New Notes on Miami-Illinois

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It has been aptly stated (Goddard 1995: 124) that "the description of a language is a process rather than a single event". My book *the Miami-Illinois Language* (Costa 2003) was published in early January 2003, though almost no additions were made to the manuscript after 2001. Since then my research into Miami-Illinois has continued, and I am still making new discoveries and examining new data sources for the language. For example, in 2005 I finally obtained complete copies of Albert Gatschet's three original notebooks from his 1890's Oklahoma fieldwork (Gatschet no date), which turned out to contain a great deal of new vocabulary and numerous verb paradigms. Additionally, I have continued my examination of the Jesuit Illinois dictionaries, and finding many unexpected new facts there as well. This paper places on the record some of the more notable new discoveries in the last six years.

NEGATION

The T-Negative

The primary means of negating verbs in Miami-Illinois is with a conjugation very similar to that found in Ojibwe-Potawatomi, which has been called the 's-negative' (Costa 2003: 334-5, Goddard 2006: 173). Negative verbs use the s-negative the great majority of the time, and, unlike Ojibwe, no negative particle is required with it.[1] However, in addition to the s-negative, there are also marginal attestations of two other negative verb conjugations, which can be referred to here as the t-negative and the m-negative.

The t-negative has the apparent shape *-to,* is only attested for third person independent A.I.'s and I.I.'s, and always occurs

word-finally after all other suffixes. Indeed, *-to* always seems to follow fully inflected verbs, so it may actually be a clitic.

The t-negative is listed in Gravier's Illinois-French dictionary, under ‹t8›. Of it, he says 't8 at the end of third person expresses negation or interrogation in place of the negation.'[2] The example he gives is ‹pi8at8›, glossed only as 'est ce qu il vient? il ne vient pas'. No other examples of the t-negative have yet turned up in the old Illinois materials.

Most examples of the t-negative are found in the Indiana Miami materials of Charles Trowbridge, though even in his notes the s-negative is much more common. Unlike the s-negative, the t-negative is usually used with the negative particle *moohci* 'not' or *peemaka* 'not, never':[3]

(1) The T-Negative in Trowbridge's Materials[4]

> moatshee tipāāwaawautoa neekoteekōshee
> *moohci **tipeeweewato** neekatikašia*
> not | he is not good | horse
> 'he is not a good horse'

> oamahkwāūkee mōātshee pāāhkee maasheeleewāūkeetoa
> *amehkwaki moohci peehki **mihšiiliwakito***
> beavers | not | good, very | they are not plentiful
> 'beavers are not very plentiful'

> mitoasaaneeāukee ihkau nauhiteheewāutaa pāāmukar
> keeuhkoapeewāukeetoa
> *mihtohseeniaki ihka nahiteeheewaate peemaka **kiiyaahkweepiwakito***
> Indians | dub. | if they are good-hearted, behave well | not, never | they
> are not drunk
> 'if the Indians were wise they would not get drunk'

> elāashee nāahee ndaashītehaukarn mōatshee soapaukeenaukārtwaatoa
> *ileeši neehi nintešiteehaakani moohci **soopaakinakatwito***
> but | then | my mind | not | it is not troubled
> 'but then my mind is not troubled'

The following is the only example I have found of a verb with the t-negative with no negative particle elsewhere in the sentence:

(2) The T-Negative With No Negative Particle

> mitoasaaneeāukee elāashee ēeshee tipāawaa eeshinekōaseewauhpau eeshinekoaseewāukeetoa
> *mihtohseeniaki ileeši iši tipeewe iišinaakosiwaahpa **išinaakosiwakito***
> people, Indians | but | thus | good | they used to be so | they are not so
> 'but the Indians are not as good as they were'

I have found only one example of the t-negative after Trowbridge's notes, in Dunn's elicitation of Miami speaker Thomas Richardville's translation of Genesis:

(3) The T-Negative in Thomas Richardville's Speech

> cĭkíwĭ mänĭwĭkĭ mótyĭ kĭkä´limakátwätto
> *ašiihkiwi meeneehwiki moohci **kihkeelimaakatwito***
> earth | it is absent, there is none of it | not | it is not known
> 'and the earth was without form, and void'

Richardville spoke a notably idiosyncratic dialect with many morphological and lexical peculiarities not found in the speech of other Miami-Illinois speakers; it is not surprising that the t-negative should be documented in the 20th century only in his speech.

The M-Negative

Additionally, a small handful of sentences have been found attesting yet another negative suffix, which I call here the m-negative. The m-negative is found only in Trowbridge's and Dunn's Miami notes, and has not yet turned up in any Illinois sources. This suffix, with the apparent shape *-me*, is also always found at the end of its verb after all other suffixes, and all known examples co-occur with either *moohci* or *peemaka*. Indeed, the m-negative might well be an allomorph of the t-negative, since the two are in complementary distribution: the m-negative is found with independent verbs with first or second person arguments,

while the t-negative is found in verbs with only third person arguments:

(4) The M-Negative

>Trowbridge:
>mōātshee keetōlumtooleemaa
>*moohci **kitalaamihtooleme***
>not | I do not believe you
>'I do not believe you'

>pāāmukar neenoondāūwemaa
>*peemaka **ninoontawaame***
>never, not | I do not hear him
>'I shall not hear him'

>mōātshee neenoondārwamaa
>*moohci **ninoontawaame***
>not | I do not hear him
>'I did not hear him'

>Dunn:
>motyĭ n'sakisimä
>*moohci **niseekisime***
>not | I am afraid
>'I am not afraid'

>mótyĭ piaiani n'daicĭ´tähä´mä
>*moohci pyaayaani **nintešiteeheeme***
>not | I come | I do not think so
>'I do not like to come'

>motyĭ kĭko n'dälĭlĭmamä
>*moohci kiikoo **ninteleelimaame***
>not | thing, something | I do not think thus of him, like him
>'I don't care for him'

The Inko-Negative

Finally, among the variety of ways Miami-Illinois has of expressing negation, there is also a negative construction found using the particle *(i)nko* as a negative. Like the m- and t-negatives, the *(i)nko*-negative is of severely restricted use: so far, almost all

examples of this construction have been found in quoted speech in traditional narratives, most of them from Peoria speaker George Finley. In the dozen or so attested examples of the *(i)nko*-negative, *(i)nko* almost always appears clause-initially, usually followed by the dubitative particle *-hka*, and is usually used with an implied future tense:

(5) Examples of the Inko-Negative

> Michelson:
> ki'tílami^n nipékye' 'iñgū´'ka' mṓ'kitci^n
> *kiihtilaami nipeke, **inko**-hka moohkiici*
> indeed | if he is dead | interrog. | dub. | he emerges
> 'if he's really dead, he won't get up'

> 'íñgo' le'cĩ́ 'ī'pinalelā´koki
> ***inko** léhši iihpinalilakoki*
> interrog. | purposely | I do so to you (pl.)
> 'I didn't do it to you on purpose'

> 'iñgṓ'ka' nāpĩ́ 'ī'cílenitc^i' wä´ya'
> ***inko**-hka naapi iišilenici aweeya*
> interrog. | dub. | also | he does so | someone
> 'no one else can do that'

> 'iñgṓ'ka' nṓ^{n}gi 'eñgĩ́'itci wätsamā´ka' ma'wä´w^a'.
> ***inko**-hka noonki eenkihici weechsaamaka mahweewa*
> interrog. | dub. | now | he kills me | he who I have as a brother | wolf
> 'brother wolf can't kill me now'

> iñgṓ'ka^n nṓ^{n}gi^n 'endṓne'wâki^n ni'cĩ́ma^n papañgámwa^n
> ***inko**-hka noonki eentoneehwaki nihšiima paapankamwa*
> interrog. | dub. | now | I go after him | my younger sibling | fox
> 'I'm not going to go after brother fox now'

> Gatschet:
> gû´ka núki näwaki ningwissa
> ***nko**-hka noohki neewaki ninkwihsa*
> interrog. | dub. | again | I see him | my son
> 'I'll never see my son again'[5]

íngoxka täpahóxki
***Inko**-hka teepahohki*
interrog. | dub. | he pays you
'he won't pay you'

However, it should be noted that the negative is not the primary meaning of *(i)nko*: the vast majority of the time, this particle serves as a second-position interrogative clitic to form yes-no questions, as in the following examples:[6]

(6) *Nko* Used as Interrogative Particle

täpí nguxka ashawäyangwi kizhikwa
*teepi-**nko**-hka aašaweeyankwi ahkiinšikwa*
can, able | interrog. | dub. | we (incl.) trade | eyes, beads
'can we trade beads?' (Gt)

8ahingo cata irepiki 8apiaïani
*waahi-**nko** kata ilehpiiki waahpyaayani*
here | interrog. | fut. | it is so tall | you arrive here
'will (the corn) be this high when you arrive?' (P)[7]

kikû ngu ka mamáni
*kiikoo-**nko**-hka mamani*
something | interrog. | dub. | you take it, buy it
'do you want to buy something?' (Gt)

micǐ´ngo piásǐkwǐ
*mihši-**nko** pyaahsiikwi*
yet | interrog. | he does not come
'has he not come yet?' (D)

katingo ab8gi piatchi Jes8s kigig8ng8ntchi?
*kati-'**nko** aapooši pyaaci Jesus kiišikonkonci?*
future | interrog. | again | he comes | Jesus | from the sky, heaven
'will Jesus come again from Heaven?' (Az)

It should be emphasized that all of these verbs can alternately take the s-negative, and in fact the s-negative is far more common in Dunn's and Trowbridge's notes. Thus, the t-negative, the m-negative, and *(i)nko* seem to be alternate means

of negating verbs for speakers who have all these conjugations, although it is unknown what the semantic difference is between them. Hopefully more examples will turn up and further clarify the picture.

The Independent Intransitive S-Negative

Costa (2003: 371-3) had found only one example of a dependent inanimate intransitive s-negative, *ahteehsiinooki* 'it is not there, not located' (‹attesin8ki›), from the Allouez Illinois prayerbook. Since then, several examples of dependent I.I. negatives (most of them conditionals) have been found in Pinet's dictionary, confirming this ending:

(7) Dependent Inanimate Intransitive Negatives from Pinet

> *alaamihsensiinooke* 'if the wind does not blow' (P ‹aramissinsin8kie›)
> *maaciihansiinooke* 'if it does not drift away' (P ‹matchihansin8kie›)
> *pihkonteekamiihsiinooki* 'it is not dark water' (P ‹pec8ntegamisin8ki›)
> *piitilaansiinooke* 'if it does not rain' (P ‹pitiransin8ka›)

In (Costa 2003: 371-2) it was noted that in Miami-Illinois, the independent I.I. negative ending varies between *-hsiinwi* and *-hsiinoowi*. It seems very likely that the negative I.I. ending was originally *-hsiinwi* in the independent, as it appears to have still been for most modern speakers, and that the *-hsiinoowi* alternate in the independent is the result of *-hsiinoo-* being generalized to the independent.[8]

(8) Miami-Illinois Independent Intransitive Negative Endings

> independent I.I. negative:
> *-hsiinwi ~ -hsiinoowi*
>
> dependent I.I. negative:
> *-hsiinooki*
>
> (*-hsiinoo* generalized from dependent to independent)

In addition to verb stems, in Miami-Illinois negative predicates can be formed from any noun, pronoun, numeral or adverb. These are formed by lengthening the final vowel of the derived word if it is short, and inflecting the word with the normal independent I.I. negative ending, *-hsiin(oo)wi*.[9] Some typical examples of negative I.I. verbs formed from adverbs, numerals and various particles follow:

