (other ones) see them (other ones)
3S/1P	<i>κωνόδηκβεϊ'άακⁱ</i>	S/he sees us
3P/1P	<i>κωνόδηκβεϊ'άαχ</i>	They see us
3/12	<i>κωνόδηκβεϊνινⁱ</i>	S/he/they see us all

5.3 Non-Affirmative Order Verb Inflections

Non-affirmative verb inflections are used for negative statements, to ask questions, and for irrealis-type (i.e non-declarative) uses such as future imperatives and with deontic prefixes meaning 'should' 'might' 'must' and so forth. The person and number inflections used for these verbs are quite different from those used for affirmative order verbs. Most importantly, person markers *precede* the verb, rather than following it as in the affirmative order. Number affixes follow the verb, however, so that the plural markers are functionally circumfixes.

The negation prefix in AA is /cihʔi-/, while the question proclitic is /ʔɔɔ=/.

5.3.1 II Verb Inflections, Non-Affirmative

	SING	PLUR
0	(i-) -'	(i-) -n ^{oh}
04	(i-) -n ⁱ	(i-) -nính

Details of II Verb Inflections, Non-Affirmative (using underlying forms)

	AA	AR
0S	(ʔi-) -n > -ʔ	(hi-) -∅
04S	(ʔi-) -nin > -niʔ > -n ⁱ	(hi-) -n
0P	(ʔi-) -noh > -n ^{oh}	(hi-) -no
04P	(ʔi-) -nínoh > -nính	(hi-) -níno

Details of II Verb Inflections, Non-Affirmative, /-Θa/ type verbs. (Final /-a/ is used for illustrative purposes, though not all verbs of this type end in final /-a/. See the list of such verbs in the Appendix.) These verbs all have a short final vowel in the stem.

	AA	AR
0S	(ʔi-) -a-n > -a-ʔ > - ^a	(ʔi-) -∅
04S	(ʔi-) -a-nin > -a-niʔ > -in ⁱ	(ʔi-) -e-n
0P	(ʔi-) -a-noh > -in ^{oh}	(ʔi-) -e-no
04P	(ʔi-) -a-nínoh > -inính	(ʔi-) -e-níno

Examples of inflected verbs using these forms can be found in the Appendix.

5.3.2 AI Verb Inflections, Non-Affirmative

	SING	PLUR
1	na- -'	na- -bh
12	N/A	'a- -nɔɔ', -n ⁱ
2	'a- -'	'a- -bh
3	('i-) -'	('i-) -nɔ ^h
4	('i-) -n ⁱ , -nín ^ɔ	('i-) -nính, -nín ^ɔ

Details of AI Verb Inflections, Non-Affirmative (using underlying forms)

	AA	AR
1S	na- -n > -ʔ	ne-
2S	ʔa- -n > -ʔ	he-
3S	(ʔi-) -n > -ʔ	(hi-)
4S	(ʔi-) -ninɔn > -ninɔʔ > -nín ^ɔ	
	(ʔi-) -nin > -niʔ > -n ⁱ	(hi-) -n
1P	na- -bah > -bh	ne- -be
12	ʔa- -nɔɔn > -nɔɔʔ	he- -noo (archaic)
	ʔa- -nin > -niʔ > -n ⁱ	he- -n
2P	ʔa- -bah > -bh	he- -be
3P	(ʔi-) -noh > -n ^h	(hi-) -no'
4P	(ʔi-) -nínɔh > -nính	(hi-) -nino

The second 4S form is a reanalysis, while the first set is the direct PA reflex. The second 12 forms is the same. It is rare, but see FITG line 81.

For both II and AI verbs, the prefixes in parentheses occur in combination with past tense or imperfective aspect markers, but do not occur in the present tense ongoing aspect:

- 15) cihʔii-nɔʔúθaa-nɔh 'they have not arrived'
 16) ʔi-ih-cihʔii-nɔʔúθaa-nɔh 'they did not arrive'
 17) ʔi-ii-cihʔii-nɔʔúθaa-nɔh 'they do not arrive (habitually)'

Note that when the prefixes combine with the tense and aspect markers, they do so as if in stem formation, not as if in prefixing/compounding (i.e. no surface /ʔ-/ is added prior to /-ih-/ or /-ii-/ in examples 16 and 17). Note also that the surface result of the combinations above is 'ih- and 'ii- rather than longer vowel lengths, which suggests that the prefixes could be analyzed simply as /ʔ-/ in this case.

The same process occurs when the person markers occur immediately before an underlying vowel-initial verb. That is to say, no surface /ʔ-/ is added to the verb:

- 18) ‘*ʷʷ* ‘*áyáákítáa* ‘?
 ʷʷ=ʷá-áyáákítáa?
 INTERR=2S-deaf(AI)
 ‘Are you deaf?’ (T 1.205) (cf. *nih* ‘*áyáákítaak*ⁱ ‘she was deaf’)

And because the 3S marker is effectively /ʷ-/ rather than /ʷi/ one gets the following contrast between examples 18 and 19:

- 19) ‘*ʷʷ* ‘*áyáákítáa* ‘?
 ʷʷ=ʷ[i]-áyáákítáa?
 INTERR=3S-deaf(AI)
 ‘Is she deaf?’ (invented example)

The first and second person markers actually alternate between *na-* and *nʷ-*, and ‘*a-* and ‘*ʷ-*, based on regressive vowel harmony. Note that in this case, the harmony occurs no matter what the intervening consonant, unlike all other cases of e/o vowel harmony in the language. In example 18, the harmony occurs across /t/, whereas it is normally blocked in this case.

- 18) ‘*ʷ**thúuténaa* ‘?
 ʷa-tʰhúután-aa?
 2S-from.where.get(TI)-0S
 ‘Where did you get it?’ (T 2.439)

For the 1P and 2P suffixes, stress falls on the syllable immediately preceding the affix – moving to that position if it is not already there as the underlying stress on the verb stem. For the other suffixes there is no stress movement: the underlying lexical stress on the verb stem is maintained.

An example of an AI verb (*kʷ*abíθaa- ‘walk’) inflected in the non-affirmative is:

	SING	PLUR
1	<i>nach</i> ‘ <i>ikibíθaa</i> ‘	<i>nach</i> ‘ <i>ikébiθáábh</i>
12	N/A	‘ <i>ach</i> ‘ <i>ikibíθaanʷʷ</i> ‘
2	‘ <i>ach</i> ‘ <i>ikibíθaa</i> ‘	‘ <i>ach</i> ‘ <i>ikébiθáábh</i>
3	<i>ch</i> ‘ <i>ikibíθaa</i> ‘	<i>ch</i> ‘ <i>ikibíθaan</i> ^h
4	<i>ch</i> ‘ <i>ikibíθaan</i> ⁱ	<i>ch</i> ‘ <i>ikibíθaanính</i>

5.3.3 TI Verb Inflections, Non-affirmative

	SING	PLUR
1	<i>na-</i> <i>-aa</i> ‘	<i>na-</i> <i>-áábh</i>
12	N/A	‘ <i>a-</i> <i>-ʷʷʷʷ</i> ‘
2	‘ <i>a-</i> <i>-aa</i> ‘	‘ <i>a-</i> <i>-áábh</i>
3	(‘ <i>i-</i>) <i>-aa</i> ‘, - ^ʷ	(‘ <i>i-</i>) <i>-ʷwuh</i> , <i>-ʷwun</i> ⁱ
4	(‘ <i>i-</i>) <i>-ʷwun</i> ⁱ , <i>-ʷwuu</i> ‘, <i>-ʷwunín</i> ^ʷ	(‘ <i>i-</i>) <i>-ʷwunính</i>

Details of TI Verb Inflections, Non-Affirmative (using underlying forms). Only the suffixes are provided from Sifton.

	Sifton(71)	AA	AR
1S	-ê	na- -aan > -aaʔ	ne-
2S	-ê	ʔa- -aan > -aaʔ	he-
3S	-ê	(ʔi-) -aan > -aaʔ (ʔi-) -ɔʔ > - ^o	(hi)-
4S		(ʔi-) -ɔwunin > -ɔwuniʔ > -ɔwun ^{qi} (ʔi-) -ɔwuninoh > -ɔwuninh (ʔi-) -ɔwuuʔ	(hi)- -owun (hi)- owuu (arch.)
1P	-êp	na- -áábah > -áábh	ne- -éébe
12	-awa	ʔa- -ɔwɔɔʔ	he- -owun, -owoo (arch.)
2P	-êp	ʔa- -áábah > -áábh	he- -éébe
3P	-awou	(ʔi-) -ɔwuuh (ʔi-) -ɔwunin > -ɔwuniʔ > -ɔwun ^{qi}	(hi)- -owuu (hi)- -owun (arch.)
4P		(ʔi-) -ɔwunínɔh > -ɔwunính	(hi)- -owuníno

The alternate 3S form is archaic and derives directly from PA *-amwa (see Appendix Two). Interesting, while the first form is the only one documented by Sifton, FITG features only the second ending, and the one form verb with this inflection that I have found in Taylor (2.193) also features this ending. The first 4S form is a remodelled form parallel to the AI 4S non-affirmative form, while the other two 4S forms are older (competing) forms etymologically related directly to PA.

In this paradigm, where stress is not marked on the suffixes themselves, it always falls on the syllable immediately preceding the suffix. Note that unlike in the TA non-affirmative paradigm, it is *not* possible to distinguish between singular and plural objects for 1S, 2S or 3S. Thus the 1S/0 marker means both ‘I don’t [see, for ex.] it’ and ‘I don’t see them.’

The 4S and 4P forms were not noted by Sifton, but can be found in texts recorded by Kroeber:

- 19) ʔɔh ʔouʔuhʔiit-tôɔ-tɔɔyâatɔwuuʔ.
 ʔɔh ʔouʔuh-ʔiit-tôɔ-tɔɔyâatɔwuuʔ
 and NPAST-IMPERF-REDUP-yell(TI)-4S
 ‘Then he was yelling on and on.’ (FITG 124)

The same vowel harmony alternations occur as with II and AI verbs, and the same remarks apply for the markers of third and fourth person. Likewise the same /p/ allomorph of /b/ occurs. An example of a TI verb (/ʔitán-/ ‘get or take s.t.’) inflected in the non-affirmative is:

	SING	PLUR
1	nach ‘iiténaa’	nach ‘ikibiθáábh
12	N/A	‘ach ‘iiténɔwɔɔ’
2	ach ‘iiténaa’	‘ach ‘iitínáábh

3	<i>ch 'iiténaa'</i>	<i>ch 'iiténɔwuuh</i>
4	<i>ch 'iiténɔwuu'</i>	<i>ch 'iiténɔwunính</i>

5.3.4 TA Verbs, Non-Affirmative Inflections

Local Action, Non-Affirmative

	AA (Sifton)	AA (phonemicized)	AR
1S-2S	eî- -ett (50)	'a- -ét ⁱ	he- -é3
1S-2P	eî- -éttêp (50)	'a- -itébh	he- -e3ébe
2S-1S	éê (50)	'a- -éi 'aa'	
	Ø (50)	'a- -ih > -h	he- -i > -Ø
2P-1S	eî- -éêp (52)	'a- -éi 'áábh	
	eî- -üp (52)	'a- -íbh	he- -íbe
1P-2S	eî- -ê (51)	'a- -aa'	he- -ee
1P-2P	eî- -êp (51)	'a- -áábh	he- -éébe
2S-1P	eî- -éê (50)	'a- -éi 'aa'	he- -éi 'ee
2P-1S	eî- -éêp (52)	'a- -éi 'áábh	he- -éi 'éébe

In this and all the TA paradigms, when stress is not marked on the suffix, it always falls on the syllable immediately preceding the suffix. The [i] indicates the presence of this vowel as the underlying inflection for 2S-1S. It produces consonant mutation even though it does not appear in surface pronunciation.

Note that Sifton records the person markers here as combined with the imperfective marker: /ʔa-/ + /-ii-/ > /ʔeei-/. In both AA and AR, many speakers have reanalyzed the person markers with the negatives in this way, and no longer use the base person markers given above. Note also that in Sifton's 2S-1S and 2P-1S forms, the plural 1P form is actually given, either as the only possibility, or one of two possibilities. The replacement of 1S by 1P was carried fully to completion in AA during the 20th century, but it is interesting to see it already registered by Sifton around 1900.

Direct Action, Non-affirmative

	SING SUBJ	PLUR SUBJ
1	<i>na-</i> -ɔɔ' (s) -ɔɔn ^{oh} (p)	<i>na-</i> -óóbh
12	<i>N/A</i>	'a- -ɔɔn ⁱ , -ɔɔnɔɔ'
2	'a- -ɔɔ' (s), -ɔɔn ^{oh} (p)	'a- -óóbh
3	('i-) -aa'	('i-) -aan ^{oh}
4	('i-) -aan ⁱ , -aanín ⁱ	('i-) -aanính, -aanín ⁱ

Details of Direct Action (singular object), Non-affirmative

	Sifton(50-52)		AA(phonemicized)		AR	
1S/3	ne-	-a	na-	-ɔɔn > -ɔɔʔ	ne-	-oo
2S/3	e-	-a	ʔa-	-ɔɔn > -ɔɔʔ	he-	-oo
3S/4	êi-?	-ê	(ʔi-)	-aan > -aaʔ	(hi-)	-ee
4S/4			(ʔi-)	-aanin > aaniʔ	(hi-)	-een
			(ʔi-)	-aanínin > -aaníniʔ		
1P/3	ne-	-anaʔ	na-	-óóbah	ne-	-óóbe
12/3	êi-	-an	ʔa-	-ɔɔniʔ > -ɔɔn ⁱ	he-	-oon
			ʔa-	-ɔɔnɔɔʔ		
2P/3	êi-	-anaʔ	ʔa-	-óóbah	he-	-óóbe
3P/4	êi-?	-ên	(ʔi-)	-aanɔh	(hi-)	-eeno [‘]
4P/4			(ʔi-)	-aanínɔh	(hi-)	-eeníno
			(ʔi-)	-aanínin > -aaníniʔ		

Note that Sifton seems to have confused the 1P and 2P endings with an alternative, older version of the 12 ending.

Plural Object

	AA(Sifton)		AA(phonemicized)		AR	
1S/3	ne-	-an	na-	-oon ^{oh}	ne-	-oono [‘]
2S/3	e-	-an	‘a-	-oon ^{oh}	he-	-oono [‘]
3S/4	êi-	-ê	(‘i-)	-aa [‘]	(hi-)	-ee
4S/4			(‘i-)	-aan ⁱ	(hi-)	-een
1P/3	ne-	-??	na-	-óóbh	ne-	-óóbe
12/3	e-	-??	‘a-	-oon ⁱ	he-	-oon
			‘a-	-ɔɔnɔɔ [‘]		
2P/3	e-	-??	‘a-	-óóbh	he-	-óóbe
3P/4	(ʔi-)	-ên	(‘i-)	-aan ^{oh}	(hi-)	-eeno [‘]
4P/4			(‘i-)	-aanính	(hi-)	-eeníno

An example of the relatively rare 4S/4 non-affirmative inflection occurs in Kroeber’s texts:

- 14) *naaθ^a ‘ou’uhnɔwuhaanⁱ.*
nâaθaʔ ʔouʔuh-nɔwuh-aaniʔ
 three NPAST-motion.as.if.to.strike(TA)-4S/4
 ‘Three times he [OBV] made a motion as if to smack her [OBV].’
 (Trickster gets a new wife)

Inverse Action, Non-affirmative

	SING SUBJ	PLUR SUBJ
1	<i>na-</i> <i>-h (s), -h or -eih (p)</i>	<i>na-</i> <i>-éibh</i>
12	<i>N/A</i>	<i>'a-</i> <i>-éinⁱ, -éinɔɔ'</i>
2	<i>'a-</i> <i>-h (s), -h or -eih (p)</i>	<i>'a-</i> <i>-éibh</i>
3	<i>('i-)</i> <i>-h, -eih (p)</i>	<i>('i-)</i> <i>-éin^{oh}</i>
4	<i>('i-)</i> <i>-éinⁱ, -éinínⁱ</i>	<i>('i-)</i> <i>-éinính, -éinínⁱ</i>

Inverse Action, Non-Affirmative

	AA singular subject	AA plural subject	AR (sing subj)
3/1S	<i>na-</i> <i>-ah</i>	<i>na-</i> <i>-ah, -eih</i>	<i>ne-</i> <i>-e', -ei</i>
3/2S	<i>ʔa-</i> <i>-ah</i>	<i>ʔa-</i> <i>-ah, -eih</i>	<i>he-</i> <i>-e', -ei</i>
4/3S	<i>(ʔi-)</i> <i>-ah</i>	<i>(ʔi-)</i> <i>-ah</i>	<i>(hi-)</i> <i>-e'</i>
4/4S	<i>(ʔi-)</i> <i>-einiʔ</i>	<i>(ʔi-)</i> <i>-einiʔ</i>	<i>(hi-)</i> <i>-éin</i>
3/1P	<i>na-</i> <i>-eibah</i>	<i>na-</i> <i>-eibah</i>	<i>ne-</i> <i>-éibe</i>
3/12	<i>ʔa-</i> <i>-einɔɔʔ</i>	<i>ʔa-</i> <i>-einɔɔʔ</i>	<i>he-</i> <i>-éin</i>
3/2P	<i>ʔa-</i> <i>-eibah</i>	<i>ʔa-</i> <i>-eibah</i>	<i>he-</i> <i>-éibe</i>
4/3P	<i>(ʔi-)</i> <i>-eih</i>	<i>(ʔi-)</i> <i>-eih</i>	<i>(hi-)</i> <i>-ei, (-ei 'i)</i>
4/4P	<i>(ʔi-)</i> <i>-eininɔh</i>	<i>(ʔi-)</i> <i>-eininɔh</i>	<i>(hi-)</i> <i>-éiníno</i>

An example of the inflections for one verb forms are:

