

VERBS OF WEARING IN CREEK (MUSKOGEE)

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1. This paper describes lexical and morphological factors involving the semantics of clothing verbs in the Creek (or Muskogee) language of east-central Oklahoma.¹ In Creek, verbs of wearing are generally more specific than comparable English verbs in describing the manner in which an object of clothing is placed on the body. While English may thus use *put on* for virtually any type of clothing, Creek uses over a dozen different verbs depending on the type of action involved (for example, putting on a hat as distinguished from putting on a glove). Other distinctions include direction (whether the clothing is being put on or taken off), number, aspect (putting on vs. wearing), and middle vs. active voice (putting on oneself vs. putting on someone else).

Studies of unrelated languages (e.g., McCawley 1978 for Japanese) demonstrate considerable complexity in this verb class, and recent dictionaries of other Muskogean languages (Sylestine et al. 1993, Munro and Willmond 1994, Kimball 1994) suggest classifications which are at once similar to and different from the Creek system. Our research is meant as a contribution to a crosslinguistic description of the verbs in this domain, and to a better understanding of how words and morphological processes in Creek combine to create subtle semantic distinctions.

2. **Putting clothes on oneself.** There is no general clothing verb in Creek, but the verb *vccetv* /acc-itá/ is used for any loose item of clothing covering the torso (such as a dress, shirt, skirt, shawl, or blanket):²

- (1) *Honnvn accēs.* 'S/he is putting on a dress.'
/hónna-n a:cc-fs/
dress-ACC put:on:IGR-DCL
- Eyokkofkervn accēs.* 'S/he is putting on a shirt.'
/i:yokko:fkitá-n a:cc-fs/
shirt-ACC put:on:IGR-DCL
- Honnv-lecvn accēs.* 'S/he is putting on a skirt.'
/honnalca-n a:cc-fs/
skirt-ACC put:on:IGR-DCL

¹The data in this paper are based on the speech of the first author. We are grateful to Dr. Akira Yamamoto for suggesting this topic to us, and to participants at the Oklahoma Native American Language Development Institute for their help. Our research is supported by National Endowment for the Humanities. The following abbreviations are used: ACC=accusative; CAUS=causative; DAT=dative applicative; DCL=declarative; DISTR=distributive; FGR=falling tone grade; IGR=incompletive grade; INST=instrumental; LOC=locative; MID=middle voice; PL=plural; RECIP=reciprocal; REDUP=reduplicated; REFL=reflexive.

²*Vccetv* also has a nominal reading meaning 'blanket'.

- 'Nockv-rykkon* *aces.* 'S/he is putting on a shawl.'
/ino:ckałákk-o-n a:cc-łs/
shawl-ACC put:on:IGR-DCL

In this paper, traditional Creek spelling is given in italics. The phonemic transcription is enclosed in slashes and follows Haas's (1940, 1977) conventions. Verbs are cited in their infinitival forms (ending in *-ev* /-ita/). Example sentences are generally in the incomplete grade, signaled by level pitch on the verb stem and, often, lengthening of the stem-final syllable. In (1), the stem *vcc-* /acc-/ appears in the incomplete grade as *acc-* /a:cc-/.³

The verb *vpikerv* /apeyk-itá/ is a general verb meaning 'to put in' or 'to be in'. *Vpikerv* is used for clothing into which a body part is inserted (such as a glove, sock, or shoe):⁴

- (2) *'Stenke-huten* *vpikes.* 'S/he is putting on a glove.'
/istinkihóti-n apeyk-łs/
glove-ACC put:in:IGR-DCL
- 'Svhocackvn* *vpikes.* 'S/he is putting on a sock.'
/isahocá:cka-n apeyk-łs/
sock-ACC put:in:IGR-DCL
- 'Stellepikvn* *vpikes.* 'S/he is putting on a shoe.'
/istilipéyka-n apeyk-łs/
shoe-ACC put:in:IGR-DCL

It is also used when the body part is put through the item of clothing:

- (3) *'Stenke-vkululokvn* *vpikes.* 'S/he is putting on a bracelet.'
/istinki?akolóló:ka-n apeyk-łs/
bracelet-ACC put:in:IGR-DCL
- 'Stenke-svpikvn* *vpikes.* 'S/he is putting on a ring.'
/istinkisakpéyka-n apeyk-łs/
ring-ACC put:in:IGR-DCL

The same verb *vpikerv* is used for putting on a single pair of pants or shorts:

- (4) *Hvtepkivn* *vpikes.* 'S/he is putting on pants (one pair).'
/hatikpéyka-n apeyk-łs/
pants-ACC put:in:IGR-DCL
- Hvtepkik-kucoknen* *vpikes.* 'S/he is putting on shorts (one pair).'
/hatikpeykkocókni-n apeyk-łs/
shorts-ACC put:in:IGR-DCL

Finally, *vpikerv* is used when an item of clothing is placed inside a body part. Dentures take this verb, though the instrumental prefix *es* (or *'s-*) is also needed:

³The classic study of this phenomenon is Haas (1940).

