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<i>The Editors</i>	forward	
<i>James L. Armagost</i>	On Predicting Voiceless in Comanche	1
<i>George A. Broadwell</i>	Internally Headed Relative Clauses in Choctaw	16
<i>Mary Howe</i>	Shifting Deictic Centers in the Hualapai Demonstrative System	25
<i>Richard W. Lungstrum</i>	Velar Palatalizations in Dakota	38
<i>Monica Macauley</i>	On the Semantics of 'Come,' 'Go,' and 'Arrive' in Otomanguan Languages	56
<i>Mary Pepper</i>	Slavey Expressive Terms: Synchronic Evidence for Diachronic Change	85
<i>Paul Proulx</i>	Notes on Yurok Derivation	101
<i>David S. Rood</i>	Definiteness Subcategorized in Discourse: Lakhota <i>kʔy</i>	144
	Cumulative contents of volumes 1-10	162

FOREWORD

It is indeed gratifying to recognize the degree of acceptance the *Kansas Working Papers in Linguistics* has come to enjoy, and this is especially true for the series of *Studies in Native American Languages*. Even before the call for papers went out in the fall, we had received inquiries from prospective contributors, and the response to the call itself was remarkable in quality as well as diversity.

This year the *KWPL* marks its first decade of existence, and we are publishing two numbers. Number one is devoted to theoretical issues, general linguistics and old-world languages, while number two is the fourth in the *Studies in Native American Languages* series. This number includes articles representing seven different language families from all over North America (Uto-Aztecan, Muskogean, Yuman, Siouan, Otomanguan, Athabaskan and Algic), and a great deal of original scholarship.

We wish to thank the contributors, both those whose papers appear in this volume, and those whose papers we did not include. We also wish to thank the faculty of the Linguistics department of the University of Kansas for their support and encouragement for the *KWPL* throughout the year.

DEFINITENESS SUBCATEGORIZED IN
DISCOURSE: Lakhota kʔu

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Abstract: In Lakhota texts we find two definite articles, one of which regularly occurs only in discourse contexts. This one, kʔu, usually means 'the aforementioned' or 'the past', but it does not always occur when those meanings are appropriate. This paper concludes from the examination of several texts that while the conditions necessary for kʔu can be stated succinctly, predicting it is another matter. Several plausible hypotheses are disproved, and a request for additional ideas is extended.

For several years now I have been trying to figure out exactly the meanings of the articles in Lakhota. For indefinite NPs, the articles mark a clear distinction between specific and non-specific in what are often called "opaque" contexts, namely in questions, imperatives, potential aspect sentences, and as the objects of verbs such as 'look for' and 'want'. In these contexts Lakhota must mark whether the referent of an indefinite NP is a particular individual or any member of a class. So for example, in a sentence like "I'm looking for a horse," you must indicate whether any horse will do, or whether you're seeking a specific horse. Of course neither of these is quite the same as the articleless, "incorporated-object" construction meaning something more like "I'm horse-seeking."

Once I had figured out that distinction, I began to look for the difference between two particles which both seem to be definite articles. One of them, ki, is the usual translation of the English definite article; but instead of that, in texts, one sometimes finds the other, kʔu (čʔu after some verbs in -e in the dialect used in this paper).

I originally hypothesized that specificity would play a role in explaining this distinction as well, but such has not proven to be the case. Consequently, the question I want to begin answering in this paper is essentially: "When does one use kʔu in Lakhota"?

We should note at the outset that both ki and kʔu can terminate clauses or sentences as well as NPs. It is not always clear whether one should call the material preceding

one of these particles an S or an NP, and in the following discussion I do not try to make a distinction. This of course rests on the presupposition that we are dealing with only one morpheme in each case, a position that I believe is right, but which I will not defend in this paper.

kʔu is described variously in Boas and Deloria (1941). In one place (p. 107) they call it the "past article", and also remark (p. 109, p. 136) that it ends a direct declarative quotation in the past tense, giving examples such as: [note: I have changed slightly some of Deloria's spelling and punctuation to conform to my preferred orthography and my analysis of constituent boundaries.]

- (1a) "Iyáye čʔu," eyé.
 he-depart he-said
 'He has gone," he said.'
- (1b) "Kákhi mní kte čʔu," eyé.
 to-yonder I-go fut. he-said
 'I was about to go there," he said.'

Later (p. 133) they state, "There are three articles, ki...definite article; kʔu...definite past, previously referred to or already known; and wa a certain one"; their examples are like those we will see below. Finally there is a remark (p. 158) that "kʔu as a terminal implies that the person addressed is familiar with the contents of the statement," giving examples like:

- (2) Héčhʔ čhášna theháhə glí
 he-does-that whenever long-time he-comes-home
 šni kʔu.
 not
 'Whenever he does so, he stays away a long time,
 as you know.'

Some of the usual meanings said to be associated with definite articles are definiteness, specificity, old information, and non-topicality. Having both a 'definite article' and an article that marks 'previously referred to or already known', two of the usual meanings of the "definite article", thus seems redundant. If it were obligatory to mark 'aforementioned' nouns with kʔu, there would be very few text examples of any other article, but in fact there are many instances of 'aforementioned' nouns

which are marked by ki rather than kʔu. Moreover, when I started to work on this problem briefly several years ago, the few sentences that I generated myself using kʔu were all rejected, though replacing kʔu by ki made most of them acceptable. I now realize that most of that problem probably resulted from having too little context, so I have taken up the question again.

I have chosen to approach the problem by assuming that ki, the more frequent article, is probably unmarked in comparison with kʔu and is therefore the "default" choice; so I have begun by examining kʔu first, seeking to discover both the necessary and the sufficient conditions for its use. The necessary conditions -- i.e. when you can use it -- can be stated quite clearly, but the sufficient conditions remain much more elusive. My principles require me to search for answers first within the language I'm analyzing, so at this point I have not looked at the literature to see whether there are other languages that have similar patterns which I might rediscover here.

It is clear that the determination of the use of kʔu requires contexts larger than single sentences. So I have set out to examine discourse contexts in which the form is found, and compare them with contexts in which ki appears instead. Essentially I have been "tracking" nouns through texts, trying to discover when they are marked by one rather than the other of the particles.

At this point I have examined only the first ten texts in Deloria's (1934) collection. They are all traditional stories, either about Iktomi (the Lakhota equivalent of Coyote, though the word means 'spider') or about adventures with other supernatural beings. These texts amount to some 685 printed lines, divided by Deloria into 302 numbered "sentences". A Deloria "sentence" often includes several clauses, both coordinate and subordinate, and often translates into several English sentences. It is not at all clear to me how she decided where to mark the boundaries, but the divisions are nevertheless convenient ones to use.