1S/2S	<i>'ach 'inóóhɔbét^{aa}</i>	I don't see you (note that Taylor records <i>cii-</i> in all cases)
1P/2S	<i>'ach 'inɔɔhɔbáa'</i>	We don't see you
1S/2P	<i>'ach 'inóóhɔbitábh</i>	I don't see you all
1P/2P	<i>'ach 'inɔɔhɔbáábh</i>	We don't see you all
2S/1S	<i>'ach 'inóóhɔwh</i>	You don't see me
2S/1P	<i>'ach 'inóóhɔbéi 'aa'</i>	You don't see us
2P/1S	<i>'ach 'inóóhɔwúbh</i>	You all don't see me
2P/1P	<i>'ach 'inóóhɔbéi 'áábh</i>	You all don't see us
1S/3S	<i>nach 'inɔɔhɔwɔɔ'</i>	I don't see him/her
1S/3P	<i>nach 'inɔɔhɔwɔɔn^{oh}</i>	I don't see them
2S/3S	<i>'ach 'inɔɔhɔwɔɔ'</i>	You don't see him/her
2S/3P	<i>'ach 'inɔɔhɔwɔɔn^{oh}</i>	You don't see them
3S/4	<i>ch 'inɔɔhɔbaa'</i>	S/he doesn't see him/her/them (other ones)

4S/4	<i>ch</i> 'inɔɔhɔ́baan ⁱ	S/he (other one) doesn't see him/her/them (other ones)
1P/3	<i>nach</i> 'inɔ́ɔhɔ́wɔ́ɔ́bh	We don't see him/her/them
12/3	'ach 'inɔɔhɔ́wɔɔɔɔɔɔ'	We all don't see him/her/them
2P/3	'ach 'inɔɔhɔ́wɔ́ɔ́bh	You all don't see him/her/them
3P/4	<i>ch</i> 'inɔɔhɔ́baan ^h	They don't see him/her/them (other ones)
4P/4	<i>ch</i> 'inɔɔhɔ́baanính	They (other ones) don't see him/her/them (other ones)
3S/1S	<i>nach</i> 'inɔɔhɔ́bh	S/he doesn't see me
3P/1S	<i>nach</i> 'inɔɔhɔ́béih	They don't see me ⁴
3S/2S	'ach 'inɔɔhɔ́bh	S/he doesn't see you
3P/2S	'ach 'inɔɔhɔ́béih	They don't see you
4/3S	<i>ch</i> 'inɔɔhɔ́bh	S/he/they (other one) don't see him/her
4/4S	<i>ch</i> 'inɔɔhɔ́béin ⁱ	S/he/they (other one) don't see him/her (other one)
3/1P	<i>nach</i> 'inɔɔhɔ́béibh	S/he/they doesn't see us
3/12	'ach 'inɔɔhɔ́béinɔɔ'	S/he/they don't see us all
3/2P	'ach 'inɔɔhɔ́béibh	S/he/they don't see you all
4/3P	<i>ch</i> 'inɔɔhɔ́béih	S/he/they (other one) doesn't see them
4/4P	<i>ch</i> 'inɔɔhɔ́béinính	S/he/they (other ones) doesn't see them (other ones)

5.3.5 Non-Affirmative Order Prefixes and Proclitics

There are many prefixes and proclitics that require use of non-affirmative inflections. The overall template for the verb phrase is as follows:

proclitic + person marker + tense + non-affirmative prefix + instrumental + aspect + lexical preverb + verb + direction-of-action-theme + number marker

Polar (yes/no) questions (as well as 'where' questions) are indicated by the use of a proclitic, while all other wh-questions are indicated by a question prefixes. Negation is indicated by a Following is a list of all the items which require non-affirmative inflection:

Non-affirmative particles:	AA	AR
Not yet	'ɔɔɔɔ ^o	hóóno'
I hope that...	kɔɔ ^o (+ OPT)	kookóós=
I wonder if/why...	wɔɔɔ ^o ⁵	wono'óh
Non-affirmative proclitics:		
Polar (yes/no) Question	'ɔɔ=	koo=
Where?	tɔɔk ⁱ =	toot=

⁴ The 3P/1S and 3P/2S forms are remodellings based on the 4/3P form. Note in the latter, the marker changes from /-ah- to /-eih/ to reflect 3P *object* (vs. 4/3S), but in the first two forms, the marker changes to reflect plural *subject*. The same remodelling occurred in AR. Taylor has one example: 'ɔɔ= 'a-h-cíi-nííh-éi[h] 'did they not adopt you?' (T 2.149). He also records an example without the remodeling however: 'ɔɔ= 'a-h-cíi-bíi 'inɔwíún-ah 'a-tééiθkyóo 'did they not find your ring for you?' (T 2.164).

⁵ Also used with iterative inflections.

- 17) *‘óóón^o ch ‘in ‘úθaa‘.*
ʔóóónoʔ cihʔi-no‘úθaaʔ
 not.yet NEG-arrive(AI)
 ‘He hasn’t come yet.’ (T 2.477)
- 18) *‘óóh ‘in ‘aasciičaačⁱ tóč‘e‘ihóó‘,*
 ʔóóh ʔiniʔ ʔaasi-cîičaa-čiʔ tóč=ʔa-ʔihóóʔ
 And that as-enter(AI)-3S where=2S-go(AI)
 ‘And as soon as she came in, “Where are you going?” [she said].’ (FITG 257)
- 19) *‘óó ‘aciiítónih ‘i‘ ‘áásiiyóó‘ ?*
ʔóó=ʔa-cihʔiiítónihʔiʔ ʔáási.iyyó.óʔ
INTERR=2S-not.have.domestic.animal milk.cow
 ‘Do you have a milk cow?’ (T 1.247)
- 20) *‘ó ‘ath ‘iicibyihaaa ‘...*
ʔóʔ=ʔa-tahʔii-cab^yiha.aaʔ
DUBIT=2S-want-butcher/kill(AI)
 ‘If [maybe] you want to do the killing...’ (FITG 298)
- 21) *byii ‘ósiyóó‘ ‘ačeeih ‘ii ‘iitóónⁱ.*
 b^yiiʔósiyó.óʔ ʔačeeih ʔii-ʔi.itóó-niʔ
 FITG FUT.IMPER.ADV INSTR-called(AI.MID)-4S
 ‘“Found-in-the-Grass” he will be called.’ (FITG 183)
- 22) *‘óóóóč ‘ičibyahičínⁱ, ‘ač ‘eitóóóⁱ*
 ʔó-óóóni-čaʔi-čab^yihači-niʔ ʔač^y-ʔi.it-óóʔ
 2S-FUT-again-compete(AI.R)-12 FUT.IMPER-summon(TA)-3S
 ‘“Let us gamble again,” you must say to him.’ (FITG 102)
- 23) *‘oouniih čebyihaaa‘ ‘aasⁱ‘ ‘oou‘.*
ʔo.oouniih čab^yiha.aaʔ ʔâ-asiʔ ʔo.o.uʔ
3S.OBLIG.ADV butcher/kill(AI) 2S-husband Crow
 Your husband Crow should to do the killing.’ (FITG 298)
- 24) *‘oouniih ch ‘inóóóóó‘.*
ʔo.oouniih cihʔi-no.ót-óóʔ¹¹
2S.OBLIG.ADV NEG-leave(TA)-3S
 ‘You should not leave him alone.’ (FITG 260)
- 25) *‘óóúnibíícihi‘.*
ʔó.óúni-biícihiʔ
3S.OBLIG-eat(AI)
 ‘He must eat.’ (T 2.42)

¹¹ This form is perhaps ʔoouniih cihʔi- etc.

- 35) *nɔh* 'utɔɔwuuuh, 'ih 'iich 'iwočiih *či 'iitenɔwunⁱ,*
nɔh ʔitɔɔwuuuh ʔih-ʔii-cihʔi-wočiih *čaʔi-ʔitan-ɔwuni?*
 and truly.ADV 3S.PST-IMPERF-NEG-DUBIT again-get(TI)-3P
 'Sure enough, they would never pick them back up,

'iniisiih *čebyaaanɔɔch.*
 ʔiniisiih *čab^yaa-nɔɔcih*
 IC.PERF.ADV shoot(AI)-3P.ITER
 after they shot them.' (FITG 149)

- 36) *'áabaht 'usín^a.* (Taylor actually records *-sínⁱ*)
 ʔáábah-tɔʔusína?
 2S.POTENT-stumble(AI)
 'You might stumble.' (T 2.14)

- 37) *'ɔɔ 'ééíciibahccíib^a?*
 ʔɔɔ=ʔeei-cihʔíibahci-cíiba?
 INTERR=2S.IMPERF-not.ever-sweat(AI)
 'Did you ever do a sweat [ceremony]?' (T 1.270)

- 38) *'ɔtóóúhkyáánócinⁱ!*
 ʔɔtó.ouh-k^yaanóci-ni?
 2S.OPT-sit.down(AI)-12
 'Let's sit down!' (T 2.15)

Another special construction that occurs is the use of the interrogative root /tɔɔsi-/ in forms that mean 'how (funny, strange, beautiful, etc)!' or 'what a (funny, strange beautiful, etc.) X.' The prefix /ʔih-/ is used, along with non-affirmative inflections:

- 39) *'ihtɔɔstah 'aa'* *'ihtɔɔtɔɔs 'iibaa '!*
 ʔih-tɔɔsi-tah?-aa? ʔih-tôɔ-tɔɔsi-ʔiiw-aa?
 3S.PST-what.a-belly-MID(AI) 3S.PST-REDUP-what.a-nose-MID(AI)
 'What a big fat belly and snotty nose!' (FITG 258)

One can also use non-affirmative inflections with no triggering particle, proclitic or prefix. The resulting meaning is 'so that it doesn't happen' or 'otherwise...' or 'lest...':

- 40) *kɔɔ 'éihch,* *'ɔɔtɔnééihɔɔn^h* *bíh 'ih[i]h!*
 kɔɔʔéihci-cih ʔɔ-ɔtɔn-ne.éih-ɔɔnɔh bíhʔih-iih
 be.calm(AI)-2S.IMPER 2S-FUT-scare(TA)-2/3P deer-P
 'Keep still, [lest/otherwise] you'll scare the deer!' (T 2.143)

See also FITG 237, 239 and 262 for additional examples of this construction.

As the example show, the non-affirmative inflections in AA are used with a wide range of irrealis constructions, not just questions and negations. Further discussion of the nuances of the forms can be found in sections 5.4.5 and 5.4.6 on imperative uses, and in chapter eight in the

discussion of modality, as well as in chapter fourteen in the discussion of traditional narrative tense marking.

Note finally that there are two prefixes in AA which while seemingly negative, actually take affirmative inflections. These are /cɔɔni-/ ‘unable to...’ and /ʔɔɔtɔni-/ ‘fail to...’

5.4 Imperative Order Verb Inflections

Imperative order verbs are used to give commands. There are subtypes of imperatives used in AA including basic (immediate) imperatives, delayed (future) imperatives, indirect imperatives, and suggestive imperatives. The immediate imperative is a command demanding immediate action. The delayed imperative is used to indicate a command that can be completed at a later date, and also serves to pragmatically attenuate the force of the command (i.e. it is more polite and less direct). The suggestive imperative corresponds to the hortative ‘let’s’ in English, but has a full range of possible referents, such as ‘let me...’ and so forth. The indirect imperative is a command issued in someone’s presence, indicating the desired end result related to the person, but with the expectation that some other intermediary person will assure that the action is accomplished. In terms of the relative force of the command, the imperatives (from strongest to weakest) are: 1) direct; 2) indirect; 3) future; 4) suggestive.

5.4.1 Direct Imperative, AI

	AA	AR
2S	-cih > -ch	-Ø
2P	-h	-‘

Examples are:

- 39) *wɔheih bitab^yih, ‘atibɔɔɔ ‘ɔɔciitɔɔ’uθaach!*
wɔheih batab^yih ʔatabi-ʔɔʔɔɔcii-tɔɔʔuθaa-cih
 okay old.woman there-stand-stop.walking(AI)-2S.IMPER
 ‘Well old woman, walk over there facing away from me and stop!’
 (Trickster gets a new wife)

- 40) *niibyáaah!*
niib^ya.aa-h
 sing(AI)-2P.IMPER
 ‘[You all] sing!’ (T 2.232)

Prefixes associated with the imperatives generally (not just AI) include:

caabh-	PROHIBITIVE, ‘don’t....’
caabh-ʔɔɔci-	‘don’t do it any more, any longer’
ʔii-	IMPERFECTIVE (creates ‘as a general rule’ imperatives)
ʔii-chʔi-	IMPERFECTIVE.NEG (creates ‘as a general rule’ prohibitives)
ʔiisi-	PERFECTIVE, ‘finish....’

ʔatibi- EMPH, ‘you had better...’

EMPHATIC NOT?

Examples from Taylor 1994 illustrating these prefixes are:

- 41) *caabh ‘óócbiisiθaach!*
 cihʔaabah-ʔóóci-biisiθaa-cih
 PROBIH-anymore-show.face(AI)-2S.IMPER
 ‘You better not show your face around here anymore!’ (T 2.225)
- 42) *‘atibciínininh!*
 ʔatabi-cínan-ínih
 EMPHAT-put.away(TA)-2S/3.IMPER
 ‘(You had better) put him away!’ (T 1.134)
- 43) *‘íich ‘inonhóótowkúucaaach!*
 ʔii-cihʔi-nonih-óótowuku.ucaaa-cih
 3S.IMPERF-NEG-fast-swallow(AI.O)-2S.IMPER
 ‘Don’t swallow so fast!’ [now, or in the future either; in general] (T 2.322)
- 44) *‘iisíih bibiyaaach!*
 ʔiis-ííih babíya.aa-cih
 PERF-ADV eat.soup(AI.O)-2S.IMPER
 ‘Finish eating your soup!’ (T 2.267)

5.4.2 Direct Imperative, TI (Sifton 71):

	AA	AR
2S	-ôçh > -óoh	-oo
2P	-owuh > -owh	- owu’

Examples are:

- 45) *‘itençh nuhu ‘ ciinnaasibiyih!*
 ʔitan-ôçh nuhuʔ ciini-naasib^yi-h
 take(TI)-2S.IMPER this down-laying.behind(IL.PASSIM)-0S
 ‘Take this [quill] that was left behind!’ (FITG 222)
- 46) *‘çncçyaah, caabah ‘ííih čí ‘i ‘itençwh!*
 ʔçncçyaah caabahʔííih čaʔi-ʔitan-owuh
 don’t.you.dare PROHIB.ADV again-get(TI)-2P.IMPER
 ‘Don’t you dare pick them up again!’ (FITG 148)

5.4.3 Direct Imperative, TA (Sifton 53)

AA	AR
2S-1S -i-‘ > -Ø OR -éi‘aa-ch	-i
2P-1S -i-h > -Ø OR -éi‘aa-h	-i‘
2S-1P -éi‘aa-ch	-é.i‘ee
2P-1P -éi‘aa-h	-é.i‘ee‘
2S-3 -ính	-ín(ee)
2P-3 - ^{ah}	-e‘

Examples are:

- 47) *ciičaach* *caabh‘iisinh!*
ciičaa-cih *caabah-ʔi.it-inih*
 enter(AI)-3S.ITER PROHIB-say(TA)-2S/3.IMPER
 ‘Whenever he enters, don't say anything to him!’ (FITG 15)
- 48) *caabh‘wɔɔčiitɔnib^{ah}* *nuhu‘ kɔciyɔnaačɔɔ‘!*
caabah-ʔwɔɔčiitɔniw-ah *nuhuʔ kɔciyɔnaačɔɔʔ*
 PROHIB-claim(TA)2P.IMPER this scabby.bull
 ‘Don't claim the one that is scabby!’ (FITG 299)

The older 1S forms show up indirectly in Sifton, through the consonant mutation they produce:

	Sifton	Phonemicized	Gloss
	{bethate‘êz}	biθooteiʔaach	‘love me/love us!’
or:	{betha‘s}	biθoosiʔ	‘love me!’
	{bethate‘ê}	biθooteiʔaah	‘you (pl.) love me/love us!’
or:	{betha‘s}	biθoosih	‘you (pl.) love me!’

5.4.4 Indirect Imperative

Sifton (53) documents an indirect imperative construction, which still exists in modern AR but has not been documented for modern AA. The exact usage of the form in modern AR is discussed more fully in Cowell and Moss 2008 and Cowell XXX. Basically, the form enjoins the *second* person addressee to act in some way such that the *third-person* referent of the verb does what the *speaker* wants. Used with II verb stems, the forms are addressed to God or some other power, usually in prayer, asking that some referent (weather for example) function as the speaker desires. They could be translated as ‘you [addressee] must act in such a way that s/he [referent] does what I am asking.’ The forms are much more polite and less direct than addressing the referent directly and telling that person ‘do what I am asking!’ Sifton translates these forms as ‘let [X do Y],’ and ‘have [X do Y]’ could also be used, but these English translations are

somewhat deceptive, and the first translation above most closely captures the use of the forms.

	AA	AR	
II			
0S	???	-hee	may you act such that it happens
0P	???	-nóóhee	may you act such that they happen
AI (Sifton 14)			
3S	-h	-hee	may you act such that s/he does it
3P	-nóh	-nóóhee	may you act such that they do it
TI (Sifton 71)			
3S	-ɔwuh	-owúhee	may you act such that s/he does it to it
3P	-ɔwunóh	-owunóóhee	may you act such that they do it to it

For the singular II and AI forms, stress falls on the syllable immediately preceding the suffix.

AA TA (Sifton)			AA TA (phonemicized, underlying)		
ACTOR:	3S	3P	3S	3P	
OBJECT:					
1S	-éê	-éêna	1S	-eiʔaah	-eiʔaanóh
2S	-éiz	-éiz	2S	-eicih	-eicih
3S	-a	-ána	3S	-ɔh	-ɔnóh
1P	-éê	-éêna	1P	-eiʔaah	-eiʔaanóh
2P	-éi	-éi	2P	-eih	-eih
3P	-a	-ána	3P	-ɔh	-ɔnóh
AR					
	3S	3P			
1S	X	X			
2S	-éi3i	-éi3i			
3S	-óóhee	-oonóóhee			
1P	X	X			
2P	-éi3i'	-éi3i' ¹²			
3P	-óóhee	-oonóóhee			

The prohibitive is formed with the prefix /'i-cih 'i-/ (Sifton 14, 53). It is possible that the AA forms are actually underlying /-ha(a)h/, /-nóh(a)h/, etc. Examples of usage are:

¹² The AA forms for 2/3 are clearly based on the inverse action theme marker /-é.i-/ plus the imperative markers. AR however has lost the 2S imperative marker (AA /cih/, (AR /3i(h)/) in all cases except in this paradigm. Therefore the ending -ei3i became non-transparent, and was reanalyzed as a single inflection, to which the standard AR 2P imperative marker /-ʔ/ was then added, producing -ei3i' rather than the original AA form /-eih/.