⁴A more literal translation of (2) would be 'S/he is putting it in a glove.'

- (5) *Nute-eshakvn 'svpikes.* 'S/he is putting in his/her dentures.'
 /nouʔishá:ka-n is-ápeyk-fs/
 dentures-ACC put:in:IGR-DCL

The instrumental prefix has several uses. In (5), the instrumental is used because the object of the verb contains something (teeth).

Kvpotoyetv /kapotoy-itá/ is used for putting clothing on the head (a hat, cap, crown, etc.):

- (6) *Kvpotokvn kvpotoyes.* 'S/he is putting on a hat.'
 /kapotóka-n kápoto:y-fs/
 hat-ACC put:on:head:IGR-DCL

Historically, this verb includes *ekv /iká/* 'his/her head'.⁵

Another verb, *enucetv /inoc-itá/*, is used for clothing relating to the neck:

- (7) *Kunawvn enoces.* 'S/he is putting on a necklace.'
 /koná:wa-n ino:c-fs/
 bead-ACC put:around:neck:IGR-DCL

The prefix *oh* (meaning 'on top of') is added for neckties:

- (8) *Oh enockvn oh enoces.* 'S/he is putting on a necktie.'
 /ohhinó:cka-n óhh-ino:c-fs/
 necktie-ACC on-put:around:neck:IGR-DCL

The locative prefix is used in (8) because ties are worn on top of shirts.

There are three verbs related to the verb *wvnyetv /wanay-itá/* 'to tie'. The verb *es wvnyetv /is-wanay-itá/* is used for a headscarf or a ribbon:⁶

- (9) *Estekv-swvnakvn ekv es wvnayes.* 'S/he is putting on a headscarf.'
 /istikaswaná:ka-n iká fs-wana:y-fs/
 headscarf-ACC head INST-tie:IGR-DCL

The verb *'swvnyetv /is-a-wanay-itá/* is used for a watch:

- (10) *Hvse-eskērkucen 'swvnayes.* 'S/he is putting on a watch.'
 /hasiʔiski:kočf-n is-á-wana:y-fs/
 watch-ACC INST-at-tie:IGR-DCL

The verb *'sēwvvnketv /is-i-wana-k-itá/* is used for a belt:

- (11) *'Sēwvvnketvn 'sēwvnakes.* 'S/he is putting on a belt.'
 /isi:wanakitá-n is-f-wana:-k-fs/
 belt-ACC INST-REFL-tie-MID:IGR-DCL

⁵As the example in (6) shows, nouns referring to clothing are often derived from verbs. In this example, *kvpotokv /kapotóka/* 'hat' includes the nominalizing suffix *-kv /-ka/*.

⁶A more literal translation of (9) is 'S/he is tying a headscarf to her head.'

Each of these verbs includes the instrumental prefix *es* /is-/, used here to indicate attachment. The first verb *es wvnyetv* /is-wanay-itá/ means 'to tie (e.g., a rope) to (something)'. The second verb *svwvnyetv* /is-a-wanay-itá/ means 'to tie (someone, an object) to (something)'. The third verb *sēwvnyketv* /is-i:-wana-k-itá/ literally means 'to get oneself tied to (something)'.

Ribbons may be 'tied' on, but they may also be 'set' on. The verb *svlicetv* /is-a-ley-c-itá/ (derived from *liketv* /leyk-itá/ 'to sit (of one)') is thus also appropriate:

- (12) *Tvkfulwv* 'svlices. 'S/he is putting on a ribbon.'
/takfólwa-n is-á-ley-c-fs/
ribbon-ACC INST-at-sit-CAUS:IGR-DCL

Vcvkhēcetv /acakhi:c-itá/ 'to stick in' is used for sticking a comb in the hair:

- (13) *'Skaskvn* *vcvkhēces.* 'S/he is sticking a comb in.'
/iská:ska-n acákhi:-c-fs/
comb-ACC stick:in-CAUS:IGR-DCL

