

How the Potawatomi Language Lives: A Grammar of Potawatomi

By

Hunter Thompson Lockwood

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

(Linguistics)

at the

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN-MADISON

2017

Date of final oral examination: 6/23/2017

The dissertation is approved by the following members of the Final Oral Committee

Monica Macaulay, Professor, Linguistics

Rand Valentine, Professor, Linguistics and American Indian Studies

Joe Salmons, Professor, Linguistics

Eric Raimy, Professor, Linguistics

Larry Nesper, Professor, Anthropology and American Indian Studies

David Costa, Director, Myaamia Center at Miami University of Ohio

Abstract

This dissertation is a descriptive grammar of Potawatomi, a critically endangered Algonquian language now only spoken as a first language by a handful of elders in northern Wisconsin. Throughout, the goal is to present an authoritative linguistic description of Potawatomi by drawing on direct elicitation, a corpus of new texts gathered in close collaboration with the Forest County Potawatomi Community in northern Wisconsin, and previous linguistic studies of Potawatomi.

Chapter 2 describes the sound system and a few phonological processes including syncope, a rhythmic pattern of vowel reduction or deletion. Chapter 2 also covers the two major writing systems in use in Forest County: one, the WNALP orthography, is used primarily by linguists and scholars, while the other, which I call the FCP orthography, is becoming more widely used by language teachers. The most noteworthy difference between them has to do with the treatment of vowels. Chapter 3 introduces fundamental concepts of morphosyntax in Algonquian languages and provides a discussion of derivational morphology, including many examples illustrating the components of lexical structure in Potawatomi. Chapter 4 treats noun inflection, showing significant variation. Chapter 5 covers verbal inflection, providing numerous examples. Chapter 6 provides a sketch of some syntactic and semantic facts. This chapter provides an overview of Potawatomi word order following the recent work of Robert Lewis. Following that is an extensive discussion of question formation, complex sentences, and quantification. The appendices provide comparison tables for the different writing systems and close to 60 pages of previously unpublished conversations and narratives.

Acknowledgements

Writing a dissertation is a truly humbling experience. Writing a grammar is perhaps more so. There is a reason that clichés like “none of this would be possible” and “standing on the shoulders of giants” litter the acknowledgements sections of dissertations – though only one author’s name graces the first page, many hands, many eyes, and many minds have had a part in producing this.

When I came to the University of Wisconsin-Madison, I was lucky enough to be placed directly on a project that involved close collaboration between the university and the Potawatomi community. I would be remiss if I failed to thank the elders first: Bill Daniels, Jim Thunder, and Mary Jane Thunder are the real drivers of language revitalization in Forest County. They have always been remarkably patient, accommodating, and understanding while I ask ridiculous, confusing questions about grammar and travel up to see them, seemingly at random. And while I am thanking speakers of these incredible languages, I ought to thank Howard Kimewon (Ojibwe) – but I’ll return to him in a moment – and Cecil Garvin (Hočąk). There are so many other people who have generously shared their languages with me, but these are the folks I have spent the most time working with, and they have changed me for the better.

The next people I have to thank are the members of the aforementioned projects: Kim Wensaut, none of this would have been possible without you. A piece of you lives in the Potawatomi dictionary on my desk. While I was writing this, I hoped that it would help you and people like you who love and understand the language but are not linguists themselves. Lindsay Marean, absolutely none of this is possible without you. The amount that you contributed to the language documentation of Potawatomi continues to astound me. Your blood, sweat, and tears appear in the transcribed stories and sentences I reproduce here. I am in your debt. I hope this

repays some small portion of that – but this is just the first of much more. Noah Diewald’s contribution ought not to be understated; after all, he built the system that allowed any of this to happen in the first place (and made an excellent roommate in Crandon). And Laura Welcher: Once upon a time, I was just an M.A. student in the LINGUIST List office tasked to work with spreadsheets and metadata that you had given to E-MELD. Back then, I had no way of knowing that the hours I spent staring at those would lead to me spending the next decade of my life on Potawatomi. After diving headfirst into the language, I am humbled by your work and honored to be one of the people picking up the torch. I am also grateful to Thomas Loftis for many incredibly educational conversations.

But now I am overdue in thanking a few people, especially Dr. Monica Macaulay. I have been putting it off in the hopes that I could think of an appropriate way to thank her; the truth is that there is no possible way to do so. Monica has been a better advisor than I deserve. Monica is the kind of advisor I tell other doctoral students that they need to find. Monica’s advising in my life has not been limited to academic matters: I will never forget when you helped me move just as I will never forget nerding out with you in your seminar on Algonquian morphology.

And that leads me back to Howard Kimewon. I have too many wonderful stories about the way Howard touched my life. Here’s one: when he first met Monica, he asked her, “Why is he so skinny? Aren’t you feeding him?” That’s what care looks like. Without Howard’s prodding, I would not have come down this path. You always called me back, even when I couldn’t return the favor. You gave me endless opportunities and lessons of all sorts.

Speaking of care, my parents, Nadine and Ron, encouraged me at every step. I owe them both so much of who I am and what I have done. You both kept me going when it was hard, kept encouraging me, kept me alive. None of this would have happened without you. To my parents

and to the rest of my family – Chelsea, Zach, Mandy, Jennifer, Ryan, Matt, Kate, L’eau Lise, Mike, Marsha, Roger, Russ – thank you for always believing in me. Jan, I wish I could have shown this to you. Most of all my wife, Kira Dallaire, has been so important to all of this. She is my rock. She is the most driven person I have ever known; her drive both impresses me and inspires me to keep up. I have been able to rely on her support every day for so many years and still I am greedy for more time. You have taught me so much over the years. On the days that I doubted myself, you told me I could do it. Well...I finally did it, and there is no way for me to thank you enough. This brief mention cannot suffice.

So many other people at the University of Wisconsin-Madison deserve my praise and gratitude. There are largely unsung heroes who, truth be told, actually run everything: Hope Hague and Jackie Drummy have been unnecessarily kind and patient with me as I struggle to navigate the academy as an institution. They have both gone above and beyond for me when they definitely didn’t have to. Yafei Li made syntax fun (I don’t say that very often!). Rand Valentine – I cracked the spine of my copy of your grammar during my time in graduate school. I loved Joe Salmons’ historical linguistics class so much I took it twice, and would have taken it again if I could.

I only have room here to thank the people most directly involved with this work. Such a criterion omits far too many people, so know this: if I have ever known you, if you are reading this (even if you are not), then I am grateful to you. Everyone at Eastern Michigan University: Beverly Goodman, Daniel Seely, Karen Dykstra, Ed Garrett, Verónica Grondona. Barbara Bilgé. Catherine Adams. Helen, Tony, Gayathri, all of LINGUIST List. I’m forgetting so many people. Bill W. and all his friends. Whether you know me as Hunter, Gawsét, Gawsat, or Giiwse-ininiw, all I can say is simply thank you, *gichi-miigwech*, *kche-migwéché*, *ktthe-migwèthh*.

Abbreviations

Abbreviation	Meaning	Abbreviation	Meaning
>	“acts on” or “outranks” depending on context	MOD	modal
1	1 st person (I, me)	NA	animate noun
2	2 nd person (you)	NEG	negative, negator
3	3 rd person (him/her)	NI	inanimate noun
ADV	adverb	OBV	obviative
AN or an.	animate	PART or PC	participle
CONJ	conjunct order	PEJ	pejorative
DEM	demonstrative	PL	plural
DIM	diminutive	POSS	possessive
DIR	direct	PROHIB	prohibitive
EMPH	emphatic particle	PST	past
EPENTH	epenthetic consonant or vowel	PV	preverb
EXCL	exclusive (excludes listener)	REDUP	reduplication
FCT	factive (see Welcher 2003)	REL	relative root/preverb
FOC	focus	SG	singular
FUT	future	TOP	topic
IC	initial change	VAI	animate intransitive verb
IMP	imperative	VII	inanimate intransitive verb
IN or in.	inanimate	VT A	transitive animate verb
INCL	inclusive (includes listener)	VTI	transitive inanimate verb
INV	inverse	Y/N	yes/no question particle
LOC	locative		

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Chapter 1: Introduction and Scope

1 Introduction¹

Potawatomi is an Algonquian language; at the time of first contact with Europeans, it was spoken around the Great Lakes, especially in the western half of what is now northern Michigan, in the Lower Peninsula (Rhodes 2006; Goddard 1996). Its closest relatives are the various dialects of Ojibwe; Potawatomi and Ojibwe derive from a recent common ancestor, which Goddard (1994:196-197) referred to as *Common Ojibwa-Potawatomi*. Potawatomi is also shaped by generations of contact with Sauk, Fox, and Kickapoo speakers, which resulted in numerous borrowed words, including numbers, kinship terms, animals, and even pronouns.

In this dissertation, I describe the dialect of Potawatomi spoken in northern Wisconsin by the last generation of fluent, first-language speakers. When the elders of the Forest County Potawatomi Community were asked to come up with a title for the Potawatomi dictionary (Forest County Potawatomi 2014), the name they chose was *Ézhe-bmadzimgek gdebodwéwadmizheshmomenan* – which they translated as ‘how the Potawatomi language lives,’ the title I chose for this dissertation. This theme of a “living language” runs through each chapter; I discuss variation among speakers and how the language is changing and has changed.

1.1 Name of the language

Currently, Potawatomi speakers refer to their language (and themselves) in several different ways. A commonly used name for the language is *bodéwadmimwen* (occasionally *bodwéwadmimwen*, an apparent innovation), derived from the ethnonym *Bodéwadmi*

¹ This material is based upon work supported by the Documenting Endangered Languages program of the National Science Foundation under Grant Nos. 1263888 *Expanding Potawatomi Language Description with Documentation of Natural Speech*, and 1562774 *Doctoral Dissertation Research: Documentation for the revitalization of Potawatomi (pot)*. This dissertation has also been made possible in part by the National Endowment for the Humanities, Grant No. PD-50013-10 *Potawatomi Language Documentation, Lexical Database, and Dictionary*.

(occasionally *Bodéwewadmi*) ‘Potawatomi,’ *-mo*, a verbal suffix meaning ‘to speak,’ and the nominalizer *-wen*. Speakers also refer to the language as *Neshnabémwen*, derived from the ethnonym *Neshnabé* (cognate with *Anishinaabe*, the common Ojibwe ethnonym). Other Potawatomi names for themselves and their internal groupings include *Gsenyani* (a northern Potawatomi person, literally ‘cold weather person’) and *Shkodéni* (literally ‘prairie person’).

The variety described in this dissertation is spoken by a handful of people living in northern Wisconsin born in the 1920s and 1930s. I refer to this dialect as *Forest County Potawatomi* after the tribe’s legal name, though it was spoken in several communities in northern Wisconsin prior to the tribe’s acquisition of land in Forest County in 1913. At times, I use the term *modern Potawatomi*, especially when describing differences between Potawatomi as documented by Hockett in the 1930s and Potawatomi as it is has been described since the 1990s when extensive documentary work restarted.

2 Previous Documentation

In 2010, when fieldwork on the first authoritative Potawatomi dictionary began, the speaker community made the decision to prioritize working with the living, fluent speakers rather than the historical documentation. Potawatomi was a relatively well-documented language prior to the work of scientific linguists like Michelson and Hockett. Several important manuscripts exist that document pre-modern Potawatomi; the list provided here is not exhaustive.

Some of the earliest recorded examples of Potawatomi come from Benjamin Smith Barton in 1797, who offered a short vocabulary of Potawatomi words in the form of comparative tables (1797:3-78).² He provides some of the only examples of Potawatomi as spoken without syncope and with nasal consonants in clusters, which are now prominent features of the

² I thank David Costa for pointing this resource out to me.

language. For example, the modern Potawatomi form *negos* ‘a star’ (with diminutive suffix) is given by Barton as <anung> (Barton 1797:57), much closer to the Ojibwe cognate *anang*. Only fifty years later, Joseph Bourassa, in his handwritten lexicon from 1843, attested <nug> for ‘star.’ This form shows the deletion of the initial weak vowel and the simplification of the word-final nasal, which is how the modern speakers say it.

Several other resources from the 19th century are worth mentioning: Johnston Lykins produced translations of the gospel of Matthew in 1844, though the idiosyncratic writing system (e.g. using <r> for IPA /e/, <l> for IPA /ʃ/) makes these slightly harder to work with. Rev. Maurice Gailland produced books of hymns in 1866. Other manuscripts with Potawatomi exist, but these are the ones most commonly referenced in the linguistic literature.

2.1 *Michelson and Hockett*

Truman Michelson wrote little about Potawatomi, but his work is noteworthy for recognizing the close relationship between Potawatomi and Ojibwe. In a few short pages, Michelson demonstrated convincingly that, based on Gailland’s manuscripts, “Potawatomi belonged to the Ojibwa group” (1915:450), cementing an earlier claim that they are “intimately related” (1912:267; also 261-262).

The most comprehensive description of Potawatomi was given by Hockett in his dissertation (1939a) and the papers that stem from it (1939b, 1943, 1948a-d). Based on early drafts of Bloomfield’s (1946) sketch of Proto-Algonquian, these sources offer the most complete description of Potawatomi grammar available, although they are not without challenges. Hockett’s focus is phonology and morphology, writing little about syntax as was characteristic of American Structuralists. In the widely-referenced 1948 series of papers, Hockett first (1948a) establishes his theoretical underpinnings and the sound inventory before moving into a

discussion of syncope and processes affecting consonant clusters. He then (1948b) elaborates on his derivational and inflectional analyses. The third paper in the series (1948c) provides a template for preverbs in addition to an overview of verb inflection. Finally, the last paper in the series (and the one cited least often, Hockett 1948d) provides transcribed texts in addition to a brief discussion of particles.

Though he would later admit that his work on Potawatomi was “full of holes” (1966:73) and had some “serious weaknesses” (1966:64), Hockett’s papers from the 1930s and 1940s are still considered an authoritative resource for modern scholars and students of Potawatomi. However, I argue in subsequent chapters (and have argued in previous work) that some of Hockett’s positions must be abandoned or altered due to changes in linguistics theory, the conception of Algonquian grammar, and the Algonquian family tree.

2.2 *Potawatomi after Hockett*

There are few noteworthy scholarly works between Hockett’s 1948 series of articles and Welcher’s dissertation³ and her works leading up to it. Hockett himself published little subsequent to the 1948 articles; the most important is probably his rejoinder (Hockett 1966) to Pike and Erickson’s (1964) theoretical work on the direct-inverse system. Hockett concludes this paper by saying “If [...] the aim is fuller and more accurate information on Potawatomi, the proper procedure is to go to the field and collect it,” yet it would be more than a decade before John Nichols, as part of the Wisconsin Native American Languages Project (published as Nichols et al. 1981; hereafter WNALP) took up this challenge.

WNALP provided an authoritative, central curriculum for Potawatomi language educators. It involved linguists and fluent speakers working together decades before language

³ Laura Welcher’s work has appeared under three different surnames: Buszard, Buszard-Welcher, and most recently Welcher.

endangerment and collaborative research models became fundamental issues in linguistics and language documentation. Other important outcomes of WNALP were a practical orthography, intended to replace Hockett's various systems and the traditional writing systems (given in the appendix), and a series of language exercises with accompanying audio tapes of fluent speakers. Though these resources are aimed at teachers, students, and language activists, Nichols also began work on a lexical database that would form the foundation of the modern linguistic work on Potawatomi.

In the decades after WNALP ended, Welcher began working with remaining Potawatomi speakers as their numbers dwindled. Among other contributions to Potawatomi language documentation, her work provided innumerable updates to the lexicon that started as an appendix in Hockett's dissertation and was expanded by WNALP. Later, that database would be taken up by a team of linguists and language activists, and be published by the Forest County Potawatomi (2014) themselves. She began a sketch grammar, also aimed at teachers, reinterpreting Hockett (Welcher 1998), and wrote her dissertation focusing on the behavior of the verbal preverb *é-* in discourse (Buszard 2003; see also Valentine 2001:156), arguing that it behaves as a factive in subordinates in normal discourse, but has other uses in narrative. Her dissertation also provided glossed texts for two stories alongside other valuable data.

2.3 *21st Century*

In the last decade, research on the Potawatomi language has blossomed. The current era of Potawatomi research is complex and multifaceted; it is defined by more focused, esoteric, theoretical work and simultaneously broader, more comprehensive, more accessible documentation. While Potawatomi bands take more control of work on the language and produce more of their own research and documentation for themselves, they also receive more attention

from linguists. The current era of research on Potawatomi builds on older sources and goes far beyond their purview.

While further clarifying the picture that Hockett put forward, researchers are also departing from his assumptions in significant ways. Welcher's (1998) model of syncope and stress is essentially Hockett's – but in Lockwood (2012), I proposed a new analysis for understanding syncope in Potawatomi, using a theoretical lens to show more clearly the relationship between stress and vowel-deletion (which I expand on in chapter 2). And as Hockett (1966) himself noted, previous syntactic papers merely reinterpreted Hockett's description of Potawatomi and added no new data. In recent years, however, a few linguists have followed Hockett's call. Johnson (2016), to the best of my knowledge, represents the first publication on Potawatomi syntax with native speaker grammatical judgments used as data. In this work, Johnson convincingly argues that several existing generative accounts of Algonquian language syntactic structure will not hold for Potawatomi. Lewis (2015, 2016) argues for an analysis of word order based on Dahlstrom's work on Meskwaki. I provide examples which support his conclusions in chapter 6, alongside a discussion of other aspects of Potawatomi sentences.

3 Demographics and History

Estimates of total speaker numbers for Potawatomi range from the high single digits to the low double digits. As I discuss in section 4, this dissertation is based primarily on the speech of five people, two of whom have passed away.

3.1 Locations, communities

There are seven tribal groups of Potawatomi people in the United States (given here in alphabetical order, cf. Wetzel 2006:62-63): Citizen Potawatomi Nation (Shawnee, OK), Forest County Potawatomi Community (Crandon, WI), Hannahville Indian Community (Wilson, MI),

Match-e-be-nash-she-wish Band of Pottawatomi Indians of Michigan (Dorr, MI; also known as the Gun Lake Band), Nottawaseppi Huron Band of the Potawatomi (Fulton, MI), Pokagon Band of Potawatomi (Dowagiac, MI), and Prairie Band Potawatomi Nation (Mayetta, KS). As stated earlier, in this dissertation I focus on the variety of Potawatomi spoken by members of the Forest County Potawatomi Community.

The Canadian community most frequently noted in the Potawatomi literature is Walpole Island First Nation (southern Ontario; centered in Wallaceburg, ON). The seven American communities and Walpole Island are illustrated on the maps below (southern Michigan communities given in figure 2)



Figure 1. Map of major Potawatomi communities, assembled from publicly-available data

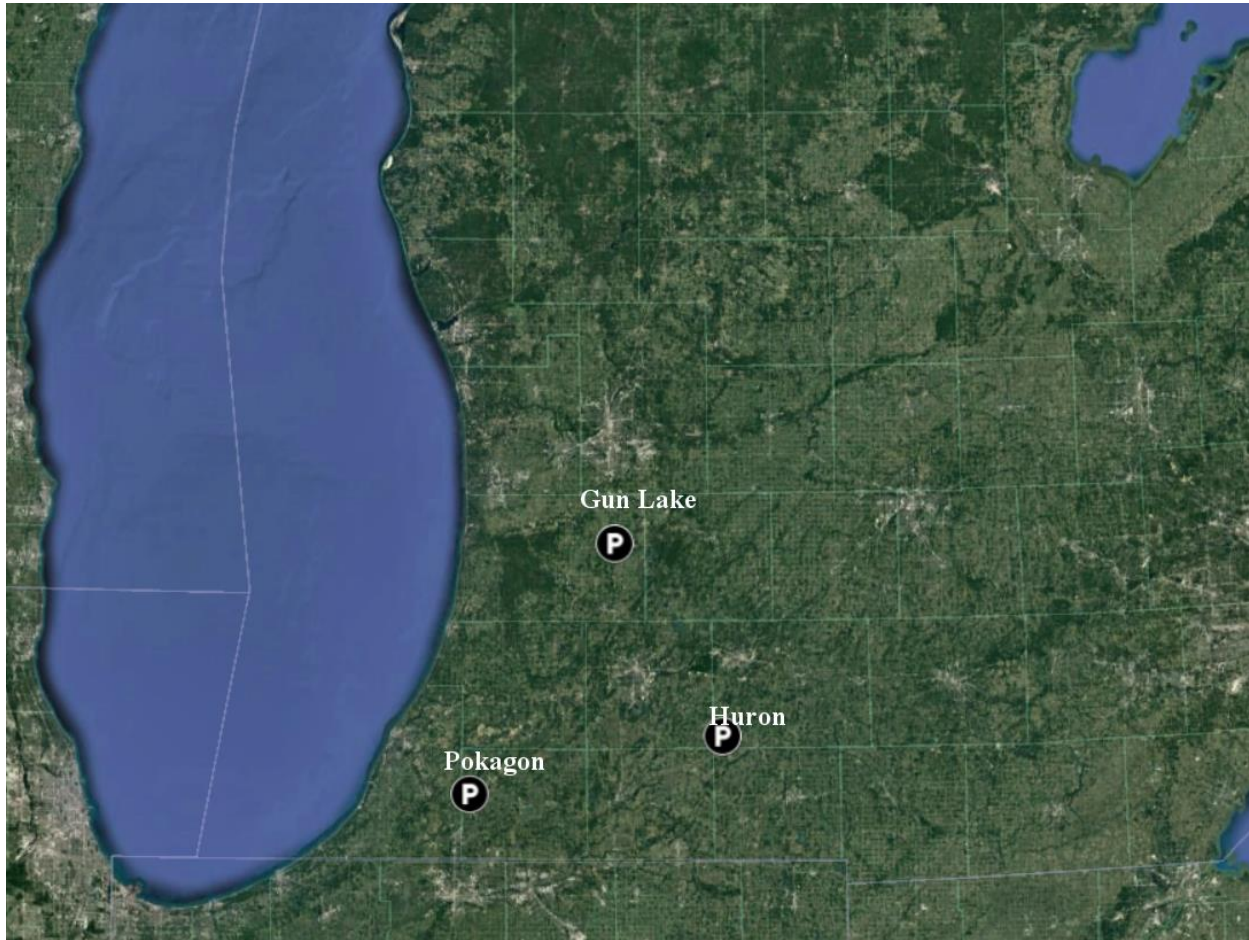


Figure 2. Map of Southern Michigan Potawatomi communities

For the sake of completeness, other First Nations in Canada with either claimed or demonstrated Potawatomi heritage include (again, alphabetically): Caldwell First Nation (Point Pelee and Pelee Island, ON), Chippewas of Kettle and Stony Point (Kettle Point, ON), Chippewas of Nawash Unceded First Nation (Bruce Peninsula, ON), Moose Deer Point First Nation (MacTier, ON), Saugeen First Nation (Bruce Peninsula, ON), Wasauksing First Nation (Parry Sound, ON) Wikwemikong Unceded Indian Reserve (Manitoulin Island, ON); and others (see Wetzel 2006, 2015).

3.2 *History and migrations*

In the preface to his dissertation, Hockett wrote that Potawatomi families can be found in virtually all Algonquian communities, from Mexico to Ontario. The current diaspora is a result

of several actions by European and American governments. At earliest contact the Potawatomi probably lived in northern Michigan (Goddard 1996, Rhodes 2006); this would quickly change. An especially important event for the Potawatomi were the Iroquois Wars in the last half of the 17th century (Bellfy 2011:19-20); the cascading effects of European settlement on the east coast forced Potawatomi speakers in all directions: south, to what is now southwestern Michigan and northern Indiana/Illinois; north, to what is now Green Bay; and, in the aftermath of the wars, toward Fort Detroit. After the Americans gained independence from Britain, Potawatomi people were directly in the newly-formed government's path west. The first land-cession treaties came in 1795, with the Treaty of Greenville (Schurr 2006:7); this marks the beginning of what is euphemistically termed the Removal Period. It culminated with the Trail of Death, a forced march to Kansas in 1838, though it had its roots long before that (Secunda 2006; Schurr et al. 2006; Bellfy 2011).

Fleeing pressure in the American Midwest, some Potawatomi joined with other bands of Anishinaabe people throughout Ontario. However, in a 1991 report to the Heritage Center Committee and Walpole Island First Nation Council, Welcher concluded that, by 1989, no fluent speakers of Potawatomi remained in Ontario. Still, there are anywhere from several to dozens of First Nations communities in Ontario with Potawatomi membership or ancestry (Wetzel 2006, 2015). A complete account of the history of Potawatomi nations is necessary to understand Potawatomi language and culture more fully, but is beyond the scope of this dissertation.

3.3 *Genetic and areal affiliations*

The Algonquian language family stretches from coast to coast. By far the largest constituent in that family is the Algonquian branch. Bloomfield's (1946) authoritative sketch of Algonquian languages carved out a distinction between Central Algonquian (including Meskwaki, Cree,

Menominee, and Ojibwe – the languages Bloomfield started with) and Eastern Algonquian (like Passamaquoddy and Micmac). He formalized what Michelson and others had shown in the first decades of the 20th century.

This, however, is now seen as an incorrect conclusion. Since Goddard's work transformed the Algonquian family tree, scholars now recognize Eastern Algonquian as a genetic subgroup, whereas Central Algonquian is now seen as an areal grouping (Goddard 1994 provides an excellent overview). Below is a version of Algonquian family tree given by Valentine (2001:14); note the unlabeled node that connects Potawatomi and the dialects of Ojibwe.

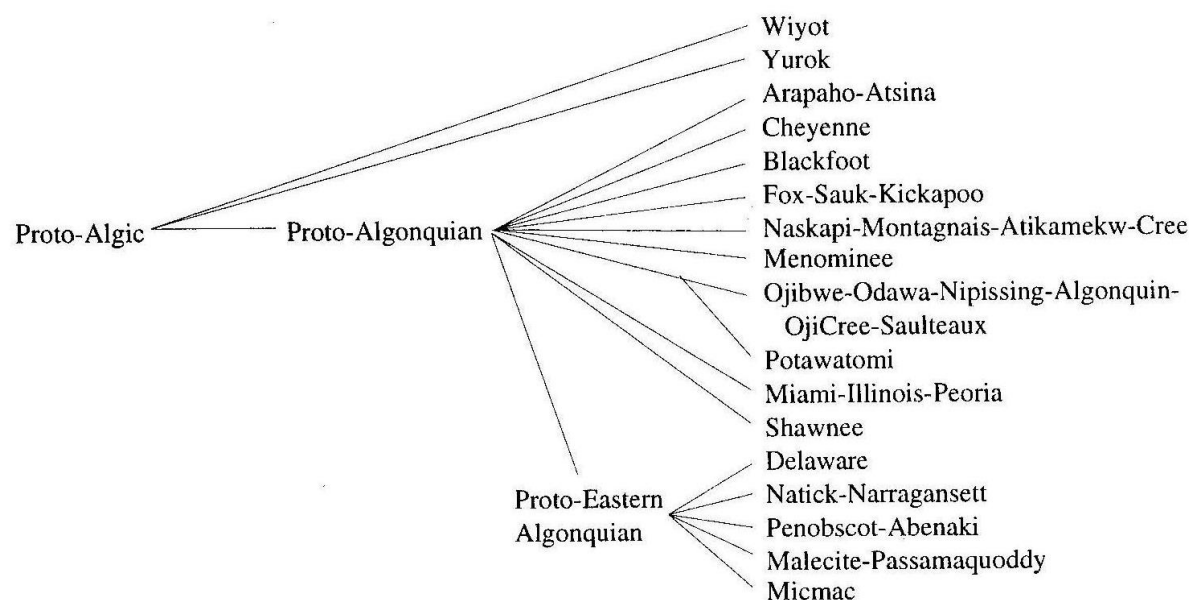


Figure 3. Algonquian Family Tree (Valentine 2001:14).

Recognizing Potawatomi and Ojibwe as sister languages is contrary to Hockett's analysis. Hockett's (1943) comparative analysis of Potawatomi concluded that Potawatomi was a Central Algonquian language, but not a dialect of Ojibwe; the similarities, he claimed, were due to their common ancestor Proto-Central Algonquian. Hockett's analysis relies upon a genetic Central Algonquian group to explain the close relationship of Ojibwe and Potawatomi – the fact that Central Algonquian is no longer considered genetically valid forces us to revisit his analysis

and to formalize the close common ancestor of Potawatomi and Ojibwe. Today, scholars generally agree that Potawatomi and Ojibwe form a genetic subgroup (Lockwood in press c; also Oxford 2015:325; Costa 2013:197-198, 204-218; Goddard 1994:196-197, 204; Valentine 1994:100-102). I refer to the ancestor of both Ojibwe and Potawatomi as *Ojibwe-Potawatomi* (abbreviated *Oji-Pot*) or *Common Ojibwe Potawatomi* following Goddard (1994:196-197).

Though the goal of this dissertation is to present a description of Potawatomi as it is spoken today, the phonological and morphological processes I discuss in this grammar contribute to the consensus that Potawatomi and Ojibwe are sister languages under a relatively recent common ancestor. In addition, a more recent layer of Ojibwe influence has touched Potawatomi over the last hundred years as Potawatomi speakers settled with and near Ojibwe speakers in northern Wisconsin. As such, I make occasional reference to Ojibwe words and morphemes, especially where they may provide insight to the underlying or historical forms of Potawatomi words. It is also well known that Potawatomi borrowed many words from Fox-Sauk-Kickapoo; I refer to forms from Fox (Meskwaki) occasionally for the same purpose.

3.4 *Dialects*

Several dialect divisions can be observed in Potawatomi, though all are complicated by a number of issues. First, there was (and still is) travel between the different communities. Not only did Potawatomi speakers of different communities travel amongst themselves, but Potawatomi speakers have historically been at least bilingual. The remaining fluent elders are no exception; several speak Odawa in addition to Potawatomi and English.

There is very little research done on specific dialectal differences, though there is some documentation of all of the speaker communities. Broadly, there appear to be several dialect boundaries that could be drawn. There are northern and southern divisions – i.e., the Potawatomi speakers who live in Michigan and Wisconsin following removal and those who were removed

to Kansas and Oklahoma. Over the past 150 years, these southern communities intermingled with the many tribes that had all been removed together, whereas the northern communities were more influenced by speakers of various dialects of Ojibwe. Within the northern communities, there are also apparent eastern and western divisions. Lexical variations are reported by speakers; Forest County speakers give the word *mzenchegen* as ‘statue,’ but Welcher notes that Michigan speakers she worked with attest its meaning as ‘picture,’ for example. However, there has been little systematic study of any variation among Potawatomi dialects.

4 The Corpus

The bulk of the data used in this dissertation comes from two databases produced from the cooperation of the University of Wisconsin-Madison and the Forest County Potawatomi Community. The first is a lexical database which produced a published dictionary of Potawatomi. The dictionary project began with Welcher’s lexical database, which in turn was based on lexical work done by John Nichols and others for the Wisconsin Native American Languages Project. Their work was vetted, updated, and edited in collaboration with three native speakers, all of whom were born and raised in northern Wisconsin. This resulted in a dictionary published by the tribe (Forest County Potawatomi 2014). Altogether, there are 7,657 entries in the lexical database and 3,938 example sentences for lexical entries.

In a second project, this database was expanded, creating a corpus of stories and conversations transcribed in ELAN. Altogether, there are 16,835 time-aligned annotations in the corpus. These texts were painstakingly transcribed and reviewed with elders by Lindsay Marean, to whom I owe an enormous debt of gratitude (but suffice it to say here, any errors in the chapters that follow are my own). When I refer to “the corpus” in subsequent chapters, I am referring to both the lexical database and the corpus of stories and conversations taken together.

4.1 *Consultants and other sources*

Prior to the Forest County Potawatomi Dictionary project, Laura Welcher worked with speakers from all over the Potawatomi diaspora. One of Welcher's primary consultants was Mary Daniels (MD), born and raised in northern Wisconsin. She passed away in 2008, but her words and sentences appear frequently in Welcher's lexical database, so I cite her accordingly.

Primarily, however, examples here come from Billy Daniels, Jr. (BD), Jim Thunder (JT), and Mary Jane Thunder (MJT). These are the speakers who were involved with the dictionary and corpus projects, and the speakers whom I have worked with personally. The corpus project also added Lillian Rice (LR), who unfortunately passed away before the completion of the project. This yields a relatively balanced gender breakdown of two men and three women speakers represented in this work.

4.2 *Presentation of the data*

This dissertation brings together data from different sources to provide a description of Potawatomi as spoken in Forest County, Wisconsin, by the last generation of fluent speakers over the last two decades. I have provided citation codes for most of the example sentences I provide. Unless otherwise noted, citations in this dissertation are coded in four primary ways:

- (1) Examples presented with a speaker's initials and a date are from elicitation sessions (post-2008) during the production of the dictionary; e.g., an example sentence with the citation code *JT/MJT 2010-09-19* refers to a sentence confirmed/uttered by both Jim Thunder and Mary Jane Thunder on the date given.
- (2) Examples with a speaker's initials, then a date, and then additional numbers are from the corpus of ELAN transcriptions of stories and conversations; an example sentence coded *JT*

2013-10-03-01 328-329 refers to transcribed segments 328 and 329 of transcript 1 from Jim Thunder, taken on October 3, 2013.

(3) Examples sometimes appear with *LBW/JDN* numbers. These refer to forms that came from the WNALP work (done by John Nichols and others, hence *JDN*) and later, Laura Welcher's database (hence *LBW*) but do not appear with speaker information; a sentence coded *LBW6601/JDN2798* refers to a lexical entry that receives an ID number of 6601.

(4) A subset of forms from category (3) are noted as being uttered by Mary Daniels or another speaker. Such examples are given as in (3) but with *MD-* prefixed; e.g., a sentence coded *MD-LBW 6396/JDN1* appeared in both the WNALP database and in Welcher's database, but with Mary Daniels' name associated with it.⁴

⁴ Some forms coded in this manner do not appear in the versions of Welcher's database that circulated over the last 15 years, e.g. through the E-MELD School of Best Practices, since they were added during the course of the dictionary project.

Chapter 2: Potawatomi Sounds

1 Introduction

In this chapter, I discuss the consonants and vowels of Potawatomi and several important phonological and morphophonological processes, building on Hockett's (1939a, 1948a,b) and Welcher's (1998, 2003) work and extending it with new data. I begin with an overview of the phonemes before moving into a discussion of phonological processes and related issues.

1.1 Note on spelling

All examples in this dissertation given in the WNALP (Wisconsin Native American Languages Project) writing system in order to facilitate cross-referencing with the dictionary (Forest County Potawatomi 2014).¹ Other orthographies exist and are in use by the community of Potawatomi speakers and learners; I discuss them at the end of this chapter and provide comparison charts in appendix A.

1.2 Overview of sounds

The two tables below give the consonant and vowel inventories of Potawatomi in the International Phonetic Alphabet, with their WNALP equivalents in angle brackets. Potawatomi has two classes of consonants traditionally referred to as *fortis/lenis*; in the table below, fortis consonants are given first and lenis consonants are given second.

¹ The WNALP writing system for Potawatomi is a variation of the Fiero Double Vowel writing system used for Ojibwe; Potawatomi speakers greatly disprefer the use of double vowels.

	Bilabial	Dental	Alveolar	Post-Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stop	p, b <p,b>	t, d <t,d>				k, g <k,g>	ʔ <ʔ>
Nasal	m <m>		n <n>				
Fricative			s, z <s,z>	ʃ, ʒ <sh,zh>			h <h>
Affricate				tʃ, dʒ <ch, j>			
Glide	w <w>				j <y>		

Table 1: Consonant Inventory; IPA with WNALP in angle brackets. Adapted from Forest County Potawatomi 2014.

I discuss the consonants in more detail in section 2.

The vowels are given below; Potawatomi vowels are either *weak* or *strong*; I code the strong vowels with a colon to mark their length (see section 3).

i: <i>		
		o, o: <o>
	ə <e>	
ɛ: <é>		
		ɑ: <a>

Table 2: Vowel inventory; IPA with WNALP in angle brackets. Adapted from Forest County Potawatomi 2014.

There are some important allophonic variations to note here. The mid-low front vowel <é> /ɛ:/ is sometimes pronounced [æ]; the conditioning for this is unclear, but it is more common in the first and last syllables.

The phoneme I refer to as <e> or /ə/ varies greatly, as is expected for short, central vowels. There are strong tendencies which can be identified, but for the most part I do not find precise conditioning environments. Word-final schwa (e.g. in words containing the animate intransitive verb final *-eze*) is generally lengthened (Gathercole 1978) and is often pronounced

[æ], indistinguishable from word final <é>. Before or after /w/, schwa rounds and is sometimes transcribed as <o>.

In the second person conjunct suffix -(y)en, schwa is pronounced like [ɪ]. Stress also plays a role; in a token of *nenwek* ‘men,’ the first syllable /ə/ receives main stress and might be pronounced more like [ɛ] or [æ], while the final syllable /ə/ is pronounced more like [ʌ]. These are robust tendencies – unstressed schwa is commonly pulled back before velar consonants and stressed schwa is commonly pronounced [ɛ], like <é> but shorter. But the aforementioned pronunciation of schwa like [ɪ] is another robust tendency, and these can both surface in the same environment: in one token of *gigabése* ‘(little) boys,’ the final syllable <e> might be pronounced [ʌ], but in another token of *gigabése*, the final syllable <e> might be pronounced [ɪ].

Nasalization of vowels is not contrastive in Potawatomi. Welcher (1998) observed nasalization of vowels in a small set of words; the examples she provides are *éhé* ‘yes’ and *ahaw* ‘okay.’ I have also observed inconsistent and variable vowel nasalization in these forms, which is unsurprising; in neighboring varieties of Ojibwe, these words are recorded sometimes with a full nasal, sometimes with a nasalized vowel, and sometimes without a nasal at all: Ojibwe speakers attest *eya*’, *enyan*’, *en*’ for ‘yes’ and *ahaaw*, *nahaw*, *nahaaw* for ‘okay.’ Though Potawatomi does not nasalize vowels consistently like neighboring varieties of Ojibwe, the two words that Welcher cites, the diminutive (-és, -os and other allomorphs), and a few other forms can show traces of the nasal that historically would have appeared there.

I discuss the vowels in more detail in section 3 and again in section 5 when I discuss the writing systems. In the rest of the dissertation, even though the precise quality <e> varies

significantly from token to token, I continue to refer to and transcribe it as schwa when the distinction makes no difference.

2 Potawatomi Consonants

Unlike the vowels, there is wide agreement on the number and the nature of consonants in Potawatomi. In this section I discuss the consonants by manner of articulation, beginning with the stops.

2.1 Stops

The inventory of stops is given in the table below.

	Bilabial	Dental	Velar	Glottal
Stop	p, b <p,b>	t, d <t,d>	k, g <k,g>	? <'>

Table 3: Stops of Potawatomi; when paired, fortis on the left.

As mentioned in the introduction, Potawatomi contrasts two classes of consonants, traditionally referred to as *fortis/lenis*. The difference between these two classes is summarized below.

Fortis	Lenis
Long	Short
Can be aspirated	Never aspirated
Usually sound voiceless	Can sound voiced

Table 4: Summary of fortis/lenis distinction (Forest County Potawatomi 2014:xx).