49) *iith* ‘*iith*¹³ *wuhnɔtɔɔɔtɔneich* ‘*ateniyɔɔɔ*’.
 ?i-itah?i.iih wɔhɔnɔtɔɔtɔn-eicih ?a-tanayɔ.ɔɔ?
 2S-friend paint.s.t.for.s.o.(TA)-3/2S.INDIR.IMPER 2S-body
 ‘Your must have your friend paint your body.’ (Brockie and Cowell 2017:52)
 (i.e. ‘You must act in such a way that your friend does this to you somehow.’)

50) *nahei* ‘*iith* *ciinenɔɔnɔɔh*^[ah] *wɔɔ* ‘*taanehinic*ⁱ
 nahei?-iith ciinan-ɔɔnɔɔh[ah] wɔɔ?ataanahi-nici?
 then-ADV put.down(TA)-3P/4.INDIR.IMPER IC.black(AI)-4S

iicɔɔn^o ‘*ɔtɔɔθɔbaaha*’.
 ?iicɔɔn-nɔ? ?o-tɔɔθɔbaah-a?
 Pipe-OBV 2S-chest/sternum-LOC
 ‘Then there must be a black pipe on your chest.’ (Brockie and Cowell 2017:52)
 (i.e. ‘You must act in such a way to assure that they do this for you.’)

5.4.5 Delayed/Future Imperative

This form of the imperative gives a command with a delayed time of action. It is sometimes translated by native speakers as ‘you must...’ It takes Non-Affirmative rather than Imperative inflections. It is only used as a direct address form for second persons however – thus its placement with the imperatives, despite the inflections. In addition to commands whose accomplishment will occur at a later time, it is used as a more polite imperative in comparison to the immediate form. It occurs with AI, TI and TA verbs stems. The same construction occurs in AR.

The prefix /?ači-/ is used to form the delayed imperative. This prefix can also occur as the detached particle /?ačeeih/ or /?ačiiih/:

51) *θɔnoouh* ‘*ačeeih* *kɔɔθɔhaaabh* ‘*ɔkɔciyɔɔnunɔɔ*’.
 θɔnoouh ?ačeeih kɔɔθɔha.aa-bah ?ɔ-kɔciyɔɔn-inɔɔ?
 immediately IMPER.FUT.ADV strike(AI.O)-2P 2S-gun-P.POSS
 ‘Right away [when that happens in the future] you must strike him with your gun [barrel].’ (War Story, 1, 8)

52) *nɔh* ‘*ačiiih* *ciiciih* ‘*iisibenɔɔ*’ *neinɔɔninɔɔ*’.
 nɔh ?ačiiih ciiciih ?iisiban-ɔɔ? na-inɔɔn-inɔɔ?
 and FUT.IMPER.ADV inside.ADV lay.down(TA)-3S 1S-mother-PL.POSS
 ‘And inside it you must lay down our mother.’ (FITG 134)

The prohibitive is formed with the prefix *ch?i-*.

In texts recorded by Kroeber, there are also examples of this construction with the standard future prefix *ɔtɔni-* used (without initial change or 2S marking), rather than *ačy-*. This construction carries more of a nuance of suggestion or pleading, compared to the preceding.¹⁴

¹³ In the original publication, this form was erroneously inflected as obviative.

¹⁴ An additional example is in Brockie and Cowell 2017:16.

- 53) *Θiyeeih* *‘ɔtniwɔɕiiɔɔɔnaaabh.*
 Θayeeih ʔɔtɔni-wɔɕii-ɔɔ.ɔɔna.aa-bah
 Beforehand.ADV FUT-DUBIT-make.corral-2P
 ‘You all must make a game trap ahead of time.’ (FITG 243)
- 54) *‘ɔtɔniishei ‘aa ‘* *‘in ‘* *‘aasɔhɔɔ ‘ⁱ* *‘atiθah ‘ah.*
 ʔɔtɔni-ʔiisih-e.iʔaaʔ ʔiniʔ ʔaasih-ɔciʔ ʔa-taθihʔah
 FUT.IMPER-do.to(TA)-1P that what.do(TA)-2S/3S 2S-wife
 ‘You must do to me what you did to your wife.’ (FITG 312)
- 55) *‘ɔɔtɔnɕ ‘iɕibyaahiɕin ‘ⁱ,* *‘aɕ ‘eitɔhɔɔ ‘* *‘aahabyh.*
 ʔɔ-ɔtɔni-ɕaʔi-ɕab^yihaɕi-niʔ ʔaɕi-ʔi.it-ɔɔʔ ʔa-ahabahʔ
 2S-FUT-again-compete(AI.R)-12 FUT.IMPER-summon(TA)-3S 2S-younger.sibling
 ‘“We must gamble again,” you must say to your younger brother.’ (FITG 102)

5.4.6 Suggestive/Potential Imperative

This form is usually translated by ‘let’s’ in English. In AR, these forms can be used for any situation involving action by speaker and/or addressee, in which addressee’s permission is considered as required (‘let me tell you,’ ‘let’s tell him,’ etc). They are only used in direct second person address.

AA does not have a separate imperative mode of this sort. Instead, the more general construction meaning ‘should’ is also used to create hortative forms. Sifton calls this the “optative mode” (AI, p. 17; TA, p. 57-58; TI, p. 72). This construction again uses Non-Affirmative rather than Imperative person and number inflections. The AI paradigm is as follows:

	Sifton (17)	Phonemicized	AR
1S	no ‘u-	<i>nóouh-</i>	neh-
2S	‘o ‘u-	<i>‘óouh-</i>	X
3S	‘o ‘u-	<i>‘óouh-</i>	heh-
4S	‘o ‘u- -ni ‘n	<i>‘óouh- -nⁱ, -nínⁱ</i>	heh- -n
1P	no ‘u -p	<i>nóouh- -bh</i>	neh- -be
12	‘o ‘u- -na	<i>‘óouh- -nɔɔ ‘, -nⁱ</i>	heh- -n, -noo (archaic)
2P	‘o ‘u- -p	<i>‘óouh- -bh</i>	X
3P	‘o ‘u- -n	<i>‘óouh- -n^{ɔh}</i>	heh- -no ‘
4P	‘o ‘u- -nin	<i>‘óouh- -nính</i>	heh- -nino

- 56) *‘iiɕ ‘ⁱ* *‘oouhnahaatou ‘uθaan ‘ⁱ* *wɔɔɕiiɕ ‘ⁱ* *nuhu ‘ kɔkɔah.*
 ʔiiɕiʔ ʔo.ouh-nahaa-tɔɔʔuθaa-niʔ wɔɔɕii-ɕiʔ nuhuʔ kɔkɔah.
 Here 2S.OPT-thus-stop.walking(AI)-12 say(AI)-3S this frog
 ‘Let’s stop right here,’ said the frog.’ (Mouse and Frog)

A similar but longer form is (*‘o)tóouh(u ‘*)-. Differences between this and the preceding, if any, are not clear.

- 57) *‘ɔtóóúhkyáánócin ‘ⁱ!*

ʔɔ́tó.ouh-kʷaanóci-niʔ
 2S.OPT-sit.down(AI)-12
 ‘Let’s sit down!’ (T 2.15)

As with AR, the suggestive imperative is not limited to first person inclusive:

58) ʷótóóúhu ʷóɔwɔɔcɔh ʷnéi ʷaa!
 ʔɔ́-ɔ́tó.ouhuʔ-wôɔ-wɔɔcihʔɔ́n-éiʔaaʔ
 2S-OPT-REDUP-tell.story.to.s.o.(TA)-1P
 ‘[Why don’t you] tell us the news!’ (T 2.15)

59) náak[y] ʷa[ah], ʷótóóúhtɔ́ɔ́níθaa!
 náakʷʔaaʰ ʔɔ́tó.ouh-tɔ́ɔ́níθaaʔ
 wait! 0S.OPT-sun.reaches.apex(AI)
 ‘[Let’s] wait until noon!’ (T 2.15)

5.4.7 Lexical Imperatives

There a number of invariable particles (and two defective verbs) which are used strictly as imperatives in AA. These include:

ʷonóóyaah ‘don’t you dare [do X]’:

60) ʷɔ́ɔyaah caabah ʷiih čí ʷi ʷitenɔwh!
 ʔɔ́ɔyaah caabahʔiih čaʔi-ʔitan-ɔwuh
 don’t.you.dare PROHIB.ADV again-get(TI)-2P.IMPER
 ‘Don’t you dare pick them up again!’ (FITG 148) (See also FITG 14)

ʷóθaa- AI ‘let’s go’ [cf. AR sooxe(e)] (Sifton 233):

61) ʷɔ́θaaach wáteeih tɔ́hniiniisineininⁱ.
 ʔɔ́θaa-cih wáteeih tɔ́h-nii-niisinei-niniʔ.
 Let’s.go.(AI)-IMPER camp.ADV so.that-REDUP-group.of.two(AI)-12
 ‘Let’s go into the [enemy] camp, the two of us!’ (War Story, l. XXX)

ʷiinaaniitⁱ ‘never mind, don’t worry, let it go’ (Sifton 233):

62) ʷiinaaniitⁱ wɔ́ɔsih, kɔ́ɔ ʷaakouhuch!
 ʔiinaaniitiʔ wɔ́ɔsih kɔ́ɔʔaako.uhu-cih
 Never.mind! boy.VOC calm.down(AI)-2S.IMPER
 ‘Never mind now boy, be quiet!’ (FITG 92) (See also FITG 196)

ʷitaah ‘look! see here!’:

63) ʷitaah, ʷɔ́ɔɔnbaatɔ́ɔɔnetin^o.
 ʔitaah ʔɔ́ɔɔni-bâatɔ́ɔɔn-atanoʔ

look! IC.FUT-make.bow.for(TA)-1S/2S
 ‘You see, I will make you a bow.’ (FITG 94) (See also FITG 129)

Possibly the same particle is *‘itáh* (T 1.452) meaning ‘just let me...’

wəwtəh ‘watch out! get out of the way! Look out!’ [cf. AR wootoo]. Taylor also records this as an AI verb *wəwtə-*, which can take imperative inflections (T 1.17), but this is not a usage documented by Kroeber, Sifton or in AR:

- 64) *wəwtəh* *wəwtəh* *wəwtəh* *nəʔwəh!*
wəwtəh *wəwtəh* *wəwtəh* *nəʔwəh*
 watch.out! watch.out! watch.out! mother.VOC
 ‘Look out, look out, look out mother!’ (FITG 139)

- 65) *‘eicə-* or *nahéicə-* AI ‘come here!’ (cf. AR *nehéico-*):

<i>niiθəh,</i>	<i>‘eicəch</i>	<i>tohuusiih</i>	<i>čibyiihači[nin⁴].²</i>
<i>niiθəh</i>	<i>ʔeicə-cih</i>	<i>təh-iisiih</i>	<i>čabʔiihači-niniʔ</i>
twin	come.here(AI)-2S.IMPER	so.that-PERF.ADV	gamble(AI.R)-12

‘Twin, come here, so that we can gamble!’ (FITG 108)

náaky’ááh ‘wait!’ ‘hold on!’:

- 65) *náaky’ááh* *‘ótonnəkəwəhəwəhəwəh.* (Taylor actually records *nəwəhəwəh-*)
náakʔaʔááh *ʔəwtəni-nəki-nəwəhəwəh.aa-nih*
 wait IC.FUT-see-see.things(AI.I)-1P
 ‘Wait now, let’s take a look around!’ (T 2.419)

An emphatic form of this particle is *náaky’áábinh*:

- 66) *náaky’áábinh* *‘ótoncúúhuk⁴!*
náakʔaʔááw-inih *ʔəwtəni-coouh-u-kiʔ*
 wait-EMPH IC.FUT-shave(TA)-AI.PASSIM-3S
 ‘Wait now, I have to shave!’ (T 2.420)

Note that the prohibitive *ch’aabh-* also occurs as an emphatic particle: *ch’aabh’ính* (T 2.14) ‘don’t!’

Sifton 233 reports a few other forms, but the spelling is uncertain, as is the exact meaning, none are reported by Taylor, and none have reflexes in AR. They include (in his orthography):

- | | |
|------------|--|
| {‘it} | ‘stay!’ (perhaps just <i>‘iit’i</i> ‘here’) |
| {ohwóu’} | ‘now see here!’ |
| {’awánnt} | ‘keep quiet!’ |
| {kaáwatáz} | ‘be still!’ (- <i>ch</i> 2S.IMPER ending, initial root likely /kəwəwə-/ ‘calm, still’) |

75)	<i>‘ówtónaanóch</i>	<i>‘isítaakuútó’</i>	<i>‘áascíikoyóókúukiin’!</i>
	ʔówtónaan-óch	ʔisítaaku.utó.ɔʔ	ʔâasi-cihʔii-koyóókúukii-nɔʔ!
	extinguish(TI)-2S.IMPER	match	<u>while-NEG</u> -throw.away(AI.T)-2S
	‘Put out the match before you throw it away!’ (T 1.68)		

Note that the demonstrative /ʔíniʔ/ (‘that’) is often used in these constructions, especially with ‘when.’ Note also that the prefixes *‘iniisi-*, *‘ohuusi-* and *‘ei’i-* all serve to express anterior past tense/aspect, or what is sometimes called pluperfect – they designate an event that happens prior to some other event in the past. They are also used to express anterior future tense/aspect – an event that will happen in the future, but prior to some other event. In that case however, they would occur with subjunctive (indicates definite future anterior) or iterative (indicates indefinite future anterior) inflections.

5.5.2 Iterative Mode

The iterative can be glossed most generally as ‘whenever...’ It indicates either multiple indefinite, repeated events (‘whenever I see him, I say hello’) or a single very indefinite event in the future (‘whenever he arrives, then we’ll eat’) or past. It is commonly used for expressions like ‘in the summer, I habitually....’ or ‘on Wednesdays, I habitually....’ Sifton’s original transcriptions are given. Sifton’s forms for 0S, 04S and 0P must be errors, as they do not match anything found in Kroeber’s texts, in Taylor’s documentation of the iterative, or in AR. The correct AA forms are given in the Phonemicized column.

II/AI	Sifton(16)	Phonemicized	AR
0S	-	<i>-ih</i>	-‘i
04S	-n	<i>-niih</i>	-ní‘i
1S	-nān	<i>-nóónh</i>	-nóóni
2S	-nān	<i>-nónh</i>	-nóni
3S	-z	<i>-ch</i>	-3i
3S		<i>-ih</i>	-‘i (CV- verbs)
3S		<i>-iʔih > -i‘</i>	-‘i (V-na verbs)
4S	-niz	<i>-nich</i>	-ní3i
0P	-nou	<i>-ih</i>	-‘i
04P	-ni	<i>-niih</i>	-ni‘i
1P	-nou	<i>-nóouh</i>	-nóú‘u
12		<i>-nóouh</i>	-nóú‘u
2P	-nêi	<i>-néeih</i>	-néí‘i
3P	-naz	<i>-nóóch</i>	-nóó3i
3P		<i>-ih</i>	-‘i (CV verbs)
3P		<i>-iʔih > -i‘</i>	-‘i (V-na verbs)
4P	-niz	<i>-nich</i>	-nóó3i, -ní3i
TI	Sifton (72)	PhonemicizedAR	
1S	-awanān	<i>-owunóónh</i>	-owunóóni

and IC.finish.sing(AI)-3S.ITER truly.ADV IC.be man(AI)-1S
 ‘And whenever it was that he finished singing, then sure enough [he said], “I’m a man!”’
 (War Story)

79) *‘iniiskwathwuneeih* *nwnwkwawwneeih...*
 ?iniisi-kwathwuneeih *nwnwkwaw-wneeih*
 IC.PERF.strike(TI)-2P.ITER IC.see(TA)-2P/3.ITER
 ‘After you strike [in the ambush], when you see someone else...’ (War Story, l. 9)

80) *wawheih* *naniithwannah ‘ač^q*, *nuhu ‘ nwnoučaačebyaaaneeih,*
wawheih *na-niithwannah?-ač^q?* *nuhu?* *nwn.ou-čâa-čab^yaa-neeih*
 okay 1S-children.DIM-VOC this IC.outside-REDUP.shoot(AI)-2P.ITER
 ‘Now my children, whenever you are out shooting,

‘wawyaah, *caabah ‘iih* *čⁱ ‘i ‘itenwuh*
?wawyaah *caabah?iih* *ča?i-?itan-wuh*
 don’t.you.dare PROHIB.ADV again-get(TI)-2P.IMPER
 don’t you dare pick them up again

‘iniisčebyaaaneeih, *‘aniičih ‘inw.*
?iniisi-čab^yaa-neeih *?a-niič^yah?-inw?*
 IC.PERF-shoot(AI)-2P.ITER 2S-arrow.DIM-2PL
 after you shoot them, your arrows.’ (FITG 148)

The preverb /?âatösi-/ when used with the meaning of ‘each time, every time’ requires iterative inflections. Examples 79 and 80 show what is called “indefinite future anterior” tense and aspect: the event referred to will occur prior to the other event referred to in the sentence, but at some unknown or indefinite time.

5.5.2.2 Dubitative. Another construction involves use of the dubitative proclitic /?w?=/ combined with iterative inflections, leading to a meaning of ‘I don’t know...’ or ‘I wonder...’ or more generally, to ask indirect questions. Alternately the prefix /čih-/ (written {če(h)} by Sifton however) may be used in the same way:

81) *‘o ‘uutehch.* OR *čih ‘iitehch*
?w?=?iitahi-cih
 DUBIT=who.be(AI)-3S.ITER
 ‘I wonder who he is.’ (Sifton 179)

82) *‘o ‘uutehnwnh.* OR *čih ‘iitehnwnh*
?w?=?iitahi-nwnih
 DUBIT=who.be(AI)-2S.ITER
 ‘I wonder who you are.’ (Sifton 179)

83) *‘o ‘uutaanabaach.* [expected: *-wch*]
?w?=?iitaanaw-wcih

- 90) *'aanaaseetei'aach,* *Θənoouh* *niisčiinɔɔ'.*
ʔaanaasi-ʔaat-e.iʔaacih *Θono.ouh* *niisičii-nɔɔʔ*
 REDUP.what-say.to(TA)-3S/1S.ITER immediately do(AI.T)-1S
 'What(ever) he tells me, I do at once.' (Sifton 190)

Sifton notes the *ʔaanaasi-* is optional. The meaning could just as well be glossed as 'whenever he tells me things, I do that at once.' In this case, the vagueness concerns when the next communication will occur, what it might be about, or even if it will actually occur. There is no commitment on the part of the speaker that the event in question will actually happen.