The verb *vtvretv* /ataf-itá/ is a general verb meaning 'to hang (something)'. It is also used for putting on an earring, a nose-ring, etc.:

- (14) *Hvck-viarkvn* *vtares.* 'S/he is putting on an earring.'
/hackatá:ika-n ata:f-fs/
earring-ACC hang:IGR-DCL

The verb *svkkayetv* /is-ak-ka:y-itá/ is used for putting on glasses:

- (15) *Tur-svkkakvn* 'svkkayes. 'S/he is putting on glasses.'
/tołsakká:ka-n is-ák-ka:y-fs/
glasses-ACC INST-LOC-set:IGR-DCL

This verb is apparently derived from *kayetv* /ka:y-itá/ 'to set (two)'. The initial 's-' is the instrumental prefix. The prefix *vk-* /ak-/ can be glossed 'down there' (generally referring to location in water or a low place): here it implies that glasses are worn 'down in' the eye sockets.

The verb *tvkhvyetv* /itakhay-ita/ is used for loincloths or diapers:

- (16) *'Tvkhvkv* 'tvkhayes. 'S/he is putting on a loincloth.'
/itakhaká-n itákha:y-fs/
loincloth-ACC gird:with:IGR-DCL

The verb *oh pvcetv* /oh-pac-ita/ 'to overlay (gold, asphalt, etc.)' is used for an apron:

- (17) *'Sohpackvn* *oh paces.* 'S/he is putting on an apron.'
/isohpá:cka-n óh-pa:c-fs/
apron-ACC on-overlay:IGR-DCL

The verb *es ēcokoyetv* /is-i:-coko:y-itá/ 'to put (something containing something else) on the back' is used for a sack or backpack:

- (18) *Sukcvn* 'sēcokoyes. 'S/he is putting on a sack (on the back).'
/sókca-n is-f:-coko:y-fs/
sack-ACC INST-REFL-put:on:back:IGR-DCL

3. Number in verbs of wearing. *Vcctv* is the only clothing verb having a special form for a plural subject:

- (19) *Honnvn acces.* 'S/he is putting on a dress.'
Honnvn vchoyes. 'They are putting on a dress/dresses.'
 /hónna-n ác-ho:y-s/
 dress-ACC put:on-PL:IGR-DCL

This use of the plural suffix in this transitive verb is unusual.

It is more common to indicate a plural theme (the element undergoing motion). Thus, *vpiketv /apeyk-itá/* 'to put in' has a suppletive form *vtehetv /atih-itá/* used when more than one body part is inserted into an item of clothing:

- (20) 'Stenke-huten *vpikes.* 'S/he is putting on a glove.'
 'Stenke-huten *viēhes.* 'S/he is putting on gloves'.
 /istinkihóti-n ati:h-fs/
 glove-ACC put:in:IGR-DCL

If the clothes are layered, however, *vtehetv* may not be used. Instead, '*setoh pvcctv* 'to layer (clothes on one another)' is used:

- (21) *Hvtepkivn 'setoh paces.* 'S/he is putting on pants (two or more pairs).'
 /hatikpéyka-n is-it-óh-pa:c-fs/
 pants-ACC INST-RECIP-on-overlay-DCL

Several verbs form plurals by reduplication (often accompanied by distributive-*ec-* /-ic-/) :

- (22) 'Skaskvn *vcvkhēces.* 'S/he is sticking in a comb.'
 'Skaskvn *vcvkcyhēces.* 'S/he is sticking in combs.'
 /iská:ska-n acákca hi-c-fs/
 comb-ACC stick:in:REDUP-CAUS:IGR-DCL
- (23) *Tvkfulwvn 'svvvnayes.* 'S/he is putting on a ribbon.'
Tvkfulwvn 'svvvnawices. 'S/he is putting on ribbons.'
 /takfólwa-n is-a-waná:we-yc-fs/
 ribbon-ACC INST-at-tie:REDUP-DISTR:IGR-DCL
- (24) *Hvck-vtarkvn vtares.* 'S/he is putting on an earring.'
Hvck-vtarkvn vtvrtices. 'S/he is putting on earrings.'
 /hackatá:ka-n atátic-yc-fs/
 earring-ACC hang:REDUP-DISTR:IGR-DCL

One verb uses reduplication for the dual, but has a suppletive form for three or more:

- (25) *Tvkfulwvn 'svlices.* 'S/he is putting on a ribbon.'
 /takfólwa-n is-á-ley-c-fs/
 ribbon-ACC INST-at-sit-CAUS:IGR-DCL
- Tvkfulwvn 'svlilices.* 'S/he is putting on (two) ribbons.'
 /takfólwa-n is-a-léyle-yc-fs/
 ribbon-ACC INST-at-sit:REDUP-CAUS:IGR-DCL

Tvɔkfulwvɔn 'svhvpoyes. 'S/he is putting on (three or more) ribbons.'
 /takfólwa-n is-áh-ápo:y-fs/
 ribbon-ACC INST-at-sit:IGR-DCL

If there are no more specific plural forms of the type discussed above, a verb may indicate a plural subject or object by adding a suffix *-vk-* /-ak-/:

(26) 'Stenke-huten *vtēhes*. 'S/he is putting on gloves.'
 'Stenke-huten *vtēhakes*. 'They are putting on gloves.'
 /istinkihóti-n atŋh-ak-fs/
 glove-ACC put:in-PL:IGR-DCL

4. Wearing clothes. Level pitch on the verb indicates that the action is ongoing or habitual. Falling pitch on the last syllable of the stem indicates the action has been performed:

(27) *Honnvɔn* *accēs*. 'S/he is putting on a dress.'
 /hónna-n a:cc-fs/
 dress-ACC put:on:IGR-DCL

Honnvɔn *âccēs*. 'S/he is wearing a dress.'
 /hónna-n â:cc-is/
 dress-ACC put:on:FGR-DCL

(28) 'Stenke-huten *vpikes*. 'S/he is putting on a glove.'
 /istinkihóti-n apeyk-fs/
 glove-ACC put:in:IGR-DCL

'Stenke-huten *vpíkes*. 'S/he is wearing a glove.'
 /istinkihóti-n apēyk-is/
 glove-ACC put:in:FGR-DCL

The difference in pitch is not normally spelled in the traditional orthography. We use a circumflex (˘) here to indicate the contrast.

5. Putting clothes on someone else. When an item of clothing is being placed on someone else rather than on oneself, a verb must either have a causative suffix or a dative applicative prefix. The following verbs take the direct causative suffix *-ec-* /-ic-/:

(29) *Honnvɔn* *accēs*. 'S/he is putting on a dress.'
Honnvɔn *vccēces*. 'S/he is putting a dress on him/her.'
 /hónna-n ácci-ic-fs/
 dress-ACC put:on-CAUS:IGR-DCL

Kvpotokvɔn *kvpotoyes*. 'S/he is putting on a hat.'
Kvpotokvɔn *kvpotu ecēs*. 'S/he is putting a hat on him/her.'
 /kapotóka-n kápoto-ic-fs/
 hat-ACC put:on:head-CAUS:IGR-DCL

Kunawvɔn *enoces*. 'S/he is putting on a necklace.'
Kunawvɔn *enocices*. 'S/he is putting a necklace on him/her.'
 /koná:wa-n inóce-ic-fs/
 bead-ACC put:around:neck-CAUS:IGR-DCL

<i>Oh enockvn</i>	<i>oh enoces.</i>	'S/he is putting on a necktie.'
<i>Oh enockvn</i>	<i>oh enocices.</i>	'S/he is putting a necktie on him/her.'
/ohhinó:cka-n	ohh-inóce-yc-/	
necktie-ACC	on-put:around:neck-CAUS:IGR-DCL	
<i>'Sēwvvnketvn</i>	<i>'sēwvnakes.</i>	'S/he is putting on a belt.'
<i>'Sēwvvnketvn</i>	<i>es wvvnkuces.</i>	'S/he is putting a belt on him/her.'
/isi:wanakitá-n	is-waná-ko-yc-/	
belt-ACC	INST-tie-MID-CAUS:IGR-DCL	
<i>'Tvkhvkvn</i>	<i>'tvkhayes.</i>	'S/he is putting on a loincloth.'
<i>'Tvkhvkvn</i>	<i>'tvkhvyces.</i>	'S/he is putting a loincloth on him/her.'
/itakhaká-n	itákhayi-yc-/	
loincloth-ACC	gird:with-CAUS:IGR-DCL	
<i>Sukcvm</i>	<i>'sēcokoyes.</i>	'S/he is putting on a sack (on the back).'
<i>Sukcvm</i>	<i>'sēcokoyices.</i>	'S/he is putting a sack on him/her.'
/sókca-n	is-i-cokó:ye-yc-/	
sack-ACC	INST-REFL-put:on:back-CAUS:IGR-DCL	