(9) Negated Adverbs, Numerals and Particles

> *kiikoo* 'thing, something' (Az ‹kik8›, P ‹kig8›, D ‹kíko›; see Costa 2003: 135)
> *kiikoohsiinwi* 'it is nothing' (Az ‹kik8sin8i›, P ‹kig8sin8i›, LB ‹kic8sin8i›, D ‹kíkosĭ´nwĭ›)
>
> *teepi* 'enough, can' (Gt ‹tä´pi›, D ‹täpĭ›; cf. Kickapoo *teepi*)
> *teepiihsiin(oo)wi* 'it is not enough' (Gt ‹tä´pissínwi›, D ‹tä´pĭˇsĭ´nówĭ› [sic])[10]
>
> *tipeewe* 'good, gladly, like to' (Gr ‹tipe8e›, D ‹tĭpä´wä›, Mc ‹tipä´we›)
> *tipeeweehsiinoowi* 'it is not good' (D ‹tĭpäwäsĭnówĭ›)
>
> *kiihtilaami* 'really, certainly' (Gr ‹kittirami›, Gt ‹ki'htílami›; cf. Kickapoo *keehtenaami*)
> *kiihtilaamiihsiinwi* 'it is not so!'[11] (Gr ‹kittiramisin8i›, Gt ‹ki'tilámisinwi›)
>
> *niišwi* 'two' (Gr/LB ‹ninch8i›, D ‹nĭ´njwĭ›, < PA **nyi·šwi*)
> *niišoohsiinwi~niišoohsiinoowi* 'it is not two' (LB ‹ninch8sin8i›, D ‹nĭ´ndjosĭnówĭ›)
>
> *pilowi* 'far away' (LB ‹pir͡8e›, P ‹pirˊ8i›, Gt ‹pílui›; cf. Shawnee *pelowi*)[12]
> *pilowiihsiinwi* 'it is not far' (LB/P ‹pir8isin8i›)
>
> *nahi* 'well, competently' (Gr ‹naï›, Gt ‹náhi›, D ‹nahi›; cf. Kickapoo *nahi-* 'know how to')
> *nahiihsiinwi* 'cela nest pas bien' (Gr ‹naïsin8i›)
>
> *šiipi* 'for a long time' (Az ‹chibi›, LB ‹chipi›, Gt ‹shípi›; < PA **ši·pi*[13])
> *šiipiihsiinwi* 'it is not a long time' (Az ‹chibisin8i›, LB ‹chipisin8i›)

meehci 'after' (LB ‹metchi›, Gt ‹mä'htchi›, D ‹mätcĭ›; cf. Shawnee *mehči* 'finished')

meehciihsiinwi '(it is) before' (LB ‹metchisin8i›[14], D ‹mä´tcĭsĭ´nwĭ›)

Even pronouns can take this I.I. negative ending:

(10) Negated Pronouns

awiya~awiyaki 'somebody, someone' (Az ‹a8ia›, Gr/LB ‹a8iaki›, Tr ‹weāukee›; < PA *awiyaka {Bloomfield 1946: 116})

awiyaahsiinwi~awiyakiihsiinwi 'there is no one' (P/LB ‹a8iasin8i›, ‹a8iakisin8i›)

This is also seen in the following remarkable form from LeBoullenger's Illinois translation of Genesis, a negative I.I. delayed injunctive derived from *awiyaki* 'someone':

(11) Negative I.I. Delayed Injunctive Pronoun

awiyakiihsiinoohkice 'there must be no one, let there be no one' (LB ‹a8iakisin8kitche›)

Personal pronouns can take the I.I. negative as well:

(12) Negated Personal Pronouns

niila 'I, me' (LB ‹nira›, Gt ‹níla›; < PA **ni·ra*)

niilaahsiinwi 'it is not me, not mine' (LB ‹nirasin8i›[15], Gt ‹nilaxsínwe›)

kiiloona 'we, us (inclusive)' (LB ‹kir8na›, Mc ‹kílōnaⁿ›)

kiiloonaansiinwi 'it is not us' (LB ‹kir8nansin8i› 'ni toi ni moi')

The following sentences from Gatschet's notes provide a glimpse of how these verbs are actually used:

(13) Negated Personal Pronouns Used in Sentences

mû'htchi, nílathínwe kíma
moohci, niilaahsiinwi akima
no, not | it is not me | chief
'no, I am not chief'

unána lämwa mú'htchi nilaxsínwe
oonaana alemwa moohci niilaahsiinwi
this (anim.) | dog | no, not | it is not me
'this dog is not mine'[16]

Nouns can be directly negated, as well:

(14) Negated Nouns

> *alemwa* 'dog' (Gr ‹arem8a›, D ‹alä´mwa›; < PA *$a\theta emwa$)
> *alemwaahsiinoowi* 'it is not a dog, there is no dog' (D ‹alämwasinowi›)
>
> *akima* 'chief' (LB ‹akima›, Tr ‹ukēēmau›, D ‹akíma›; < PA *$wekima\cdot wa$)
> *akimaahsiinoowi* 'there is no chief, it is not a chief' (D ‹akimasĭ´nowi›)
>
> *ahseemaawa* 'tobacco' (Gr/P/LB ‹acema8a›; < PA *$a\widehat{?\theta}e\cdot ma\cdot wa$)
> *ahseemaawaahsiinwi* 'it is not tobacco' (LB ‹acema8asin8i›)

Perhaps most strikingly of all, even possessed animate nouns can be negated:

(15) Negated Possessed Nouns

> *nintaya* 'my animal' (Gr ‹nitaïa›, D ‹nĭndaya›, < PA *$netaya$)
> *nintayaahsiinoowi* 'it is not my animal' (D ‹n'daíasĭ´nowĭ›)
>
> *oohsima* 'a father' (V ‹oxsema›, D ‹oqséma›; < PA *$o\cdot h\theta ema\cdot wa$ 'one's father')
> *oohsimaahsiinoowi* 'there is no father' (D ‹osimasinowi›)
>
> *niwiiwa* 'my wife' (P ‹ni8i8a›, LB ‹ni8i8o›; reshaped < PA *$ni\cdot wa$)
> *niwiiwiihsiinwi* 'it is not my wife' (LB/P ‹ni8i8isin8i›[17])
>
> *awiiwali* 'his wife' (LB/P ‹a8i8ari›, D ‹awĭwáli›; reshaped < PA *$wi\cdot wari$)
> *awiiwaliihsiinwi* 'it is not his wife' (LB/P ‹a8i8arisin8i› 'ce nest pas sa femme')

The following example sentence from Jacob Dunn's notes shows how such forms might be used:

(16) Negated Possessed Noun Used in a Sentence
> onána lämwa mótyĭ nila n'daíasĭ´nowĭ
> *oonaana alemwa moohci niila nintayaahsiinoowi*
> this (anim.) | dog | no, not | I/me | it is not my animal
> 'this dog is not mine'

One odd fact about these negative I.I.'s is that they seem to have no corresponding affirmative verbs: they are apparently derived directly from their corresponding adverbs, nouns, numerals, or pronouns. The lengthening of the vowels immediately preceding the *-hsiin(oo)wi* ending is shown by the fact that the vowels in this position are never devoiced, as one would expect to happen sometimes if they were short and preceding a preaspirate (here, *hs*). The following examples show this most clearly:

(17) Vowel Lengthening Before the Negative Suffix

> *teepi* 'enough, can' (Gt ‹tä´pi›, D ‹täpĭ›; cf. Kickapoo *teepi*)
> *teepiihsiinwi, teepiihsiinoowi* 'it is not enough' (Gt ‹tä´pissínwi›, D ‹tä´pĭ̃sĭ´nówĭ›)
>
> *kiihtilaami* 'really, certainly' (Gr ‹kittirami›, Gt ‹ki'htílami›; cf. Kickapoo *keehtenaami*)
> *kiihtilaamiihsiinwi* 'it is not so!' (Gt ‹ki'tilámisinwi›)
>
> *meehci* 'after' (LB ‹metchi›, Gt ‹mä'htchi›, D ‹mätcĭ›; cf. Shawnee *mehči* 'finished')
> *meehciihsiinwi* '(it is) before' (D ‹mä´tcĭsĭ´nwĭ›)

In all three of these examples, the vowel immediately before the negative suffix immediately follows a long vowel, and would thus be in a weak-syllable if it were short. Given that short vowels immediately after long vowels are regularly deleted or devoiced before preaspirates in the modern language (Costa 2003: 103-6), this strongly indicates that these vowels are actually lengthened.

However, it should be emphasized that this rule seems to only apply to the final vowel of words directly taking the I.I. negative. Normally, short vowels are **not** subject to lengthening before the negative suffix; it is entirely possible for short vowels to devoice before the negative suffix, especially stem-final vowels or the theme 3 marker:

(18) Vowels Devoiced Before the Negative Suffix

> *ninepe* 'I am dead' (Gr/LB ‹ninepe›; < PA **nenepe*)
> *ninepi̱hsoo* 'I am not dead' (Gt ‹ninä´psō›, D ‹ninä´pisó›)
>
> *atehtoleniwa* 'he wears a hat' (Gt ‹tätuläníwa›; cf. *atehtoleni* '(his) hat, headdress')
> *atehtoleni̱hsiiwa* 'he is not wearing a hat' (Gt ‹tähtulänsíwa›)
>
> *ninkocimaa* 'je l'eprouve par paroles' (Gr ‹nic8tchima›; cf. Shawnee *nikočima* 'I ask him')
> *kocimi̱hsoolo* 'do not ask me' (Gt ‹kutchimtholó›)
>
> *awašilo* 'take me, lead me' (Mc ‹'awā´'cilo'›; cf. Fox *awašino*)
> *awaši̱hsooloome* 'do not take us, do not lead us' **(**D ‹awácsolomä›)
>
> *aapwaalaapici* 'he looks back' (D ‹apwalapĭtcĭ›, Mc ‹'āpwā´lApītc[i]'›)
> *aapwaalaapi̱hsoolo* 'do not look back' (D ‹apwälápsoló›)
>
> *nintešimaa* 'I tell him' (LB/P ‹nintechima›; cf. Fox *išime·wa* 'he says so to him')
> *išimi̱hsiiweekwi* 'you do not tell me' (D ‹cĭmsĭwä´kwĭ›, Gt ‹shímthiwek[8]i›)

VERB INFLECTION

O-Stems

     In Miami-Illinois, A.I. stems ending in *o(o)* take third person dependent endings in *-k*, not *-t*. Similarly to type 2 TI's, this *o* reduces to *w* in the dependent first person singular and plural exclusive. Examples of such verbs are:

(19) Miami-Illinois O-Stems

> *takwahiko-* 'grind':
> *teekwahikoki* 'he grinds' (D ‹täkwáhĭkok›)
> *teekwahikokiki* 'they grind' (D ‹täkwáhĭkokĭki›)
> *teekwahikwaani* 'I grind' (Gt ‹tekwahikwáni›, D ‹täkwáhĭkwáni›)
>
> *kisihseko-* 'wash things, do washing':[18]
> *kiisihsekoka* 'he washes' (D ‹kĭssäkoka›, Mi/H ‹kís·ɛko·ka̱›)
> *kiisihsekokiki* 'they wash' (D ‹kĭssäkokĭk›)

kiisihsekwaani 'I wash' (D ‹kĭssäkwanĭ›)
kiisihsekwaanki 'we (excl.) wash' (D ‹kĭssäkwangĭ›)
kisihsikolo 'wash!' (D ‹kĭssĭsĭkolo›)

moonahiko- 'plant, farm':[19]
moonahikoki 'he plants, farms' (Gt ‹munahikoki›)
moonahikwaani 'I plant, farm' (Gt ‹munahikwani›)

ahkwaašiko- 'sew':
eehkwaašikoki 'she sews' (D ‹äkwacĭ´kok›)
eehkwaašikwaani 'I sew' (Gt ‹äkwashikwáni›)[20]

kito- 'make noise (of an animal)':[21]
kiitoka 'he (an animal) makes noise, the turkey gobbles' (Gt ‹kítoka›).
kitowaki 'they (animals) make noise, they gobble' (Gr ‹kit8aki›)