This corpus is small, but it yielded 120 examples of either kʔu or ʔʔu with the meanings I was interested in; I excluded instances of another particle that is sometimes homophonous with this one, but which is a postposition meaning 'with; using; on account of; because' and is easily distinguished semantically (and often syntactically, since it may follow an article).

In working through these texts I have usually been satisfied with one of Deloria's explanations for *kʔu*; her definitions account for at least 111 of the 120 examples. In 91 cases, the concept of 'the aforementioned' seems to be primary, though the examples include nouns, nominalized verbs, and relative clauses. Moreover, in several instances we find that it is the referent, rather than the noun per se, which accounts for "prior mention"; this establishes that the basis for selecting *kʔu* is semantic rather than syntactic.

Thirteen examples describe events completed prior to the current moment in the narration, illustrating the "past tense" meaning of the particle, and eight mark statements in which the speaker assumes the hearer already knows the content of the statement -- a meaning very similar to that of the German particle "ja" in sentences such as "Das ist ja unwahrscheinlich" 'That's improbable, and you know it'. That leaves nine out of 120 instances that don't quite fit, and which are interesting for that reason.

Let us look first at some "normal" examples, and then think about the exceptions.

Example (3) illustrates aforementioned nouns, one literally repeated, and one only conceptually repeated:

- (3) (Text 3) The story is about Iktomi and his wife and children; Iktomi has predicted his own death and left instructions about how to proceed afterwards. Upon the occurrence of the appointed sign, he dies. The story continues at sentence 13:

13. Čhəké [čhíčá kʔu
And so child(ren) the-aforementioned]

iyúha ókša čhéya ǔ pi
all around-him crying continued pl.

keʔ ... 14. Yukhá [húkupi kʔu...
quot. Then their-mother the-aforem.]

'So all the [aforementioned] children were crying around him. ... Then their [aforementioned] mother...'

The children were introduced in sentence 1 and the wife in sentence 3; but this is the first time that the woman is referred to as 'their mother', though she has been

on the scene continuously and referred to as 'his wife' several times.

Example (4) illustrates nominalized verbs. Many examples like this are difficult to classify as 'aforementioned' rather than 'past completed action', and are in fact both; I have used the 'aforementioned' category whenever it can apply, and reserved the 'past' designation for events without prior mention.

- (4) (Text 5) Iktomi has killed and butchered a deer and started cooking part of it; then he climbs a nearby tree to try to stop it from rubbing against its neighbor and making an annoying noise. His hand gets caught fast between the two rubbing trees, and while he's trapped there he sees some foxes wandering nearby. He calls to them to leave his meat alone.

9. Wičhákicho iyéčhel heyá
he-invite-them as-if he-said-that

čhahéčhe óptaye k_i átaya kawíč_h hiyú pi
so pack the all turning came pl.

na thaló k₇u áškašni s₇e
and meat the-aforem. in-no-time it-seemed

thebyá iyéya pi ke₇; wačhók₇i
eat-up finished pl. quot. he-roasted-it

k₇u hena' é na nakú špa
the-aforem. those it-was and also he-cook-it

šni hiyéye č₇u iyúhala.
not pl.-lie the-aforem. all.

'He said that as if he had issued them an invitation, so of course the pack, turning around, came and in seemingly no time they finished off the [aforementioned] meat: all of it, the [aforementioned] roasted parts as well as the [aforementioned] uncooked parts lying around.'

wačhók₇i and špa šni hiyéye are both nominalized verbals; the former could as well be translated 'what he had roasted,' emphasizing the tense meaning of k₇u, but 'what had been lying around uncooked' does not make sense here (the "lying around" was simultaneous with, rather than

completed before the time of, the eating), so I prefer to count these as examples of 'aforementioned' rather than 'past'; but I grant that there is room for argument. Nevertheless, we have here three examples of *kʔu*, all relying at least in part on the "aforementioned" nature of the killing of the deer, butchering, and partial cooking of the meat.

These nominalized verbs are not relative clauses; in the relative construction, the head of the clause comes first in the clause and is always marked indefinite, while the article that marks the clause closes the whole clause. We will see some examples below. As might be expected, when *kʔu* closes such clauses it frequently marks both the 'aforementioned' and the 'past tense' features simultaneously, but sometimes one of those features is absent. Example (5) has two relative clauses:

- (5) (Text 7) Iktomi was traveling around wearing a raccoon skin robe with the tail attached. He hitched a ride on the back of a hawk, but insulted him so that he angrily dumped Iktomi into a hollow tree. Along came two women with axes, and Iktomi convinced them that he was a fat raccoon whom they could use for grease for tanning hides if they cut him out.

17. Čhaké waná nazúspe ikíkčū pi
So now ax take-one's-own pl.

na Čhá kʔu kaʔúka pi yukhá
and tree the-aforem. knocked-down pl. then

wičhá há šiná wə í kʔu
raccoon skin robe a he-wore-it the-aforem.

hé sité ki oňlókə wə
that its-tail the hole a

kaňwíčaši kʔu hetáha
he-ordered-them-to-make the-aforem. from

pathákal hiyúyi na akhéšna
pushing he-make-come and again-and-again

yumáhel ičú he.
pulling-in he-took-it progressive

'So they took their axes and knocked down the [aforementioned] tree; then he kept pushing the

tail of the [aforementioned] raccoon-skin robe he was wearing out from the [aforementioned] hole he had ordered them to make and pulling it back in again.'

The first clause, 'the raccoon-skin robe he was wearing', clearly refers to an 'aforementioned' entity but not a completed event; the second clause, 'the hole he had ordered them to make' refers to an 'aforementioned' entity, but also an action that is complete at this point in the story.

Examples in which the tense meaning is the only possible one are fewer, but cf. (6):

- (6) (Text 1). Iktomi is traveling with Iya, a people-eating giant; when Iya sleeps, Iktomi looks in his mouth:

10. ...yukhá thezí mahel oyáte
then his-stomach inside people

thebwíčhaye č?y hená oyás?i
he-ate-them-up the-past those all

hóčhokathuthuya o?íyokhiphiya wičhóthi wayáka
in-camp-circles happily camped he-saw

škhe?. 11. Makhá akál ú pi k?y héha
quot Earth on lived pl. past when

tókhel ophí?ič?iya pi k?y héčhena?
thus conduct-self pl. past it-was-the-same

'Then in his stomach he saw all the people he had devoured happily camped in camp circles. They were conducting themselves just as they had when they had lived on earth.'