5.5.2.4 'on...' 'in...' 'at...' Days, seasons and other temporal ideas are expressed using II verbs in AA. Thus one says 'it is Monday' or 'it is summer' or 'it is nighttime.' The idea of 'on Mondays' (regularly, habitually) is expressed by using the iterative inflections on the II verb. The idea of 'in the summer' (regularly, habitually) or 'at night' (regularly, habitually) is expressed in the same way. See section 14.8 for examples.

5.5.3 Subjunctive Mode

The subjunctive can be glossed most generally as 'when' or 'if.' It is used for unrealized but expected or possible future events and conditions. The basic submeanings are 'if...' something occurs and 'when...' something occurs. It is also used to express surprise or something contrary to expectations. It can also be used to refer to things that are supposed to happen, or were supposed to have happen. Finally, it is used in contrary-to-fact expressions. Verbs with subjunctive inflections never have initial change. The endings all involve some form of underlying /-(h)Vhk/. Note that the endings are attached to the person and numbers suffixes for first and second person, but are attached directly to the verb for third, fourth and zero person. For the latter, verbs ending in long vowels take inflections of the form /-hVhk/, but those ending in a short vowel drop that vowel and take inflections of the form /-Vhk/. Negation is with *ch'i-*, but with no further changes to the inflections occur with negation.

The Subjunctive inflections are as follows (Sifton G:15, 54-55, 72 -- original transcriptions)

II/AI	Sifton (15)	Phonemicized	AR (archaic)
0S	-ahk	-hóhkʔ/-óhkʔ	-hók/-óhk, -hék/-éhk
04S	-néhk	-náhkʔ	-yóhk, -yéhk
1S	-nanéhk	-nɔɔnáhkʔ	-noohók
2S	-nně'hk	-n(ɔ)náhkʔ	-ninéhk
3S	-háhk	-hóhkʔ/-óhkʔɔ	-hók/-óhk, -hék/-éhk
4S	-nehkánn	-náhkɔnʔ	-yóhkon/-yéhkon
0P	-ahkánn	-ɔhkónh	-ohkóni', -ehkóni'
04P	-nehkánn	-nahkónh	-yohkóni', -yehkóni'
1P	-ninn	-nính	-no'óhk
12		-nính	-no'óhk
2P	-ně'hk	-naahkʔ	-neehék
3P	-ahkánn	-hɔhkónh/-ɔhkónh	-hokóni'/-ohkóni', -hekóni'/-ehkóni'

4P -nehkánn -nahkónh -yohkóni', -yehkóni'

The form cited by Sifton for 1P is quite puzzling. It obviously resembles standard 12 - *nínʔ*, but lacks the expected further subjunctive inflection marker. The AA 1S form on the other hand retains the underlying final /n/ from PA *yooni, which is lost in AR. Both languages show optional retention of the full reflexes of PA *yoni in the second person. AA retains the reflex of PA obviative *ri (> ni) in 4S and 4P, with /-ni-/ > /-n-/, while AR treats this as /-ny-/ > /-y-/.

TI	Sifton (71)	Phonemicized	AR (archaic)
1S	-awanehk	-owoonáhkʔ	-owoohók
2S	-awunnehk	-owun(ɔ)náhkʔ	-owun(in)éhk
3S	-ahk	-óhkʔ	-óhk
4S		-ohkónʔ	-óhkon
1P	-awunnehk	-owun(ɔ)náhkʔ	-owuno'óhk
12		-owun(ɔ)náhkʔ	-owuno'óhk
2P	-awunéhk	-owunááhkʔ	-owuneehék
3P	-ahkann	-ohkónh	-ohkóni'
4P		-ohkónh	-ohkóni'

The TA forms are not given, as one simply replaces the AI Affirmative final, after the direction-of-action theme marker, with the AI Subjunctive finals given above. Sifton documents the forms (54-55). For the abnormal 1S/3S and 1S/3P endings, the subjunctive form is *-ahkʔ* and *-ahkonh* respectively. For the abnormal 2S/3S and 2S/3P endings, the subjunctive form is *-otahkʔ* and *-otahkónh* respectively.

5.5.3.1 ‘when...’ Following are examples of the meaning ‘when...’. Note the subjunctive inflection indicates an action in the future, but *anterior* to the action of the main clause (also in the future):

91) *čisibyiiwouhunɔɔnahkʔ* *byɔɔ[s]θɔɔciih...*
časi-bʏiiwo.uhu-nɔɔnahkɔʔ *bʏɔɔsi-θɔɔciih*
 start-cry(AI)-1S.SUBJ somewhat-later.ADV
 ‘As soon as I begin to cry, soon after that...’ (FITG 102)

92) *ʔiisiinhiitɔɔhkʔ* *ʔɔɔtoniisciicihčihinɔɔʔ*.
ʔiisi-nihiit-ɔɔhkɔʔ *ʔɔɔton-iisi-ciicihčahi-nɔɔʔ*
 PERF-say.to(TA)-2S/3S.SUBJ IC.FUT-that.direction-run.inside(AI)-1S
 ‘After you have told him that, I will run in there.’ (FITG 104)

5.5.3.2 ‘if...’ An example of the meaning ‘if...’ is the following:.. Note again the subjunctive inflection causes the verb to be *anterior* to the action of the main clause:

93) *cihʔaaačɔhkʔ* *chʔaabhʔaačih.*
cihʔi-aači-ɔhkɔʔ *cihʔaabah-ʔaači-h*
 NEG-speak(AI)-3S.SUBJ PROHIB-speak(AI)-2P.IMPER
 ‘If he doesn’t say anything, then don’t you (pl) say anything either.’ (War Story, l. 9)

As with the iterative, with the subjunctive there is no commitment on the part of the speaker that the event in question will actually happen – thus the distinction between ‘if...’ and ‘when...’ is a matter of degree only.

5.5.3.3 Hypothetical and Contrary-to-fact. The subjunctive is used to express both hypothetical (‘if it was so...’) and contrary-to-fact (‘it it has been so...’) situations. The prefix *ih-* is used to express contrary to fact.

- 94) *tətəh ihciitəcei’əhəhk’* *iwəsiihəθə? niinən^a*
tətəh ?ih-ciitəcei?əhu-əhko? *?iwəsiihəθa? niinən-a?*
 even IRR-tied.up.inside(AI.PASSIM)-3S.SUBJ horse tipi-LOC
 ‘Even if a horse were to be tied up inside a lodge,

’ətənkwəsikooutisəhəhk’
?ətəni-kəsiko.outas-əhəhko?
 FUT-cut loose(TA)-1S/3S.SUBJ
 I would still [manage to] cut him loose.’ (War Story, l. 16)

The particle *nóouh* can be used as well, with a meaning of ‘potentially would...’:

- 95) *niisicaaanəhəhk’*, *noouh* *’əkwəwunəw’*
niisicaaa-nəhəhko? *no.ouh* *?əkwəwu-nəw?*
 work(AI.O)-1S.SUBJ POTENT sick(AI)-1S
 ‘If I would work, I would be sick.’ (Sifton 97)
- 96) *ihniisicaaanəhəhk’*, *noouh* *’əkwəwunəw’*
?ih-niisicaaa-nəhəhko? *no.ouh* *?əkwəwu-nəw?*
 CONTR-work(AI.O)-1S.SUBJ POTENT sick(AI)-1S
 ‘If I would have worked, I would have been sick.’ (Sifton 97)

The subjunctive also expresses the idea of highly unlikely or almost certainly contrary to fact (with the particle *nóouh-* or preverb *-ətóouh-*) (*-ət-* may be a future marker). Note this usage occurs in main clauses:

- 97) *noouh ihəwəwəhəhk’* *betəwəčiin^a!*
no.ouh ?ihəwəwəhəhko? *batəwəčiin-a?*
 unlikely go(AI)-1S.SUBJ dance-LOC
 ‘I certainly would not go to the dance!’
 [OR ‘The very idea that I would go to the dance!’] (Sifton 101)
- 98) *’in’ benaaθeθaačⁱ* *wəwəčiinⁱ,* *noouh niibeinəhəhk’^a!*
?ini? banâaθaθaa-či? *wəwəčiin-či?* *no.ouh niiw-e.inəhəhko?*
 That IC.oldest.girl(AI)-3S say(AI)-3S unlikely marry(TA)-3S/1S.SUBJ

‘The oldest one said, “I would not think of him marrying me!” (FITG 233)¹⁶

Conversely, *nóouh chʔii-* indicates one “would certainly not NOT do it...” or “the very idea that s.o. would not...! (is ridiculous),” or more directly s.o. “would or will certainly do it...”

- 99) *noouh chʔiini ʔɔwɔtahkʔ*.
no.ouh cihʔii-niʔɔw-ɔtahkɔʔ
unlikely NEG-agree(TA)-2S/3S.SUBJ
‘He will surely grant it/agree to [your proposal].’ (Sifton 101)
(lit. ‘the very idea that he would refuse your proposal [is absurd]!’)

Related to this is the idea that something is hoped for, even though it may seem unlikely:

- 100) *nɔʔuθaahahkʔ in niithʔiih!*
nɔʔuθaa-hahkɔʔ ʔiniʔ ni-itahʔi.iiah
arrive(AI)-3S.SUBJ that 1S-friend
‘Is it possible that my friend comes!’ (Sifton 100)

5.5.3.4 Contrary-to-expectations. Examples of mirative, contrary-to-expectation situations, typically but not always with the discourse particle *ʔiiwʔ*. Note this usage occurs in main clauses:

- 101) *ʔiiwʔ abyitibeinɔɔnahkʔʷ innitaaʔ*.
ʔiiwɔʔ ʔabʔiitaw-e.inɔɔnahkɔʔ ʔinanitaaʔ
MIRATIVE steal.s.t.from(TA)-3S/1S.SUBJ person
‘Someone must have stolen [my trapped porcupine] from me!’ (FITG 214)

- 102) *kooun batɔɔtɔθahkɔnh ʔačacinawʔh!*
ko.oun batɔɔtɔθa-ahkɔnih ʔa-čacinaw-ɔh
only ten(II)-0P.SUBJ 2S-year-P
‘So you are only ten years of age!’ (Sifton 100)
(lit. ‘who would believe that they are only ten, your years!’)

5.5.3.5 Epistemic marking. The inflection is also used to express the idea of ‘likely’ or ‘probably’ or ‘must be’ in main clauses.

- 103) *naanɔhkɔnh nɔtɔnihʔinɔh¹⁷ ʔiwɔshɔɔθebiih.*

¹⁶ Taylor provides an example of the optative particle used in a very similar fashion to this sentence, but with affirmative inflections and a dependent participle: ‘áánaa’ ‘ɔtúhniibéit’ ‘no one will marry you’ (T 2.15), but probably better glossed ‘who would think of marrying you!?’

¹⁷ Sifton records the plural vowel here, so no superscript is used.

naani-ɔhkɔnih	nɔt-ɔnihʔi-nɔh	ʔiwɔsihɔɔθab-iih
the one(AI)-3P.SUBJ	1S-pet-PL	horse-PL
‘Those must be my horses.’ (Sifton 100)		

104) *‘ih’ɔɔ’* *naannɔɔhɔhk’* *ɕyaasɔ’ɔwɔɔ’* *niicaah.*
 ʔihʔɔɔʔ naani-nɔɔhɔhkoʔ ɕ^yaasɔʔ-ɔwɔɔʔ niicaahah
 okay be.the.one(AI)-1S.SUBJ be.near(TI)-1S river
 ‘Okay, I must be pretty close to the river.’ (Burrs)

105) *‘iiv’* *‘aataahahk’^u* *naabyiitibeeit’^s.*
 ʔiivɔʔ ʔaataa-hahkoʔ na-ab^yiitaw-êitɔʔ
 MIRAT the.one(AI)-3S.SUBJ 1S-steal(TA)-3S/1S.DEPPART
 ‘He must be the one who stole from me!’ (FITG 221)

5.5.3.6 ‘until...’ Finally, it is also required with the particle *ʔónɔɔtʔ* ‘until’ when used with the future:

106) *nih’ɔ́ɔ́nính* *‘ónɔ́oot’^o* *‘onínoo’oohɔ́hk’^{o!}*
 nihʔɔ́.oon-ínih ʔonɔ́ootoʔ ʔonínooʔoo-hɔ́hkoʔ
 chase(TA)-2S/3.IMPER until falling.over(AI)-3S.SUBJ
 ‘Chase him until he drops!’ (T 2.406)

107) *nɔ́ɔ́tooniiháach* *‘ónɔ́oot’^o* *n’úθá[á]hahkónh.*
 nii-ɔ́tooniih-á.ach ʔonɔ́ootoʔ noʔúθaa-hahkónih
 IMPERF-wait.for(TA)-1/3P until arrive(AI)-3P.SUBJ
 ‘I’ll wait [for them] until they come.’ (T 2.406)

5.5.3.7 ‘on...’ ‘in...’ ‘at...’ Days, seasons and other temporal ideas are expressed using II verbs in AA. Thus one says ‘it is Monday’ or ‘it is summer’ or ‘it is nighttime.’ The idea of ‘on [next] Monday’ is expressed by using the subjunctive inflections on the II verb. The idea of ‘this [coming] summer’ or ‘this [coming] night’ is expressed in the same way. See section 14.8 for examples.

5.5.4 Dependent Participle

Dependent participles are a special secondary form of transitive verbs. Their primary use is in relative clauses, in situations such as ‘the person whom I see.’ They are also used with transitive verbs in ‘what’ and ‘who’ questions (which are themselves actually relative clauses), to express meanings such as ‘who is it that you see?’ or ‘what is it that you found?’ Another use is for clarifying identities, such as ‘that horse, the one you’re looking at.’ Sifton documents the forms (190-93).

The dependent participles are nominalized forms of AI, TI and TA verbs, which are then possessed. Thus the preceding clauses translate literally into AA as ‘the person my-seeing,’ who it is your-seeing?’ and ‘what is it your-finding?’ Even though they are technically nouns, they can also take tense, aspect and modality markers, so they are actually semi-nominal and semi-verbal from a formal perspective.

The nominalizations are formed as follows:

For AI verbs: formation is exactly the same as for normal AI abstract nominal participles. See section 9.2.1.

For TI verbs: formation is again exactly the same as for normal TI instrument/product nominalizations. See section 9.2.2.

For TA verbs: lengthen the final vowel (if short) of the direction-of-action theme marker and add a falling tone, then add /-kin/ (for stems with final vowel /a/ or /ɔ/) or /-tɔn/ (for stems with final vowel of /i/ or /u/). These appear as surface forms *-k^h* and *-t^h* in the singular. (In other words, the underlying morpheme that forms these participles is /-:kin/ and /-:tɔn/.) However, for third person objects, final -ó.ɔɔn (surface -ó.ɔɔ) occurs in alternation with the other form.

The possessive template is then applied to these nominal forms to produce the full expression. The template for these forms is:

PERS + TENSE + INSTR + ASPECT + VERB + DIR.OF.ACTION(TA ONLY) + NOMINALIZER + P.POSS

An invented example illustrating the full template is :

- 108) *ʔaayounʔ ʔihʔiiʔiiniistɔɔninɔɔʔ*
ʔaayó.u-niʔ ʔi-ih-ʔi.iʔ-ii-niisitó.ɔn-ínɔɔʔ
 what-04 3S-PAST-INSTR-IMPER-make(AI.DEPPART)-P.POSS
 ‘What did they (habitually) make it with?’
 (lit. ‘What was their habitual past usage of it?’)

AI examples involve verbs which are grammatically intransitive, but semantically transitive (AI.T and AI.O verbs typically). In the following, the AI verb *ʔi.ite.ih*- ‘talked about’ and the AI verb *ʔab^yiita*- ‘steal, steal things’ are converted into an AI dependent participles, meaning ‘the one talked about’ and ‘the thing stolen.’ Note they occur after another TI dependent participle.

- 109) *’ou’ ’in’ ’itɔɔsiyɔɔɔn’ ’iitehiitɔn’*,
ʔo.o.uʔ ʔiniʔ ʔi-tɔɔsiyɔ.ɔ-nɔʔ ʔi-i.ite.ihîitɔ-nɔʔ
 Crow that 3S-trap(TI.DEPPART)-OBV 3S-talked.about(AI.DEPPART)-OBV
 ‘Crow, the one [porcupine] that he trapped, the one he talked about,

’itibyitaačín’, *niisɔɔhɔhɔ’* *’ou’uh’abyiitebh.*
ʔit-ab^yiitâači-nɔʔ *ni-isɔɔhah-ɔʔ* *ʔouʔuh-ʔab^yiitaw-ah*
 3S-steal(AI.DEPPART)-OBV 1S-grandson-OBV NPAST-steal.from(TA)-4/3S
 the one that he stole, he stole it from my grandson.’ (FITG 228-29)

Additional AI examples from Taylor are the following. The first example is especially interesting as it involves an instrumental relative clause.

- 110) *’aayóu’* *’éi’iich’óháak^h’¹⁸*

¹⁸ Taylor actually documents *-aaak^h*, but *-áaak^h* in a parallel example.

ʔaayó.uʔ ʔa-ii-ʔi.i-ciʔhâaakiʔ
 what 2S-IMPERF-INSTR-chop.things(AI.DEPPPART)
 ‘What do you use to chop things with?’ (T 1.153)
 (Lit. ‘What is the means of their chopping things?’)

111) ‘ó’úutóuniih wɔʔɔʔnó’ ‘iin’uθáakiíninɔɔ’.
 ʔɔʔ=ʔiitó.u-ní.ih wɔnóʔ ʔi-ii-nɔʔuθáakiin-ínɔɔʔ
 DUBIT=why(II)-04.ITER I.wonder 3S-IMPERF-arrive(AI.DEPPART)-P
 ‘I wonder why they came.’ (T 1.34)
 (Lit. ‘I wonder what was the reason for their arrival.’)