Fortis consonants in Potawatomi derive from consonant clusters (Hockett 1942; Lockwood in press c). Because of this fact, Hockett and other Algonquianists orthographically distinguish between fortis and lenis stops by writing the fortis stops as geminates, so Hockett writes <pp> and <p> where WNALP has <p> and , respectively. And as the table indicates, the fortis consonants are long; in the 1970s, experimental results from Gathercole (1978:22-24) confirmed

that Potawatomi fortis stops are at least twice as long as the lenis stops in most contexts (1978:22-24).

Still, well-established orthographic traditions and grammatical concerns in Potawatomi (and most dialects of Ojibwe) force us to represent (but not analyze) the fortis/lenis distinction as one of voicing. Syncope has caused fortis and lenis consonants of the same place/manner of articulation to come together; representing <k> as <kk> and <g> as <k> would cause the clusters that syncope has created to look the same (i.e., <kg> and <gk> would both look like <kkk>), when they are in fact distinct. Examples like these are not rare: /gg/, /kk/, /gk/, and /kg/ clusters all occur in Potawatomi and are all pronounced differently, though little instrumental work exists to confirm this.

(1) Velar clusters

- a. nizhokmaggo ‘that they help us/that we are helped’
- b. nde’akkwéna ‘I hug him/her/it (an.)’
- c. ngi-gkénma ‘I knew him/her/it (an.)’
- d. gi-shpemsekgadé ‘there was an attic’

According to Hockett (1948a:5), when two fortis obstruents come together, the result should be “reduced to a single fortis stop” in rapid speech – he argues that they are all phonetically merged. For modern speakers, this is often true but they also attest a slightly different pattern where they are kept distinct. Commonly, when two velars come together as in the words above, the first becomes a voiceless fricative and the result is [xk] or [xg].

Minimal (and near-minimal) pairs which illustrate the fortis/lenis contrasts follow, with lenis in a, fortis in b:

(2) Labial stops (b ~ p)

- a. **bené** ‘stop it’
- b. **pené** ‘always’

Word-initially, the difference between these two sounds is sometimes hard to hear; aspiration is frequently the important cue. Word-medially the contrast is stronger. Word-finally, the fortis-lenis contrast is totally neutralized.

(3) Dental stops (d ~ t)

- a. **débabjegen** ‘watchtower’
- b. **tebyankwé** ‘s/he has curled up hair’

As noted above, the fortis dental stop /t/ is not generally sharply aspirated. Word-medially, unlike English, neither becomes a flap.

(4) Velar stops (g ~ k)

- a. **gad’en** ‘Push him/her/it (an.)!’
- b. **kadénesh** ‘Braid him/her/it (an.)!’

Generally, when a word begins with a fortis stop, a word-initial vowel has been syncopated.

(5) Glottal stop (ʔ)

- a. **mzen’egen** ‘book’

The glottal is generally fully pronounced. It is almost never completely elided, though in some cases becomes /w/ or /y/. Note that when written following a consonant, the glottal stop is intended as a consonant cluster and not as an ejective.

2.2 *Nasals*

Potawatomi has two nasal consonants: the labial /m/ and dental /n/ (same in WNALP and IPA).

Both are effectively lenis for the purposes of phonological rules; a minimal pair is given below.

- (6) **ma** ‘but’
- (7) **na** ‘emphatic particle’

In modern Potawatomi, [ŋ] appears as an allophone of /n/ in secondary clusters with velar consonants (as in the numeral *ngot* ‘one’) word-initially and medially. Though generally Proto-Algonquian *nk simplifies to Potawatomi /g/ (as do all reflexes of Proto-Algonquian nasal obstruent clusters), a small number of Potawatomi words with word final /ŋ/ are attested in the lexicon and database. They are all likely Ojibwe borrowings, and they are all given below.

- (8) Potawatomi words attested with final velar nasal
- a. *dodoshabweng* ‘creeping dogbane’
 - b. *Mishkwanong* ‘Potawatomi village on Door Peninsula’
 - c. *Mkodebénang* ‘Potawatomi State Park, Wisconsin’
 - d. *Mskwedebénang* ‘Red Banks, Wisconsin’
 - e. *Mzhigé'nang* ‘Michigan’
 - f. *Wabapkong* ‘White Rapids, Wisconsin’
 - g. *wikwseng* ‘Indian pipe (plant)’
 - h. *Zhabwagnang* ‘Sheboygan, Wisconsin’

The set of words ending in velar nasals in modern Potawatomi in (8) are all proper names of places and plants. The place names are easily explainable: the Ojibwe locative marker has a velar nasal, but the cognate form in Potawatomi does not. That means that we might expect *wabapkok instead in (8f), but such a form is not attested. I have no principled explanation for the velar nasals in the plant names.

2.3 *Fricatives*

Potawatomi has five fricatives, again in lenis/fortis pairs. These are given in the table below, followed by examples.

	Alveolar	Post-Alveolar	Glottal
Fricative	s, z	ʃ, ʒ	h
	<s,z>	<sh,zh>	<h>

Table 5: Potawatomi fricatives.

(9) Alveolar fricatives (z ~ s)

- a. **zadi** ‘poplar, aspen (popple)’
- b. **sakgé** ‘s/he drives animals, beats the brush’

(10) Post-alveolar fricatives (ʒ ~ ʃ)

- a. **zhadi** ‘arrowhead, bullet’
- b. **sheken** ‘wax’

There is arguably a phonemic glottal fricative in Potawatomi; its distribution is severely limited, however.

(11) Glottal fricative (h)

- a. **haw** ‘well, so’

The glottal fricative in Potawatomi appears only with exclamations and demonstratives, as in neighboring varieties of Ojibwe.

2.4 *Affricates*

Potawatomi has two affricates: the fortis /tʃ/ (written <ch>) and the lenis /dʒ/ (written <j>).

(12) Dental-alveolar affricate (dʒ ~ tʃ)

- a. bin**che**gé ‘He/she/it (an.) cleans things up’
 b. bi**j**bede ‘It (inan.) comes this way’

Word initial /tʃ/ is attested in mostly innovative forms that arise due to syncope like *chemokman* ‘white person, American’ (from *gche-mokman*).

2.5 Glides

Potawatomi has two glides, written *w* and *y*, corresponding to familiar English equivalents.

(13) Palatal and alveolar glide (w, y)

- a. **w**abek ‘tomorrow’
 b. **y**abé ‘buck’

Word-initially, sometimes what is written as <w> is better interpreted as /o/. I return to this in subsequent sections.

3 Potawatomi Vowels

In this section I describe the vowels of Potawatomi. The analysis I present differs from the received analysis of Potawatomi in that I do not recognize a merger of long and short /o/ (Hockett 1948a; Welcher 2003:14 and onward). I return to this argument in section 5.2, but justify this departure throughout the rest of this section.

i:		
		o, o:
	ə	
ε:		
		ɑ:

Table 6: Vowel inventory (IPA); adapted from Forest County Potawatomi 2014)

Possibly the most important aspect of Potawatomi vowels is the strong/weak contrast; analyses of Potawatomi following Hockett classify /i: ε: α: o:/ as strong and /ə o/ as weak. Gathercole

(1977:21-22) demonstrated that the strong vowels are consistently twice as long as weak vowels in Potawatomi, and that stressed weak vowels lengthen dramatically; as such, throughout the rest of this dissertation, I refer to the weak vowels as short and the strong vowels as long. Examples and near-minimal pairs follow.

- (14) wje- /odʒə/ ‘from, of’
- (15) ojés /o:dʒɛ:s/ ‘fly’
- (16) wdé /odɛ:/ ‘it boils’
- (17) ode /o:də/ ‘this’
- (18) gi- /gi:/ past tense preverb
- (19) ga- /ga:/ initial changed form of past tense preverb
- (20) ge- /gə/ future tense preverb

Arguing against the traditional analysis of Potawatomi is the fact that there are near-perfect minimal pairs of long and short /o/, as above. Each example above written with <w> is pronounced with a short round vowel – however, for analytical reasons, Hockett chose to write them as <w>, a practice that continues to this day. Hockett’s treatment of /w/ in his dissertation is somewhat confusing; he refers to it first as a semivowel, but then clarifies that it is not a vowel but rather absolutely a consonant (Hockett 1939a:13-14). He then admits that “*initial preconsonantal w is actualized as short o*” (emphasis mine) but claims that this is not syllabic, or is at best semi-syllabic. His justification for that analysis is that it “permits the generalization that no phrase begins with a vowel” (Hockett 1939a:14), which itself cannot hold up given examples like (15) and (17).

The strongest evidence against Hockett's treatment of short /o/ involves evidence from syllabification, syncope, and stress. In the next section, I present this evidence; I return to the question of Hockett's representation of the vowels in section 5.2.

3.1 *Syllabification and Syncope*

The aspect of Potawatomi that has received the most scholarly attention is the shifting pattern of syncopated vowels. This is shown in examples (21) through (24) below.²

- (21) gbedi
/gəbədi:/
'pants'
- (22) ngebdi
/nə-gəbədi:/
1-pants
'my pants'
- (23) ndojgé
/nədodʒəɛ:-w/
demand.things-3
'He sends for things'
- (24) nnedjegé
/nə-nədodʒəɛ:/
1-demand.things
'I send for things'

In (21) 'pants' and (22) 'my pants,' the schwa appears first before and then following the /b/, whereas the /o/ in (23) 'he sends for things' is totally absent in (24) 'I send for things.' This is an iambic pattern; in both examples, underlying sequences of CVCV are reduced to CCV.

The strong/long vowels are immune from syncope, as illustrated in the examples below.

- (25) bmosé
/bəmose:-w/
walk.-3
's/he walks'

² Since my focus is on modern Potawatomi, data I present will sometimes depart from what Hockett and Welcher attested. Generally, I will indicate that when I am aware of it. Here, Hockett's works indicate that the word for 'pants' is /gəbodi:/, but the form with /o/ is no longer recognized by native speakers.

- (26) mbemsé
/nə-bəmosɛ:/
1-walk
'I walk'
- (27) bmodé
/bəmo:dɛ:-w/
walk-3
's/he crawls'
- (28) mbemodé
/nə-bəmo:dɛ:/
1-walk
'I crawl'

In stressed positions, Gathercole (1978:21-22) established that weak vowels lengthen to that point that they are nearly indistinguishable from strong vowels; as such, /o/ in (25) and /o:/ in (27) and (28) are all pronounced the same. However, the short /o/ in 'walk' is vulnerable to syncope in (26) while the long /o:/ in 'crawl' in (28) is not. This is direct evidence for their distinct status in an underlying level of representation.

In the description of syncope below, I expand the sketch of Potawatomi provided by Hayes (1995:221) by building on previous work (Lockwood 2012). This account relies on the vowel inventory presented above, with long and short rounded and unrounded vowels, as well as a few simple rules. Syllables are parsed, from left-to-right, into iambic (right-headed) feet. The heads of these iambic feet receive secondary stress, which in turn can become primary stress in a context of multiple feet. The minimal feet are given below in (29); a brief explanation of the secondary stress system follows.

(29) Potawatomi Foot Inventory

- a. ˘ ˘
 (nə)(gəʃ)
 negesh ‘gut, intestine, ring bologna’³
- b. ˘ —
 (bə)(ga:n)
 began ‘nut’⁴
- c. —
 (gi:n)
 gin ‘you’

In (29a), each syllable in the word *negesh* ‘gut, intestine, ring bologna’ has a short vowel as its nucleus, so the second syllable in the foot (counting from the left) is stressed. (29b) gives an example of another two syllable word, *began* (sometimes spelled *bgan*) ‘nut,’ this time with a long vowel in the second position. As the heavier syllable, it gets the stress. The word *gin* ‘you’ in (29c) has only one syllable with a long vowel in the nucleus (a *heavy* syllable).

Degenerate feet (which do not meet the minimum footing requirements) are either rare or not possible. Some emphatic and discourse-structuring particles appear smaller than a full iambic foot, but most have other potential explanations, as below (see chapter 6 for a fuller discussion of the meanings and functions of these particles in sentences):

³ Many of the surfacing weak-weak feet in Potawatomi reflect historical changes. This form is a reanalysis of a dependent noun *wnegesh* (cf. Ojibwe *onagizh*) – many dependent nouns have been reanalyzed as independent for modern Potawatomi speakers. Possessed forms of this word, *nnegesh* ‘my guts, bologna, intestines’ were attested in Welcher’s lexical work from the 1990s but are rejected now.

⁴ Based on Welcher’s lexical database, previous speakers apparently preferred a spelling of *bgan*, i.e., without marking the vowel in the initial syllable. In recent years, Potawatomi speakers have begun re-adding some of these “missing vowels” – but this process appears to be only a change in spelling, not pronunciation.

(30) Monosyllabic light syllable particles

- a. se
- b. zhe
- c. je

These are exceptional, rather than typical; most particles are well-formed feet. Each is arguable; *se* in (30a) is cognate to Ojibwe *isa*, which argues for an underlying form /əsə/ in Potawatomi, and (30b) is similar. The particle *je* in (30c) has an unclear etymology and underlying form, but always occurs in clusters of other particles and demonstratives (and so never stands alone) – the other two are similarly distributed.

Other lexical categories show the same pattern. Preverbs and prenouns, bound morphemes which function like words for the purposes of syncope and stress, all appear to be well-formed feet. Of the nouns and verbs, there are rare examples in the dictionary like the one below:

- (31) *be* ‘s/he is located in a place’

In (31), the word *be* ‘s/he is located in a place’ appears to be less than a minimal word, consisting of only a syllable with a short vowel as its nucleus (a light syllable). However, there are a few extenuating circumstances: first, this is cognate to Ojibwe *abi* ‘s/he is at home, located in a certain place,’ which argues for an underlying form /əbə-w/. Second, this word never surfaces as only *be*; this citation form is an artifact of the structure of the dictionary. In all forms except 3rd person singular, this stem combines with other prefixes and suffixes to create well-formed feet. In the 3rd person singular, speakers add a pleonastic suffix *-wak* in order to create a well-formed foot. This suffix appears to serve no purpose other than adding an extra syllable to the right edge of a few words.

With the footing in place, a principled explanation for the pattern of alternating vowel deletion and its relationship to stress becomes clearer. Hockett's analysis involved a complex set of rules which count vowels (beginning with 1 and restarting after every long vowel) and delete the odd-numbered ones (Hockett 1939a, 1948a). Under the analysis sketched out above, syncope directly follows from the metrical structures; the odd-numbered vowels occupy a structurally weak position in an iambic system, so they are left unstressed, and in turn unstressed vowels are de-emphasized or even deleted.

- (32) ngebdi
 (nəgə)(bədi:)
 /nə-gəbədi:/
 1-pants
 'my pants'

- (33) gbedi
 (gəbə)(di:)
 /gəbədi:/
 'pants'

The prefix *ne-* '1st person' in (32) preserves the first vowel in *gebedi* 'pants' by causing it to be in the strong position of an iambic foot, causing the following vowel to be reduced.. In (33), the schwa between /g/ and /b/ occupies a weak position, and is reduced. In (34) and (35), the same pattern holds with short /o/.

- (34) ndojgé
 /nədodʒəgɛ:-w/
 (nədo)(dʒəgɛ:w)
 'He sends for things'

- (35) nnedjegé
 /nə-nədodʒəgɛ:/
 (nənə)(dodʒə)(gɛ:)
 'I send for things'

In words with more than two feet, Hayes (1995:221) argues that two iambic (right-headed) feet are then parsed into a *trochaic* (left-headed) structure called a *colon*, from right-to-

left. Secondary stress falls on the heads of the iambic feet, and primary stress is assigned to the head of the first trochaic colon (from the right). This is sketched out below.

- (36) (. X)
 (əɲə)nəw ‘man’
 'nene

As (36) illustrates, some words have leftover material after syllables are parsed into feet. At least two analyses are possible with the final syllable of *man*: one, as implemented above, the minimal foot is not met and so that degenerate foot is not parsed into a colon. Another possibility is that, in final syllables, a glide in the coda makes the syllable heavy where it otherwise would not.

Either case predicts the stress in (36).

With the addition of the plural suffix in (37), two well-formed feet can be constructed.

- (37) (X .)
 (. X)(. X)
 (əɲə)(nəwək) ‘men’
 'nen ,wek

Examples (38) and (39) show how this works for slightly longer examples.

- (38) (X .)
 (. X)(. X)(X)
 (əɲə)(shəna:)(bɛ:) ‘Indian’
 ,nesh'na ,bé
- (39) (X .)(X .)
 (. X)(. X)(X)(. X)
 (əɲə)(shəna:)(bɛ:)(mowən) ‘Indian language’
 ,nesh ,na'bém ,wen

As hinted at in the discussion above, there are a few potential issues with this analysis.

Both the analysis I have sketched out above and Hockett’s analysis do not allow for exceptions and irregularities – and, as the remaining chapters make clear, exceptions and irregularities are common in modern Potawatomi and must be accounted for. Most significantly, syncope does not affect all weak vowels in metrically weak positions the same way, a fact that is often overlooked

in discussions of Potawatomi syncope. In some cases, the vowel appears to delete completely, leaving behind at most a syllabic consonant (which Hockett 1939a:4 explicitly disallows). In other cases, weak vowels in weak positions apparently surface intact. At least some examples are likely due to Ojibwe influence: there are scattered forms like *enip* ‘elm,’ where older Potawatomi sources attest an initial short /o/⁵ but compare *aniib* from neighboring, non-syncope Ojibwe. However, Ojibwe influence is a less clear explanation for the unsyncope initial short /o/ in *wgema* ‘chief, leader’ that has been consistently attested throughout the documentary record.⁶ Rather, it appears that word-initial short /o/ is regularly preserved in Potawatomi.

In summary, syncope is computed off of metrical structure. Underlying forms (with all vowels restored, as evidenced by alternations) are parsed into either heavy or light syllables based on the length of the vowel that is the nucleus of the syllable, from left to right. The heads of iambic syllables receive secondary stress and are themselves parsed into trochees, from right to left. Unstressed vowels are subject to deletion via syncope.

4 Sound Processes

In this section I describe a few other important phonological and morphophonological processes in Potawatomi.

4.1 Nasal place assimilation

Proto-Algonquian nasal-obstruent clusters (primary clusters) simplified in Potawatomi, losing the nasal (Hockett 1942:541). This sound change was completed sometime in the early 19th century, prior to the beginning of weak vowel reduction. Nasal clusters in Potawatomi created as

⁵ Welcher had *wnip*, Bourassa gave <Oneeb>

⁶ Bourassa had <O kum ak> for ‘chiefs’ in an example sentence, though the form he provides for ‘chief’ in the wordlist is different. Gaillard in the Apostles’ Creed gave *Okumawikokipin Ponsi Pilate*. In the appendix of his dissertation, Hockett gave <Okama#j>.

a result of syncope (secondary clusters) do not undergo this simplification, and so create contexts for nasal place assimilation.

In Potawatomi, /n/ becomes /m/ before labial stops, as with the example below.

- (40) **mbabigabma** ‘I holler for him/her/it (an.)’

Here, the 1st person marker /nə-/ first loses the schwa due to syncope, then the /n/ becomes [m].

4.2 *Lenis-fortis neutralization*

Word-finally, the lenis-fortis contrast is neutralized toward the fortis; these are written with fortis symbols in the standard writing systems.

- (41) **ankwet** ‘cloud’

- (42) **ankwedon** ‘clouds’

- (43) **mtek** ‘tree’

- (44) **mtebok** ‘trees’

This rule applies across the board, making it necessary to test (by suffixation) an unknown word to see if it is underlyingly fortis or lenis. Some cases, such as the locative, cannot appear with any suffix following, so cannot be tested.

4.3 *Palatalization*

In Potawatomi, /d/ becomes /dʒ/ before /i:/, /y/, and sometimes /ə/ in certain morphological contexts (Goddard 1977). Though some cases of /di/ or /dy/ never palatalize, some components will reliably change; the relative root /od-/ ‘from there, reason why’ provides a good set of examples. Before back vowels, and some varieties of <e>, it appears as /od-/; frequently spelled with initial <w>. Before other varieties of <e>, it appears as /odʒ-/.⁷

⁷ For this morpheme, there is one counterexample in the lexical database: in 2013, an elder emended a word *wdéksegya* ‘it (a noise) comes from the floor’ to *wdiksegya*. I have no explanation for or attestations of either form beyond that.

- (45) wdanmet ‘wind blows from there’
 (46) wdegodé ‘it falls from there’
 (47) wje- ‘from/because’
 (48) wjede ‘on purpose’
 (49) wjegé ‘it leaks’
 (50) wjeyegwan ‘toward’ (note pc directional suffix -yegwan)

In a few cases, especially before /a/, it surfaces as /oz-/.

- (51) wzabe ‘he looks from somewhere’
 (52) wzabjegen ‘firetower, deerstand’

The alternation of /d/ and /z/ is restricted, but the connection is still notable.

The morphophonological contexts where /ə/ reliably triggers palatalization include the /ə/ that derives preverbs from initials, the epenthetic /ə/, and the initial schwa in certain finals (Goddard 1977:). These contexts are illustrated below with the initial /na:d-/ ‘go after.’⁸

- (53) naj- ‘fetch’
 (54) najmijmé ‘go grocery shopping’ (<fetch food)
 (55) najgadé ‘it is fetched’

These are the same morphophonological contexts which trigger palatalization in Ojibwe (Valentine 2001:86-88526).

4.4 Prenasalization

In words borrowed from English, Potawatomi prenasalizes stops in initial position.

- (56) mbede ‘butter’
 (57) mbilly ‘Billy’

⁸ As evidence of its inconsistency, *naz- is not an attested alternation of nad-.

(58) ndanben ‘the late Dan’

In the first example, the English word ‘butter’ has been borrowed and rephonologized, with a /d/ in place of the English flap and prenasalization. In the second and third examples, English proper names are prenasalized. This only applies to English loans – there are numerous examples of word initial labial stops that are not prenasalized, like *bonwéwé* ‘s/he stops making noise.’

4.5 Initial change (*ablaut*)

Verbs in Potawatomi show a vowel ablaut pattern in the conjunct and for participles. The vowel changes are indicated below (cf. Welcher 2003:22-24, Costa 1996:43) with example participles.

(59) /ə/ becomes /ɛ:/

- a. nemsé ‘s/he leaves walking’
- b. énmósét ‘the one who walks away’

(60) /o/ becomes /wɛ:/

- a. wjandé ‘s/he cooks’
- b. wéjandat ‘the cook’

(61) /o:/ becomes /wa:/

- a. no(n)dagé ‘s/he hears things’
- b. nwadagét ‘the one who hears things’

(62) /i:/ becomes /a:/

- a. ginya ‘it (in.) is short’
- b. ganyak ‘the sharp one’

(63) /ɛ:/ does not change

- a. ndébtan ‘I hear it from a distance’
- b. débték ‘the one who hears it from a distance’

(64) /a:/ does not change

- a. majibnesh! ‘turn it (an.) on!’
- b. majibnat ‘the one who starts it (an.)’

Costa (1996:41ff.) notes a class of “d verbs” in Ojibwe that take *e:n-* as an irregular initial change prefix. This seems to be the case in Potawatomi as well, except because Potawatomi lost /n/ before /d/, it surfaces as simply /ɛ:/.

(65) Ojibwe *e:n-* surfaces as *e:*

- a. endaad ‘the one who lives there’ (Ojibwe)
- b. édat ‘the one who lives there’ (Potawatomi)

In some cases, *é-* has been reanalyzed as a general initial change prefix, ostensibly reducing stem allomorphy in Potawatomi, as below.

(66) Irregular /ɛ:-/

- a. mbesédon ‘I have a harelip’
- b. é-bsédon ‘the one with a harelip’

There is also another variant participle prefix, /wɛ:-/.

(67) ndagna ‘I touch him’

- a. dagnat⁹ ‘the one who touches him’ expected; attested in Welcher
- b. wédagnat ‘the one who touches him’ attested by elders today

⁹ Welcher recorded this form as <dagwnat> but the <w> is anomalous.

- (68) *wenze* ‘s/he is good’¹⁰
- a. *wénzet* ‘the good one’ expected; attested in Welcher
- b. *wéwnezet* ‘the good one’ attested by elders today
- (69) *nde’abzap* ‘I stare’
- a. *wé’abzabet* ‘the one who stares’ attested by elders today

At present I have no explanation for the appearance of *wé-* as a participle prefix, but it is relatively frequent; there are dozens of attestations of these innovated participles in AI verbs alone.

In Potawatomi, many verb stems that begin with /a/ add an initial /y/ when no person prefixes are present; it is especially apparent in the participle.

- (70) /a:/ becomes /ya:/
- a. *ndabzabma* ‘I stare at him’
- b. *yabzabmat* ‘the one who stares him’

The /a:bəz-/ is likely derived from /a:bəd-/ ‘continually,’ though this form is not attested in Potawatomi – this matches the conditioning environment of the other /d/ to /z/ examples discussed in section 4.3.

In some cases, the /y/ form has become the default or show other irregularities, as with the two pairs of examples below.

¹⁰ This form deserves comment. The third person form is highly unusual, but see section 3.1 on some exceptions to syncope. Welcher originally recorded this form with the first person form *nwenes* ‘I am good,’ but this was later emended in her notes to *ndewnes*, *ndones*, or *nde-wenes*, where she explicitly noted that *nwenes* is incorrect. In November 2010, the elders again rejected *nwenes*, this time agreeing on *ndowenes* and noting that it would be considered abnormal to say this, as it is a boast. The inanimate intransitive form paired with this is *wenet* ‘it (in.) is good’ and it also irregularly takes *wé-* in the participle.

(71) Prothetic irregularly /y/ reanalyzed as part of stem

- a. yabnabe ‘s/he looks back’¹¹
- b. yabnabwek ‘they look back’¹²
- c. yabzishen ‘s/he revives, comes back to life’¹³
- d. abzishnok ‘they come back to life’

Examples (71a) and (71b) have generalized the prothetic /y/. As may be expected, there is much irregularity: for the transitive forms of these verbs, modern Potawatomi speakers accept both older *ndabnabma* ‘I look back at him/her/it (an.)’ alongside innovated *ndeyabnabma*. The examples in (71c) and (71d) add to this point: (71c), *yabzishen* ‘s/he revives’ fits with the generalization that verb stems beginning in /a/ add /y/, but the plural form in (71d) *abzishnok* does not.¹⁴

5 Discussion

In this section, I conclude with a discussion of the writing systems in use by Potawatomi speakers and learners, and offer a few final comments on Hockett’s morphophonemic approach and his analysis of the vowel system.

5.1 Traditional writing

The traditional writing system has been in use among Potawatomi speakers for over a century. It is highly underspecified compared to the WNALP orthography; for the vowels, it merges the

¹¹ Cf. Ojibwe *aabanaabi* ‘s/he looks back’

¹² *yabnabwik* is also acceptable to Potawatomi speakers; see chapter 4.

¹³ Cf. Ojibwe *aabiziishin* ‘s/he revives, comes back to life’

¹⁴ Both of these forms were confirmed by the same speakers at the same fieldwork session in 2011.

weak/strong vowels, and for the consonants, it merges the lenis-fortis contrast. (See Appendix A for a full comparison chart of Potawatomi writing systems.)

WNALP	Traditional
i	i
e, é	e
a	a
o	o
p, b	l
t, d	t
s, z	s
sh, zh	sh
ch, j	tth
k, g	k
kw, gw	q
m	m
n	n
w	w
y	y

Table 7. Traditional writing system, compared to WNALP

Though these underspecifications make the traditional writing system less desirable for linguists, versions of the traditional writing system are frequently used in Potawatomi classes in and around Forest County, usually with adjustments for readability. Most commonly, the lenis/fortis contrast is maintained; for most letters, their English equivalents are used, so the <l> is replaced with <p, b>. The affricates are written with <th> for <j> and <tth> for <ch>. One convenience of this system is that it can be entirely written without any special characters (WNALP has only one: the acute accent above <é>).

Another writing system is increasingly widely used by Forest County Potawatomi students and teachers. I refer to this writing system as the Forest County Potawatomi Learners' Orthography (hereafter FCPLO). It adds the previously described adjustments, and so consistently represents the fortis/lenis contrast, but also makes use of five diacritics on <e>, as in the chart below (taken from material used to teach the FCPLO).

FCPLO glyph	Example in English	IPA Equivalent	WNALP Equivalent
a	f <u>ä</u> ther	[ɑ]	a
i	f <u>ē</u> t, b <u>ē</u> t	[i]	i
o	s <u>ō</u> w, g <u>ō</u>	[o]	o
e	b <u>ī</u> t, s <u>ī</u> t, n <u>ī</u> t	[ɪ]	e
é	b <u>a</u> t, s <u>a</u> t, m <u>a</u> t	[æ]	é, e
ë	b <u>u</u> t, m <u>u</u> t, sh <u>u</u> t	[ʌ, ə]	e
ê	b <u>oo</u> k, sh <u>oo</u> k, c <u>oo</u> k	[ʊ, ə]	e
è	b <u>e</u> t, m <u>e</u> t, w <u>e</u> t	[ɛ]	é, e

Table 8. FCPLO vowels (adapted from Thunder 2016[1996]:6).¹⁵

Because this represents a radically different analysis of the vowel system, there is no simple one-to-one correspondence of the FCPLO vowels and the WNALP vowels. Generally, WNALP <é> corresponds to FCPLO <é> and <è>.

The following examples are particularly focused on the diacritics on <e>. In each case, a word gloss is offered follow first by the FCPLO spelling and then by the WNALP spelling.

(72) ‘my grandfather’

a. FCPLO: nmeshomes

b. WNALP: nmeshomes

(73) ‘early morning’

a. FCPLO: gëzhép

b. WNALP: gezhép

(74) ‘tomorrow’

a. FCPLO: wabêk

b. WNALP: wabek

¹⁵ Thanks to Lindsay Marean and Thomas Loftis for many long discussions on this topic.

(75) ‘day after tomorrow’

- a. FCPLO: oswabêk
- b. WNALP: oswabek, weswabek

(76) ‘more’

- a. FCPLO: mégwa
- b. WNALP: mégwa

(77) ‘sun/moon’

- a. FCPLO: gizes
- b. WNALP: gizes

(78) ‘rotten stump wood that glows’

- a. FCPLO: thibésêk
- b. WNALP: jibése

(79) ‘it is melting’

- a. FCPLO: ngédémget
- b. WNALP: ngedémget

(80) ‘doctor’

- a. FCPLO: mshkëkiwnënë
- b. WNALP: mshkekiwnene

(81) ‘nurse’

- a. FCPLO: mshkëkiwnënikwé
- b. WNALP: mshkekiwnenikwé

During lexical work between 2010 and 2014, it became apparent that the Potawatomi community, in general, wanted words spelled as they sound. This meant, for example, writing

consonants as fortis in cases of word-final fortition and writing /m/ for first-person /n/ before labial consonants (as described in section 4). The FCPLO reflects the continuation of that goal, applied in this case to vowels. As discussed in section 1, not all instances of WNALP <e> sound the same, and so Potawatomi teachers have put together a system to help students with their pronunciation, a sort of ad hoc phonetic alphabet.

In some ways, this writing system codifies parts of what we as linguists know about Potawatomi phonetics and phonology. For example, the word ‘cow’ and its plural are given below in both the FCPLO and WNALP orthographies:

(82) FCPLO:

- a. bzhêké ‘cow’
- b. bzhêkwêk ‘cows’

(83) WNALP:

- a. bzheke ‘cow’
- b. bzehkwek ‘cows’

(84) IPA:

- a. /bəʒəkəw/ → [bʒɪkæ:] or [bʒəkæ:]
- b. /bəʒəkəwək/ → [bʒəkʷək]

We know from acoustic phonetic work done in the 1970s that Potawatomi speakers lengthen and strengthen word-final vowels (Gathercole 1978:23), a classic pattern in iambic languages (Hayes 1995:80-84). The FCPLO represents this in the spelling of (82a), but since it is predictable and not phonemic, it is not represented in the WNALP spelling (83a).

Beyond its use as a phonetic learning tool, this writing system represents a different theory of the Potawatomi vowel inventory. Vowel length/strength is never indicated in FCPLO –

in fact, some practitioners deny the existence of strong/weak vowels at all in Potawatomi. This complicates the analysis of syncope; the fact that the final vowel of the singular ‘cow’ deletes in the plural ‘cows’ must be memorized rather than derived from the stress system. Also, in the present analysis, [æ] exists as an allophone of /ε/. In the FCPLP, this and other distinctions that I (and other linguists following Hockett and Welcher) would consider allophonic are seen as part of the phoneme inventory. Arguing for or against such views would require radically rethinking the synchronic vowel system of Potawatomi – which is potentially justified, given its highly irregular nature, but remains a topic for future research. My choice of writing in the WNALP system reflects the view of the phonemes taken up in this work and the standards used in most of the grammatical documentation. The FCPLP, however, is becoming more and more widely used by the people who have the highest stake in the revitalization of Potawatomi, and as such, it deserves special mention and inclusion in future linguistic work on Potawatomi.

5.2 *Morphophonemes and Hockett’s treatment of /o/*

Accounts of Potawatomi following Hockett (1939a, 1948a) include five phonemic vowels as reflected in the WNALP writing system: <i, é, a, o> and <e>. Hockett argues that, in Potawatomi, short and long /o/ merged, in spite of evidence from syncope. In section 3, I argued that, contrary to Hockett’s account, syncope provides sufficient evidence to conclude that Potawatomi contrasts short and long /o/. My departure from Hockett is in part a reflection of changes in general linguistic theory and in part a reflection of advances in scholarly knowledge of Algonquian languages. To conclude the chapter, I explore this argument further, beginning with a brief discussion of Hockett’s morphophonemic analysis.

Of weak and strong /o/, Hockett says that they are “[p]honemically...indistinguishable” but “morphophonemically there are two distinct elements” (1948a:6). Morphophonemes are a

“supplementary alphabet” or a set of “special symbols,” which Hockett describes as an alternative to simply listing out individual forms (1948a:2). In the system Hockett describes, most grammatical (phonological and morphophonological) operations take place using the morphophonemic alphabet the way linguists now use underlying representations. These morphemes then “resolve” (1948a:5) to phonemes after being subject to a set of (crucially) ordered operations.

For Hockett, the morphophonemic and phonemic layers were separated: the morphophonemes (marked with the radical) were part of an abstract representation, and the phonemes (marked with slashes) were audible, part of the performance of the language, closer to what we would call *phones* (speech sounds) today rather than phonemes. This is clear from his discussion (see especially 1948:2-4): Hockett’s “phonemic transcriptions” contain only the vowels which are not syncopated, while his “morphophonemic formulae” has the vowels restored. Decades before *The Sound Pattern of English*, Hockett’s dissertation sketches out a proto-generative grammar: a lexicon contains abstract forms; these are fed into a combinatory mechanism and subject to ordered rules; the output of these ordered rules is a surface form. In Hockett’s terminology, the forms in the lexicon are written with morphophonemes, and the surface forms are written with phonemes.

Linguists now use the concept of the phoneme more like Hockett used morphophonemes. Algonquianists still make use of morphophonemes in Potawatomi (and other Algonquian languages), but to describe morphophonological alternations, not extensive, relatively regular, phonological processes like syncope. The most widely agreed-upon morphophoneme is shared across a whole set of Algonquian languages: N is a segment that resolves to /n/ except in palatalizing contexts, where it appears as /ɲ/:

- (85) nazo
 /əN-azo/
 thus-color.VAI
 ‘it is a certain color’
- (86) zhenkazo
 /əN-ə-nəkazo/
 thus-EPENTH-be.named.VAI
 ‘he or she is so named’

Here, there is an alternation of /n/ and /ʒ/ triggered by the epenthetic vowel in the second example. The use of the morphophoneme N in the relative root /əN-/ is a way of indicating the two allomorphs /ən-/ and /əʒ-/. Not all cases of /n/ alternate with /ʒ/; rather, it depends on the historical and morphophonological context.

Hockett argues explicitly for a morphophonemic contrast of long and short o, writing <o> for long /o:/ and <O> for the cases of short /o/ which alternate due to syncope; some other cases of short /o/ he writes as <wU>¹⁶. Several aspects of his analysis either support or require this analysis.

His theory of the syllable does not allow vowels to begin words and further does not allow syllabic consonants. Both of these claims are contrary to fact; numerous examples in this chapter begin with a vowel, and syllabic consonants can be readily heard from Potawatomi speakers. Hockett himself noted this, but discounted it as an artifact of rapid speech (1939a:5). One way his theory achieves this is by allowing morphophonemic weak O to resolve to either /o/ or /w/, depending on the context. Thus, Hockett’s morphophonemic representation <Okama#j> (see footnote 6) becomes *wgema* ‘chief, boss.’ Of the precise phonetic quality of this remnant /w/, Hockett says that the resulting sound is a “pre-labialization of the following consonant” (1939a:14) but also that “[p]reconsonantal initial w and interconsonantal nasals have a greater

¹⁶ This is from his morphophonemic alphabet used in the 1948 series of articles which differs slightly from his dissertation. See the appendix.

sonority than the immediately adjacent sounds, and so give the impression of functioning as syllabics” (1939a:5). Describing them as “semi-syllabics,” he discounts this as an artifact of rapid speech.

Given that Hockett’s theory does not align with the facts, we must return to the data, which itself is complicated. Consider the following words:

- (87) wje- ‘from, of’
- (88) wdé ‘it boils’
- (89) wgema ‘chief, leader’

Sometimes, the words above are uttered with [o] in the initial syllable; other times, these words are uttered with a sound closer to [w]. This calls for a vowel as the underlying representation rather than a glide; phonologically, deriving [w] from /o/ is straightforward in this context, but deriving [o] from /w/ is less so.

The phonetic data forces us to consider forms like the following as beginning with weak /o/ rather than /w/ – just as they were before Hockett’s theory mandated a different interpretation. Hockett would say that these forms “give the impression of functioning as syllabics” – in his analysis, that was an artifact of rapid speech. In the present analysis, the simpler solution holds: they sound like syllable nuclei because they are syllable nuclei. Hockett’s view that *wgema* is a two-syllable word cannot hold in Potawatomi the way it holds in syncopating dialects of Ojibwe. Both /o/ and /o:/ must be part of the underlying vowel inventory of Potawatomi in order to explain its phonetics and phonology – just as Hockett’s morphophoneme inventory implies.

Chapter 3: Derivational Morphology

1 Introduction

In this chapter, I provide an overview of words in Potawatomi. I begin with a discussion of animacy; this is a core concept in Algonquian grammar which is simple to circumscribe but difficult to define precisely. Following that is an overview of the parts of speech in section 3. Section 4 discusses several Algonquianist analyses of lexical structure. Finally, section 5 provides a partial lexicon of components.

2 Animacy

Algonquian languages distinguish two classes of nouns: animate and inanimate. Potawatomi is no exception; consider the following examples.

- (1) *ojés* ‘fly (insect)’ (animate)
- (2) *myéwés* ‘small road, path, trail’ (inanimate)

The first example, *ojés* ‘fly’ is animate and the second, *myéwés* ‘path’ is inanimate. In the singular, however, there is no way to distinguish the two classes.

