

social status), about whose languages and linguistic affiliations we have little or no information available;

- f. Europeans and White Americans with English, German, and probably also Spanish and French as their native tongues; and
- g. Africans and Black Americans, speaking different African or European languages or creoles.

In terms of its functions, Creek as a second language appears to have been associated primarily with the so-called Creek Confederacy, a loose political alliance in the 18th century, that included most of the aforementioned Indian groups and came about in response to increasing encroachments by European and American settlers and their colonial governments (Sturtevant 1971:92-105). The Creek and their confederates or associates, speaking several mutually unintelligible languages, thus used a form of Creek as an interlingual medium in assemblies of concern to the entire confederacy and in other 'international' dealings. If Oglethorpe was correct, a variety of Creek even served as the ceremonial language for the Creek and their associates (cf. Jones 1966:515). Creek was also adopted in one form or another by Europeans and Africans in their functions as traders, translators, Indian agents, or missionaries as they came in contact with the Creek and their allies. In short, a lingua franca based on Creek would have reflected the sociopolitical importance of the Creek Indians among their confederates as well as their Indian and non-Indian neighbors in colonial times.

2. Interpretation of the Evidence. These limited historical and sociolinguistic data raise the following questions of interpretation:

- (1) Did the speakers of languages other than Creek acquire Creek as a second language individually? In other words: Was the acquisition of Creek as a foreign language the matter of a few single bilinguals or multilinguals? Or did a form of Creek exist as a true and widespread lingua franca with a grammar and functions that differed in part from those of Creek proper or Muskogee?
- (2) If the evidence supported a positive answer to the second question, did such an established Creek-based contact language grow originally out of a bilingual situation and was it eventually adopted also by other people not conversant in Creek? Or did the lingua franca Creek result from pidginization, i.e. a linguistic compromise evolving out of a truly multilingual situation that included at least three, but more likely additional, mutually unintelligible and often unrelated languages?
- (3) Did the speakers of the Creek-based contact language form a contact speech community of their own? Or was it part of a still larger contact speech community, in particular that of

Mobilian Jargon?

The apparent lack of a substantial amount of substantive linguistic-historical information for a Creek-based contact language should make us cautious about assuming its existence, especially as there are comparatively more and better data available for another interlingual medium, namely the aforementioned Mobilian Jargon.

With the evidence presumably missing, we could draw the extreme conclusion that the idea of a lingua franca Creek merely was the product of our imagination, if not in the mind of a few colonial chroniclers. Alternatively and more reasonably, we might maintain that there existed no institutionalized form of Creek as a second language; in other words: those speakers of languages other than Creek who learned it as a foreign language did so individually, in approaching the model progressively along a continuum of second language acquisition.

Either position would already contain implicit answers to the other questions raised above, and in fact would hardly make any further discussion necessary, if it were not for some other, related evidence.

Throughout the 19th century and into the first half of the 20th, Seminole Indians--former Creek separatists or 'runaways'⁵--were said to speak a Creek-based jargon among each other, especially with members who did not speak Muskogee such as the Hitchiti and Mikasuki, as well as with their Black associates and with White traders or settlers. Judged on the basis of various and quite reliable historical documents, this so-called Seminole jargon was not a temporary linguistic compromise between two individuals on some rare occasion, but was a true contact language with its own grammatical rules, however variable. By all indications, this Creek-based jargon of the Seminole Indians also was a true pidgin, incorporating Spanish and English elements among others. An Anglicized variety of this contact language appears to have developed into the Seminole Pidgin English, which ultimately creolized to become known as Afro-Seminole Creole⁶ (Drechsel 1979: 47-50; cf. Bateman 1982 NS; Dillard 1972:150-155; Hancock 1975, 1977).

In view of our earlier discussion, the use of such a Creek-based contact language by the Seminole and their neighbors suggests that this custom of theirs was not a new one; instead, the Seminole probably continued a long-standing linguistic tradition of resorting--in bilingual or multilingual situations--to a lingua franca Creek whose existence the aforementioned documents imply for the Creek in the 18th century. The historical references to a Creek-based Seminole jargon thus strengthen the case for an

earlier Creek-based contact language; the medium that the Seminole and their neighbors used would thus have been merely a closely related variety of the original lingua franca Creek.

If sociolinguistic diversity in a contact speech community was any indication for past pidginization, we could conclude that the lingua franca Creek also was a true pidgin that had incorporated linguistic elements of various Indian languages other than Creek proper and perhaps European and African elements as well. For the multilingual Creek Confederacy was sociolinguistically more complex than the community of the Seminole and their associates or neighbors; many of the native languages spoken by the member groups of the Creek alliance had become extinct by the beginning of the 19th century, and there were few, if any, additional languages spoken among the Seminole and their associates. The greater variety of heterogeneous native and foreign languages that the Creek and their neighbors used in comparison to the Seminole (including their Black associates) would then lead us to believe that the lingua franca Creek had evolved as the result of pidginization of many different languages.