Although Iya admitted in Sentence 7 that he was heading for a particular village in order to eat the people, these sentences are the first mention of people having been eaten in the past. Thus the 'aforementioned' feature seems only remotely likely here, unless one invokes cultural presuppositions about the habits of Iya, a possible but not a necessary explanation; instead, this meaning of k?y seems clearly similar to that of English 'had'.

Example (7) illustrates the "assumed knowledge" usage of k?y:

- (7a) (Text 2) Iktomi has broken a taboo:
 13...Tuwéni héčy šni wasú?yā pi k?u,
 no-one do-that not we-have-rule pl.
 khičákse ló.
 he-break-it decl.
 'He has broken the rule [I assume you know about it] that no one should do that.'
- (7b) (Text 7) 24...Wičhá ki líla
 raccoon the very
 wičhášapišni k?u.
 they-are-tricky
 'Raccoons are [as you know] very tricky.'

Of the nine examples that do not quite fit these categories, five (all reproduced in example (8)) use k?u to mark temporal adverbial clauses describing events simultaneous with or immediately preceding those of the main clause, but not always past with respect to the time in the story. However, they are all past with respect to the time the story is being told.

- (8a) (Text 1) Iktomi asks Iya when he was born:
 6. Yúkhá, "Eyá mahpiya na makhá ki lená
 Then, well, sky and earth the these
 thoká kága pi k?u hé ehá
 first make passive past that at-the-time
 mathúpe ló,"....
 I-was-born decl.
 'Then, "Well, I was born at the time this earth and sky were first made.'
- (8b) (Text 6) Iktomi is crying when a buffalo comes along and says:
 2. ..."Tókha yúkhá le yačhéya hā huwó?
 why then this you-cry progr. quest.
 Théhāi wa?ú k?u héhāni načhíh?u weló."
 far-off I-come past then I-heard-you decl.

'"Why are you crying this way? I heard you while I was coming far away."'

- (8c) (Text 6) Iktomi is crossing a stream by having had himself swallowed by a buffalo which agreed to cough him up again when they got across:

10. Ho, kʔéyaš umá ečhíyataḡa ihúni
Well, however other side he-arrived

kʔu hehál hoḡpi kte čʔu hé
past when cough-up fut. the-aforem. that

átayaš éktužji na...
totally he-forgot and

'Well, however, when he got to the other side he completely forgot that he had been going to cough him up.'

- (8d) (Text 6) Iktomi is temporarily blind, sitting and crying.

22. Išnála yaḡá kéčhi kʔu, tuwá
alone he-sit he-think past, someone

léčheglaḡči, "...." ečíya keʔ.
very-close he-say-to-him quot.

'He thought he was sitting alone, [when] someone very close to him said, "...."'

- (8e) (Text 7) Iktomi is riding on the hawk's back:

8. na wana mní ki ópta yé čʔu hehál
and now water the above he-go past when

ečhál pteḡó phesléte ki
just-then hawk his-head-top the

okátʔabtʔap yaḡá škeʔ.
he-gesture-insultingly-at he-sit quot

'Just as they went over the river [Iktomi] made insulting gestures at the top of the hawk's head.'

Note that in all the examples except (8d), a form containing the postposition ehá 'at a time' follows kʔu. I suspect that kʔu is a syntactically conditioned part of this

"when"-clause construction, but I do not know the rest of the grammar involved.

The other four "exceptions" to Deloria's categories are in items (9a-9c):

(9a) (Text 3) Iktomi has announced that he will die.

7.

"Wakháheža óta pi k?u child(ren) many pl. the-aforem.
--

 thehíya
harshly

owíčhawakiñ?ą kte 1ó."
I-treat-them fut. decl.

"I will be doing the [aforementioned] numerous children a great disservice."

This usage is exceptional only because 'the children' occurs inside the quotation here. They are 'aforementioned' in the text as a whole, but if the narrator is really quoting Iktomi directly, there is no context to justify the k?u. There are thus two possible rationalizations for this k?u: either the narrator has gotten the contexts confused and allowed the fact that we know about these children to intrude on the quote; or Iktomi is relying on the fact that his wife knows about the children, and using the 'assumed knowledge by hearer' meaning of k?u. The trouble with the second hypothesis is that this meaning usually occurs with clauses, not NPs; but the fact is that this NP is formally a clause -- so it could still be explained away as "normal" usage.

(9b) (Text 10):

21. ... Iglúšta na hehál wikhóškalaka
he-finished-his and then young-women

ki

wóyapte c?u left-over-food the-aforem.

 hená
the those

wičhák?u škhe?
he-gave-them quot.

"He finished eating and then gave the leftovers to the young women."

Although the food (stew of haughty maiden) has been described earlier, as well as the man's eating, this is the first (and only) mention of "leftovers" in the text.

Nevertheless, I think one could rationalize it as a 'conceptually aforementioned' example.

- (9c) (Text 10) An ogre with a face on both sides of his head (called Double-Face in Deloria's translations) carries off maidens who have haughtily rejected too many suitors, and eats them. He has brought a maiden home and told his grandmother to cook her while he goes off again. But this time grandmother tells our heroine and two others already at the house to kill her instead and run away. Then grandmother continues:

29. ... "Lečhíyothə čhámáhel
in-this-direction in-the-woods

čhəwákakse sʔa kʔy héčhiya nazúspe
I-cut-wood habit. the-? thither axe

čikʔala mitháwala kʔy hé maphá na
little my-little the-? that my-head and

miʔísto išléyatahə ki hená iyáyustak
my-arm right the those together

iňpéya pi na ..."
throw-away pl. and ...

"Throw my right arm, my head, and my [kʔy] little axe over here in the woods where I always chop (ped?) wood and"

(Later the arm, head, and axe cooperate to deceive the returning Double-Face into thinking his grandmother is out there chopping in the woods, and thus delay his discovery of the escape a little longer.)

This is the first time in the story that either the wood-cutting place or the axe have been mentioned, so I cannot think of an excuse for considering either of them 'aforementioned' or 'presumed knowledge', even in the quotation, and the 'past tense' meaning makes no sense either. The only explanation I have thought of for these two examples is that the grandmother is giving instructions for the period after her death, and thus speaking as if she were already dead, using *kʔy* in its 'past' meaning ('where I used to chop wood; what used to be my little axe'). In fact, however, these two instances are the only genuine exceptions I have found to Deloria's description.

