# Preface and Acknowledgments

This first dictionary of the Alabama Indian language represents the collaborative efforts of a number of people. The originator of the project was Cora Sylestine, an educator who recognized nearly fifty years ago that the unwritten language of her people might be lost over the generations as fewer and fewer young people spoke it. She began the dictionary project on her own writing down words on file cards and many years later enlisted the help of professional linguists. Among her activities in church and service organizations she continued her work on the dictionary, guiding and inspiring her linguist colleagues until 1991. A few months before this dictionary was ready for the printer, Cora was killed in an automobile accident on the highway in front of her home on the Alabama-Coushatta Reservation. We miss her lively spirit and kind humor very much. This dictionary is her monument. Royalties from the sale of this book go to a Cora Sylestine Scholarship Fund for Alabama-Coushatta students administered by the Indian Presbyterian Church on the Alabama-Coushatta Reservation.

In 1980 Heather Hardy, a linguist at the University of North Texas interested in studying the grammar of the Alabama language, read of Sylestine's dictionary project in a Houston newspaper. She offered her assistance, and Sylestine and Hardy began their collaboration by developing a way of writing Alabama that would be consistent and as phonetically accurate as possible while being easy to read and write for those familiar with the English writing system.

Hardy and Sylestine worked steadily from 1980-1988 using their own spare time and resources, with some help from outside sources. For help during this foundational period, we would like to thank the University of Texas at Arlington for travel support during 1980, the University of North Texas Faculty Research Program for travel support during 1981, 1983, 1985 and 1988, the National Endowment for the Humanities Summer Stipend in June and July of 1985, and the Whatcom Museum Jacobs Fund for travel in the summer of 1987. Philip W. Davis of Rice University began studying the grammar in 1983 and has collaborated with us in analyzing the grammar and semantics of Alabama. We are grateful for his help and thank the Rice University Department of Linguistics as well for providing compensation for language consultants.

In 1984 Timothy Montler, another UNT linguist, with expertise in using computers to prepare dictionaries of American Indian languages, introduced Hardy to the conventions of Lexware, computer software for bilingual lexicography designed by Robert Hsu and others at the University of Hawaii. In 1986 Hardy and Montler began analyzing the intricacies of the sound system and word-formation rules of the language.

In 1988 the National Endowment for the Humanities (#RT-209013-88) and the University of North Texas approved a grant for the project that would allow Hardy and Montler time away from some of their duties as teachers to concentrate on the project.

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The grant also provided funds for equipment such as tape recorders, travel expenses to the reservation to consult with Sylestine and the other contributors, and funds to compensate the Alabama consultants for their time. In 1989 UNT granted funds to hire a research assistant and Jack Martin, a graduate student in linguistics from UCLA, began helping with the dictionary project while continuing his study of the related language Creek, spoken in Oklahoma. We thank Rollie Schafer, Dean of the UNT Graduate School, in particular, for his recognition of the importance of the project through his support and encouragement.

The scope and depth of the dictionary has been enriched by the generous devotion of time and energy on the part of contributors. Wanda Poncho joined the project as a language consultant in 1986, with Ivey Battise and Vincent Celestine joining in 1988 and Dorcas Bullock in 1989. The authors thank them for their dedication and belief in the project, their cheerful spirit of cooperation, and their desire to share their expertise. We wish to express our gratitude to the late James L. D. Sylestine for allowing us to use material from audiotapes he recorded during the 1950's and early 1960's, as well as his notations of some archaic words, possibly of Mobilian origin, that are no longer in use.

We also thank Fritz Schanz for helping us with the botanical identification of some of our plant samples, and Van Redman, D.V.M., for helping to identify the technical names of certain animal organs.

We wish to express our appreciation to Geoffrey Kimball of Tulane University and Pamela Munro of the University of California at Los Angeles for sharing with us drafts of their dictionaries of Koasati and Chickasaw, respectively, and for many fruitful hours of discussion of linguistic and lexicographical problems.

We wish to thank our families, our many friends and colleagues in the reservation community and the academic community, as well as members of the public who have encouraged us and expressed interest in the dictionary.

# Introduction to the Dictionary

### 1. Purpose.

The *Dictionary of the Alabama Language* is the first dictionary of the language of the Alabama Indians. It is a bilingual (Alabama-English) dictionary intended as a resource for the speakers of Alabama themselves and for their descendants as a means of helping to preserve their cultural heritage. It is also intended to be used by language scholars and anyone with an interest in learning something about an American Indian language.

The dictionary is viewed as a companion to two other works currently in preparation, a collection of texts transcribed and analyzed by Hardy and translated by Sylestine, and a detailed description of the grammar by Hardy. Since a collection of vocabulary is only a part of the language a complete record of the language awaits these additional works. The grammatical descriptions given in this dictionary are brief and limited to that necessary to use the dictionary.

# 2. General organization of the dictionary.

The dictionary includes a general introduction to the alphabet and pronunciation of Alabama; a user's guide explaining what information is in the entries, where and how to find related words, and how to use the Finderlist; and a section providing technical information about the language and the dictionary for language specialists and those interested in the analytical details of the dictionary. Following the Alabama-English dictionary proper is an alphabetized English-Alabama reverse index or Finderlist. Also given in an appendix is a list of grammatical affixes (prefixes, infixes, and suffixes) with their general function and examples of usage.

### 3. Language setting.

Alabama belongs to the Muskogean language family, which now includes the languages Koasati (spoken by the Coushatta tribe), Chickasaw, Choctaw, Creek, Seminole, and Mikasuki (spoken by some of the Miccosukee tribe). Although these languages are historically related, generally speaking, people who speak one of the languages cannot understand someone speaking a different language, except for an occasional word, just as is the case with German and English speakers, for instance. Some of the languages are more closely related to each other than are others. For instance, Chickasaw/Choctaw, Creek/Seminole, and Alabama/Koasati have sometimes been described as pairs of dialects. Alabama and Koasati, however, are better

considered as two separate languages; a speaker of Alabama who has not by chance learned to speak Koasati too would not be able to understand a fluent speaker of Koasati very well, and vice versa.

There are around five hundred Alabamas living today primarily on the Alabama-Coushatta Indian Reservation near Livingston in East Texas where they have lived for nearly two hundred years. Although the largest Coushatta settlements are in Louisiana, a number live with the Alabamas on the reservation in Texas. Some individuals understand both languages (they are trilingual) and some words are the same in both Alabama and Koasati, but we have tried insofar as possible to make sure that we include only vocabulary generally identifiable as Alabama. In fact, a dictionary of Koasati, the language of the Coushattas, is currently in preparation in Louisiana.

The Alabamas are rightly proud that their language survives to this day, at a time when so many tribes have lost this important part of their heritage. The language is in everyday use among a number of tribal members, particularly those of middle-age and older. Younger speakers range from the few who are fully fluent to those who may understand the language but rarely speak it, a natural consequence of more and more people marrying outside the tribe. However, efforts have been made by tribal members such as Vincent Celestine and Zetha Battise to teach young children the language under the Johnson-O'Malley summer programs. It is our hope that the dictionary and our future work to document the language will facilitate the efforts of these dedicated teachers and speakers who are keeping the language alive.

# 4. Sources of the data.

Although the primary source of information on the language is author Sylestine, a number of speakers of Alabama have contributed extensively to the vocabulary. In addition, contributors have also added to definitions and supplied ranges of uses and cultural information to help people who do not speak the language understand the full significance of a word. Even though the speakers of the Alabama language represent a small speech community, there are variations in the pronunciation of some words among families and individuals. Of course, as we all know about English dialects, people in one region of the country speak differently from people elsewhere, younger people may speak differently from older people, and sometimes even men and women speak differently. We have recorded these variant pronunciations of Alabama words wherever we have heard them, just as variant pronunciations are recorded in English dictionaries, and have noted the source whenever pronunciations vary from Sylestine's usage, or could not be confirmed by her.

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No dictionary can record all possible ways people may pronounce words. Dictionaries may attempt to give the most common pronunciations, but this certainly does not mean that other pronunciations by native speakers are wrong. If there are variants in use which do not appear here, it is a result of our oversight rather than the error of the speakers who use them.

# 5. About the practical spelling system.

We are not unaware that writing down a previously unwritten language (or at least one that hasn't developed a standardized spelling) may have consequences for a community. After much thought and research on the spelling conventions for related languages such as Creek, Chickasaw, Choctaw and Koasati (Coushatta), we have chosen a certain way of representing the Alabama language. This of course does not mean that other ways of writing the language would be 'wrong'. But we hope that after we have explained in detail our criteria for a writing system and readers have studied the alphabet and guide to using the dictionary, they will find the system natural and easy to use as our contributors seem to. As with any dictionary, it will be necessary to read the key to pronunciation and guide to the use of the dictionary.