This is also seen in verbs with the *-ipahtoo-* 'run' final:[22]

(20) O-Stems with the 'Run' Final:

keeyapahtooki 'he runs around' (D ‹käyapatokĭ›)
keeyapahtwaani 'I run around' (Gt ‹keyápatuáni›)
neehipahtooka 'he runs well, he (horse) paces' (Gt ‹nähipáxtuka›)
neepopahtooka 'he runs slowly' (Gr ‹nep8pat8ca›)

Negative Dependent Type 2 TI's

In Costa (2003: 341), I was unable to provide a full paradigm of negative dependent Type 2 transitive inanimate verbs, due to the relevant forms not having been located. As it turns out, a full paradigm is given in Albert Gatschet's notebooks, and these verbs inflect as predicted in Costa (2003). The previously unattested forms follow:

(21) Negative Dependent Type 2 TI's

ankihtoohsiikwi 'he does not kill it' (‹gi'htu'hsíkwi›)[23]
ankihtoohsiiwaanki 'we (excl.) do not kill it' (‹gituxsiwangi›)
ankihtoohsiiwankwi 'we (incl.) do not kill it' (‹gixtuxsiwangwi›)
ankihtoohsiiweekwi 'you (pl.) do not kill it' (‹gixtuxsiwäkwi›)
ankihtoowaahsiikwi 'they do not kill it' (‹gi'htuaxsî´kwi›)

Umlaut with Independent Negative AI's

Goddard (2006: 180) has noted that Miami-Illinois *pyaahsiiwaki* 'they do not come' (see Costa 2003: 454) indicated that Miami-Illinois verbs lack umlaut in the negative. However, I have since found three examples of this verb in the third person singular which **do** show umlaut in the negative:

(22)
> *pyaahsiiwaki* 'they do not come' (W/Gt ‹piathiwáki›)
> but also:
> *piihsiiwa* 'he does not come' (Gr ‹pissi8a›, LB ‹pisi8o›, Gt ‹pissiwá›)

Given that this form is corroborated in both old Illinois and the modern sources, it must be considered reliable; thus Gatschet's **pyaahsiiwaki* is either incorrect or a dialect variant.

The Delayed Imperative

In Miami-Illinois, as in Ojibwe and Cree (see Goddard 2006: 195, Nichols 1980: 206), short vowels are lengthened immediately before the delayed imperative suffix. The effects of this rule are obscured in Miami-Illinois by the infrequent attestation of the delayed imperative, as well as the poor quality of the records, which seldom directly mark vowel length. However, several clear examples can be found with TA stems with the theme 3 marker *-i-*.

In Miami-Illinois, short vowels immediately following syllables with long vowels are devoiced when they precede a preaspirate (see Costa 2003: 103). In the following example from Truman Michelson's Peoria fieldnotes, the vowel in question is shown to be long by the fact that it does not devoice (Michelson even writes it with an acute accent), as would be expected of *i* following a long vowel and preceding a preaspirate if it were short:

(23) Vowel Length Before the Delayed Imperative

> *miiḻiihkaanke* 'you must give to us' (Mc ‹mīlí'kãñgé'›); < PA
> **mi·ri·hka·nke.*

For comparison, the following examples of non-imperative forms of the verb 'give' from Michelson's Peoria notes show that he normally wrote devoiced vowels either with superscripting, or as deleted entirely:

(24)
    miilihki 'he gives to you' (Mc ‹mīlʻkiʻ›; < PA **mi·reθki*)
    miilihkiki 'they give to you' (Mc ‹mīlⁱʻkíki›; < PA participle **mi·reθkiki*)

The following verb from Michelson's Peoria notes also shows lengthening of the vowel preceding the delayed imperative:

(25) Vowel Length Before the Delayed Imperative
    piišiihkaanke 'you must bring us' (Mc ‹pīʻcíʻkʌñgéʻ›; < PA *pye·ši·hka·nke*).

Similarly, in the following verb, Jacob Dunn overtly marks the second vowel preceding the delayed imperative:

(26) Vowel Length Before the Delayed Imperative
    miiliihkani 'you must give to me' (D ‹mílīkánĭ›; < PA **mi·ri·hkane*).

This also indicates that the vowel is long, since if it were short, it would be devoiced, and the vast majority of the time Dunn does not write devoiced vowels.

These are the clearest transcriptions I have found so far showing the vowel preceding the delayed imperative as unquestionably long, but even in verbs where the vowel before the delayed imperative is **not** in a weak syllable, it is very common for such vowels to be marked with an acute accent. In the following verb from Gatschet's notes, there would be no reason for him to mark the third vowel as accented if it were short:

(27)
    wiihsiniihkaawi 'we must eat' (Gt ‹wissiníkawe›)[24]

Similarly, Dunn often marks accent on vowels before the delayed imperative as well:

(28)

> *miihkweelimiihkani* 'you must remember me' (D ‹mĭkwälĭmĭ´kanĭ›; < PA **mi·skwe·rem*-)[25].

PRONOUNS

Second and Third Person Plural Pronouns

     After a more detailed examination of the French missionary sources, the historical development of the Miami-Illinois second person plural and third person plural pronouns has come into sharper focus.

     The third person plural independent pronoun appears as *awiirawa* in the Allouez prayerbook, though by the time of the LeBoullenger dictionary this consistently appears as *awiiroowa*:[26]

(29) Third Person Plural Pronoun in Illinois
> 'they/them':
> *awiirawa*   Az ‹a8ira8a›
> *awiiroowa*   LB ‹a8ir8a›, ‹a8ir8o›, ‹a8irô8o›

In early modern Miami, this word appears as *awiiloowa* into the early 19th century:

(30) Third Person Plural Pronoun in Early Miami
> *awiiloowa*   V ‹aouèloùa›, Hk ‹auwiluwa›, Th ‹aueeluah›

This pronoun first appears as *(a)wiilwa* in Trowbridge's notes from the 1820's, and this is how it appears in all records from the late 1800's and after:[27]

(31) Third Person Plural Pronoun in Modern Miami-Illinois

> *(a)wiilwa* Tr ‹auwēēlwau›, Hk ‹auwīlwa›, Gt ‹wílwa›, D ‹awilwa›, Mc ‹wîlwa'›, Mi/H ‹wîlwa›

Given sister-language forms such as Shawnee *wiilawa* and Ojibwe *wiinawaa*, Allouez's *awiirawa* is very likely an archaism (< PA **wi·rawa·*), with *awiiroowa* later created by analogy to other pronouns such as *niiroona* 'we/us exclusive' and *kiiroona* 'we/us inclusive'. Modern *(a)wiilwa* arises from the regular phonological reduction of final *-oowa → -wa* seen in nonverbs in the modern language (Costa 2003: 166-7):

(32) The Development of the Third Person Plural Pronoun

> *awiirawa → awiiroowa → awiiloowa → (a)wiilwa*

Similarly, the second person plural pronoun appears as *kiirawa* in the Allouez prayerbook and in Pinet's and LeBoullenger's dictionaries:

(33) The Second Person Plural Pronoun in Illinois

> 'you (plural)':
> *kiirawa* Az/P/LB ‹kira8a›; < PA **ki·rawa·* (Goddard 2007: 218)

However, this pronoun appears as *kiiroowa* in the religious texts in LeBoullenger's dictionary:

(34) The Second Person Plural Pronoun in LeBoullenger's Texts

> *kiiroowa* LB ‹kir88o›, ‹kir8o›

This is reduced to *kiilwa* in all records from the nineteenth century onwards:

(35) The Second Person Plural Pronoun in Modern Miami-Illinois

> *kiilwa*   Hk ‹kĩlwa›, Tr ‹kēēlwau›, Gt/D ‹kílwa›, Mc ‹kĩlwa'›, Mi/H
>   ‹kîlwa›

Again, *kiirawa* is no doubt an archaism (cf. Shawnee *kiilawa*, Ojibwe *giinawaa*), and *kiiroowa* the result of analogy to pronouns such as *kiiroona* and *niiroona*:

(36) The Development of the Second Person Plural Pronoun

       kiirawa → *kiiroowa* → *kiilwa*

    It is notable that LeBoullenger has *kiirawa* (‹kira8a›) in the main body of his dictionary but only *kiiroowa* (‹kir88o›, ‹kir8o›) in his religious texts. This would suggest that the religious translations in LeBoullenger were from a different dialect or later time period than the dictionary proper, much of which seems to be copied from Pinet's earlier dictionary (see Costa 2005). Moreover, the retention of the archaism *awiirawa* 'they/them' in the Allouez prayerbook and nowhere else would indicate that that document preserves a different, and apparently more archaic, dialect from the other Illinois sources.[28]

The 'Only' Pronouns
    In Costa (2003: 248, 263), I noted the existence of a set of Miami-Illinois pronouns translated 'only' as in 'only me' or 'by myself'. At the time, I only had singular pronouns from this set, but a complete paradigm has since turned up in Gatschet's field notebooks:

(37) 'Only' Pronouns

    niilaahka 'I alone, by myself, only me' (Gt ‹niláxka›)
    kiilaahka 'you alone, by yourself, only you' (Gt ‹kiláxka›)
    (a)wiilaahka 'he/she alone, by him/herself, only he/she' (Gt ‹wiláxka›)
    niiloonaahka 'we (excl.) alone, by ourselves, only we' (Gt ‹nilunáxka›)
    kiiloonaahka 'we (incl.) alone, by ourselves, only we' (Gt ‹kilunáxka›)
    kiilwaahka 'you (pl.) alone, by yourselves, only you (pl.)' (Gt ‹kiluáxka›)
    (a)wiilwaahka 'they alone, by themselves, only they' (Gt ‹wîlwaxka›)

Pronominal Verbs

    An interesting set of A.I. verbs has been discovered which are used to translate phrases such as 'it is me' or 'it's them'. Jacob Dunn elicited a full paradigm of these in his fieldwork with Peoria

speaker George Finley, and this has also been supplemented by a handful of forms found elsewhere. An unexplained fact about these verbs is that with the exception of Dunn's stray participle *niilaata* 'it's me', these verbs are found in the conjunct only, and never in the independent. Moreover, they do not seem to undergo initial change:

(38) Pronominal Verbs

> *niilaaci~niilaata* 'it's me, it is I' (Gr/P/LB ‹niratchi›, D ‹nilátcĭ›, ‹nilat›)
> *kiilaaci* 'it is you' (Az ‹kiratchi›, D ‹kilatci›)
> *awiilaaci* 'it is him/her' (Gr/LB ‹a8iratchi›, Gt ‹wílatch›, D ‹awilatci›)
> *niiloonaaci* 'it is us (excl.)' (Az ‹nir8natchi›, D ‹nílonátcĭ›)
> *kiiloonaaci* 'it is us (incl.)' (D ‹kilonatci›)
> *kiilwaaci* 'it is you (pl.)' (D ‹kilwatci›)
> *awiilwaaci* 'it is them' (D ‹awilwatci›)

While the full syntactic function of these verbs is not understood, the following example from Gatschet's fieldnotes shows how these verbs might be used in sentences:

(39) *Pronominal Predicates in Sentences*

> wílatch äkimawipá
> *wiilaaci eekimaawihpa*
> it is he/him | he used to be chief
> 'he is the one who used to be chief'

Reflexive Pronouns in Illinois

Examples of all the reflexive pronouns have now been found in the old Illinois materials (Costa 2003: 249-50):

(40) Reflexive Pronouns in Old Illinois

> *niiyawi* 'myself' (Az/LB/P ‹nihia8i›)
> *kiiyawi* 'yourself' (Az/Gr/LB ‹kihia8i›)
> *awiiyawi* 'himself, herself' (Az ‹a8iha8e›, Gr ‹a8ihia8i›, ‹a8ia8i›, ‹8ia8i›, LB ‹a8ia8i›, ‹a8iha8i›, P ‹a8hia8i›)

niiyoonaani 'ourselves (excl.)' (Az/P/LB ‹nihia8nani›, Az ‹ni8nani›, Gr ‹nihi8nani›)

kiiyoonaani, plural *kiiyoonaana* 'ourselves (incl.)' (Az ‹kiha8nani›, Gr ‹kihi8nani›, LB ‹kihi8nana›)

kiiyoowaawi~kiiyawaawi, pl. *kiiyawaawa* 'yourselves' (Az ‹ki8h8a8i›, ‹kih88a8i›, P ‹kihia8a8i›, Gr/LB ‹kihia8a8a›, LB ‹kihi8a8a›)

awiiyoowaawi~awiiyawaawi, pl. *awiiyawaawa* 'themselves' (Az ‹a8iha8a8i›, ‹a8hi88a8i›, P ‹a8hia8a8i›, LB ‹a8i88a8i›, ‹a8iha8a8a›)

Again, there is significant dialect variation within the second plural and third plural pronouns; Allouez has *kiiyoowaawi* 'yourselves' (‹ki8h8a8i›, ‹kih88a8i›), which underlies modern *kiiyoowe*:

(41) 'Yourselves' in Modern Miami-Illinois

kiiyoowe 'yourselves' (Tr ‹kēēoowaa›, Gt ‹kíyuwä›, D ‹kiówä›), < older *kiiyoowaawi*.