Valentine (2001:115-116) offers several diagnostics of animacy which apply to Potawatomi. Animate and inanimate nouns have different plurals, so compare (3) and (4) below.

- (3) *ojése**k*** ‘flies’
- (4) *myéwése**n*** ‘small roads, paths, trails’

The animate plural is *-ek* while the inanimate plural is *-en*. I describe these categories in more detail in section 3.

Another test is to check the noun in context, either with a verb that is known to take an animate or inanimate argument (underlined below) or with a demonstrative (in bold below).

- (5) Gi-bodakwésé **o** ojés. ‘**A fly** fell in the soup’
- (6) Mbishkyamget **i** myéwés. ‘**The path** has puddles in it.’

In (5), we can see that *ojés* ‘fly’ is animate because it appears with the animate demonstrative *o* and the animate intransitive verb *bodakwésé* ‘s/he is added into liquid by falling’; in (6), *myéwés* ‘path’ appears with the inanimate demonstrative *i* and the inanimate intransitive verb *mbishkyamget* ‘it is wet, there are puddles.’

There is a long-standing debate on the nature of the categories animate and inanimate, and to what extent this distinction reveals something unique about the Potawatomi worldview. Though most nouns are consistently (and relatively predictably) animate or inanimate, there are three complicating factors: first, lexical meaning does not reliably predict animacy; second, finals (the morphemes usually thought to impart animate/inanimate status) do not reliably predict animacy; and third, comparative data only makes a grand analysis of animacy more difficult (see Goddard 2002). I discuss each issue in turn.

The meaning of a noun often but does not always predict its animacy. For example, nouns referring to humans and animals are uniformly, prototypically animate. However, many non-humans and non-animals are animate as well. A typical semantic or cultural account of animacy asserts that animacy is linked to notions of sacredness, spiritual power, or cultural significance. While some sacred, spiritually powerful, or culturally significant items are animate, others are inanimate, and my corpus intentionally omits most religious vocabulary (but see Goddard 2002:200-201). Other semantic domains are not consistently animate or inanimate, as the examples below illustrate.

(7) Bodily excretions

- a. wzawabyan ‘bile’ (animate)
- b. skigem ‘mucus; snot’ (animate)
- c. mskwe ‘blood’ (inanimate)
- d. skowagen ‘saliva’ (inanimate)
- e. zhishigdagen ‘urine’ (inanimate)
- f. mowej ‘feces’ (inanimate)
- g. zisbeningwagen ‘tear (in eye)’ (inanimate)

Most words for bodily excretions are inanimate, as would be expected from a common sense understanding of animacy. Under an analysis of animacy that affords animate status to the most powerful or culturally significant words, this is potentially problematic – generally speaking, bodily excretions like blood are known to play important roles in the spiritual life of American Indian people. And yet the two forms here that are unexpectedly animate are ‘bile’ and ‘mucous.’ I have seen no compelling evidence to suggest that power or cultural significance explains why ‘blood’ (7c) is inanimate but ‘snot’ (7b) is animate.

A number of finals are associated with both animate and inanimate nouns. In (8), consider the semantic domain of fruits, berries, and vegetables; in Potawatomi, these are classified variously as animate or inanimate without an immediate explanation.

(8) Fruits, berries, vegetables

- | | |
|-------------|----------------------------------|
| a. mshimen | ‘apple’ (animate) |
| b. mkedémen | ‘blackberry’ (animate) |
| c. mskomen | ‘raspberry’ (animate) |
| d. bokmen | ‘lowbush cranberry’ (animate) |
| e. nibmen | ‘highbush cranberry’ (inanimate) |
| f. anjés | ‘orange’ (inanimate) |
| g. dé’men | ‘strawberry’ (inanimate) |
| h. min | ‘blueberry’ (inanimate) |
| i. kwesman | ‘pumpkin’ (inanimate) |

In the list above, the presence of the final *-men* ‘small, round, berry’ tends to result in an animate noun, but with some exceptions. Note also that in (8d) and (8e), one type of cranberry is animate and the other is inanimate.

As Goddard illustrates, there are serious comparative issues with overarching theories of animacy. He raises this question: if some factor crucial to the Algonquian worldview strictly determines animacy, then why do the Algonquian languages realize animacy so differently? His most convincing example is ‘tobacco,’ which is animate in Meskwaki, Cree, Menominee, Ojibwe, and Potawatomi, but inanimate in Munsee, Unami, and Eastern Abenaki, though serving much the same function (Goddard 2002:200-201). Another example he raises is the word for ‘bread.’ Consider the group of words below.

(9) Bread words

- a. *pkwézhgen* ‘bread’ (animate)
- b. *pkwézhgas* ‘cracker, cookie’ (animate)
- c. *pkwézhgenabo* ‘gravy’ (inanimate)
- d. *pkwézhgenkéwgemek* ‘bakery’ (inanimate)
- e. *pkwézhgenatek* ‘pretzel’ (animate)

In (9a), *pkwézhgen* ‘bread’ is animate.¹ The diminutive form in (9b) *pkwézhgas* takes on the specialized meaning ‘cracker, cookie’ but retains animate status.² The next word, (9c) *pkwézhgenabo* ‘gravy,’ is inanimate like all nouns ending in *-abo* ‘liquid.’ Inanimate *pkwézhgenkéwgemek* ‘bakery’ (9d) is also expected, since all nouns ending in final *-wgemek* ‘building, room’ are inanimate. However, *pkwézhgenatek* ‘pretzel’ in (9e) is surprising. Nouns ending in final *-atek* ‘deciduous tree, stick’ can be animate or inanimate – generally, nouns ending in *-atek* that refer to trees are animate, but most other nouns ending in *-atek* are inanimate.

(10) Nouns with final *-atek*

- a. *beganatek* ‘nut tree, butternut tree’ (animate)
- b. *winsatek* ‘yellow birch (animate)
- c. *jibyatek* ‘grave marker, cross’ (inanimate)
- d. *gwdemojgenatek* ‘fishing pole’ (inanimate)

Setting all that aside, the very fact that *pkwézhgen* ‘bread’ is animate is problematic. The final indicates that this word was derived from a verb (either from *ndepkwézhhan* ‘I cut off a

¹ Ojibwe *bakwezhigan* (animate) and *bkwezhgan* (inanimate), Menominee *pahkīsekan* (animate), Myaamia *pahkweešikani* (inanimate).

² Ojibwe *bakwezhigaans*, *bkwezhgaans* (both animate), Menominee *pahkīsekaēhsaeh* (animate).

piece, chunk of it’ or unattested **ndepkwézhigé* ‘I cut chunks off of things’); generally in Potawatomi, nouns derived from verbs are inanimate. There are however several curious exceptions – some with simple explanations and some without. Some, like (11a), end in *-gen* but are not derived forms. Others are less clear.

(11) Animate nouns in *-gen*

- a. *zibwagen* ‘cornstalk’ (animate, probably from Meskwaki *sîpwâkana* ‘cornstalk’)
- b. *zazgen* ‘cracklings’ (*zas-* ‘fry,’ cf. Ojibwe *zasigan*, also animate, and related forms)
- c. *widgémagen* ‘spouse’ (refers to a human being)
- d. *nabkewagen* ‘necklace’

(11c) is animate since it refers to a human being. In (11d), *nabkewagen* ‘necklace’ is actually attested as both animate, like the Ojibwe cognate, and inanimate, like *naapihkaakani* in Myaamia.

These issues and inconsistencies can make animacy in Potawatomi seem somewhat arbitrary. Though difficult to define, it is relatively regular and often predictable: animals, humans, and other obviously animate beings are uniformly and exceptionlessly animate, but inanimate objects can also be animate.

3 Parts of Speech

Determining the part of speech of a word based on its inflectional possibilities yields three categories: nouns, verbs, and a large, diverse category of uninflected items traditionally referred to as particles. Hockett’s analysis refers to the following categories:

(12) Hockett's lexical categories (1939:111-118)

- Nouns (animate, inanimate)
- Verbs
- Numerals (cardinal, ordinal, adverbial)
- Substitutions (pronouns and demonstratives)
- Particles (locative, temporal, conjunctive, and adverbial)

This trend of deconstructing the catch-all category “particle” continues in more recent Algonquianist work (Oxford 2007) that informs my analysis. In the sections that follow, I present an overview of Potawatomi nouns, verbs, pronouns, pre-nouns and pre-verbs, and then provide an overview of the various, distinct kinds of items called particles.

3.1 *Nouns*

As mentioned above, nouns are divided into animate and inanimate classes. In the lexical database I draw on, there are twice as many inanimate nouns as animate nouns; inanimate nouns appear to be a sort of default (Goddard 2002:224). Membership in these classes determines the choice of suffixes for noun and verb inflection; I describe noun inflection in detail in chapter 4 and verb inflection in chapter 5. Here, I discuss meanings and functions of noun suffixes in Potawatomi.³

In Potawatomi, nouns can take seven different categories of inflectional and derivational endings.⁴

³ I leave compound nouns for future research.

⁴ I omit discussion of nominal preterit here; see chapter 5 and Lockwood (in press b) for more.

- Plural
- Locative
- Obviative
- Possessive
- Diminutive
- Pejorative

I discuss each in turn.

Nouns in Potawatomi do not have singular suffixes (like Ojibwe, Cree, and Menominee and unlike Myaamia and Meskwaki), and so the plural suffix is the only indication of number attached directly to the noun. There is a mass/count distinction in Potawatomi as it is spoken today, so not every noun can take a plural suffix.

Locative nouns are translated with a variety of different English prepositions (in, at, near, by, on, etc.). The locative suffix can also serve a syntactic function and indicate an oblique argument; I return to this in chapter 6. For animate nouns, the locative is almost always homophonous with the plural, though there are a few irregular cases I describe in chapter 4.

The obviative in Potawatomi is primarily syntactic. Since all subject and object marking in Potawatomi is done on the verb and word order is free, if two animate third persons appear in a clause, there is no way of telling which one is the subject and which one is the object. In clauses with two animate third person arguments, the obviative marker is suffixed to one of the third person arguments in order to clarify who is doing what to whom; all non-obviative nouns are called proximate.

Possessed nouns are marked with a person prefix and, depending on the noun and person, a suffix *-m*. Some stems are obligatorily possessed; these are called *dependent* nouns. Generally,

nouns in this class refer to things that are inalienable, and unable to be given away by the possessor (like kinship terms and body parts). The rest of the nouns are not obligatorily possessed, and so are called *independent* nouns. In Modern Potawatomi, some dependent nouns have become independent; I mark these examples in a footnote where relevant. In the lists and examples in chapter 4, I write possession examples in the first person (with *n-*, *nd-*, or *nde-* prefix). Like the pejorative, use of possessive marking calls for sensitivity.

According to the elders, the Potawatomi worldview precludes people from owning nature, and so adding possessive marking to natural objects can be seen as offensive or blasphemous. Note that these are *prescriptive* attitudes about the way the language should interact with the culture rather than *descriptive* comments about what is or is not possible grammatically. For instance, the elders all agree that a person cannot own a river because all rivers belong to *Mamagosnan*, ‘the Creator.’ The possessed forms of *zibe*, therefore, are potentially very sensitive or extremely restricted; *gzibim* ‘your river’ is something that can only be said to *Mamagosnan*, and *nzibim* is something that can only be said by *Mamagosnan*. Sometimes, different speakers have different standards about what cannot or ought not to be possessed; for one speaker, a tree like *wnip* ‘elm’ cannot be possessed by a person unless you cut it, at which point it belongs to you. Only then does *ndonibim* ‘my elm’ make sense. In chapter 4, I provide footnotes for all examples of pejoratives and possessed forms that are potentially sensitive. As a rule, the same words that are offensive or blasphemous when they take the pejorative suffix are the same words that cannot be possessed by humans.

The last two categories on this list are arguably derivational rather than inflectional: the diminutive and the pejorative. Both of these endings change the meaning of the noun they are attached to. I include them in my discussion of noun inflection for the sake of completeness, and

because they are occasionally unpredictable. The diminutive on a noun adds the meaning that it is physically small – or just small relative to expectations. For example, the diminutive of *wdabyan* ‘car’ is *wdabyanés*, and that could either mean a car that is small (like a compact car) or a toy or model car. Diminutive nouns occasionally have specialized definitions and become distinct from the noun they were derived from; for example, the diminutive of *zhonya* ‘money’ is *zhonyas*, ‘a coin.’⁵ The diminutive of *mkom* ‘ice’ (a mass noun in modern Potawatomi) is *mkomis*, which means ‘hail’ (and is a count noun, so it can be pluralized). However, some diminutive nouns are rejected by modern speakers. Usually, this is because the result is an oxymoron. For example, the diminutive of *ke* ‘earth, land’ is generally rejected by speakers, as is the diminutive of *gchegem* ‘a big lake.’

The pejorative suffix is generally glossed as something like “good-for-nothing” or with a mild swear. This calls for sensitivity in its use: modern speakers reject pejoratives of many words that hold a special cultural or spiritual significance. For instance, pejoratives of water sources like springs, rivers, and lakes are uniformly rejected as offensive or blasphemous. Other forms are problematic for different reasons; when asking whether or not it would be possible to attach a pejorative suffix to *bzheke* ‘cow,’ one speaker responded “How would you know if it’s no good if it’s not yours?”⁶ The pejorative of words like *mowej* ‘feces, droppings’ are rejected by some speakers because the substance in question is already “good for nothing,” while other speakers produce *mowjish* ‘good for nothing feces’ without hesitation.

A sample paradigm is given below, for the animate noun *amo* ‘bee’:

⁵ This form also undergoes a gender shift; *zhonya* ‘money’ is inanimate while *zhonyas* ‘coin’ is animate. Goddard (2002:213) suggests that inanimate nouns tend to indicate collectives while animate nouns tend to indicate specifics, and this is cognate to a Meskwaki example he offers.

⁶ The form *bzhek wesh* ‘good-for-nothing cow’ would be used if you did, in fact, know that the cow was no good.

- (13) amo ‘bee’
 a. PL: amoyek
 b. LOC: amoyek
 c. OBV: amoyen
 d. POSS: nde’amoyem
 e. DIM: amos
 f. PEJ: amoyesh

There are a small handful of mostly irregular vocative nouns, which are used in direct address. There is some evidence for a vocative plural *-dek* outside of kinship terms, but otherwise no regular inflectional vocative is in common use (cf. Hockett 1948b:73). The following (not exhaustive) list comes from my fieldwork.

- | | | |
|------|--------------|-----------------------|
| (14) | noses | ‘Grandchild!’ |
| (15) | ngwi | ‘Son!’ |
| (16) | nshi | ‘Younger sibling!’ |
| (17) | tawi | ‘Cousin!’ |
| (18) | tawidek | ‘Cousins!’ |
| (19) | dédé | ‘Father!’ |
| (20) | néné | ‘Mother!’ |
| (21) | goko | ‘Grandmother!’ |
| (22) | noko | ‘Grandmother!’ |
| (23) | mesho | ‘Grandfather!’ |
| (24) | ndogmamnadeg | ‘Our (excl.) chiefs!’ |
| (25) | gdogmamnadeg | ‘Our (incl.) chiefs!’ |
| (26) | nikansedek | ‘Friends!’ |

The corpus has no naturally-occurring examples of the vocative plural suffix *-deg/-dek*; all examples come from elicitation. The other kinship vocatives, however, are still used. I gloss

them with an exclamation point to set them apart from the plain form of the kinship term. These words, in themselves, are not exclamatory. A typical example follows.

- (27) É, wabden, Noko, wénpenet.
 é wabden noko wénpenet
 hey look.VTI.IMP grandmother.VOC it.is.easy
 ‘Hey, look Grandma, it’s easy’
 LR 2012-02-12-08 064

3.2 Verbs

Verbs in Algonquian languages are traditionally classified by transitivity and the animacy of the absolutive argument (i.e., the subject of intransitive and object of transitive). This yields four combinations: VII (inanimate argument, intransitive), VAI (animate argument, intransitive), VTI (transitive, inanimate object), and VTA (transitive, animate object). I discuss verb inflection in more detail in chapter 5.

3.3 Pronouns and demonstratives

The personal pronouns in Potawatomi are given in the table below. Note that Potawatomi, like other Algonquian languages, distinguishes inclusive (including the addressee) first person plural from exclusive (excludes the addressee) first person plural.

	Singular	Plural
1	nin	ninan (EXCL) ginan (INCL)
2	gin	ginwa
3	win	winwa

Table 1. Personal pronouns in Potawatomi

Costa (2013:213-217) showed that Potawatomi first person plural pronouns were borrowed from Meskwaki (Potawatomi *ninan*, Meskwaki *nînâna*, but Ojibwe *niinawind*).

There is also a set of demonstrative pronouns. In the lexical database, they are glossed as follows:

- (28) ode ‘this’ (an. or in.)
 (29) gode ‘these’ (an.)
 (30) node ‘these’ (in.)
 (31) o ‘that’ (an.)
 (32) ago ‘that one there’ (an.)
 (33) gi ‘those’ (an.)
 (34) égi ‘those’ (an.)
 (35) i ‘that’ (in.)
 (36) é’i ‘that’ (in.)
 (37) ni ‘those’ (in.)
 (38) éni ‘those’ (in.)
 (39) ni ‘that, those’ (obv.)

In her grammatical materials, Welcher argued that demonstrative pronouns are divided up according to “remoteness from the speaker”:

	Near	Farther	Farthest
Singular (an.)	ode	o	ago
Plural (an.)	gode	gi	égi
Obviative	node	ni	éni
Singular (in.)	ode	i	é’i
Plural (in.)	node	ni	éni

Table 2. Demonstrative pronouns in Potawatomi by remoteness from speaker.

Both the glosses and the categorizations above are imprecise. The syntax, semantics, and social meanings of demonstratives in Potawatomi are more complex than “this, that, those” or “near, farther, farthest” – however, these make for convenient groupings.

The proximal demonstratives (“near”) are homophonous in the singular but not in the plural. Proximal demonstratives are almost always translated as “this” rather than “that.”

- (40) Neshna ode ndajem.
 neshna ode ndajem
 just DEM.near I.tell
 ‘I’m just saying this (e.g. gossip)’
 JT/MJT 2011-05-19
- (41) Apte ode gminen.
 apte ode gminen
 half DEM.near I.give.you
 ‘I’ll give you half of this’
 JT 2012-11-20
- (42) Gi-débwék gode gété-Neshnabék.
 gi-débwék gode gété-Neshnabék
 they.were.right DEM.AN.PL.near old-Indians
 ‘Those old Indians were right.’
 BD 2012-09-13
- (43) Pené node dgwesnon.
 pené node dgwesnon
 always DEM.IN.PL.near they.go.together
 ‘Those always go together (e.g. salt and pepper shakers)’
 JT 2011-05-20

Sometimes speakers say these demonstratives are preferred when an object is within reach.

However, the use of *ode* in (40) and *gode* in (42) is more abstract; a different sort of closeness is marked by the use of the proximal here.

The medial demonstratives (“farther”) refer to objects that could be close at hand or could be farther away; they are a sort of default case. They are sometimes translated with the definite article ‘the’ and sometimes completely omitted from the translation.

- (44) Aboze o bidi.
 aboze o bidi
 it.thaws DEM.AN.farther chicken
 ‘The chicken is thawing’
 BD/JT/MJT 2012-11-20
- (45) Béska o Lindsay.
 béska o Lindsay
 she.is.slow DEM.AN.farther Lindsay
 ‘Lindsay is slow.’
 JT 2013-03-19
- (46) Awnesh gi penyék!
 awnesh gi penyék
 haul.them! DEM.AN.PL.farther potatoes
 ‘Haul those potatoes!’
 JT 2012-01-13
- (47) Mizhajgwadé i mjegodé.
 mizhajgwadé i mjegodé
 it.is.decorated DEM.IN.farther dress
 ‘That dress is sewed fancy’
 JT 2011-07-12
- (48) Békanek i yawen.
 békanek i yawen
 the.different.one DEM.IN.farther it.is
 ‘That one is different’
 JT-LBW4412/JDN405
- (49) Baknen ni gtogen!
 baknen ni gtogen
 open.them! DEM.IN.PL.farther your.ears
 ‘Open your ears!’
 JT-LBW5643/JDN82

The distal demonstratives (“farthest”) tend to mean something is further away, either physically or in a more abstract sense as with the proximals.

- (50) Ago gda-naskewa.
 ago gda-naskewa
 DEM.AN.farthest you.can-approach.him
 ‘You can go approach him’
 JT 2012-10-16

- (51) Nekwshé, ago négdosha
 nekwshé ago négdosha
 look! DEM.AN.farthest horse
 ‘Look, there’s a horse over there.’
 MD-LBW6695/JDN14
- (52) Nekwshé, égi négdoshayek.
 nekwshé égi négdoshayek
 look! DEM.AN.PL.farthest horses
 ‘Look, there are horses over there.’
 BD 8-26-2016
- (53) Nekwshé, é’i jiman
 nekwshé é’i jiman
 look! DEM.IN.farthest boat
 ‘Look, there’s a boat over there.’
 BD 8-26-2016
- (54) Éni zhe na wgi-miganawan ni Epéchiyen.
 éni zhe=na wgi-miganawan ni Epéchiyen
 DEM.IN.PL.farthest PART they.fought.them DEM.IN.PL.farther Apaches
 ‘That’s who they fought, the Apaches.’
 JT 2014-02-12-06 038

Finally, there are also a set of dubitative (sometimes called indefinite or interrogative) pronouns. These all have meanings like ‘wherever,’ ‘whoever,’ or ‘I don’t know who.’ The first three were confirmed in recent fieldwork; others come from Welcher’s records and may not reflect current practices in Forest County. They are included here for the record.

- (55) wégwéndek
 ‘whoever, I don’t know who’
 JT/MJT 2011-05-19
- (56) wégwénshedek
 ‘whoever, I don’t know who (“implies that you don’t like them”)
 BD/JT/MJT 2011-10-27
- (57) wégwénshedgéne
 ‘whoever, I don’t know who the hell’
 JT 2011-10-27

- (58) wégwdegwén
‘whatever, I wonder what (inanimate dubitative)’
LBW6728/JDN3618
- (59) wégwdegwéndek
‘whatever, I wonder what (inanimate dubitative)’
LBW6729/JDN3619
- (60) wégwén
‘whoever, someone, something (animate interrogative)’
LBW6730/JDN3620

3.4 *Particles*

Hockett's dissertation (1939a:115-118) offered the following classes of particles: locative, temporal, conjunction, predicator, and adverbial (the largest class). Though Hockett's discussion of particles is, by his own admission, incomplete (Hockett 1939:118), his work is an early attempt to understand the different functions and subcategories of the diverse class of particles.

In this paper, I follow Oxford (2007:32-36) in assuming the following classes of particles: adnominal particles (e.g. quantifiers within the noun phrase), prepositions (which take noun phrases as complements), adverbs, focus particles, question particles, negators, conjunctions, and interjections. Examples of most of these classes follow; the rest are discussed in the syntax and semantics chapters.

- (61) Adnominal particle: *anet* ‘some’ (quantifier)
- a. Nchiwnagwzewek anet tesiyeḱ.
 nchiwnagwzewek anet tesiyeḱ
 they.are.ugly some belly.buttons
 ‘Some bellybuttons are ugly.’
 JT 2012-05-10
- (62) Preposition: *dépi* ‘far’
- a. Mine zhe na dépi ngi-yé zhi édayak.
 mine zhe=na dépi ngi-yé zhi édayak
 and PART far I.was-be.there there at.home
 ‘And I was far from where we lived.’
 JT 2014-02-12-16 023

- (63) Adverb: *anwe* ‘okay, all right’
 a. Anwe mnobmadzik.
 anwe mnobmadzik
 okay they.live.well
 ‘They are living well enough.’
 BD 2013-03-20
- (64) Question particle: *ne* ‘yes-no question particle’
 a. Gégo ne gwi-wabdan?
 gégo ne gwi-wabdan
 something Y/N you.will-see.it
 ‘Do you want to see something?’
 MJT 2016-01-15-01 074
- (65) Negator: *jo* ‘no, not’
 a. Bojgéna gi mekchakok jo nwabmasik.
 bojgéna gi mekchakok jo nwabmasik
 regardless those frogs not I.do.not.see.them
 ‘Even those frogs, I don’t see them.’
 JT 2015-05-06-01 020
- (66) Conjunction: *je* ‘and, but’
 a. Anwe zhená nda-zhya, nbokwshka je.
 anwe zhená nda-zhya nbokwshka je
 okay PART I.MOD-go I.am.broke and/but
 ‘I’d like to go all right, but I’m broke.’
 LBW6499/JDN1617
- (67) Interjection: *ahaw* ‘okay’
 a. O, ahaw.
 ‘Oh, okay.’

3.5 *Prenouns and preverbs*

Prenouns and preverbs are bound modifiers or grammatical markers of various kinds. In the WNALP writing system, prenouns and preverbs attached to words are indicated by a hyphen, as in the examples below.

- (68) *kche-* ‘big, great, very’ (preverb and prenoun)
- a. *kche-bonimget* ‘It’s really snowing.’
 - b. *kche-wigwam* ‘a big house’
 - c. *kche-oswabek* ‘three days from now’⁷

In the FCP and traditional writing systems, they are usually treated as full words, so they have spaces on both sides (see appendix B, section 1 for examples). Both methods of writing preverbs/preverbs are linguistically defensible. On the one hand, preverbs/preverbs are bound, and so marking the word they are bound to with a hyphen makes sense; on the other hand, for the purpose of phonological rules, preverbs/preverbs are words, so setting them off with spaces like words makes sense.⁸

The preverb *kche-* (sometimes reduced to *che-*) is especially flexible. Others are more restricted; for example, the prenoun *bgwech-* ‘wild’ (sometimes *bgoj-*) is only ever attested with nouns.⁹ In chapter 6, I discuss some of the grammatical preverbs; as tense markers, these are restricted to verbs and never appear with nouns.

4 Models of Lexical Structure

This section describes three analyses of the derivational morphology of Potawatomi. The first is the analysis Hockett used in his works, as inspired by Bloomfield. The second is Goddard’s updated version of Bloomfield’s analysis, which greatly alters Hockett’s analysis of Potawatomi. Finally, I discuss the analysis put forth by Macaulay and Salmons (2017) for Menominee.

⁷ Compare *weswabek* ‘the day after tomorrow’

⁸ For example, palatalization, syncope, and stress assignment do not cross prenoun/preverb boundaries.

⁹ It is attested as an initial in one family of verbs: *bgwejingé* ‘S/he guts, field dresses’ (vai) *gwi-bgwejina* ‘You need to gut it (anim.)’

These models have much in common. They all recognize that noun and verb stems are made up of three *components*: initial, medial, and final. They differ as to which are required and how many may or must appear per stem. All assume a distinction between *primary* derivation, the creation of free lexical items from components, and *secondary* derivation, which operate on the output of primary derived forms.

4.1 Hockett's Bloomfieldian analysis

Hockett's work on Potawatomi was directly influenced by Bloomfield's groundbreaking work on the other Algonquian languages; he had direct access to early drafts of Bloomfield's famous sketch of Algonquian (Bloomfield 1946; Hockett 1948a:7, fn. 7). Since Bloomfield's time, Algonquianists have avoided direct discussion of morphemes, often preferring to frame the derivation of words in terms of the components listed above (initial, medial, final) which themselves may be composed of multiple morphemes. I return to this problem in section 4.3.

In his dissertation, Hockett treats a derived primary stem as consisting of an initial, a medial, and a final. An example of a word with all three and its structure appear below.

(69)	gnwabyéya	'it (in.) is long (of string)'	
	geno-	-abyé-	-ya
	long	string	VII
	initial	medial	final

The word above contains one of all three types of components: first, an initial /geno-/ 'long,' which is reduced to just [gnw-] on the surface; second, a medial /-abyé-/, which indicates that the long object referenced by the verb is 'stringlike' (e.g. rope, thread, vines, etc.); and third, a final /-ya/, which indicates that the verb takes only one, inanimate argument (intransitive, inanimate verb). This final component is called an abstract final, since it has no lexical meaning and only a grammatical function; finals with lexical meaning in addition to their grammatical function are called concrete finals.

In Hockett's approach, only an initial or a medial is required; all other components are optional, though multiple initials and medials are allowed (1948a:7). He analyzes some stems as monomorphemic, but whether these are distinct from a regularly derived stem or are simply initials or medials is unclear from the discussion (Hockett 1948a:6-7, 1948b:63-64). Like Bloomfield, though, Hockett analyzes dependent noun stems as medials. So for Hockett, a word like 'my foot' (below) consists of only a medial and a person prefix.

- (70) nzed 'my foot'
 ne-zed
 1-foot

Such a classification is likely based on a comparison with words like the one below, where the body part component is clearly a medial.¹⁰

- (71) mishzedé 'he has hairy feet'
 mish-zed-é
 hair-foot-VAI

I follow Goddard in departing from Hockett's classification of these elements; this is the most important departure that I take from Hockett's morphological work, with consequences that ripple throughout the analysis.

4.2 *Goddard's analysis*

Goddard (1990) made subtle yet important changes to the Algonquianist view of morphology which have direct repercussions for the analysis of Potawatomi. Formulating his rules as a series of 'if-then' statements (1990:450), Goddard's analysis allows only three combinations of components, given below.

¹⁰ There is an argument to be made that this form actually consists of only an initial /mish/ and a complex final /zed-é/. However it still makes the point, because the final would in turn be derived (historically) from a medial and a final as sketched out in the example.

(72) Allowable stem types following Goddard (1990)

- a. initial
- b. initial-final
- c. initial-medial-final

This greatly limits the number of allowable stem types; whereas Hockett allows stems with multiple medials, Goddard's system is more constrained. This raises potential analytical problems for words like the following, each of which could be analyzed as having multiple medials (the disputed morphemes are underlined).

- (73) mtakwdebé
 met-akw-deb-é
 bare-organic.solid-head-VAI
 'he is bareheaded (bald or no hat)'
- (74) mshkowakwtogéwjé
 meshkow-akw-togé-wjé
 frozen-organic.solid-ear-cold.VAI
 'he has frozen ears, has frostbite in his ears'
- (75) azhdéyakwgadébe
 azhdé-akw-gadé-be
 cross-organic.solid-leg-sit.VAI
 'he sits with legs crossed'

In the first case, simply parsing morphemes from left to right leads to a count of four morphemes to fill three component slots. In the other two, there are arguably five morphemes filling the three slots.

Since Bloomfield's time, Algonquianists have argued that initials, medials, and finals made themselves be made up of multiple morphemes of various kinds: initials can have both a root and a post-radical extension; medials can have both pre- and post-medial elements; and finals can have a pre-final. This is summarized in the table below.

Initial		Medial			Final	
Root	Post-radical	Pre-medial	Medial	Post-medial	Pre-final	Final

Table 3. Articulated lexical structure of Algonquian languages (Valentine 2001:333)

As a group, these units smaller than components are called formatives (Macaulay and Salmons 2017). As Goddard demonstrates, a single new component in Algonquian languages can arise from common collocations of two or more components, like an initial and a medial or a medial and a final (1990:461-471). That allows the following possible interpretations of words that appear to have multiple medials:

(76) Different analyses of *mtakwdebé* ‘he is bareheaded’

- a. *-akw* as postradical rather than medial:¹¹ *metakw-deb-é*
- b. *-deb-é* functions as a single unit:¹² *met-akw-debé*
- c. Both of the above: *metakw-debé*

As evidence for the first hypothesis, there is a set of words beginning with *metakw-* that all refer to bare or bald body parts; but *met-* (sometimes in its palatalized variant, *mech-*) also appears alone. As evidence for the second hypothesis, words with body part medials frequently co-occur with final *-é* (Goddard 1990:466-467, 469). There is no simple way to distinguish among these hypotheses.

4.3 Macaulay and Salmons

Goddard’s analysis of Algonquian verb derivation has become the standard view among Algonquianists. In recent work, however, Macaulay and Salmons (2017) have raised questions about the status of morphemes and the relationship between diachrony and synchrony in

¹¹ See Goddard (1990:462-463, esp. exs. 55, 58, 64).

¹² See Goddard (1990:466-467).

Algonquianist work. Ultimately, I follow their conclusions; components are morphemes in Potawatomi, and they come with historical residues and sub-regularities.

Macauley and Salmons show that both components and elements smaller than components are treated as morphemes in Algonquianist work (as I handled them in the previous section). Goddard describes a set of what he calls derived initials, medials, and finals; a component is considered derived when it appears to be straightforwardly connected with an attested verb or noun. The example below is based on Goddard's (1990:453-455).

(77) mshkeke 'medicine'

(78) mshkekiwnene 'doctor'

(79) mshkekwabo 'liquid medicine, medicine tea'

The noun 'medicine' in (77) becomes an initial, a bound form, in examples like (78), where it is followed by a final *-nene* 'man,'¹³ and (79), where it is followed by the final *-abo* 'liquid.'

If this is the case, then Algonquianists are effectively arguing that morphemes can be derived from other morphemes synchronically (Macauley and Salmons 2017:184). Since morphologists usually define a morpheme as the smallest unit of meaning that cannot be broken down further (2017:187-188), this is problematic: if components are made of morphemes, they cannot be morphemes.

To make their case that the process deriving components is diachronic rather than synchronic, Macauley and Salmons focus on a class of derived finals in Menominee that Bloomfield calls deverbal suffixes. Since the process that Macauley and Salmons describe is historical, we expect to find similar patterns in Potawatomi. Syncope and vowel quality changes

¹³ The lengthening of final schwa to /i:/ going from 'medicine' to 'doctor,' and the fact that lengthening fails to apply in 'liquid medicine,' is described also for Ojibwe (Goddard 1990:454).

in Potawatomi make that slightly harder, but some cases are still clear and follow the patterns they describe there. Potawatomi cognates of two of their examples are below (2017:196, 199).

(80) mkezen ‘shoe’ /məkəzən/

(81) -kezen- ‘shoe’ (medial)

(82) min ‘blueberry’ /mi:n/

(83) -men ‘berry, fruit, grain, globular’ (final)

Both of these cases show a weakening of the initial syllable; in the first case, the entire initial syllable /mə/ is lost, and in the second case, weakening from a strong vowel. In the second case, we also see semantic bleaching; while *min* refers to a very specific type of berry, the derived final *-men* is found also in words like *mskwedismen* ‘pinto bean,’ *mnomen* ‘rice, oats,’ and *déwkwémen* ‘puffball mushroom.’ These patterns of semantic bleaching, Macaulay and Salmons argue, are clear evidence of grammaticalization; therefore, the derivation of components happened historically rather than happens synchronically (2017:205-208).

5 List of Components

In this final section, I define, describe, and offer examples of the basic components of words in Potawatomi: initials, medials, and finals.¹⁴ These examples are intended to be representative rather than exhaustive. There are complexities of the kinds noted in the previous sections (involving apparently morphologically complex components due to historical changes and accretions), but I follow Macaulay and Salmons (2017) in treating the components as morphemes for the synchronic grammar.

¹⁴ This is an extension of Lockwood (in press a), where I discussed the components identified by the lexicon Hockett provided in his dissertation (1939).

5.1 *Initials*

Many of the initials (also called *roots*) I present in this section have corresponding preverb forms (a topic which I leave to future research). Though generally initials are considered the most open class, I begin with a discussion of the relative roots, which form a closed set.¹⁵

5.1.1 *Relative*

Relatives (more commonly *relative roots*) are a special class of initial that relate the content of a verb to another argument. The exact nature of the relationship they specify varies:

- (84) eko-, ekew- ‘to such extent, as long as’
Iw ékozet.
‘That’s how tall he is.’ (VAI)
- (85) epit- ‘inasmuch as, while, degree, yet’
pitnegwet
‘it is so heavy’ (VII)
- (86) eN- ‘thus’
nazo
‘it (an.) is a certain color’
- (87) deN- ‘where, while, how’
dzhikazo
‘he/she/it (an.) is in the middle of doing something’ (VAI)
- (88) wed-, wej- ‘why, from’
wjegé
‘it (an.) is leaking out’ (VAI)

The relatives are a closed set, and as I discuss in chapter 6, they can license oblique arguments of various kinds: location, origin, reason, manner, and degree/scale/gradation.

5.1.2 *Direction, location, physical orientation*

An important function of initials is to locate referents in space or to specify the source or direction of motion. Initials of this class also occur frequently in non-inflecting particles.

¹⁵ The categories here loosely align with Valentine’s (2001:420-423) ‘notional groupings’ in order to facilitate cross-comparison.

- (89) jig- ‘next to, nearby’
jigakwa
‘at the edge of the woods’ (PART)
- (90) bem- ‘along’
nbemwedon
‘I take it along’ (VTI)
- (91) byéd- ‘come, toward, arriving’
byédasen
‘it blows this way’ (VII)
- (92) bid- ‘come toward, arriving’
nbidapkowébna
‘I put it (an.) in the oven’ (VTA)
- (93) nam- ‘under’
namsek
‘under the floor, in the basement’ (PART)
- (94) enem- ‘away’
nemashe
‘it (an.) leaves soaring’ (VAI)
- (95) begem- ‘in this direction, toward here’
bgembi
‘s/he arrives drunk’ (VAI)
- (96) dekem- ‘across’
dkemashe
‘s/he sails across (the water)’ (VAI)
- (97) nis- ‘down’
nisazi
‘s/he climbs down’ (VAI)
- (98) zag- ‘emerge, protrude, become visible’
zagagwnéshen
‘s/he sticks out of the snow’ (VAI)
- (99) zhab- ‘through’
zhabwi
‘s/he survives (goes through)’ (VAI)

- (100) wb-, wmb- ‘upward’
wbjize
‘s/he roasts’ (VAI)
- (101) abod- ‘inside out, flipped’
ndabojgenwégnama
‘I send him/her/it (an.) somersaulting by hitting’ (VTA)
- (102) ank-, anko- ‘together, joined, in a row’
ndankentan
‘I interpret it, translate it’ (VTI)
- (103) atwa- ‘right side up, supine’
atwasen
‘it lies right-side up’ (VII)

5.1.3 Verbal sense

In this class, initials specify actions and events.

- (104) gek- ‘hide’¹⁶
ngekdon¹⁷
‘I hide it (in.)’ (VTI)
- (105) gek- ‘think, decide, know’
ngekéndan
‘I know, recognize, remember it (in.)’ (VTI)
- (106) mek- ‘find’
nmekwa
‘I find, discover it (in.)’ (VTI)
- (107) nedo- ‘try, look for’
ndobyéngé
‘s/he searches through water for things’ (VAI)
- (108) gemod- ‘steal, sneak’
gmode
‘s/he steals it (in.)’ (VAIO)
- (109) nad- ‘go after, fetch’
najgadé
‘it is fetched’ (VII)

¹⁶ Lockwood (in press a) erroneously gives this as *geg-*.