Our main goal in devising the practical orthography was to come as close as possible to the ideal for a writing system: one letter should represent one sound in the language. (Of course, the English spelling system falls far short of this ideal: consider all the different ways the vowels can be pronounced.) Further, we wanted symbols that are easy to write and type, and easy to read. (We have avoided diacritics below the line, for instance, because studies have shown they are harder to read.)

With only a few exceptions, the Alabama language has sounds that are also found in English, although just as in languages such as French and German, the sounds may be pronounced slightly differently in Alabama and English. For sounds that are very similar to English, we use the English letters, since most people who will be reading the dictionary already know them.

Only one letter has had to be added to the usual English letters. This letter represents a special kind of /l/ that Alabama has in addition to a regular /l/ (this sound is described in more detail in section 1.4). The standard symbol for this sound is an /l/ with a sort of 'bow' or bar across the middle [4] and its name is 'barred l'. This letter can be written as an /l/ with a hyphen through it on the typewriter. Some writers of languages with this sound use two letters to represent it, such as with Chickasaw, which uses the sequence /lh/ (Munro and Willmond, forthcoming); some writers of Creek or Koasati use the sequence /th/ or /thl/. Alabama has many words with a sequence of /l/ or /t/

followed by an /h/ which could be confused with the single sound of \$\epsilon\$, so we have chosen to introduce this single symbol. We do not use an alternative letter such as the /r/ used for Creek by Loughridge and Hodge (1890) because we wish to remind users this is a type of /l/; also, some people writing Alabama have used an /r/ following a vowel to indicate a long vowel quality (as that found in 'r-less' dialects of Southern American English). We feel that although the symbol is new to most it is easy to write in script and easy to type over a hyphen. It is also the symbol used in the Koasati dictionary (Kimball, forthcoming). This is a major advantage since many of our readers will be interested in both dictionaries.

Alabama also has 'accent' or 'tone' on certain syllables in a limited number of words where it cannot be predicted by rule, and changes in accent are also used to signal grammatical and semantic differences. For this reason, Alabama spelling is somewhat like French or Spanish, which must mark accents on some vowels. Of course, native speakers of Alabama know how to accent a particular word and may prefer to leave off the accents, but the person unfamiliar with the language needs to know whether a word has an accented vowel and, if so, which type it is, so accent is marked in this dictionary when it is not predictable. The accent mark is omitted from capital accented vowels.

The only sound that is represented by more than one letter is the sound we write ch, which has the same value as the English sound represented the same way in the word church (phonetically [ $\check{c}$ ]). Since a c by itself is not used in writing Alabama (the [k] sound sometimes spelled with c in English is always written as k in Alabama), there can be no confusion with a sequence of some sound represented by [c] followed by [h].

Capitalization and punctuation are as in English.

This brief discussion is intended to orient the reader to the basic ways in which our spelling differs from English and our reasons for the orthographic choices we have made. For a detailed description of the alphabet and pronunciation rules please see the section on How to Use the Dictionary.

# How to Use the Dictionary

# 1. The Alabama alphabet and key to pronunciation-

Letter	Letter Name	Example	Translation
a	eyka	int <u>a</u> kb <u>a</u>	'stomach'
b	biika	kol <u>b</u> i	'basket'
ch	chiika	<u>ch</u> aaha	'tall'
f	efka	i <u>f</u> a	'dog'
i	iika	n <u>i</u> po	'meat'
k	kiika	a <u>k</u> aa <u>k</u> a	'chicken'
1	elka	<u>l</u> aana	'yellow'
4	łihka	<u>ł</u> a <u>ł</u> o	'fish'
m	imka	<u>m</u> ikko	'chief'
n	inka	<u>n</u> aa <u>n</u> i	'man, male'
o	ooka	<u>o</u> ki	'water'
p	piika	<u>p</u> aani	'creek'
S	eska	<u>s</u> obayli	'to know'
t	tiika	<u>t</u> aa <u>t</u> a	'father'
W	dabiyo	<u>w</u> ohka	'to bark'
у	wayka	<u>y</u> immi	'to believe'

The order of letters in the chart represents the **alphabetical order** in Alabama. A few loans from English include English sounds not found in Alabama (such as *d* and *e*) which occur in their usual alphabetical order. Long vowels ('double vowels') occur in the regular alphabetic order and are considered a sequence of sounds. (As in English dictionaries, spaces between words in compounds are ignored for purposes of alphabetization.)

All letters are pronounced more or less as in English with the following exceptions:

**1.1.** English vowel letters are pronounced in a number of ways in the spelling of English words. The **vowels** in Alabama are much more consistent and pronounced more 'purely', more or less as they would be in a European

language such as Spanish, French or German.

- **a** is closest to the underlined vowel in the English word  $p\underline{o}t$  or  $f\underline{a}ther$ , or, rarely, as in  $sof\underline{a}$ .
- **i** is closest to the vowel in the English word  $p\underline{i}t$ , or if long, more like the vowel in  $\underline{fee}t$ .
- o is closest to the vowel in the English word voletoredegte, but occasionally sounds closer to the vowel in put, especially following the consonant [y].

Alabama also has **long vowels** contrasting with short vowels--the vowel is simply held a little longer. So:

oobi means 'hollow or hole' but obi means 'thigh' aapihchi means 'body' but apihchi means 'handle or stalk' iisa means 'house' but isi means 'to take'

The sequence ay generally sounds like that in (non-Southern) American English I, aye, and buy but for some speakers in certain words may sound more like the vowel in English hay.

**1.2.** Sometimes vowels in Alabama may have either a **high level tone** (written as á, í, or ó) or a **high falling tone** (written à, ì, or ò) and these tones must sometimes be marked for words in the dictionary. For instance, many words for kin or relatives must be written with an accent mark. Otherwise, words are usually accented on the last syllable and since this is predictable, final accent is not written. So,

*foosi* means 'bird' but *fósi* means 'grandfather'

If the accent is on a long vowel, only the first is marked, but a level high tone persists for the whole syllable, and a high falling tone has the fall in pitch on the second vowel.

**1.3.** The s sound in Alabama (phonetically a voiceless apico-alveolar fricative) may sometimes sound to an English speaker more like the sh sound in English shear, or may sound somewhat 'hissier' than the English /s/ or as though it is produced with a faint 'whistle' effect. This is because it is

pronounced with the tongue in a slightly different position than for English /s/. Alabama does not actually have a sh sound contrasting with s.

- 1.4. The sound \(\frac{1}{4}\), which is written as a barred \(l\) (phonetically a voiceless lateral fricative) is found in many languages, for instance, Creek and Choctaw. It is pronounced with the tongue in position for an [1], but with air released around the tongue to create a hissing sound and without the vocal chords vibrating--much like making an [h] immediately followed by an [1] or 'whispering' an [1]. A good idea of how this sounds is the pronunciation of [1] in English in words that begin with the sounds [k] followed by [1], e.g. \(klutz\), \(clutter\). The closest English sound to \(\frac{1}{2}\) is probably the voiceless \(th\) sound as in \(breath\); this is why some Alabama speakers occasionally use \(\frac{1}{2}\) for \(th\) when speaking some English words and why some younger people learning to speak Alabama may substitute English \(th\) for Alabama \(\frac{1}{2}\).
- **1.5.** In addition to long vowels written as a sequence of two identical vowels, Alabama has **long consonants**, written as a sequence of two identical consonants. Unlike English spelling which often uses double consonant letters to represent a single consonant sound (as in *ladder*), the Alabama spelling contrasts a single consonant with a double consonant. When two like consonants are written, both are pronounced or held longer, as in the following contrasting words:

hasi sun; day, daylight; monthhassi grass

**1.6.** Just as in an English word like sink, the sequence of [n] followed by [k] is pronounced as ng [ŋ] followed by [k]. In Alabama, this is true also of an /m/ before /k/ as seen in the common prefix am- 'my', pronounced as [aŋ] in ankati 'my cat'. We write these with an n, however, to simplify the spelling. An /m/ coming before a t or ch is pronounced n and is written as n in those forms; for instance, the second person form of the verb akkami 'to do' is akkanchi 'you do'.

Some words are written with a raised n [ $^{n}$ ] following a vowel to indicate that the vowel is pronounced nasally, that is, with air escaping through the nose. This sound is rare in Alabama and occurs much more frequently, for instance, in Chickasaw and Koasati. **Nasalized vowels** are produced when the nasal consonant m occurs before certain sounds, notably f, s, h, and t, but only when the sequence results from word formation processes, such as verb

inflection. The m is replaced by a nasalized version of the vowel that precedes it. So for instance am- 'my' plus fósi 'grandfather' is written  $a^nfósi$  'my grandfather', but the m remains in lomhi 'to hide'. The one other place where vowel nasalization is important is on the final syllable in questions and the next to last syllable in emphatic verb forms. Nasalization is generally light in Alabama and not as strong or noticeable as in Koasati. The raised n is alphabetized as though it were a regular n.