It is not just the documentation of a Seminole pidgin south of the Creek that supports the notion of the lingua franca Creek and the likelihood of it having been a true pidgin; there is yet historical evidence for these hypotheses provided by the Creek Indians' former neighbors to the west.

Most, possibly all, of the western groups in the Creek Confederacy--namely the Alabama, the Apalachi, the Chickasaw, the Choctaw, the Koasati, and the Natchez who were members--have been reported to speak not only the lingua franca Creek, but also Mobilian Jargon or the Chickasaw-Choctaw trade language, a genuine Muskogean-based pidgin of the lower Mississippi valley and its adjacent areas. That the Western Muskogean such as the Choctaw and Chickasaw or their neighbors did so, is not surprising. We might only raise the question of why Mobilian Jargon did not extend farther east; why is there apparently no evidence that the other members of the Creek Confederacy, especially the other Muskogean such as the Muskogee, the Hitchiti, and the Mikasuki adopted Mobilian Jargon as their interlingual medium? In view of the fact that Mobilian Jargon extended in historical times into eastern Texas and as far north as southern Illinois and was spoken by peoples of such diverse linguistic affiliations as Siouan, Caddoan, and apparently even Algonquian and Athapaskan, these questions are quite reasonable (cf. Drechsel 1979:117-135).

There is an answer that immediately enters one's mind: Mobilian Jargon did not spread any farther east because, as a competing interlingual medium, the lingua franca Creek formed a linguistic obstacle for any other contact language. We might in fact

interpret the apparently limited spread of Mobilian Jargon eastwards as an additional, although hardly solid, argument in support of the proposed Creek-based contact language.

So far, the discussion has followed the premise that the lingua franca Creek and Mobilian Jargon were two separate linguistic entities; we have assumed that they coexisted side by side and, in some instances, within the same communities, as it apparently was the case in groups of the Creek Confederacy on its western border.

Yet some historical observations contradict the suggestion of the two contact languages being entirely distinct. Just as the name 'Muskogee' does not always appear to refer to Creek proper, but to the contact language based on it, 'Chickasaw' and 'Choctaw' often designated Mobilian Jargon in historical documents (Drechsel 1979:120-128, 136; cf. footnote 4 below). If we read 'Chickasaw' and 'Choctaw' in Bartram's quote above as Mobilian Jargon, the Creek Indians would have suggested to him that Mobilian Jargon was merely a 'dialect' or a variety of the lingua franca Creek.

Bartram's information at best offers weak evidence, and must not be considered without more reliable data. Such actually occur in Stiggins' letters, in which he described the two Eastern Muskogean languages Alabama and Hitchiti as linguistic 'mongrels' without a grammatical rule and as 'mixed' or 'adulterated' with Choctaw and Chickasaw, two Western Muskogean languages (Stiggins n.d. MS:66.2, 3, 13; cf. Nunez 1958:20, 30). In these cases, Stiggins did not speak of Alabama and Hitchiti proper; but he clearly referred to a variety of the lingua franca Creek influenced by Western Muskogean languages or--conversely--to a dialect of Mobilian Jargon incorporating Eastern Muskogean elements.

Similarly, in 1858, a resident of Louisiana by the name of Thomas Woodward described Mobilian Jargon, spoken by Indians in neighboring Texas as 'a mixture of Creek, Choctaw, Chickasaw, Netches, and Apelash' (Woodward 1939:79). We might interpret 'Creek' here as any Eastern Muskogean group such as the prominent Alabama and associated Koasati who have lived in eastern Texas. But small Creek communities existed in the area as well--a little-known historical fact that renders Woodward's observation quite likely. Woodward also cited single Muskogee words and a probable example of Mobilian Jargon; i.e. the word for 'horse' in the Indians' as well as Whites' pronunciation: 'Echo Tlocko' and 'Chelocko' respectively (Woodward 1939:21). This word in its variable pronunciations can be reconstituted as lɔ̄ ləkko 'deer big' and ɛ̄(ə)loko, which indeed derive etymologically from Creek (Karen Booker, personal communication; cf. Silverstein 1973 MS: 39). In listing Creek first among the languages whose historical input was reflected in Mobilian Jargon and in offering a likely Creek-based example of it, Woodward thus made a case for a varie-

ty of the Chickasaw-Choctaw trade language with a significant foundation in Creek.