¹⁷ Cf. Meskwaki *kahkito:wa* ‘s/he hides it’

- (110) bashk- ‘burst’
 bashkjedé
 ‘it explodes (by heat)’ (VAI)
- (111) bok- ‘break’
 nbokwnejéshen
 ‘I fall and break a hand/have a broken hand due to falling’ (VAI)
- (112) nege- ‘melt, thaw’
 ngedé
 ‘it melts, thaws’ (VII)
- (113) miw- ‘keep away, reject’
 nmiwwébna
 ‘I push it (an.) aside’ (VTA)
- (114) wéb- ‘begin, inceptive’
 wébakso
 ‘s/he catches fire’ (VAI)
- (115) gad- ‘push’
 ndegajwébna
 ‘I shove, push it (an.)’ (VTA)
- (116) bag- ‘pound’
 nbagdebé’wa
 ‘I club it (an.) on the head’ (VTA)
- (117) agwné- ‘doubt’
 ndagwnéwénma
 ‘I doubt, have no faith in him/her/it (an.)’ (VTA)
- (118) bak- ‘open up’
 bakakwshegen
 ‘can opener’ (NI)

5.1.4 Qualities, manners, states

Initials commonly behave like modifiers, functioning like an adjective or an adverb would in English.

- (119) (be)bashk- ‘bald’
 peshkwdebé
 ‘he is bald-headed’ (VII)

- (120) ziw- ‘sour’
 ziwabo
 ‘juice, cider, lemonade, sour liquid, soda’ (NI)
- (121) déb- ‘sufficient’
 dépsémget
 ‘that is enough’ (VII)
- (122) wab- ‘white’
 wabshkya
 ‘it (in.) is white’ (VII)
- (123) gezh- ‘warm, hot’
 gzhabkezgen
 ‘stove’ (NI)
- (124) nok- ‘soft’
 noka
 ‘it (in.) is soft’ (VII)
- (125) wzam- ‘too much’
 ndozamgwam
 ‘I oversleep’ (VAI)
- (126) bet- ‘accidentally’
 pchegadéshen
 ‘s/he trips (accidentally hits s.t. and falls over)’ (VAI)
- (127) nebye-, nebi- ‘water, wet’
 mbiwigwe
 ‘s/he has a wet face’ (VAI)
- (128) gin- ‘sharp’
 nginbodon
 ‘I sharpen it (in.) by filing’ (VTI)
- (129) gip- ‘chapped’
 gipneji
 ‘His/her hands are chapped’ (VAI)
- (130) mizhad- ‘fancy’¹⁸
 nmizhaj’a
 ‘I decorate him/her/it (an.)’ (VTA)

¹⁸ Cf. Meskwaki *mîshâchihêwa* ‘s/he dresses him up’

- (131) dep-/teb- ‘through an opening’
 ndetpabma
 ‘I peek through at him/her/it (an.)’ (VTA)
- (132) bata- ‘stuck, transgress’¹⁹
 nbatama
 ‘I tell on him/her/it (an.)’ (VTA)
- (133) bit- ‘put on, wear, attach’
 nbitapkeshma
 ‘I hook it (an.) up (with iron, like a chain)’ (VTA)

5.2 Medials

Medials are a relatively closed class. In this chapter, I discuss three of the major classes of medials: classifiers, environmentals, and body parts.

5.2.1 Classifiers

Potawatomi has a series of medials that vary depending on what type of object is being described. These are referred to as classifiers or classificatory medials.

- (134) -ekw-, -akw- ‘wood, sticklike’
 zhoshkakwed
 ‘it (in.) is slippery, smooth’ (VII)
- (135) -abek-, -apek- ‘inorganic solid’
 tkwabkeze
 ‘it (an.) is short’ (VAI)
- (136) -abyé-, -abig-, -abyég- ‘stringlike’
 gnwabyéya
 ‘it is long’ (VAI)
- (137) -(y)ég- ‘sheetlike’
 nokyéget
 ‘it (in.) is soft’ (VII)

¹⁹ This is an admittedly strange gloss, but it is the one in use by the Ojibwe People’s Dictionary for the Ojibwe cognate *baataa-*. The same initial appears in *batashen* ‘he/she/it (an.) is stuck.’ The same pattern is also found in the Meskwaki cognate (*pâhtâmêwa* ‘s/he says hurtful things to him,’ *pâhtâchinwa* ‘s/he is caught or snagged on something and injured’).

- (138) -agem- ‘liquid’
gzhagmedé
‘it (in.) is warm’ (VII)
- (139) -ji- ‘three-dimensional, round’
ndegnegjina
‘I tickle him/her’ (VTA)

5.2.2 Environmentals

Another context for medials involves verbs that describe the conditions of the ground and surrounding environments (Valentine 2001:332, 365).

- (140) -agwné- ‘snow’
nagwnésen
‘snow lies on the ground in a certain way’ (VII)
- (141) -agwneg- ‘snow’
shpagwnegya
‘it is deep snow’ (VII)
- (142) -ekemeg- ‘ground, land, event’
nekmeget
‘it happens’ (VII)

Because the environmental medials appear frequently in combination with a small set of finals, they are sometimes analyzed as prefinals in the more articulated lexical structure (and would therefore not be morphemes under the Macaulay and Salmons approach).

5.2.3 Body part medials

Some of the most common and most productive medials are body part terms. Every body part medial here also occurs with post-medial *é*.

- (143) -jan- ‘nose’
winjané
‘he has a dirty nose’ (VAI)
- (144) -gad- ‘leg’
mbowgadé
‘his leg is numb, paralyzed’ (VAI)

- (145) -nej- ‘hand’
winnejé
‘his hand is dirty’ (VAI)
- (146) -zed- ‘foot’
mishzedé
‘he has hairy feet’ (VAI)
- (147) -déb- ‘head’
mkedéwdebé
‘his head is black’ (VAI)
- (148) -don- ‘mouth’
mskwedonégabo
‘he stands with a red mouth’ (VAI)
- (149) -teweg- ‘ear’
gizhotewgé’wen
‘ earmuffs’ (NI)

5.3 *Finals*

For Ojibwe, Valentine (2001:342 et subseq.) describes finals in great detail. Much of what he wrote is applicable for Potawatomi. In particular, he notes that many finals occur in pairs by verb type. I provide Potawatomi cognates for many of these finals in the sections that follow.

5.3.1 Overview of paired finals

An examination of pairs of derivationally-related words reveals patterns like the following.

- (150) -gwadé ‘sew’
mizhajgwadé
‘it has fancy sewing’ (VII)
- (151) -gwazo, -gwaso ‘sew’
mizhajgwazo
‘it has fancy sewing’ (VAI)
- (152) -gwad ‘sew’
ndenakgwadan
‘I mend, sew it (by hand)’ (VTI)

- (153) -gwan ‘sew’²⁰
 ndenakgwana
 ‘I mend, sew it (an.) (by hand)’ (VTA)

The finals in these words are clearly related, breaking into two parts: first, a shared element *-gwa* (the concrete prefinal, in the articulated lexical model) and then an abstract final that differs according to the verb class. For these verbs, the pattern is summarized below (Valentine 2001:355-356).

- (154) -dé (VII)

- (155) -zo (VAI)

- (156) -d (VTI)²¹

- (157) -n (VTA)

Valentine (2001:355) defines all of these as ‘be Xed’ – i.e., having or displaying whatever quality or condition that is specified elsewhere on the verb.

Following Macaulay and Salmons (2017), these are best viewed as historical phenomena. In the next section, I provide a few examples of these pairs in the Potawatomi lexicon, but I do not attempt such a fine-grained analysis.

5.3.2 Verb finals

In this section, each example provides an overview of a family of derivationally-related verbs.

- (158) -sen (VII), -shen (VAI) ‘fall down, lower, undergo, lie down’
 a. atwasen
 ‘it lies right side up, supine’ (VII)
 b. atwashen
 ‘s/he lies supine’ (VAI)

²⁰ The Ojibwe cognate of this form is *-gwaaN* because of imperative forms like *Giizhigwaazh!* ‘Finish sewing it (an.)!’ but in Potawatomi, the imperatives have regularized: *Nakgwanesh!* ‘Mend it (an.)!’ As such, there is little evidence the language for a palatalizing N TA final.

²¹ Transitive inanimate verbs have a theme sign *-em* (historically **am*) or *-o* following the final.

- (159) -asen ‘blown’ (VII), -ashe ‘blown, moved by wind’ (VAI)
 a. majiyasen
 ‘it (in.) is blown by the wind’ (VII)
 b. dkemashe
 ‘s/he sails across’ (VAI)
- (160) -egena(n)d (VTI), -egenam (VTA) ‘hit’
 a. nbesdétégnandan
 ‘I slap it (in.)’ (VTI)
 b. ndabojgenwégnama
 ‘I send him/her/it (an.) somersaulting by hitting’ (VTA)
- (161) -éndagwed (vii), éndagwze (VAI) ‘seem, be thought of’
 a. kchenéndagwet
 ‘it (in.) is thought of highly’ (VII)
 b. mikwéndagwze
 ‘s/he is thought of, remembered’
- (162) -énd (VTI), -énem (VTA) ‘think’
 a. ndébwéyéndan
 ‘I believe in, have faith in it (in.)’ (VTI)
 b. ndébwéwénma
 ‘I believe in, have faith in him/her/it (an.)’ (VTA)
- (163) -magwet (VII), -magwze (VAI), -myad (VTI), -myam (VTA) ‘smell’
 a. mnomagwet
 ‘it (in.) smells good’ (VII)
 b. mnomagwze
 ‘it (an.) smells good’ (VAI)
 c. nbyéjmyadan
 ‘I smell it (in.)’ (VTI)
 d. nbyéjmyama
 ‘I smell him/her/it (an.)’ (VTA)

- (164) -eshk (VTI), -eshkew (VTA) ‘act on, cause with foot or body’
- a. nmiwashkan
‘I dodge, avoid, go around it (in.)’ (VTI)
 - b. nmiwashkwa
‘I dodge, avoid, go around him/her/it (an.)’ (VTA)
- (165) -enekadé (VII), -enekazo (VAI), -enekad (VTI), -enekan (vta) ‘name’
- a. zhenkadé
‘it is named, called so’ (VII)
 - b. zhenkazo
‘s/he is named, called so’ (VAI)
 - c. ndezhnekadan
‘I call, name it (in.)’ (VTI)
 - d. ndezhnekana
‘I call him/her/it (an.) a name’ (VTA)

Not all finals occur in pairs like these. Some finals are homophonous in both animate and inanimate contexts.

- (166) -wéwé ‘make noise’
bonwéwé
‘s/he/it stops making noise’ (VAI or VII)

Other verbs do not occur in pairs because of semantic restrictions, like the following animate intransitive verb final.

- (167) -shke ‘verb of addiction’
zégzheshke²²
‘s/he is a fraidy cat, is habitually afraid’ (VAI)

The final *-shke* creates animate intransitive verbs describing habitual, “socially dispreferred” actions or behaviors (Valentine 2001:415) out of other animate intransitive verb stems.

Inanimate entities (arguably) do not engage in socially dispreferred activities, and so this verb

²² From *zégze* ‘s/he is scared’ with sibilant harmony. The final *-shke* is a secondary final, creating new verbs from already complete stems. I do not discuss primary/secondary derivation in this work, leaving it for future research.

can only ever apply to animates. The next verb final describes the action of wind; like nearly all verbs describing the weather, it forms impersonal, inanimate intransitive verbs.

- (168) -anmet ‘pertaining to wind’
 wdanmet
 ‘it (wind) blows from a certain place’ (VII)

5.3.3 Noun finals

There are two important subclasses of noun finals to show here. First, some noun finals are concrete, and contribute lexical meaning.

- (169) -weyan ‘skin, hide’
 wabozowyan
 ‘rabbitskin, blanket’ (NI)²³
- (170) -abo ‘liquid’
 gonabo
 ‘meltwater from snow’ (NI)
- (171) -wegemekw ‘house, building’
 tadiwgemek
 ‘casino’ (NI)
- (172) -egawesh ‘plant, bush’
 mskwemnegawesh
 ‘raspberry bush’ (NA)

There are also abstract noun finals that have grammatical functions rather than lexical meanings.

- (173) -wen ‘nominalizer’
 dopwen
 ‘table’ (NI)
- (174) -egen ‘instrument’
 dbe'gen
 ‘hour, yard, mile, measuring instrument’ (NI)

Generally, nouns derived from verbs are inanimate – but some are animate, especially when they refer to humans (but also in examples that are harder to motivate, see section 2).

²³ Nouns ending in this final can be either animate or inanimate. The conditioning of this variation is not always clear.

Chapter 4: Noun Inflection

1 Introduction

In this chapter, I cover noun inflection. Hockett's analysis of nouns in Potawatomi form the foundation of my analysis, even though it (and some of the data from modern Potawatomi) departs from his in important ways. Hockett divides nouns in Potawatomi into nine classes. An overview of his analysis is given in the table below):¹

Class	Brief Description
1	<i>ke</i> class
2	'blood', 'dust', 'bullet'
3	strong vowel final
4	elided /y/ final
5	consonant final
6	elided strong /ɛ:/ <é>
7	elided /wɛ:/ <wé>
8	postconsonantal /wɛ:/ <wé>
9	weak /o/ final

Table 1. Overview of Hockett's model of nouns.

Class 1 is just the noun *ke* 'earth, land' and all words that end in *-ke* as a final. I treat these irregular forms in more detail in section 3. Hockett's class 2 is another class of exceptions, consisting of just the three words given in the description. Classes 6 through 8 rely on a morphophoneme /E/, a strong /ɛ:/ <é> that is elided in certain positions. Hockett's sole use of this morphophoneme is to cover inflectional variants where an otherwise unpredictable strong /é/ appears. Class 9 noun stems show /o/ in their inflections. I discuss these and other irregular, exceptional, and fringe cases in section 3.

Sandwiched between exceptions, Hockett's classes 3 through 5 are far more regular. Classes 3 and 4 both consist of stems that end in a strong vowel; the difference between the two is that class 4 stems have underlying /y/ word-finally that is only evident when followed by a

¹ Class numbers correspond to the original work; descriptions mine, modifying course materials from Macaulay.

suffix. Hockett argued that a subset of nouns appear to belong to both classes, referring to these as [3-4] pleomorphs.² I argue in section 2 that in modern Potawatomi, the overlap in classes 3 and 4 is so complete that separating them out as distinct categories is no longer useful. Class 5 includes all stems that end in a consonant and is the most regular (though some stems that end in a consonant fall into one of the classes discussed in section 3).

2 Stem Types

In modern spoken Potawatomi, singular nouns can end in a long vowel, a short vowel, or a consonant. As discussed in chapter 3, suffixes mark plural, locative, obviative, diminutive, pejorative categories, and possession is indicated with a prefix and (sometimes) a suffix. Many different patterns are attested among numerous exceptions, irregularities, and analogical leveling. In this section, I offer a description of noun stems ending in long vowels and noun stems ending in consonants – these are the most predictable, most regular examples. First, I begin with an overview of the suffixes.

2.1 *Inflectional categories and default forms*

Below is a table of the inflectional variants that will be discussed in the rest of this chapter. This is not at all exhaustive; most nouns are attested with inflection that combines several of these patterns, and there are some omissions that will be discussed further on.

² *Pleomorph* is a term Hockett probably borrowed from biology that has to do with variation in the structure of bacterial monocellular organisms. Hockett uses it to refer to stem variation or what is now sometimes referred to as *overabundance* (I thank Noah Diewald for pointing this out).

No.	Description	Plural	Locative	Obviative	Possessive	Diminutive	Pejorative
1	/C/ final	-ek/-en	-ek	-en	-em	-és	-esh
2	/V:/ final	-k/-n	-k	-n	-m	-s	-yesh
3	/V:/ final y	-yek/-yen	-yek	-yen	-yem	-s	-yesh
4	/w/ stems	-wek/-wen ³	-wek	-wen	-V:m/-m	-V:s ⁴ /-wés	-wesh
5	/o/ stems	-ok/-on	-ok	-on	-om	-os	-oyesh
6	/i:/ stems	-ik/-in	-ik	-in	-im	-is	-ish
7	/yɛ:/ stems	-yék/-yén	-yék	-yén	-yém	-yés	-yesh
8	/a:/ stems	-ék/-én	-ak	-én	None attested	-as	-ash

Table 2. Overview of inflectional patterns in Potawatomi nouns

I begin with consonant final stems, the most regular class, and then finish with a discussion of the two patterns displayed by long-vowel final stems, which are less regular. Section 3 deals with patterns 4 through 8. In section 4, I discuss diminutives and pejoratives.

2.2 Consonant final

Generally, forms ending in a consonant take the inflectional forms given in the table above. Of course, there are exceptions: for example, stems ending in *-k* tend to fall into the class of elided *w* stems described in section 3, stems ending in *-gen* or *-ken* have irregular diminutives as described in section 4, and participles end in consonants but are discussed at the end of this chapter and in chapter 5. The examples that follow, though, are representative.

- (1) wdabyan ‘automobile, car’
- PL: wdabyanek
 - LOC: wdabyanek
 - OBV: wdabyanen
 - POSS: ndodabyan

Note in (1d) that the possessive suffix *-em* does not appear. There is considerable variation with this suffix; words ending in /n/ or /m/ tend not to take it (cf. Valentine 1994: 192-193; 2001: 201-

³ With strong *é* inconsistently in some forms in plural, locative, obviative

⁴ Based on Valentine’s usage of the same symbol, but with the added wrinkle that schwa alternates with long vowels in Potawatomi rather than, e.g., short /i/ alternating with long /i:/.

202) Hockett (1948b:71) notes that “dependent stems appear without [-em]” and with a few exceptions, “all other noun stems appear at least on occasion” with the suffix, while “animate names of people, animals, or spirits, and botanical animates, appear in possessed themes **only** with [-em]” (emphasis mine).

- (2) bezhew ‘bobcat’⁵
- a. PL: bezhewek
 - b. LOC: bezhewek
 - c. OBV: bezhewen
 - d. POSS: nbezhewem / ndebezhewem⁶
- (3) agem ‘snowshoe’
- a. PL: agmek
 - b. LOC: agmek
 - c. OBV: agmen
 - d. POSS: ndagem
- (4) mayos ‘cat’
- a. PL: mayosek
 - b. LOC: mayosek
 - c. OBV: mayosen
 - d. POSS: nmayosem

This pattern is summarized below.

Inflection	Suffixes
PL	-ek -en
LOC	-ek
OBV	-en
POSS	-em

Table 3. Consonant final noun suffixes

⁵ Older sources give this as *bzhew* but JT/BD both prefer *bezhew*.

⁶ This is underlyingly *nbezhewem/ndebezhewem*, but as discussed in chapter 2, speakers of modern Potawatomi prefer a more phonetic spelling. Since schwas in Potawatomi round before /w/, speakers prefer to spell words like this with an /o/.

2.3 Long vowel final

Because glides are deleted word-finally, there are cases where one form of a noun will appear to end in a long vowel, but other forms reveal an underlying consonant. Singular nouns that end in a long vowel follow two basic suffixation patterns. For the first, and presumably older, pattern, inflectional suffixes attach directly to the long vowel, as shown below with examples from fieldwork.

- (5) amo⁷ [a:mo:] ‘bee’
- a. PL: amok /a:mo:-ək/
 - b. LOC: amok /a:mo:-ək/
 - c. OBV: amon /a:mo:-ən/
 - d. POSS: ndamom /nə-d-a:mo:-əm/

This paradigm is what we would expect from a historical perspective (compare Ojibwe *aamoo*, *aamoog* ‘bee, bees’). Potawatomi does not allow vowel-vowel combinations; this problem is solved in two different ways in this paradigm. First, when the underlying form of the plural suffix /-ək/ comes together with a strong vowel-final suffix (here /o:/), the strong vowel remains and the short vowel is deleted. (Alternatively, the default form of the suffix could be simply -k.) The prefix represents another old solution, epenthesizing a /d/ (a pattern that dates back to Proto-Algonquian).

Modern speakers in Forest County, however, attest a slightly different pattern with strong vowel-final noun stems, as below (from the same speakers at the same fieldwork sessions).

- (6) amo ‘bee’
- a. PL: amoyek /a:mo:-y-ək/
 - b. LOC: amoyek /a:mo:-y-ək/
 - c. OBV: amoyen /a:mo:-y-ən/
 - d. POSS: nde’amoyem /nədəʔ-a:mo:-əm/

⁷ In chapter 2, I argued that the WNALP orthography (and Hockett’s analysis, which it is based on) underspecifies phonemic vowel length for the rounded vowels, frequently marking as <w> what is better seen as short /o/. Where clarity is at stake, I offer phonemic or phonetic transcriptions in slashes /.../ or brackets [...], respectively.

Here, two more solutions to the problem of vowel-vowel combinations arise. First and most notably, every inflected form appears with an epenthetic /y/. Were it not for the other attested paradigm and the comparative evidence, it could be argued to be part of the stem. Second, note the presence of an innovated “long form” of the person prefix in the possessed form, with a glottal stop separating the two vowels. This particular variant of the person prefix with the glottal stop is relatively uncommon, appearing 24 times in our corpus across both nouns and verbs.

When clarity is at issue, I refer to examples like (7) as the *y*-epenthesized variants, although they appear to be the default for modern speakers (and some stems probably have underlying /y/ stem-finally). Not all examples that I discuss in the sections that follow are as neat as ‘bee,’ which has two perfectly parallel paradigms. More frequently, the data that follows will show mixtures of two solutions to the same inflectional problem. So, for example, while some nouns in the class of long vowel final stems are only attested with *y*-epenthesized inflection, and other nouns are only attested without /y/, there are many examples where we see mixtures of the two systems.⁸ This can vary by speaker (i.e. one speaker uses one set of inflections and a different speaker uses another set of inflections), so typical examples will look like the following:⁹

- (7) Anma ‘German person’
- a. PL: anmayek (BD/JT)
 - b. LOC: ---
 - c. OBV: anmayen (BD) / anmayin (JT)
 - d. POSS: ndanmam (JT)

⁸ Hockett called these “[3-4] pleomorphs,” i.e. forms which belonged to both his class 3 (strong vowel final) and class 4 (stem-final *y* that only surfaces upon inflection). See footnote 1.

⁹ When two forms are separated by a slash, the *y*-epenthesized variant will always be to the right. When different forms are attested by different speakers, their initials are given in parentheses. When multiple speakers are listed in parentheses separated by a slash, all listed speakers attest a given form. All forms without initials come from the dictionary database with limited biographical information associated with the entry.

Complex paradigms like this will be present throughout the rest of this chapter, with speaker names given whenever possible – though note that the speakers themselves are not always consistent. In the example above, both JT and BD attest the *y*-epenthesized plural. With the current corpus data, a locative form of *Anma* ‘German person’ is unattested; we should otherwise expect the locative to be homophonous with the plural (though there are a few exceptions to this). Since Ojibwe attests *aanmaa*, *aanmaag* ‘German, Germans,’ forms with /y/ (plural and obviative) are probably innovative and forms without /y/ (like the possessive) are probably original.

As noted, some forms, like (8) below, are only attested without /y/ (corresponding to Hockett’s class 3).

- (8) ogawa ‘walleye’ (variant of *wgaw*)¹⁰
 a. PL: ogawak

Above, I stated that /y/ epenthesis is becoming the default inflectional pattern for long vowel final stems. Key examples like (11) provide evidence for that claim.

- (9) kwé ‘woman, lady’
 a. PL: kwék / kwéwek¹¹

- (10) anmakwé ‘German lady, German ladies’
 a. PL: anmakwéyek

The form *kwé* ‘woman’ is underlyingly /əkwe:/ for some speakers and /əkwe:w/ for others – in compounds, the plural regularizes to the /y/-epenthesized variant.¹² In other cases like (11), even when there is variation in the rest of the stem, there is uniform agreement on the /y/ in the suffix.

¹⁰ Welcher first recorded *wgew* ‘walleye, pike,’ but her emended notes give *wgaw* and state that *wgew* is incorrect. In 2012, speakers rejected both *wgaw* and *wgew*, preferring *ogawa* (cf. Meskwaki *okāwa*) – but in fieldwork in February 2016, BD said that *ogawa* sounded like Ojibwe and preferred *wgaw*, *wgawek*. Ojibwe has *ogaa*.

¹¹ Both are attested, but *kwék* is probably older and *kwéwek* is probably Ojibwe influenced.

¹² The possessed form of *kwé* is an innovated way to say ‘wife,’ and it also shows /y/ epenthesis: *ndekwéyom* ‘my wife.’

- (11) wigesi ‘dust’
 a. PL: wéygesiyen / wigesiyen

The following examples show complete paradigms for stems ending in long vowels; most follow the y-epenthesis pattern:

- (12) gédgya ‘spotted horse, bay horse’
 a. PL: gédgyayek
 b. LOC: gédgyayek
 c. OBV: gédgyayen
 d. POSS: ngédgyayem / ndegédgyayem

- (13) zhonya ‘money’
 a. PL: zhonyayen
 b. LOC: zhonyayek
 c. POSS: nzhonyam

- (14) bébisya ‘larger bead, pony bead’
 a. PL: bébisayek
 b. LOC: bébisayek
 c. OBV: bébisayen
 d. POSS: nbébisayem

- (15) ti ‘tea’
 a. PL: n/a (mass noun)
 b. LOC: tiyek
 c. POSS: ndetiyem

- (16) zindi ‘pail, bucket with slanted sides’
 a. PL: zindiyek
 b. LOC: zindiyek
 c. POSS: nzindiyem

- (17) mozo ‘moose’
 a. PL: mozok / mozoyek
 b. LOC: mozok
 c. POSS: nmozom

In (19) we see forms both with and without /y/¹³.

¹³ In this case, forms without epenthesized /y/ come from Welcher’s fieldnotes, but the speaker was not identified in the notes I have access to. Forms with epenthesized /y/ come from JT and BD, who also prefer a spelling which leaves an unsyncopated first syllable (i.e. <bene> instead of expected <bne>)

- (18) bené ‘turkey’
- a. PL: bnék / benéyek
 - b. LOC: bnék / benéyek
 - c. OBV: -- / benéyen
 - d. POSS: nbeném / ndebnéyem

Finally, I have one example of a case where the locative takes an epenthetic /y/ but the plural does not.

- (19) bmedé ‘oil, grease, lard, gas’
- a. PL: bmedén
 - b. LOC: bmedéyek
 - c. POSS: nbemdé

In every other recorded case I have seen, the locative follows the marking of the plural. This is the only counterexample.

To summarize, the two patterns for long vowel final stems are given in the table below.

Individual forms may be attested in one, the other, or a mixture of both patterns.

Category	/V:/ final bare	/V:/ final y-epenthesizing
PL	-k / -n	-yek / -yen
LOC	-k	-yek
OBV	-n	-yen
POSS	(-m)	(-yem)

Table 4. Long vowel final noun suffixes.

In the next section, I examine the classes that are less regular.

3 Irregular and Exceptional Inflections

The summary table in section 2.1 is only a guide to the considerable variation apparent in both the modern records and the older documentation. In this section, I depart from the relatively regular consonant-final and long-vowel final stems to discuss stems that show inserted glides and long vowels.

3.1 Elided *w* and rounded variants

A significant group of words all take either /w/ or a rounded vowel in at least some subset of their inflections. I begin with examples that are regularly attested with -w or a rounded vowel.

Overall, there are the following suffixes in this section (occasionally with strong *é* instead of schwa)

Inflection	/w/ stems	/o/ stems
PL	-wek/-wen	-ok/-on
LOC	-wek	-ok
OBV	-wen	-on
POSS	-V:m	-V:m

Table 5. /w/ and rounded vowel variants.

A few canonical examples in this category include (21) *man*, with singular ending in a short vowel, and (22) *woman*, with singular ending in a long vowel. In both of these cases, a /w/ can be argued to be present word-finally at an underlying level of representation or historically (cf. Valentine 2001 chapter 6), though for some speakers, (22) *woman* is analyzed as a long-vowel final stem.

- (20) nene ‘man’
- a. PL: nenwek
 - b. LOC: nenwek
 - c. OBV: nenwen
 - d. POSS: ndennim

- (21) kwé ‘woman’
- a. PL: kwék / kwéwek¹⁴
 - b. LOC: kwék / kwéwek
 - c. OBV: kwén / kwéwen
 - d. POSS: ndekwém¹⁵

¹⁴ BD prefers only forms with intervocalic /w/ for this word; JT accepts both forms with and without /w/.

¹⁵ Also attested is *ndekwéyom* ‘my wife.’

- (22) bzheke ‘cow’
 a. PL: bzhekwek
 b. LOC: bzhekwek
 c. OBV: ----¹⁶
 d. POSS: nbezkhim / nde-bzhekim

Somewhat more commonly, there are nouns which show rounded vowels upon inflection; these represent a coalescence of a stem-final /w/ plus schwa to long /o:/. In that sense, they could be considered fairly regular (since that is a well-established phonological process in Algonquian languages generally and Potawatomi specifically) but because the stem-final glide is not pronounced, they are listed here with the exceptions and irregulars. Note that many of these examples end in /k/ or /g/.

- (23) bbek ‘flea’¹⁷ (JT)
 a. PL: bbegok /bəbəgw-ək/
 b. LOC: bbegok /bəbəgw-ək/
 c. OBV: bbegon /bəbəgw-ən/
 d. POSS: ----

- (24) gizes ‘sun, moon, month’
 a. PL: gizsok¹⁸
 b. LOC: gizsok
 c. OBV: gizson
 d. POSS: ----¹⁹

- (25) jejak ‘crane’ (JT)
 a. PL: jejakok / jejakoyek
 b. LOC: jejakok / jejakoyek
 c. OBV: jejakon / jejakoyen
 d. POSS: ndejejakom²⁰

¹⁶ This is likely *bzhekwen*, but it is not attested.

¹⁷ This word is sometimes attested with /p/ instead of /bb/. Though [p] is the normal phonetic realization of /bb/, it can optionally be pronounced [bəbə].

¹⁸ There are various pronunciations of the [zs] cluster here. There can be fortis assimilation, resulting in a pronunciation as long [s], or the [z] and [s] can be the coda and onset of their respective syllables and fully pronounced.

¹⁹ None attested.

²⁰ It is often not considered appropriate to use the possessive form on nouns for wild animals; this is probably a nonce form.

- (26) kek ‘kettle’
- a. PL: kekok
 - b. LOC: kekok
 - c. OBV: ----²¹
 - d. POSS: ndekkek
- (27) pkwakwet ‘ball’²²
- a. PL: bkwakwedon / pkwakwdon
 - b. LOC: bkwakwedok
 - c. POSS: nbekwakwedom
- (28) miziwigemek ‘bathroom, outhouse’
- a. PL: miziwigemgon (JT)
 - b. LOC: miziwigemgok
 - c. POSS: nmiziwigemek

These examples generally fall into what Hockett gave as his Class 9.

Occasionally to these, *é* is added in the plural; occasionally, forms with both *é* and strong *o* are attested. The conditioning for this is not clear to me.

- (29) pegoyangemek²³ ‘tent’
- a. PL: pegoyangemgwén (BD/JT) / bbegoyangemgon / bgoyangemgon
 - b. LOC: pegoyangemgok
 - c. POSS: ndepgoyangemek

Note that speakers report different plurals for (29) and (30) though they both are built on the same noun final. Examples (31) and (32) presents cases where speakers report conflicting patterns.

²¹ This is not attested in the lexical database or corpus of stories, but I thank Dave Costa for pointing out that Welcher’s documentation gives *kekoyen*, fitting with the other examples in the section.

²² Modern speakers tend to prefer /p/ here, reflecting assimilation to the following /k/; older sources (Welcher and prior) give this with /b/ (cf. Ojibwe cognate *bikwaakwaad*).

²³ In the database, this appears with /bb-/ initially; modern speakers prefer /p/. (Hockett reported that two identical lenis consonants always become a fortis when they come together as a result of syncope, but this is not always the case with modern speakers; see footnote 60).

- (30) mtek ‘tree’
 a. PL: mtegwék (BD) / mtegor (JT)
 b. LOC: mtegor
 c. OBV: mtegwén (JT) / mtegon (BD/JT)
 d. POSS: nmetgom
- (31) azhbek ‘mountain, cliff, bluff’²⁴
 a. PL: azhbekok (BD) / azhbekwén²⁵ / azhbekon (JT)
 b. LOC: azhbekok²⁶
 c. OBV: ----
 d. POSS: nde’azhbekom²⁷
- (32) bagwzhanatek ‘lacrosse stick’
 a. PL: bagzhanatgwén / bagwzhanatekon / bagzhenatkwén / bagzhanatkon
 b. LOC: bagzhanatgor
 c. OBV: none attested
 d. POSS: nbagzhanatgom
- (33) bakwansek ‘sumac bush’ (JT)
 a. PL: bakwansegwék
 b. LOC: bakwansegok
 c. OBV: bakwansegon
 d. POSS: nbakwansegom

3.2 Long *i* and *y* variants

Many consonant final stems take long /i:/ or /y/ in inflected forms. An overview of these patterns is given below.

Inflection	/i:/ stems	/yɛ:/ stems
PL	-ik/-in	-yéik/-yén
LOC	-ik	-yéik
OBV	-in	-yén
POSS	-im	-yéim

Table 6. Long /i:/ and /y/ patterns.

²⁴ BD rejects the gloss of ‘mountain.’

²⁵ JT notes that this is something Kansas speakers would say.

²⁶ An expected locative *azhbekwén* is not attested, and current speakers prefer an *o* in the plural.

²⁷ Geographic, geological, and hydrological features are not possessable by humans; this form is something only *Mamagosnan* ‘the Creator’ could say.

I begin with the long /i:/ forms, but note that some of these are also attested with /y/, as in example (35) ‘elm.’

- (34) wnip / enip ‘elm’²⁸
- a. PL: wnibik (BD)²⁹ / wnibyék
 - b. LOC: wnibik (BD)
 - c. OBV: wnibin
 - d. POSS: ndonibim
- (35) zibe ‘river’
- a. PL: zibewen / zibiwén (JT/BD) / zibiyén³⁰
 - b. LOC: zibik
 - c. POSS: nzibim³¹
- (36) mkom ‘ice’
- a. PL: (mass noun)³²
 - b. LOC: mkomik
 - c. OBV: mkomin (JT)
 - d. POSS: nmekom
- (37) mowech ‘feces, droppings’
- a. PL: mowjén
 - b. LOC: mowjik
 - c. POSS: nmowech / ndemowjem

3.2.1 Elided yé

A small set of words are noteworthy for taking *yék* or *yén* in the plural, though modern speakers have shifted away from this pattern in some parts of the paradigm, favoring the long /i:/ like the other elided-y nouns described above. A complete listing from our database is given below.

²⁸ In these instances, the variant with schwa is probably influenced by Ojibwe *aniib*.

²⁹ JT prefers *enibgok* for the plural and the locative of ‘elm.’

³⁰ Welcher originally gave *zibin* as the plural for ‘river.’ In later corrections to her notes, she emended this to *zibiwén*, *zibiyén* and noted that *zibin* was rejected. Dave Costa points out that these irregular plurals are probably at least in part influenced by *zibiwé* ‘stream’ (cf. Ottawa *ziibiiwenh*).

³¹ See footnote 27.

³² Potawatomi speakers must use the diminutive to pluralize this: *mkomisek* ‘ice cubes, hail stones.’

- (38) dkep ‘spring (water source)’³³
- a. PL: dkebyén / tkebin (JT) / dkebwén (BD)
 - b. LOC: dkebik
 - c. POSS: ndekep³⁴

Older sources placed the following example in this class, but modern speakers no longer reflect that.

- (39) gon ‘snow’
- a. PL: mass noun³⁵
 - b. LOC: gonik
 - c. OBV: gonin
 - d. POSS: ngonim³⁶
- (40) pen ‘potato’
- a. PL: penyék (JT/BD) / penik (JT)
 - b. LOC: penyék (JT/BD) / penik (JT)
 - c. OBV: penyén (JT/BD)³⁷ / penin (JT)
 - d. POSS: ndopenim
- (41) sep ‘net’
- a. PL: sebyén (JT/BD/MJT) / sebin (JT/BD)³⁸
 - b. LOC: sebyék (BD) / sebik
 - c. POSS: ndesebyém (BD/JT)

³³ BD prefers spellings with <dk>; JT prefers spellings with <tk>. The difference is solely spelling, and both are pronounced the same.

³⁴ See footnote 27.

³⁵ Older speakers attested *gonyék* as the plural form, but modern speakers no longer accept this.

³⁶ See footnote 27.

³⁷ This form is sometimes given as *penyen*, with schwa instead of *é*.

³⁸ Welcher had this form as animate, with *sebyék* for the plural; in 2010 fieldwork, speakers responded with the inanimate plural given in (a).

- (42) sen ‘stone’
- a. PL: senyéék (BD) / senin (JT)³⁹
 - b. LOC: senyéék (BD) / senik (JT)⁴⁰
 - c. OBV: senin (JT)
 - d. POSS: ndesenyém (BD) / ndesnim (JT)
- (43) wip ‘arrow’⁴¹
- a. PL: nwibyén (BD) / ndewibén / ndewiben / nwibén (BD)
 - b. LOC: nwibek (BD)
 - c. POSS: nwip (BD) / ndewip⁴²
- (44) wizep⁴³ ‘spleen or gall bladder’
- a. PL: wizobyén (BD)
- (45) wzhashgop ‘slippery elm’
- a. PL: wzhashgobyék (JT) / wzhashgobik (BD)
 - b. LOC: ---
 - c. OBV: wzhashgobin (JT)
 - d. POSS: ndozhashgobim (JT)

In Ojibwe, cognates for most of these nouns are argued to end in a stem-final /y/ (e.g. ‘potato,’ ‘net,’ ‘stone’) which then coalesces with the vowel of the following suffix to /i:/. In Potawatomi, the forms with *yé* are probably native to Potawatomi, and forms with *i* are probably due to Ojibwe influence. The forms given for (41) ‘potato’ are the closest to archetypical for this category.

³⁹ The word ‘stone’ in many Algonquian languages can be either animate or inanimate, and there is often an accompanying difference in meaning. It is unclear whether or not this is the case in Potawatomi.

⁴⁰ *senik* may be due to Ojibwe influence.

⁴¹ Dave Costa notes that, unlike the other examples here, *wip* ‘arrow’ does not have a Proto-Algonquian *Cy final stem; this example simply has an innovated plural.

⁴² Welcher reported that this form was a dependent noun, and gave *nip* ‘my arrow,’ *nibyén* / *nibén* ‘my arrows.’ These forms were rejected by the modern speakers.

⁴³ This is a rare piece of jargon for an internal organ that none of the modern speakers were thoroughly familiar with. Though <*wizep*, *wizobyén*> ‘gall bladder or spleen’ is given here, I would expect underlying /wi:zoby/ (cf. Ojibwe *wiinzoby-* ‘his gall bladder’), which Welcher’s data and the historical sources point to.

3.3 Nouns ending in *ke* ‘land’

Hockett’s noun class 1 consists only of the inanimate noun *ke* ‘land’ and nouns that take the related noun final *-ke*. In (47) I list every example from the database that ends in *-ke*.

- (46) Words ending in *-ke* ‘land’
- a. gishkake ‘cliff’
 - b. gishkeke ‘swamp’
 - c. jibyeke ‘cemetery, graveyard’
 - d. *ke* ‘land, earth, soil’ list *ke* first
 - e. kwedake ‘hill, uphill’
 - f. migadike ‘battlefield’
 - g. mtegwagke ‘forest’
 - h. pkwake ‘hill’
 - i. wankwake ‘valley, ravine, hollow’
 - j. zheshke ‘dirt, sand’

Full nominal paradigms were elicited for most of these forms, and they all follow the same pattern.