- 1.7. Occasionally, when certain prefixes ending in long vowels are added to words beginning with vowels, the usual rule that deletes the first of two vowels coming together does not apply. In this case both vowels are pronounced and separated by a **transitional** y which we write. So aa-oolimpa 'table (lit. place for eating)' is written aayoolimpa. If the transitional y is followed by i, the i is not pronounced, as in [ibaa-/intohno] which we write ibaayintohno. (We write the y and i in these cases for the sake of consistency).
- **1.8.** In fast speech it is quite common for an h following a vowel not to be pronounced. This occurs usually in two situations. If the h occurs between two vowels in careful speech, often the h is not pronounced in faster speech, as in *ahicha* and its variant *aicha 'to watch over'*. If the h occurs as the last sound in the next to last syllable of verb stems in careful speech, the vowel preceding the h may be lengthened and the h not pronounced, as in *wihli* and its variant *wiili* 'to look for'. For the reader familiar with the language who cannot find a word under a spelling with a long vowel, we suggest trying to find the word under a spelling with a short vowel followed by h, if this sounds like an acceptable pronunciation. For words very commonly pronounced without the h, we may list the variant without the h, as in the cases mentioned here.
- 1.9. Many words include a prefix that has the basic shape ist-, pronounced without the t if the prefix occurs before a consonant. It is quite common for words with this prefix to be pronounced in fast speech without the initial i, as though they began with an s. So, for instance, istafinapka 'key' is often pronounced stafinapka. We write all such words with the i, noting here that the prefix can be pronounced as beginning with an s (unless followed by a stem beginning with an s). Since this variation only applies to this prefix (and, by analogy, to certain loan words beginning with an s followed by a consonant), we do not list the pronunciations without the i as separate variants.

Readers familiar with the language need to note that words they may pronounce as beginning with an *s* followed by a consonant will be found under the *i*'s and not under the *s*'s.

## 2. The structure of the dictionary entries.

There are two types of word entries in this dictionary: main entries and root entries. **Main entries** are the basic entries for each word in the dictionary, containing all the information usually found in a dictionary entry. These are the entries most readers will turn to for information about specific words. **Root entries** are special longer entries for verb roots, which list in italics (following the main entry proper) all the words that are derived from the headword, along with their definitions. These derived words are organized in such a way so that information about word formation processes in the language is easily retrievable. (See the Technical Information section for an explanation of the organization.) Readers will want to turn to root entries if they are interested in the analytical details of verb derivation in the language.

In the sections that follow, we describe the kinds of information that can be found in an entry, illustrating with abbreviated entries. Complete sample entries with the different kinds of information labelled are included at the end of the introduction on page xlvi.

**2.1. Main entries.** Each main entry includes a number of different kinds of information about the **headword**. The headword is set in boldface type and is spelled using the Alabama spelling system. Notice that no phonetic pronunciation guide has to be given because the Alabama spelling directly represents pronunciation, unlike English spelling. Two sample main entries are provided here for illustration.

Following the Alabama headword are the English **definitions**. Then, a solid block marks any additional **cultural or historical information** necessary to understand a definition or the importance of a word. If a word is restricted to certain social contexts, a **usage label** is given (*Usage*:).

**óolalwi** traditional game; expression from this game ?This game is something like musical chairs where the guys chase the girls usually at a Christmas party. It is the last game played after Drop the Handkerchief, Three Deep, Rubber Jump; this is also what the tahpàala calls out to have everybody change partners during the game. *Var*: óolanwi (DB, VC) *Var*: óolalweyis (IB) «óolalwóot hompainkkáinnà tankaanàa? *Aren't we going to play óolalwi tonight?*»

atobiila o burn in an oven or scorch on the stove (of food) •3 [a-/tobiila]

Any **variant pronunciations** (*Var:*) of a word are given with the identification of the speakers who contributed them indicated by initials in parentheses (see Abbreviations section).

**Example sentences** (enclosed in double angled brackets) containing the headword are provided for many entries, especially verbs. These are first given in the Alabama language and then a free English translation (in italics) is provided. Many of these have been taken from recorded stories. These are identified by a three-letter code for the text following the translation. Sometimes these are incomplete phrases taken from a very long sentence in a story; such phrases are indicated by ellipses. Other examples are illustrative comments volunteered by speakers. Occasionally, example sentences had to be asked directly in order to get an example of a particular type. The reader is cautioned that sometimes these phrases, when taken out of context, may sound a bit odd but at the time the contributor had a context in mind in which someone might say the phrase in question.

Grammatical information necessary to help the user understand how a word is used, how it is analyzed into parts (such as prefixes or suffixes), whether it has undergone any grammatical processes, and its etymology if known, is provided immediately following the definition or culture note. The grammatical analysis of a word in brackets [] indicates its component parts: prefixes and suffixes are separated off by hyphens with no intervening spaces. Roots (the most basic part of the word) are indicated by a space and a slant line / preceding them. The few bound roots (that cannot occur without a preceding element) are marked with a space followed by a hyphen before the slant line. Individual words in a compound are separated by a space and each root is marked with a slant line. Unidentified parts of analyzed words are put in parentheses. Etymologies are given in braces {}} with an arrow indicating the source language.

A few entries contain a note to compare them (cp.) to certain words whose meaning and form are similar in some respects, suggesting a historical connection, but which are not related by any regular rules.

Finally, for any derived word, a **cross-reference** is given to the word from which it is immediately derived (if there is an entry for it) or the next closest related word. Cross-references are the last information in an entry and are marked by a triangle ...

Examples of partial entries are provided in the next section to illustrate the

form of entries; these are abbreviated entries for example purposes only (see the dictionary for complete information about these words).

**2.1.1.** Nouns. Nouns in Alabama are given in their basic form and defined with English nouns. **Botanical names** (written in italics within parentheses) are provided for most plant names; tentative identifications are indicated by question marks.

Unlike English, which uses separate words such as *my* and *your* to indicate possession, Alabama uses two different sets of **possessor prefixes** to indicate the possessor of the noun (if one is mentioned). (These possessor prefixes are identical in form to two of the three verb conjugation sets discussed in section 2.1.2; see Technical Information section 4.2 for the complete conjugations.)

Most nouns use the *am*- set possessor prefixes to indicate the possessor. If no possessor is specifically indicated, an **am**- set prefix is used. Example:

**chichoba** horse; sawhorse «anchichoba *my horse*»

Since no prefix set is indicated, *chichoba* takes an *am*-set possessor as shown in the example *anchichoba*.

Body parts and kinship terms (and a couple of other nouns) take either the *cha*- set or the *am*- set prefixes and this information is shown in small capital letters and easily identified by a preceding solid dot. (The *am*- set possessor is distinguished from an *am*- set verb conjugation by a lower case p for 'possessor'.) Example:

ilbi hand ●CHA-

Some nouns (mostly body parts and a few kin terms) never occur without their *am*- set prefix and these are entered in the dictionary under the *i*'s with the third person ('his/hers/its') possessor prefix attached. The prefix appears in its basic form *im*- in the analysis for that word. (Variations in the way these prefixes are pronounced are described in the Appendix under *im*-.) Example:

i<sup>n</sup>łakfi brother (of a woman) •AMp- [im-/łakfi]

Most Alabama nouns do not have special **plural noun** forms; the same noun form is used for singular and plural, and other grammatical information in the sentence indicates that its referent is plural. Some nouns referring mainly to humans may form their plural with a -ha suffix or a special plural

form and these are also listed in the dictionary.

**Compound nouns** (composed of more than one word) are provided with an analysis into their component words. Unless otherwise indicated in examples, the possessive prefix is added to the first word of the compound and most usually takes the same possessor prefix as the first word. In the following example, the first word of the compound is *akaaka* 'chicken', which like most nouns, takes an *am*- set possessor, so the compound word also takes an *am*-set possessor (indicated by the possessor not being specified).

# akaakinchakaafa chicken gizzard [/akaaka im- /chakaafa]

Some place names and personal names have been included if they have historical significance (historical figures or leaders) or are linguistically interesting. Most of these personal names are old loans from English and provide information about the sound patterns of Alabama, but we were able to record a few old names not of English or other European origin.