It thus seems that at least one of four conditions is necessary if kʔu is to appear:

- (1) the referent of a noun or nominalization must be 'aforementioned' in the text;
- (2) the verb marked by kʔu must describe an event prior to the current state of the narrative;
- (3) the clause ending with kʔu must be something the hearer might be expected to know already;
- (4) the clause ending with kʔu must be a time adverb describing an event that is semantically 'past', relative either to the time of speaking or to the current state of the story.

Conditions (1) and (2) frequently combine, and if the examples in (9c) are not totally isolated, the event can be 'prior' in the speaker's mind-set, rather than objectively 'past'.

However, if we examine other nouns and nominalizations in the stories we find a good many examples which meet one of these conditions but which are marked by ki rather than kʔu. Why?

So far the only firm rule I can state is that only one NP in a clause can be marked by kʔu, and that immediately makes me suspect that some sort of topicalization is involved, since clauses presumably never have more than one topic.

Otherwise I have only a number of disproven hypotheses: nothing I have thought of quite works. In the appendix to the paper I have reproduced good-sized chunks of two texts, with "tracings" of particular nominals marked on them. You have both the Lakhota and the literal translation, since it may be easier to follow the discussion on the basis of the translation in a language you don't know.

The first example traces two characters, the Double-Face and the little beaver. The Double-Face is introduced as such in sentence 10, and mentioned by name twice more, once with kʔu and the second time with ki. The beaver, on the other hand, is introduced in Sentence 6 and reappears several times, all but one of them marked by kʔu. Note that for both characters, the ki example occurs in a clause containing another noun marked by kʔu; thus both of these

may be consequences of the "one k?u per clause" rule. The use of k?u for these terms is thus the simplest and most straightforward possible: the aforementioned nouns are marked by k?u when possible, and there is no need for further explanations. This is even true of the bridge in sentences 19 and 21 and the original successful suitor in sentences 2 and 23, but not for the young woman or the man (who is going to be the Double-Face) in 8, the rocks in 15 (the second and third times they're mentioned), the man in 17, nor the parents in 4 and 23. If an intuitively natural notion of "topic" is involved, it is strange to me that the man and the woman would not be topics in 8. Similarly, "distance from last mention" seems to be unable to explain k?u, if the beaver is always k?u but the parents are not.

The second example traces the buffalo through this part of the story. He arrives in sentence 2, introduced as indefinite (with wa) as is befitting new information, but then he is referred to by ki and k?u without any obvious reason for the variations. Two hypotheses that don't work are:

-- choose according to syntactic case-role (he is always subject, and in all but the last example also always agent);

-- choose according to relative distance from last mention (contrast sentence 9 with 12, where both are k?u but 12 is much further from the previous mention than is 9).

This vacillation between ki and k?u is even more striking in a text I have not supplied here. The last page of the appendix records the sentence numbers and articles used with eleven nouns through about 40 sentences. Let me call your attention especially to the cat, bear, snake and buffalo. These four guard the house of the man who rescues the maiden from the Double-face. They are all introduced at the same time, yet when they are called on one at a time in sentences 64-66 to doctor the sick maiden, two are brought up with k?u, while two are reintroduced with ki. Because these four characters are so completely parallel, I am particularly puzzled as to why they should have different syntactic treatments.

I want to conclude now with two additional observations. First, I am strongly resistant to any explanation for this phenomenon which relies on probability statistics. It seems to me that saying that k?u occurs in X% of situations that have something or other in common is saying nothing more than what Deloria already said in 1941;

I am satisfied that I know what kʔu means when it occurs, and my investigation is an attempt to find ways to predict it rather than explain it. So far I have not succeeded, however.

Finally, I would like to speculate a little about the "core" meaning of these two particles. What do "past time", "aforementioned," and "presupposed to be known to the hearer" have in common that would allow the same particle to serve all three situations? I would contend that the unifying element here is factuality: when the speaker can be absolutely sure of the existence of something in the world established by the discourse, kʔu is appropriate. In contrast, ki may be a kind of assertion of existence, rather than presupposition of it; it is somewhat less definite for this reason. Note that as a clause final particle, ki often means 'if; when (in the future)'; perhaps ultimately the answer to the ki/kʔu distinction will be found tied up with these notions of greater and lesser degrees of speaker confidence in the factuality of the entities marked.

And just to confirm any suspicions that the author has lost all sense of reality at this point, let me point out that in North Caddoan, a sub-family of a family that has sometimes been asserted (but never proven, despite several attempts) to be related to Siouan, and thus to Lakhota, there is a future tense morpheme ki and a past tense morpheme ku. Might this be more than coincidence?

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American Ethnological Society Vol. 14.