Likewise, a glance at the vocabulary of Mobilian Jargon, consisting of both reconstituted and recently recorded entries, reveals that its items were not all or exclusively Choctaw or Chickasaw in origin. Still, some of those that were could also have been intelligible to speakers of Creek and closely related languages. However, Mobilian Jargon incorporated many non-Western Muskogean elements; among them were such that derived from Alabama, Koasati, and other Eastern Muskogean tongues and that occurred even in the Mobilian Jargon speech of Choctaw Indians (cf. Crawford 1978:81-97; Drechsel 1979:240-347).

In short, the historical and linguistic evidence cited above concurs with the hypothesis that the lingua franca Creek and Mobilian Jargon were part of a larger contact language system (rather than separate lingue franche), and further supports the notion that the lingua franca Creek--as part of this extensive linguistic system and like Mobilian Jargon--was originally pidginized. To suggest that the speakers of these two contact languages formed one and the same overall contact speech community is not necessarily to imply that they always understood each other. For the speakers of both lingue franche must have exhibited considerable linguistic variation, which--quite natural in pidgins--resulted from the wide geographic spread of the lingua franca Creek and Mobilian Jargon and from the great diversity of their speakers' first languages. The Creek-based contact language and the Chickasaw-Choctaw trade language are thus assumed to have been interrelated via an extensive dialect continuum, including at least Eastern and Western Muskogean varieties as well as intermediate ones.⁷

3. Conclusions. The discussion above suggests the following hypotheses: The lingua franca Creek was:

- (1) a true and established contact language, which was based on Muskogee, but differed from it in some aspects of its grammar, lexicon, functions, etc. yet to be determined;
- (2) a true pidgin, if judged on the basis of such sociolinguistic indications as the great variety and heterogeneity of its speakers' first languages and its relationships to neighboring contact languages;
- (3) related closely to the Creek-based jargon of the Seminole Indians and their associates and indirectly to Seminole Pidgin in English and Afro-Seminole Creole; and
- (4) interrelated with Mobilian Jargon in a larger contact speech community via a dialect continuum.

The need for additional research on these hypotheses and sim-

ilar questions does not have to be emphasized again. Obviously, further studies of the lingua franca Creek will help unravel the sociolinguistic complexities of colonial southeastern North America and add a better historical and ethnographic understanding of the Creek Indians and their associates, the internal functioning of the Creek Confederacy and its sociopolitical relationships to other Indian, European and African neighbors. Continuing research on the lingua franca Creek will also contribute to the comparative study of American Indian contact languages with its limited data base.

NOTES

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²In unlike manner, Mobilian Jargon was spoken in certain isolated areas of Louisiana into the 1940s and possibly later, still permitting memory linguistic and ethnographic fieldwork in addition to archival studies.

³Should the reader be aware of other historical sources for information of what could be interpreted as a lingua franca Creek, I would certainly appreciate to learn of it, and can be reached at: Anthropology Department, University of Oklahoma, Norman, OK 73019. Such help will of course be acknowledged in any future writings on this or a related topic.

⁴The problem of identifying a contact medium as opposed to its lexically related base language on the ground of lexical evidence is a real one, and occurred in Crawford's and my research on Mobilian Jargon on more than one occasion. In one significant instance, we could determine on the basis of syntactic and sociolinguistic data that a large vocabulary of Mobilian Jargon by a 19th century anonymous author indeed represented the Chickasaw-Choctaw trade language, and not Choctaw proper as was thought earlier (Crawford 1978:57-58; Drechsel 1979:20).

⁵Cf. English 'Seminole' < Creek 'simańó:li' < 'simaló:ni' < Spanish 'cimarrón', meaning 'wild, runaway'.

⁶The lingua franca Creek clearly served as one of the historical sources for Seminole Pidgin English and its creolized 'descendant'. Afro-Seminole Creole appears to be one of the few creolized languages of North America in whose history American Indian languages could have significantly contributed--via the lingua franca Creek and Seminole Pidgin English. Little evidence is currently available to prove this hypothesis, and the study of the precise linguistic and historical relationship between the lingua franca Creek on the one hand and Seminole Pidgin English and Afro-Seminole Creole on the other remains to be undertaken.

⁷There are yet references to what appears to be an Apalachi-based contact language, which, too, could have been part of the contact language system proposed here, but about which even less is known than about the lingua franca Creek (cf. Drechsel 1979: 50-51, 132-135).

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VERB PLURALIZATION IN KOASATI

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The Koasati language,¹ in common with other Muskogean languages, has a number of methods by which the number of the subject or object of a verb can be marked on that verb. There are two categories of plural formation: first, change within or of a verb root, and second, use of a prefix or suffix.