2.1.2. Verbs. Verbs are given in their most basic form, which also serves as the singular imperative and the third person subject form ('he/she/it VERBs'). They are defined with an English verb(s) given in the infinitive 'to' form. An Alabama verb is defined wherever possible with an English verb having the same subject. Any deviations from this are explicitly noted. In addition to the information found in all main entries, an entry for a verb includes information about how it takes prefixes for subjects and objects (its 'pattern of agreement'). This comes after any usage notes, at the beginning of the bracketed grammatical information for that entry. Numerous examples are given to illustrate the way the verbs function. In addition to the analysis of the word, information may also be given about any restrictions in usage (such as, if it is to be used of human subjects only), as well as irregular forms.

The pattern of agreement with subjects and objects is the first kind of grammatical information provided for a verb. As with the possessor markers for nouns, these are written in small capital letters and identified by a preceding solid dot. The first person singular ('I/me' form) is given to show which conjugation pattern is used to refer to the Subject or Object(s) of that verb.

There are three main conjugation classes. The 'Control' set always has a -li suffix for first person singular Subjects (in the affirmative, nonfuture). The two other conjugation sets can indicate either Subject or Object, depending on the verb. The 'Noncontrol' set has a *cha*- prefix for first person singular. The

third conjugation, the 'Dative' set, uses an *am*- prefix for first person singular; the pronominal prefixes in this set always precede the dative marker *im*- which is part of the verb stem, and replace the *i*. These *cha*- and *am*- verb prefix sets are identical in form to the noun possessor prefixes discussed in 2.1.1. (See Technical section 5.1 for a more thorough discussion of the three conjugation sets.)

A few verbs can have only plural subjects or objects. The reader is reminded that the first person singular as we are using it here represents a particular conjugation pattern and of course is not itself be used with plural verbs which permit only the plural forms.

If only one conjugation set is indicated the verb is intransitive; if more than one is given the verb is transitive. (See Technical section 4.2 for complete lists of these conjugations.)

**Intransitive verbs** take either the *-li*, *cha-*, or, very rarely, the *am*-conjugation. The conjugation pattern is indicated by the first singular form in small capitals following a solid dot: ?-LI indicates a Control set subject, ?CHA-indicates a Noncontrol subject, ?AM- indicates a Dative subject.

Some verbs can have subjects indicated by more than one of the three sets and the verb's meaning will change depending on which conjugation it takes. This is indicated by each conjugation set label following the definition it is associated with. Rarely, a verb may be listed as taking either of two sets; this usually indicates speaker variation in conjugation choice or cases in which conjugation does not affect word definition. These variations in conjugation are indicated by a semicolon between the choices. For example, the following verb can take either a -LI or CHA- conjugation:

# afalohka to yawn •-LI; CHA-

Some verbs can have only a noun as subject (or object), and since there is no pronoun prefix for third person, these verbs are marked with a 3 to show they occur with third person only.

### baski to be long •3

**Transitive verbs** may have one or more objects in addition to their subject. The conjugation sets associated with these objects are listed in the order: (Subject/Object1) and (Subject/Object1/Object2). So, for instance:

•-LI/CHA- means '-li set (Control) Subject, cha- set (Noncontrol) Object'

No verb may have more than two object prefixes (and very few have more than one), but many derived verbs allow one or more objects expressed as nouns.

•-LI/AM-/3 means '-li set Subject, am- set (Dative) first Object, 3rd person second Object'

as in the example:

inka to give (something) to •-LI/AM-/3

A few verbs do not occur with subject nouns or pronoun markers. These generally correspond to *it* subjects in English, such as *it's raining*, or verbs that function as adverbial modifiers of other verbs. These are indicated by a dash (--).

oyba to rain •--

In **verb phrases** consisting of more than one word the subject pronoun marker appears on the last verb in the phrase (identified in the analysis in brackets), even when they are pronounced as a single word. In the verb phrase entry below, the final verb *bitli* is usually conjugated with the Control set (*-li*) affixes. So, for example, 'you dance on tiptoe' is *sikkiliplit bitchi*.

sikkilíplit bitli to dance on tiptoe •-LI [/sikkilip-li-t /bit-li]

Rarely, the first verb in a verb phrase is conjugated. This is indicated with the subject marking for the first verb separated by a comma from the dash (--) which indicates no subject. For example:

ilhíicha kano to be good-looking •CHA-,-- [il-/híicha/kano]

The -li set has a number of different conjugation patterns or subclasses. The choice of which particular -li set Subject subclass a verb will take depends on the shape of the verb. For this reason, **partial conjugations** (italicized in parentheses) are provided for all verbs listed as taking a -li set Subject (except for negative verbs). These partial conjugations give the actual verb forms for **second person singular** ('you'), **first person plural** ('we'), and **second** 

**person plural** ('y'all') in that order. First person singular is always -li in the nonfuture, and third person is not marked. In the following example *chiyahchi* is the second person singular ('you walk'), *chiyahhili* is first person plural ('we walk'), and *chiyahhachi* is second person plural ('y'all walk'). (See Technical section 4.2 for complete conjugations for all verbs that take -li set Subjects, as well as negative stems.)

**chiyahli** to walk •-LI (*chiyahchi*, *chiyahhili*, *chiyahhachi*) [/chiyah-li]

The **grammatical analysis** follows the partial conjugation, if one is given. In, for example, *inkatipa* [im- -/ka-t /(i)pa], the grammatical analysis in brackets shows this verb phrase consists of two words, *inkat* and *ipa. inkat* is composed of the prefix im-, the bound root -ka, and the suffix -t. Infixes, another type of affix that is inserted into a stem rather than placed before or after it, are marked by angled brackets < >, as in the grammatical analysis of topohka which follows:

**4opohka** to stab, stick in (repeatedly) •-LI [/4opo<h>t-ka<sup>1</sup>]

The singular form is shown to be topotka and the topotka and the topotka is infixed before the final t and replaces it in the plural stem.

Parts of a stem that are lost in the plural forms (disfixed stems) are shown in parentheses in the analysis of the plural stem. So the plural stem of *batatli* 'to hit' is *batli* 'hit repeatedly' and its analysis shows [/bat(at)-li; *dsfx1*] which identifies the singular stem as *batatli*.

Other abbreviated grammatical information specifying the **word formation processes** the word has undergone may follow the grammatical analysis. This italicized information also occurs within the brackets, with the different types of information separated by semicolons. (See the List of Abbreviations to identify them and the Technical information section 4 for brief descriptions of these processes.)

istáttakka to be hanging from (of more than one) •-LI (--, istáttakhilka, istáttakhaska) [ist-/atak(àa)-ka¹; dsfx1; ggr] ☞ atakka

The example shows that *istáttakka* takes the *-li* set conjugation and it has no second person singular since it is a plural form. The grammatical analysis indicates it is composed of a prefix *ist-*, and comes from a singular stem

atakàa-ka of which it is the disfix-1 plural form (dsf1), appearing in the geminate grade (ggr) aspect. The cross-reference is to the basic plural stem atakka.

Superscript numbers are used to distinguish different words or affixes having the same pronunciation. In the preceding example the suffix  $-ka^{l}$  is one of three suffixes with the shape -ka. (All such prefixes, infixes, and suffixes are listed in the Appendix.) Superscript numbers are not used in the grammatical analysis, however, unless there is a possibility of confusing two identical affixes. For instance, the various affixes of the pronominal conjugations are repeated in the Appendix for convenience and some are identical in pronunciation to other grammatical affixes. Since pronouns would never appear in a grammatical analysis, the superscript numbers that distinguish other affixes in the Appendix from them are unnecessary in the grammatical analysis and for this reason are omitted.

Part of speech labels are not given. Nearly all stems are grammatically either nouns or verbs in Alabama, although they may have the same range of functions as other English parts of speech. The English definitions and illustrations suggest the function of the words in question; verbs, of course, can be identified by the presence of information indicating their conjugation.

**2.2. Root entries.** The root entry begins with the full main entry for the headword from which the other words are derived, followed by listings for all stems derived from that headword cited in italics. Derived stems would include, for instance, the negative stem of the verb, any distinct plural or plural imperative stem, its passive middle or any nominal stem derived from it, and any related form whose meaning is not transparent (such as aspectual 'grades'). In addition, stems derived by prefixation or suffixation are included in the root entry so that users may have immediate access to the details of word formation. The only derived forms not listed in the root entry are compound nouns (words composed of more than one word).

There are a small number of special headwords for root entries that list a root with a preceding or following hyphen; this headword is not an actual pronounceable word but rather a bound root that is never pronounced by itself. (Explanation for this convention is given in Technical Information section 2.)