9. Double-Face Tricks the Girl.

1. Oya'te wā t'i'pi yuk'a' e'l wik'o'skalaka wā w'i'ya wāste' c'a li'la wāste'kilapi šk'e'. Wau'sila nā nakū ksa'pa c'ake' wic'a'sa kī iyu'ha c'ati'heyapi nā yu'zapikta c'i'pi k'eš wica'lašni šk'e'. 2. Yuk'a' ug.nā' k'oška'laka wā to'k'iyatahā li'la wāste' c'a ahi'oyuspa šk'e'. 3. He'c'el e's c'i'sni s'a k'u nake' li'la iyo'kip'i nā hig.nā'yikta ke'ya' šk'e'. 4. K'e'yaš hūka'ke kī owi'c'akiyakešni, kic'i' iya'yikta-ig.lu'štā nā nahma'la-ig.lu'wiyeya nā wasna', hā'pa k'o'k'o mig.nā'k wakta'yaka' ke'. 5. Wana' hīai'yakpaza hā'l tuwa' t'ila'zata ho'p'iciya ke'. K'e'yaš he'c'el kic'i' g.luštā' c'a, — Tohā'l t'ila'zata ho'p'imiciye' cihā hehā'l hina'p'a yo'; ūki'yayikte, — eya' ke'. 6. C'ake' c'a'pala wā wani'yapi yuha' c'a he' iki'kcū nā he'c'ena hina'p'i nā k'oška'laka kī t'ila'zata p'a'mahel ic'o'ma' nā'zī c'ake' kic'i' iya'ya ke'. 7. Li'la ya'pi nā m.nī wā sma' c'a o'huta kī e'l ihu'nipi yuk'a' wic'a'sa kī, — Ho, iwa'nūwikta c'e, c'ak'a'hu kī akā'l ima'yotaka yo', — eya' ke'. 8. K'e'yaš wik'o'skalaka kī ec'ū' c'i'sni yuk'a' he'c'ena wic'a'sa kī li'la c'aze' nā, — E'l i'yotaka yo', ep'e' lo'. Ec'a'nūšni kihā m.ni-mahel ihpe'c'iyikte, — eya' ke'. 9. Li'la k'oki'p'a c'ake' ec'e'l ec'ū' ke'; ag.nā' nūwā'pi uspe'sni kī he' ū'. 10. Wana' nūwā' ya' c'ake' c'ak'a'hu akā'l yaki' nā nazū'te kī e'l e'tuwa' yaka' yuk'a' he'c'iyatahā nakū' ite' šk'e'. (Le anū'k ite' ewi'c'akiyapi kī he'c'a)šk'e'. 11. K'oška'laka wā wāste'lake c'ā ehā'k'u he' le' e'sni kī nake's hehā'l slolyi' nā li'la wahte'lašni nā nakū' hiya's²-g.la ke'. 12. Iyu'weh' k'ina'zīpi nā c'ama'hel wak'e'ya wā li'la t'ā'ka c'a etā'hā so'ta izi'tahā yuk'a' e'l k'i'pi ke'. 13. Yuk'a' he'c'eg.lala wic'a'sa kī, — Ma'ha' ye lo'. C'e heyo'micile ye, mišti'mikte, — eya' ke'. 14. C'ake' wahte'lašni ū' alo'slos hig.le' c'e'yaš k'aye' hiyu'ka c'a wana' heyo'kicile nā yui'stima ke'. K'e'yaš mat'a'pehā k'e'ya' li'la cikci'k'apila c'a hēyawic'aya c'ake' hena' e' c'a p'ehi' kī e'g.nā psi'l ū'pi' ke'. 15. C'ake' i'ya-b.lasha' nū'p g.nā'kī nā wāzi' oyuspa c'a'sna he'l kasti'sli-kat'a' ke', i'ya' kī oko' og.nā' e'wic'ag.nakī nāšna i'ya' kī i'c'iyap'a ū'. 16. Li'la yui'stima c'ake' wana' kiksū'yešniya hpa'ye cī hehā'l p'ehi' kī li'la hā'skaska c'ake' etā' i'ū' nā t'o'sū' wā ekta' e'iyokāški nā ak'e' etā' t'o'sū'-t'okeca wā ekta' e'iyokāški nā he'c'el a'ya ke'. 17. He'c'el t'iyokawih' g.lihu'ni c'ake' iktō'mi-t'awo'kaške' s'e' hā' c'a c'oka'ya wic'a'sa kī hpa'ya ke'. 18. He'c'ena c'a'pala k'ū he' iki'kcū nā g.licu' ke'. I'yakapi ece' ec'ū' nā wana' t'ik'iyela kī yuk'a' b.le' wā sma' g.laki'ya hpa'ya c'ake' to'k'a-iyu'weješni ke'. E'na i'yotakī nā c'e'yahā ke'. 19. He'c'ena c'a'pala k'ū he' k'ohā' c'aya'ksaksa i'yaki' nā c'eya'kt'ūpi wā i't'ap ka'h yuštā c'ake' ali' g.licu'pi ke'. 20. Ūma' ec'iyatahā wana' makla' ali'pi hā'l tuwa' laza'tahā pā'pā ū' c'ake' ekta' e'tuwa' yuk'a' (anū'k ite' k'ū he') c'a nape'apa'haha e'tkiya i'yaka ke'. 21. O'huta kī e'l hīa'zī nā i's'eya' wana' c'eya'kt'ūpi k'ū he' ali'wac'ī k'e'yaš li'la oci'k'ayila kī ū' wā'yak hā'hi'ya ū' c'ake' k'ohā' c'a'pala k'ū he' hā'hēnā'tahā g.luzu'zu a'yi nā c'oka'ya ū' hēhā'l oka'psakya c'ake' m.nī t'a' šk'e'. 22. He'c'ena wik'o'skalaka k'ū c'a'pala kī alo'kiksohi' nā li'la i'yak ece'-ku nā t'iwē'g.nā g.licu' c'ake' k'o' se'hi'g.la šk'e'. 23. Hūka'ke kī li'la wi'yūškipi nā nake's k'oška'laka wā (anū'k ite' kī) e'kuze c'ū he' yu'ni'ha'ya k'ū'pi c'ake' hig.nā'ya šk'e'. 24. C'a'pala k'ū he' t'ehi'lapi nā taya' yuha'pila c'ake' wic'o't'i kī he' a'taya e'l wau'kaic'ilala' šk'e'. 25. Hehā'yela owi'hake'.

Literal Translation.

1. People / a / they dwelled / and / there / young woman / a / woman / good / such / very / they-her-their own-regarded good (loved her). / Compassionate / and / also / chaste; / so / men / the all / coveted her / and / they will marry her / they wanted; / yet / she was unwilling. 2. And then / unexpectedly / young man / a / from some place / very / good / such / coming he paid her court. 3. Thus / indeed / she wanted not / regularly / the-past / at last / very / she was pleased / and / she will marry him / she said. 4. But / her parents / the / she told them not, / with him / to run off-~~she~~ agreed / and / secretly-she got ready / and / pemnican / moccasins / too / carrying about her waist / waiting-ly she sat. 5. Now / evening-dark / then / someone / behind the tipi / he cleared his throat. But / that way / with him / she settled / therefore / "What time / behind the tipi / I clear my throat / if then / then / come outside / we shall start off," / he said. 6. So / beaver-little one / a / pet / she had / therefore / that one / she took up her own / and / immediately / she came out / and / young man / the / behind the house / head-inside / wearing his blanket / he stood / so / with him / she went. 7. Very / they went / and / water / a / deep / such / shore / the / at / coming they stood / and / then / man / the / "Now / I shall swim across / back / the / on / me-sit," / he said. 8. But / young woman / the / to do it / she was not willing / and then / at once / man / she / very angry / and / "There / sit. / I say. / You do so not, / if then / into the water / I will throw you," / he said. 9. Very / she feared / so / accordingly / she did; / moreover / to swim / she knew not how / the / that on account of. 10. Now / swimming / he went / so / back / on / she sat / and / nape of the neck / the / at / looking / sat / and lo! / on that side / also / face / This / on both sides / face / they are called the / that sort. 11. Young man / a / she loved / the-past / it appeared / that one / this / it was not / the / at last / then / she knew / and / very / she hated him / and / too / she loathed him. 12. Arriving across / they stopped / and / in the wood / tent / a / very / large / such / from / smoke / it was rising / and so / there / they arrived home. 13. And then / instantly / man / the / "I am sleepy. / So / hunt lice for me, / I will sleep," / he said. 14. So / she despised him / on account of / she felt repulsion in waves over her, / but / out in front / coming he lay / so / now / she hunted lice for him / and / induced him to sleep. / But / toads / certain type / very / little ones / such / he had for lice. / So / those / it was / such / hair / the / among /