112) ‘aayóun’ⁱ ciiθóóúhóhɔ’ ʔibiiciitɔɔnínɔɔʔ
 ʔaayó.u-niʔ ciiθó.ouháhʔ-ɔh ʔi-biiciitɔɔn-ínɔɔʔ
 what-OBV nighthawk.DIM-P 3S-eat(AI.DEPPART)-P
 ‘What do nighthawks eat?’ (T 2.55)
 (Lit. ‘What is the thing of the nighthawks’ eating?’)

TI Forms, using the verb *nɔɔhɔɔt*- ‘see s.t.’ and the imperfective forms of the prefixes (which are the most common forms) are:

	FORM	MEANING
1S	<i>nee-i-nɔɔhɔɔt-ɔɔ’</i> (pl. -ɔɔn ^h)	what I see
2S	<i>‘ee-i-nɔɔhɔɔt-ɔɔ’</i> (pl. -ɔɔn ^h)	what you see
3S	<i>‘iii-nɔɔhɔɔt-ɔɔ’</i> (pl. -ɔɔn ^h)	what s/he sees
4S	<i>‘iii-nɔɔhɔɔt-ɔɔn’ⁱ</i>	what s/he (other one) sees
1P	<i>nee-i-nɔɔhɔɔt-ɔɔnínɔɔ’</i>	what we see
12	<i>‘ee-i-nɔɔhɔɔt-ɔɔnín’ⁱ</i>	what we all see
2P	<i>‘ee-i-nɔɔhɔɔt-ɔɔnínɔɔ’</i>	what you all see
3P	<i>‘iii-nɔɔhɔɔt-ɔɔnínɔɔ’</i>	what they see
4P	<i>‘iii-nɔɔhɔɔt-ɔɔnínɔɔ’</i>	what they (other ones) see

Examples are:

113) ‘ɔɔɔnnaaniih nɔk’ɔhɔɔn^h.
 ʔɔɔɔni-naani-ih na-kɔʔhɔɔ.ɔ-nɔh
 IC.FUT-the.one(II)-0P 1S-thing.cut(TI.DEPPART)-P
 ‘Those [bunches] are the ones I will cut.’ (FITG 174)

114) ‘aayóu’ ‘ééiniicɔɔɔɔ’?
 ʔaayó.uʔ ʔa-ii-niicɔɔɔ.ɔʔ
 what 2S-IMPERF-suck(TI.DEPPART)
 ‘What are you sucking on?’ (T 2.309)

115) ‘aayóun’ ‘ééin’áaanáatɔɔn^h? (assume ʔaayóun^{oh} misheard as ʔaayóunʔ)
 ʔaayó.u-nɔh ʔa-ii-niʔaanâatɔ.ɔnɔh
 what-0P 2S-IMPERF-like(TI.DEPPART)-P

Direct Action, Secondary Object

1S/3S	na-	-ôaki?, pl. -ôakinoh	‘the one I gave him/her/them’ ‘the ones...’
2S/3S	?a-	-ôaki?, pl. -ôakinoh	‘the one you gave him/her/them’ ‘the ones...’ etc.
3S/4S	?i-	-ôakinoh?, pl. -ôakinoh	
1P/3S	?i-	-ôakiinoh?	‘the one(s) we gave him/her/them’ etc.
12/3S	?a-	-ôakiinini?	
2P/3S	?a-	-ôakiinoh?	
3P/4S	?i-	-ôakiinoh?	

Direct Action, Primary Object

1S/3S	na-	-ô.oo?, pl. -ô.oonoh	‘the one I saw’ ‘the ones I saw’
2S/3S	?a-	-ô.oo?, pl. -ô.oonoh	‘the one you saw’ ‘the ones you saw’ etc.
3S/4S	?i-	-ô.oonoh?, pl. -ô.oonoh	
1P/3S	?i-	-ô.oonoh?	‘the one(s) we saw’ etc.
12/3S	?a-	-ô.oonohini?	
2P/3S	?a-	-ô.oonoh?	
3P/4S	?i-	-ô.oonoh?	

As with all possession forms, the objects of singular possessors can be made plural. The secondary object forms are used in instances such as with the verb *biin-* ‘give’: 1S/3S would mean ‘the thing I gave to him/her/them.’ This secondary object is not marked on the verb. The primary object forms are used to refer to the object which is marked on the verb (which in the case of ‘give’ would be the receiver. Thus 1S/3S would mean ‘the one to whom I gave it.’ Similarly 2S/3S in the first case would be ‘the thing you gave to him/her’ and in the second case ‘the one to whom you gave it.’

Examples of primary object forms are:

120) *‘ini’ ‘ačisiiiθaan]^o,* *‘ih’ickuutōōōn^o...*
 ?ini? ?ačisiiiθaa-noh? ?ih-?icikuut-ōōōn-noh?
 that young.woman(AI)-OBV 3S.PAST-catch(TA)-3S/4.DEPPART-OBV
 ‘That young woman, the one whom he had caught...’ (Burrs)

121) *nōhu’ niicih,* *naha’ ‘eeinōtyiihōōōninⁱ.*
 nōhu? niic-cih naha? ?eei-nōt^yiih-ōōōnini?
 this camp(AI)-3P this 2S.IMPERF-look.for(TA)-12/3.DEPPART
 ‘This is where they are camping, the ones we are looking for.’ (War Story)

124) *‘ōōōōnnaannicⁱ* *niibah,* *‘ičinitōōōn^o.*
 ?ōōōōni-naani-nici? ni-iibah? ?i-čanit-ō.ōō-noh?
 IC.FUT-the.one(AI)-4S 1S-grandmother 3S-skin(TA)-3S/4.DEPPART-OBV
 ‘This is the one that my grandmother will skin.’ (FITG 300)

125) *‘ihtōunōō[oh]^{oh}.*
 ?ih-tō.un-ô.oo-noh

3S.PST-capture(TA)-3S/4.DEPPART-P
 ‘The ones he caught.’ (T 1.354)

In addition to examples 118 and 119, another example of secondary object form is:

- 128) *tóónh* *‘ibíínóók’ⁱ.*
tóónih *ʔi-biin-ôókíʔ*
 INDEF 3S-give(TA)-1S/3S.DEPPART
 ‘Whatever [thing] he gave him.’ (T 1.438) (Translation modified to fit classical affixes)

Inverse Action

3S/1S	na-	-êitɔʔ, pl. -êitɔnɔh
3S/2S	ʔa-	-êitɔʔ, pl. -êitɔnɔh
4S/3S	ʔi	-êitɔnɔʔ, pl. -êitɔnɔh
3S/1P	na-	-êitɔonínɔʔ
3S/12	ʔa-	-êitɔoníníʔ
3S/2P	ʔa-	-êitɔonínɔʔ
4S/3P	ʔi	-êitɔonínɔʔ

The inverse action paradigm can be used to refer to either primary or secondary objects. Thus with the verb ‘give’ 3S/1S would mean either ‘the one who gave it to me’ or ‘the thing that s/he gave to me.’ Again, the singular-possessor forms can be pluralized. Examples from discourse are:

- 129) *‘iíw’* *‘aataahahk’^u* *naabyiitibeeit’^o.*
ʔiíwɔʔ *ʔaataa-hahkɔʔ* *na-ab^yiitaw-êitɔʔ*
 MIRAT the.one(AI)-3S.SUBJ 1S-steal(TA)-3/1S.DEPPART
 ‘He must be the one who stole from me!’ (FITG 221)

- 130) *‘aaanoouh* *niiwɔɔʔyiiteity’ⁱ* *nóhu’* *‘unaacibeeitɔn’^o.*
ʔaano.ou-h *nii-wɔɔʔ^yiit-e.it^yiʔ* *nóhuʔ* *ʔi-naaciw-êitɔ-nɔʔ*
 get ready! IMPERF-say(TA)-4/3S this 3S-call.to(TA)-4/3S.DEPPART-OBV
 “‘Come on!’ the one who was challenging him was saying to him.’ (War Story)

- 132) *‘áánaa’* *‘é[e]iniyóóóhéeit’^oʔ*
ʔáánaaʔ *ʔa-ʔinayɔɔh-êitɔʔ*
 who 2S-heal(TA)-3/2S.DEPPART
 ‘Who [has] healed you?’ (T 1.193)

- 133) *‘áán’aan’ⁱ* *‘áaθib’ⁱ* *‘ihníithiibéeitɔn’^oʔ*
ʔáánaʔaa-níʔ *ʔá-aθabiʔ* *ʔih-niitahiiw-êitɔ-nɔʔ*
 who-OBV 2S-daughter-in-law 3S.PST-help(TA)-4/3S.DEPPART-OBV
 ‘Who helped your daughter-in-law?’ (T 1.397)

- 134) *‘áánaa’* *‘ahníístɔnéit’^o* *nóhu’* *bíit’óhn’^hʔ*
ʔáánaaʔ *ʔa-ih-níisitɔn-êitɔʔ* *nóhuʔ* *bíitɔʔóh-nɔh*
 who 2S-PAST-make.for.s.o.(TA)-3/2S.DEPPART these mocassin-PL

‘Who made these mocassins for you?’ (T 2.3)

Note that dependent participles are only used for transitive relative clauses. Regular Affirmative-Order verbs are used in intransitive relative clauses. See section 11.5 for more discussion of relative clauses generally.

¹ The verb here is apparently based on *heicoo-* ‘come here’ (used a few lines later). This occurs in AR as *neheicoo*, but is used only as an imperative in that language. In AA, apparently *heitoh-* means literally ‘make s.o. come here’ or ‘summon s.o.’

² One would expect *-ninʔi* here, since Kroeber gives a gloss of ‘so we will gamble.’

Chapter Eight: Verb Tense, Aspect and Modality

Tense refers to the time at which an action happens – past, present or future. Aspect is a slightly more subtle concept, which indicates the perspective that a speaker takes on an action. For example if the action was in the past, was it ongoing in the past, or is it described simply as a past event? – ‘I was working’ as opposed to ‘I worked’ for example. Modality refers to a speaker’s attitude towards an action – is it likely or unlikely to happen, or is it a request or an obligation, for example. For the most part these features are indicated in AA by prefixes or suffixes attached to verbs, and will be described in this chapter.

8.1 Affirmative Order Tense and Aspect

AA uses prefix markers to indicate tense and aspect. There is a past tense marker /-ih-/ (occurring word-initially as /nih-/) and a future tense marker /ʔɔtɔni-/ (occurring word-initially as /ʔɔtɔni-/). There is a general imperfective marker /-ii-/ (occurring word-initially as /nii-/), and a perfective marker /ʔiisi-/ (occurring word-initially as /ʔiniisi-/). Imperfective indicates that an action is either habitual, or was or will be ongoing (in the past or future). The perfective marker indicates that the action is to be understood as completed. The tense and aspect markers can be used either separately or together. The possible combinations word-initially are:

nih-	PST
nihʔii-	PST.IMPERF (past ongoing, past habitual)
nihʔiisi-	PST.PERF
ʔɔtɔni-	FUT
ʔɔtɔniiii-	FUT.IMPERF (future ongoing, future habitual)
ʔɔtɔniisi-	FUT.PERF
nii-	IMPERF (present habitual, repetitive)

ʔiniisi-

PERF

Note that when two different prefixes combine, the second one is treated as if it is a surface word-initial form (i.e. /ʔ-/ is added to vowel-initial forms), so that the combination of the two prefixes acts like compounding in AA, rather than stem formation. Likewise, when one prefix is added to a verb stem, the process again is the same as compounding/prefixation, not stem formation. The latter is especially important in cases where the verb is underlying vowel-initial (i.e. begins with surface /ʔ-/). In this case, /nii-/ + verb > /nVVV-/, where the quality of the vowel is determined by the initial vowel of the verb stem. Likewise, /nihʔii-/ + verb > /nihʔVVV-/:

1) *nááánécóóónh.*

nii-ʔanáca.áá-nih

IMPERF.lose(AI.O)-1P

‘We lose things.’ (habitually, regularly) (T 1.495)

2) *‘inón ‘áán^h*

níín ‘ikíich

‘inón ‘ééitaan^ʔ.

ʔinónʔáá-noh

nii-ʔíiniʔikíí-cih

ʔinónʔé.eitaanoʔ

Arapaho-P

IMPERF.live(AI.T)-3P

Arapaho.tribe

‘The Arapahos live in Wyoming.’ (T 1.485)

3) *nih ‘íítəwúccóónh.*

nih-ʔii-ʔítəwúccacóó-nih

PST-IMPERF-believe(AI)-1P

‘We believed it.’ (T 2.155)

See ex. 25 for another case of /nihʔii-/ with a vowel-initial verb.

The perfective is relatively rare in independent clauses, and much more common in subordinate clauses, where it expresses the anteriority of one event to another. In independent clauses, it often has a more specifically completive nuance, and can be glossed as ‘has managed to’ or ‘has succeeded in’ or ‘has finished’ in the present, and either ‘managed to’ in the past, or ‘used to, but not anymore’ in the past. Examples of the tenses and aspects used in discourse are:

- 3) *'aaanoouh,* *niiwɔɔtyiiteityⁱ* *noh* ‘ *'unaacibeitɔn^o*
 ʔaano.ou-h *nii-wɔɔt^yiit-e.it^yi?* nohuʔ ʔi-naaciw-êitɔ-nɔʔ
 get.ready(AI)-2PL.IMPER IMPERF-say(TA)-4/3S this 3S-call to(TA)-
 4/3S.DEPPART-OBV
 ‘‘Come on!’’ said [repeatedly] the one who was challenging him

'ɔtɔniiniisinich.
 ʔɔtɔni-ʔii-niisi-nicɨh
FUT-IMPERF-two(AI)-4PL
 to join him.’ (War Story)

- 4) *ʔɔɔtɔnwɔtaaθaaninʔ.*
 ʔɔɔtɔni-wɔtaaθaa-niniʔ
IC.FUT-go.to.camp(AI)-12
 ‘We will go to the camp.’ (War Story)

- 5) *nihnah 'aa';* *ʔoʔuhnaatyikouhuht^yi.*
 nih-nahʔ-a.aʔ ʔoʔuh-nâat^yiko.uhuhu-t^yiʔ
PST-kill(TA)-3 NPST-tired from running hard(AI.DIM)
 ‘I killed it; it was exhausted from running hard.’ (War Story)

- 6) *'ɔɔh 'in' nih'iikɔyɔɔcinicⁱ.*
 ʔɔɔh ʔiniʔ nih-ʔii-kɔyɔɔci-niciʔ
 And that PST-IMPERF-look/examine(AI)-4S
 ‘The one who was looking very close.’ (FITG 89)

- 7) *nih'iiwɔɔcyaaaniitačaabyičⁱ* *'aaneisiih* *nɔh* *byiibyikoouh.*
 nih-ʔii-wɔɔ^yaaniitačaab^yi-č*i*? ʔâan-iisiih nɔh b^yi-b^yiikoouh
PST-IMPERF-cry.loudly(AI)-3S REDUP-day.ADV and REDUP-night.ADV
 ‘He would cry all day and all night.’ (FITG 70)

- 8) *nih'ibibiyááách*
 nih-ʔii-babiya.áá-cɨh
PST-IMPERF-eat.soup(AI)-3P
 ‘They used to eat soup.’ (T 2.267)

9) *iníisaasθóh'u*.
 ʔiníisi-ʔasaθóhʔu-ʔ
 IC.PERF-warm.s.t.up(AI.O)-1P
 'We already warmed it up.' (T 1.300)

10) *nih'ííí}síbiθáaakⁱ*.
 nih-ʔiisi-baθá.aa-kiʔ
 PST-PERF-gather.wood(AI)-3S
 'She used to haul wood [but doesn't any more].' (T 1.300)

Note that none of the tense/aspect combinations above expresses present tense ongoing aspect, or present tense stative aspect. This is expressed instead by a process known traditionally in Algonquian studies as “initial change,” which involves the use of an infix in the first syllable of the verb stem. This infix is used in place of a temporal or aspectual prefix, and cannot co-occur with them. Specifically, the initial syllable of the verb stem either lengthens or doubles. When the initial vowel is short, it becomes long.

11a) *nih'at'óosiⁱ*.
 nih-ʔataʔóosi-kiʔ
 PST-sway.backed(AI)-3S
 'He was swaybacked.' (T 2.323)

11b) *'áat'óosiⁱ*.
 ʔaataʔóosi-kiʔ
 IC.sway.backed(AI)-3S
 'He is swaybacked.' (T 2.323)

12a) *nih^t'ówóokⁱ*.
 nih-tóʔów-óokiʔ
 PST-hit(TA)-3S/4
 'He hit him.' (T 1.405)

12b) *tóó'ówóokⁱ*.
 tóóʔów-óokiʔ
 IC.hit(TA)-3S/4
 'He has [just now] him him, he is hitting him.' (T 1.405)

As the last example shows, initial change also is used to indicate present perfect tense and aspect – i.e. 'he has hit him.'

When the initial vowel is already long or there are two vowels, either /-an-/ or /-ɔn-/ is

added immediately after first consonant of the verb, the former with verbs whose first vowel is /a/, /e/ or /i/ and the latter with verbs whose first vowel is /ɔ/ or /o/.

- 13a) *ʔɔciín'íkii'?*
 ʔɔɔ=cihʔi-ʔíiniʔíkiiʔ
 INTERR=NEGATIVE-live(AI)
 'Is he still alive?' (T 1.485)
- 13b) *'iníin'íkii'.*
 ʔaníiniʔíkii-kiʔ¹
 IC.live(AI)-3S
 'It is alive, living.' (T 1.485)
- 14a) *nihnéi'éhk'.*
 nih-né.iʔáhi-kiʔ
 PST-stubborn(AI)-3S
 'He was stubborn.' (T 2.311)
- 14b) *ninéi'éhk'.*
 nané.iʔáhi-kiʔ
 IC.stubborn(AI)-3S
 'He is stubborn.' (T 2.311)
- 15a) *nih'óounáak'.*
 nih-ʔó.oun-á.akiʔ
 PST-restrain(TA)-1P/3S
 'We stopped him from fighting.' (T 1.441)
- 15b) *'ɔnóounáak'.*
 ʔɔnó.oun-á.akiʔ
 IC.restrain(TA)-1P/3S
 'We have just now stopped him from fighting, we are stopping him from fighting.' (T 1.441)

Note that the exact meaning of the infix forms varies depending on the nature of the action or state described by the verb stem. For actions that are punctual in nature ('give,' 'hit') the resulting meaning is either present progressive ('I am giving it to you right now') or present perfect ('I have given it to you'). For actions that are durative ('live,' 'work') the resulting meaning is present progressive only ('I am living right now'). For states ('be stubborn') the resulting meaning is ongoing stative ('I am stubborn').