Other verbs use the dative applicative prefix *em* /im-/ (or its preconsonantal form *en* /in-/):

(30) <i>'Stenke-huten</i>	<i>vpikes.</i>	'S/he is putting on a glove.'
<i>'Stenke-huten</i>	<i>em vpikes.</i>	'S/he is putting a glove on him/her.'
/istinkihóti-n	im-ápeyk-fs/	
glove-ACC	DAT-put:in:IGR-DCL	
<i>'Stenke-huten</i>	<i>vtēhes.</i>	'S/he is putting on gloves.'
<i>'Stenke-huten</i>	<i>em vtēhes.</i>	'S/he is putting gloves on him/her.'
/istinkihóti-n	im-áti:h-fs/	
glove-ACC	DAT-put:in:IGR-DCL	
<i>Estekv-svvnakvn</i>	<i>ekv 'svvnayes.</i>	'S/he is putting on a headscarf.'
<i>Estekv-svvnakvn</i>	<i>ekv 's em vvnayes.</i>	'S/he is putting a headscarf on him/her.'
/istikaswaná:ka-n	iká is-im-wana:y-fs/	
headscarf-ACC	head INST-DAT-tie:IGR-DCL	
<i>Hvse-eskērkucen</i>	<i>'svvnayes.</i>	'S/he is putting on a watch.'
<i>Hvse-eskērkuce</i>	<i>'s em vvnayes.</i>	'S/he is putting a watch on him/her.'
/hasi?iski:kocí-n	is-im-a-wána:y-fs/	
watch-ACC	INST-DAT-at-tie:IGR-DCL	
<i>Tvkfulwvn</i>	<i>'svlices.</i>	'S/he is putting on a ribbon.'
<i>Tvkfulwvn</i>	<i>'s em vlices.</i>	'S/he is putting a ribbon on him/her.'
/takfólwa-n	is-im-a-ley-c-fs/	
ribbon-ACC	INST-DAT-at-sit-CAUS:IGR-DCL	

⁷The noun *'tvkhvkvn* also means 'diaper', so this sentence could be translated 'S/he is putting a diaper on him/her.'

- 'Skaskvn vcvkhēces. 'S/he is sticking a comb in.'
 'Skaskvn em vcvkhēces. 'S/he is sticking a comb in him/her.'
 /iská:ska-n im-acákhí:c-fs/
 comb-ACC DAT-stick:in-CAUS:IGR-DCL
- Hvck-vtarkvn vtares. 'S/he is putting on an earring.'
 Hvck-vtarkvn em vtares. 'S/he is putting an earring on him/her.'
 /hacatá:ka-n im-áta:t-fs/
 earring-ACC DAT-hang:IGR-DCL
- Tur-svkkakvn 'svkkayes. 'S/he is putting on glasses.'
 Tur-svkkakvn 'sem vkkayes. 'S/he is putting glasses on him/her.'
 /tošakká:ka-n is-im-ák-ka:y-fs/
 glasses-ACC INST-DAT-LOC-set:IGR-DCL
- 'Sohpackvn oh paces. 'S/he is putting on an apron.'
 'Sohpackvn em oh paces. 'S/he is putting an apron on him/her.'
 /isohpá:cka-n im-óh-pa:c-fs/
 apron-ACC DAT-on-overlay:IGR-DCL

We have not been able to determine why the verbs in (29) take *-ec-* /-ic-/ and those in (30) take *em* /im-/, except that those in (29) seem to be more basic clothing verbs.

6. **Taking clothes off oneself.** The two main verbs referring to the removal of clothes are *roketv* /ʔok-fta/ (for a singular object) or its reduplicated form *rokruetv* /ʔokʔo-yc-itá/ (for a plural object):

- (31) Honnvn rokes. 'S/he is taking off a dress.'
 /hónna-n ʔo:k-fs/
 dress-ACC take:off:IGR-DCL
- Honnvn rokrueces. 'S/he is taking off dresses.'
 /hónna-n ʔokʔo-yc-fs/
 dress-ACC take:off:REDUP-DISTR:IGR-DCL

These verbs may be used for most clothes, including shirts, dresses, coats, pants, shorts, gloves, shoes, socks, hats, necklaces, ties, belts, and scarves.