jumping / they stayed. 15. So / flat stones / two / she had lying by / and / one / she caught / then-regularly / there / mashing it-she killed it / stones / the / space / between / in / she placed them / and regularly / stones / the / she struck one against the other / by means of. 16. Very / she made him sleep / so / now / not remembering concerning himself / he lay / the / then / hair / the / very / long / so / some / she took / and / tipi-pole / a / to / she tied / and / again / some / tipi-pole / different / a / to / she tied / and / that way / she continued. 17. That way / around the room / she came to her starting point / so / spider-its-web / like- / it stood / such / in the midst of / man / the / he lay / 18. Immediately / little beaver / the-past / that / she took her own / and / started home. / Running / that kind only / she did / and / now / near home / she was coming / and then / lake / a / deep / across her way / lay / so / she could not cross. Right there / she sat down / and was weeping. 19. At once / beaver / the-past / that one / meantime / outing trees with his mouth / he ran / and / bridge / a / promptly / making he completed, / so / stepping on it / she came through, on her way home. 20. Other / that side / now / land / she stepped on / then / someone / from behind / shouting / he was coming / so / towards / she looked / and lo / on both sides / face / the-past / that one / it was / such / hand-raising at / towards / he ran. 21. Shore / the / there / he came to a stop / and / he / too / now / bridge / the-past / that / he step on-he tried / but / very / narrow / the / on account of / carefully / slowly / he came / so / meantime / little beaver / the-past / that one / from this side / taking apart his own / he went / and / midway / he was coming / just then / he caused it to break in. / so / water / 22. Immediately / young woman / the / little beaver / the / she took her own up in her arms / and / very / running that way all-ways-she came / and / into camp / she came back / so / wild excitement / like it became suddenly. 23. Her parents / the / very / they were glad / and / this time in earnest / young man / a / on both sides / face / the / to be-he pretended / the-past / that one / with due ceremony / they gave to him / so / she took him for a husband. 24. Little beaver / the-past / that one / he was loved / and / comfortably / they kept the little one / so / tribal camp / the / that / entire / in / he regarded himself as a privileged little dweller. 25. There / it ends.

6. Iktomi and the Buffalo. The Eye-Juggler.

1. Iktomi isila loc'e' c'qel' wogute o'i'cile-oma'nina s'ic'e'. K'e'gas wapak' wa sma' el i' na tok'a-syu' wegesni c'qel' o'hula ki el c'e'yaha ke'. 2. Yuk'e' (f'at'q'ka wa'el hi' na heyd' ke'. — Tok'a yuk'e' le' yac'e'yaha huwo' i' e'ha' wau' k'u' he'ha'ni nac'i'F'u we lo', — eya' ke'. 3. Yuk'e'q', — Hehehi', misu', le' k'owak'ata geow' c'qani k'e'gas tok'a-ib' lu' wegesni c'a' inu' wa' ib' lu' t'e' c'e'gas m. nsi' t'ga' q' ki isila sme' lo'. C'a' k'e'c'yar' loc'i'ps' c'u' mat'ilde s'e' le'c'eca ye lo'. — eya' ke'. 4. (f'at'q'ka ki'ye' s'ila na heyd' ke'. — Ho, ec'a, le' ib' lu' wegi'ka c'e' c'q'at'hu' pak'el' ma'ya'ka yo', ac'i'yik'le. — eya' ke'. 5. — Ho'i, wa' ni't'q'ka q'a tok'ami ama'c'isak'ap'eni k'ing' ama'slo'hi'k'le lo', — eya' na' u'ca'las'ni' ke'. 6. C'q'el' ak'e's', — Ho, he'ce'ak'ata he'q'ah's s'ye' el' oma'gus'pi na' m'ha'kap' o'ka'k' u' wo', tok'ad' i'yu'weh' ak'e'F'pec'i'yik'le. — eya' ke'. 7. K'e'gas o'u'sila s'ica' ke'. — Ho'h, wa, misu', s'hu'paq' i'yu'we'ye' c'ha' m. myo'kak'ap' i'ye'ma'ya'yik'le lo', — eya' ke'. 8. C'q'el' (f'at'q'ka k'i'ak'e', — Ec'a' p'a' ki' ak'at' ma'ya'ki' na he' ki' oko' og'na' hel' ma'ya'ka yo', — eya' ke'. Tok'a's ak'e' u'ca'las'ni' ke'. — M. ni'at'ika' c'ing' ma'ya'las'ni'ke' lo', wa, — eya' ke'. 9. He'ha'y'q' wana' (f'at'q'ka k'u' i'wa'k'elas'ni' ke'. — C'as' c'i' tok'el' Kap'i'ca' he' i' — eya' yuk'e'q' Ikt'o' i's' he'ha'el' le'c'e'el' eya' ke'. — Iye's, misu', nama'p'ca' go', ec'a's' i'yu'weh' i'ya' h'uni' k'ing' hoya'h'p'e' na' i'q' le'p' h'iyu'ma'ya'yik'le. — eya' ke'. 10. T'yaq' eye' s'e' le'c'eca' c'q'el' wana' (f'at'q'ka k'i' Ikt'o' na'p'ci' na' i'yu'we'ga' ke'. Ho, k'e'gas' q'ma' ec'e'y'at'at'ing' s'ha'y'ns' k'u' he'ha'el' ho'h'p'i'k'le c'u' he' at'aya's' el'k'uzi' na' kat' c'q'iyoh'azi' wa' el' i'yu'ki' na' he'c'ena'ho'i' isti'ma' ke'. 11. T'ez'i-ma'he'l' Ikt'omi c'q'az'e'ki' na' o'ic'ap'is' u' k'e'gas' he'c'ena' go'p'aha' ke'. 12. He'c'etu' k'e's' ho'hu'-m'ila' wa' ming' na' k'a' c'q'el' s'ic'i'k'ou' na' u' c'u'wo'i'-he'p'i' ya' w'ah'y' na' el'q'ha'g' i'ina'p'a' c'q'el' (f'at'q'ka k'u' i'w'is'ima' t'a' ke'.

Literal Translation.