Formative Replacement

Of the first category of plural formation, formative replacement is the most common; of all plural formations it is the most common, even though it is linked solely to verbs of Classes IIAii, IIB and IIIA. The formatives, archaic in that they are no longer freely used to form roots, are as follows: -f-, action on a surface; -p-, action by hand or foot; -ɬ-, action involving severing; -s-, action involving liquid; -y- action with a circular motion; -t-, action with motion from a stationary position; and -:-, action without motion from a stationary position. Examples of these formatives are in Table I, next page.

With a very few exceptions, only verbs which have these formatives as the third consonant of a trilateral root can be pluralized. It is also limited in that the vowel sequence within the root cannot be a followed by i, or o followed by i. The following ordered rules govern the formation of pluralization by formative replacement:

- 1) If the formative is i (vowel length), the plural reduces the root to CVC
- 2) If the second root vowel is o and not identical to the first root vowel, the plural replaces the formative with i.
- 3a) If the root has the form CiBaC (where B is either p or b), the plural replaces the formative with i.
- 3b) If the root vowels are i followed by a, the plural reduces the root to CVC.
- 4a) If the root has the form CVEVt, the plural replaces the formative with i.
- 4b) If the formative is -t-, the plural replaces the formative with h.

TABLE I

-f-	action on a surface	
	latá-f-ka	'to kick something'
	tala-f-ka	'to chip; whittle something'
	yico-f-ka	'to shrivel up'
	bahá-f-fi	'to stab something'
	kalá-f-fi	'to mark something'
	licó-f-fi	'to chip something accidentally'
-p-	action by hand or foot	
	bocó-p-ka	'to squeeze something in the hand'
	cilí-p-ka	'to spear something'
	yamí-p-ka	'to make a fist'
	falá-p-li	'to untie something'
	lomá-p-li	'to whip something'
	kahá-p-li	'to dip up something'
-l-	action involving severing	
	caká-l-ka	'to chop something'
	kacá-l-li	'to bite something'
	kawá-l-li	'to snap something'
	wakó-l-li	'to break something'
-s-	action involving liquid	
	hifó-s-ka	'to breathe'
	kalá-s-li	'to scratch something'
	labó-s-li	'to extinguish something'
	libó-s-li	'to squash something'
	alabó-s-li	'to close up (of flowers)'
-y-	action with a circular motion	
	taná-y-li	'to roll something up'
	aponá-y-li	'to wrap something around'
	onasaná-y-li	'to twist something on'
-t-	action with motion from a stationary position	
	bikó-t-ka	'to buldge'
	tabá-t-ka	'to catch something'
	topá-t-ka	'to recede'
	konó-t-li	'to roll something'
	palá-t-li	'to split something'
	sapá-t-li	'to fit something in'
-:-	action without motion from a stationary position	
	facó--ka	'to flake off'
	apoló--ka	'to sleep with someone'
	okta:cosó--ka	'to be a river-mouth'
	acití--li	'to tie something'
	atiní--li	'to burn something'

- 5) If the root vowels are o followed by a, the plural reduces the root to CVC.
- 6a) If the root is of the shape CVCVC, and the two vowels are identical, the plural replaces the formative with :.
- 6b) If the root vowels are identical, the plural reduces the root to CVC.

Examples of the operation of these rules are in Table II, next page.

These rules of pluralization have been extended to a number of verbs which seem not to have originally had this kind of pluralization. The following are examples of this kind of extension. Note that a number of these have alternative plural formations.

Extension of Rule 3b:

sg. tafilá-m-mí pl. tafíl-li 'to overturn sth.'

Extension of Rule 4b:

sg. akíá-t-li	pl. akíá-h-li	'to be loose'
(regular plural ak,ho,látli)		
lamá-t-ki	lamá-h-ki	'to be straight'
(regular plural amat,ló:,ki)		
oksá-t-li	oksá-h-li	'to swell'
(regular plural ok,ho,látli)		
caná-l-ki	caná-h-ki	'to be bent'
(regular plural canaʔ,có:,ki)		
ciká-p-li	ciká-h-li	'to sparkle'
lisí-p-li	lisí-h-li	'to take sth off'
así-p-li	así-h-li	'to be loose (of teeth)'

Extension of Rule 6b:

sg. stifíci-p-ka ²	pl. stifíc-ka	'to pry sth. up'
acasá-h-li	acás-li	'to insert sth.'
ittibacasá-h-li	ittibacás-li	'to join sth together'

There are a number of irregularly formed formative replacement plurals. The reason for their irregularities is not clear at the present time, so they will simply be listed below.