The only information provided with each of the derived stems in root entries is a brief definition; since the definitions provided in root entries are highly abbreviated the reader should turn to the main entries of derived words for their full definitions. For some stems whose definition is predictable, only the identifying grammatical information is given. For instance, all negative

stems are simply identified as Neg., since their definitions are obvious. Remember that detailed information about each of these stems can be found in its own main entry.

These subentries have been organized to preserve their derivational relationships to the headword and other subentries. (Refer to the Technical Information section 2 for details on this organization).

Example of a root entry:

aabachi to teach (a subject), instruct •-LI/3 (aabachitiska, aabachitilka, aabachitaska) (aabachiska, aabachilka, aabachaska) (poss. related to /ahobachi} Var: aobachi «Aabachiliya istankanohchi. I like to teach. Tatka innaaliilkayon aabachilihchi. I teach the English language.» aabachitikko Neg. holisson aabachi to teach school aabachitilka teaching aabàachi teacher imaabachi to teach (a subject) to imaabachitilka to be taught (a subject) istimaabachi to counsel maatimaabachi to show (someone) how

### 3. The English-Alabama Finderlist.

The English-Alabama index gives alphabetized listings of two kinds of entries, regular and semantic class entries. **Regular entries** contain the English headword, followed by any other English definitions and the Alabama word(s) that translate it (given in italics). Since this is an index only, it is important to refer to the dictionary entry for the Alabama word for full information.

**Semantic class entries** are very large entries in which words relating to a particularly important semantic class (for example, plants, numbers, clothing, and kin terms) are listed. Some of the semantic class labels are:

agriculture fishing plants amphibians hunting reptiles birds insects etc. sound body parts kin time clothing mammals tools color numbers trees

fish place name

The semantic class entries are useful for finding words that one is unable to locate under a certain English word, as well as for immediate information about items that are important in the Alabama culture.

# 4. The affix appendix.

The Appendix is an alphabetized list of all **affixes** (prefixes, suffixes, and infixes) with a general identification of their grammatical function Numerous example sentences with the affix in question underlined indicate how it is used. (Pronominal affixes are also listed in conjugation sets in the Technical Information section 4.2.) Any variation in the pronunciation of the affix is also described.

# **Technical Information**

This section is included to provide additional information about the language and certain lexicographical decisions that may not be of interest to the nonspecialist. More complete information about the phonology, morphology, grammar and discourse of Alabama can be found in the grammar and texts in preparation.

# 1. Methodology.

Much of the material in this dictionary was collected using standard lexical elicitation guided in part by references on southeastern culture, and flora and fauna. We referred also to other dictionaries or dictionaries in preparation of Muskogean languages to help with coverage of semantic areas. The Koasati dictionary (Kimball, forthcoming) was most helpful in this regard, as was the Muskogean Cognate Sets (Munro, et al., in preparation) which includes data from the Alabama dictionary. We referred also to the Chickasaw dictionary (Munro and Willmond, forthcoming) and the Creek dictionary (Loughridge and Hodge 1890). We made an attempt to verify or reelicit the brief vocabulary (largely plants) cited in Folsom-Dickerson 1965 and Swanton's published English translations of Alabama stories (Swanton 1929). transcription and translation of a number of historically and culturally important texts recorded during the 1950's and 1960's by James L. D. Sylestine and Cora Sylestine proved very fruitful as a source not only of new vocabulary but naturally-occurring example sentences and cultural information, as did the recording of a number of folk tales, jokes and games and conversations by our contributors. Wherever possible we have taken example sentences from these texts or other spontaneous responses.

It should be noted that since the language is in everyday use the dictionary includes translations of many of the items of modern-day culture and technology, some of which may represent borrowings from English that have been adapted to the phonology of Alabama. We have not actively elicited translations of vocabulary that we thought would likely be rendered by a nonce loan translation--that is, cases in which most speakers would probably use the English word. When these have been volunteered we include them if they are recognized and confirmed by another consultant. Better than 95% of the entries have been confirmed by at least two consultants. Otherwise, they have been reconfirmed with the original source to ensure, we hope, a high level of accuracy. Words or variants that a consultant suspects may be Koasati have been checked against the Koasati dictionary and double checked

with other consultants.

We have primarily resorted to the use of field guides to identify the common and scientific names of plants and animals. However, plant and tree identification was conducted in the field by Vincent Celestine with Montler and Martin, who videotaped specimens and collected samples for later identification by a specialist. We have indicated wherever our identifications are tentative.

### 2. Comments on the structure of entries.

In including root entries as well as main entries we have tried to combine the simplicity of a word-based dictionary with the analytical sophistication of a root-based dictionary.

Derived stems are entered under a basic stem in an order that corresponds to their level of derivation, i.e., a multiply derived stem is subentered under the stem from which it is immediately derived, if the form is available. If the expected form is not itself an entry, then the derived form is subentered under the next highest appropriate stem. The stem under which a derived stem is immediately subentered is the word to which it is cross-referenced in its main entry. Cross-references thus represent our hypotheses about the relationship among the various morphological processes that derive stems in Alabama.

Derived stems given as subentries under the root entries reflect the ordering that is required by any underlying hierarchical structure that generates the proper cross-references. The number of spaces a subentry is indented indicates the level of derivation of that subentry with respect to the immediately preceding subentry. That is, subentries at the same level are indented the same number of spaces; a subentry derived from a preceding subentry has one additional indented space, up to four levels of derivation. Otherwise, derived entries at the same level occur with the most basic derived stems (such as negatives or nominals) first, and then more or less in alphabetical order. Compounds are not subentered within root entries as they would tend to make the entries unmanageably large and do not contribute materially to an understanding of the morphology. Partially suppletive nonsingular stems are subentered under the root entry for the singular stem, but are otherwise treated as suppletive stems.

Approximately thirty stems are provided with headwords in root entries that actually represent bound roots rather than third person or imperative stems. These are indicated by a hyphen preceding or following the root. They are necessitated by two types of circumstances. The most common is the existence of doublets: parallel middle and nonmiddle stems derived from the

same root, whose derivational behavior suggests that it would be inappropriate to derive the middle stem from the nonmiddle or vice versa. In addition, there are a few sets of related words derived from the same basic stem, but the stem does not occur as a word by itself.

## 3. Comments on the phonology.

We mention here a few phonological rules not alluded to in the guide to pronunciation. Although we have noted that Alabama has geminate consonants, no words are written with a sequence of *chch* or *bb*. Sequences of underlying geminate  $/\check{c}/$  (such as those produced by imperfective gemination) are always realized as [t $\check{c}$ ] and are thus written *tch*; they are not phonetically distinguishable from a sequence of /t/ and  $/\check{c}/$ . Otherwise,  $/\check{c}/$  in a coda position is (with very few exceptions) realized as [s] and thus written *s*.

/b/ in a coda position (such as those produced by imperfective gemination or disfixation) is always realized as [m] and spelled with an m. These [m]s from underlying /b/ never undergo nasal assimilation to the place of a following stop, or deletion with vowel nasalization before fricatives (unlike underlying /m/). For example, the stem [/łobaf-ka $^1$ ] 'to have a hole' has the disfix plural form lomka from /łob(af)ka/ and the [m] (from underlying /b/) does not assimilate to the following [k].

Thus, the surface form of some verbs is quite different from the underlying form shown in the grammatical analysis. For instance, the verb *ichoklambi* 'to stick out the tongue' has the underlying form [ichoklab-li]. The [l] of the suffix assimilates to the final [b] of the root by a general process of '-li assimilation' and then the [b] in the coda position of the root is nasalized.

Some verbs have an underlying form that never occurs as a nonderived stem. One generalization (noted by Jack Martin) seems to be that a CV penult is lengthened if the antepenultimate syllable is light, with only a few exceptions. Beyond this however, a number of other (disyllabic) verbs also undergo penultimate syllable lengthening, ultimately in response to the Alabama verb frame, a prosodic constraint that is evidenced by the fact that approximately 97% of active verb stems (and all derived stems) end in a two-syllable, three mora foot. (See Montler and Hardy 1990, 1991, and Hardy and Montler 1991.) This constraint applies to derived stems such as inflected forms, nominal/passive middles, and causatives. Thus, the inflected forms and nominal/passive middles of verbs with an underlying short penultimate vowel show a short penult which lengthens in uninflected forms. For example, hopooni 'to cook' has two nominal/passive middle forms, holponi and hoponka; haali 'to put on shoes' has the second person singular form hatchi.

Verbs with an underlying form different from the citation form have an entry in the grammatical information brackets showing the underlying form. So *hopooni* is shown as [/hoponi]. The penultimate syllable of causative stems is likewise lengthened if the antepenult is light, as in *homi* 'to be bitter' and *homiichi* 'to make bitter' [/homi-chi<sup>1</sup>]; the underlying form of the root is of course to be found in the morphological analysis of causatives.