1. Iktomi / very / he was hungry / so / food / to hunt for himself / he was travelling / they say. But / river / a / deep / at / he arrived / and / he had no way of crossing / so / shore / the / on / he was crying. 2. And then buffalo-bull / a / to / he came / and / said: / "Why / and so / this / you are weeping? / far off / I came / the-past / even then / I heard you," / he said. 3. And / "Alas, / my younger brother, / this / across (the river) / I hope to go / but / I have no way of crossing / so / to swim / I tried / but / main-current / the / very / deep. / So / right now / hunger / on account of / I will die like / it is so," / he said. 4. Bull / the / he took pity on him / and / said: / "Well, / then / this / I am going to cross / so / back / on / me-sit, / I will take you," / he said. 5. "The idea! / why, / you are big, / so / in some way / I do not clamp my legs tightly about you, / then / I shall slide off," / he said / and / refused. 6. So / again / "Well, / it is going to be like that / if-then / fall / on / me-hold / and / me-following / floating / come / certainly / across / I shall take you," / he said. 7. But / to pity / he was bad. / "The idea, / why, / my younger brother, / switching the tail / you go / if-then / knocking into the water / you will send me," / he said. 8. So bull / the / again / "Then, / head / the / on / me-sit / and / horns / the / space between / in / there / me-sit," / he said. But / again / he was unwilling. / "You drink water / if-then / you / will drop me, / wa," / he said. / 9. From then / now / bull / the-past / he was disgusted with him. / "Well then, / of course / what way / is it possible to do?" / he said / and then / Ikt'o / he / next / thus / he said: / "Rather, / my younger brother, / you swallow me; / later, / across / you arrive / the-then / you (will) cough / and / vomiting (because of me) / you will send me forth" / he said. 10. Well / he said / like / it was so / therefore / now / bull / the / Ikt'o / he swallowed / and / crossed (the stream). Now, / but / other (side) / on that side / he arrived / the-past / then / he was to cough / the-past / that / entirely indeed / he forgot / and / yonder / shade of a tree / a / at / he lay down / and / instantly / he slept. 11. Stomach-inside / Iktomi / he was raging / and / talking angrily / he continued to be / but / still / he was snoring. 12. To settle the matter, / then / bone-knife / a / he wore in his belt; / so / he took his own / and / with it / side of the trunk / he cut a gash / and / from / he came out / so / bull / the-past / in his sleep / he died.

Double-Face

33 - ki (returns)
 38 - ki
 41 - ki
 42 - k?u
 47 - k?u
 53 - k?u
 55 - ki

60 - ki
 64 - wichasa ki
 (in quote)

woman

30 - ehake-aglipi k?u
 40 - ehake-aglipi k?u
 41 - ehake-hi k?u
 42 - ka wiya k?u
 42 - wiya k?u
 44 - wiya k?u
 54 - wiya ki (in
 quote)
 60 - wiya k?u
 61 - wiya ki
 66 - wiya k?u
 67 - wiya ki
 70 - wiya k?u (twice)

house

43 - wa (cha)
 47 - k?u

man on island

44 - wa (cha)
 55 - wa (k?u)
 62 - atkuku ki
 68 - wichasa ki
 68 - atkuku ki

cat

49 - wa
 56 - ki
 65 - k?u
 69 - k?u

bear

49 - wa
 56 - ki
 64 - ki
 69 - k?u
 70 - 0

snake

49 - wa
 51 - wa...ki
 66 - k?u
 66 - ki
 70 - 0

buffalo

49 - wa
 51 - wa...ki
 65 - ki
 66 - k?u

knife

39 - wa
 42 - 0
 54 - k?u

awl

61 - (k?eya...k?u) wa
 62 - k?u
 63 - wa (in quote)
 67 - k?u

armpit

59 - 0
 66 - k?u
 67 - ki

CUMULATIVE CONTENTS OF VOLUMES 1-10
Kansas Working Papers in Linguistics

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- | | |
|---|---|
| On the Interpretation of Two-Headed
Stacked Relative Clauses | G. Stump |
| Position in Grammar: Sit, Stand, Lie | L.J. Watkins |
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Portuguesa</i> | E. Barreto Reis |
| Teaching English Suprasegmentals to
Spanish Speakers | B. Rodriguez |
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Child Language Analyses | V.C. Gathercole |
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Suffixes: A Pilot Study | H. Harris |
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C.D. Park
and N.M. Carson |

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- | | |
|---|-----------------|
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Children's Speech | L. Paul |
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the Speakers of Four Languages:
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Turkish | V.C. Gathercole |
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Phonology | K.M. Booker |
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Volga German | G.L. Denning |
| Second Language Acrolect Replacement
in Limon Creole | A. Herzfeld |

Volume 3, 1978 Anthony Staiano and Feryal Yavas, Editors
(out of print)

- | | |
|--|---------------|
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Linguistics | K.L. Miner |
| Instrumental Phonetic Studies and
Linguistic Analysis: The Case of
Kansas Potawatomi | G. Gathercole |

Borrowing and Its Implications for Turkish Phonology	M. Yavas
The Unmarking of Quapaw Phonology: A Study of Language Death	R.L. Rankin
Vowel Harmony and Code-Mixing: A Description of Phonemic Substitution in an American-Hungarian Text	M. Dobozy
Meaning and Placement of Spanish Adjectives	G.L. Denning
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Speech Acts, Functions and Presuppositions	J. Abugattas A.
Problems in Machine Translation Between Thai and English Using Montague Grammar	K. Godden
On the Origin of Number Marking in Muskogean	K.M. Booker
The Use of Locative Prepositions by Hebrew Speaking Children 2:0-3:0 Years Old	E. Dromi
Static and Dynamic Properties as Bases for Children's Categorization	G. Simpson
The Relative Clause in Child Language: A Review	J.B. More

Volume 4:1, 1979 Geoffrey Gathercole and Kurt Godden, Editors

In Defense of Concrete Explanations	M. Yavas
Theoretical Implications of the Great Menominee Vowel Shift	K.L. Miner
Tense Logic and Tense and Aspect in English	B. Bryan
The Turkish Aorist	F. Yavas
Attributive and Referential Uses of Basic Syntactic Constituents	K. Godden
Child and Adult Verb Categories	R.P. Schaefer
Order of Acquisition of Spanish Grammatical Morphemes: Comparison to English and Some Cross-Linguistic Methodological Problems	D.M. Vivas
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and the Problems of Borrowing M. Yavas
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in Maithili R. Yadav
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Action as the Basis of Children's
Early Word Extensions M.W. Casby
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and the Acquisition of Mid Vowels R.P. Schaefer
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A Critical Review V.C. Gathercole

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- Subjective Modality C. Seibel
- Modality in Alsatian M. Hessini
- What could *dekiru* Possibly Mean? W.L. Wight
- A Note on *can* and *may* C.K. Oh
and C. Seibel
- The Subjunctive in Spanish J.M. Solano
- Modality in Modern Hebrew E. Dromi
- Stackability of Modalities I.S. Shaw
- A Cross-Linguistic Look at
Future Markers P.J. Hamel
- The Turkish Future Marker F. Yavas
- A Bibliography on Modalities