However, all other old Illinois sources point to a by-form *kiiyawaawi* (and an apparent plural *kiiyawaawa*):[29]

(42) 'Yourselves' in Illinois

kiiyawaawi (pl. *kiiyawaawa*) 'yourselves' (P ‹kihia8a8i›, Gr/LB ‹kihia8a8a›, LB ‹kihi8a8a›)

Similarly, *awiiyoowaawi* 'themselves' is supported by Allouez and some LeBoullenger transcriptions (Az ‹a8hi88a8i›, LB ‹a8i88a8i›), and underlies modern *wiiyoowe*:

(43) 'Themselves' in Modern Miami-Illinois

wiiyoowe 'themselves' (Gt ‹wíyowä›, D ‹wíowä›); < older *awiiyoowaawi.*

However, one also sees *awiiyawaawi* elsewhere in Illinois (Az ‹a8iha8a8i›, P ‹a8hia8a8i›, LB pl. ‹a8iha8a8a›), which underlies Trowbridge's *awiiyawe*:[30]

(44) 'Themselves' in Early Modern Miami

> *awiiyawe* 'themselves' (Tr ‹auwēēarwaa›); < older *awiiyawaawi.*

Indefinite Prounouns in Miami-Illinois

Similarly, there is considerable diachronic variation within the Miami-Illinois pronoun for 'someone'. Allouez and Pinet show a form *awiya*:

(45) Indefinite Prounouns in Old Illinois

> 'someone, somebody':
> *awiya*   Az ‹a8ia›, P ‹a8ïa›

While this form is matched by Ojibwe *awiya*, it is not shared by the other missionary sources or Trowbridge, where one finds a form *awiyaki* which is both singular and plural proximate:

(46)
> 'someone, somebody':
> *awiyaki*   Gr, LB ‹a8iaki›, Tr ‹weāūkee›

The alternate *awiyaki* is paralleled by Menominee *weyak* and Cree *awiyak* (< PA *awiyaka {Bloomfield 1946: 116}), which are both singular and plural. Probably the form *awiyaki* is older, while Allouez's *awiya* is newer, and represents a backformation with *awiyaki* being reinterpreted as a plural.

By the late nineteenth century, singular *aweeya* and plural *aweeyaki* are universal:

(47) Indefinite Prounouns in Modern Miami-Illinois

> 'someone, somebody':
> sg. *aweeya*   Gt ‹wéya›, D ‹awä´ya›, Mc ‹wä´ya'›
> pl. *aweeyaki*   Gt ‹wéyaki›, D ‹wäyákĭ›

The *ee* for expected *i* is probably due to contamination from Miami-Illinois *aweena* 'who':

(48) 'who'

sg. *aweena*	Gr/LB/P ‹a8enna›, Gt ‹awéna›, D ‹awäna›, Mc ‹wénaⁿ›
pl. *aweeniiki*	LB ‹a8eniki›, Gt ‹weníki›, D ‹awäniki›, Mc ‹weńíki›

NOUN POSSESSION

The Indefinite Possessor Prefix

Since the publication of Costa (2003), I have found a few examples of an indefinite possessor prefix *mi-* (< Proto-Algonquian **me-*) in modern Miami-Illinois.[31] Oddly, this prefix has not yet been found in the old Illinois records. In all the examples found so far, it is used only with body part and clothing terms, and given its extreme scarcity, it is likely that some modern speakers did not control it. The examples of this prefix I have found so far follow:

(49) The Indefinite Possessor Prefix

mihciyonki 'on someone's arm' (Mi/H ‹mihčíyoŋgi›[32])
cf. *ahciyonki* 'on his arm' (Gt ‹hatciúngi›, D ‹atcĭyúngĭ›; < PA
*-hčiw-; see Costa 2003: 64)

mihteekwa, plural *mihteekwaki* 'neck glands, fish gills' (Gt ‹mitékwa›,
‹mitäkwaki›)
cf. *ahteekwali* 'his (fish's) gill' (D ‹atäkwalĭ›; cf. Ottawa *ndeteg(on)*
'my temple(s), gills')

mihkolayi 'one's cover, cape, robe' (Tr ‹meekoalāyee› 'covering')
cf. *nihkolayi* 'my cover, cape, robe' (Gr ‹nic8raï›, Gt ‹nikûʹlai›; < PA
*weHkoLayi {see Goddard 1983: 371})

It is unusual that this prefix has not been found in Illinois, but instead has only turned up in modern sources such as Gatschet, Hockett, and Trowbridge. Its appearance in Hockett's Miami recordings is especially startling in that Hockett's Miami speaker was, by Hockett's estimation, no longer fully fluent. This should

serve as a sobering reminder that twentieth-century records of Miami-Illinois can preserve archaisms absent from the oldest records.

a > oo After Possessor Prefixes

Additionally, in Costa (2003: 143-4)*,* I stated that Miami-Illinois lacks the alternation seen in several of its neighbor languages, such as Sauk-Fox-Kickapoo and Ojibwe-Potawatomi, whereby noun-initial PA **we* appears as long *oo* when preceded by person possessor prefixes. As it turns out, precisely one noun in Miami-Illinois preserves this alternation, *alaakana~alaakani* 'dish, plate'. In this noun, word-initial Miami-Illinois *a-* appears as *oo* after the prefixes *nint-, kit-* and *at-*:

(50) *a > oo in Possessed Forms of 'Dish, Plate'*

> *alaakana~alaakani* 'dish, plate' (Gr ‹aragane›, LB ‹aracane›, Gt & D ‹lakána›, Gt ‹lákani›; < PA **wera·kani*)
> *nintoolaakanenki* 'in my dish' (Gr ‹nit8raganenghi›)
> *kitoolaakanaki* 'your dishes' (Gt ‹kitulakának›)
> *atoolaakanemi* 'his dish' (D ‹atólakanámĭ›)
> *atoolaakanahi* 'his dishes' (Gt ‹atulakánahi›)
> *atoolaakanemaawahi* 'their dishes' (Gt ‹atulakanamáwahi›).

The *oo* after the possessive prefix is assumed to be long on the basis of matching forms such as Ojibwe *nindoonaagan* 'my bowl, dish' (cf. *onaagan* 'bowl, dish') and Fox *keto·na·kani* 'your bowl' (cf. *ana·kani* 'bowl').

This is the only Miami-Illinois noun I have found which retains this archaic vowel alternation, which has clearly been lost in other similar nouns:

(51)
> *nintakimaayomina* 'our (excl.) chief' (Az ‹nitakimai8mina›, LB ‹nintakimai8mina›)[33];
> cf. Fox *keto·kima·ma* 'your chief'; compare Miami-Illinois *akimaawa~akima* 'chief' (Gr/LB ‹akima8a›, Tr ‹ukēēmau›, Gt ‹akíma›; < PA **wekima·wa*).

nintahpwaakana 'my pipe' (D ‹n'dapwakána›) and *atahpwaakani* 'his pipe' (Gt ‹taxpuakani›);

cf. Fox *neto·hpwa·kana* 'my pipe'; cf. Miami-Illinois *ahpwaakana~ahpwaakani* 'pipe' (Gr ‹ap8agana›, LB ‹ap8agane›, Tr ‹pwaukāūnar›, D ‹apwakanĭ›, ‹pwakana›; < PA **wespwa·kana*).

ROUNDING DISSIMILATION

In Costa (2003: 364-5), it was explained that I.I. stems ending in underlying *-kwat* change this sequence to *-kat* before the independent third person marker *-wi*, as a form of rounding dissimilation. Rounding dissimilation involves *o* or *wa* becoming *a* in weak syllables when there is a *w* or *o* in the following syllable. This process is seen in many places in Miami-Illinois (Costa 2003: 144)[34], and explains the alternation seen in the second syllable of 'be sleepy':

(52) vowel alternations in 'be sleepy'[35]

katonkwaamwa 'he is sleepy' (Gr ‹gatt8ng8am8a›)

keetankwaanki~keetankwaanka 'he is sleepy' (LB ‹ketang8anga›, Gt ‹ketángwangi›, D ‹kätangwángĭ›)

ninkatankwa(an) 'I am sleepy' (P/LB ‹nigatang8an›, Gr ‹nigattang8an›, Gt ‹ngátangwa›)

keetankwaamaani 'I am sleepy' (P ‹ghetang8amani›, Gt ‹ketángwaman›)

Rounding dissimilation is also behind the extensive alternations seen in the surface forms of 'be heavy' (Costa 2003: 365):[36]

(53) vowel alternations in 'be heavy'

I.I. 'it is heavy' *kahcokwan-*:

kahcokanwi 'it is heavy' (Gr ‹catch8gan8i›, LB ‹catch8can8i›, Gt ‹kaxtchukánwi›, D ‹k'tcokwánwĭ›)

keehcakwanki 'it is heavy' (Gr ‹ketchag8anghi›, Gt ‹kä'htchákwangi›, D ‹kätchákwangĭ›)

A.I. 'he is heavy' *kahcokwal(i)-*:

independent:
ninkahcakwali   'I am heavy' (Gr ‹nicatchag8ari›)
kahcokalwa   'he is heavy' (Gr ‹catchagar8a›, Gt ‹kaxtchukálwa›)
kahcokalooki   'they are heavy' (Gt ‹kxtchukaloki›)

dependent:
keehcakwaliaani   'I am heavy' (D ‹kätcakwalian›)
keehcakwalita   'he is heavy' (D ‹kä´tcakwalí´ta›)
keehcakwaliciki   'they are heavy' (D ‹kätcakwalitciki›)

The I.I. and A.I. stems of this verb share an alternation between second syllable *o* and *a*, as well as one between third-syllable *wa* and *a*. The rule for both stems seems to be that *o* and *wa* remain unchanged in strong syllables and become *a* when in weak syllables. Thus, for the A.I., compare independent *kahcokalwa* versus dependent *keehcakwalita* 'he is heavy'.[37]

Note also that the AI stem for 'heavy' is *kahcokwal-* in the third person independent and *kahcokwali-* elsewhere. I have not found any other verb with exactly this alternation, but perhaps it is regular for consonant-final stems ending in *l*.