Welcher seems to consider these examples simple exceptions, since this category applies to so few forms; I follow that view. Canonically, these nouns all inflect like *ke* ‘land’

- (47) *ke* ‘land, earth, soil’
- a. PL: *kiwén* / *kiwen*⁴⁴
 - b. LOC: *kik*
 - c. POSS: *ndekim*

Again, the change from [kə] in the singular to [ki:] in the plural, locative, diminutive, and possessive reflects the history of this /ə/ as older *Cyi. To complicate matters, there are exceptions to this class of exceptions; the plural form is sometimes attested with /ə/ instead of strong /ɛ:/, which sounds more like the inanimate intransitive verb final *-kiwen* ‘it is happening’ in words like *nshiwkiwen* ‘all hell breaks loose’ and *wzamkiwen* ‘a lot of things go wrong’ (cf. Ojibwe *akiiwan* ‘it is earth, it is land’). Considering the /w/ does not appear in the paradigm

⁴⁴ Hockett has *kiwén* in the lexicon of his dissertation; Welcher offers *kiwen*.

outside of the plural, it is possible that speakers have shifted to an impersonal, environmental verb form in lieu of the plural.

3.4 *Blood, dust, and bullet*

Hockett's class 2 is another exception class. It is similar to the class discussed above in that it shows the historical reflex of weak *i in word-final position, but without the exceptional plural.

- (49) mskwe 'blood'
- a. PL: n/a (mass noun)
 - b. LOC: mskwik
 - c. POSS: nmeskwim
- (50) begwe 'dust, ashes'
- a. PL: bgwin / (mass noun) (JT)
 - b. LOC: bgwik
 - c. POSS: nbegwim / ndebgwim (BD)
- (51) nwe 'bullet, shot, shell'
- a. PL: nwén (BD) / nwin (JT)
 - b. LOC: nwek (BD) / nwik (JT)
 - c. POSS: ndenwim (BD/JT)

I group these with the elided-y cases discussed in section 3.2, mentioning them separately here only for continuity with Hockett's analysis.

3.5 *Augment or long-a stems*

There is a small set of nouns in Potawatomi that fall under what Valentine (2001:174) calls "Augment Stems" for Ojibwe. This is a problematic term for Potawatomi, because inanimate intransitive verbs are also called *augment stems* when they end in *-meged*, a dummy final, so I call them long-/a:/ stems.⁴⁵ In these nouns, we find a long /a:/ inserted before some inflectional suffixes, generally the locative (cf. Hockett 1948b:73) and pejorative. These are again irregular

⁴⁵ The pleonastic animate intransitive 3rd person suffix *-wak* is also occasionally called an augment.

and highly variable. A representative sample is given below; I return to the pejoratives in section

4.

- (52) nwibet ‘my tooth’
 - a. PL: nwibdén (BD/JT)
 - b. LOC: nwibdak (BD/JT)
- (53) nwinzes ‘my strand of hair’
 - a. PL: nwinzesén (BD/JT)
 - b. LOC: nwinzesak / nwinzesik (BD/JT)
- (54) nmeset ‘belly’
 - a. PL: nmesdén (BD/JT)⁴⁶
 - b. LOC: nmesdak (BD/JT)
- (55) nnech⁴⁷ ‘my hand’
 - a. PL: nnején (BD) / nenenjin⁴⁸ (JT)
 - b. LOC: nnejak (BD/JT) / nnejik (JT)
- (56) nnek ‘my arm’
 - a. PL: nnekén (BD/JT)
 - b. LOC: nnekak (JT) / nnekék (BD)
- (57) nteweg ‘my ear’
 - a. PL: ntewgén (BD/JT)
 - b. LOC: ntewgak (BD/JT)
- (58) nzet ‘my foot’
 - a. PL: nzedén (BD/JT) / nzedén (JT)
 - b. LOC: nzedak (BD/JT) / nzedik (JT)
- (59) shkemot ‘bag’⁴⁹
 - a. PL: shkemden (JT) / shkemdén (BD/JT)
 - b. LOC: shkemdak (BD/JT)
 - c. POSS: ndeshkmot (BD/JT)

⁴⁶ This is given by Welcher but noted as humorous. The modern speakers are fond of humorous words like this, or examples from the corpus like *nizhdiyé* ‘s/he has two butts.’

⁴⁷ This is also attested with the possessive suffix: nnejim / gnejim / wnejim (BD).

⁴⁸ The form with the extra /n/ is a borrowing; compare the Ojibwe *nininjiin* ‘my hands.’

⁴⁹ Compare the Ojibwe form *mashkimod* ‘a bag, a sack.’

Note that all but one of these nouns are dependent (inalienably possessed). However, several of the dependent nouns listed above are also produced by modern Potawatomi speakers without obligatory possessive prefixes. In particular, ‘tooth,’ ‘hair,’ ‘belly,’ ‘hand,’ ‘arm,’ ‘ear,’ and ‘foot’ can all be used as alienable (unpossessed) nouns by modern speakers:

- (60) Liberated dependent nouns
- a. Nwi-bodakwé i meset. ‘I am going to put the stomach in the pot’
 - b. Wzawabek yawen i wibet. ‘That tooth is gold.’
 - c. Ngi-mkan nek. ‘I found an arm.’

Not all speakers have the augment *a* in every possible form; nevertheless, it is robustly attested.

3.5.1 Stems ending in -(g/k)en

Hockett separated out stems ending in *-gen* and *-ken* because of their irregular diminutives and locatives, noting that they otherwise fall in with the consonant-final stems.

- (61) wnagen ‘dish, bowl, plate’
- a. PL: wnagnen
 - b. LOC: wtagnek
 - c. POSS: ndonagen
- (62) ndamken ‘my chin’
- a. PL: ndamknen
 - b. LOC: ndamkenak / ndamkenik / ndamkenek

The locative in (61) follows the standard pattern for consonant-final stems while (62) shows first a long-/a:/ variant, then a long-/i:/ variant, and finally the standard consonant-final stem pattern.

As we saw above, long-/a:/ variants are not limited to forms ending in *-gen/-ken*; consider *dopwen* ‘table’ alongside *dopwas* ‘little table.’

3.6 Participles

Participles are derived from verbs but function like nouns. They generally show initial change (described in chapter 2, section 4.5) – I discuss them also in chapter 5, but give a few examples here.

Participles cannot take locative, diminutive, or possessive suffixes. Animate intransitive participles end in *t* which becomes *-jek* in the plural and *-jen* in the obviative. Inanimate intransitive participles end in *k* which becomes *-gen* in the plural.

- (63) giwsé ‘s/he hunts’
 a. PART: gawsat / gawsét ‘hunter’
 b. PL: gawsajek (BD) / gawséjek (JT)
 c. OBV: gawséjen (BD/JT)
- (64) gtegadé ‘it (in.) is planted’
 a. PART: gétgadék ‘plant’ (from *gtegadé* ‘it is planted’)
 b. PL: gétgadégen

I discuss the participles more in chapter 5.

4 Diminutives and Pejoratives

The diminutives and pejoratives described in chapter 3 are arguably derivational rather than inflectional, though they follow the same sort of patterns that the true inflectional endings do. An overview is presented in the table below.

No.	Description	Diminutive	Pejorative
1	/C/ final	-és	-esh
2	/V:/ final	-s	-yesh
3	/V:/ final y	-s	-yesh
4	/w/ stems	-V:s/-wés	-wesh
5	/o/ stems	-os	-oyesh
6	/i:/ stems	-is	-ish
7	/yɛ:/ stems	-yés	-yesh
8	/a:/ stems	-as	-ash

Table 7. Diminutive and pejorative patterns

As discussed in Chapter 3, section 3.1, the pejorative can be potentially offensive, sensitive, or even sacrilegious, so some of the pejorative forms provided here would not be used by a native speaker. When examples like this arise, I indicate their sensitivity in a footnote.

4.1 Consonant final

The diminutives and pejoratives of consonant-final verb stems are summarized below.

Inflection	Suffixes
DIM	-és
PEJ	-esh

Table 8. Consonant final noun suffixes

- (64) wdabyan ‘automobile, car’
 a. DIM: wdabyanés
 b. PEJ: wdabyanesh

- (65) bezhew ‘bobcat’
 a. DIM: bezhewés
 b. PEJ: bezhewesh

- (66) agem ‘snowshoe’
 a. DIM: agmés
 b. PEJ: agmesh

- (67) mayos ‘cat’
 a. DIM: mayosés
 b. PEJ: mayosesh / mayoshesh

As seen in ‘cat,’ the pejorative triggers sibilant harmony (somewhat inconsistently). Otherwise, these are all regular.

4.2 Long vowel final

In section 2.3, we saw that nouns ending in long vowels show two different patterns, with and without an epenthetic /y/. In either class, the diminutive never takes an epenthetic /y/ and the pejorative always does. This is summarized below.

Category	/V:/ final
DIM	-s
PEJ	yesh

Table 9. Long vowel final suffixes

- (68) amo ‘bee’
 a. DIM: amos
 b. PEJ: amoyesh

- (69) Anma ‘German person’
 a. DIM: anmas (BD) / anmés (JT)
 b. PEJ: ---

- (70) gédgya ‘spotted horse, bay horse’
 a. DIM: gédgyas
 b. PEJ: gédgyayesh
- (71) zhonya ‘money’
 a. DIM: zhonyas
 b. PEJ: zhonyayesh
- (72) bené ‘turkey’
 a. DIM: bnés / benés
 b. PEJ: bnéyesh / benéyesh
- (73) bmedé ‘oil, grease, lard, gas’
 a. DIM: bmedés
 b. PEJ: bmedéyesh
- (74) ti ‘tea’
 a. DIM: tis (JT)
 b. PEJ: tiyesh (JT)
- (75) zindi ‘pail, bucket with slanted sides’
 a. DIM: zindis
 b. PEJ: zindiyesh
- (76) mozo ‘moose’
 a. DIM: mozos
 b. PEJ: mozoyesh

The pejorative of ‘pony bead’ shows an older-style pejorative without /y/-epenthesis; this is the only counterexample I have found to the generalization above.

- (77) bébisya ‘larger bead, pony bead’
 a. DIM: bébisyas (BD)⁵⁰
 b. PEJ: bébisyash / bébisayesh

4.3 *Elided w and rounded variants*

Diminutives and pejoratives of the rounded variants are summarized below; these are quite irregular.

⁵⁰ JT evaluated this form as oxymoronic, and so semantically unacceptable, but grammatically correct.

Inflection	/w/ stems	/o/ stems
DIM	-V:m	-V:s
PEJ	-wesh	-osh/-oyesh

Table 10. /w/ and rounded vowel variants.

Examples follow.

- (78) nene ‘man’
 a. DIM: nenis
 b. PEJ: nenwesh
- (79) kwé ‘woman’
 a. DIM: kwés / kwéwés (BD)
 b. PEJ: kwéyesh / kwéwesh
- (80) bzheke ‘cow’
 a. DIM: bzhekis
 b. PEJ: bzhekesh
- (81) bbek ‘flea’ (JT)
 a. DIM: bbegos
 b. PEJ: bbegoyesh
- (82) jejak ‘crane’ (JT)
 a. DIM: jejakos
 b. PEJ: jejakosh / jejakoyesh
- (83) kek ‘kettle’
 a. DIM: kekos
 b. PEJ: kekoyesh / kekesh
- (84) pkwakwet ‘ball’
 a. DIM: bkwakwedos
 b. PEJ: bkwakwedosh
- (85) miziwigemek ‘bathroom, outhouse’
 a. DIM: miziwigemgos
 b. PEJ: miziwigemgwesh
- (86) pegoyangemek ‘tent’
 a. DIM: pegoyangemgos
 b. PEJ: pegoyangemgwesh

- (87) mtek ‘tree’
 a. DIM: mtegos
 b. PEJ: mtegwesh
- (88) bagwzhanatek ‘lacrosse stick’
 a. DIM: bagzhanatgos
 b. PEJ: bagzhanatgoyesh
- (89) bakwansek ‘sumac bush’ (JT)
 a. DIM: bakwansegos
 b. PEJ: bakwansegwesh

Speakers today consider the pejorative (and the possessive) form of some words, like the next example, inappropriate to say; it is given here only for reference.

- (90) gizes ‘sun, moon, month’
 a. DIM: gizsos
 b. PEJ: gizsoyesh / gizswesh

As with all natural formations and water sources, pejoratives of ‘cliff’ are considered inappropriate or blasphemous.

- (91) azhbek ‘mountain, cliff, bluff’
 a. DIM: azhbekos
 b. PEJ: ----

4.4 Long i, y, yé variants

Diminutives and pejoratives in these classes are summarized below.

Inflection	i stems	y stems	yé stems
DIM	-is	-is	-yés
PEJ	-ish	-yesh	-yésh

Table 11. Long /i:/ and /y/ patterns.

Many of the following examples are not appropriate to say; they are listed for reference.

- (92) wnip / enip ‘elm’
 a. DIM: wnibis / enibisés (JT)
 b. PEJ: wnibish / wnibiyesh (BD)⁵¹

⁵¹ Some speakers do not accept pejoratives of this term, but other speakers do.

- (93) zibe ‘river’
 a. DIM: zibis
 b. PEJ: zibesh⁵²
- (94) mkom ‘ice’
 a. DIM: mkomis
 b. PEJ: mkomesh⁵³
- (95) mowech ‘feces, droppings’
 a. DIM: mowjis
 b. PEJ: mowjish
- (96) dkep ‘spring (water source)’
 a. DIM: dkebis
 b. PEJ: dkebyesh⁵⁴
- (97) gon ‘snow’
 a. DIM: gonés
 b. PEJ: gonesh⁵⁵
- (98) pen ‘potato’
 a. DIM: penyés (BD) / pénis (JT)⁵⁶
 b. PEJ: penyesh (BD) / penesh (JT)
- (99) sep ‘net’
 a. DIM: sebyés (BD) / sebis
 b. PEJ: sebyesh (BD)
- (100) sen ‘stone’
 a. DIM: senis (BD)
 b. PEJ: senesh⁵⁷
- (101) wip ‘arrow’
 a. DIM: nwibés (BD)
 b. PEJ: nwibesh (BD)

⁵² Modern speakers do not accept pejoratives of this term.

⁵³ Rejected; sacrilegious.

⁵⁴ Rejected; sacrilegious.

⁵⁵ Rejected; sacrilegious.

⁵⁶ I have two potential explanations for the strong vowel in the initial syllable of this form. First, this is possibly an example of taboo avoidance with the otherwise homographic English word for the male sexual organ; consider JT’s diminutive plural *penisek*. Second, the strong <é> could be original.

⁵⁷ Some speakers reject the pejorative of this form as sacrilegious; others accept it.

- (102) wzhashgop ‘slippery elm’
 a. DIM: wzhashgobis (JT/BD)
 b. PEJ: ---

4.5 *Land, blood, dust, bullet, and long-a stems*

The diminutives of the various exception classes are given in the examples below. Some of the diminutive and pejoratives offered by speakers in this section are possibly nonce words, coined on the spot in elicitation.

- (103) ke ‘land, earth, soil’
 a. DIM: kis / kiwés
 b. PEJ: keyesh
- (105) mskwe ‘blood’
 a. DIM: mskwis
 b. PEJ: mskwiwesh (BD) / mskwesh (JT)
- (106) nwe ‘bullet, shot, shell’
 a. DIM: nwis (BD/JT)
 b. PEJ: nwéwesh (BD) / nwesh (JT)
- (107) ndep ‘my head’
 a. DIM: ndebés (BD) / ndebis (JT)
 b. PEJ: ndebash / ndebesh / ndebyesh (BD) / ndebizhesh (JT)
- (108) nwibet ‘my tooth’
 a. DIM: nwibdés (BD/JT)
 b. PEJ: nwibdash (BD) / nwibdayesh (BD)
- (109) nwinzes ‘my strand of hair’
 a. DIM: nwinzesés (BD/JT)
 b. PEJ: nwinzeshash / nwinzesesh / nwinzesewesh (BD/JT)
- (110) njit ‘my anus’
 a. DIM: njidis (BD/JT)
 b. PEJ: njidash / njidesh / njidiwesh (BD) / njidizhesh (JT)
- (111) nmeset ‘belly’
 a. DIM: nmesdés (BD/JT)
 b. PEJ: nmesdash (BD) / nmesdéwesh (JT)

- (112) nnech ‘my hand’
 a. DIM: nnejés (BD/JT)
 b. PEJ: nnejash (BD/JT) / nnejawesh (BD)
- (113) nnek ‘my arm’
 a. DIM: nnekés (BD/JT)
 b. PEJ: nnekash / nnekawesh (BD) / nnekazhesh (JT)
- (114) nteweg ‘my ear’
 a. DIM: ntewgas (BD/JT)
 b. PEJ: ntewgawesh (BD) / ntewegash (JT)
- (115) nzet ‘my foot’
 a. DIM: nzedis (BD) / nzedés (JT)
 b. PEJ: nzedash (BD)
- (116) shkemot ‘bag’
 a. DIM: shkemdés (BD/JT)
 b. PEJ: shkemdash / shkemdawesh (BD) / shkemdézhesh (JT)
- (117) ndamken ‘my chin’
 a. DIM: ndamkas / ndamkenés
 b. PEJ: ndamkenesh
- (118) wnagen ‘dish, bowl, plate’
 a. DIM: wnagas
 b. PEJ: wnagnesh

Chapter 5: Verb Inflection

1 Overview

In this chapter, I provide an overview of the verbal paradigms of Potawatomi. Like in other Algonquian languages, Potawatomi verbal inflection is complex. The rest of this section provides an overview of the major categories and sets of verbal inflection. In the remaining sections, I provide verbal paradigms for II, AI, TI, and TA verbs, respectively.

1.1 Modes and orders

Potawatomi verbs are traditionally divided into three inflectional *orders*: imperative, independent, and conjunct. The imperative is the simplest, consisting of only suffixes, and is used to give commands. In modern Potawatomi, however, note that while imperatives are still used, it is also common to use indicative inflections and the modal preverb *da-* to give polite commands, like the next example.

- (1) Náyap gda-byénak.
 ‘Bring my cats back.’
 MJT 2016-01-14-02 130-132

The speaker’s translation is given in (1); a more literal translation is ‘You can/should/ought to bring them (my cats) back.’

The independent is typically used in main clauses, while the conjunct is typically used in subordinate clauses and questions. However, there are cases of apparent “insubordination,” a phenomenon characterized by the use of subordinate clause patterns in main clauses, so some sentences have no independent verbs, (Welcher 2003:1, 7 *et subseq.* I discuss sentences in chapter 6.) Morphologically, the most important difference between independent and conjunct is that verbs in the independent order take a combination of prefixes and suffixes, while verbs in the conjunct order take only suffixes. In (2), the verb is inflected in the independent order

because it is a main clause. In (3), the same verb *no(n)dagé*¹ ‘hear things’ is again in the independent, because yes/no questions do not trigger conjunct. However, the relative clause *wa-zhewébek* ‘what/that is going to happen’ is in the conjunct order.

- (2) Nde-zhe-nondagé.
 1-thus-hear.things.VAI
 ‘That’s what I am hearing.’
 JT-LBW3536/JDN2913
- (3) Ggi-nodagé ne wa-zhewébek?
 g-gi-nodagé ne IC.wi-zhewébe-k
 2-PST-hear.things.VAI Y/N FUT-happen.VII-0.CONJ
 ‘Did you hear anything about what’s going to happen?’
 JT-LBW3536/JDN2913

In (4), the same verb *no(n)dagé* ‘hear things’ is in the conjunct, because wh-questions trigger conjunct order inflection.

- (4) Ni je gin é-zhe-nondagéyen?
 ni=je gin é-zhe-nondagé-yen
 what you FCT-thus-hear.things.VAI-2.CONJ
 ‘What do you hear about (a particular story)?’

The preverb *é-* only appears with conjunct verbs (see Welcher 2003:7).

These orders are then divided into a number of *modes*: indicative, preterit, dubitative, negative, negative preterit, and negative dubitative. The indicative mode is by far the most common; in the conjunct, non-indicative modes are rare at best. For at least one hundred years, speakers have been replacing these complex paradigms of inflectional suffixes with particles and preverbs. I return to this topic at the end of the section.

¹ Note that this verb ‘hear things’ is given as both *nodagé* and *nondagé*. Some modern speakers (here, JT and MJT) attest the form *nondagé*, identical to the Ojibwe cognate, while Welcher’s notes with older speakers attest *nodagé*, with nasal cluster simplification characteristic of Potawatomi.

1.2 Preterit

When marked on verbs, Hockett says that the preterit “relegat[es] the reference of the verb to a time prior to the time of speech” (1939a:40). He describes many allomorphs of the preterit suffix, which I will refer to collectively as *-ben* (Hockett 1939a:92-94,96,98-104; Welcher 1998; also the tables in the following sections). In his dissertation (1939) and IJAL (1948) articles, Hockett translates preterit marking with the English present perfect, as in example (4) which would seem to straightforwardly be interpreted as a sort of past tense.

- (5) nissé-beninek²
 ‘They have fallen down’ (Hockett 1948c:145)

In his later work, Hockett changes the way he translates these forms, avoiding the present perfect and instead using words like “formerly” and parentheticals to indicate a contrast from previous states to the current state, as below.³

- (6) ngezhadzeben
 ne-gezhadeze-ben
 1-warm.personality-PRET
 ‘I was formerly happy (but not now)’ (Hockett 1958:238)

He does not provide context for these preterit forms.

There is a widespread but erroneous notion in the literature, probably fed by Hockett’s earlier translations, that the default past tense marker in Potawatomi is the preterit suffix (Crystal 1987:92; Halle & Marantz 1993:139-141 and numerous papers citing it; Nordlinger and Sadler 2004:780,789). However, Potawatomi actually marks past tense with the preverb *gi-*⁴ (Hockett

² Hockett gives this with a single fortis /s/ but we have it recorded with /ss/, possibly reflective of Fox-Sauk-Kickapoo influence (cf. Meskwaki *ni:sisahowa* ‘jump down’).

³ Modern speakers of Potawatomi define this word as ‘friendly, having a warm personality’ rather than simply ‘happy’ which they would give as *gchenéndem* or *mnwéndem*; I have kept Hockett’s wording here to illustrate his mode of translation.

⁴ This is cognate to the Ojibwe past tense preverb *gi-*.

1939a:85-86,149; 1939b:238,245; 1948a:9; 1948c:139,140; Buszard 2003:25-26). In Lockwood (in press b), I argue that Hockett's use of *formerly* to translate the preterit aligns better with the actual use of the preterit, but is still not entirely correct. As the examples below illustrate, the preterit (in bold) is an irrealis marker.

- (7) Ngi-kwtegwi'**naben** wi na.
 ngi-kwtegwi'-naben wi na
 1PST-avoid-1.SG.PRET PC PC
 'I was going to back out (but they found me).'
- JT/MJT 2011-10-06
- (8) Nmech je ga-zhewé**zben**
 nmech je ic.gi-zhewébe-ben
 do.not.know and PST-happen-3.SG.PRET
 'I don't know what happened to him'
- JT 2012-03-16
- (9) Gin gé na gwi-zhyan**aben**.
 gin gé na gwi-zhya-naben
 2 TOP PC 2.FUT-go-2.SG.PRET
 'You were the one that was supposed to go'
- JT 2012-03-16
- (10) Nwi-zigwébtew**aben** nesh je ngi-nondéwabmek.
 nwi-zigwébtew-aben nesh je ngi-nondé-wabmek
 1.FUT-splash-1>3.SG.PRET but 1.PST-soon-he.sees.me
 'I was going to splash him, but he saw me before I could do it'
- JT/MJT 2011-12-15
- (11) Ézhi wi na ndezhyan**aben** néyap Camp 10 ézhnekadék.
 ézhi wi na nde-zhya-naben néyap Camp 10 IC.ezhenekadék
 there PC PC 1-go-1.SG.PRET back it.is.called.CONJ
 'I was supposed to be going back to the place called Camp 10.'
- JT 2013-10-03-01 392
- (12) Nwi-zhyan**aben** ibe, Wabapkong.
 nwi-zhya-naben ibe Wabapkong
 1.FUT-go-1.SG.PRET there White.Rapids
 'I was going to go there, to White Rapids.'
- BD 2013-10-03-01 156-157

First note that, in all of these examples except (11), preterit marking co-occurs with the tense preverbs, which is strong evidence against the analysis of the preterit as tense. In (7), if the verb was in the indicative (*ngi-kwtegi* ‘I refused, I was stubborn, I backed out’), without preterit marking, it would be realis – the event would be understood to have happened. With the preterit, the event described by the verb is understood as not having happened. The other sentences are similar.

As an aside, Hockett found the same suffix *-ben* on possessed nouns, both animate and inanimate, where he says it indicates that “the possessive relation no longer exists at the time of speaking” (1948a:8-9); the example below is typical.

- (13) *nosben*
 n-os-ben
 1-father-PRET
 ‘My (late) father’ (Hockett 1948b:73)

This example is an ordinary possessed animate noun suffixed with the preterit suffix *-ben* previously seen on verbs.⁵ It is not “nominal tense” as some authors (Nordlinger and Sadler 2004, 2008) have suggested; it is used as a polite, safe way of referring to the dead without calling their spirits (a relatively common speech taboo found in cultures around the world).

Among modern speakers, nominal preterits are only acceptable in two cases: proper names and possessed, animate nouns referring to now-deceased people or animals. Still, the nominal preterit is far more common than the verbal preterit in the corpus.

1.3 *Dubitative*

The dubitative is not so contentious. It never appears on nouns, and has only evidential functions. In modern Potawatomi, if preterit marking is rare, then dubitative marking is fleeting.

⁵ Hockett found the preterit on possessed inanimate nouns as well; I have not been able to replicate those results.

Evidentiality is now more often expressed with the particle *yédek* ‘maybe, I wonder, must be’ or *nmej* ‘I do not know, I wonder’ – both can be seen in the examples below.

- (14) Mech *yédek wa-zhewébzegwén*.
 mech *yédek* IC.wi-zhewébeze-gwén
 do.not.know maybe FUT-happen.VAI-3.CONJ.DUB
 ‘I wonder what’s going to happen to him.’
 JT 2012-11-20
- (15) Mech *ga-zhewébzewagwén ni je é-gi-migadwat*.
 mech IC.gi-zhewébeze-wagwén ni je é-gi-migadwat
 do.not.know pst-happen.VAI-3.PL.CONJ.DUB why they.fought
 ‘Who knows why they fought.’
 MJT 2014-02-12-13 004
- (16) Gmesé *gého bwa-wzheto-gwén gge-byéna*.
 g-mesé gégo bwa-wzheto-gwén gge-byéna
 2-sister something NEG-do.VTI-3.CONJ.DUB you.will.bring.her
 ‘If your sister isn’t doing anything, bring her over’
 LBW6735/JDN604

In Potawatomi, the dubitative appears to be an inferential evidential (Brugman and Macaulay 2015); it never applies to verbs describing what speakers have direct knowledge of, only supposed and inferred knowledge. I discuss a few relevant examples from my fieldwork in section 3.

There are scattered examples of a combined preterit-dubitative mode, otherwise unattested in Potawatomi; I will return to a few of these in section 7.6.

1.4 Negative

In the conjunct, negation is accomplished with the preverb *bwa-* and there is no negative marking on the verb.

- (17) Nangodgen wi yé i ga-bwa-wje-bontawat gode wgitsimnanek i mnekwéwen.
 nangodgen wi yé i ic.gi-bwa-wje-bonet-awat gode
 sometimes FOC PC DEM PST-NEG-RR00T-quit.VTI-3.PL.CONJ DEM

wgitsimenanek i mnekwéwen
 his.parents DEM drinking

‘Sometimes that's why they didn't quit drinking then, our families.’
 LR 2014-03-10-01 148-149

The verb *ga-bwa-wje-bontawat* ‘why they did not quit it’ is negated with *bwa-*.

In the independent, negation is bipartite. The negator *jo* or *cho* appears in addition to a verb marked with the negative suffix *-si(w)*. I offer negative paradigms in their own tables in the sections below; the independent order example below is typical.

- (18) Jo wi nin nwi-byasi wabek
 jo=wi nin n-wi-bya-si wabek
 NEG 1 1-FUT-come.VAI-neg tomorrow
 ‘I’m not coming tomorrow.’
 LBW4687/JDN3410

The verb *nwi-byasi* ‘I will not come’ has the negative suffix *-siw* (glides are deleted word-finally) and is preceded by *jo wi*, the negator *jo* plus an emphatic particle.

Welcher found some cases of negative dubitative and negative preterit forms (1998; 2003:25). For lack of supporting evidence, I do not discuss those examples in this work.

1.5 On the data

I have attempted to verify as many of the following paradigms as possible during fieldwork and through the corpus. However, much of what follows leans heavily on Welcher’s unpublished work. Her unpublished grammatical materials included 60 carefully constructed verb paradigms based on hours of intensive elicitation, often including notes indicating when her results differed from Hockett’s. However, the warning she provided there is even more relevant now:

My purpose in writing this note of caution is not so much for learners of Potawatomi, who probably won't encounter the problematic forms discussed here (or at least will probably not encounter problems as a result of the problematic forms). The real caution is in using these forms as data for theoretical arguments. [...] While certain paradigms, such as the independent and conjunct indicative are quite reliable, others should be viewed with healthy suspicion, due to the likelihood of a variety of potential kinds of errors.

(Welcher 1998)

As Welcher noted, the indicative and the negative are the two most “reliable” modes. The preterit is probably the next most reliable non-indicative mode. The others are mostly absent from corpus data; in the sections below, where I do have sentential examples that attest the rarer suffixes, I include them. Otherwise, I echo Welcher's call to view the preterit and dubitative mode tables presented here “with healthy suspicion” due to their rarity and the difficulty of eliciting them.

2 Inanimate Intransitive

Because inanimate intransitive verbs (VII) can only take one inanimate (sometimes expletive or pleonastic) argument, they are the simplest cases with the fewest possible suffixes and no prefixes. There are no first or second persons for VII; any referent capable of being referred to with second person or using first person is inherently animate. As such, only number inflections are used with VII, and there is no imperative or prohibitive.

2.1 Independent

Hockett (1939:108; 1948c:146-147) and Welcher (1998) report four classes of II verb inflection based on the ending of the stem. They are as follows:

- vowel-final (V Stem)
- *-meged* final (Augment Stem)
- /n/ final (N Stem)
- /d/ final (D Stem).

Below is an overview of Welcher's (1998, adapted from Hockett) analysis.

	V stem	Augment stem	N stem	D stem
0	(stem)			
0.OBV	-nen	-en	-ene	-ene
0.PL	-don	-don	-on	-on, -enon

Table 1. Overview of independent indicative VII (Welcher 1998)

Examples from Welcher (1998, adapted from Hockett) follow.

	V stem <i>wawyéya</i> 'it is round'	Augment stem <i>wawyéyamget</i> 'it is round'	N stem <i>waben</i> 'it is morning'	D stem <i>wenet</i> 'it is good'
0	<i>wawyéya</i>	<i>wawyéyamget</i>	<i>waben</i>	<i>wenet</i>
0.OBV	<i>wawyéyanen</i>	<i>wawyéyamgeden</i>	<i>wabnene</i>	<i>wendene</i>
0.PL	<i>wawyéyadon</i>	<i>wawyéyamgedon</i>	<i>wabnon</i>	<i>wendon / wendenon</i>

Table 2. Examples of independent indicative VII inflections (Welcher 1998)

Modern speakers attest a slightly different pattern. I have found no examples of II verbs with an obviative suffix. More importantly, the four classes described above have collapsed into two: all stems ending in /n/ and most stems ending in a vowel pattern with the N stems, contrary to what was reported by Welcher.

	N stem <i>dgwesen</i> 'it goes along with, is in the same category'	V stem (N) <i>akwakwdé</i> 'it is hard and dry'	V stem (N) <i>gizhdé</i> 'it is cooked, is done cooking'	V stem (N) <i>tkagme</i> 'it is cool liquid'
0	<i>dgwesen</i>	<i>akwakwdé</i>	<i>gizhdé</i>	<i>tkagme</i>
0.PL	<i>dgwesnon</i>	<i>akwakwdénon</i>	<i>gizhdénon</i>	<i>tkagmenon</i>

Table 3. N and V stem independent indicative VII inflections (modern pattern)

D Stems and Augment Stems pattern together, as do some vowel stems – however, I have no attestations of *-enon* as Welcher described above.

	Augment stem <i>gizhdémget</i> ‘it is cooked, is done cooking’	D stem <i>byédanmet</i> ‘wind blows here, it is carried by wind’	V stem (D) <i>biwa</i> ‘it is small’	V stem (D) <i>mané</i> ‘there are many’
0	<i>gizhdémget</i>	<i>byédanmet</i>	<i>biwa</i>	<i>mané</i>
0.PL	<i>gizhdémgedon</i>	<i>byédanmedon</i>	<i>biwadon</i>	<i>manédon</i>

Table 4. Augment, D, and V stem independent indicative VII inflections (modern pattern)

For V stems, this means it is not possible to predict with perfect accuracy which pattern will be followed, though most align with N stems. In some cases, as below, the same II verb final is attested with both patterns.

	V stem (N) <i>bonwéwé</i> ‘it stops making noise’	V stem (D) <i>mbigwéwé</i> ‘it is noisy’
0	<i>bonwéwé</i>	<i>mbigwéwé</i>
0.PL	<i>bonwéwénon</i>	<i>mbigwéwédon</i>

Table 5. II final -wéwé follows both patterns.

Even for individual lexical items, there are examples where the same speaker will produce and accept both variants, as below.

	V stem (N/D) <i>gachnewa</i> ‘it stops making noise’	V stem (N/D) <i>mskwa</i> ‘it is red’	V stem (N/D) <i>nadé</i> ‘it is colored a certain way’
0	<i>gachenwa</i>	<i>mskwa</i>	<i>nadé</i>
0.PL	<i>gachnewanon</i> <i>gachnewadon</i>	<i>mskwanon</i> <i>mskwadon</i>	<i>nadénon</i> <i>nadédon</i>

Table 6. V stems with N and D variants acceptable by the same speaker.

Also, the augment is sometimes inconsistently attested. In both examples below, the singular but not the plural is attested with the augment.

	Singular augment only <i>*bidé</i> ‘it is inside of something’	Singular augment only <i>*byé/bya</i> ‘it comes’
0	<i>bidémget</i>	<i>byamget</i>
0.PL	<i>bidénon</i>	<i>byanon / byénon</i>

Table 7. Irregular Augment stem independent indicative VII inflections

Finally, there are also cases like the following, an N stem that patterns with the D stems.

	Irregular N stem <i>shwéksen</i> ‘it lies spread out’
0	shwésen
0.PL	shwéksedon

Table 8. An irregular independent indicative VII

For the plural above, we would expect to find **shwékwsenon*, like *dgwesnon* ‘they go together’ or *nsakwsenon* ‘they are open.’ Instead, it is attested with *-don*, showing suppletion of *d* for *n*.

The new pattern is summarized in the table below.

	N stem	V stem (N)	Augment stem	D stem	V stem (D)
0	(stem)				
0.PL	-on	-non	-on	-don	-don

Table 9. Overview of independent indicative VII (Modern pattern)

2.2 Negative

The negative II verbs simply insert *-s* between the stem and the suffix. Welcher (1998) reported the following pattern:

	V stem <i>wawyéya</i> ‘it is round’	Augment stem <i>wawyéyamget</i> ‘it is round’	N stem <i>waben</i> ‘it is morning’	D stem <i>wenet</i> ‘it is good’
0/PL	-senon	-senon	-senon	-senon
0.OBV	-senonen	-senonen	-senen	-senen

Table 10. Overview of negative II verbs

Number is neutralized in the II negative. Stems that end in a consonant (i.e., all but the V stems) replace the final consonant of the stem with *s* in the negative with the exception of the D stem singular/plural, as in the examples that follow

	V stem <i>wawyéya</i> ‘it is round’	Augment stem <i>wawyéyamget</i> ‘it is round’	N stem <i>waben</i> ‘it is morning’	D stem <i>wenet</i> ‘it is good’
0/PL	wawyéyasnon	wawyéyamgesnon	wabsenon	wendesnon
0.OBV	wawyéyasnonen	wawyéyamgesnonen	wabsenen	wensenen

Table 11. Examples of independent indicative VII inflections (Welcher 1998)

As with the other independent II verbs, modern speakers report a slightly different pattern.

Again, there are no attested uses of the obviative. The II negative of the D stems as Welcher reported it above never appears in the corpus; rather, the form that does occur suppletes the stem-final *d* and replaces it with *-senon* like the rest of the paradigm.

- (19) ...Jo wensenon ode é-wabmek...
 jo wen-senon ode é-wabm-ek
 NEG good.VII-0.NEG DEM FCT-see.VTA-1>3.CONJ
 ‘It is not good for me to see him/her/it (an.)’
 MJT 2013-12-13-01 057

- (20) Jo wi wensenon ngom
 jo wi wen-senon ngom
 NEG FOC good.VII-0.NEG today
 ‘They’re not good today.’
 BD 2013-10-04-02 073

Unlike many of the phonological changes occurring in Potawatomi, this actually increases stem allomorphy (but making the paradigm more regular).

2.3 *Conjunct*

Conjunct forms of the VII paradigm are much simpler; there is no distinction between singular/plural and so the only suffix is *-k* (compare with Valentine 2001:260-261).⁶ An overview table is given below.

	All Stems
0.CONJ	-k

Table 12. Overview of conjunct indicative VII

A few examples follow in the table below, first with the independent singular followed by the conjunct form.

⁶ When necessary, I translate plain conjunct marking with a subordinate clause: ‘when X’ or ‘that X.’

	V stem <i>gizhdé</i> ‘it is cooked, is done cooking’	N stem <i>dgwesen</i> ‘it goes along with, is in the same category’	D stem <i>byédanmet</i> ‘wind blows here, it is carried by the wind’	Augment stem <i>bbomget</i> ‘it is winter’
0	<i>gizhdé</i>	<i>dgwesen</i>	<i>byédanmet</i>	<i>bbomget</i>
0.CONJ	<i>gizhdék</i>	<i>dgwesek</i>	<i>byédanmek</i>	<i>bbmogek</i>

Table 13. Examples of conjunct indicative VII inflections.

The N stems replace final /n/ with /k/. Historically, however, this is probably a simplification of the nasal cluster *ng which would have originally appeared in the conjunct N stems; compare Ojibwe *maajiiging* (Valentine 2001:261) with Potawatomi cognate *majigek* ‘when it grows’

Participles of inanimate intransitive verbs are identical to the conjunct forms except for initial change (see chapter 2). In the other verb types, there is a clear distinction between conjunct, conjunct with initial change, and participle forms. Note that since not all vowels undergo initial change, some participles and conjunct forms are homonyms.

	V stem <i>tkagme</i> ‘it is cool liquid’	N stem <i>majigen</i> ‘it grows’	D stem <i>byédanmet</i> ‘wind blows here, it is carried by the wind’	Augment stem <i>bonimget</i> ‘it lands’
0.CONJ	<i>tkagmek</i>	<i>majigek</i>	<i>byédanmet</i>	<i>bonimgek</i>
0.PART	<i>dékagmek</i>	<i>majigek</i>	<i>byédanmek</i>	<i>bwanimgek</i>

Table 14. Inanimate intransitive participles.