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- Tonogenesis and the Kickapoo
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Language Choice in Urban Upper-
Middle-Class Indian Families S. Malhotra
- Meandering Through the Name Maze M. Hargadine
- Decrement in Children's Response to
big and *tall* V.C. Gathercole

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 On Palatalization as a Phonetic Process *R.L. Rankin*
 On Movement Constraints *C.K. Oh*
 Incorporation in Muskogean *K.M. Booker*
 On the Nature of Pre-Literate Spelling Ability *W.D. O'Grady and D.E. Gibbons*
 Discourse Considerations in Genesis 1:1-2:4a *J.E. McLaughlin*
 The History of Nigerian Linguistics: A Preliminary Survey *B.A. Okolo*
 Acoustic Characteristics of Arabic Pharyngeal and Pharyngealized Consonants *L. Boxberger*

*Volume 7, 1982**Studies in Native American Languages*

John E. McLaughlin and J. Liessman Vantine, Editors

- Noun Incorporation in Natchez *M.R. Haas*
 Comanche Deictic Roots in Narrative Texts *J.L. Armagost*
 Number Suppletion in North American Indian Languages *K.M. Booker*
 A Semantic Contribution to Choctaw Referential Coding Phenomena *W.D. Davies*
 Transitive Inflection in (Moses) Columbian Salish *M.D. Kinkade*
 Two or Three (or Four) Points about Adverbs and Aspect in Central Numic (Uto-Aztecan) *J.E. McLaughlin*
 A Short Modern Winnebago Text with Song *K.L. Miner*
 French Loanwords in Cree *D.H. Pentland*
 Yurok Retroflexion and Vowel Symbolism in Proto-Algic *P. Proulx*
 A Quapaw Vocabulary *R.L. Rankin*
 Remarks on the Lakhota Enclitics *W.J. de Reuse*

- | | |
|--|---------------------|
| On Some Problematic Phonological
Alternations in Kitsai Texts | <i>J.L. Vantine</i> |
| Grammatical Notes on the
Wawenock Language | <i>P. Voorhis</i> |
| Passives and Verb Agreement in Kiowa-
Tanoan | <i>L.J. Watkins</i> |

Volume 8:1, 1983

Letta Strantzali, Editor

- | | |
|---|---------------------------------------|
| Oral Vowel Reduction in Brazilian
Portuguese | <i>F. Ingemann
and M.A. Nobre</i> |
| Brazilian Portuguese Stressed Vowels:
A Durational Study | <i>P.J. Hamel</i> |
| Comma Intonation in a Tone Language | <i>A.G. Osburne</i> |
| Albanian Reflexives: Violations of
Proposed Universals | <i>P. Hubbard</i> |
| The Generative Relationship
On Michael Dummett's Notion of
Decidability | <i>M.J. Elson
H. Nara</i> |
| Computerized Permutation of Pikean
Field Matrices | <i>K.L. Miner
and B.L. Taghva</i> |
| An Analysis of Sex Stereotypes in the
Japanese Language | <i>A.M. Ediger</i> |

Volume 8:2, 1983

John E. McLaughlin, Editor

Studies in Native American Languages II

- | | |
|--|------------------------|
| Comanche Narrative: Some General
Remarks and a Selected Text | <i>J.L. Armagost</i> |
| Noun and Verb in a Salishan Language | <i>Y.M. Hebert</i> |
| Noun Stripping and Loose
Incorporation in Zuni | <i>K.L. Miner</i> |
| The Position of Opata and Eudeve in
Uto-Aztecan | <i>D.L. Shaul</i> |
| Morphophonemics of Nisgha Plural
Formation: A Step Towards Proto-
Tsimshian Reconstruction | <i>M.L. Tarpent</i> |
| Areal and Genetic Linguistic
Affiliations of the Salinan | <i>K. Turner</i> |
| A Working Bibliography of the
Languages of (Roughly) the Western
United States(-Athapaskan) (+Haida,
Tsimshian, Wakashan) | <i>J.E. McLaughlin</i> |

Volume 9, 1984

Letta Strantzali, editor

Studies in Native American Languages III

- | | |
|--|---|
| Catawba Morphology in the Texts
of Frank Speck and of Matthews
Red Thunder Cloud | P. Voorhis |
| Lexical Representation of Salish Verb
Roots: A Preliminary Examination | N.R. Thompson |
| A Revised Approach to Southern Paiute
Phonology | J.E. McLaughlin |
| JENNY: An Interactive Program in BASIC
for Analyzing Comanche (and Other)
Texts (With Sample Text) | J.E. McLaughlin |
| Description of a Pikean Field Matrix
Permutation Program | D. Barrager |
| Esselen Linguistic Materials | D.L. Shaul
K. Turner
and J. Collins |
| The Structure and Function of Nootkan
Baby Talk | J.F. Kess
and A. Copeland |

Volume 10, number 1, 1985

Richard W. Lungstrum and Antonia Y. Folarin, editors

- | | |
|---|-----------------------|
| Lexicalization of Event Types
in Japanese and the Semantics
of <i>-te iru</i> | H. Nara |
| Greek Mismatches or
Why the Subject Does not Always
Accord with the Verb | C. Pareskevas-Shepard |
| One-Way Talking:
My Greek Motherese | C. Pareskevas-Shepard |
| An Analysis of Igbo Proverbs
and Idioms | B.A. Okolo |
| How Well can Japanese ESL
Students Draw Inferences
from English Sentences? | T. Tomioka |
| Pierce's Concept of the Index:
The Need for a Fourth Sign | D.E. Wooley |

Volume 10, number 2, 1985

Studies in Native American Languages IV
Richard W. Lungstrum and Antonia Y. Folarin, editors

On Predicting Voiceless Vowels in Comanche	J.L. Armagost
Internally Headed Relative Clauses in Choctaw	G.A. Broadwell
Shifting Deictic Centers in the Hualapai Demonstrative System	M. Howe
Velar Palatalizations in Dakota	R.W. Lungstrum
On the Semantics of 'Come,' 'Go,' and 'Arrive' in Otomanguan Languages	M. Macauley
Slavey Expressive Terms: Synchronic Evidence for Diachronic Change	M. Pepper
Notes on Yurok Derivation	P. Proulx
Definiteness Subcategorized in Discourse: Lakhota <i>kʔy</i>	D.S. Rood