There is one monosyllabic root that forms its plural in this manner, smá-p-li, 'to pull sth. taut', plural smá--li. One transitive verb has a singular in -ka and a plural in -li; bocó-p-ka, plural bocó--li, 'to squeeze sth. in the hand.' The verb scíí-p-ka, 'to pick one's teeth' has the irregular plural scíí--ka, even though the verb from which it is derived, cíí-p-ka 'to spear sth.' has the regular plural cíí-ka. The verb tíí-f-ka 'to press down on sth.' has the plural tíí--ka, not *tíí-ka, which would be the expected form; and líyá-p-ka (variant líká-p-ka) has the plural form líyá--ka (or líká--ka), not the expected *líy-ka (or lík-ka).

TABLE II
plural

	singular	plural	
Rule 1:	ataká-:-li icoktaká-:-li acokcaná-:-ka atíní-:-li facó-:-ka apóló-:-ka	atak-li icokták-li acokcán-ka atín-ni fás-ka apól-ka	'to hang something' 'to open the mouth' 'to quarrel with someone' 'to burn something' 'to flake off' 'to sleep with someone'
Rule 2:	látó-f-ka labó-s-li famó-t-ka yicó-f-ka libó-s-li asikó-p-li	látó-:-ka labó-:-li famó-:-ka yicó-:-ka libó-:-li asikó-:-li	'to melt' 'to extinguish something' 'to wave' 'to shrivel' 'to squash something' 'to knot something'
Rule 3a:	libá-t-li asipá-t-li	libá-:-li asipá-:-li	'to get burned by hot thing' 'to get a splinter'
Rule 3b:	pitá-f-fi tipá-s-li tiwá-p-li simá-t-li wila-p-lí:ci yilá-p-li	pít-li típ-li tiw-wi sím-mí wil-lí:ci yíl-íi	'to slice up the middle' 'to pick sth. off' 'to open something' 'to cut up tanned skin' 'to tear up the earth' 'to tear something down'
Rule 4a:	tabá-t-ka topá-t-ka	tabá-:-ka topá-:-ka	'to catch something' 'to recede'
Rule 4b:	halá-t-ka ataná-t-ka malá-t-li samá-t-li bifí-t-li libí-t-li	halá-h-ka ataná-h-ka malá-h-li samá-h-li bifí-h-li libí-h-li	'to pull something' 'to go around something' 'to be afraid' 'to crawl under something' 'to steam (intransitive)' 'to cave in'
Rule 5:	akolá-f-ka aponá-y-li lomá-p-li socá-f-fi tosá-f-fi	akol-ká-:ci apon-ní-:ci lóm-mí sós-li tos-lí-:ci	'to erode and collapse' 'to wrap sth. around' 'to whip something' 'to strip skin off sth.' 'to cut a piece out of sth.'
Rule 5a:	kocó-f-fi kaccá-l-íi	kocó-:-li kaccá-:-li	'to pinch something' 'to bite something'
Rule 6b:	latá-f-ka kalá-f-fi cílí-p-ka mísí-p-li fotó-p-ka koyó-f-fi	lát-ka kál-li cíl-ka mís-li fót-ka koyó-li	'to kick something' 'to mark something' 'to swear something' 'to wink' 'to pull up something' 'to cut something'

There are three verbs that form their plurals by suffixing an -f- to the root; okpaká:li 'to float,' plural okpaká-f-fi; lappá:li 'to hang on a vertical surface,' plural lappá-f-fi; and ilapá:li 'to sew something on,' plural ilapá-f-fi. The verb lappá:li also has a regular plural form, láp-li.³

The Choctaw language has the remnants of a formative replacement system, found only with verbs terminating in -li or -a. The following are a few examples from the fifty or so verbs which have this sort of plural formation. All are taken from Byington (1915), checked with Byington (1852) and Wright (1880).

singular	plural		Koasati
abana-ʔ-li	aban-ni	to lay across	-:-
bili-b-bi	bił-li	to point at	-p-
baká-i-li	bak-li	to split into blocks	-i-
boya-f-fi	boya-h-li	to rub off hair	-f-
oklobo-s-li	oklob-bi	to plunge	-s-
pała-l-li	pał-li	to split	-t-

From the Choctaw examples noted, there were none that had a formative that corresponded to the Koasati formative -y-.