There are a few stems with problematic vowel length. Nearly all of these are closed syllables that appear to vary between CVC and CVVC. Superheavy CVVC syllables are not uncommon in Alabama (although Kimball 1991 reports they are not found in Koasati) and most show no variation with a shortened form. The vowel in question is always long in derived forms that are resyllabified such that the coda becomes the onset of the next syllable. We note this by giving the citation form as short (the way it usually is perceived) and the vowel in the partial paradigm as long. For example, the verb istayapka 'to take away from' typically is short in the penult, but its inflected forms (and negative) show a long vowel (istayaapiska, istayaapilka, istayaapaska).

### 4. Comments on derived stems.

It has been necessary to list a number of more or less regularly-derived stems in the dictionary because the morphological processes that produce them radically alter the shape of the stem in most cases. This is true of negatives, nominal/passive middle, plural/repetitive stems, aspectual 'grade' forms of stems, and the plural imperatives of some verbs (as well as stems inflected for the *-li* Control set).

Even though the type of stem modification is largely predictable from the phonological shape of the stem, the rules that derive them are quite abstract and complex, involving infixation (including gemination) of various kinds as well as subtractive morphology. (These processes will be briefly referred to here; for details see Hardy and Montler 1988a,b, 1991; Montler and Hardy 1990, 1991.) In fact, previous descriptions of both Alabama and Koasati have resorted to listing paradigms for verb agreement classes and negative stems and have not recognized aspectual grade formation or (for Alabama) plural subtraction and infixation. Requiring users to calculate the derived forms would be impractical. Further, a number of verbs fail to follow the rules, requiring instead a periphrastic suffix, or, in some cases, constituting true exceptions.

Finally, the semantic relations holding between a stem and its derived forms are not always easily characterizable nor predictable; this is obviously the

case with aspectual grade forms but is problematic as well with some of the concatenative morphology, such as the -chi<sup>-1</sup> 'causativizing' suffix and the *ist*-'peripheral argument' prefix. Verbs would have to be lexically specified in any case as taking any of the concatenative derivational morphology.

**4.1.** Negative stems. Negative stems occur in six configurations involving the segments /i/ and /k/ (along with high falling tone and a stem-final  $-o^2$  suffix): one prefixal, three infixing patterns, and two suffixal (including the 'periphrastic' suffix). (Details of the prosodically-based processes that produce these are given in Montler and Hardy 1991).

Special agreement affixes apply to these negative stems. Agreement type is usually the same as in the affirmative stem; that is, an affirmative stem that usually takes the Control set conjugation often takes one of the Control negative conjugations, which are predictable from the shape of the negative stem (see Negative Conjugation Sets for *-li* set Verbs). Affirmative stems that usually take the Noncontrol or Dative Noncontrol sets retain this conjugation in the negative. Some affirmative stems taking the Control set change to the Noncontrol conjugation in the negative (in response to perceived diminished control of the agent in nonactualized events) and these are specially marked for agreement. A contrast between the Control and Noncontrol sets with negative stems indicates the difference between failure to act versus inability to act.

**4.2. Pronominal conjugation patterns.** We have been referring to the three main types of pronominal conjugations as the *-li*, *cha-* and *am-* sets. The *-li* Control set is quite complicated in Alabama, having a number of distinct conjugation patterns (prefixes, infixes, and suffixes) in both the affirmative and the negative. We list these here for convenience, noting that their predictability on the basis of stem shape has been described in detail elsewhere. The phonological generalizations concerning stem shape as given here are simplifications; for details and treatment of subregularities and irregular forms see Montler and Hardy 1990, 1991. The Noncontrol sets *cha*-and *am-* prefix all forms.

# **Standard Affirmative Pronominal Conjugation**

# Control Set (-li) agreement: 6 subclasses

**Set Ia** (canonical Root is CV)

1sg	-li	1pl il-
2sg	is-	2pl has-
3sg		3pl

ipa 'eat'

1sg ipa-li 1pl ilpa 2sg ispa 2pl haspa 3sg ipa 3pl (oh)-ipa

# Ib (All suffixes but 1sg replace a stem-final kV)

1sg	-li	1pl -(h)ilka
2sg	-(h)iska	2pl -(h)aska
2		21

3sg -- 3pl --

isko 'drink'

1sg isko-li 1pl isilka 2sg isiska 2pl isaska 3sg isko 3pl (oh)-isko

# Ic (canonical stem is Root + chi 'causative' or 'repetitive')

 1sg -li
 1pl -ilka

 2sg -iska
 2pl -aska

 3sg - 3pl - 

liphachi 'crush into powder'

1sg liphachi-li 1pl liphachilka 2sg liphachiska 2pl liphachaska 3sg liphachi 3pl (ho)-liphachi

Note: some speakers do not use this conjugation, preferring the periphrastic for verbs of this type.

## Id (canonical Root ...VCCV)

1sg	-li	1pl -li-
2sg	-chi-	2pl -hachi-
3sg		3pl

hosso 'write'

1sghosso-li1plholisso2sghochisso2plhohachisso3sghosso3pl(ho)-hosso

# Ie (1sg applies to -li<sup>1</sup> stem for VV-final or C-final root; V-final root loses final V; -chi<sup>1</sup> 'causative' can be added to form a -chi final stem)

1sg	-li	1sg	-hili
2sg	-chi	2sg	-hachi
3sg		3sg	

batli 'hit (rep.)'

1sgbatli-li1plbathili2sgbatchi2plbathachi3sgbatli3pl(ho)-batli

hochifa 'name'

1sg hochifa-li 1pl hochifhili 2sg hochifchi 2pl hochifhachi 3sg hochifa 3pl (ho)-hochifa

sahlichi 'scrape'

1sg sahlichi*li* 1pl sah*hili*chi 2sg sah*chi*chi 2pl sah*hachi*chi 3sg sahlichi 3pl (ho)-sahlichi

# If (canonical Root ... VVCV)

1sg -li	1pl	-l-
2sg -s-	2pl	-has-
3sg	3pl	

paapa 'carry'

1sg paapa-li 1pl paalpa 2sg paaspa 2pl paahaspa 3sg paapa 3pl (ho)-paapa

# **Periphrastic Conjugation**

1sg	-li	1pl	-tilka
2sg	-tiska	2pl	-taska
3sg		3pl	

ahíina 'be together with'

1sg ahíina-*li* 1pl ahíina-*tilka* 2sg ahíina-*tiska* 2pl ahíina-*taska* 3sg ahíina 3pl (oh)-ahíina

# **Negative Conjugations for the Control Sets**

Note: agreement affixes are italicized.

# (i)k- Prefix negative For CV stems:

1sg	<i>a</i> -k	1pl	k- <i>il</i> -
2sg	<i>chi</i> -k	2pl	<i>hachi</i> -k
3sg	ø-ik	3pl	ø-ik

(i)pa 'eat'

# -k(i) Suffix negative

For ...VV], ...VC], ...VCV stems:

1sg -tak-k(i)-o 1pl -kil-k(i)-o 2sg -chik-k(i)-o 2pl -hachik-k(i)-o 3sg -\vartheta-k(i)-o 3pl -\vartheta-k(i)-o

batli 'hit (pl.)'

1sg bat*ák*ko 1pl bat*kíl*ko 2sg bat*chík*ko 2pl bat*hachík*ko 3sg bátko 3pl (ho)-bátko

haplichi 'bathe (someone)'

1sg hap*ta*kìicho 1pl hap*kil*kìicho 2sg hap*chi*kìicho 2pl hap*hachi*kìicho 3sg hapkìicho 3pl (ho)-hapkìicho

## -ik- Infix negative

For ...kV] stems:

 1sg
 -(h)a-k 1pl
 -k-il 

 2sg
 -chi-k 2pl
 -hachi-k 

 3sg
 ø-(h)ik 3pl
 ø-(h)ik 

afaaka 'laugh'

1sg afaah*á*kko 2sg afaa*chí*kko 2sg afaa*chí*kko 3sg afaahíkko 3pl (oh)-afaahíkko

# -ki- Infix Negative

 1sg -k-a 1pl -ki-li (var. li-ki ? ki-li)

 2sg -chi-ki 2pl -hachi-ki 

 3sg ø-ki 3pl ø-ki 

# For ...VVCV] stems:

àata 'be located' (imperfective)
1sg akàato 1pl akilìito
2sg achikìito 2pl ahachikìito
3sg akìito 3pl (oh)-akìito

# For ...VCCV] stems:

atta	'be located'		
1sg	ak <i>à</i> tto	1pl	aki <i>lì</i> tto
2sg	a <i>chi</i> kìtto	2pl	a <i>hachi</i> kìtto
3sg	akìtto	3pl	(oh)-akìtto

# Noncontrol -cha Conjugation and Possessor Prefixes

# Standard pattern (before C-initial and /i/ initial stems)

1sg 2sg	cha- chi-	-	po- hachi-
3sg	-	3pl	
kano	'good'		
1sg	<i>cha</i> kano	1pl	<i>po</i> kano
2sg	<i>chi</i> kano	2pl	<i>hachi</i> kano
3sg	kano	3pl	ho-kano
ilbi	'hand'		
my	<i>cha</i> lbi	our	polbi
your	<i>chi</i> lbi	your	<i>hachi</i> lbi
his/h	er ilbi	their	ilbi

Note: a stem-initial /i/ is deleted after the final vowel of the prefix.