Inanimate intransitive participles appear to not have been consistently recorded, and this is reflected in the lexical database; the II participles section of Welcher’s (1998) verbal paradigms is absent except for a single form, *wéwneggen* ‘the good ones’ (from *wenet* ‘it is good’). The following examples come from my fieldwork.

- (15) *gtegadé* ‘it (in.) is planted’
a. PART: *gétgadék* ‘plant’ (from *gtegadé* ‘it is planted’)
b. PL: *gétgadégen*

2.4 Preterit

Welcher (1998) reported inanimate intransitive preterit forms that I have not been able to replicate. The patterns she found are presented below for the record.

	V stem	Augment stem	N stem	D stem
0.PRET	-ben	-ben	-oben	-oben
0.PRET.OBV	-neneben	-neneben, -niben	-oneneben	-oneniben
0.PRET.PL	-beninen	-beninen	-onebeninen	-onebeninen

Table 15. Overview of preterit indicative VII inflections (Welcher 1998)

The following examples all come from Welcher.

	V stem <i>wawyéya</i> 'it is round'	Augment stem <i>wawyéyamged</i> 'it is round'	N stem <i>waben</i> 'it is morning'	D stem <i>wenet</i> 'it is good'
0.PRET	wawyéyaben	wawyéyamgedben	wabnoben	wendoben
0.PRET.OBV	wawyéyanneben	wawyéyamgedniben, wawyéyamgednenben	wabnonneben	wendonniben
0.PRET.PL	wawyéyabninen	wawyéyamgedbeninen	wabnobninen	wendonbeninen

Table 16. Sample preterit indicative inanimate intransitive verbs (Welcher 1998)

2.5 Dubitative

Like the preterit, Welcher (1998) reported inanimate intransitive dubitative forms that I have not been able to replicate; I present them below, for the record.

	V stem	Augment stem	N stem	D stem
0.DUB	-dek	-dek	-odek	-ek
0.DUB.OBV	-nedek	-nidek, -nendek	-onenedek	-onenidek
0.DUB.PL	-dgénen	-génen	-onenedek	-one(ni)degénen

Table 17. Overview of dubitative VII inflections (Welcher 1998)

The following examples all come from Welcher.

	V stem <i>wawyéya</i> 'it is round'	Augment stem <i>wawyéyamged</i> 'it is round'	N stem <i>waben</i> 'it is morning'	D stem <i>wenet</i> 'it is good'
0.DUB	wawyéyadek	wawyéyamgedek	wabnodek	wendek
0.DUB.OBV	wawyéyandek	wawyéyamgednidek, wawyéyamgednendek	wabnonnedek	wendonndek
0.DUB.PL	wawyéyadgénéen	wawyéyamgedgénéen	wabnondek	wendon(ni)dgénéen

Table 18. Sample dubitative inanimate intransitive verbs (Welcher 1998)

As mentioned, there are no examples of inanimate intransitive verbs in the dubitative mode in the corpus; Welcher probably elicited these. Furthermore, note the irregular plural of the N stems; In neighboring varieties of Ojibwe, these are separate (see Valentine 2001:256), following the rest of the paradigm in having *-dgénéen* as the dubitative plural marker. In the D stems, Welcher notes an apparently optional *-ni-* that is closer to (but not exactly!) what would be expected from the obviative plural dubitative (again, see Valentine 2001:256) which is also not attested in modern Potawatomi.

3 Animate Intransitive

Animate intransitive (AI) verbs take a single animate argument; a subset of AI verbs take an optional object argument. Contrary to the II verbs, where the current data departs from Welcher's (and Hockett's) analysis, the remaining classes of verbs follow her paradigms much more closely.

Welcher (1998) describes the following stem classes for AI inflectional suffixes (based on Hockett 1939:97-98).

- strong vowel (V: stem)
- weak vowel (V stem)
- a/é stem
- -dem stem
- -ew stem
- -shen stem

The dictionary (Forest County Potawatomi 2014) uses a modified version of the above categorization, but coded to a number system. The correspondences are given below.

- VAI1 V:, V, -ew, and a/é stems
- VAI2 -dem (or -tem) stems
- VAI3 -shen (or -jen, or -chen) stems
- VAI4: exceptions

3.1 *Imperative and prohibitive*

Imperative verbs throughout Potawatomi show a recurring pattern: the second person singular is *-n* and the plural is *-k*. The examples below show this for AI verbs.

(21) Majin!
'Leave!'

(22) Majik!
'Leave (2PL)!'

(23) Nénden!
'Think so!'

(24) Néndek!
'Think so! (2PL)!'

Unlike neighboring varieties of Ojibwe, there is no hortative; situations that would call for hortative marking are handled in Potawatomi with independent indicative 1st person plural inclusive inflection.

In Potawatomi, prohibitives are negated commands, or commands to not perform the action of the verb. The prohibitive in all cases is simply *-ké* before the imperative suffix.

- (25) Majikén!
'Don't leave!'
- (26) Majikék!
'Don't leave (2PL)!'
- (27) Nédekén!
'Don't think so!'
- (28) Nédekék!
'Don't think so (2PL)!'

3.2 *Independent*

An overview of the independent indicative inflections is given in the table below.

	Basic forms
1.SG	n-
2.SG	g-
3.SG	(-wak)
3.OBV	-n
1.EXCL	n-X-men
1.INCL	g-X-men
2.PL	g-X-m, -om
3.PL	-k, -wik, -ok

Table 19. Overview of independent indicative AI verb inflection (Welcher 1998)

Note that the 1st and 2nd person plural forms are bipartite, marked with both a person prefix and a suffix. In the overview tables, I use X to stand for the verb stem. The examples in the first table below are all listed in the dictionary as VAI1.

	V: stem <i>maji</i> 's/he is leaving'	a/é stem <i>byé</i> 's/he is coming'	V stem <i>dnekmegze</i> 's/he plays' ⁷	V stem <i>dzhikazo</i> 's/he is playing'	-ew stem <i>jibdebe</i> 's/he is sitting'
1.SG	nmaji	ndebya	ndenkemges	ndedzhikas	njibdep
2.SG	gmaji	gdebya	gdenkemges	gdedzhikas	gjibdep
3.SG	maji majiwak	byé byéwak	dnekmegze dnekmegzewak	dzhikazo dzhikazwak	jibdebe jibdebwak
3.OBV	majin	byén	dnekmegzin	dzhikazwin	jibdebwin
1.EXCL	nmajimen	ndebyamen	ndenkemgezmen	ndedzhikazmen	njibdebmen
1.INCL	gmajimen	gdebyamen	gdenkemgezmen	gdedzhikazmen	gjibdebmen
2.PL	gmajim	gdebyam	gdenkemgezem	gdedzhikazom	gjibdebem
3.PL	majik	byék	dnekmegzik	dzhikazwik	jibdebwik

Table 20. VAI1 independent indicative inflections

Examples from the other classes are given in the next table.

	-dem stem <i>néndem</i> 's/he think a certain way'	-shen stem <i>dgweshen</i> 's/he arrives'
1.SG	ndenéndem	ndedgweshen
2.SG	gdenéndem	gdedgweshen
3.SG	néndem néndemwak	dgweshen dgweshenewak
3.OBV	néndemwin	dgweshnon
1.EXCL	ndenéndemen	ndedgweshnemen
1.INCL	gdenéndemen	gdedgweshnemen
2.PL	gdenéndam	gdedgweshnem
3.PL	néndemwik	dgweshnok

Table 21. VAI2 and VAI3

There is a language change in progress that concerns AI, TI, and TA independent indicative verbs as well as possessed nouns. Modern speakers in most instances have shifted to using long forms of the person prefix, using *nde-* or *gde-* where older speakers had *n-* or *g-*.

⁷ This is an idiom, but it has replaced the original literal meaning, 's/he does something in a certain place' which Welcher recorded. There are five recorded uses of the verb *dnekmgeze* in the corpus of natural speech and they all mean 'play.'

There is even a long form of the person prefix with a glottal stop, occurring especially before *a*.

Examples are given in the list below.

- (29) Long form of the person prefix with glottal stop
- a. nde'abzap 'I stare'
 - b. nde'os 'I warm myself by the fire or stove'
 - c. nde'akwades 'I am lively'
 - d. nde'agemeké 'I make snowshoes'

Rather than expected *ndabzap*, the modern speakers prefer to use the innovated longer form of the person prefix. These longer forms of the prefix reduce stem allomorphy caused by syncope (described in chapter 2). Sometimes pairs of the old and new inflection are attested by modern speakers; *ndanwéwés* 'I fail' is also attested as *nde'anwéwés*, with the innovated long form of the person prefix.

There is also an incredibly common 3rd person plural suffix *-wek* in the animate intransitives that is not given by Welcher (1998) or Hockett (1939:98). A sample of this pattern is given below.

- (30) abzabwek
 'they stare'
- (31) anwéwzewek
 'they fail, they are unable to'
- (32) zagkiwek
 'they are sprouting, coming up'
- (33) zégzewek
 'they are scared'
- (34) ntagéndemowek
 'they are lonely'
- (35) wgiwadéndemowek
 'they are confused'
- (36) nemashwek
 'they are soaring away'

And again, in some cases, both the expected plural and the *-wek* plural are attested, as in *bmosék/bmoséwek* ‘they walk along.’

3.3 Negative

For AI verbs, the negative simply adds *-si* after the stem and before person/number marking, as below. As with the II negative, stems that end in a consonant tend to replace the final consonant with the *s* of the negative suffix.

	Basic forms
1.SG	n-X-si
2.SG	g-X-si
3.SG	-si
3.OBV	-sin
1.EXCL	n-X-simen
1.INCL	g-X-simen
2.PL	g-X-sim
3.PL	-sik

Table 22. Overview of AI negative (Welcher 1998)

Sample paradigms are given below.

	V: stem <i>maji</i> ‘s/he is leaving’	-dem stem <i>néndem</i> ‘s/he think a certain way’
1.SG	nmajisi	ndenéndesi(n)
2.SG	gmajisi	gdenéndedi(n)
3.SG	majisi	néndesi(n)
3.OBV	majisin	néndesin ⁸
1.EXCL	nmajisimen	ndenéndesimen
1.INCL	gmajisimen	gdenéndesimen
2.PL	gmajisim	gdenéndesim
3.PL	majisik	néndesik

Table 23. Sample AI negative paradigm (Welcher 1998)

A few textual examples are given below.

⁸ Welcher gave *néndesin* here.

- (37) Jo gégo ndenabdesi
 jo gégo nde-nabede-si
 NEG something 1-useful-NEG
 ‘I’m not good for anything.’
 BD/JT/MJT 2011-10-27
- (38) Jo gégo wgekéndesin
 jo gégo w-gekénde-si-n
 NEG something 3-know-NEG-3
 ‘He doesn’t know anything.’
 LR 2014-02-12-14 015
- (39) Jo gi-kchemokmansi
 jo gi-kchemokman-si
 NEG PST-speak.English-NEG
 ‘She didn’t speak English.’
 BD 2015-03-10-02 020

3.4 *Conjunct*

The basic suffixes of the AI conjunct inflection are summarized below following Welcher (1998).

	Basic forms
1.SG.CONJ	-an
2.SG.CONJ	-en
3.SG.CONJ	-t/-k
3.OBV.CONJ	-net
1.EXCL.CONJ	-ak
1.INCL.CONJ	-go
2.PL.CONJ	-ék
3.PL.CONJ	-wat

Table 24. Conjunct indicative animate intransitive verb inflection (Welcher 1998)

Historically, the AI conjunct was formed with *-k* in the 3rd person singular. The AI participle was formed with initial change in addition to *-t* in the 3rd person singular and *-jek* in the plural. This is at best inconsistently attested in Welcher’s documentation (see her table of participles and conjunct forms from her dissertation, 2003:23). A few typical examples follow in the table below.

	V: stem	-dem stem
1.SG.CONJ	majiyān	néndeman
2.SG.CONJ	majiyēn	néndemen
3.SG.CONJ	majit	néndek
3.OBV.CONJ	majinet	néndemwin
1.EXCL.CONJ	majiyak	néndemak
1.INCL.CONJ	majiygo	néndemgo
2.PL.CONJ	majiyék	néndamék
3.PL.CONJ	majiwat	néndemwat

Table 25. Examples of conjunct AI inflections.

A participle example from my fieldwork is given below.

	V: stem <i>giwsé</i> 's/he hunts'
3.SG.CONJ	giwsét
PART	gawsét / gawsat
PART.OBV	gawséjen
PART.PL	gawséjek / gawsajek

Table 26. Sample participle from fieldwork.

3.5 Preterit

An overview of the preterit AI is given below; it is better attested in Potawatomi than its II counterpart.

	Basic forms
1.SG.PRET	n-X-naben
2.SG.PRET	g-X-naben
3.SG.PRET	-naben (-wiben?)
3.OBV.PRET	-nabeninen
1.EXCL.PRET	n-X-menaben
1.INCL.PRET	g-X-menaben
2.PL.PRET	g-X-mewaben
3.PL.PRET	-(wa)bninek

Table 27. Overview of preterit AI inflection (1998)

A few examples follow in the table below (from Welcher's grammatical manuscript).

	V: stem	-dem stem
1.SG.PRET	nmajinaben	ndenéndemnaben
2.SG.PRET	gmajinaben	gdenéndemnaben
3.SG.PRET	majinaben ⁹	néndemnaben
3.OBV.PRET	majinabninen	néndemwiben
1.EXCL.PRET	nmajimnaben	ndenéndemnaben
1.INCL.PRET	gmajimnaben	gdenéndemnaben
2.PL.PRET	gmajimwaben	gdenéndemwaben
3.PL.PRET	maji(wa)bni(ne)k ¹⁰	néndembnin(ek)

Table 28. Example preterit AI paradigms (Welcher 1998)

The preterit paradigm Welcher prepared shows the spread of *-na*, historically only associated with local (1st and 2nd) person (as it is in the dubitative paradigm in the next section and in neighboring varieties of Ojibwe, see Valentine 2001:233). These forms are relatively robustly attested, with examples like the following in use in modern Potawatomi.

- (40) Nwi-byé-mbwach'ewémnaben wi na gi-kedo.
 nwi-byé-mbwach'ewé-menaben wi na gi-kedo
 1.FUT-here-visit.VAI-1.PL.DUB FOC PC PST-say.VAI
 We were supposed to come visit, she said.
 JT 2013-10-03-01 142

See also section 1.2 and chapter 5. I do not provide a systematic discussion of conjunct preterit or conjunct dubitative forms, but a few examples have come up in natural speech, as below.

- (41) I je é-wi-kche-mzhengasben i je ga-je-zhechkét, kedwek.
 i je é-wi-kche-mzhengaz-ben i je
 DEM and FCT-FUT-really-be.arrested-PRET DEM and

 ic.gi-je-zhechké-t ked-wek
 PST-RROOT-do.VAI-3.CONJ say.VAI-3PL
 So she was going to be imprisoned for a long time, that's why she did it, they say.
 MJT 2014-03-10-06 043

⁹ Welcher attests a curious form *majiwagben* with a suffix *-wagben* that I have not found, but appears to be a 3rd person plural preterit dubitative form (Valentine 2001:232).

¹⁰ This is given as it was by Welcher (1998), implying four possibilities: *majiwabnik*, *majibnik*, *majiwabninek*, *majibninek*. Hockett gives *-beninek*, *-wibeninek* for the endings here (Hockett 1948c:145). None of these possibilities arose naturally in the corpus and I have not verified them in fieldwork.

3.6 Dubitative

For independent AI verbs, the preterit and dubitative are more robustly attested than their II counterparts. Below is an overview of what Welcher (1998) reports for the dubitative.

	Basic forms
1.SG.DUB	n-X-nadek
2.SG.DUB	g-X-nadek
3.SG.DUB	-dek
3.OBV.DUB	-dgénen
1.EXCL.DUB	n-X-menadek
1.INCL.DUB	g-X-menadek
2.PL.DUB	g-X-mewadek
3.PL.DUB	-dgének

Table 29. Overview of dubitative AI (Welcher 1998)

A few examples follow, using the same verbs as in the previous section.

	V: stem	-dem stem
1.SG.DUB	nmajinadek	ndenéndemnadek
2.SG.DUB	gmajinadek	gdenéndemnadek
3.SG.DUB	majidek	néndemnadek
3.OBV.DUB	majidgénen	néndemnadgénen
1.EXCL.DUB	nmajimnadek	ndenéndemnadek
1.INCL.DUB	gmajimnadek	gdenéndemnadek
2.PL.DUB	gmajimwadek	gdenéndemwadek
3.PL.DUB	maji(wa)dgének	néndemdgének

Table 30. Example dubitative AI paradigms (Welcher 1998)

In support of Welcher's paradigms above, AI dubitatives appear in the corpus of natural speech and can be elicited in fieldwork. An example from a transcribed conversation is given below.

- (42) **Gi-manédgének** zhe na neshnabék ibe Wabeno wjiyegwan.
 gi-mané-degének zhe na neshnabé-k ibe Wabeno
 PST-many.VAI-3.PL.DUB PART Potawatomi-PL there Wabeno
- wjeyegwan
 in.direction.of
 There must have been a lot of Neshnabék towards Wabeno.
 JT 2014-07-14-01 003

In elicitation, I asked the speaker to “Imagine a bad accident in the snow, and a car has spun out into a ditch, with its headlights pointing up at the sky,” and asked whether or not the following sentence would be appropriate for a passerby to say a sentence. In each case, the speaker agreed:

- (43) Gi-niboksédeg o wdabyan
 gi-niboksé-deg o wdabyan
 PST-land.VAI-3.DUB DEM car
 ‘The car must have landed upright.’
 BD 11-24-2015

- (44) Ngi-niboksémnadek
 ngi-niboksé-menadek
 1.PST-land.VAI-1.PL.DUB
 ‘We (excl.) must have landed upright’
 BD 11-24-2015

Though Welcher does not discuss it, in fieldwork I have been able to elicit a few examples of what appears to be preterit-dubitative marking (compare with Valentine 2001:232).

- (45) Gi-nibokségeben o wdabyan.
 gi-niboksé-geben o wdabyan
 PST-land.VAI-3.PRET.DUB DEM car
 ‘The car must have landed upright.’
 BD 11-24-2015

- (46) Gi-nibokségebenik.
 gi-niboksé-gebenik
 PST-land.VAI-3.PRET.DUB.PL
 ‘They must have landed upright.’

I was not able to ascertain a difference between these (highly unusual) preterit-dubitatives and the dubitatives; both were offered by the speaker to describe events that they had indirect or inferred knowledge of. It is unclear to me whether the appearance of preterit-dubitative marking at all is due to Ojibwe influence. As with the II verbs, I do not discuss conjunct preterit, conjunct dubitative, negative preterit, or negative dubitative forms due to lack of evidence.

4 Transitive Inanimate

Transitive inanimate verbs take an inanimate argument as the object and an animate argument as the subject. Hockett's analysis (1939a:105-106; 1948c:145-146) divides TI verbs into two categories: those that end in consonants, and those that end in vowels. Welcher (1998) describes A stems and O stems, which is closer to the now-standard Algonquianist analysis of TI verbs.

Algonquianists typically analyze TI verbs as having a special suffix called a *theme* or *theme sign* which divides them into three categories. The dictionary (Forest County Potawatomi 2014) offers the following categorization:

- VTi1 -a theme vowel
- VTi2 -o theme vowel
- VTi3 no theme vowel

As I show in the rest of this section, a closer look at these verbs justifies a different analysis: theme 1 is *-em*, theme 2 is *-o*, and theme 3 is *-e*. The class 3 stems in *-e* are very limited, which is possibly why Welcher (1998) omitted them. All of the examples from the database are given below.

(47) Class 3 TI verbs¹¹

- a. nnaden 'I fetch it, I go get it'
- b. nmijen 'I eat it'
- c. nmamijen 'I eat it over a period of time, I take my time eating it'

¹¹ Welcher reported two additional class 3 TI verbs. First, *ndeyen* 'I have it, want to have it' (JDN 5887) was not recognized in fieldwork in 2013 and does not appear in the speech corpus. Second, *ngwinwemijen* 'I do not know what to eat' (with secondary initial *gwino-* 'not know what') appears to never have been checked with the living elders.

4.1 Imperative and prohibitive

The basic pattern for imperative TI verbs is given in the table below. As with the AI verbs, prohibitives simply insert *ké* before the imperative suffix.

	IMP	PROHIB
2SG	-n	-kén
2PL	-k	-kék

Table 31. Overview of imperative and prohibitive

A few examples follow.

	VTI1 <i>nwabdan</i> 'I look at it'	VTI2 <i>nbyédon</i> 'I bring it'	VTI3 <i>nmijen</i> 'I eat it'
IMP.2SG	wabden!	byédon!	mijen!
IMP.2PL	wabdek!	byédok!	mijek!
PROHIB.2SG	wabdekén!	byédokén!	mijkén!
PROHIB.2PL	wabdekék!	byédokék!	mijkék!

Table 32. Example imperative and prohibitive TI verbs.

4.2 Independent

In the independent indicative, prefixes and suffixes combine to mark both arguments directly on the verb. The basic pattern is given below.

Basic forms	Inanimate Singular Object	Inanimate Plural Object
1.SG	n-X-n	n-X-nen
2.SG	g-X-n	g-X-nen
3.SG	w-X-n	w-X-nen
3.OBV	w-X-n	w-X-nen
1.EXCL	n-X-men	n-X-men
1.INCL	g-X-men	g-X-men
2.PL	g-X-m	g-X-m
3.PL	w-X-nawa	w-X-nawan

Table 33. Overview of independent indicative TI verbs

Note that, for 1st and 2nd person plural subjects, object number is neutralized (cf. Valentine 2001:311). As above, I use X to stand for the verbs (plus their theme signs) and the *n-*, *g-*, *w-*

person prefixes can be either long or short form, depending on both the word and the speaker.

Examples are given below (from Welcher 1998).

VTI1 <i>nwabdan</i> ‘I look at it’	Inanimate Singular Object	Inanimate Plural Object
1.SG	nwabdan	nwabdanen
2.SG	gwabdan	gwabdanen
3.SG	wwabdan ¹²	wwabdanen
3.OBV		
1.EXCL	nwabdamen	
1.INCL	gwabdamen	
2.PL	gwabdam	
3.PL	wwabdanawa	wwabdanawan

Table 34. vTI1 independent indicative inflections.

Note the presence of long /a/ in the independent indicative examples above, alternating with the schwa seen in the imperative: *gwabdan* ‘You see it’ but *wabden!* ‘Look at it!’ This is a relic of the older vowel system of Potawatomi, going back to the Proto-Algonquian; the theme sign *-em* was historically **-am*, which compensatorily lengthened to **a* when the *-m* was deleted. The other classes do not require a compensatory lengthening rule, and so class 2 serves as the model for class 3 verbs.

VTI2 <i>nbyédon</i> ‘I bring it’	Inanimate Singular Object	Inanimate Plural Object
1.SG	nbyédon	nbyédonen
2.SG	gbyédon	gbyédonen
3.SG	wbyédon	wbyédonen
3.OBV		
1.EXCL	nbyédomen	
1.INCL	gbyédomen	
2.PL	gbyédóm	
3.PL	wbyédonawa	wbyédonawan

Table 35. vTI2 independent indicative inflections.

¹² Word-initial /ww/ can be pronounced [w] or [ow].

4.3 Negative

An overview of the negative TI suffixes is given below. Again, these forms simply add *-si* between the stem/theme and the person/number suffixes.

Basic forms	Inanimate Singular Object	Inanimate Plural Object
1.SG	n-X-sin	n-X-sinen
2.SG	g-X-sin	g-X-sinen
3.SG	w-X-sin	w-X-sinen
3.OBV	w-X-sin	w-X-sinen
1.EXCL	n-X-simen	n-X-simen
1.INCL	g-X-simen	g-X-simen
2.PL	g-X-sim	g-X-sim ¹³
3.PL	w-X-sinawa	w-X-sinawan

Table 36. Overview of TI negatives

Theme 1 TI verbs do not have long *a* in the negative, as in the example paradigms below.

VTI1 <i>nwabdan</i> 'I look at it'	Inanimate Singular Object	Inanimate Plural Object
1.SG	nwabdesin	nwabdesinen
2.SG	gwabdesin	gwabdesinen
3.SG	wwabdesin	wwabdesinen
3.OBV		
1.EXCL	nwabdesimen	
1.INCL	gwabdesimen	
2.PL	gwabdesim	
3.PL	wwabdesinawa	wwabdesinawan

Table 37. Theme 1 negatives

¹³ Welcher (1998) has *wwabdesim* here, probably a typo.

VTI2 <i>nbyédon</i> 'I bring it'	Inanimate Singular Object	Inanimate Plural Object
1.SG	nbyédosin	nbyédosinen
2.SG	gbyédosin	gbyédosinen
3.SG	wbyédosin	wbyédosinen
3.OBV		
1.EXCL	nbyédosimen	
1.INCL	gbyédosimen	
2.PL	gbyédosim	
3.PL	wbyédosinawa	wbyédosinawan

Table 38. Theme 2 negatives.

These are robustly attested; a few textual examples are given below.

- (48) Jo ma ngi-o-mkesin i wigwam ngodek é-gi-o-ndewabdeman
jo ma ngi-o-mek-sin i wigwam ngodek
NEG PC 1.PST-go.and-find-NEG DEM house once
é-gi-ndewabdem-an
FCT-PST-look.for.VTI-1.CONJ
'I didn't find the house one time when I went to look for it.'
JT 2013-10-03-01 298
- (49) Jo na wgi-dé-débnésin
jo na wgi-dé-débné-sin
NEG PC 3.PST-able-get.VTI-NEG
'She wasn't able to get it.'
MJT 2014-03-10-06 091
- (50) Jo ne msen wgi-yosinawa?
jo ne msen wgi-yo-sinawa
NEG Y/N wood 3.PST-use.VTI-3.PL.NEG
'Didn't they use firewood?'
LR 2014-10-29-01 053
- (51) Jo nwi-mijsin
jo nwi-mij-sin
NEG 1.FUT-eat.VTI-NEG
'I don't want to eat it.'
LR 2014-02-12-09 155

4.4 Conjunct

In the conjunct, object number is neutralized; endings are otherwise the same as the AI conjunct.

	Basic forms
1.SG	-an
2.SG	-en
3.SG	-t/k
3.OBV	-net
1.EXCL	-go
1.INCL	-ak
2.PL	-ék
3.PL	-wat

Table 39. Conjunct TI overview (Welcher 1998)

A few example paradigms follow.

	VTI1 <i>nwabdan</i> 'I look at it'	VTI2 <i>nbyédon</i> 'I bring it'
1.SG	wabdemman	byédoyan
2.SG	wabdemmen	byédoyen
3.SG	wabdek	byédot
3.OBV	wabdemnet	byédonet
1.EXCL	wabdemgo	byédoygo
1.INCL	wabdemak	byédoyak
2.PL	wabdemék	byédoyék
3.PL	wabdemwat	byédowat

Table 40. Conjunct indicative inflections (Welcher 1998)

The distinct suffixes for the TI participles are given below. Note that, like the other participles, initial change applies.

	VTI2 <i>ndeyon</i> 'I use it'
3.SG.CONJ	yot
PART	éyot
PART.OBV	éyojen
PART.PL	éyojek

Table 41. VTI participles (multiple sources)

Note that these are identical to the AI participles.

4.5 Preterit

Welcher (1998) reported preterit forms for TI verbs as presented below.

Basic forms	Singular object	Plural object
1.SG	n-X-naben	n-X-nabenin
2.SG	g-X-naben	g-X-nabenin
3.SG	w-X-naben	w-X-nabenin
3.OBV	w-X-naben	w-X-nabenin
1.EXCL	n-X-menaben	n-X-menabenin
1.INCL	g-X-menaben	g-X-menabenin
2.PL	g-X-mwaben	g-X-mwabenin
3.PL	w-X-mwaben w-X-nawaben	w-X-mwabenin

Table 42. Basic forms of the TI preterit in the independent

Examples of vTI1 forms are given in the table below.

	Singular object vTI1 <i>nwabdan</i> 'I look at it'	Plural object vTI1 <i>nwabdan</i> 'I look at it'	Singular object vTI2 <i>nbyédon</i> 'I bring it'	Plural object vTI2 <i>nbyédon</i> 'I bring it'
1.SG	nwabdanaben	nwabdanabnin	nbyédonaben	nbyédonabnin
2.SG	gwabdanaben	gwabdanabnin	gbyédonaben	gbyédonabnin
3.SG	wwabdanaben	wwabdanabnin	wbyédonaben	wbyédonabnin
3.OBV				
1.EXCL	nwabdamnaben	nwabdamnabnin	nbyédomnaben	nbyédomnabnin
1.INCL	gwabdamnaben	gwabdamnabnin	gbyédomnaben	gbyédomnabnin
2.PL	gwabdamwaben ¹⁴	gwabdamwabnin	gbyédomwaben	gbyédomwabnin ¹⁵
3.PL	wwabdamwaben	wwabdamwabnin	wbyédonawaben	wbyédomwabnin

Table 43. Sample TI preterit independent forms (Welcher 1998)

Welcher (1998) reports 3rd obviative forms of preterit TI verbs somewhat inconsistently; compare this with Valentine (2001:311), who lists these forms with a question mark.¹⁶

4.6 Dubitative

Welcher (1998), in her table of dubitative forms, reported that independent dubitatives of TI verbs show a very similar pattern to the preterit.

¹⁴ Welcher (1998) lists *gwabdamnaben* here.

¹⁵ Welcher (1998) lists *gbyédomnabnin* here.

¹⁶ Thanks to David Costa for pointing this out to me.

Basic forms	Singular object	Plural object
1.SG	n-X-nadek	n-X-nadegénen
2.SG	g-X-nadek	g-X-nadegénen
3.SG	w-X-nadek	w-X-nadegénen
3.OBV	w-X-nadek	w-X-nadegénen
1.EXCL	n-X-menadek	n-X-menadegénen
1.INCL	g-X-menadek	g-X-menadegénen
2.PL	g-X-mwadek	g-X-mwadegénen
3.PL	w-X-nawadek w-X-nadgének	w-X-mwadegénen

Table 44. Overview of dubitative TI suffixes

Examples from her work are given below.

	Singular object VTI1 <i>nwabdan</i> 'I look at it'	Plural object VTI1 <i>nwabdan</i> 'I look at it'	Singular object VTI2 <i>nbyédon</i> 'I bring it'	Plural object VTI2 <i>nbyédon</i> 'I bring it'
1.SG	nwabdanadek	nwabdanadgénen	nbyédonadek	nbyédonadgénen
2.SG	gwabdanadek	gwabdanadgénen	gbyédonadek	gbyédonadgénen
3.SG	wwabdanadek	wwabdanadgénen	wbyédonadek	wbyédonadgénen
3.OBV				
1.EXCL	nwabdamnadek	nwabdamnadgénen	nbyédomnadek	nbyédomnadgénen
1.INCL	gwabdamnadek	gwabdamnadgénen	gbyédomnadek	gbyédomnadgénen
2.PL	gwabdamwadek	gwabdamwadgénen	gbyédomwadek	gbyédomwadgénen
3.PL	wwabdanawadek	wwabdamwadgénen	wbyédonawadek	wbyédonawadgénen

Table 45. Sample TI dubitative forms (Welcher 1998)

Some of these forms may be questionable; however, there are no naturally-occurring examples in the speech corpus and eliciting them is difficult.

5 Transitive Animate

Perhaps the most contested aspect of Potawatomi grammar concerns the inflection of TA verbs.

These are the most complex paradigms simply because they have the most possibilities.

5.1 *Alignment/direction and summary of TA verbs*

Besides syncope, the element of Potawatomi verb inflection that has received the most scholarly attention is the direct-inverse system (Hockett 1966 and sources citing it). The problem can be succinctly summarized: whereas the person prefixes on AI and TI verbs are always associated with the subject, person prefixes on TA verbs can encode either the subject or the object. Accompanying these prefixes is a set of suffixes that indicate whether the prefix encodes the subject or object.

The explanation for the conditioning of this split in person marking patterns has generally invoked a prominence hierarchy, which Lockwood and Macaulay define as “roughly, a ranking of person and other categories of reference for a variety of grammatical purposes” (2012:431). Traditionally, the prominence hierarchy is simply stated as $2 > 1 > 3$ – i.e., 2nd person outranks 1st person, which outranks 3rd person. This captures several facts about the distribution of person prefixes: for example, *gwabma* ‘you see him’ has the second person prefix *g-*, as do *gwabmek* ‘s/he sees you,’ *gwabmen* ‘I see you’ and *gwabem* ‘You see me.’ Whenever a second person is involved, whether subject or object, it must be marked on the verb; it outranks all other arguments.

It is arguable that multiple prominence hierarchies are at work; note that in addition to the varying person prefixes are the four different suffixes, called theme signs. These mark whether the person prefix is the subject or object. This is summarized in the table below (after Valentine 2001:267).

Inflected verb	Person prefix	Verb stem	Theme	Prefix hierarchy	Theme hierarchy
gwabma 'you see him/her'	/gə-/	/wabəm/	/-a:/ direct	2 > 1 > 3 →	SAP > 3 > 3OBV →
gwabmek 's/he sees you'	/gə-/	/wabəm/	/-əgw/ inverse	2 > 1 > 3 ←	SAP > 3 > 3OBV ←
gwabem 'you see me'	/gə-/	/wabəm/	/-ə/ local direct	2 > 1 > 3 →	2 > 1 →
gwabmen 'I see you'	/gə-/	/wabəm/	/-əN/ local inverse	2 > 1 > 3 ←	2 > 1 ←

Table 46. Direct and inverse alignment with local and nonlocal persons

For the person prefix, all three persons have to be evaluated; this produces a $2 > 1 > 3$ hierarchy. There are four different theme signs, however, that apply in two different contexts; the first two, *-a* and *-əgw*, are the non-local direct and inverse theme signs, respectively, and they apply as long as at least one argument is a third person. The local direct and inverse, on the other hand, only applies when both arguments are speech act participants.

The goal of this section is not to determine whether or not this is all reducible to a grand hierarchy that applies across the independent order or across the verb system of Potawatomi more broadly. Rather, the sections that follow sketch a portion of the many possible suffixes associated with TA verbs with supporting textual examples where possible.¹⁷

5.2 Imperative and prohibitive

An overview of imperative and prohibitive marking for TA verbs is given in the tables below.¹⁸

¹⁷ Most have been verified through fieldwork, whether direct elicitation or in natural speech, but some errors still undoubtedly exist, and there is probably variation which has been missed.

¹⁸ Tables in this section have the subject on the vertical axis, as in previous sections, and objects on the horizontal axis.

IMP	1 SG	1EXCL	3SG	3PL
2SG	-eshen	-eshenak	-e	-esh
2PL	-eshek		-ek	

Table 47. Overview of VTA Imperatives

The imperatives and prohibitives of TA verbs show *-e*, the local direct theme sign, in contexts like 2 > 3 where we otherwise expect *-a*, the non-local direct theme sign. This is exactly as it appears in neighboring varieties of Ojibwe (Valentine 2001:279, 286). Note that the imperatives involving a 2nd person singular acting on a 3rd person in some cases take *-esh*, which is also attested in dialects of Ojibwe (Valentine 2001:282) As with some of the other morphophonological complexities in Potawatomi, this has the effect of reducing stem variation; the older *-e* never surfaces but results in stem vowel alternations and palatalizes /N/, a common TA stem final consonant. This variant does not seem to occur in the TA verbs ending in *-ew*.

The prohibitives do not have this exceptional behavior; below, the *-esh* is the local inverse theme sign *-eN* and *-a* is the non-local direct theme sign, and *-ké* is added between the theme sign and the person/number marking.

PROHIB	1 SG	1EXCL	3SG	3PL
2SG	-eshikén	-eshikak	-akén	
2PL	-eshikék		-akék	

Table 48. Overview of VTA Prohibitives

A sample paradigm is given below.

IMP	1 SG	1EXCL	3SG	3PL
2SG	wabmeshen	wabmeshnak	wabem	wabmesh
2PL	wabmeshek		wabmek	

Table 49. VTA Imperatives

PROHIB	1 SG	1EXCL	3SG	3PL
2SG	wabmeshikén	wabmeshikak	wabmakén	
2PL	wabmeshikék		wabmakék	

Table 50. VTA Prohibitives

A few textual examples of TA prohibitives and imperatives are given below.

- (52) Kewabem o mbibis, Carl.
 kewabem o mbibis Carl
 guard.him! DEM baby Carl
 ‘You watch the baby, Carl.’
 JT LBW5393/JDN1725
- (53) bozho’esh¹⁹
 ‘Shake his/her hand!’
 JT 2012-10-15
- (54) Gégo pkanénmakén!
 gégo bekanénem-akén
 do.not think.different.VTA-2SG>3.PROHIB
 ‘Don’t think differently about him/her’
 JT 2010-11-16
- (55) Gégo wépodoshikén!
 gégo wépodo-shikén
 do.not hit.VTA-2SG>1SG.PROHIB
 ‘Don’t hit me!’
 JT 2009-10-20

5.3 Independent

Not all combinations of person and number can occur on the TA verb in Potawatomi. First, there is a special set of reflexives that inflect as intransitives. There are also disallowed forms; I indicate these with blacked out cells in the tables that follow. In a few instances, what Welcher (1998) found departs from what Hockett found; I note these in a footnote where possible.

An overview of the TA independent indicative is given below.

¹⁹ From *ndebozho’a* ‘I shake hands with him/her.’

VTA Singular Object	1.SG	2.SG	3.SG	3.OBV
1.SG	<i>reflexive</i>	g-X-en	n-X-a	n-X-an
2.SG	g-X-e	<i>reflexive</i>	g-X-a	g-X-an
3.SG	n-X-ek	g-X-ek	<i>reflexive</i>	w-X-an
3.OBV	n-X-ek	g-X-ek	w-X-ek	w-X-egon
1.EXCL		g-X-ego	n-X-amen	n-X-amen
1.INCL			g-X-amen	g-X-amen
2.PL	g-X-em		g-X-awa	g-X-awan
3.PL	n-X-egok	g-X-egok		w-X-awan

Table 51. Overview of TA independent indicative, singular object.

VTA Plural Object	1.EXCL	1.INCL	2.PL	3.PL
1.SG			g-X-enem	n-X-ak
2.SG	g-X-eymen			g-X-ak
3.SG	n-X-egwnan	g-X-egwnan	g-X-egwa	
3.OBV	n-X-egwnan	g-X-egwnan	g-X-egwa	w-X-egwan
1.EXCL	<i>reflexive</i>		g-X-egom	n-X-amen
1.INCL		<i>reflexive</i>		g-X-amen
2.PL	g-X-eymen		<i>reflexive</i>	g-X-awak
3.PL	n-X-egwnanek	g-X-egwnanek	g-X-egwak	<i>reflexive</i>

Table 52. Overview of TA independent indicative, plural object.