There is a handful of Koasati verbs which have the same root in the singular and plural, yet form their plurals with irregular extensions and deletions. These are:

sobáyli (sg/du)	'to know sth.,'	plural sobay-á:-li
fáyli (sg)	'to quit sth.,'	plural fay-áh-li
kóyka (sg)	'to return,'	plural koy-óh-ka
wáyka (sg)	'to fly,'	plural way-óh-ka
filánka (sg)	'to separate,'	plural fil-kóh-ka
falańka (sg)	'to wake up,'	plural fal-kóh-ka
falamí:ci (sg)	'to awaken so.,'	plural fal-kóh-li

Suppletion

There are three kinds of plural formation by suppletion. The first kind is that in which there are three separate roots to express the singular, dual and plural; the second, in which there is one root to express the singular and the dual and another to express the plural; and the third in which there is a singular root and a plural root and the dual is not expressed. Examples of these three forms of suppletion are given in Section 1 of Table III, next page.

With the exception of the verbs batapli, 'to hit sth.,' í:si, 'to take sth.,' and acapíka, 'to release sth.,' all verbs that supplete are intransitive. The Alabama cognate of batápli, batatli, has a plural formed by formative replacement, batli.

TABLE III

Section 1. Suppletion.

Three root suppletion: singular, dual, plural			
haccá:li (sg)	hilkí:li (du)	lokkó:li (pl)	'to stand'
cokkó:li	cikkí:ka	í:sa	'to sit'
á:ta	áswa	í:sa	'to dwell'
Two root suppletion: singular/dual, plural			
illi (sg/du)	háŋka (pl)		'to die'
á:ya	yomáhli		'to go about'
ahí:ya	amá:ka		'to go'
ónti	ilmá:ka		'to come'
Two root suppletion: singular, plural			
acapíŋka (sg)	askáhli		'to release sth.'
batápli	bóŋli		'to hit sth.'
í:si	píhli		'to take sth.'
nakáŋla	wasáŋka		'to be lost'
naksá:ka	sakápli		'to make noise'
onnohalí:ka	onnokáhka		'to clamber up'
walí:ka	tóŋka		'to run'

Section 2. Partial reduplication.

Simple partial reduplication.

alótka (sg)	alot, ló:,ka (pl)	'to be full'
cofókna	cofok, có:,na	'to be angled'
copókxi	copok, có:,si	'to be a hill/hilly'
lapátki	lapat, ló:,ki	'to be narrow'
limíhko	limih, ló:,ki ⁴	'to be smooth'
polóhki	poloh, pó:,ki	'to be circular'
tahaspi	tahas, tó:,pi	'to be light in weight'
talásba	talas, tó:,ba	'to be thin'
tonóhki	tonoh, tó:,ki	'to be round'

Partial reduplication with deletion.

conókbi (sg)	con, co:,bi (pl)	'to be stooped'
ittakasápli	ittakas, ko:,li	'to divide sth. in two'
kawákna	kaw, ko:,na	'to be crooked'
(kofókbi	kof, ko:,bi)	'to be deep'
(kohókbi	koh, ko:,bi)	
tiníŋbi	tin, tí:,bi	'to be dented'

Section 3. S-infixation

aká:no (sg)	aká,s,no	'to be hungry'
akopí:li	akopí,s,li	'to knock sth. over'
apí:li	apí,s,li	'to throw sth. away'
anó:li	anó,s,li	'to finish (aux verb)'
anó:ka	anó,s,ka	'to finish (aux verb)'
im-anó:ka	im-anó,s,ka	'to be winded'
maká:li	maká,s,li	'to open the eyes'
okhabó:ka	okhabó,s,ka	'to sink'
watá:li	watá,s,li	'wear a necklace'
stipí:la	stipí,s,la	'be sexually attractive'

Partial Reduplication

There are two kinds of partial reduplication, simple partial reduplication, and partial reduplication with deletion. In simple partial reduplication, the initial consonant of the root followed by the vowel *o* (with vowel length if the word is to be used as a verb) is infix between the members of the consonant cluster between the ultimate and penultimate syllables of the root. However, if there is a consonant cluster between the first and second syllables, and the root is vowel initial, *ho* is infix between those consonants, as in *okcáya* 'to be alive,' plural *ok,ho,cáya*; and *akiátli*, 'to be loose,' plural *ak,ho,íátli*. Compare *alótka*, 'to be full,' plural *alot,ló:,ka*, where there is no consonant cluster between the first and second syllables. Examples of this formation are in Section 2 of Table III.