# Vowel-initial pattern (before /a/ and /o/ initial stems)

1sg	acha- (before /a/)	1pl	apo-
	acho- (before /o/)		
2sg	achi-	2pl	ahachi-
3sg		3pl	

Note: the final vowel of the prefix replaces the initial stem vowel but retains its length if the stem vowel is long.

ootoba `dream'	
1sg <i>acho</i> otoba	1pl <i>apo</i> otoba
2sg <i>achi</i> itoba	2pl <i>ahachi</i> itoba
3sg ootoba	3pl (oh)-ootoba

1pl po-m

achòoba 'be old'		
1sg <i>acha</i> chòoba	1pl	<i>apo</i> chòoba
2sg <i>achi</i> chòoba	2pl	<i>ahachi</i> chòoba
3sg achòoba	3pl	(oh)-achòoba

1sg a-m

# Noncontrol Dative (am-) Conjugation and am- Possessor Prefixes (always includes the im- Dative prefix)

	sg chi-m sg ø-im	2pl 3pl	hachi-m ø-im
1 2	machiiba 'be sad' sg <i>a</i> machiiba sg <i>chi</i> machiiba sg imachiiba	2pl	pomachiiba hachimachiiba (oh)-imachiiba
n y	maalokha 'brain, marrow' ny <i>am</i> aalokha our <i>chim</i> aalokha is/her imaalokha	our	<i>pom</i> aalokha your <i>hachim</i> aalokha their imaalokha

If a *cha*- set Subject cooccurs with an *am*- set Object (derived by the Dative prefix *im*-) the prefixal order is Dative Object marker + Noncontrol Subject marker. The *cha*- and *am*- sets when used as Object prefixes precede the prefixal subclass variants of the *-li* Subject set, so the **relative prefixal order** is Dative Object (*am*-) + Noncontrol Object (*cha*-) + Control Subject + Stem.

A few other comments are in order concerning the negative stems and inflected forms of verbs ending in /ka/. In the third and first persons of the negative, the second persons and first plural of the affirmative, and the plural imperative of stems ending in /ka/, an excrescent [h] appears in some verbs between the root and the affix. These are represented in the agreement paradigms as an (h) and written in the stems and partial paradigms where they occur. Haas has noted these without explanation (1977); others have suggested they may represent underlying /h/s that delete in the verbs which lack them (Lupardus 1982: 138). Since the /h/s that precede the first and second plural suffixes of other (non-/ka/) stems providing identical segmental environments never delete, we suggest that these [h]s are excrescent and inserted following root-final sonorants (optionally after vowels) and /k/ before the vowel initial infixes. Because this environment is odd and there are some exceptions in the plural imperatives, we list the plural imperatives of these

verbs separately.

**4.3.** Nominal/passive middle stems. A morphological process similar to agreement formation produces (prefixed, infixed, or suffixed) stems that function either as middles/passive middles or action/object nominals. Unlike negation and agreement, however, these stems have a suffixal form  $-ka^1$  not phonologically related to the prefixal and infixal forms involving an /l/. (For details on the formation of these stems see Hardy and Montler 1991; for a discussion of the function see Hardy 1990.)

### 4.4. Morphological processes with fixed placement.

**4.4.1. Infixation and disfixation.** Alabama has a number of morphological processes deriving stems through infixation of various types. The so-called aspectual 'grades' found in the Muskogean languages are characterized in Alabama by infixation into the penultimate syllable of the verb stem, accompanied by the affixation of tone. We have retained the labels traditional within Muskogean studies for these derived stems, referring to the H-grade (hgr), N-grade (ngr), L-grade (lgr), G-grade (ggr), as well as introducing the term F-grade (fgr).

The **L-grade** (lengthened grade) is marked by high tone (either level, or slightly rising on long vowels) on the penultimate syllable, which is lengthened if it is open. The final syllable lacks its characteristic high tone following the high penultimate syllable accent of the L-grade.

The **F-grade** (falling tone grade) is characterized by high falling tone on the penultimate syllable (if it is not closed by an obstruent) or high tone (if closed by an obstruent) with predictable word-final high tone remaining (except in negative stems). Like the L-grade, the F-grade lengthens the penultimate syllable if it is short and signals yet another kind of imperfective aspect. It is found in negative stems, agent nominalizations, distributive stems formed by plural coda subtraction (disfix-2 stems), many verbs of repetitive activities, including those with the nonproductive repetitive -chi² suffix, and many verbs referring to the assumption of a position. Example: hoopa 'to be sick'; hokùipo Neg.

The **G-grade** (geminate grade) can be recognized by the lengthening of the target vowel or consonant (gemination), which can also be described as an infixation process, to signal a type of imperfective aspect (see Hardy and Montler 1988b for details). Disyllabic stems and stems with a closed antepenultimate syllable geminate the penultimate nucleus, unless it is already long, in which case the falling tone on the penultimate syllable is the only

marker of the G-grade and the G-grade and F-grade are indistinguishable for verbs of this shape. All other stems geminate the onset of the penultimate syllable, and affix high tone to the antepenultimate and falling tone to the penult (like the F-grade), unless the coda of the penult is closed by an obstruent, in which case no tone is affixed to the penult. Example: *chokòoli* 'to assume a sitting position'; *chókkòoli* 'to be seated/sitting'.

The **N-grade** (nasal grade) is marked by nasalization of the vowel (and lengthening, if short) and the affixation of high accent to the penultimate syllable to signal intensity of the performance of an activity or markedly repeated activity. Example: *bitli* 'to dance'; *bii*"tli 'to really dance hard'.

The **H-grade** is another type of imperfective aspect typically signaling an increase in degree in stative verbs, such as that found in comparatives and superlatives. It is marked by the infixation of an /h/ into the coda of the penultimate syllable and high pitch accent. (See Hardy and Montler 1988a for details.) Example: *choba* 'to be big'; *chóhba* 'to be bigger'.

Some heavy-final roots in Alabama form plural stems (plural subject, plural object, or repeated action as determined by the semantics of the verb) by the infixation of an /h/ as the coda of the penultimate syllable of the stem (with consequent deletion of any coda present in the singular). This **h-infixation** is not accompanied by an added accent. (See Hardy and Montler 1988a). Example: *topotka* 'to stab once'; *topohka* 'to stab, stick in (repeatedly)'.

Many other roots (followed by either -li or  $-ka^1$ ) form plural stems with the same range of semantics as the h-infix by a type of subtractive morphology we have referred to as **disfixation**. Disfixation has two forms, one of which deletes the last two segments (most often the rhyme) of the penultimate syllable of the stem (dsfx1), the other deletes the coda and the nucleus is compensatorily lengthened (dsfx2). (See Hardy and Montler 1988a for details). Since the singular form cannot be retrieved from the disfixed form, the deleted segment(s) are shown in parentheses in the grammatical analysis. Examples: atakàaka 'to hang (sg)'; atakka 'to hang (pl)' and topatka 'to dry up (one place)'; topaaka 'to dry up (several places)'.

**4.4.2.** Concatenative morphology. All stem-deriving (invariant) affixes are prefixal, except for the productive  $-chi^{2}$  causative suffix, the nonproductive  $-chi^{2}$  repetitive action suffix, and the middle  $-ka^{1}$ . Affixes indicating discourse and grammatical function, deictics, tense, aspect, modality and the like are all suffixal.

### 5. Comments on pronominal agreement and argument structure.

**5.1. Semantics of agreement.** Alabama has an 'active' pronominal agreement system that expresses the semantics of control with respect to the event. Verbs are lexically marked for the kind and number of arguments they protypically allow, so this information is given in their main entry. Choice of particular agreement set (Control, Noncontrol, Dative) is determined by the semantics of control and affectedness of the participant/event relationship. The *-li* agreement set indicates a Control Subject (or typical Agent). The *cha*set typically indicates a NonControl Subject (Experiencer) or affected Object (Patient). So, for example, *chatammiti* means 'I fell (accidentally) and *tammiliti* means 'I fell (on purpose)'.