Adverbs also show rounding dissimilation: the 'day' final is *-okone* when the initial *o* of the final would land in a strong syllable, and *-akone* when it would land in a weak syllable:

(54) vowel alternations in 'day' adverbs

    nkotakone 'one day' (Gr ‹nig8tag8ne›, D ‹n'gotakonä›)
    niišakone 'two days' (LB ‹ninchac8ne›, Gt ‹nīzhakonä›, D ‹nĭnjakonä›)
    nihsokone 'three days' (Az ‹niss8g8ne›, LB ‹niss8c8ne›, Gt ‹nissókonä›, D ‹nĭssokonä›)
    niiyakone~neeyakone 'four days' (KW ‹nefkone›, Gt ‹näyakuna›, D ‹niakonä›)
    yaalanokone 'five days' (D ‹yalanokonä›)
    kaakaathsokone 'six days' (LB ‹cacats8g8ne›, D ‹kakátsokónä›)
    swaahteethsokone 'seven days' (LB ‹s8atets8gone›)

'FIELD/LAND'

In Costa (2003: 186), I noted that Miami-Illinois *ahki* 'field' appeared to have two locatives: a locative *ahkinki* which derives directly from Proto-Algonquian **askinki*, and a locative *ahkenki*, which starts appearing in the nineteenth century:

(55) locatives of *ahki* 'field'

ahki 'field' (< PA **askyi* 'land')

locatives:

ahkinki (< PA **askinki*)
Gr ‹akihinghi› 'hors de cab., à la porte', ‹akinghi› as 'au champ, a la campagne'
P ‹akinghi›, ‹akihinghi›, LB ‹akinki› 'dehors'
Gt ‹kíngi› 'outside', ‹kî´ngunshi› 'from outside' (*ahkinkonci*)

ahkenki
Tr ‹hukaāngee› 'in the field'
Gt ‹kiä´ngi› 'in the field', ‹kiä´ngunshi› 'from the field'
D ‹kä´ngĭ› 'in the field'
Mc ‹a‘kyä´ñgi› 'in the field'

At the time I was unable to offer an explanation for the appearance of these two locatives, but more data and closer examination has clarified the situation.

In old Illinois, the historical locative of *ahki* 'field', *ahkinki*, is found with the meaning 'outside', as well as with its etymological meaning 'in the field'. However, beginning in the early nineteenth century, the locative *ahkenki* 'in the field' starts appearing, always with the meaning 'in the field'. By the nineteenth century, *ahkinki* is found only with the meaning 'outside'.

Given that the Proto-Algonquian form of this word is **askinki* 'on the ground' (< PA **askyi* 'ground, land'), from which Miami-Illinois *ahkinki* is regular, the modern alternate *ahkenki* arose in order to form an explicit locative for 'field' which was not

homophonous with adverbial *ahkinki* 'outside'. This is strongly reminiscent of Fox, where *ahkiki,* the old historical locative of PA **askyi,* has been lexicalized with the meaning 'down below', while a new locative, *ahki·ki* 'on the ground' is now the functional locative of Fox *ahki* 'earth' (Goddard 1991: 170).

Finally, it should be noted that one of Jacob Dunn's speakers had an innovative *-ionki* locative for *ahki,* seen in the form *nintahkionkonci* 'from my field' (D ‹n'dákĭongóndjĭ›). This is probably modeled after nouns with the *-ahki* 'land' final, which regularly take *-ionki* locatives for all speakers:[38]

(56) *-ahkionki* locatives

 ahpenahkionki 'potato field (loc.)' (Gt ‹pán'xkiû´ngi›)
 ahsenaamišahkionki 'sugar maple grove (loc.)' (Gt ‹sänamizhaxkiû´ngi›)
 akaawiahkionki 'land full of briars, thorns (loc.)' (Gr/LB ‹aca8iaki8nghi›)
 aciipihkahkionki 'place of roots, Vincennes, Indiana' (Tr ‹tshipkohkeeōāngee›, D ‹tcĭpkákĭungĭ›)
 wiipicahkionki 'flint place, Huntington, Indiana' (Gt ‹wipitchákiûnge›, D ‹wípitcákĭúngĭ›)

MISCELLANEOUS ADDENDA TO COSTA (2003)

*The Palatalization of PA *nθ*

In Costa (2003: 55, 92), I was unable to give any Miami-Illinois examples of PA **nθ*-final verb stems with *i* following to ascertain whether these verbs palatalize *nt* to *nš* in the same manner as **nl*-final stems. A confirmatory example has since turned up in Pinet's dictionary:

(57) PA **nθ* → Miami-Illinois *nš* in TA verbs

 panši 'grill him!' (P ‹panchi›, < PA **panši*); cf. unpalatalized Illinois *nipantaa* 'I grill him, singe him in the fire' (Gr/P/LB ‹nipanta›) and *pantaawa* 'he is grilled, singed' (LB/P ‹panta8a›), < PA stem **panθ-* 'roast, singe' (Goddard 1973b: 5).

Nouns With Variable Gender

In Costa (2003: 208) I gave a list of Miami-Illinois nouns showing variation in gender assignment; several other notable examples have since turned up:

 (58) Miami-Illinois Nouns with Variable Gender
   aalhsoohkaakana~aalhsoohkaakani 'winter story'
   ahtaankana 'buffalo hump' vs. *ahtaankani* 'the back of his neck'[39]
   ahpwaakanta 'a species of cane' vs. *ahpwaakanti* 'pipestem'
   alakaya 'fish scale' vs. *alakayi* 'egg shell, nut shell'
   anseensa 'moss, as on trees' vs. *anseensi* 'algae, water weed'[40]
   apihkaana 'wampum bead' vs. *apihkaani* 'tumpline, packstrap'[41]
   masaana 'thread' vs. *masaani* 'nettle'
   wiipica 'arrowhead' vs. *wiipici* 'flint'

Plural Marking on 'Stone'

In Costa (2003: 155), I stated that *ahsena* 'stone' was not attested with its historically expected plural **ahseniiki*. Subsequently, evidence has turned up that shows that some speakers must have had such a plural: in his fieldnotes, Gatschet gives the corresponding obviative singular *ahseniili* (< Proto-Algonquian **aʔsenye·ri*) in the phrase ‹wíla sänili›, which he glosses as 'his stone'.

Accent Retraction

In Costa (2003: 286-7), I discuss how accent retraction operates in second person singular dependent verbs but not in first person singular forms. Another clear example of this is seen in the following pair from Dunn's notes: ‹äpĭ´anĭ› 'you are there, at that place' (*eepíyani*) versus ‹äpiánĭ› 'I am there, at that place' (*eepiáani*).

Initial Change on *i·

In Costa (2003: 413), it was explained that in Miami-Illinois, the vowel *ii* goes to *ee* by initial change, even though based on what is reconstructible in Proto-Algonquian (Costa 1996: 60), one might expect *ii* to change to **aa*. In fact, an apparent relic of the old Proto-Algonquian initial change of **i·* to **a·* appears to

survive in Miami-Illinois: *saahsanteewa~saahsantia* 'lizard' (Gr pl. ‹sasante8aki›, Gt ‹sássandia›, D ‹sasándia›). This word is an agentive noun derived from an A.I. stem *siihsantee-* 'bite' (cf. *seehsantiaani* 'I bite', D ‹säsandiani›), giving an original meaning 'biter'. The unexpected vowel *aa* in the first syllable can be explained as a relic of the original Proto-Algonquian initial change of **i·* to **a·,* with the change of *aa* being retained in this form after Miami-Illinois shifted the productive initial change of *ii* from *aa* to *ee*.[42]

A notable Illinois kinship term that was overlooked in Costa (1999) is the following:

> *niwiitikihkwa* 'my brother-in-law or sister-in-law, when married to two sisters or two brothers' (Gr ‹ni8itikic8a›[43], LB ‹ni8itikic8o›), *awiitikihkooli* 'his, her sister-in-law or brother-in-law, the wives of two brothers or the husbands of two sisters' (Gr ‹a8itikic8ri›[44], LB ‹a8itikic8are›), verbal *eewiitikihkontiaanki* 'we (excl.) are sons-in-law or daughters-in-law in the same lodge, we are married to two brothers or to two sisters' (Gr ‹e8itikic8ntianghi›[45]) and *wiitikihkontiiciki* 'they are brothers-in-law married to two sisters' (LB ‹8itikicontitchiki›[46]; < PA **ni·tekeθkwa* 'my sister (woman speaking)' (Goddard 1973a: 42)

The fundamental use of this Illinois term is for women married to brothers, or for men married to sisters. Judging from the extremely explicit glosses given by the missionaries, it seems as though it was not used for someone the opposite sex of oneself -- that is, a man could not use it for a woman married to his wife's brother, nor could a woman use it for a man married to her husband's sister. This is a significant semantic shift from the 'woman's sister' meaning seen for the cognates of this term in all the sister languages (see Goddard 1973a: 42).

Type 2 TI's marked for Indefinite Objects

In Costa (2003: 319), I found only one example of a transitive inanimate verb marked for an indefinite object, a type 1 T.I. Another example has since turned up, on a type 2 T.I.:

(59)
   eewataakiita 'he takes something, carries something' (Gr ‹e8atakita›)

Given that this verb derives from a transitive inanimate stem *awatoo-* 'take it away, carry it', as seen in *awatoolo* 'take, it, carry it!' (LB ‹a8at8ro›, D ‹awátoló›, Mc ‹watoló›) and *nintawatoo* 'I carry it, take it' (Gr ‹nita8at8›; cf. Kickapoo *awatoo-* 'carry it'), it is clear that type 2 T.I.'s inflect for indefinite objects the same way as do type 1's: by replacing the theme sign (here *oo*) with *aa* and adding *-ekii-,* for an ending *-aakii-*.

APPENDIX 1: MIAMI-ILLINOIS PARADIGMATIC FORMS

This section is meant as my attempt to put on the record several interesting new verbs I have found in the past five years, and as such is meant to supplement the appendices in *the Miami-Illinois Language.* Each verb is keyed to the page where the verb would appear in that volume. For example, Dunn's ‹n'dosemaso› 'I do not have him as a father, he is not my father' (phonemic *nintoohsimaahsoo*) is keyed to page 459, where it is meant to be included among the independent negative 1 > 3 transitive animate verbs.

Similarly, this list includes several examples of verb conjugations of which I had no examples when Costa (2003) was published. For example, ‹kikikerimig8si8aki› 'they do not know you' from the Allouez prayerbook (phonemic *kikihkeelimekohsiiwaki*) is the first example I have found of an independent negative 33 > 2 transitive animate verb. As such it is keyed to Costa 2003: 464, where it would be entered below the two affirmative independent 33 > 2 verbs given there. Likewise, on Costa (2003: 469), I did not have any examples of negative third person singular independent passive verbs, though two examples have since been found in Gatschet's field notebooks: *ankihaahsiiwaawa* 'he is not killed' (Gt ‹gihassiwáwa›) and *alaamihpenalaahsiiwaawa* 'he is not hurt, not injured' (Gt ‹lampänala'hsiwawa›). Similarly, in Costa (2003: 470), I was not

able to present any examples of negative third person **plural** independent passives, yet one has since turned up in Jacob Dunn's notes and LeBoullenger's dictionary: *akimaahsiiwaawaki* 'they (anim.) are not counted, they are infinite' (LB ‹akimasi8a8aki›, D ‹akimásĭwawákĭ›). Moreover, I have also included many verbs because they were part of paradigms found in the sources: in particular, in Gatschet's field notebooks, he gives extensive paradigms for 'kill' and 'pinch', including many independent, dependent, imperative and negative forms. For completeness, I have included most of the verbs from both these sets.