In partial reduplication and deletion, the initial consonant and *o* (exceptionally the initial consonant and vowel) are copied after the deletion of a VC syllable from the root. Although this form of reduplication is quite rare (the examples in Section 2 of Table III being exhaustive), there are traces in the language of it having been more common, as attested by the following examples: *camcá:ka* 'bell,' c.f. *camáhli:ci* 'to ring;' *banbó:ka* 'to be rolling (of land);' *taftá:li* 'to trot;' *bolbóhka* 'to be nervous;' *fitfí:ka* 'to chatter (of squirrels);' and *sawsánka* 'to make a frightened snort (of deer)'

S-infixation

This form of pluralization is quite rare, with only ten underived roots using this method. It is produced by infixing an *-s-* before the ultimate syllable of the word. All the examples recorded can be found in Section 3 of Table III.

It is notable that the verb *ballá:ka* 'to lie down,' which has a plural formed by formative replacement, *balka*, has its dual formed by S-infixation, *ballá,s,ka*.

The second category of plural formation, prefixation and suffixation, is by no means as common as the first category. There are two suffixes that mark pluralization, *:-ci₁* and *:-ci₂*. The one prefix is *oh-/ho-*.

:-ci₁ Suffixation

This suffix occurs only with a handful of verbs of motion and their derivatives, and it occurs only in the third person, dual in those verbs which have a suppletive plural, and plural in those that do not. The following are the only verbs which have this suffix: *í:la* 'to arrive here,' 3pl *ilá:-ci*; *ó:la* 'to arrive there,' 3pl *olá:-ci*; *á:ya* 'to go about,' 3du *ayá:-ci* (pl *yomáhli*); *ónti* 'to come,' 3du *ontí:-ci* (pl *ilmá:ka*); and *akí:ya/álla* 3du positive *aklá:-ci*, 3du negative *ak,ki,:ya:-c_o* (from a non-attested 3du positive,

*ai:yá:-ci), (pl amá:ka).

--:ci₂ Suffixation

The second kind of suffixation, --:ci₂, is also not especially common. It occurs primarily on verbs of Classes IIAi and IIIA and indicates that the action of the verb is repeated.

In its simplest form, the suffix merely draws the verbal accent to the syllable preceding the suffix as in the following:

aboyótlī	'to scatter sth.'	aboyotlí:-ci	'to scatter sth. all over'
wananátli	'to shiver'	wananatlí:-ci	'to shiver all over'
pálli	'to split sth. up'	pałlí:-ci	'to splinter sth.'
tálka	'be lying (inan. pl.)'	talká:-ci	'to be lying (inan.) all over'
pátha	'to be wide'	apathá:-ci	'to overspread sth. (of a flood)'

It occurs as additional pluralization morphology in a few verbs that undergo formative replacement, such as:

nisá-f-fi	pl. nis-lí:-ci	'take a small chip off of sth.'
lofá-p-li	pl. lof-fí:-ci	'take a lengthwise chip off of sth.'
silá-f-fi	pl. sil-lí:-ci	'tear sth.'
łilá-f-fi	pl. łil-lí:-ci	
akolá-f-ka	pl. akol-ká:-ci	'to erode and collapse (of a river bank)'

When suffixed to a verb terminating in the class suffix -ka, it often converts -ka to -li, in the same fashion as the homophonous causative suffix. Examples are:

moláp-ka	'to gleam'	molap-lí:-ci	'to glitter'
póc-ka	'to squirt'	poc-lí:-ci	'to squirt again and again'
tałabanáp-ka	'to jump over'	tałabanap-lí:-ci	'to overflow (of rivers)'

However, in four cases, it converts -li to -ka, apparently to prevent homophony with the causative. These are:

haccá:li	'to stand (sg) (sg)'	hacca:-ká:-ci	'to stand agitatedly (sg) up'
hikkí:li	'to stand (du) (du)'	hikki:-ká:-ci	'to stand agitatedly (du) up'
lokkó:li	'to stand (pl) (pl)'	lokkó:-ká:-ci	'to stand agitatedly (pl) up'

cokko:ka 'to sit (sg)' cokko:ka:-ci 'to sit agitatedly (sg)'
 c.f. cokko:lí:-ci 'to seat someone.'⁵

The Prefix ho-/-oh

The final kind of pluralizing morphology in Koasati is the prefix ho- (before consonants)/oh- (before vowels). Although it is technically possible for this prefix to occur before any verb to indicate that a third person subject or object is non-singular, in actual use it is relatively uncommon, except in its use to indicate that an adjective qualifies a non-singular noun. When it occurs with a verb, the prefix seems to serve discourse functions other than that of a marker of pluralization. Examples of the use of the prefix ho-/-oh, taken from various texts, are found in Table IV, next page.

It is notable that very frequently where a verb with ho-/-oh prefixed to it, the semantic object, as in some of the examples in Table IV, is raised to grammatical subject. This seems to indicate that, at least in some instances, the prefix transforms an active verb phrase into a passive one.