A similar situation occurs with the imperfective. When it occurs with durative forms, it indicates general, habitual action ('I work here every day, as my job'). When it occurs with punctual actions, it can indicate repeated action ('I am hitting you repeatedly') as well as general, habitual action ('I hit you regularly, habitually').

¹ Based on AR, one would postulate an underlying form of /-iinaʔíkii-/ for AA, but since no stress ever occurs on the /a/, it is unclear whether this is underlying /i/ in AA, or underlying /a/ reduced to /i/ in unstressed position.

8.2 Non-affirmative Order Tense and Aspect

The tense and aspect prefixes occur in the same order (tense first, then aspect) in the non-affirmative order, but they follow the person prefixes. The template is thus:

PROCL + PERSON + TENSE + ASPECT + NEGATION/WH-QUEST etc.

Since the prefixes are never in initial position, they always occur in their non-initial forms. Using 2S /ʔa-/ as an example, the question forms are:

Sifton(24)	AA	Meaning
{ae-}	ʔɔɔ=ʔa/ʔo-nɔʔúθaaʔ	are you arriving? have you arrived?
	ʔɔɔ=ʔeei-nɔʔúθaaʔ	do you arrive? (habitually)
	ʔɔɔ=ʔeeisi-nɔʔúθaaʔ	have you already arrived?
	ʔɔɔ=ʔeih-nɔʔúθaaʔ	did you arrive?
	ʔɔɔ=ʔeihʔiisi-nɔʔúθaaʔ	had you already arrived? did you already arrive?
	ʔɔɔ=ʔeihʔii-nɔʔúθaaʔ	would you arrive? (regularly in the past)
	ʔɔɔ=ʔɔɔtɔni-nɔʔúθaaʔ	are you going to arrive?
	ʔɔɔ=ʔɔɔtɔniisi-nɔʔúθaaʔ	will you have already arrived?
	ʔɔɔ=ʔɔɔtɔnii-nɔʔúθaaʔ	will you be arriving? (regularly in the future)

The negative forms are:

Sifton(47)	AA	Meaning
{êize-}	ʔa-cihʔii-nɔʔúθaaʔ	you are not arriving, you have not arrived
	ʔeei-cihʔii-nɔʔúθaaʔ	you do not arrive (habitually)
{êihze-}	ʔeeisi-chʔii-nɔʔúθaaʔ	you have not already arrived
	ʔeih-cihʔii-nɔʔúθaaʔ	you did not arrive
{ättanze-}	ʔeihʔiisi-chʔii-nɔʔúθaaʔ	you had not already arrived/did not already arrive
	ʔeihʔii-cihʔii-nɔʔúθaaʔ	you would not arrive (habitually in the past)
	ʔɔɔtɔni-cihʔii-nɔʔúθaaʔ	you are not going to arrive
	ʔɔɔtɔniisi-cihʔii-nɔʔúθaaʔ	you will not have already arrived
	ʔɔɔtɔnii-cihʔii-nɔʔúθaaʔ	you will not be arriving (habitually in the future)

Note that ʔa-ii- > ʔeei-, ʔa-ih- > ʔe(e)ih-, ʔa-iisi- > ʔeeisi-, ʔa-otoni- > ʔɔɔtoni-. The first person marker na- behaves exactly as ʔa-.

The marker /ʔi-/ however behaves differently:

Sifton(47)	AA
{ih-ze-}	ʔi-ih- > ʔih- (NOT ʔiih-) (though Taylor does document some examples of the latter, as ʔí.iih-)
{i-ze-}	ʔi-ii- > ʔii (NOT ʔiii-) (though Taylor does document some examples of the

latter, as ʔi.ii-)
 ʔi-iisi- > ʔiisi- (NOT ʔiisi-)
 {ättan-ze-} ʔi-ɔtɔni- > ʔɔtɔni- (NOT ʔɔɔtɔni-).

In addition, following the interrogative marker, these combinations undergo vowel harmony, and also change the vowel quality in the interrogative marker, as expected for /o/ + /u/ combinations:

Sifton(24)	AA	Meaning
{a-}	ʔɔɔ=ɲɔʔúθaaʔ	is s/he arriving? has s/he arrived?
{ou-}	ʔoo=ʔuu-ɲɔʔúθaaʔ	does s/he arrive? (habitually)
	ʔoo=ʔuusi-ɲɔʔúθaaʔ	has s/he already arrived?
	ʔoo=ʔuh-ɲɔʔúθaaʔ	did s/he arrive?
	ʔoo=ʔuhʔuusi-ɲɔʔúθaaʔ	had s/he already arrived? did s/he already arrive?
	ʔoo=ʔuhʔuu-ɲɔʔúθaaʔ	would s/he arrive? (regularly in the past)
	ʔɔɔ=ʔɔtɔni-ɲɔʔúθaaʔ	is s/he going to arrive?
	ʔɔɔ=ʔɔtɔniisi-ɲɔʔúθaaʔ	will s/he have already arrived?
	ʔɔɔ=ʔɔtɔnii-ɲɔʔúθaaʔ	will s/he be arriving? (regularly in the future)

Note also that the entire string of prefixes prior to the verb stem can optionally be detached from the stem using the derivational suffix *-ííih*, or alternately, the string prior to the negation marker can similarly be detached using the same suffix, with the negation marker attached to the verb.

Examples from discourse are:

- 16) *'in' 'iniin' nɔh kɔkɔn 'iich'iwɔčiitein'.*
 ʔiniʔ ʔi-nii-ɲɔʔ nɔh kɔkɔn ʔii-cihʔi-wɔčiit-e.iniʔ
 that 3S-wife-OBV and anything 3S.IMPERF-NEG-say(TA)-4/4S
 ‘And his wife would not [lit. ‘is not’] say anything to him.’ (FITG 9)
- 17) *'iich'inanii'iθɔɔn^h nɔɔčiiciitɔn^h, wɔɔčiiteič'.*
ʔii-cihʔi-naniiʔiθɔɔ-nɔh na-ɔɔčiicîitɔ-nɔh wɔɔčiit-e.ičiʔ
0S.IMPERF-NEG-be.like.that(II)-0P 1S-plate(AI.DEPPART)-P say(TA)-4/3S
 ‘These are not the kind of things I use for plates.’ (FITG 26)
- 18) *nɔh 'utɔɔwuuuh, 'ih'iich'iwɔčiíih čí'iitenɔwun'.*
 nɔh ʔitɔɔwuuuh ʔih-ʔii-cihʔi-wɔčiíih čaʔi-ʔitan-ɔwuniʔ
 and truly.ADV 3S.PST-IMPERF-NEG-DUBIT again-get(TI)-3P
 ‘Sure enough, they would never pick them back up.’ (FITG 149)
- 19) *'ɔtnííih ch'iče'iitenɔwunin' 'aniičeh'inin' 'iniisčebyaaanouh.*
ʔɔtɔniiih cihʔi-čaʔi-ʔitan-ɔwuniniʔ ʔa-niič^yahʔ-ininiʔ ʔiniisi-čab^yaa-noouh
2S.FUT.ADV NEG-again-get(TI)-12 2-arrow.DIM-12 IC.PERF-shoot(AI)-
 12.ITER
 ‘[We are] not to pick our arrows up again after we have shot them.’ (FITG 155)

- 20) 'wch neihch'iih nwwhww' 'iitaanwn'.
- ʔwch na-ih-cihʔiih nwwhww-wʔ ʔiitaanwn-nʔ
- and 1S-PAST-NEG.ADV see(TA)-3S buffalo-OBV(?)
- 'But I saw no buffalo.' (FITG 249)
- 21) nwwθeeinh'eity'ⁱ, 'wʔwch'wʔwʔwʔiihwn'ⁱ
- nwwθeei-nahʔ-e.itʔiʔ ʔw-ʔwʔni-cihʔi-ʔwʔwʔiih-wʔniʔ
- maybe-kill(TA)-4/3S 2S-FUT-NEG-wait for(TA)-12/3
- 'Maybe [the Sioux] killed him, we can't wait for him.' (War Story)

8.3 Imperative Order Tense and Aspect

As already noted above, there is a specific future imperative form. Past tense cannot be used with the imperative. Both imperfective and perfective aspect can be used with imperatives. The imperfective is used to make rule-like commands that apply at all times, while the perfective is used to add a nuance of 'finish' doing that.

- 22) 'iich'inwnihóʔwkwúucaaach!
- ʔii-cihʔi-nwnih-óʔwkwuku.uca.aa-cih
- IMPERF-NEG-hurry-swallow(AI)-2S.IMPER
- 'Don't swallow so fast!' [now, or in the future either; in general] (T 2.322)
- 23) 'iich'iníiíh kh'áckiiʔwch wʔwʔsááanikiit'ʔ!
- ʔii-cihʔin-íiíh kahʔáckiiit-ôwch wʔwʔsááanakiitʔ
- IMPERF-NEG-ADV listen(TI)-2S.IMPER bad.talking
- 'Don't listen to gossip!' (T 1.483)
- 24) 'iiswʔwʔnóhaaach!
- ʔiisi-wʔwʔnóha.aa-cih
- PERF-write.things(AI.O)-2S.IMPER
- 'Finish writing!' (T 1.300)

See section 5.4.1 for further discussion and examples of tense and aspect with imperatives.

8.4 Conjunct Order Tense and Aspect

Aspect marking occurs with conjunct order forms exactly as with affirmative order forms. Tense marking is notably different, however. In the simple conjunct order, tense marking is always relative – the markers indicate the time of the event in question *relative to* some other event. As shown in section 5.5.1, relative past tense (i.e. anterior past tense) is indicated by the prefix /ʔwch-/ 'when...', with /ʔeiʔi-/ 'once, when, after...' and /ʔiisi-/ PERF also used, both with an exclusively perfective meaning and /tih-/ 'when' used exclusively with imperfective meaning. It is likely that all of the latter prefixes are the older (and more specific) forms. They correspond to AR *hei'i-*, *hiisi-* and *tih-* respectively, which have the same meanings. The prefix /ʔwch-/ (which has no AR equivalent) appears to be a newer and more general innovation. As shown in 5.5.1, it can be modified to show either perfective (/ʔohuusi-/) or imperfective (/ʔohuu-/) aspect.

The prefix /ʔáasi-/ indicates simultaneous action with the main clause (AR *heesi-*). The prefix /tɔh-/ indicates future action relative to the main clause, with a meaning specifically of ‘so that, in order that, in order to’ and similar ideas related to purpose or intention (AR *heetih-*).

As noted in section 5.5.4, tense and aspect are used with the dependent participle in the same way as with the affirmative order.

The subjunctive mode (5.5.3) has inherently future meaning. When this inflection is used without any further modifying prefixes, it indicates an action in the future, but which *precedes* the action of the main clause (5.5.3.1, 5.5.3.2) (whereas *tɔh-* is used to indicate action which *follows* that of the main clause). When used in combination with the future tense marker, the subjunctive has a meaning of ‘would’ or ‘should’ (see 5.5.3.3). When used in combination with the past tense marker, the subjunctive has a contrary-to-fact meaning (5.5.3.3).

The iterative mode (5.5.2) is inherently tenseless, and so typically no tense markers are used with it. When used without any further modifying prefixes, it indicates an action which *precedes* or is *simultaneous with* the action of the main clause. The iterative is by nature imperfective in meaning, so no imperfective markers are used with it. It can however be used with perfective markers (see 5.5.2.1). It is possible to place the entire iterative expression in the past tense, by adding ‘*in*’ ‘*ohuu-*’ to the verb and eliminating the initial change (Sifton16). Thus:

- 25) ‘*in*’ ‘*ohuu*’*uhɔɔnɔɔnh...*
 ʔiniʔ ʔɔh-ʔii-ʔihɔɔ-nɔɔnih
 that when-IMPERF-go(AI)-1S.ITER
 ‘Whenever I would go [in the past]...’ (invented example)

The same can be done in the future tense:

- 26) ‘*in*’ ‘*ɔɔtɔni*’*ihɔɔnɔɔnh...*
 ʔiniʔ ʔɔɔtɔni-ʔii-ʔihɔɔ-nɔɔnih
 that IC.FUT-IMPERF-go(AI)-1S.ITER
 ‘Whenever I will go [in the future]...’ (invented example)

8.5 Sequential Action

AA also has a special prefix *ná(á)héi’i-* to indicate ‘then, next’ (AR *ne’i-*). It translates literally as ‘that’s when...’. It is used when one action closely follows sequentially from another, or at least it functions to present actions as following sequentially in this way. No tense marker is used with this prefix – it inherits the tense marked on the preceding verb.

- 27) *bááán’ɔ nih’ááánékikⁱ ʔɔh nááhéi’icíikyaakⁱ.*
bááánɔʔ nih-ʔii-ʔaanáki-kiʔ ʔɔɔh náhé.iʔi-cíik^yaa-kiʔ
 a.little.bit PAST-IMPER-speak(AI)-3S and then/next-enter(AI)-3S
 ‘He talked a while, and then he went inside.’ (T 2.271)

As with all the other prefixes, you can make a separate word out of this prefix by adding *-ííh*. The result is *náhei’ííh* = ‘then.’

- 28) *níitɔwúúúh sé’ihbính nɔtéyaacⁱ nɔh nááhei’ííh cɔɔɔhɔɔk’i.*

nīitowúúh sáʔihaw-ínih notáyaaciʔ nɔh nááheiʔííh có.ɔɔh-ɔɔkiʔ.
 first.ADV soak(TA)-3S hide and then.ADV scrape(TA)-3S/4
 ‘First soak the hide, then she scrapes it.’ (T 64)

8.6 Modality

Modality indicates a speaker’s attitude about whatever they are stating. This includes things like how much certainty the speaker has about the information, or how likely an event is to actually occur or to have occurred. There is no single marker that indicates modality in AA, although the idea is closely associated with non-affirmative verb inflections generally.

8.6.1 Evidential Modality

Evidential modality is how a speaker indicates the source of their information for a statement. The assumption in AA is that the speaker has good grounds for making a statement. If however the speaker wishes to indicate uncertainty, they can use the prefix /ʔouʔuh-/ meaning ‘it is said that...’ or ‘it is reported that...,’ so that the speaker is not claiming first-hand knowledge or responsibility for a statement (AR *he’ih-*). As indicated in 5.3.5, this prefix takes non-affirmative inflections:

29) *‘inéninɔh* *‘áhníísich* *‘óu‘uhbíinaan^h* *kikyáácaan^h,*
 ʔináni-nɔh ʔah-níísí-cih ʔóuʔuh-bíín-aanɔh kak^yáácaa-nɔh
 man-PL #-two(AI)-3P EVID-eat(TA)-3P/4 hemlock-PL

‘óu‘uhnékin^h.
 ʔóuʔuh-náki-nɔh
 EVID-dead(AI)-PL
 ‘I heard [that] two men ate poison hemlock and died.’ (T 1.273)

8.6.2 Epistemic Modality

Epistemic modality indicates the degree of certainty a speaker has about what they are stating. While this may seem closely related to evidential modality, the focus in this case is more on the speaker’s own senses and reasoning – the speaker may be guessing, speculating, assuming, or deducing that what they are saying is correct, rather than being certain of this. There are a variety of different ways of expressing this in AA. These include use of the dubitative prefix *wɔkii-* or the particle *wɔkííh* (AR *wootii*). This is the most general way to say ‘evidently, apparently, probably, supposedly, I guess.’ The implication is that the statement is more than likely correct (i.e. better than 50/50 chance). Verbs with this prefix or particle take affirmative inflections, and initial change:

30) *‘ik‘únɔθɔɔ‘* *wookíícín‘ínɔɔ‘óónh.*
 ʔi-kɔʔúnɔθɔɔɔʔ wookíí-cihʔíí-niʔínɔɔʔóó-nih
 3S-mower IC.DUBT-NEG-go.well(II)-04S
 ‘His mowing machine [evidently] broke down.’ (T 1.272)

One can also use the prefix *nóɔθééi-* or the particle *nóɔθééih* meaning ‘maybe’ or ‘possibly’

(AR *nooxéihi*). Again, affirmative inflections are used, along with initial change. Taylor also includes many glosses of ‘must be’ with examples of this form, but in general, the form suggests a 50/50 or less change that the statement is correct – i.e. it is less certain than *wókii-*.

- 31) *nóóθééin* ‘*ucáátaak*^a.
nóóθééi-nóʔu-cáátaa-kiʔ
 maybe-arrive.to-visit(AI)-3S
 ‘Maybe she was out visiting.’ (T 1.275)

The particle *nóouh* used with subjunctive inflections is used to express the idea that something is highly unlikely. See 5.5.3.3

One can also use the construction *wónó* ‘plus dubitative /ʔóʔ=/ plus iterative inflections. This construction means ‘I wonder...’ and indicates less than 50/50 certainty about a statement – in fact, it usually indicates that the speaker does not know or understand, and the construction is a way of forming a polite, indirect question in many cases. It is the weakest of the four constructions discussed so far. The same construction also occurs without the dubitative marker, but with non-affirmative inflections rather than iterative, as in example 32. The particle can either precede or follow the verb:

- 32) *wónó* ‘ *ín* ‘ *ʔt*^a *thúuckóóhónóó* ‘*ʔʔ* ‘.
wónóʔ *ʔíniʔ* *ʔótaʔ* *təhúuci-kóóhónóóʔóʔ*
 I.wonder that dog why-hair.rising(II)
 ‘I wonder why that dog is raising his hackles.’ (T 1.274)

- 33) *óu* ‘*uhtihnóóch* *wónó* ‘.
*ʔóʔ=ʔihtahi-nóócih*² *wónóʔ*
 DUBIT=uncertain.type(AI)-3P.ITER I.wonder
 ‘What’s wrong with them, I wonder!’ (T 1.274)

The same construction can also occur only with the dubitative marker and iterative inflections, without any particle (see 5.5.2.2), and can also occur with a rarer alternative dubitative marker *čih-* and iterative inflections (see 5.5.2.2).³

In addition, the subjunctive can be used to indicate ‘must,’ in the sense of a deduction or assumption. See 5.5.3.5. The subjunctive is also used to make hypothetical ‘if...’ statements. See 5.5.3.2. See also section 7.4 for additional more specific epistemic prefixes.