However, many of the examples included here were chosen simply because they seemed etymologically interesting; thus, I have made a point of including many verbs of possession, negative, preterit and passive verbs, forms of 'say', and various ill-attested subject/object combinations of the independent conjugation.

page 450: *nintehpisi* 'I am tall' (D ‹n'däpĭsĭ›)
page 450: *nintaniicaanhsihsoo* 'I have no children' (Gt ‹ndánitchansísso›)
page 451: *kitelwee* 'you say so' (LB ‹kiter8e›, D ‹kitälwi›)
page 451: *amamowa* 'he is awake, wakes up' (Gt ‹mamûa›)
page 451: *oohsohseewa* 'he goes to his father's' (Gr ‹8ss8sse8a›)
page 451: *wiinsowa* 'he has a name, is named' (Gr ‹8ins8a›, P ‹8ins͘8a›)
page 451: *wiiyowa* 'he marries, takes a wife' (Gr ‹8i88a›)
page 452: *piihsiiwa* 'he does not come' (Gr ‹pissi8a›, Gt ‹pissiwá›)
page 452: *awiiyomihsiiwa* 'he is not married, has no wife' (D ‹awiomisiwa›)
page 454: *aniicaanihsihsiiwaki* 'they do not have children' (Gt ‹nitchansissiwaki›)
page 454: *itiiwaki* 'they say to each other' (P ‹iti8aki›)
page 455: *alaamweehsoona* 'one does not tell the truth' (Gt ‹lamuä'hsuná›)
page 455: *ninayoo* 'I carry it on my back' (Gt ‹nináyû›)
page 456: *ayoohsiiwa* 'he does not use it' (P ‹aï8si8a›)
page 459: *alaamihtaana* 'someone believes it, it is believed' (LB ‹aramitana›, D ‹alámtana›)
page 459: *milweelintaana* 'someone thinks well of it, it is thought well of' (D ‹mĭlwälĭndána›)
page 459: *ileelintansoona* 'one does not think of it thus, no one thinks of it thus' (Az ‹irerindans8na›)
page 459: *nintankihaa* 'I kill him' (Gt ‹dángiha›)
page 459: *nintaweehseeyaataweemaa* 'I speak animal language to him' (Gr ‹nita8esseïata8ema›)

page 459: *nintankihaahsoo* 'I do not kill him' (Gt ‹ndangihásso›)

page 459: *nintoohsimaahsoo* 'I do not have him as a father, he is not my father' (D ‹n'dosemaso›)

page 460: *kitankihaa* 'you kill him' (Gt ‹kitangiha›)

page 460: *kitankihaahsoo* 'you do not kill him' (Gt ‹kitangihá'hso›)

page 460: *ankiheehsiiwa* 'he does not kill him' (Gt ‹gihä́ssiwa›)

page 460: *nintankihaamina* 'we (excl.) kill him' (Gt ‹dangihamina›)

page 461: *nintankihaahsoomina* 'we (excl.) do not kill him' (Gt ‹ndangihássomina›)

page 461: *ninkihkeelimaahsoomina* 'we (excl.) do not know him' (Gt ‹gi'hkiälimá'hsuminá›)

page 461: *kitankihaamina* 'we (incl.) kill him' (Gt ‹kitangihamina›)

page 461: *kitankihaahsoomina* 'we (incl.) do not kill him' (Gt ‹kitangihássomina›)

page 461: *kitankihaamwa* 'you (pl.) kill him' (Gt ‹kitangihamua›)

page 461: *kitankihaahsoomwa* 'you (pl.) do not kill him' (Gt ‹kitángihássomwa›)

page 462: *ankiheewaki* 'they kill him' (Gt ‹gihäwáki›)

page 462: *ankiheehsiiwaki* 'they do not kill him' (Gt ‹gihässiwáki›)

page 462: *nintamwaaki* 'I eat them' (D ‹n'damwáki›)

page 462: *nintepeelimaaki* 'I control them' (Gt ‹ndäpälímaki›)

page 462: *nintankihaaki* 'I kill them' (Gt ‹ndangihaki›)

page 462: *kitankihaaki* 'you kill them' (Gt ‹kitangihaki›)

page 462: *kitamwaaki* 'you eat them' (D ‹kitamwáki›)

page 464: *kikihkeelimekohsiiwaki* 'they do not know you' (Az ‹kikikerimig8si8aki›)

page 465: *kinataweelimekohsiiona* 'he does not want us (incl.)' (D ‹kinátawä́límákw'sĭóna›)

page 466: *kinaaši* 'you come get me, fetch me' (LB ‹kinachi›)

page 466: *kitaweemhsoomina* 'you are not related to us, there is no relationship between us two' (W/Gt ‹kitawänsómina› {sic})

page 469: *tipeewe kiteleelimekoo* 'you are thought highly of' (D ‹tĭpä́wä kĭtä́lälĭ́mäko›)

page 469: *alaamhpenalaahsiiwaawa* 'he is not hurt, not injured' (Gt ‹lampänala'hsiwawa›)

page 469: *ankihaahsiiwaawa* 'he is not killed' (Gt ‹gihassiwáwa›)

page 470: *ankihaawaki* 'they are killed' (Gt ‹gihawáki›)

page 470: *akimaawaki* 'they are counted' (LB ‹akima8aki›)

page 470: *akimaahsiiwaawaki* 'they (anim.) are not counted, are infinite' (LB ‹akimasi8a8aki›, D ‹akimásĭwawákĭ›)

page 471: *eehpwaani* 'I smoke' (Gt ‹äpwáni›)

page 471: *keetankwaamaani* 'I am sleepy, want to sleep' (P ‹ghetang8amani›, Gt ‹ketángwaman›)

page 472: *kiimotiaampa* 'I used to steal' (Gt ‹kimotiamba›, D ‹kĭmótĭámba›)
page 472: *maacaayani* 'you head off, depart' (LB ‹matchaiani›)
page 472: *eehpwaayani* 'you smoke' (D ‹äpwáyanĭ›)
page 473: *ihsiiwani* 'you do not say so' (P ‹isi8ani›)
page 473: *minsiiwani* 'you do not drink' (P ‹minsi8ani›)
page 473: *pyaahsiiwane* 'if you do not come' (Gt ‹piaxsiwanä›)
page 473: *kiimoteyampa* 'you used to steal' (Gt ‹kimutéyamba›)
page 475: *maacaahsiikwi* 'he does not depart' (LB ‹matchasig8i›)
page 475: *apihpa* 'he used to be located, be there' (LB ‹apihpa›)
page 475: *iiyaahpa* 'he used to go' (LB ‹iahpa›, D ‹iápa›)
page 475: *iihpa* 'he used to say' (Mc ‹´í´pA›)
page 475: *awiiyomihsiikopa* 'he was not married, had no wife' (LB ‹a8i8misicopa›, D ‹awiomisikop[a]›)
page 475: *aniicaanihsihsiikopa* 'she does not have a child, children' (LB ‹anitjanissisicopa›)
page 475: *kiimotehpa* 'he used to steal' (Gt ‹kimutäpa›)
page 475: *neepaahpa* 'he used to be asleep' (LB ‹nepapa›, D ‹näpápa›)
page 476: *išilinihsiiwaanki* 'we (excl.) do not do so' (D ‹ĭcĭ´linĭsíwangĭ›)
page 476: *kiimotiaankipa* 'we (excl.) used to steal' (Gt ‹kimute-angípa›)
page 477: *kiimoteyankopa* 'we (incl.) used to steal' (Gt ‹kimuteyangúpa›)
page 479: *kiimoteyeekopa* 'you (pl.) used to steal' (LB ‹kim8tiecopa›, Gt ‹kimuteyikúpa›)
page 480: *pyaahsoowaaci* 'they do not come' (Gt ‹piaxsuwadshi›)[47]
page 480: *kiimotewaahpa* 'they used to steal' (Gt ‹kimutewápa›)
page 480: *mihtohseeniyowaahpa* 'they used to live' (W/Gt ‹mtussäniyuwapá›)
page 480: *eekimaawiwaahpa* 'they used to be chiefs' (Gt ‹äkimawiwápa›)
page 481: *pyaahpanaki* 'they used to come' (LB ‹piapanaki›)
page 481: *aniicaanihsihsiikohpanaki* 'they did not have children' (LB ‹anitjanissisic8panaki›)
page 482: *ankihtoohsiiwaani* 'I do not kill it' (Gt ‹ngíxtuxsiwani›)
page 482: *kihkeelintansiiwaane* 'if I do not know it' (D ‹kikalĭ´ndansĭwánä›)
page 483: *ayooyani* 'you use it' (LB ‹aioiane›)
page 483: *ankihtoohsiiwani* 'you do not kill it' (Gt ‹gi'htuxsî´wani›)
page 483: *siihsinansiiwani* 'you do not pinch it' (Gt ‹sissinaⁿsiwani›)
page 485: *ankihtoohsiikwi* 'he does not kill it' (Gt ‹gi'htusíkwi›)
page 485: *siihsinansiikwi* 'he does not pinch it' (Gt ‹síssinasíkwi›)
page 485: *kihkiilintansiikopa* 'he did not know it' (LB ‹kikirintansicopa›)
page 485: *ahtookipa* 'he used to have it' (LB ‹aht8kipa›)
page 486: *piitwaanki* 'we (excl.) bring it' (Gt ‹pituangi›)
page 486: *ankihtoohsiiwaanki* 'we (excl.) do not kill it' (Gt ‹gituxsiwangi›)
page 486: *siihsinansiiwaanki* 'we (excl.) do not pinch it' (Gt ‹sissinasiwangi›)
page 487: *ankihtoohsiiwankwi* 'we (incl.) do not kill it' (Gt ‹gixtuxsiwangwi›)
page 488: *ankihtoohsiiweekwi* 'you (pl.) do not kill it' (Gt ‹gixtuxsíwäkwi›)

page 488: *siihsinamoohsiiweekwi* (sic) 'you (pl.) do not pinch it' (Gt ‹sissinamu'hsiwäkwi›)[48]

page 489: *ankihtoowaahsiikwi* 'they do not kill it' (Gt ‹gi'htuaxsî´kwi›)

page 489: *siihsinamoowaahsiikwi* 'they do not pinch it' (Gt ‹sissinamúaxsikwi› {sic})[49]

page 491: *ankihaahsiiwaki* 'I do not kill him' Gt ‹gihássiwáki›)

page 491: *siihsinaahsiiwaki* 'I do not pinch him' (Gt ‹sissina'hsíwaki›)

page 492: *ankihate* 'if you kill him' (Gt ‹gihátä›)

page 492: *ankihaahsiiwani* 'you do not kill him' (Gt ‹gihaxsiwáni›)

page 492: *siihsinaahsiiwani* 'you do not pinch him' (Gt ‹sissina'hsiwani›)

page 493: *kihkiilimaahsiiwampa* 'you did not know him' (LB ‹kikirimasi8ampa›)

page 494: *ankihaahsiikwi* 'he does not kill him' (Gt ‹gihaxsíkwi›)

page 494: *siihsinaahsiikwi* 'he does not pinch him' (Gt ‹sissina'hsíkwi›)

page 496: *eeniicaanihsemikowaacihi* 'they (obv.) who they (obv.) have as children' (P ‹anitjanissimig8atchihi›)[50]

page 498: *ankihaahsiiwakinci* 'we (excl.) do not kill him' (Gt ‹giha'hsiwakî´nshi›)

page 498: *siihsinaahsiiwakinci* 'we (excl.) do not pinch him' (Gt ‹sissina'hsiwakînshi›)

page 499: *siihsinankwe* 'if we (incl.) pinch him' (Gt ‹sissinangwä›)

page 499: *ankihaahsiiwankwi* 'we (incl.) do not kill him' (Gt ‹giha'hsíwangwi›)

page 499: *siihsinaahsiiwankwi* 'we do not pinch him' (Gt ‹sissinah'siwangwi›)

page 500: *ankihaahsiiweekwi* 'you (pl.) do not kill him' (Gt ‹giha'hsiwäkwi›)