A template of Potawatomi TA verbs is sketched below (adapted from Valentine 2001:274).

Prefix	Stem	Theme	Negative	Inner Plural	Mode	Outer Plural
ne- ge- w- ²⁰	X	-eN local inverse -e local direct -a 3 direct -egw 3 inverse -ego passive	-se(w) -si(w)	-nan 1PL -men 1PL -ymen 2>1PL -wa 2/3PL -(e)m 2PL	-ben PRET -dek DUB	-ek 3PL -en 3OBV

Table 53. Template for TA verbs (after Valentine 2001:274)

²⁰ This is short /o/ rather than we-. See chapter 2.

Note that the first person plural suffix (or suffixes) *-(y)men* cannot co-occur with an outer plural marker. In a few scattered examples of preterit or dubitative TA verbs, however, they occur prior to the mode suffixes, arguing for their slot in the template above.

A sample paradigm is given below.

VTA Singular Object	1.SG	2.SG	3.SG	3.OBV
1.SG	<i>reflexive</i>	gwabmen	nwabma	nwabman
2.SG	gwabem	<i>reflexive</i>	gwabma	gwabman
3.SG	nwabmek	gwabmek	<i>reflexive</i>	wabman
3.OBV	nwabmek	gwabmek	wabmek ²¹	wabmegon
1.EXCL		gwabmego ²²	nwabmamen	nwabmamen
1.INCL			gwabmamen	gwabmamen
2.PL	gwabmem		gwabmawa	gwabmawan
3.PL	nwabmegok	gwabmegok		wabmawan

Table 54. Independent indicative TA verb inflections, singular object (Welcher 1998)

VTA Plural Object	1.EXCL	1.INCL	2.PL	3.PL
1.SG			gwabmenem	nwabmak
2.SG	gwabmeymen			gwabmak
3.SG	nwabmegnan	gwabmegnan	gwabmegwa	
3.OBV	nwagmegnan	gwabmegnan	gwabmegwa	wabmegwan
1.EXCL	<i>reflexive</i>		gwabmegom ²³	nwabmamen
1.INCL		<i>reflexive</i>		gwabmamen
2.PL	gwabmeymen		<i>reflexive</i>	gwabmawak
3.PL	nwabmegnanek	gwabmegnanek	gwabmegwak	<i>reflexive</i>

Table 55. Independent indicative TA verb inflections, plural object (Welcher 1998)

The independent indicative TA verbs are very common in discourse, and so there are many textual examples; a few are given below.

²¹ Hockett gives *wabmegon*.

²² Hockett gives *gwabmenmen*.

²³ Hockett gives *gwabmenmen*.

- (56) Wéwéne, wéwéne zhe na ngi-gkeno'magwnanek.
 wéwéne zhe na ngi-gekeno'mew-gwnanek
 proper PART 1.PST-teach.vta-3pl>1excl
 'They taught us well.'
 LR 2014-10-29-02 044
- (57) Ngi-giwnadénmegok gi kchemokmanek
 ngi-giwnadénem-egok gi kchemokman-ek
 1.PST-think.be.crazy.VTA-3PL>1SG DEM white.person-PL
 'Those white people thought I was crazy.'
 2015-01-20-02 082
- (58) Bnewi na neko ggi-wabmamen zhi.
 bnewi na neko ggi-wabma-men zhi
 long.ago PC used.to 2.PST-see.VTA-1.PL there
 'Long ago we used to see them there.'
 JT 2013-10-04-01 523
- (59) Ngi-mgenek o nemosh.
 ngi-megen-ek o nemosh
 1.PST-bark.VTA-INV DEM dog
 'The dog barked at me'
 JT 2011-12-13
- (60) Ngi-nchiw'egnan je wnénéymen.
 ngi-nchiw'-egnan je w-nénéymen-en
 1.PST-scold.VTA-3SG>1PL and 3-mother-OBV
 'Her mother scolded us.'
 MJT 20144-10-30-01merged 125
- (61) Éni zhe na wgi-miganawan ni Epéchiyen
 éni zhe na wgi-migan-awan ni Epéchi-yen
 DEM PC 3.PST-fight.VTA-3PL>3OBV DEM Apache-OBV
 'That's who they fought, the Apaches'
 JT 2014-02-12-06 038
- (62) I je ni wgi-gwsawan ni zhegak zhi é-kche-wawisnet
 i je ni wgi-gwes-awan ni zhegak
 DEM and DEM 3.PST-fear.VTA-3PL>3OBV DEM skunk

 zhi é-kche-wisene-t
 there FCT-really-eat.VAI-3.CONJ
 'And they were afraid of the skunk they were really eating'
 MJT 2013-12-13-01 018

- (63) Ngi-byé-wabmek
 ngi-byé-wabem-ek
 1PST-here-see.VTA-INV
 ‘S/he came to see me’
 MJT 2013-12-13-02 123
- (64) Gwi-nizhokmewyemen
 gwi-nizhokemew-yemen
 2.FUT-help.VTA-2>1EXCL
 ‘You will help us’
 LR 2014-10-29-02 052

5.3.1 Irregular TA *ndena* ‘I say a certain thing to him/her’

There is an irregular TA verb /əN/ ‘say something to someone,’ which is very common in narratives. Valentine (2001:285) notes that this irregular verb has a zero allomorph. This is true in Potawatomi as well, as shown in the examples below; a form like *ndegok* ‘they said to me’ consists of just a person prefix *nde-*, the inverse marker, and the 3rd person plural suffix. In others, the stem consists of just *(e)n*. Some typical examples are given below.

- (65) *ndena*
 ‘I say it to him/her/it’
 LBW5473/JDN2525
- (66) *gdenen*
 ‘I say to you’
 LBW5473/JDN2525
- (67) *ngi-nek*
 ‘s/he told me’
 MJT 2014-03-10-04
- (68) *ndegok*
 ‘they said to me’
 LBW5473/JDN2525
- (69) *ndenak*
 ‘I tell them’
 LBW5473/JDN2525

- (70) wgi-nan
's/he said to him/her (obv.)'
- (71) wgi-gon
's/he (obv.) said to him/her'
- (72) ndegwnan
's/he says to us (excl.)'
JT 2011-12-13
- (73) ngi-gwenan
's/he told us (excl.)'
JT 2015-01-20-01 033

A participle and a conjunct example are given below.

- (74) énet
'what you are saying to him/her'
JT 2009-04-22
- (75) é-gi-nan
'he told him'
BD 2011-01-20-01 226

5.4 *Negative*

The negative of independent TA verbs variously attaches either *-se* or *-si* between the theme sign and the person/number inflection. Forms with *-se* are reserved to local inverse contexts, and final *n* is inconsistently attested in some forms.

The pattern that Welcher (1998) reported is given below.

VTA Singular Object	1.SG	2.SG	3.SG	3.OBV
1.SG	<i>reflexive</i>	g-X-esnon	n-X-asi	n-X-asin
2.SG	g-X-esi	<i>reflexive</i>	g-X-asi	g-X-asin
3.SG	n-X-egwsi	g-X-egwsi	<i>reflexive</i>	w-X-asin
3.OBV	n-X-egwsi	g-X-egwsi	w-X-egwsin	<i>reflexive</i>
1.EXCL		g-X-egwosi	n-X-asimen	n-X-asimen
1.INCL			g-X-asimen	g-X-asimen
2.PL	g-X-esim		g-X-asiwa	g-X-asiwan
3.PL	n-X-egwsik	g-X-egwsik		w-X-asiwan

Table 56. Overview of TA negatives, singular object (Welcher 1998)

VTA Plural Object	1.EXCL	1.INCL	2.PL	3.PL
1.SG			g-X-snonem	n-X-asik
2.SG	g-X-esimen			g-X-asik
3.SG	n-X-egwsinan	g-X-egwsinan	g-X-egwsiwa	
3.OBV	n-X-egwsinan	g-X-egwsinan	g-X-egwsiwa	w-X-egwsiwan
1.EXCL	<i>reflexive</i>		g-X-egosim ²⁴	n-X-asimen
1.INCL		<i>reflexive</i>		g-X-asimen
2.PL	g-X-esimen		<i>reflexive</i>	g-X-asiwak
3.PL	n-X-egnanek	g-X-egsinanek	g-X-egsiwak	<i>reflexive</i>

Table 57. Overview of TA negatives, plural object (Welcher 1998)

An example paradigm is given below.

²⁴ Hocktt gives *gwabmesnonmen* here.

VTA Singular Object	1.SG	2.SG	3.SG	3.OBV
1.SG	<i>reflexive</i>	gwabmesnon	nwabmasi	nwabmasin
2.SG	gwabemesi	<i>reflexive</i>	gwabmasi	gwabmasin
3.SG	nwabmegsi	gwabmegsi	<i>reflexive</i>	wwabmasin
3.OBV	nwabmegsi	gwabmegsi	wwabmegsin	<i>reflexive</i>
1.EXCL		gwabmegosi	nwabmasimen	nwabmasimen
1.INCL			gwabmasimen	gwabmasimen
2.PL	gwabmesim		gwabmasiwa	gwabmasiwan
3.PL	nwabmegsik	gwabmegsik		wwabmasiwan

Table 58. Sample TA negatives, singular object.

VTA Plural Object	1.EXCL	1.INCL	2.PL	3.PL
1.SG			gwabmesnonem	nwabmasik
2.SG	gwabmesimen			gwabmasik
3.SG	nwabmegsinan	gwabmegsinan	gwabmegsiwa	
3.OBV	nwabmegsinan	gwabmegsinan	gwabmegsiwa	wwabmegsiwan
1.EXCL	<i>reflexive</i>		gwabmegosim ²⁵	nwabmasimen
1.INCL		<i>reflexive</i>		gwabmasimen
2.PL	gwabmesimen		<i>reflexive</i>	gwabmasiwak
3.PL	nwabmegnane	gwabmegsinane	gwabmegsiwak	<i>reflexive</i>

Table 59. Sample TA negatives, plural.

Most of these forms are relatively robustly attested in natural speech. There is some variation especially in the negative 3rd person on 1st person forms; while Welcher reported *-egsi* as the result of the inverse theme sign *-egw* coming together with the negative *-si*, but speakers today report *-akwsi* or *-aksi* when the TA verb ends in *-ew*, as in the first three examples below.

- (76) Jo ndebwétakwsik
jo n-debwétew-akwsik
NEG 1-believe.VTA-NEG.3PL>1SG
‘They don’t believe me’
JT LBW5299/JDN776

²⁵ Hocktt gives *gwabmesnonmen* here.

(77) Jo mbezedakwsi
 jo n-bezedew-akwsi
 NEG 1-listen.VTA-NEG.3SG>1SG
 'She doesn't listen to me'
 JT 2014-02-12-17

(78) Jo nwi-widmaks
 jo nwi-widemew-aksi
 NEG 1.FUT-tell.VTA-NEG.3SG>1SG
 'He won't tell me'
 MJT 2014-03-10-05 104

This is probably a coalescence of *-aw and *-igw, a remnant of the older vowel system of Potawatomi.

(79) Jo gdebwétewsnon
 jo g-debwétew-senon
 NEG 2-believe.NEG.VTA-1SG>2SG
 'I don't believe you'
 JT LBW5299/JDN776

(80) Jo ggi-wabmesnon é-gi-o-wisneyan
 jo ggi-wabm-esnon é-gi-o-wisene-yan
 NEG 2.PST-see.VTA-NEG.1SG>2SG FCT-PST-go.and-eat.VAI-2.CONJ
 'I didn't see you there, I went to eat'
 MJT 2015-10-06-01d 086

(81) Jo wgi-shemgwesin ni kwéwen.
 jo wgi-shem-egwesin ni kwé-wen
 NEG 3.PST-feed.VTA-NEG.3OBV>3 DEM woman-OBV
 'The woman didn't feed him.'
 MJT 2015-10-06-01a 187

(82) Wwi-bashksewasiwan node seksin
 wwi-bashkesew-asiwan node seksin
 3.FUT-shoot.VTA-NEG.3PL>3OBV DEM deer-OBV
 'They will not shoot those deer'
 MJT 2013-12-13-02 168

(83) Jo wi zhe mech je wpi wgi-mwasiwan
 jo wi zhe mech je wpi wgi-mew-asiwan
 NEG PC do.not.know PC time 3.PST-eat.VTA-NEG.3PL>3OBV
 'I can't think of a time when they ate him (bear)'
 LR 2014-02-12-14 059

5.5 Conjunct

The table below gives an overview of TA conjunct verb inflection.

VTA Singular Object	1.SG	2.SG	3.SG	3.OBV
1.SG	<i>reflexive</i>	-enan	-ek	-ek
2.SG	-eyen	<i>reflexive</i>	-et	-et
3.SG	-et	-egwyen	<i>reflexive</i>	-at
3.OBV	-et	-egwyen	-egot	<i>reflexive</i>
1.EXCL		-enak	-egot	-ayak
1.INCL			-at	
2.PL	-eyék		-ék	-ayék
3.PL	-ewat	-egwa		-awat

Table 60. Overview of conjunct TA inflection, singular object.

VTA Plural Object	1.EXCL	1.INCL	2.PL	3.PL
1.SG			-enego	-egwa
2.SG	-eyak			-edwa
3.SG	-eyemet	-enek	-enék	
3.OBV	-eyemet	-enek	-egwyék	-egwat
1.EXCL	<i>reflexive</i>		-enak	-ego
1.INCL		<i>reflexive</i>		-at
2.PL	-eyak		<i>reflexive</i>	-egwa
3.PL	-eyemet	-enek	-egoyék	<i>reflexive</i>

Table 61. Overview of conjunct TA inflection, plural object.

There are a number of important differences between the independent and the conjunct. Besides the obvious fact that there are no prefixes necessary in the conjunct, the paradigms show a different set of markers entirely – many forms totally lack a theme sign (cf. Valentine 2001:276), and the person hierarchy appears not to apply to the same extent as it does in the independent. There are also different contrasts; for example, the indicative forms in section 5.3 show that the obviative distinction is neutralized with 1st person exclusive subjects, but these forms are kept distinct in the conjunct.

A sample paradigm is given below.

VTA Singular Object	1.SG	2.SG	3.SG	3.OBV
1.SG	<i>reflexive</i>	wabmenan	wabmek	wabmek
2.SG	wabmeyeyen	<i>reflexive</i>	wabmet	wabmet
3.SG	wabmet	wabmegwyen ²⁶	<i>reflexive</i>	wabmat
3.OBV	wabmet	wabmegwyen	wabmegot	?
1.EXCL		wabmenak	wabmegot ²⁷	wabmayak
1.INCL			wabmat	?
2.PL	wabmeyék		wabmék	wabmayék
3.PL	wabmewat	wabmegwa ²⁸		wabmawat

Table 62. Sample conjunct TA paradigm (Welcher 1998)

VTA Plural Object	1.EXCL	1.INCL	2.PL	3.PL
1.SG			wabmengo	wabmegwa
2.SG	wabmeyak			wabmedwa
3.SG	wabmeymet	wabmenek	wabmenék ²⁹	
3.OBV	wabmeymet	wabmenek	wabmegwyék	wabmegwat
1.EXCL	<i>reflexive</i>		wabmenak	wabmego
1.INCL		<i>reflexive</i>		wabmat
2.PL	wabmeyak		<i>reflexive</i>	wabmegwa
3.PL	wabmeymet	wabmenek	wabmegoyék ³⁰	<i>reflexive</i>

Table 63. Sample conjunct TA paradigm (Welcher 1998)

²⁶ Hockett had *wabmek*.

²⁷ Hockett had *wabmego*.

²⁸ Hockett had *wabmekwa*.

²⁹ Hockett had *wabmenak*.

³⁰ Hockett had *wabmenak*.

5.6 Preterit

Many of the following forms are unattested in the corpus and are hard to elicit and somewhat rare. The remaining sections have far more gaps and uncertainties.

VTA Singular Object	1.SG	2.SG	3.SG	3.OBV
1.SG	<i>reflexive</i>	g-X-enaben	n-X-aben	n-X-agbninen ³¹
2.SG	g-X-enaben	<i>reflexive</i>	g-X-aben	g-X-agbninen ³²
3.SG	n-X-egben	g-X-egben	<i>reflexive</i>	w-X-agbninen ³³
3.OBV	n-X-egben	g-X-egben	w-X-egbeninen	<i>reflexive</i>
1.EXCL		g-X-enmenwaben	n-X-amnaben	n-X-amnaben
1.INCL			g-X-amnaben	g-X-amnaben
2.PL	g-X-emwaben		g-X-amwaben	g-X-amwaben ³⁴
3.PL	n-X-egbeninek	g-X-egbeninek		w-X-amwabeninen

Table 64. Overview of TA preterit, singular object.

VTA Plural Object	1.EXCL	1.INCL	2.PL	3.PL
1.SG			g-X-ennemwaben	n-X-abeni(ne)k
2.SG	g-X-emnaben			g-X-abeni(ne)k
3.SG	n-X-egmenaben	g-X-egm(e)naben	g-X-egwaben	
3.OBV	n-X-egwmenaben	g-X-egwmenaben	g-X-egwaben	w-X-egwabeninen
1.EXCL	<i>reflexive</i>		g-X-enmenwaben	?
1.INCL		<i>reflexive</i>		?
2.PL	g-X-emnaben		<i>reflexive</i>	g-X-amwaben(ne)k
3.PL	n-X-egmenabeni(ne)k	g-X-egbeninek	g-X-egbeninek	<i>reflexive</i>

Table 65. Overview of TA preterit, plural object.

The preterit forms are the independent forms with the mode marker prior to the outer suffix (see the template in 5.3). An example TA preterit paradigm follows below.

³¹ Hockett gave *nwabmabeninen*.

³² Hockett gave *gwabmabeninen*.

³³ Hockett gave *wabmabeninen*.

³⁴ Hockett gave *gwabmamwabeninen*.

VTA Singular Object	1.SG	2.SG	3.SG	3.OBV
1.SG	<i>reflexive</i>	gwabmenaben	nwabmaben	nwabmagbninen ³⁵
2.SG	gwabmenaben	<i>reflexive</i>	gwabmaben	gwabmagbninen ³⁶
3.SG	nwabmegben	gwabmegben	<i>reflexive</i>	wabmagbninen ³⁷
3.OBV	nwabmegben	gwabmegben	wabmegbeninen	<i>reflexive</i>
1.EXCL		gwabmenmenwaben	nwabmamnaben	nwabmamnaben
1.INCL			gwabmamnaben	gwabmamnaben
2.PL	gwabmemwaben		gwabmamwaben	gwabmamwaben ³⁸
3.PL	nwabmegbeninek	gwabmegbeninek		wabmamwabeninen

Table 66. Sample TA preterit paradigm, singular object.

VTA Plural Object	1.EXCL	1.INCL	2.PL	3.PL
1.SG			gwabmennemwaben	nwabmabeni(ne)k
2.SG	gwabmemnaben			gwabmabeni(ne)k
3.SG	nwabmegmenaben	gwabmegm(e)naben	gwabmegwaben	
3.OBV	nwabmegwmenaben	gwabmegwmenaben	gwabmegwaben	wabmegwabeninen
1.EXCL	<i>reflexive</i>		gwabmenmenwaben	?
1.INCL		<i>reflexive</i>		?
2.PL	gwabmemnaben		<i>reflexive</i>	gwabmamwabeni(ne)k
3.PL	nwabmegmenabeni(ne)k	gwabmegbeninek	gwabmegbeninek	<i>reflexive</i>

Table 67. Sample TA preterit paradigm, plural object.

5.7 Dubitative

The same warning for the preterit forms applies to the dubitative forms.

³⁵ Hockett gave *nwabmabeninen*.

³⁶ Hockett gave *gwabmabeninen*.

³⁷ Hockett gave *wabmabeninen*.

³⁸ Hockett gave *gwabmamwabeninen*.

VTA Singular Object	1.SG	2.SG	3.SG	3.OBV
1.SG	<i>reflexive</i>	g-X-enadek	n-X-adek	n-X-adegéne
2.SG	?	<i>reflexive</i>	g-X-adek	g-X-adegéne
3.SG	n-X-ede?	g-X-ede	<i>reflexive</i>	w-X-adegéne
3.OBV	n-X-ede?	g-X-ede	w-X-egodegéne	<i>reflexive</i>
1.EXCL		g-X-enmenwadek	n-X-anadek	nwabmanadek
1.INCL			g-X-anadek	g-X-anadek
2.PL	g-X-emdek		?	?
3.PL	n-X-egodegéne	g-X-egodegéne		w-X-awadegéne

Table 68. Overview of dubitative TA, singular object.

VTA Plural Object	1.EXCL	1.INCL	2.PL	3.PL
1.SG			?	n-X-adegek
2.SG	g-X-eymnadek			g-X-adegek
3.SG	n-X-egomnadek	g-X-egomnadek	g-X-egwadek	
3.OBV	n-X-egomnadek	g-X-egomnadek	g-X-egwadek	w-X-egwadegéne
1.EXCL	<i>reflexive</i>		g-X-enmenwadek	?
1.INCL		<i>reflexive</i>		?
2.PL	g-X-eymnadek		<i>reflexive</i>	g-X-awadegéne
3.PL	n-X-egonadegéne	g-X-egonadegéne	g-X-egowadegéne	<i>reflexive</i>

Table 69. Overview of dubitative TA, plural object.

The dubitative forms are the independent forms with the mode marker prior to the outer suffix (see the template in 5.3). An example TA preterit paradigm follows below. An example dubitative TA paradigm follows.

VTA Singular Object	1.SG	2.SG	3.SG	3.OBV
1.SG	<i>reflexive</i>	gwabmenadek	nwabmadek	nwabmadegéne
2.SG	?	<i>reflexive</i>	gwabmadek	gwabmadegéne
3.SG	nwabmedek	wwabmedek	<i>reflexive</i>	wwabmadegéne
3.OBV	nwabmedek	gwabmedek	wabmegodegéne	<i>reflexive</i>
1.EXCL		gwabmenmenwadek	nwabmanadek	nwabmanadek
1.INCL			gwabmanadek	gwabmanadek
2.PL	gwabmemdek		?	?
3.PL	nwabmegodegéne	gwabmegodegéne		wwabmawadegén

Table 70. Sample dubitative TA paradigm, singular object.

VTA Plural Object	1.EXCL	1.INCL	2.PL	3.PL
1.SG			?	nwabmadegék
2.SG	gwabmeymnadek			gwabmadegék
3.SG	nwabmegomnadek	gwabmegomnadek	gwabmegwadek	
3.OBV	nwabmegomnadek	gwabmegomnadek	gwabmegwadek	wabmegwadegéne
1.EXCL	<i>reflexive</i>		gwabmenmenwadek	?
1.INCL		<i>reflexive</i>		?
2.PL	gwabmeymnadek		<i>reflexive</i>	gwabmawadegéne
3.PL	nwabmegonadegénine	gwabmegonadegénine	gwabmegowadegénine	<i>reflexive</i>

Table 71. Sample dubitative TA paradigm, plural object.

Chapter 6: Topics in Syntax and Semantics

1 Introduction

Hockett, in his description of Potawatomi, said “[t]he chapter of Algonquian grammar (Potawatomi or otherwise) which still remains most completely unwritten is syntax” (1948d:215). In his own work on syntax, Hockett noted that, more generally, “[s]tudents of American Indian languages have given little attention to syntax” (1939b:235). Arguably, this is still true (though see Matthewson 2017 for an excellent overview of semantic work and the Papers of the Algonquian Conference for many examples of syntactic work). More recent work, however, has begun to address this gap.

In section 2, I begin with a review of Lewis’s (2015, 2016) work on word order in Potawatomi. Though his analysis relies on narratives Hockett collected in the 1930s, the evidence I provide from conversations and narratives gathered over the last five years generally supports his conclusions, though with some differences that presumably reflect more recent changes. The remaining sections build on work from Welcher’s unpublished grammatical manuscript. In section 3, I discuss relative and complement clauses of various kinds. In section 4, I discuss questions and embedded questions. Section 5 covers tense, aspect, modality, and evidentiality. Finally, in section 6, I discuss quantification and quantifying expressions.

1.1 Note on glossing

For ease of reading, I do not provide morpheme-by-morpheme glosses in this chapter unless absolutely necessary to understand the example in question; see chapters 4 and 5 for details of noun and verb inflection. I do, however, indicate when a verb is in the conjunct order and when a

preverb or a verb shows initial change, since the choice of independent, conjunct, and changed conjunct has syntactic-semantic-pragmatic dimensions.¹

2 Basic Word Order

Until recently, Potawatomi sentences received little research. Hockett called his own comments on syntax and semantics “hints [that] must be taken as tentative” (1948d:216). Welcher (Buszard 2003:12) describes Potawatomi word order as “generally flexible, and governed by discourse principles,” but does not venture into great detail in published work. Potawatomi speakers uniformly reject the notion that word order is free – but paradoxically, all combinations of subject, object, and verb are attested and interpretable by speakers, with no neutral or basic order.

In more recent work, Lewis has demonstrated that word order in Potawatomi is pragmatically conditioned (Lewis 2015, 2016), showing that it is impossible to adequately describe Potawatomi sentences without reference to discursive context. Based on evidence from narratives, Lewis (2016) argues for the following template for Potawatomi sentences:

Topic	Negative	Adverb	Argument Focus Oblique	Verb	Subject Object Second Object Oblique
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Table 1. Lewis’s word order template (2016).

In the template above, slots can be filled by either words or phrases; when multiple occupants are listed, they are unordered with respect to each other. Note that adverbials typically come before the verb of the main clause, and that the subject and object typically follow the verb when they are neither topic nor focus; we will see again in section 3 that adverbial clauses typically precede

¹ For example, Fairbanks argues that in Ojibwe initial change (2016) and conjunct marking (2009) have evidential effects. In previous work (Lockwood in press b), I provided some evidence along these lines but did not address it directly in my discussion of preterit marking.

the verb while other dependent clauses typically follow the matrix verb. In the rest of this section, I examine topic, argument focus, obliques, and negation.

2.1 Topic

Lewis analyzes *topic* and *argument focus* following Lambrecht (1994), who defines a referent as a topic “if in a given situation the proposition is construed as being about this referent” (Lambrecht 1994:131; Lewis 2015:9, 2016:8). Much of Lewis’s latter paper is dedicated to diagnostics of topic and focus, providing support for the template he proposes. One such piece of evidence concerns the distribution of *gé* (2016:9-12), a particle traditionally glossed ‘also’ or ‘and.’ Lewis analyzes *gé* as a topic marker and describes three different uses of the particle, which I reduce to two general use cases: *gé* preceding the verb or *gé* following the verb.

Before the verb, *gé* tends to introduce a new topic or shift the topic. Consider the following case: two speakers are discussing how the elders used to warn people that the animals will start disappearing. The speaker lists several animals which are no longer seen as commonly as before. In the turn prior to example (1), he mentions skunks. Then, he says the following about them:

- (1a) Mine o, **gi zhegagok**.
 mine o gi zhegagok
 and DEM DEM skunks
 ‘And the skunks.’
 JT 2015-05-06-01 029
- (1b) Bjinek zhe na néyap **gé winwa** nwabmamen.
 bjinek zhe na néyap gé winwa nwabmamen.
 now EMPH EMPH back TOP 3PL we.see.them
 ‘Just now we started seeing them again; they’re back.’
 JT 2015-05-06-01 031

Potawatomi is generally considered a pro-drop language (Buszard 2003:12); a pronoun is not required for a grammatical sentence. The pronoun appears here, preceded by the topic marker *gé*,

because its referent (skunks) is what the sentence is about. This construction, an optional noun followed by *gé*+pronoun+verb, is a very common marker of topic in Potawatomi. Post-verbally, topics can also appear marked by *gé*. In the following example, two speakers are discussing some mutual acquaintances who ran away from school. Remarking on how far they ran, one speaker says:

- (2) Wabino ga-zhe-bmoséwat **gé winwa.**
 Wabino ga-zhe-bmoséwat gé winwa
 Wabeno IC.PST-REL-they.walked.CONJ TOP 3PL
 ‘They walked to Wabeno.’
 MJT 2014-03-10-01 169

The pronoun *winwa* appears here preceded by the topic marker *gé* because its referent (the ones who ran away) is what the sentence is about; subsequent turns continue discussing those people.

Another test Lewis offers involves negation; recall from previous chapters that negation in Potawatomi is bipartite in the independent, marked both on the verb and with an independent negation particle *jo* (or *cho*). Based on the narratives Hockett collected, Lewis finds that when a noun precedes negation, it is the topic, but when a noun follows the negative, it is focused. In the following example, we continue the conversation from example (1) about animals that no longer appear as frequently as they once did.

- (3) Bojgéna gi mikchakok jo nwabmasik.
 bojgéna gi **mikchakok jo** nwabmasik.
 regardless DEM frogs NEG I.don't.see.them
 ‘Even those frogs, I don’t see them.’
 JT 2015-05-06-01 020

With this turn, a new topic (frogs) is temporarily established, and the rest of the sentence is a comment on their absence.

2.2 Focus

Focus is “the semantic component of a pragmatically structured proposition whereby the assertion differs from the proposition” (Lambrecht 1994:213). Following Lambrecht’s definition, Lewis discusses argument focus, predicate focus, and sentence focus, but especially relevant here is the notion of argument focus, which involves a contrast or the addition of a new referent to the discourse (Lambrecht 2000:612).

In Lewis’s template, argument focus follows the verb while topic precedes it, and the negative appears between topic and focus. This appears to be borne out in the corpus: compare example (5) below with (3) above (repeated as 4). In (4), the topic (bullfrogs) preceded negation.

- (4) Bojgéna gi mikchakok jo nwabmasik.
 bojgéna gi **mikchakok** **jo** nwabmasik.
 regardless DEM frogs NEG I.do.not.see.them
 ADV TOP NEG VERB
 ‘Even those frogs, I don’t see them.’
 JT 2015-05-06-01 020

The sentence is a comment about bullfrogs, and that noun precedes negation. In the next example, the speaker was describing how the school building was heated, describing a coal-burning stove rather than a wood-burning stove. (The relevant portions of Lewis’s template are given below the word gloss here.)

- (5) Contrastive focus follows negation:
 a. Mteno wgi-jagzan “coal.” “Furnace” zhi gi-témget. Kche-gzhapkezgen.
 mteno wgi-jagzan coal furnace zhi gi-témget
 only 3.PST-he.burned.it there PST-there.is

 kche-gzhapkezgen
 big-stove
 He only burned coal. There was a furnace there. A big stove.
 JT, “Jim’s School Story”

b. **Jo msen** wgi-yosinawa.

jo msen wgi-yosinawa
 no firewood 3.PST-they.do.not.use.it
 NEG FOC VERB
 ‘They didn’t use firewood.’
 LR, “Jim’s School Story”

In (5b), *msen* ‘firewood’ is focused as a contrast to the coal, and so appears following negation rather than preceding negation (Lewis 2016:4). In (6), the phrase beginning with the particle *mteno* ‘only’ occupies the focus position (Lewis 2016:5).

(6) A, *mteno kchemokman wisnewen é-mneptemwat*.

a *mteno kchemokman wisnewen é-mneptemwat*
 ah only white.person food FCT-they.like.the.taste.of.it.CONJ
 Ah, only white people food tastes good to them.
 MD, “What Young People Eat”

The speakers have just been discussing how their younger relatives have different tastes in food than they do. They mention how only one or two of them still enjoy the taste of traditional foods like venison; the rest of their younger relatives, in contrast, only like *kchemokman wisnewen* – white people food.

2.3 *Oblique*

I use *oblique* to refer to an argument (or adjunct) that is neither subject nor object. Lewis finds that they “typically fall into the semantic classes of goal, manner, source, and stationary location” (Lewis 2016:17). His template places obliques and argument-focus in the same slot, after the topic and before the verb. However, as he notes, obliques can also follow the verb and neither order appears to be basic.

Obliques can be licensed by relative roots and preverbs, but can also be optionally licensed by verbs without relative roots. Below, the oblique is introduced with *zhi* ‘there’ and is not licensed by a relative root.

- (7) A, i je mine é-gi-wép-skonoyak zhi "public school."
 a i je mine é-gi-wép-skonoyak
 ah dem and and FCT-PST-start-we.go.to.school.CONJ

 zhi “public school”
 there
 So then we started to attend the public school.
 JT, “Jim’s School Story”

The verb *é-gi-wép-skonoyak* ‘we started to attend school’ is an animate intransitive verb; it licenses a single core argument, the subject. The location is introduced optionally as an oblique with *zhi*. The next example has both an optional oblique of this sort as well as an oblique licensed a relative root.

- (8) Nso-pon ngi-o-dnezmen zhi.
 nso-pon ngi-o-dnezmen zhi
 three-winter 1.pst-go-we.stayed.there there
 ‘We stayed there three years.’
 JT 2014-10-29-01 145

The stretch of time indicated in *nso-pon* ‘three years’ is a temporal oblique (Rhodes 2010:308). The locational adverb *zhi* refers back to a location introduced by the speaker a few turns earlier, and is licensed by the relative root *den-* ‘in a certain place.’ In the next section, I discuss relative roots and preverbs in more detail.

2.3.1 Relative roots and preverbs

Relative roots and relative preverbs add arguments to a verb that are generally described as oblique.² Here, the relative preverb *wje-* is used to specify the location of origin of the visitors.

- (9) Ngot o Bemidji **wje-byé-mbwach'eymet**
 one DEM Bemidji he.came.from.there.CONJ
 ‘One person came from Bemidji to visit us.’
 LR 2014-02-12-05 006-8

² A notable exception, Rhodes (2010) distinguishes obliques and relative root complements while acknowledging their similarities.

The transitive animate verb *nnebwach* 'a' 'I visit him/her' does not specify a location for either the visit or the place of origin of the visitor. The oblique here is *Bemidji*, licensed by the relative preverb *wje-* 'origin, reason why.' The following interaction shows the relative preverbs *je-* and *zhe-*. First, *je-* in (10a) adds the location of the sleeping event to the verb, linking it to the location described by the verb *gi-shpemsekgadé* 'it had an attic or an upper floor' in (10a). Then, another speaker responds in (10c) using the relative preverb *zhe-* to refer either again to the attic or to *mtgowgemgomes*, 'the old log house' being described.

(10) Obliques introduced by relative preverbs:

- a. Mji' na je wi zhe gi-shpemsekgadé
 mji' na je wi zhe gi-shpemsekgadé
 not really and FOC PC PST-it.has.an.upper.floor
 'But it had some kind of attic [any old way].'
 JT 2014-10-29-01 115
- b. I zhe na gigabése **ga-je-mbayak**.
 i zhe na gigabése ga-je-mbayak
 DEM PC PC boys IC.PST-REL-we.sleep.CONJ
 'That's where we boys slept.'
 JT 2014-10-29-01 116
- c. O, **ga-byé-zhe-giwéyen**.
 o ga-byé-zhe-giwéyen
 oh IC.PST-this.way-REL-you.go.home.CONJ
 'Oh, that's what you came home to.'
 LR 2014-10-29-01 118

Note that the relative preverbs here have an understood definite reference, even when an overt complement is not present in the sentence as in (10c) (see Rhodes 2010:313-315). The rest of this section provides examples of the relative preverbs, shown in the table below.

Root	Preverb	Gloss
ezh, en-	ezhe-	‘so; to a certain place; in a certain way’
od-, oj-, wed-, wej-	oje-, weje-	‘from; for the reason that’
des-, desh-	deso-, édeso-	‘so much; so many’
epit-, epich-	epiche-	‘such an extent; meanwhile; still’
ekw-	eko	‘as long as’
den-, dezh-	je-	‘in a certain place’

Table 2. Relative roots and preverbs in Potawatomi (see chapter 3 section 5.1.1)

The prototypical relative preverb is *ezhe-* ‘so; to a certain place; in a certain way.’

- (11) Wabino ga-zhe-bmoséwat gé winwa.
 Wabino ga-zhe-bmoséwat gé winwa
 Wabeno IC.PST-REL-they.walked.CONJ TOP 3PL
 ‘They walked to Wabeno.’
 MJT 2014-03-10-01 169

In this example, the preverb *zhe-* adds the destination of the walking event to the verb *ga-bmoséwat* ‘(that) they walked.’ When combined with a set of finals beginning with a lenis stop, this relative root surfaces as a simple fortition, as below.

- (12) Ézhi Maygonak nwi-po'wémen gi-kedwek.
 ézhi Maygonak nwi-po'wémen gi-kedwek.
 there to.Mexico 1.FUT-we.flee PST-they.say
 ‘We're running off to Mexico, they said.’
 JT 2014-02-12-06 027

The verb *po'wé* has the final *-bo'wé* and the relative root *en-/ezh-* (*eN-*), which licenses the destination location given in an oblique.³

There is also a free particle *zhe*; it is commonly used but difficult to define precisely. The example below comes from an extended back-and-forth about goat milk and goat cheese.

- (13) Ngodek zhe nge-gwechpedan.
 Ngodek zhe nge-gwechpedan.
 one.time PC 1.FUT-I.will.try.it
 Someday I'll try it.
 LR 2014-02-12-05 163

³ Compare *giwébowé* ‘s/he runs home’ and two other verbs with this pattern: *peto* ‘s/he runs to a certain place’ and *kedo* ‘s/he says so’ (compare Valentine 2001:724)

The dictionary glosses *zhe* as ‘kind,’ and Lewis (2016) refers to it only as ‘emphatic.’ Neither of these seem particularly apt; at times, *zhe* appears to behave as a simple emphatic, but here it seems deictic.

The next examples show two different uses of the relative preverb *wje-* ‘origin; reason why.’ Unlike many of the other relative roots and preverbs discussed here, no variant of *wje-* is attested as a free particle.

- (14) Nangodgen *zhe* na Oklahoma *é-wje-byawat*.
 nangodgen *zhe* na Oklahoma *é-wje-byawat*
 sometimes PC EMPH FCT-REL-they.arrive.CONJ
 ‘Sometimes Oklahoma is where they come from.’
 JT 2015-05-06-01 051

- (15) I *je é-dawéwat* ni minen i *ga-wje-wisneyak*.
 I *je* *é-dawéwat* ni minen
 DEM and FCT-they.sold.them.CONJ DEM blueberries

 i *ga-wje-wisneyak*
 DEM IC.PST-REL-we.eat
 ‘Then they sold the blueberries, that’s the reason we were able to eat.’
 JT 2015-01-20-01 126

In (15), *wje-* links the verb *é-byawat* ‘(that) they come’ to the place *Oklahoma*. In (26), *wje-* links the verb *ga-wisneyak* ‘(that) we eat’ to the phrase explaining the reason, *é-dawéwat ni minen*, ‘(that) they sell blueberries.’ In the corpus, the ‘reason why’ use of *wje-* is far more prevalent.

The next relative preverb, *dso-* is used in numerical expressions.

- (16) Ni *je ga-tso-pongezyen*?
 ni *je* *ga-tso-pongezyen*
 how IC.PST-REL-you.are.so.many.years.old
 ‘How old were you?’
 LR 2014-10-29-01 027

This preverb is commonly used as an independent particle, both in collocation with the question word *ni je tso* ‘how many?’ and as below.