8.6.3 Deontic Modality

Deontic modality does not refer to a speaker’s own state of mind or uncertainty about an event, but rather to some external force or uncertainty that will determine the reality of the event. Typically the reference is to the fact that something ‘could’ be done or ‘should be done’ or ‘must be done’ or ‘might’ potentially happen, depending on someone else’s decision or some chance

² Taylor records this verb as *ʔihtáhi-*, but it occurs as *híitélihi-* in AR, and Sifton also seems to record *ʔíitáhi-*.

³ AR has the same construction, with the participle *wono’óh* and the dubitative proclitic *he’=* along with a rarer dubitative proclitic *cih=*.

event. For the most part, non-affirmative inflections are used to express this idea, along with various prefixes or particles. See 5.3.5 for examples and details. These include:⁴

- 1) The prefix *-óouni-* or particle *‘óounííh* with non-affirmative inflections indicates ‘must, have to’ or ‘should, ought to.’
- 2) The prefix *‘aky-* or particle *‘akyééih* along with non-affirmative inflections forms a future imperative, often glossed ‘you must...’ (see 5.4.5).
- 3) The prefix *‘ɔtoni-* used with non-affirmative inflections indicates a future command or suggestion or desire, less strongly than the preceding. See 5.4.5.
- 4) The prefixes *-óouh-* and (*‘ɔ*)*tóóúh(u’-* with non-affirmative inflections are used to form hortatives or suggestive imperatives of the form ‘let’s...’ or ‘why don’t we...’ and presume that the addressee’s permission is required.
- 5) The prefix *-óouh-* with non-affirmative inflections indicates ‘I wish that...’
- 6) The proclitic *kɔn* ‘= plus the prefix *-óouh-* with non-affirmative inflections indicates ‘I hope that...’
- 7) The particle *nóouh* with subjunctive inflections indicates speaker dispreference for some event (and/or that the event is unlikely to happen). See 5.5.3.3.
- 8) The prefix *-áábah-* with non-affirmative inflections expresses the idea of ‘possibly’ or ‘might’ or ‘potentially’ (and overlaps with epistemic uses as well).
- 9) The past tense and future tense prefixes can be combined to produce a meaning of ‘was going to but didn’t’ or ‘intended to but didn’t.’ This occurs as *nih ‘ɔtoni-* or with past imperfective, *nih ‘ɔtoni-*:

- 34) *nih ‘óɔtonííhóónh* *‘ɔhtɔθóh ‘ɔ, ‘ɔɔh nih ‘ókw[ɔ]síccóónh.*
nih-ʔii-ótoní-ʔihóó-nih *ʔóhtɔθóhʔ ʔóɔh nih-ʔókwɔsíccacóó-nih*
 PST-IMPERF-FUT-go(AI)-1P Havre but PST-change.mind(AI)-1P
 ‘We were going to go to Havre but we changed our minds.’ (T 2.149)

8.6.3.1 Commitments, Purposive Statements. There is an important distinction between a simple future tense statement such as ‘it will rain tomorrow’ and a statement which makes a *commitment* to a future action, such as ‘I will help you tomorrow.’ The first sentence is merely a prediction about the future, over which the speaker has no actual control. The second sentence involves an assurance from the speaker that they will make the action happen in the future. In AA however, there is normally no distinction between the two types of statements: both simply use the future tense marker */ʔɔtoni-/*.

A related concept is the idea that one did something on purpose or intentionally, and not just by accident. This is expressed in AA using either *‘aaanáh* or *‘inináá-/‘ininééih*. Normally the particle precedes the verb, but it can also follow it, as in example 35:

- 34) *nih ‘áackúutɔɔk⁴* *‘aaanáh.*
nih-ʔáacikú.ut-ɔɔkiʔ ʔaaanáh
 PST-shove(TA)-3S/4 on.purpose
 ‘He pushed him on purpose.’ (T 1.440)

⁴ The AR equivalent for (1) is *heebéh-*, and for (5) *heti-*. There are no equivalents for the other forms.

- 35) *nih 'ininóónínóó 'óókⁱ.*
 nih-ʔinináá-ʔónínóóʔóó-kiʔ
 PST-on.purpose-fall.down(AI)-3S
 'He fell down on purpose.' (T 1.440)

No distinction in meaning is apparent between these two forms. A third form is the prefix 'anáácóowu-, which means 'genuinely, seriously, sincerely' but can have a secondary meaning of 'on purpose, intentionally.'⁵ See also the discussion of 'anaa- and 'anoouh in the following section.

Conversely, one can also indicate specifically that something was done unintentionally:

- 36) *nih 'ihóówuucóókóouh^u.*
 nih-ʔihóówuuci-ʔóókó.uhu-ʔ
 PST-unintentional-step.on(AI)-1P
 'We stepped on it by accident.' (T 2.404)

This is the closest one comes in AA to the English idea of 'I'm sorry.' If one bumps into someone, the idea of being sorry would be expressed by 'I bumped into you unintentionally.'

8.6.3.2 Ability statements. The idea that one 'can' or is able to do something is expressed by the prefix *niini* '-. In contrast, to indicate specifically that one is 'allowed' to do something or has permission, the verb /naniitaw-/ is used. This can also be used as a prefix:

- | | | |
|-----|---|----------------------|
| 36) | <i>nééich 'inénitibííh</i> | <i>táatéΘonáh.</i> |
| | neeí-cihʔi-nániitabííh | tâa-táΘoníh-ah |
| | 1S.IMPERF-NEG-permit.ADV | REDUP-mistreat(TA)-3 |
| | 'I don't let him mistreat me.' (T 1.20) | |

There is also a prefix 'anaa- or particle 'anoouh (AR *henei*-) which is used to indicate potential or conditional ability, as in 'I could do it, if...' or 'I would do it, except for the fact that...' or 'I might be able to do it' (Sifton 97-99). It is used with affirmative verb inflections.

- | | | | |
|-----|---|-----------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 37) | <i>'anoouh</i> | <i>biinetin^o</i> | <i>č'óóóó^h....</i> |
| | ʔano.ouh | biin-atanoʔ | čóʔóóóó-nóh.... |
| | IC.POTENT.ADV | give(TA)-1S/2S | bread-PL |
| | 'I would give you bread...' (Sifton 98) | | |

- 38) *'anaaniisčóóóó'....*
 ʔanaa-niisičóóóó-óóóóʔ....
 IC.POTENT-do(AI)-1S
 'I might do it...' (Sifton 98)

- | | | | |
|-----|-------------------------|--------------------------------------|---|
| 39) | <i>óóóó^o</i> | <i>[ʔa]naanoʔ'uθaačⁱ,</i> | <i>th 'iiiΘóóóóóócheinnehk^o.</i> |
|-----|-------------------------|--------------------------------------|---|

⁵ The AR equivalent of the first particle is *héénoo*. There is no equivalent for the second form. For the third prefix, the AR is *hee3óowu-*.

wɔwɔʔ ʔanaa-nɔʔuθaa-čiʔ tahʔii-ʔiiθɔɔhðɔcih-e.inɔnahkɔʔ
 already IC.POTENT-arrive(AI)-3S want.to-teach/show(TA)-3/2S.SUBJ
 ‘He would have come already, if he wished to teach you.’ (Sifton 98)

The same form can be used without initial change, and with non-affirmative inflections, in which case it takes on a negative meaning (‘could have, but did not’), though there is no explicit negative prefix used:

40) ʔoʔouh biineiʔaabh čʔɔɔɔn^h.
 ʔɔ-ʔo.ouh biin-e.iʔaabah čɔʔɔɔɔ-nɔh
 2S-POTENT give(TA)-2P/1P bread-PL
 ‘You [all] would not give us bread.’ (Sifton 98)

41) ʔaʔabiineiʔaaʔ wɔtɔnhɔɔn^h.
 ʔa-ʔaa-biin-e.iʔa.aʔ wɔtɔnhɔɔ-nɔh
 2S-POTENT-give(TA)-1 money-PL
 ‘You would not give me/us money.’ (Sifton 98)

There is also a prefix used only with questions, to ask ‘may I...’ in relation to first person, and ‘are you willing to...’ or ‘is s/he willing to...’ for second and third persons. As would be expected, non-affirmative inflections are used with this form:

42) wɔnɔɔciih (sp?) niisčɔɔʔ
 ??? niisičɔɔʔ
 ??? do(AI)
 ‘May I do it?’ (Sifton 99)

43) wɔɔciih (sp?) thʔiinaacθaan^h?
 ??? tahʔii-naaciθaa-nɔh
 ??? want.to-go.home(AI)-PL
 ‘would they like to go home?’ (Sifton 99)

The exact analysis of this form is uncertain, and it has no obvious AR equivalent. Sifton records it as {wánàzè} for the first person and {wáazè} for second and third persons. This suggests that the analysis may be /{wá}=nɔ-ciʔiih/, INTERR(?)-1S-NEG and /{wá}=ʔɔ-ciʔiih/, INTERR(?)-2S/3S-NEG. The form {wá} may simply represent wɔwɔʔ ‘now.’ Thus the first example would be literally ‘now I not do it?’ and the second one would be ‘now they not want to go home?’

Paradigms: Revitalization A'aniih

The following lists provide all the inflected forms for a representative sample of AA verbs, intended to illustrate all the different basic verb stem types of inflectional patterns. The forms are the *prescribed* forms, as suggested by AA language teachers, for a revitalized AA language. As such they are combination of both classical and twentieth-century AA forms, and are not intended to represent any one stage of the historical language. For this reason, linguists should *not* cite forms in these tables as examples of any particular stage of AA. Rather, linguists should rely on the material in chapters five and sixteen for this purpose.

The forms here are based where possible on actual documented AA (from either Kroeber, Sifton or Taylor), but full paradigms were never documented in the past. Thus many slots in the tables below had to be filled in based on cross-checking with other similar verbs, or based on induction, using the overall logic of the documented AA system as well as comparative AR information.

Note: although the forms are not italicized below, all are surface pronunciation forms, except the base verb stem itself (which is given in slanted brackets). 2P has been translated as 'you all' and 12 has been translated as 'we all.' OBV has been translated as 'the other one.'

VII /níhɔɔyɔ́ɔ́-/ 'yellow'

Affirmative, Present (with initial change, since a state is described)

0S	níhɔɔyɔ́ɔ́	it is yellow
04S	níhɔɔyɔ́ɔ́nh	it (other one) is yellow
0P	níhɔɔyɔ́ɔ́ouh	they are yellow
04P	níhɔɔyɔ́ɔ́niih	they (other ones) are yellow

Affirmative, Past

0S	nihníhɔɔyɔ́ɔ́	it was yellow
04S	nihníhɔɔyɔ́ɔ́nh	it (other one) was yellow
0P	nihníhɔɔyɔ́ɔ́ouh	they were yellow
04P	nihníhɔɔyɔ́ɔ́niih	they (other ones) were yellow

Affirmative, Future

0S	‘ɔ́ɔ́tɔ́nníhɔɔyɔ́ɔ́	it will be yellow
04S	‘ɔ́ɔ́tɔ́nníhɔɔyɔ́ɔ́nh	it (other one) will be yellow
0P	‘ɔ́ɔ́tɔ́nníhɔɔyɔ́ɔ́ouh	they will be yellow
04P	‘ɔ́ɔ́tɔ́nníhɔɔyɔ́ɔ́niih	they (other ones) will be yellow

Negative, Present

0S	ch'íníhɔɔyɔ́ɔ́	it is not yellow
04S	ch'íníhɔɔyɔ́ɔ́nh	it (other one) is not yellow

0P	ch'iníhəyáón ^h	they are not yellow
04P	ch'iníhəyáónính	they (other ones) are not yellow

Negative, Past

0S	'ihch'iníhəyáá'	it was not yellow
04S	'ihch'iníhəyáá' ⁱ	it (other one) was not yellow
0P	'ihch'iníhəyááón ^h	they were not yellow
04P	'ihch'iníhəyááónính	they (other ones) were not yellow

Negative, Future

0S	'ətəunch'iníhəyáá'	it will not be yellow
04S	'ətəunch'iníhəyáá' ⁱ	it (other one) will not be yellow
0P	'ətəunch'iníhəyááón ^h	they will not be yellow
04P	'ətəunch'iníhəyááónính	they (other ones) will not be yellow

Interrogative, Present

0S	'əóníhəyáá'	is it yellow?
04S	'əóníhəyáá' ⁱ	is it (other one) yellow?
0P	'əóníhəyááón ^h	are they yellow?
04P	'əóníhəyááónính	are they (other ones) yellow?
0S	'əəch'iníhəyáá'	is it not yellow? etc.

Interrogative, Past

0S	'əə'uhníhəyáá'	was it yellow?
04S	'əə'uhníhəyáá' ⁱ	was it (other one) yellow?
0P	'əə'uhníhəyááón ^h	were they yellow?
04P	'əə'uhníhəyááónính	were they (other ones) yellow?
0S	'əə'uhch'iníhəyáá'	was it not yellow? etc.

Interrogative, Future

0S	'əə'ətənníhəyáá'	will it be yellow?
04S	'əə'ətənníhəyáá' ⁱ	will it (other one) be yellow?
0P	'əə'ətənníhəyááón ^h	will they be yellow?
04P	'əə'ətənníhəyááónính	will they (other ones) be yellow?
0S	'əə'ətəunch'iníhəyáá'	will it not be yellow? etc.

VII /k'yaniθa-/ 'fall'

Other verbs of this pattern include: /ʔíta-/ 'pretty'; all verbs ending in /-ó.uta-/ referring to 'hanging'; all verbs ending in /-ôuta-/ referring to 'floating'; all verbs ending in /-óta-/ referring to 'cold, freezing'; all verbs ending in /-í-θa-/ referring to 'lying, positioned'; all verbs of the form /number.root + -a-/ (nííθa- 'be two,' nâaθa- 'be three', etc.);

Affirmative, Present (initial change is used, since a resultant state is described)

0S	kyaaniΘ ^a	it has fallen
04S	kyáaniΘéninh	it (other one) has fallen
0P	kyáaniΘé [‘]	they have fallen
04P	kyáaniΘénníih	they (other ones) have fallen

Affirmative, Present (with nii- marker to indicate ongoing action)

0S	níikiniΘ ^a	it is falling
04S	níikiniΘéninh	it (other one) is falling
0P	niikéniΘé [‘]	they are falling
04P	níikiniΘénníih	they (other ones) are falling

Note stress on initial níí- as given here appears to be optional.

Endings are the same for the other tenses of the affirmative, as are the prefixes seen with níhooγoo-.

Non-affirmative, Past

0S	‘ihch‘íkiníΘ ^a	it didn‘t fall
04S	‘ihch‘íkiníΘin ⁱ	it (other one) didn‘t fall
0P	‘ihch‘íkiníΘin ^{oh}	they didn‘t fall
04P	‘ihch‘íkiníΘinính	they (other ones) didn‘t fall

Endings are the same for the other tenses of the non-affirmative, as well as for the interrogative.

VAI /k^yabiθaa-/ ‘walk, walk by, walk past’

Affirmative, Present (nii- prefix is used since action is ongoing)

1S	niikibiθaanoo [‘]	I am walking
2S	niikibiθaan ^{’o}	you are walking
3S	niikibiθaak ^{’i}	s/he is walking
4S	niikibiθaaníc ^{’i}	s/he (other one) is walking
1P	niikébiθáánh	we are walking
12	niikébiθáánín ^{’i}	we all are walking
2P	niikébiθáánaah	you all are walking
3P	niikébiθáách	they are walking
4P	niikibiθaaních	they (other ones) are walking

Affirmative, Past

1S	nihkibiθaanoo [‘]	I walked
2S	nihkibiθaan ^{’o}	you walked
3S	nihkibiθaak ^{’i}	s/he walked
4S	nihkibiθaaníc ^{’i}	s/he (other one) walked
1P	nihkébiθáánh	we walked
12	nihkébiθáánín ^{’i}	we all walked

2P	nihkébiθáánaah	you all walked
3P	nihkébiθáách	they walked
4P	nihkibíθaaních	they (other ones) walked

Affirmative, Future

1S	‘óótónkibíθaanoo’	I will walk
2S	‘óótónkibíθaan’ ^o	you will walk
3S	‘óótónkibíθaak’ ⁱ	s/he will walk
4S	‘óótónkibíθaaníc’ ⁱ	s/he (other one) will walk
1P	‘óótónkébiθááanh	we will walk
12	‘óótónkébiθáánín’ ⁱ	we all will walk
2P	‘óótónkébiθáánaah	you all will walk
3P	‘óótónkébiθáách	they will walk
4P	‘óótónkibíθaaních	they (other ones) will walk

Negative, Present

1S	neeich’ikibíθaa’	I am not walking, I do not walk
2S	‘eeich’ikibíθaa’	you are not walking, you do not walk etc.
3S	ch’ikibíθaa’	s/he is not walking
4S	ch’ikibíθaan’ ⁱ	s/he (other one) is not walking
1P	neeich’ikébiθááabh	we are not walking
12	‘eeich’ikibíθaanoo’	we all are not walking
2P	‘eeich’ikébiθááabh	you all are not walking
3P	ch’ikibíθaan’ ^h	they are not walking
4P	ch’ikibíθaanính	they (other ones) are not walking

Negative, Past

1S	neeihch’ikibíθaa’	I did not walk
2S	‘eeihch’ikibíθaa’	you did not walk
3S	‘ihch’ikibíθaa’	s/he did not walk
4S	‘ihch’ikibíθaan’ ⁱ	s/he (other one) did not walk
1P	neeihch’ikébiθááabh	we did not walk
12	‘eeihch’ikibíθaanoo’	we all did not walk
2P	‘eeihch’ikébiθááabh	you all did not walk
3P	‘ihch’ikibíθaan’ ^h	they did not walk
4P	‘ihch’ikibíθaanính	they (other ones) did not walk

Negative, Future

1S	nootónch’ikibíθaa’	I will not walk
2S	‘ootónch’ikibíθaa’	you will not walk
3S	‘otónch’ikibíθaa’	s/he will not walk
4S	‘otónch’ikibíθaan’ ⁱ	s/he (other one) will not walk
1P	nootónch’ikébiθááabh	we will not walk

2S	kibíθaach	you walk!
2P	kibíθaah	you all walk!