page 500: *siihsinaahsiiweekwi* 'you (pl.) do not pinch him' (Gt ‹sissina'hsiwäkwi›)

page 500: *siihsinaawaate* 'if they pinch him' (Gt ‹sissinawatä›)

page 500: *ankihaawaate* 'if they kill him' (Gt ‹gihawatä›)

page 501: *siihsinaawaahsiikwi* 'they do not pinch him' (Gt ‹sissinawa'hsíkwi›)

page 501: *ankihaawaahsiikwi* 'they do not kill him' (Gt ‹gihawaxsíkwi›)

page 503: *kiihkeelimihsiiwani* 'you do not know me' (Gt ‹kixkialimi'hsiwani›)

page 503: *ankihihsiiwani* 'you do not kill me' (Gt ‹gi'hsiwani› [sic])

page 503: *siihsinihsiiwani* 'you do not pinch me' (Gt ‹sissiní'hsiwani›)

page 503: *iiyampa* 'you used to say to me'[51] (LB ‹iampa›)

page 505: *ankihihsiiweekwi* 'he does not kill me' (Gt ‹gi'hsikwi› [sic])

page 505: *siihsinihsiikwi* 'he does not pinch me' (Gt ‹sissini'hsíkwi›)

page 505: *ankihihsiiweekwi* 'you (pl.) do not kill me' (Gt ‹gi'hsiwäkwi› [sic])

page 505: *siihsinihsiiweekwi* 'you (pl.) do not pinch me' (Gt ‹sissini'hsiwäkwi›)

page 507: *ankihihsoowaaci* 'they do not kill me' (Gt ‹gi'hisowadshi›)

page 507: *siihsiniwaahsiikwi* 'they do not pinch me' (Gt ‹sissiniwa'hsikwi›)

page 507: *ankihihsoolaani* 'I do not kill you' (Gt ‹gihisulani›)

page 507: *siihsinehsoolaani* 'I do not pinch you' (Gt ‹sissinä'hsulani›)

page 508: *weentamoohki* 'he tells it to you' (Gt ‹wändamú'hki›)

page 508: *eenkihehka* 'he kills you' (Gt ‹ängihä´xka›)

page 508: *siihsinehsoohki* 'he does not pinch you' (Gt ‹sissinä'hsoki›)

page 508: *ankihihsoohki* 'he does not kill you' (Gt ‹gi'hsoxki› [sic])

page 509: *ankihihsoolaanki* 'we do not kill you' (Gt ‹gi'hsulangi› [sic])

page 510: *eeniicaanihsemihkiki* 'they (who) have you as a child, your parents' (LB ‹anitjanissimekiki›)

page 509: *siihsinehsoolaanki* 'we do not pinch you' (Gt ‹sissinä'hsulangi›)

page 511: *ankihihsiiwaanki* 'you do not kill us' (Gt ‹gi'hsiwángi› [sic])

page 511: *siihsinihsiiwaanki* 'you do not pinch us' (Gt ‹sissini'hsiwangi›)

page 512: *ankihihsiiominci* 'he does not kill us (excl.)' (Gt ‹gihisiumî´nshi›)

page 512: *siihsiniamihsiionci* 'he does not pinch us (excl.)' (Gt ‹sissiniamsiudshi› [sic])

page 513: *ankihihsoolaankwi* 'he does not kill us (incl.)' (Gt ‹gi'hsulángwi› [sic])

page 514: *eeniicaanihsemilankwiki* 'they have us (incl.) as children; our (incl.) parents' (LB ‹anitjanissimerang8iki›)

page 514: *ankihihsoolakoki* 'I do not kill you (pl.)' (Gt ‹gihisulakoki›)

page 514: *siihsinehsoolakoki* 'I do not pinch you (pl.)' (Gt ‹sissinä'hsulakoki›)

page 515: *siihsinehsoolaakwi* 'he does not pinch you (pl.)' (Gt ‹sissinä'hsulakwi›)

page 515: *ankihihsoolaakwi* 'he does not kill you (pl.)' (Gt ‹gi'hsulakwi›)

page 517: *ankihinki* 'I am killed' (Gt ‹gíhingi›)

page 517: *ankihihsiionki* 'I am not killed' (Gt ‹gi'hisiûngi›)

page 517: *ankihilenki* 'you are killed' (unchanged) (Gt ‹gihilängi›)

page 517: *eenkihelinki* 'you are killed' (changed) (Gt ‹ängihälî´ngi›)

page 518: *siihsinehsoolinki* 'you are not pinched' (Gt ‹sissinä'hsolingi›)

page 518: *ankihihsoolinki* 'you are not killed' (Gt ‹gi'hsulingi› [sic])

page 518: *ankihinci* 'he is killed' (Gt ‹gihînshi›)

page 519: *ankihaahsiionci* 'he is not killed' (Gt ‹gihássiûndshi›)

page 519: *siihsinaahsiionci* 'he is not pinched' (Gt ‹sissina'hsiû´ndshi›)

page 520: *ankihiaminki* 'we (excl.) are killed' (Gt ‹angihiamîngi›)

page 520: *ankihihsiiyominki* 'we (excl.) are not killed' (Gt ‹gi'hsiumíngi› [sic])

page 520: *siihsinihsiiyominki* 'we (excl.) are not pinched' (Gt ‹sissiní'hsiumî´ngi›)

page 520: *ankihilenankwi* 'we (incl.) are killed' (Gt ‹gihilänangwi›)

page 521: *ankihihsoolinaankwi* 'we (incl.) are not killed' (Gt ‹gi'hsulänangwi› [sic])

page 521: *siihsinehsoolinaankwi* 'we (incl.) are not pinched' (Gt ‹sissinä'hsulänangwi›)

page 521: *eenkihelinaakwi* 'you (pl.) are killed' (Gt ‹ängihälänakwi›)

page 521: *ankihihsoolinaakwi* 'you (pl.) are not killed' (Gt ‹gi'hsulänakwi›)

page 522: *eenkihenciki* 'they are killed' (Gt ‹ängihändshî´ki›)

page 526: *ankihilo* 'kill me!' (Gt ‹ngihílo›)

page 527: *ankihiloome* 'kill us!' (Gt ‹gíhilomä›)
page 528: *akooši* 'hang him up!' (P ‹ak8chi›)
page 528: *ankihi* 'kill him!' (Gt ‹ngihí›)
page 528: *iši* 'say to him!' (D ‹ĭcĭ›)
page 528: *naaši* 'fetch him!' (P ‹nanchi›)
page 528: *panši* 'grill him, singe him!' (P ‹panchi›)
page 529: *ankihihko* 'kill him (pl.)!' (Gt ‹ngí'hko› [sic])
page 529: *wiintamoohko* 'tell him! (pl.)' (Az ‹8indam8k8›)
page 529: *aalawinamoohko* 'forgive him! (pl.)' (D ‹älawinamoko›)
page 529: *ankihaataawe* 'let's kill him!' (Gt ‹gihatáwe›)
page 530: *pyaace* 'let him come' (Gt ‹piadshä›)
page 530: *pyaawaace* 'let them come' (Gt ‹piawadshä›)
page 534: *ihpenalaawaace* 'let them treat him so' (D ‹pänálawátcä›)
page 535: *kintohseehkaawi* 'we must walk fast' (D ‹kĭndósäkáwĭ›)
page 536: *pakitamoohkani* 'you must throw it away*'* (D ‹pakĭ´tamokanĭ›)
page 537: *miiliihkani* 'you must give me' (D ‹mílĭkánĭ›)
page 537: *ankihiihkaanke* 'you must kill us' (Gt ‹ngihi'hkangiä›)
page 538: *ankihaahkani* 'you must kill him' (Gt ‹gihaxkáni›)
page 538: *ahtelaahsoohkani* 'you must not accuse him' (P ‹atterass8cane›, D ‹atälasokánĭ›)
page 539: *pakamilakankwa* 'he might hit us (incl.)' (D ‹pakámĭlakangwa›)[52]
page 544: *kahcokwansiinwi* 'it is not heavy' (Gt ‹ktchukwansenwî›)
page 545: *piitilaansiinooke* 'if it does not rain' (P ‹pitiransin8ka›)
page 545: *maaciihansiinooke* 'if it does not drift away' (P ‹matchihansin8kie›)
page 545: *alaamihsensiinooke* 'if the wind does not blow' (P ‹aramissinsin8kie›)
page 546: *awiyakihsiinoohkice* 'let there be no one (delayed imp.)' (LB ‹a8iakisin8kitche›)

APPENDIX 2: ERRATA IN COSTA (2003)[53]

page 273: in the tenth line from the bottom, between 'person' and 'forms', insert the word 'plural'.

page 313: in the example sentence in the middle of the page, change *iihpinaašiaminkiki* to *iihpinašiaminkiki*.

page 386: in footnote 70, fifth line, change *mihkikooli* to *mikihkooli*.

page 465: under the examples of 33 > 11 verbs, the gloss of *kipiilikonaanaki* should be changed to 'they bring us (incl.)', and it should be moved towards the bottom of the page to the 33 > 12 verbs. Additionally, the form *kiwaapamekonaanaki* should be changed to *niwaapamekonaanaki*.

page 468: in the third example from the top, change ‹kiwâpAmlēiminá[n]› to ‹kiwâpAmēliminá[n]›.

page 480: bottom example, change *teepeelinkiipanaki* to *teepeelinkiihpanaki*.

Page 481: second example, change *tipeelinkiihsiikopanaki* to *tipeelinkiihsiikohpanaki*.

page 498: fifth example from bottom, change *neewakintehpa* to *neewakintihpa*.

page 520: sixth example, change *siihsinaahsiiyominki* to *siihsinihsiiyominki*.

ENDNOTES
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[1] In the modern Miami-Illinois records, one occasionally finds independent or dependent verbs negated with only *moohci* 'not, no' (cf. Shawnee *mohči* and Fox *moˑhči* 'even') and without the negative suffix, yet this appears to be found primarily with more English-influenced speakers. The use of *moohci* as a straight negative particle may be relatively recent, as shown by Gravier's gloss of ‹m8tchi› as 'seulement, pas mesme'.
I thank Ives Goddard for helpful comments on an early draft of this paper.

[2] Or, in Gravier's original Latin, "in fine 3[æ] pers[onæ] nega[ti]onem aut interroga[ti]onem loco naega[ti]onis notat." (Masthay 2002: 323).

[3] In the sentence examples given in this paper, original transcriptions are in the first line, my phonemicization is in the second line, a word-for-word gloss is in the third line with the negated verb boldfaced, and a free gloss is in the fourth line. The free glosses in Trowbridge example sentences are quite close to those Trowbridge himself gives.

[4] The abbreviations used in this paper are as follows: Az = Sébastien Râle's (1908) Illinois prayerbook, here referred to as 'Allouez' for consistency with Costa (2003); D = Jacob Dunn's Miami-Illinois fieldnotes; Gr = the anonymous Illinois-French dictionary attributed to Gravier; Gt = Albert Gatschet's Miami-Illinois fieldnotes; Hk = Heckewelder's Miami-Illinois wordlist; LB = LeBoullenger's French-Illinois dictionary; Mc = Truman Michelson's Peoria

fieldnotes; Mi/H = Charles Hockett's fieldnotes on Miami; P = François Pinet's French-Illinois dictionary; Th = William Thornton's Miami wordlist; Tr = Charles Trowbridge's Miami fieldnotes; and V = Volney's Miami wordlist. Other abbreviations are 'dub.' = 'dubitative', 'interrog.' = 'interrogative', 'anim.' = 'animate', 'inan.' = 'inanimate', 'incl.' = 'inclusive', 'excl.' = 'exclusive', 'emph.' = 'emphatic', and 'pl.' = 'plural'.