What we have been calling the Dative (am-) set is probably best thought of as an allomorphic variant of the Noncontrol set. The Dative morpheme im- is an applicative marker that derives a verb stem with an added nonaffected object participant. (See Hardy 1991 for a full treatment.) To this stem the regular NonControl set prefixes are added, with the exception that first person cha- is usually replaced by a- before the im- prefix, yielding am-. (The chaset prefixes have allomorphic variants as well before a and o vowel-initial stems.) The combined semantics of unaffected and no control often yields the effect of Limited Control. (For full details and justification see Hardy and Davis to appear.) Participants indexed by the am- set are typically datives, including recipients, goals, benefactives/malefactives, and possessors of affected participants. For ease of use, parallelism with the possessor set, and because it is traditional in Muskogean studies, we have listed the combination of the Dative im- with Noncontrol agreement as a third conjugation set in this dictionary, even though the derived verb is cited with the dative derivational prefix im-.

- **5.2. Multiple objects.** Selection of which participants will govern object agreement when there are multiple objects can be determined for nearly all verbs on the basis of a few simple generalizations. The rare exceptions are so marked.
- (1) If a verb is a derived applicative *im*-verb, then the agreeing (*am*-) object is a non-Patient (that is, the Recipient, Dative, Benefactive/Malefactive, Goal, or Possessor).

innaatiika to talk to, speak to; to read from •-LI/AM-/3 [im- /naatii-ka<sup>1</sup>] «Sallin Falanchi innaatiikan innaatiikalo. *I spoke the French* 

language to Sally.»

(2) If the verb is a doubly derived *im-im*-verb then the first (agreeing) Dative object is a Benefactive and the second Dative object is a (nonagreeing) third person object.

**imittinnaałiika** to talk to (someone) for; to interpret for •-LI/AM-/3 [im-itti-im-/naałii-ka<sup>1</sup>] «Chimittinnaałiikalaho. *I'm going to speak on your behalf.*»

(3) If the verb is a causative (derived by  $-chi^{1}$ ), the agreeing object is the causee.

**sobaylichi** to teach (a subject) to •-LI/CHA-/3 [/sobay-li-chi<sup>1</sup>] «Holtinan chisobaylichiliti. *I taught you math.*»

(4) If the verb has a -cha object and a 3 nonagreeing object then the agreeing object is a Patient.

**isbatli** to whip (with an instrument) •-LI/CHA-/3 [ist-/bat(at)-li; dsfx1] «Waakisbatkan ischabatchitoha. *You whipped me with a bullwhip.*»

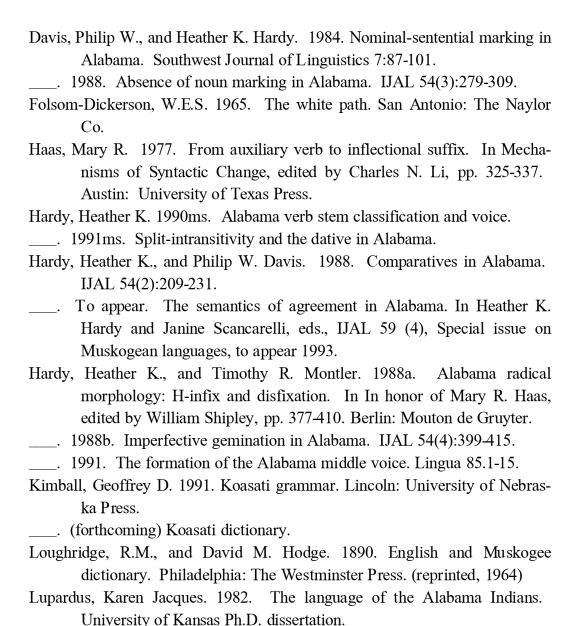
(5) If the *im*-derived applicative argument is listed as the object with a nonagreeing nominal subject (3/am), the nominal subject typically has either the -k or -t suffix characteristic of subjects, but the Dative indexed noun does as well. Because of syntactically parallel cases with an overtly marked agreeing subject, this construction is analyzed as having a Dative object, rather than as having two subjects. In nearly all such examples the Dative argument is human and frequently the possessor of the nominal subject; it is this high degree of 'topicality' that occasions the -k suffix. (For a discussion of the semantics of these nominal/sentential suffixes see Davis and Hardy 1984, 1988; for the dative, see Hardy 1991.) The most natural English translation of these cases usually has the experiencer as subject of a verb such as 'have', e.g. 'to have something break down on one'. Examples are provided to illustrate the argument structure.

**i**<sup>n</sup>**hoopa** to have a pain (in a part of the body) ●3/AM- [im-/hoopa] «Chatchonoskak a<sup>n</sup>hoopahchi. *I have heart trouble.*»

innàaho to own, have, possess ●3/AM- [im- /nàaho] «Antaatak katok innàahohchi. *My father has a cat.*»

In the previous example, the verb of possession, *innàaho*, derives from an existential verb, *nàaho*, often used to achieve a presentative construction. From 'there is/exists N (at a location)' the dative 'there exists POSSESSED for/to POSSESSOR' is derived.

### 6. Works cited.



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# List of Abbreviations

# 1. Abbreviations in the main dictionary:

AM- Dative pronominal conjugation

AMp- Possessor pronoun

CHA- Noncontrol pronominal conjugation;

Possessor pronoun

cp. compare to another word

dsfx1 disfix1

dsfx2 disfix2 (with compensatory lengthening)

Dl dual (two only)
fgr falling tone grade
ggr geminate grade

hgr h-grade

Irr irregular form
Imp plural imperative
lgr lengthening grade

-LI Control (Subject) pronominal conjugation

ngr nasal grade

Neg negative verb stem

Obj object

pcl paucal (several)
pl plural (two or more)

sg singular Subj subject

Var variant pronunciation

3 third person

-- no subject; lacks a certain conjugated form

# 2. Contributors:

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### 3. Text codes:

hcw History of the Choctaw Wars hai History of the Alabama Indians

hpc History of the Indian Presbyterian Church jat Joke: How the Animals Lost their Tails jbh Joke: The Buzzard and the Chicken Hawk

jmc Joke: The Monkey and the Cat jpp Joke: The Parrot and the Preacher

lhr Legend: The Hunter and the Rattlesnakes
lfs2 Legend: A Fairy Story (version two)
llb Legend: The Orphan and the Forest Boy
lws Legend: The Woman Who Became a Snake
mbf1 Tale: Bear Used to Own Fire (version one)
mbf2 Tale: Bear Used to Own Fire (version two)

mbl Tale: The Big Lizard

mic Tale: How the Indians Got Corn

mkf Tale: The Kingfisher

mte Tale: Why the Turtle Has Red Eyes ncs Personal Narrative: B. Cooper Sylestine

nhn Narrative: On Hunting

nia Narrative: The First Indian Agent nsb Narrative: Playing the Stickball Game

nwk Narrative: How the People Would Work Together pbb Procedure: How to Make Bluebread Dumplings

pfb Procedure: How to Make Frybread pmb Procedure: How to Weave Moss pmm Procedure: On Making Medicine pth Procedure: How to Tan Hides raf The Rabbit and the Farmer ras The Rabbit Steals the Sun scc Speech: Clenson Celestine

scs Speech: Chief B. Cooper Sylestine

ttp Translation from English: The Twenty-Third Psalm

# 4. Abbreviations in the Appendix:

Adv Adverbial Applicative Appl Aspectual Asp Consq Consequence Cntg Contingent Cntrst Contrastive Coll

Collective plural

Comitative Comit Conn Connective

Contra Contrary to expectation

Cs Causative Cop Copula Cust Customary Dat Dative Deic Deictic Det Determiner

Dim/Aug Diminutive/Augmentative

Dir Directional

Disc Discourse function Dist Distributive plural

Evid Evidential Exist Existential Frgn Foreign

GenLoc General Locative

Hortative Hort Imp Imperative Locative Loc Modf Modifier Modl Modal

NarPst Narrative Past

Neg Negative

NegCop Negative Copula NegImp Negative Imperative NLoc Nominal Locative Nom/Mid Nominal/Middle NP1 Plural Noun Peri Peripheral

PlImp Plural Imperative
PlObj Plural Object
PlSj Plural Subject
Pron Pronominal
Purp Purpose
Pst Past

PstSq Past Sequential

QCnf Confirmation Question

Reas Reason
Recp Reciprocal
Refl Reflexive
RemPst Remote Past
Repet Repetitive
Sbjnct Subjunctive
Temp Temporal

VExt Verb Extender