This prefix also serves other uses which are merely mentioned here. It is used to indicate an indefinite actor, when the identity of the actor is unknown or concealed, and, reduplicated, is used to form iteratives for those verbs that do not produce iteratives by reduplication within the root.

NOTES

¹Koasati is spoken by about 300 people living in Allen Parish, Louisiana, north of the town of Elton, and by many people on the Alabama-Coushatta Indian Reservation, near Livingston, Texas. The writer did field research on Koasati in Louisiana from October of 1981 through March of 1982, funded in part by a Monroe Fellowship granted by Tulane University.

The phonology of Koasati is as follows: stops: p, t, k, c [ç]~[c], b; fricatives: f [f], ɬ, h; nasals: m, n; semivowels: w, y; vowels: i, a, o, i:, a:, o:; marginal phonemes: e, u, ʔ, and ɥ (nasalization). There are four syllable pitches, low [˘], mid (unmarked), high [ˈ], and high rising-falling [˨˨̎].

All verbs cited in this paper are given in the third person indicative base; the simple indicative deletes the final vowel (if unaccented or unnasalized) of the base.

²Note that an obsolete rule converted c to s before certain consonants, as in ac-halí:ka (sg); as-káhka (pl), 'to exit, go out.'

TABLE IV

athónna im-istilka-fá má:lo-k ho-hí:ca-y-on
 INDIAN 3poss.-DWELLINGS-in OWN-subj ho-SEARCH-but-switch
 athonna ná:s-ok ikso-t
 INDIAN ANY KIND-subj+focus NOT EXIST-connect.

They (the White men) searched through the Indians' dwellings, but contrary to expectation, there were no Indians of any kind.

thátka polí:ci-k nokcó:ba-h bânna-k
 WHITE MAN PREACHER-subj. STOP-try to-same subj.

san,kí,:c-o-hco-k im-aybá:ci-t
 BE ABLE,neg.,-neg. compl.-habit.-same subj. 3am-FORBID-connect.

ho-san,kí,:c-o-hco-k
ho-BE ABLE,neg.,-neg. compl.-habit-same subj.

The White preachers tried to stop it, but they were unable to, they forbade them, but they all were unable to.

nas-ho-ca-manka-hcó-,?,-tó ká:ha-toho:li-mpa-k
 what-ho-lca-CALL-habit-,Q,-III past. SAY-realiz-infer.-hearsay-

opá-k
 same subj. OWL-subj.

"What is it that they all call me?" said the owl, as it is said.

cissí-k ónka-k táńka st-im-mikkó
 MOUSE-subj. SPEAK-same subj. DARKNESS inst.-3poss-CHIEF

ho-ci-manká-hco-k ká,h,ha-n
ho-2sca-CALL-habit.-same subj. SAY,h-grade,-switch

The mouse said, "They all call you Lord of Darkness," and...

cissí-k ónka-k ho-ká:h ittil-ho-cobá ittil-ho-cobá-k
 MOUSE-subj. SPEAK-same subj. ho-SAY EYE-ho-BIG EYE-ho-BIG-subj.

ho-ci-manká-hco-k ká,h,ha-n
ho-2sca-CALL-habit.-same subj. SAY,h-grade,-switch

The mouse said, "They all say 'Big-eyes.' Big-eyes is what you are called," and...

paló mó-k ho-cikki:lí-hco:lik katík
 FLYING SQUIRREL ALSO-subj ho-RAISE-imperf. but it is that

intáli-t tabátka-to-₂
 SET TRAPS- connect. CATCH-III past-terminal.

The flying squirrel was also raised, but traps had to be set to catch it.

³The above is the synchronic situation concerning the pluralization of verbs with formatives. The diachronic situation is complicated by the fact that it seems that the plural forms are in fact basic, and that the singulars were derived. This is attested in Koasati by a number of roots which have forms with more than one formative. Examples of these are: kalá-s-li, 'to scratch;' kala-f-fi, 'to mark;' ataká--ka, 'to be hanging;' ataká-p-ka, 'to be hung up on something like thorns or briars;' and taná-t-li, 'to descend;' taná-y-li 'to roll something with a downward motion.'

⁴This verb is irregular in that the suffix -ko changes to -ki in the plural. The verb okcáčko, 'to be blue or green,' one of the few verbs terminating in -ko, has the plural form ok,ho,cáčko.

⁵The dual of the verb 'to sit,' cikkí:ka, forms cikki:ká:ci, 'to sit agitatedly (du).' The plural is irregular, í:sat á:ya, 'to sit agitatedly (pl).' This form seems to have arisen to avoid confusion with the causative i:sá:ci, 'to seat several people.'

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