Imperative, Negative

2S	caabhkibíθaach	don't you walk!
2P	caabhkibíθaah	don't you(all walk!

Imperative, Future

2S	'ackibíθaa'	you walk (later)!
2P	'ackibiθáábh	you all walk (later)!

Imperative, Future, Negative

2S	'acich'íkibíθaa'	don't you walk (later)!
2P	'acich'íkibiθáábh	don't you all walk (later)!

Imperative, Indirect

2S	kibiθááh(aa)	you/you all have him/her walk!
2P	kibiθaanóóh(aa)	you/you all have them walk!

Dependent Participle

kébiθáak' ⁱ	act of walking, one's reason for walking, way of walking
nakébiθáak' ⁱ	my act of walking, reason for walking, way of walking, etc.

VAI /k^yanisína-/ 'fall' --- see: hit, down, flat, hurt

Other verbs of this pattern: all verbs ending in /-sína-/ related to 'lying, positioned'; all verbs ending in /-akína-/ related to 'mouth, lips, speaking'; all verbs ending in /-ísónóna-/ related to 'neck'; all verbs ending in /-otó.ooyóna-/ related to 'back, spine'; all verbs ending in /-ôucína-/ related to 'floating'; all verbs ending in /-ó.ucína-/ related to 'hanging'; all verbs ending in /-ocína-/ related to 'cold, frozen'; all verbs ending in /-óhcó?óna-/ related to 'chin, jaw.'

Affirmative, Present (Initial Change used since describes a resultant state)

1S	kyaansínnoo'	I have fallen
2S	kyaansínin' ^o	you have fallen
3S	kyaanis' ⁱ	s/he has fallen
4S	kyaanisínnic' ⁱ	s/he (other one) has fallen
1P	kyaansinénh	we have fallen
12	kyaanisínnín' ⁱ	we all have fallen
2P	kyaansinénaah	you all have fallen
3P	kyaansí'	they have fallen
4P	kyaanisínních	they (other ones) have fallen

Non-Affirmative, Present

1S	neeich'íkínsín ^a	I have not fallen/did not fall
2S	'eeich'íkínsín ^a	you have not fallen/did not fall, etc.
3S	ch'íkinís ⁱ	s/he has not fallen
4S	ch'íkínsínín ⁱ	s/he (other one) has not fallen
1P	neeich'íkinísínébh	we have not fallen
12	'eeich'íkinísínnoó ^o	we all have not fallen
2P	'eeich'íkinísínébh	you all have not fallen
3P	ch'íkinísín ^{oh}	they have not fallen
4P	ch'íkinísínín ^{oh}	they (other ones) have not fallen

Dependent Participle: kínsínáakⁱ

VAI /bâaΘé.ita-/ 'be big'

Other verbs of this pattern: /náka-/ 'die'; /ʔihé.ita-/ 'heavy'; /nohʔohʔé.ita-/ 'light'; /bána-/ 'drink'; /ʔi(h)yôota-/ 'dead, gone, disappeared'; /cíiba-/ 'sweat ceremonially'; all verbs ending in /-oʔóóba-/ referring to 'sleep.'

(Note: verbs which follow this pattern in AR, and may have formerly followed this pattern in AA (and which may be seen in this form in some older sources perhaps) include /nowóna-/ 'drowsy'; /níina-/ 'suckle'; /bíici-/ 'eat s.t. specific'; /-oʔóóba-/ 'swallow, consume'; and verbs ending in /-oʔóosi-/ referring to 'waking.')

Affirmative, Present (with initial change, since involves a state)

1S	bináaΘéitinó ^o	I am big
2S	bináaΘéitin ^o	You are big
3S	bináaΘéith	S/he is big
4S	bináaΘéitiníc ⁱ	S/he (other one) is big
1P	bináaΘéiténh	We are big
12	bináaΘéitinín ⁱ	We all are big
2P	bináaΘéiténaah	You all are big
3P	bináaΘéitéeih	They are big
4P	bináaΘéitiních	They (other ones) are big

Non-Affirmative, Present

1S	neeich'ibáaΘéit ^a	I am not big
2S	'eeich'ibáaΘéit ^a	You are not big
3S	ch'ibáaΘéit ^a	S/he is not big
4S	ch'ibáaΘéitin ⁱ	S/he (other one) is not big
1P	neeich'ibáaΘéitébh	We are not big
12	'eeich'ibáaΘéitinó ^o	We all are not big
2P	'eeich'ibáaΘéitébh	You all are not big
3P	ch'ibáaΘéitin ^{oh}	They are not big
4P	ch'ibáaΘéitinín ^{oh}	They (other ones) are not big

Dependent Participle: báaΘéitáak⁴ⁱ

VTI /ʔitán-/ ‘get or take s.t.’

Affirmative, Present (with nii- since action is ongoing)

1S	niiiténɔwɔɔ’	I am getting/taking it
2S	niiiténɔw’ɔ	you are getting/taking it
3S	niiitén’ɔ	s/he is getting/taking it X
4S	niiiténɔwuníc ⁱ	s/he (other one) is getting/taking it
1P	niiiténɔwúnh	we are getting/taking it
12	niiiténɔwunín ⁱ	we all are getting/taking it
2P	nííitinɔwúnaah	you all are getting/taking it
3P	nííitinó’	they are getting/taking it
4P	niiiténɔwuních	they (other ones) are getting/taking it

Affirmative, Past

1S	nih’iténɔwɔɔ’	I got/took it
2S	nih’iténɔw’ɔ	you got/took it X
3S	nih’itén’ɔ	s/he got/took it X
4S	nih’iténɔwuníc ⁱ	s/he (other one) got/took it
1P	nih’iténɔwúnh	we got/took it
12	nih’iténɔwunín ⁱ	we all got/took it
2P	nih’ítinɔwúnaah	you all got/took it
3P	nih’ítinó’	they got/took it
4P	nih’iténɔwuních	they (other ones) got/took it

Affirmative, Future

1S	‘ɔɔtɔniiiténɔwɔɔ’	I will get/take it
2S	‘ɔɔtɔniiiténɔw’ɔ	you will get/take it
3S	‘ɔɔtɔniiitén’ɔ	s/he will get/take it
4S	‘ɔɔtɔniiiténɔwuníc ⁱ	s/he (other one) will get/take it
1P	‘ɔɔtɔniiiténɔwúnh	we will get/take it
12	‘ɔɔtɔniiiténɔwunín ⁱ	we all will get/take it
2P	‘ɔɔtɔniiíitinɔwúnaah	you all will get/take it
3P	‘ɔɔtɔniiíitinó’	they will get/take it
4P	‘ɔɔtɔniiiténɔwuních	they (other ones) will get/take it

Negative, Present

1S	neeich’iiténaa’	I am not getting/taking it
2S	‘eeich’iiténaa’	you are not getting/taking it
3S	ch’iiténaa’	s/he is not getting/taking it
4S	ch’iiténɔwun ⁱ	s/he (other one) is not getting/taking it
1P	neeich’ííitinaábh	we are not getting/taking it

12	‘eeich’iiténɔwɔɔ’	we all are not getting/taking it
2P	‘eeich’íítináábh	you all are not getting/taking it
3P	ch’iiténɔwuuh	they are not getting/taking it
4P	ch’iiténɔwunính	they (other ones) are not getting/taking it

Negative, Past

1S	neeihch’iiténaa’	I did not get/take it
2S	‘eeihch’iiténaa’	you did not get/take it
3S	‘ihch’iiténaa’	s/he did not get/take it
4S	‘ihch’iiténɔwun’ ⁱ	s/he (other one) did not get/take it
1P	neeihch’íítináábh	we did not get/take it
12	‘eeihch’iiténɔwɔɔ’	we all did not get/take it
2P	‘eeihch’íítináábh	you all did not get/take it
3P	‘ihch’iiténɔwuuh	they did not get/take it
4P	‘ihch’iiténɔwunính	they (other ones) did not get/take it

Negative, Future

1S	nɔɔtɔnch’iiténaa’	I will not get/take it
2S	‘ɔɔtɔnch’iiténaa’	you will not get/take it
3S	‘ɔtɔnch’iiténaa’	s/he will not get/take it
4S	‘ɔtɔnch’iiténɔwun’ ⁱ	s/he (other one) will not get/take it
1P	nɔɔtɔnch’íítináábh	we will not get/take it
12	‘ɔɔtɔnch’iiténɔwɔɔ’	we all will not get/take it
2P	‘ɔɔtɔnch’íítináábh	you all will not get/take it
3P	‘ɔtɔnch’iiténɔwuuh	they will not get/take it
4P	‘ɔtɔnch’iiténɔwunính	they (other ones) will not get/take it

Interrogative, Present

1S	‘ɔɔneeiténaa’	am I getting/taking it?
2S	‘ɔɔ’eeiténaa’	are you getting/taking it?
3S	‘oo’uténaa’	is s/he getting/taking it?
4S	‘oo’utéɔwun’ ⁱ	is s/he (other one) getting/taking it?
1P	‘ɔɔnééítináábh	are we getting/taking it?
12	‘ɔɔ’eeiténɔwɔɔ’	are we all getting/taking it?
2P	‘ɔɔ’ééítináábh	are you all getting/taking it?
3P	‘oo’utéɔwuuh	are they getting/taking it?
4P	‘oo’utéɔwunính	are they (other ones) getting/taking it?
1S	‘ɔɔneeeich’iiténaa’	am I not getting/taking it? etc.

Interrogative, Past

1S	‘ɔɔneeeih’iténaa’	did I get/take it?
2S	‘ɔɔ’eeih’iténaa’	did you get/take it?

3S	‘oo’uh’iténaa’	did s/he get/take it?
4S	‘oo’uh’iténowun’ ⁱ	did s/he (other one) get/take it?
1P	‘woneeh’ítináabh	did we get/take it?
12	‘w’eeih’iténoww’	did we all get/take it?
2P	‘w’eeih’ítináabh	did you all get/take it?
3P	‘oo’uh’iténowuuh	did they get/take it?
4P	‘oo’uh’iténowunính	did they (other ones) get/take it?
1S	‘woneehch’íiténáa’	did I not get/take it? etc.

Interrogative, Future

1S	‘wownwóníítínaa’	will I get/take it?
2S	‘w’wóníítínaa’	will you get/take it? X
3S	‘w’wóníítínaa’	will s/he get/take it? X
4S	‘w’wóníiténowun’ ⁱ	will s/he (other one) get/take it?
1P	‘wownwóníítináabh	will we (excl) get/take it?
12	‘w’wóníiténoww’	will we (incl) get/take it?
2P	‘w’wóníítináabh	will you (all) get/take it?
3P	‘w’wóníiténowuuh	will they get/take it?
4P	‘w’wóníiténowunính	will they (other ones) get/take it?
1S	‘wownwónch’íiténáa’	will I not get/take it? etc.

Imperative

2S	‘ítinóh	you get/take it!
2P	‘ítinówh	you all get/take it!

Imperative, Negative

2S	chaabh’ítinóh	don’t you get/take it!
2P	chaabh’ítinówh	don’t you all get/take it!

Imperative, Future

2S	‘akééiténáa’	you get/take it (later)!
2P	‘akééítináabh	you all get/take it (later)!

Imperative, Future, Negative

2S	‘akich’íiténáa’	don’t you get/take it (later)!
2P	‘akich’íítináabh	don’t you(all) get/take it (later)!

Indirect Imperative

2S	‘ítinéh(aa’)	you/you all have him get/take it!
2P	‘ítinééh(aa’)	you/you all have them get/take it!

Dependent Participle

‘ítiyóó’ thing taken, gotten
 nééítiyóó’ my thing taken, gotten, etc.

VTA /nóóhow-/ ‘see s.o.’

Affirmative, Present Tense (nii- used since action is ongoing)

1S/2S	niinóóhóbáán ^{‘o}	I see you
1P/2S	niinóóhóbáán ^{’o}	We see you
1S/2P	niinóóhóbáánaah	I see you all
1P/2P	niinóóhóbáánaah	We see you all
2S/1S	niinóóhóbéi’aan ^{‘o}	You see me
2S/1P	niinóóhóbéi’aan ^{’o}	You see us
2P/1S	niinóóhóbéi’ánaah	You all see me
2P/1P	niinóóhóbéi’ánaah	You all see us
1S/3S	niinóóhóbáak ^{‘i}	I see him/her
1S/3P	niinóóhóbáach	I see them
2S/3S	niinóóhówók ^{’i}	You see him/her
2S/3P	niinóóhówóch	You see them
3S/4	niinóóhówók ^{’i}	S/he sees him/her/them (other ones)
4S/4	niinóóhówóóníc ^{’i}	S/he (other one) sees him/her/them (other ones)
1P/3S	niinóóhóbáak ^{’i}	We see him/her
1P/3P	niinóóhóbáach	We see them
12/3S	niinóóhówóónín ^{‘i}	We all see him/her
12/3P	niinóóhówóónín ^{’i}	We all see them
2P/3S	niinóóhówóónaah	You all see him/her
2P/3P	niinóóhówóónaah	You all see them
3P/4	niinóóhówóóch	They see him/her/them (other ones)
4P/4	niinóóhówóóních	They (other ones) see him/her/them (other ones)
3S/1S	niinóóhóbéi’áak ^{’i}	S/he sees me
3S/1P	niinóóhóbéi’áak ^{’i}	S/he sees us
3S/1/2	niinóóhóbéinín ^{’i}	S/he sees us all
3S/2S	niinóóhóbéin ^{’o}	S/he sees you
3S/2P	niinóóhóbéinaah	S/he sees you all
4S/3S	niinóóhóbéik ^{’i}	S/he (other one) sees him/her
4S/3P	niinóóhóbéich	S/he (other one) sees them
4S/4S	niinóóhóbéiníc ^{’i}	S/he (other one) sees him/her (other one)
4S/4P	niinóóhóbéiních	S/he (other one) sees them (other ones)
3P/1S	niinóóhóbéi’áach	They see me
3P/1P	niinóóhóbéi’áach	They see us
3P/1/2	niinóóhóbéinín ^{’i}	They see us all
3P/2S	niinóóhóbéin ^{’o}	They see you

3P/2P	niinóóhóbéinaah	They see you all
4P/3S	niinóóhóbéik ^{'i}	They (other ones) see him/her
4P/3P	niinóóhóbéich	They (other ones) see them
4P/4S	niinóóhóbéinic ^{'i}	They (other ones) see him/her (other one)
4P/4P	niinóóhóbéiních	They (other ones) see them (other ones)

Non-Affirmative, Present Tense

1S/2S	'eeich'inóóhóbbáa'	I don't see you
1P/2S	'eeich'inóóhóbbáa'	We don't see you
1S/2P	'eeich'inóóhóbbáabh	I don't see you all
1P/2P	'eeich'inóóhóbbáabh	We don't see you all
2S/1S	'eeich'inóóhóbbéi'aa'	You don't see me
2S/1P	'eeich'inóóhóbbéi'aa'	You don't see us
2P/1S	'eeich'inóóhóbbéi'áabh	You all don't see me
2P/1P	'eeich'inóóhóbbéi'áabh	You all don't see us
1S/3S	ch'inóóhóbbáa'	I don't see him/her
1S/3P	ch'inóóhóbbáan ^{oh}	I don't see them
2S/3S	'eeich'inóóhówwó'	You don't see him/her
2S/3P	'eeich'inóóhówwóon ^{oh}	You don't see them
3S/4	ch'inóóhóbaa'	S/he doesn't see him/her/them (other ones)
4S/4	ch'inóóhóbaan ^{'i}	S/he (other one) doesn't see him/her/them (other ones)
1P/3S	ch'inóóhóbbáa'	We don't see him/her
1P/3P	ch'inóóhóbbáan ^{oh}	We don't see them
12/3	'eeich'inóóhówwóonó'	We all don't see him/her/them
2P/3	'eeich'inóóhówwóóbh	You all don't see him/her/them
3P/4	ch'inóóhóbaan ^{oh}	They don't see him/her/them (other ones)
4P/4	ch'inóóhóbaanính	They (other ones) don't see him/her/them (other ones)
3S/1S	ch'inóóhóbbéi'aa'	S/he doesn't see me
3P/1S	ch'inóóhóbbéi'aan ^{oh}	They don't see me
3/2S	'eeich'inóóhóbbh	S/he/they don't see you
4/3S	ch'inóóhóbbh	S/he/they (other ones) don't see him/her
4/4S	ch'inóóhóbbéin ^{'i}	S/he/they (other ones) don't see him/her (other one)
3S/1P	ch'inóóhóbbéi'aa'	S/he doesn't see us
3P/1P	ch'inóóhóbbéi'aan ^{oh}	They don't see us
3/12	'eeich'inóóhóbbéinó'	S/he/they don't see us all
3/2P	'eeich'inóóhóbbéibh	S/he/they doesn't see you all
4/3P	ch'inóóhóbbé(e)ih	S/he/they (other ones) don't see them
4/4P	ch'inóóhóbbéinính	S/he/they (other ones) don't see them (other ones)

Direct Imperative

2S/1S	nóóhobéi‘aach	You see me!
2P/1S	nóóhobéi‘aah	You all see me!
2S/1P	nóóhobéi‘aach	You see us!
2P/1P	nóóhobéi‘aah	You all see us!
2S/3	nóóhowúnh	You see him/her/them!
2P/3	nóóhóbh	You all see him/her/them!

Indirect Imperative

2S/3S	nóóhówóóh(aa’)	Have him see him/her/them
2S/3P	nóóhówóóhóh(aa’)	Have them see him/her/them

XXX

Future Imperative

2S/1S	‘aknóóhobéi‘aa‘	You must see me later!
2P/1S	‘aknóóhobéi‘áábh	You all must see me later!
2S/1P	‘aknóóhobéi‘aa’	You must see us later!
2P/1P	‘aknóóhobéi‘áábh	You all must see us later!
2S/3S	‘aknóóhówóóh’	You must see him/her later!
2S/3P	‘aknóóhówóóh ^{oh}	You must see them later!
2P/3	‘aknóóhówóóbh	You all must see him/her/them later!