       In this paper, I use the revised conventions for transcribing Proto-Algonquian laid out in Goddard (1994); these are the same as those of Bloomfield (1946), except that PA *l is here written as *r, and the PA clusters *xk, *xp, and *çk are written *sk, *sp, and *rk, respectively. For uniformity, Illinois r from the French missionary sources is sometimes written in phonemicized forms as l.

[5] This example of nko, from Elizabeth Vallier's Wissakatchakwa text, is one of very few known examples of the nko-negative not found in George Finley's speech.

[6] For a doublet that shows especially clearly that interrogative nko goes in second-position, compare kihkeelimihsiiwani-nko 'do you not know me?' (Gt ‹kixkialimi'siwaníngo›, D ‹kīkĭälĭmĭ´sĭwanĭ´ngo›) and its alternate moohci-nko kihkeelimiyani (D ‹mótyĭ n'gokíkĭälimĭ´ani›).

[7] This is glossed by Pinet as 'sera t il de cette hauteur quand tu viendras?'.

[8] There is no way to tell if the I.I. negative ending varied between -hsiinwi and -hsiinoowi in old Illinois, since both endings would be written ‹sin8i› in the missionaries' writing system.

[9] Additionally, as shown by niišwi 'two' and niišoohsiinwi 'it is not two' in Table 7, if the negated word ends in Cwi, this sequence becomes Coo before the negative ending.

[10] This can be compared for the I.I. verb teepatwi 'it is enough' (LB ‹tepat8i›, D ‹täpatwĭ›), which has a negative teepahsiinwi 'it is not enough' (LB ‹tepasin8i›); cf. Shawnee teepatwi 'it is true, enough'.

[11] 'It is not so!' is the translation given by Gatschet's speaker; Gravier glosses this word as 'cela n'est pas vray'. The adverb kiihtilaami also has a derived I.I. verb kiihtilaamatwi (Gr ‹kittiramat8i› 'considerable, illustre'), which in turn has a corresponding negative kiihtilaamahsiinwi (Gr ‹kittiramasen8i› 'qui nest pas considerable, suffcant'). Note also the T.A. ninkiihtilaameelimaa 'je l'estime' (Gr ‹nikittiramerima›).

[12] Jesuit transcriptions such as ‹8̂› and ‹8́› are meant to indicate a syllabic value for the ‹8›, rather than an interpretation as w.

[13] Cf. Massachusett ‹sepe› 'for a long time' (Mayhew 1709, Psalms 120:6).

[14] Glossed by LeBoullenger as 'pas encor'.

[15] Glossed by LeBoullenger as 'ce nest pas moi'.

[16] Cf. also the alternate rendering of this sentence in 14 below.

[17] This is glossed by both LeBoullenger and Pinet as 'ce nest pas ma femme'; The third-syllable ‹i› here is unexplained; a form *‹ni8i8asin8i› would be expected.

[18] The second vowel in the AI stem *kisihseko-* is usually omitted in the original transcriptions since the short *i* in the *sihs* sequence is devoiced when in a weak syllable (such as when the first syllable is changed). Dunn's (unchanged) imperative *kisihsikolo* 'wash!' (D ‹kĭssĭsĭkolo›), reveals the second-syllable *i*. Note also Gravier's independent ‹nikisichig8› 'je lave, fais la lessive'.

[19] Cf. Cree *mo·naham* 'he digs for it' and *mo·nahike·w* 'he harvests, digs things'.

[20] Cf. the independent *nintahkwaašiko* 'I sew' (Gr ‹nitac8achig8›, Gt ‹ndaxkwashíko›).

[21] Gravier glosses this as 'cry of animals, of buffalo or deer, same with turkeys in rut', while Gatschet glosses his form as 'he (the turkey) gobbles (archaic)'. Cf. also Fox *ketowa* 'he hoots, quacks, etc.' and Massachusett ‹kuttoowau› '(the cock) crows' (Eliot, Mark 14:72).

[22] Cf. Fox *-ipahto·-* and Shawnee *-iptoo-* 'run'.

[23] Additionally, in Costa (2003: 456), I was not able to cite any examples of independent third person singular negative Type 2 T.I. verbs, though one has turned up in Pinet's dictionary: *ayoohsiiwa* 'he does not use it' (P ‹aï8si8a›).

[24] With this verb, the vowel before the delayed imperative would be even-numbered for the syllable count if it were short, and thus not devoiced. Therefore its non-deletion in Gatschet's notes does not prove that it is long.

[25] Cf. Massachusett ‹mehquanumau› and W. Abenaki *mikwaləma* 'he remembers him'. The *ii* in the first syllable of this stem (and not *e*) is confirmed by its consistent marking as ‹i› (and never as ‹e› or ‹ä›) when in second-syllable position, such as in *nimiihkweelimaa* 'I think of him, remember him' (Gr ‹nimic8erima›, Gt ‹nimi'hkwälíma›) and *kimiihkweelimele* 'I think of you, remember you' (D ‹kĭmikwälimälä›).

[26] This pronoun has not been found in Gravier's dictionary.

[27] Note that Heckewelder attests both *awiiloowa* and *awiilwa* in his wordlist.

[28] Another interesting archaism preserved in only one source is the word 'all': this word is given as Miami-Illinois *ceeki* in all sources (Gr/Az/LB ‹tcheki›, Gt ‹tchä´-äki›, D ‹tcä´kĭ›, Mc ‹tcä´ki'›) except Pinet's dictionary, where it is usually *caaki* (P ‹tchaki›). The alternate *caaki* is clearly older, given forms like Shawnee *čaaki*, Kickapoo *čaaki*, and Potawatomi *jak*.

[29] The vowel length on the second syllable of this form is uncertain; if it is long, it would be paralleled by Fox *ki·ya·wa·wi* and Shawnee *kiiyaawa*.

[30] The length on the second vowel of this alternate is uncertain, though if it were long, it would match Fox *owi·ya·wa·wi* and Shawnee *wiiyaawa*.

[31] Ordinarily Miami-Illinois expresses indefinite possession suffixally; see Costa (2003: 232-7).

[32] Hockett mistakenly glosses this as 'elbow'.

[33] Gatschet has *nintakimoomina* 'our (excl.) chief' (‹nindakimumäná›), with unexpected contraction of *-*aaw*- + -*e*- to *oo*. It is unclear if this was regular for such nouns in modern Miami-Illinois.

[34] For an example of Miami-Illinois changing weak-syllable *we to *a* before a labial when **not** preceded by *k*, note Gravier's Illinois form ‹ni8ipama› 'I eat with him', phonemic *niwiihpamaa* (cf. Fox *wi·hpome·wa* 'he eats with him').

[35] Cf. Kickapoo *katokwaamwa* and Shawnee *nikatokwaame*; this verb inflects identically to Miami-Illinois *mentam*- 'be sick': cf. *nimenta(an)~meentamaani* 'I am sick', *mintamwa~ meentanka* 'he is sick', and *mintanto* 'be sick!'

[36] Note PA *kwesekwanwi 'it is heavy' and *kwesekwaθwa 'he is heavy' (cf. Shawnee *koθekwanwi*, Cree *kosikwan* it is heavy', and Shawnee *koθekwalwa*, Cree *kosekwatiw* 'he is heavy'). The Miami-Illinois forms are presumably derived from these etyma, though the change of Proto-Algonquian *s to Miami-Illinois *c* and the second-syllable *o* from PA *e are both unexplained.

[37] Additionally, the first-syllable *a* itself presumably results from rounding dissimilation from earlier *o, given the *o* that one would expect from the cognates.

[38] See Costa (2003: 183-5). Another noun with an unexpected -*ionki* locative is *waali* 'cave, hole in the ground', with reshaped *waalionki* 'in the hole, cave' (D ‹walĭúngĭ›). An older locative *waalinki* is found in the earlier records (Gr ‹8aringhi›, Tr ‹waulīngee›).

[39] Compare *ahtaankana* 'buffalo hump' (Gr/LB ‹atangana›; LB 'la bosse', Gr 'le gras bossu de bœuf de desus la croupe et la bosse') and *nihtaankani* 'the back of my neck, my nape' (Gr/LB ‹nitangane› 'le chignon de mon col'); cf. Munsee *nihtá·nkan* 'the back of my neck' (Ives Goddard, p.c.; O'Meara (1996) has *nihtánkan*) and Arapaho *wóto?*, pl. *wóto?óno* 'nape'.

[40] Note Gr/LB/P ‹ansensa›, ‹ansensi›, Gt ‹zänza›, and D ‹anzänza›, ‹anzäⁿzĭ›. Gravier gives the animate form as 'de la mousse' and the inanimate as 'herb qui croist dans leau come de la mousse'; Pinet and LeBoullenger give the inanimate as 'herbes dans leau'; the animate is given by Pinet as 'mousse' and by LeBoullenger as 'mousse darbre'. It is not clear if this semantic distinction was retained among Gatschet's and Dunn's speakers. For possible cognates, cf. Ojibwe ‹ansisiw› 'herb on the bottom of rivers' (Baraga), Shawnee *haθiθi* 'moss' (from Doug Parks' Shawnee fieldnotes), Menominee *wasɛ·hsyan* (pl.) 'waterweed, buckbean', and Cree *asisiy* 'waterweed'. Cf. also Miami-Illinois *aanseensaweeki* 'it is (bright) green' (D ‹anzäⁿzawäki›) and *aanseenseekinwi~ aanseenseekinki* 'it is (bright) green cloth' (WP ‹uzʋnzekenue›, V ‹anzanzékingué›, Tr ‹azanngzakīngee›), with unexplained long initial *aa*.

[41] The plural of the first term here, *apihkaanaki*, is given by Gravier as 'collier de porcelaine', and by Dunn as 'beads used in making peace, about an inch long and strung'.

[42] For unchanged forms of this initial, note Illinois *siihsameewa* 'he bites him' (LB ‹sissame8o›) and Miami *siihsami* 'bite him!' (D ‹sĭsamĭ›); for Proto-

Algonquian *si·ʔs- 'pinch, bite', see Costa (2003: 415).

[43] Glossed by Gravier as 'mon beau frere, ma belle sœur quand on a epousé les deux sœurs ou les deux frères'.

[44] Glossed by Gravier as 'sa belle sœur ou son beau frere. cest a dire les femmes des deux freres, ou les marys des deux sœurs'.

[45] Glossed by Gravier as 'nous sommes ou gendres ou brus dans la mesme cabanne. Cest a dire nous avons ep[o]usés les deux freres ou les deux sœurs'.

[46] Glossed by LeBoullenger as 'beaux freres qui ont épousé les 2 sœurs'. Cf. Nipissing ‹owîtikikondik› and Unami wwi·tkuxkwə́ntuwak 'they are sisters'.

[47] pyaawaahsiikwi would be expected based Dunn's ‹piawásĭkwĭ› and other similar forms (Costa 2003: 480); pyaahsoowaaci shows an alternate ordering with the 33 conjunct marker following the negative marker, as seen with several speakers (see Costa 2003: 340).

[48] A form *siihsinansiiweekwi would be expected, based on forms found in Trowbridge and LeBoullenger (Costa 2003: 488).

[49] A form *siihsinansiiwaaci might be expected, based on LeBoullenger's ‹teperintansi8appa› 'they did not control it'.

[50] This form is a 33' > 33' participle. Voorhis (1974: 89) gives the corresponding Kickapoo ending -ekoaacihi.

[51] This is mistranslated by LB as 'je tu disois'.

[52] This form is an exact match for Fox pakamenakakwe 'he might hit us', a prohibitive used without ka·ta (see Goddard 2004: 112-3). This form, from Dunn's Oklahoma fieldnotes, is otherwise found only in LeBoullenger's paradigms, in the unglossed form ‹teperimeracang8›. It is unknown how productively formed such verbs were in the modern language.

[53] This errata list is meant to supplement that in Costa (2004).

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