Shoes and socks differ, however, in that a more specific verb *tēfetv* /ti:f-itá/ may also be used for removing these:

- (32) 'Svhocackvn tēfes. 'S/he is taking off his/her socks.'
 /isahocá:cka-n ti:f-fs/
 sock-ACC take:off:foot:IGR-DCL

In the singular, *roketv* is used.

With a few items of clothing, *esetv* /is-fta/ 'to take' or its plural object form *cvwerv* /caw-fta/ may be used:

- (33) 'Skaskvn ʔses. 'S/he is taking out a comb.'
 /iská:ska-n i:s-fs/
 comb-ACC take:IGR-DCL

'Skaskvñ cawes.
/iská:ska-n ca:w-ís/
comb-ACC take:IGR-DCL

'S/he is taking out combs.'

(34) Hvck-vtarkvñ žses.
/hackatá:řka-n i:s-ís/
earring-ACC take:IGR-DCL

'S/he is taking off an earring.'

Hvck-vtarkvñ cawes.
/hackatá:řka-n ca:w-ís/
earring-ACC take:IGR-DCL

'S/he is taking off earrings.'

In some contexts, the instrumental prefix *es* /is-/ may be added:

(35) Hvse-eskērkučen *es* rokes.
/hasiřiski:řkocf-n řs-řo:k-ís/
watch-ACC INST-take:off:IGR-DCL

'S/he is taking off a watch.'

'Sohpackvñ *es* rokes.
/isohpá:cka-n řs-řo:k-ís/
apron-ACC INST-take:off:IGR-DCL

'S/he is taking off an apron.'

Tvkfulwvñ 'sēs.
/takfólwa-n is-i:s-ís/
ribbon-ACC INST-take:IGR-DCL

'S/he is taking off a ribbon.'

Tvkfulwvñ *es* cawes.
/takfólwa-n řs-ca:w-ís/
ribbon-ACC INST-take:IGR-DCL

'S/he is taking off ribbons.'

In the first two examples (as in (5)), the instrumental indicates that the item of clothing contains something. The instrumental prefix is added in the first example in (35) because a watch has parts. The instrumental was offered in the second example because a context was imagined in which the apron had something on it (food, for example), and thus in need of being taken off. It is not clear why the instrumental is used with a ribbon, though it may signal that a part of the ribbon is grasped.

7. Taking clothes off someone else. When clothes are removed from another person, the dative applicative prefix *em* /im-/ is added to the verb:

(36) Honnvñ rokes.
Honnvñ *em* rokes.
/hónna-n řn-řo:k-ís/
dress-ACC DAT-take:off:IGR-DCL

'S/he is taking off a dress.'

'S/he is taking a dress off of him/her.'

Honnvñ rokrueces.
Honnvñ *em* rokrueces.
/hónna-n řn-řóřko-yc-ís/
dress-ACC DAT-take:off:REDUP-DISTR:IGR-DCL

'S/he is taking off dresses.'

'S/he is taking dresses off of him/her.'

- (37) *'Svhocackvn tēfes.* 'S/he is taking off his/her socks.'
'Svhocackvn en tēfes. 'S/he is taking his/her socks of fof him/her.'
 /isahocá:cka-n in-ti:f-/
 sock-ACC DAT-take:off:foot:IGR-DCL
- (38) *Hvse-eskērkucen es rokes.* 'S/he is taking off a watch.'
Hvse-eskērkucen 'sen rokes. 'S/he is taking a watch off of him/her.'
 /hasiʔiski:ʔkocf-n is-in-to:k-/
 watch-ACC INST-DAT-take:off:IGR-DCL
- (39) *Tvkfulwvn 'sēsēs.* 'S/he is taking off a ribbon.'
Tvkfulwvn 'sen ēses. 'S/he is taking a ribbon off of him/her.'
 /takfólwa-n is-in-i:s-/
 ribbon-ACC INST-DAT-take:IGR-DCL
- Tvkfulwvn es cawes.* 'S/he is taking off ribbons.'
Tvkfulwvn 'sen cawes. 'S/he is taking ribbons off of him/her.'
 /takfólwa-n is-in-ca:w-/
 ribbon-ACC INST-DAT-take:IGR-DCL

8. Conclusion. We have attempted to describe various dimensions among verbs of wearing in Creek. These include:

- the specific type of action (for example, putting on a hat vs. putting on a glove)
- direction (putting on vs. taking off)
- number
- aspect (putting on vs. wearing)
- middle vs. active voice (putting on oneself vs. putting on someone else)

The first two dimensions are distinguished by using different verbs in Creek, while the other dimensions are distinguished primarily through affixation.

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