- (17) Ahaw, i tso ode.
 ahaw i tso ode
 okay DEM REL DEM
 ‘Okay, that’s enough of this.’
 JT 2015-01-20-01 230

The relative preverb *pich-* below adds a scalar reading, linking the verb denoting the emotion ‘anger’ to the previous turn in the discourse.

- (18) É-pich-gedazwat gé winwa jayék ngoji pa-zhenashkagoygo.
 é-pichgedazwat gé winwa jayék ngoji
 FCT-REL.we.are.angry TOP they all somewhere

 pa-zhenashkagoygo
 around-we.are.chased.CONJ
 ‘That’s how angry we were because we were chased all over the place.’
 JT 2014-02-12-06 092

The previous turn was describing a violent act, and so this preverb describes the extent of the anger. There are no examples of any variant of *pich-* used as a free particle.

The relative preverb *ko-* below indicates extent, length, and adds the specification of time to the verb meaning ‘we went.’

- (19) Nizhgon yawek é-gi-ko-zhyaygo.
 nizhgon yawek é-gi-ko-zhyaygo
 two.days it.is.CONJ FCT-PST-REL-we.went.CONJ
 ‘It’s been two years since we went there.’
 BD 2013-10-03-01 167-168

There are no examples of any variant of *ko-* used as a free particle.

Finally, the relative preverb *je-* below links the verb specifying the manner of locomotion to the particle denoting the extent of the motion.

- (20) Bnoch gé ninan gi-je-bmosémen.
 bnoch gé ninan gi-je-bmosémen
 far TOP we PST-REL-we.walk
 ‘We walked far.’
 BD 2015-03-10-01 005

All of these examples illustrate that relative preverbs function as applicatives, adding different kinds of arguments to verbs.

2.4 Toward a more elaborate template

As mentioned in the introduction, the narrative and conversational data from the corpus of modern Potawatomi data largely supports Lewis's (2015, 2016) template. There are examples, however, where it is less clear how his analysis would apply; I discuss only one here.

Consider the following example, from a conversation about food. This portion of the conversation is about pizza; neither of the elders like it, but their children do.

- (21) Jo wi nin apje nmenpedzin i
 Jo=wi nin apje nmenpedzin i
 no 1 really I.do.not.like.the.taste.of.it DEM
 NEG FOC ADV VERB TOP
 I don't much like the taste of it
 MJT 2014-02-12-05 050

The first person pronoun *nin* is focused in the sentence above. It emphasizes the speaker's own disliking of pizza, and contrasts with her children. As such, it appears in the focus position between the negator and the verb. However, the adverb *apje* 'really' follows the focused pronoun. This is contrary to Lewis's ordering. Some alternative explanations raise more issues. The speaker, *nin*, is not the topic of the sentence; pizza is, and it is marked postverbally. Even if *nin* was the topic, we would still be left with a topic following negation, contrary to Lewis's template.

This is not necessarily evidence against Lewis's model. Scattered examples like this could be a rare exception, evidence that *apje* behaves differently than other adverbs of its type, or evidence that adverbials have a freer word order than the initial claim (as they do in many languages).

3 Adverbial, Relative, and Complement Clauses

Based primarily on elicitation and narratives, Welcher (1998) provides a brief discussion of subordinate clauses of various kinds, especially focusing on adverbial clauses and sentential complements. Subordinate clauses are always in the conjunct order. In this section, I summarize her analysis and show how it applies to examples from conversations.

3.1 Adverbial clauses

In complex sentences typically, adverbial clauses precede the main clause. Still, though, dependent clauses of various kinds can be found either preceding or following independent clauses. For example, what Welcher calls durative clauses typically precede the main clause. Consider an example she gives; this is typical of all the adverbial clauses Welcher (1998) discusses.⁴

- (22) **É-mbayan**, gi-wép-boni.
 é-mbayan gi-wép-boni.
 FCT-I.sleep.CONJ PST-begin-it.snows
 While I was sleeping, it started to snow. (Welcher 1998)

In the sentence above, the conjunct verb *mbayan* in the first clause serves to specify the time of the event described in the clause that follows.

Though this order does appear to be the default, there are examples in conversations and narratives with the opposite order, like the ones below.

- (23) Gi-mnopkwet i **é-gi-gzhaboték**
 gi-mnopkwet i é-gi-gzhaboték
 PST-it.tastes.good.CONJ DEM FCT-PST-it.is.warm.CONJ
 ‘It tasted good while it was warm.’
 MJT 2015-10-05-02 025-026

⁴ Welcher’s examples in this section appear to be from elicitation, but little identifying information is given. Her examples appearing in that work are only given a free translation; I have provided the word glosses.

- (24) Seksi ngi-wabma **é-ne-bmebsoyan**.
 seksi ngi-wabma é-ne-bmebsoyan.
 deer 1.PST-I.see.him/her FCT-along-I.drive.CONJ
 'I saw a deer while driving along.'
 LBW6563/JDN2914

In both of these examples, the clause specifying the duration of the event ('while it was warm,' 'while driving along') follows the clause describing the event ('it tasted good,' 'I saw a deer').

What Welcher calls temporal clauses typically follow the same order: the subordinate clause precedes the main clause. This is by far the more common order.

- (25) **Odanek gish-zhyayan**, nge-wjanda.
 odanek gish-zhyayan nge-wjanda.
 town.LOC finish-I.go.CONJ 1.FUT-I.cook
 'After I go to town, I'll cook.' (Welcher 1998)

Again, there are examples of the opposite order.

- (26) Gda-gziyabdé **gi-gish-wisneyen**.
 gda-gziyabdé gi-gish-wisneyen.
 2.MOD-brush.teeth PST-finish-you.eat.CONJ
 'You can brush your teeth after you eat'
 MJT 2015-10-05-02 258

In the second example, the dependent clause appears following the main clause.

3.2 *Relative clauses*

In Potawatomi, relative clauses are easily identified due to initial change (see section 4.5; also see Valentine 2001:579-591) – which makes relative clauses very similar to noun participles (see chapter 4).

Relative clauses are commonly used in cleft constructions in Potawatomi. The examples below all take the same form: *wi yé* + demonstrative + relative clause (see Lewis 2016:4-5, 2017:3 for the use of *wi* in clefts).

- (27) **Wi yé i wa-ne-keno'magéyek.**
 wi yé i wa-ne-keno'magéyek.
 FOC PC DEM IC.FUT-away-you.teach.them.CONJ
 'That's what you will teach'
 BD 2013-10-04-05 115
- (28) **Wi yé ode wa-ne-zhechkéyen.**
 wi yé ode wa-ne-zhechkéyen.
 FOC PC DEM IC.FUT-away-you.do.CONJ
 'This is what you will do'
 BD 2015-10-05-01 132
- (29) **Gégo wa-gkéndemen bgéji wi yé o wa-mingoyen.**
 gégo wa-gkéndemen bgéji
 something IC.FUT-you.know.it.CONJ little

 wi yé o wa-mingoyen.
 FOC PC DEM IC.FUT-you.are.given.CONJ
 'You will know a little, that's what you will be given.'
 BD 2013-10-04-02 175
- (30) **Bégwnézet pkwézhgas mine kapi, wi yé i ga-mwek gezhép.**
 bégwnézet pkwézhgas mine kapi
 doughnut cookie and coffee

 wi yé i ga-mwek gezhép.
 FOC PC DEM IC.FUT-I.ate.it.CONJ morning
 'I ate a doughnut and coffee in the morning.'
 MJT 2015-10-05-01 030

Lewis (2016) notes that these *wi yé* + demonstrative clefts “offer a purpose or a location,” though its use in our corpus is broader than that as the examples above indicate.

Even in non-clefting contexts, relative clauses are headed by a demonstrative, as below.

- (31) **Mawjeshnok gi wa-byé-wisnejek.**
 mawjeshnok gi wa-byé-wisnejek.
 they.are.gathering DEM IC.FUT-here-they.eat.PART
 'They are gathering, that come to eat.'
 MJT 2016-01-14-02 101

- (32) Mine zhe na **é'i wa-je-bet o penojé**, wgi-mche-wzhetonawa na gishkey gi-yawen.
 mine zhe na é'i wa-je-bet o penojé
 and PC EMPH DEM IC.FUT-REL-sit.CONJ DEM baby
 wgi-mche-wzhetonawa na gishkey gi-yawen
 3.PST-freely-they.make.it EMPH cedar PST-it.is
 'And that part there where the baby will be, they made it by hand, it was of cedar.'
 JT 2016-01-11-01 023-024

Relative clauses can also be headed by quantifiers. In the next example, *jak* 'all' belongs with the relative clause *wa-bwa-zhechkéyak* 'what we should not do,' but has been moved to the front, creating a discontinuous constituent (example 34 shows *jak gégo* adjacent to what it quantifies).

- (33) **Jak** zhe na ngi-byé-gnemagomen **wa-bwa-zhechkéyak**.
 jak zhe na ngi-byé-gnemagomen wa-bwa-zhechkéyak.
 all EMPH EMPH 1.PST-here-we.are.warned IC.FUT-not-we.do.CONJ
 'We were warned about everything that we should [not] do.'
 JT 2016-04-07-01 143
- (34) Bwamshe majiyak é-mikwéndemak **jak gégo ode wa-yewyak é-wi-gigoskéyak, é-gwdemojkéyak**.
 bwamshe majiyak é-mikwéndemak jak gégo ode
 before we.left.CONJ FCT-we.think.about.it.CONJ everything DEM
 wa-yewyak é-wi-gigoskéyak é-gwdemojkéyak
 IC.FUT-we.use.it FCT-FUT-we.fish.CONJ FCT-we.fish.CONJ
 'Before we went we thought about everything that we are going to use.'
 BD 2014-07-16-01 036

Lewis (2016) argues that quantifiers target the argument focus position when they are fronted and discontinuous with what they quantify. Finally, relative clauses are not always headed by an overt pronoun, as below.

- (35) Jo gé na wi-gkéndesinawa **wa-zhechkéwat**.
 jo gé na wi-gkéndesinawa wa-zhechkéwat.
 no TOP EMPH FUT-they.do.not.know.it IC.FUT-they.do.CONJ
 'They don't want to know what they should do.'
 JT 2013-10-04-02 249

4 Questions

In this section, I begin with a discussion of polar (yes-no) questions, following that with a discussion of wh-questions.

4.1 Yes-no questions

Yes-no questions are very simple. They are formed with the particle *ne*, a second-position clitic.

- (36) Gwi-ne-giwsé **ne**?
 Gwi-ne-giwsé ne
 2.FUT-there-you.hunt Y/N
 ‘Are you going to hunt on the way?’
 JT 2012-11-19

The question particle *ne* is homophonous with but distinct from the preverb *ne* ‘away from’ that appears between the tense marker and the verb in the preceding example.

The next two examples are very similar; neither appears to contain a verb.

- (37) Géte ne zhe?
 Géte ne zhe
 true Y/N PC
 ‘Is it true?’
 JT/MJT 2010-09-28

- (38) I ne zhe gété?
 i ne zhe gété
 DEM Y/N PC true
 ‘Is that true?’
 JT 2011-12-15

The following question has the copular verb *témget* ‘it is in a place.’

- (39) Mbish ne témget?
 mbish ne témget
 water Y/N it.is.located
 ‘Is there water?’
 LBW6650/JDN3229

Since *mbish* ‘water’ is the noun being searched for, it is in a prominent position in the sentence.

The next two questions have the main clause verb in the first position, prior to the question particle.

- (40) Ggi-nodwan ne neko é-gi-ajmawat o kewézi?
 ggi-nodwan ne neko é-gi-ajmawat
 2.PST-you.hear Y/N used.to FCT-PST-they.talk.about.him.CONJ

 o kewézi
 DEM old.man
 ‘Did you hear them talk about that old man?’
 JT 2013-10-03-01 328-329

- (41) Gdemwa ne o mshiké?
 gde-mwa ne o mshiké
 2-you.eat.it Y/N DEM turtle
 ‘Do you eat turtle?’
 MJT 2015-10-05-02 138

4.2 Content questions

There is no one-to-one correspondence between English question words and Potawatomi question words. Rather than a simple *wh*-word, content questions in Potawatomi are formed with a particle cluster sentence-initially and then a clause in the conjunct order. At least the following interrogative particle clusters are attested in Potawatomi:

- (42) Question words in Potawatomi
- a. wégwni je ‘what/why’
 - b. wéni je ‘who/what’
 - c. ni je ‘what/how’
 - d. ni je pi / ni jo pi / ni je wpi ‘when/where’
 - e. ni pi je ‘where’

The first three interrogative particle clusters discussed here can all have the force of ‘what,’ though each can also be translated into English with a different question word. The remainder all

appear to be built off of the same base, *ni je* ‘what/how.’ I discuss and provide examples of each after discussing the function of the particle *je*.

4.2.1 Note on *je*

Notably, each of the interrogative particle clusters contains the particle *je*. Beyond the interrogative particle clusters, *je* appears in conversations and narratives frequently and appears to have several different functions related to coordination and discourse. In a commonly-used cleft construction, *i(w) je* sentence-initially is frequently translated as ‘and then’ or ‘and so,’ as below.

- (43) Jak gégo ode é-mnochgét. **Iw je wi-wjitmagot Mamogosnan...**
 jak gégo ode é-mnochgét
 all something dem FCT-he.does.good.CONJ

 iw je wi-wjitmagot Mamogosnan
 dem and FUT-he.will.help.him.CONJ Creator
 He does good in everything. And so Creator will help him...
 BD 2015-10-08-01 030-031

Hockett (1948d:217) likened this usage to ‘Biblical and’ – by this he referred to a conjunction prefix in old Hebrew narratives which also effects tense/aspect.⁵ Lewis (2017) described this use of *je* as a discourse sequencer, comparing it to Ojibwe speakers’ use of *mii dash* or *miish*.⁶ Welcher, in her unpublished grammatical materials (1998), finds also a contrastive use of *je*. In a conversation about animals that used to be more common, a speaker made the following remark.

⁵ Lewis (2017) also points out this curious comparison.

⁶ *Mi* (Ojibwe *mii*) is very rarely attested in Potawatomi – three times in my entire corpus – and only by speakers who had Ojibwe/Odawa speakers in their immediate family growing up. This result agrees with Lewis’s (2017) conclusion that *mii* is diagnostic of Ojibwe. The particle *dash* appears to be completely absent in Potawatomi and never attested.

- (44) Ngom je jo apche gwabmasimen.
 ngom je jo apche gwabmasimen.
 today PART NEG very we.do.not.see.it
 ‘But today we don’t see them much.’
 LR 2015-05-06 41

Here, *je* is used more like Ojibwe *dash* (Valentine 2001:151), to set up a contrast. It is not entirely clear what function *je* serves in interrogative particle clusters.

4.2.2 *wégwni je* ‘what/why’

These first two examples illustrate the use of *wégwni je* to ask for a reason.

- (45) Wégwni je ga-wje-odankéyen?
 wégwni je ga-wje-odankéyen
 why IC.PST-REL-we.go.to.town.CONJ
 ‘Why did you go to town?’
 JT 2012-11-20

- (46) Wégwni je bwa-wje-zhyayen?
 wégwni je bwa-wje-zhyayen
 why NEG-REL-you.go.CONJ
 ‘Why aren’t you going?’
 JT 2012-11-19

The next example shows *wégwni je* questioning the subject of the inanimate intransitive verb *nodésé* ‘it is scarce.’

- (47) Wégwni je nwadésak?
 wégwni je nwadésak
 what IC.it.is.scarce.CONJ
 ‘What are we short on?’
 LBW4631/JDN2923

In the section on embedded questions, I show some other examples of *wégwni*.

4.2.3 *wéni je* ‘who/what’

The following example shows *wéni je* used to question the subject of an animate intransitive verb.

- (48) Weni je ga-ntawét?
 wéni je ga-ntawét
 who PST-he.killed.him.CONJ
 ‘Who's the one who killed it? (of game)’
 BD/JT/MJT 2011-01-19

Next is an example of *wéni je* questioning the object.

- (49) Wéni je o bémnashkek?
 wéni je o bémnashkek
 what DEM IC.he.chases.him.CONJ
 ‘What is he chasing?’
 MJT 2016-01-15-01 079

Finally, *wéni je* can (but does not have to) be used without a verb in copular constructions. The first example shows the use of the copula, while the second omits it.

- (50) Wéni je i yawek?
 wéni je i yawek
 what DEM it.is.CONJ
 ‘What is that?’
 BD/JT/MJT 2012-11-20

- (51) Wéni je égi?
 wéni je égi
 who DEM
 ‘Who are those over there?’
 LBW6699/JDN924

In the section on embedded questions, I give another example of *wéni je*.

4.2.4 *ni je* ‘what, how’

Ni je is the base of the common Potawatomi greeting *Ni je na?* ‘How are you?’. Outside of that idiomatic use, it always appears with a verb (unlike some of the previous examples). That verb nearly always has either initial change, the factive preverb *é-*, or the modal preverb *da-*. The following examples are typical.

- (52) Ni je da-abjetoyen ode?
 ni je da-abjetoyen ode
 how MOD-you.use.it.CONJ DEM
 ‘How can you use this?’
 BD/JT/MJT 2011-10-27
- (53) Ni je é-zhewébzet?
 ni je é-zhewébzet
 what FCT-something.happens.to.him.CONJ
 ‘What is wrong with him?’
 BD 2012-09-14

Finally, as we will see again below, *ni je* can be combined with other particles to create a variety of meanings. In the example below, the meaning ‘how much/how many?’ is achieved by adding the particle *dso*.

- (54) Ni je dso ga-gwdemondwa?
 ni je dso ga-gwdemondwa
 how amount IC.PST-you.catch.them.CONJ
 ‘How many did you catch?’
 LBW5364/JDN1451

4.2.5 *ni je (w)pi* ‘when/where’

This interrogative particle cluster is attested variously as *ni jo pi* and *ni je pi*, and *ni je wpi*. Note the presence of *(w)pi*, a free particle that is strikingly similar to the relative root *epit* ‘to such an extent; meanwhile.’

- (55) Ni je wpi ga-byayen?
 ni je wpi ga-byayen
 when IC.PST-you.come.CONJ
 ‘When did you come?’
 JT 2012-11-20
- (56) Ni je wpi ga-bme-byayen?
 ni je wpi ga-bme-byayen
 when IC.PST-along-you.come.CONJ
 ‘When did you get here?’
 LBW6601/JDN2798

- (57) Ni je pi ga-shkwesémgek?
 ni je pi ga-shkwesémgek
 when PST-it.dead.ends.CONJ
 ‘When did it end?’
 BD/JT/MJT 2013-12-19
- (58) Ni jo pi ga-wdadziyen?
 ni jo pi ga-wdadziyen
 when IC.PST-you.are.born.CONJ
 ‘Where were you born?’
 LBW3676/JDB3555

This particle cluster is only ever used to ask for dates, times, and locations.

4.2.6 *ni pi je* ‘where’

This form is a variant of the preceding one, but is only attested meaning ‘where’ and never ‘when.’

- (59) Ni pi je dédé?
 ni pi je dédé
 where dad
 ‘Where is dad?’
 JT 2009-04-20

The preceding example is one of very few attested uses of this family of interrogative particles being used without a verb in the corpus. In the next example, the question is linked to the verb *nazi* ‘he/she climbs to a certain place’ which contains the relative root *n-/zh-* discussed previously in this chapter.

- (60) Ni pi je é-nazit?
 ni pi je é-nazit
 where FCT-he.climbs.CONJ
 ‘Where is he climbing?’
 JT/MJT 2011-01-19

4.2.7 *ni je wi* ‘why’

Finally, the form *ni je wi* ‘why’ is given by Welcher, but does not appear in my corpus. In fact, the string “*ni je wi*” only appears once in our corpus but not meaning ‘why’ – it is presented below.

- (61) *Ni je wi zhe méméjek ga-kedot?*
 ni je wi zhe méméjek ga-kedot
 what FOC PC exactly IC.PST-he.said.CONJ
 ‘What exactly did he say?’
 JT 2012-10-15

Rather, in this example, *ni je* just happens to appear next to the clefting particle *wi*.

4.3 *Embedded questions*

Welcher (1998) provides the following examples of indirect wh-questions:

- (62) *Ggekénma ne ézh-bmadzet?*
 g-gekénma ne ézh-bmadzet
 2-you.know.him Y/N IC.rel-he.is.alive.CONJ
 ‘Do you know how he is doing?’ (Welcher 1998)
- (63) *Ggekénma ne ézh-yat?*
 g-gekénma ne ézh-yat
 2-you.know.him Y/N IC.he.goes.CONJ
 ‘Do you know where he is going?’ (Welcher 1998)
- (64) *Ggekénma ne wéch-majit?*
 g-gekénma ne wéch-majit
 2-you.know.him Y/N IC.REL-he.leaves.CONJ
 ‘Do you know why he is leaving?’ (Welcher 1998)

As the examples above show, embedded and indirect wh-questions are accomplished with changed conjunct verbs embedded in a polar question. The embedded polar questions that Welcher (1998) reports are identical, except they can appear with optional dubitative inflection (see chapter 5).

- (65) Ggekénma ne wa-byagwén?
 g-gekénma ne wa-byagwén
 2-you.know.him Y/N IC.FUT-he.comes.CONJ.DUB
 ‘Do you know if he will come?’ (Welcher 1998)
- (66) Ggekénma ne anaké wa-byat?
 g-gekénma ne wa-byat
 2-you.know.him Y/N IC.FUT-he.comes.CONJ
 ‘Do you know whether he will come?’ (Welcher 1998)

However, in modern Potawatomi there are some instances of interrogative particles in non-sentence initial contexts or non-interrogative contexts. First, the interrogative particle clusters can appear as variables meaning ‘whatever’ or ‘who(m)ever,’ as with the example below.

- (67) A, ti, **wégwni zhe**, mbish.
 a ti wégwni=zhe mbish
 ah tea whatever water
 ‘Tea, water, whatever’
 LR 2014-02-12-09 143

The speaker here was saying that their parents told them to always offer some sort of food or drink to a guest, and then listed a few acceptable items (re-ordered in the English translation). Note that *wégwni* ‘what’ here appears without the discourse sequencer *je*, rather with *zhe*. There are a few examples of dubitative-inflected interrogative particles like the following.

- (68) **Wégwéndek** zhe na neko wgi-shemawan gi.
wégwéndek zhe na neko wgi-shemawan gi
 whoever PC EMPH used.to they.fed.him DEM
 ‘They used to feed anyone.’
 JT 2014-02-12-04 012

In the sentence above, *wégwéndek* does not turn the sentence into a question; this form is clearly related to *wégwni* plus the dubitative suffix *-dek* (see chapter 5) but the derivation is opaque.

There are also cases of true embedded questions, all in relative clause contexts.

- (69) Mech ga-zhewébzewagwén **ni je é-gi-migadwat**.
 mech ga-zhewébzewagwén ni je é-gi-migadwat
 do.not.know IC.PST-it.happens.CONJ.DUB what FCT-PST-they.fought.CONJ
 ‘Who knows why they fought.’
 MJT 2014-02-12-13 004

Here, the lower clause is headed by the interrogative particle cluster *ni je* ‘what, how.’ The next example is similar, except the lower clause is an indirect question headed by *wégwni*, notably without *je* again.

- (70) Bama zhe na gge-widmewen **wégwni i mésowneman**.
 bama zhe na gge-widmewen wégwni i mésowneman
 later PC EMPH 2.FUT-I.tell.you what DEM IC.I.want.it.CONJ
 ‘I will let you know what I really want.’
 MJT 2016-01-15-01 125

Finally, in the following sentences, the lower clause is an indirect question headed by *wéni* ‘who.’

- (71) I je wéni ga-nokanawat.
 i je **wéni ga-nokanawat**
 DEM and who IC.PST-they.hire.him.CONJ
 ‘He’s the one they hired.’
 JT 2013-10-04-01 131
- (72) Ngegwéjmak **wéni zhi é-yojgadék**.
 n-gegwéjmak wéni zhi é-yojgadék
 1-I.ask.them what there FCT-it.is.used.CONJ
 ‘I ask them what they use there.’
 MJT 2014-05-15-03 047

5 Tense, Aspect, Modality, Evidentiality

For the purposes of this chapter, I define tense, aspect, modality, and evidentiality following Tonhauser (2006:15, 20, 22), whose work with semantics and language documentation forms the foundation of my analysis. Tense involves a relation between a time and the perspective time; e.g., we understand “past” as something that happened previously, relative to the perspective of now. Aspect is an operation on eventuality descriptions; e.g., we understand “progressive” as an

ongoing action and “perfect” as bounded. Modality deals with the relationship between the actual world and the worlds of evaluation; e.g., whether a proposition is possible, probable, inevitable, or allowed. Finally, evidentiality deals with the sources of and confidence in the information asserted in the sentence.

5.1 *Tense preverbs*

Tense is realized in Potawatomi as a series of preverbs. They are given in the table below.

	Plain	Plain, conjunct	Changed
Past	gi-	gi-	ga-
Future	ge-	je-	gé-
Future, volitional	wi-	wi-	wa-

Table 3. Tense preverbs. (Cf. Welcher 2003:26, Valentine 2001:759)

The “plain” preverbs are used in most contexts; in the unchanged conjunct, there is a variant future preverb *je-*. The tense preverbs occupy a very high position in the verb template. The only preverbs that can precede them are the factive preverb *é-* (which precedes all other preverbs; see Welcher 2003:18 and onward for much more on its behavior) and modal *da-*.

The “long form” of the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd person prefixes (discussed briefly in chapter 4, section 2.3 and chapter 5, section 3.2), typically *nde-/gde-/wde-*, are being reinterpreted as person prefix plus present tense preverb *de-* on analogy with the tense preverbs given in Table 3.

⁷However, there is a historical, morphophonological explanation for this phenomenon. In brief: historically, Algonquian languages inserted **t* (< Potawatomi *d*) between the person prefix and a stem beginning with a vowel, as in the following example.

- (73) ndenéndan
 ne-d-énedan
 1-EPENTH-think.it
 ‘I think a certain way about it’
 LBW5814/JDN2699

⁷ Thomas Loftis (personal communication)

If a stem begins with a consonant, no epenthetic consonant is needed, as in the following example.

- (74) ndegobyé'ego
 ne-degobyé'ego
 1-be.enrolled
 'I'm enrolled'
 LBW5303/JDN821

Note also that epenthesis does not apply when a preverb appears between the person marker and the verb stem.

- (75) ngi-néndan
 'I thought (about it)'
 MJT 2014-05-15-02 035

The verb *ngi-néndan* never appears as **ngidnéndan* because the boundary between preverbs and the verb stem is a phonological word boundary; epenthesis does not occur across word boundaries. In Potawatomi, this set of facts has led to a reanalysis in the independent. In many cases, the person prefix together with the epenthetic *d* have begun to be used in cases where they were not needed historically, as with the following example (compare with example 74, in the older style).

- (76) nde-dgwebyé'go
 /nədə-dəgw-.../
 'I'm enrolled'
 JT 2013-10-02

The full set of reanalyzed, long person prefixes (*nde-*, *gde-*, *wde-*) do tend to correlate with present tense. However, the true tense preverbs apply across the board; they can be used in the independent and conjunct, across all categories of verbs. The long form of the person prefix is restricted to independent order inflections on AI, TI, and TA verbs. Regardless of the theory and the explanation, the reanalyzed forms are increasingly more common in recent records of

Potawatomi, and most speakers now prefer to use the long form of the person prefix over the older form when it is available.

5.2 *Modal preverb*

As just mentioned, there are very few preverbs which precede the tense preverbs. One is the modal *da-*, defined variously by speakers as ‘will, can, might, should, ought, could’ and occasionally ‘must.’ In these first few examples, it was translated by speakers as ‘can’ and denotes ability or capability.

- (77) Ni je **da-zhe-pich-mikchéwiyo**?
 ni=je da-zhe-pich-mikchéwiyo
 how MOD-REL-rel-we.work
 ‘How long can we work?’
 JT 2012-11-19

- (78) Jo mamda gégo **gda-ketsim**, ngi-gomen.
 jo mamda gégo g-da-ketsim ngi-gomen
 impossible anything 2-MOD-you.all.do.not.say 1.PST-we.are.told
 ‘You can’t say anything, we were told.’
 JT 2016-01-14-03 029

- (79) Bojgé na **nda-ngem**.
 bojgé na n-da-ngem
 regardless 1-MOD-I.sing
 ‘Regardless of what’s happening, I can sing.’
 BD 2012-11-20

In the next two examples, *da-* appears on a verb with negative suffixes.

- (80) Biskowagen i binnagwet. Jo zhe na **gda-gzibinzin**.
 biskowagen i binnagwet
 shirt DEM it.is.clean

 jo zhe na g-da-gzibinzin
 NEG PC EMPH 2-MOD-you.do.not.clean.it
 ‘You don’t have to wash my shirt, it’s clean yet.’⁸
 MJT 2016-01-15-01 104

⁸ I leave sentence translations as they were given by the elders who uttered the sentence. For English speakers in the Upper Midwest, this dialectal use of *yet* meaning ‘still’ is widespread and grammatical.

- (81) Jo wi **nda-mijsimen** i wiyas, wzam zhe na akwaktémget.
 jo wi n-da-mijsimen i wiyas
 neg 1.MOD-we.do.not.eat DEM meat
 wzam zhe na akwaktémget
 much PC EMPH it.is.hard.dry
 ‘No, we don’t want to eat the meat; it’s hard and dry.’
 MJT 2016-01-14-02 038

The modal preverb *da-* is also used for a *should* or *ought* reading, as in the following example.

- (82) Ni pi je **da-zhyayan**?
 ni pi je da-zhyayan
 where MOD-I.go.CONJ
 ‘Where should I go?’
 JT 2012-11-19

Sometimes, *da-* is translated by speakers as a simple future tense.

- (83) **Nda-gzezwak** é-wi-mewék.
 n-da-gzezwak é-wi-mewék
 1-MOD-I.warm.them FCT-FUT-you.eat.CONJ
 ‘I’ll warm them up for you to eat.’
 MJT 2015-10-05-02 326

Note, however, the appearance of the true future tense preverb *wi-* in the lower clause of the preceding example. A narrower translation of this sentence might be ‘I **can/could** warm them up for you to eat,’ since the lower clause is about an event in the future that has not happened (eating) and the matrix clause is an offer of help.

Also, the modal preverb *da-* covers epistemic modality. In the first example below, it adds a meaning like ‘it must be the case that...’ and in the second example, indicates uncertainty.

- (84) **Da-kche-dnosé** zhe na weye pa-ndené’ek ni.
 da-kche-dnosé zhe na weye
 MOD-great-he.walks.from.there PC EMPH someone
 pa-ndené’ek ni
 around-he.searches.CONJ DEM
 ‘One must really have to walk to find them (all those ingredients).’
 JT 2015-05-06-01 167

- (85) Anake **da-gmeya**.
 anake da-gmeya
 maybe MOD-it.rains
 ‘Maybe it will rain.’
 MD-LBW6404/JDN24

As shown in the diverse examples above, *da-* expresses a wide variety of modal meanings depending on the context. It is also worth noting that some speakers of Potawatomi use the modal *da-* in contexts where other speakers would use the imperative inflections discussed in chapter 5.

- (86) Nwéb’igok gode mayosek. Néyap **gda-byénak**.
 n-wéb’igok gode mayosek néyap gda-byénak
 1-they.ran.from.me DEM cats back 2.MOD-you.bring.them
 ‘My cats run away from me. Bring them back.’
 MJT 2016-01-14-02 133

This speaker (a woman), when asked for imperatives in the dictionary fieldwork sessions, would provide indirect requests with modal *da-*. Here, the speaker translated such a form with the imperative, but a more literal translation might be ‘you should bring them (my cats) back.’

Finally, one of the tense preverbs, *je-*, is sometimes glossed as a modal. Valentine analyzes the Nishnaabemwin cognate *ji-* as I do above, as part of the tense system; the Ojibwe People’s Dictionary offers the same analysis. In the following example, Welcher glossed *da-je* as a sort of complex modal, but note that it also firmly situates the possibility in the future.

- (87) Ndenéndan Mani **da-je-gishnenat** niw wdabyanen.
 nd-enéndan Mani da-je-gishnenat niw wdabyan-en
 1-I.think.it Mary MOD-FUT-I.buy.it.CONJ DEM car-OBV
 ‘I think Mary might buy the car.’ (Welcher 2003:82)

All similar examples of *da-je* occur in the conjunct, and with about the same frequency as *da-gi* or other combinations of *da-* plus tense preverb. Therefore, I follow Valentine in arguing that *je-* is a conjunct form of the future tense preverb.

5.3 Preterit

In Potawatomi, what is known as preterit marking has an aspectual or modal function. Previous researchers generally report that the preterit denotes “something that happened habitually in the past” (Welcher 2003:24). Unmentioned in that definition, but crucial to the meaning of the preterit, is the requirement that what was true in the past is no longer true.

This suffix is prototypically *-ben* (see chapter 5 for more discussion and examples of its allomorphs); consider the minimal pair below.

- (88) Zhode ma **tében**.
 zhode ma té-ben
 DEM here it.is-PRET
 ‘It was here (but isn’t anymore)’ (Lockwood in press b)
 JT 2015-09-17

- (89) Zhode ma **gi-té**.
 zhode ma gi-té
 DEM here PST-it.is
 ‘It was here.’ (and it still is) (Lockwood in press b)
 JT 2015-09-17

In the first example, the meaning of the sentence is crucially that the object that was once located in the referenced location no longer is. If the past tense is used in place of the preterit, as in the second example, the sentence could mean that the object continues to occupy the referenced location.

Note in the following examples, that when the preterit is combined with past or future tense marking, the result is irrealis.

- (90) **Nwi-zigwébtewaben** nesh je ngi-nondéwabmek.
 n-wi-zigwébtewa-ben nesh je ngi-nondéwabmek
 1-FUT-splash.water-PRET but 1.PST-he.saw.me.instead
 ‘I was going to splash him but he saw me before I could do it.’ (Lockwood in press b)

- (91) **Ngi-kwtegwi'naben** wi na.
 n-gi-kwtegwi'-naben wi na
 1-PST-refuse-PRET FOC EMPH
 'I was going to back out (but they found me).' (Lockwood in press b)
- (92) Jo gwi-yesí **gdenénmenaben**.
 jo gwi-yesí gd-enénme-naben
 NEG 2.FUT-you.are.not.here 2-I.did.not.think.of.you.PRET
 'I thought you weren't going to be there.'
 LBW3843/JDN4072

5.4 Dubitative inflection

Welcher notes that dubitative marking expresses doubt in the present tense and in the past tense expresses an inference (2003:25). Consider examples like the following:

- (93) “A, ngodek na **wgi-ngwaw'anadek**,” gi-kedwek.
 A negodek na wgi-ngwaw'anadek gi-kedwek
 ah once EMPH 3.PST-he.buries.it.DUB PST-they.said
 “‘Ah, he must have buried it somewhere,’ they said.”
 JT 2014-02-12-03 117

Here, the verb *wgi-ngwaw'anadek* ‘She/he/it (an.) buried it’ is marked with the dubitative suffix, translated into English as ‘must have.’ More examples of dubitative inflection follow; they are marked in bold.

- (94) É-mikwéndeman na i nkat, “o, mech **ézhenagwdegwén**,” ndenéndem.
 é-mikwéndeman na i nkat o
 FCT-I.remember.it EMPH DEM my.leg DEM

 mech ézhenagwdegwén nd-enéndem
 do.not.know it.looks.like.CONJ.DUB 1-I.think
 ‘When I remembered my leg, “Oh, I wonder what it looks like,” I thought.’
 JT 2015-05-06-01 249
- (95) Geshté gi-zhenkaze, mech wéwéne **ga-zhenkazgwén**.
 Geshté gi-zhenkaze mech wéwéne ga-zhenkazgwén
 (name) PST-he.is.named do.not.know correct IC.PST-he.is.named.DUB
 ‘He was called Geshté, I don't know what his name really was.’
 JT 2014-02-12-03 049

- (96) Mech **ga-zhewébzewagwén** ni je é-gi-migadwat.
 mech ga-zhewébzewagwén ni=je é-gi-migadwat
 do.not.know IC.PST-it.happens.CONJ.DUB why FCT-PST-they.fought.CONJ
 ‘Who knows why they fought.’
 MJT 2014-02-12-13 004
- (97) Gmesé gégo **bwa-wzhetogwén** gge-byéna.
 g-mesé gégo bwa-wzhetogwén gge-byéna.
 2-sister something NEG-she.does.it.CONJ.DUB 2.FUT-you.bring.her
 ‘If your sister isn’t doing anything, bring her over’
 LBW6735/JDN604

Note that, in most of the examples, verbs with dubitative inflection appear in a clause headed by (n)*mech* ‘don’t know, wonder.’

5.5 Particles, preverbs, periphrasis

In addition to the inflectional strategies listed above, there are periphrastic ways to shift the time of or express doubt in a proposition. I discuss two sample cases here: first, a particle, and second, a collocation of preverbs.

First, the particle *anaké* has two uses: first, in its regular use, it can be a conjunction, as seen below.

- (98) Wéni je o wa-mokit, dbek-gizes anaké gizes?
 wéni je o wa-mokit dbek-gizes anaké gizes
 what DEM IC.FUT-appear.CONJ moon or sun
 ‘What’s going to come out, the moon or the sun?’
 BD/JT/MJT 2010-11-16

In the example above, *anaké* expresses the logical disjunction ‘or.’ However, in other examples it functions more as modal particle meaning ‘maybe if...’ or ‘unless...’.

- (99) **Anaké** da-gmeya.
 anaké da-gmeya
 or MOD-it.rains
 ‘Maybe it will rain.’
 LBW6404/JDN24

This usage of *anaké* is often clause-initial, but not all examples of clause-initial *anaké* are modal like this – and some examples, like the one below, blur the line.

- (100) **Anaké** zhe ngodek weye wgeshketon é-wi-neshnabémot.
 anaké zhe ngodek weye
 or PC once someone

 w-geshketon é-wi-neshnabémot
 3-he.is.able FCT-FUT-he.speaks.Potawatomi.CONJ
 ‘Unless at some time someone is able to speak Potawatomi.’
 JT 2016-04-07-01 050

In this example, *anaké* was translated as ‘unless,’ but in the full context of this conversation, the conjunction reading also makes sense – it could be translated ‘Or someday someone will be able to speak Potawatomi,’ conjoined to the previous sentence; the necessary additional context is presented below.

- (101) Modal *anaké* in context
 a. Jo wika gnebech mine gge-wabdesimen i.
 jo wika gnebech mine gge-wabdesimen i
 never maybe and 2.FUT-we.do.not.see DEM
 ‘Maybe we (Potawatomi people) will never see it again.’
 JT 2016-04-07-01 049

 b. **Anaké** zhe ngodek weye wgeshketon é-wi-neshnabémot.
 anaké zhe ngodek weye
 or PC once someone

 w-geshketon é-wi-neshnabémot
 3-he.is.able FCT-FUT-he.speaks.Potawatomi.CONJ
 ‘Unless at some time someone is able to speak Potawatomi.’
 JT 2016-04-07-01 050

Against this, there is a nearly four second gap on the recording between (101a) and (101b). The next example is harder to dismiss along those lines; only a ‘maybe’ reading is possible.

- (102) Wagwéndek na ga-mingogwén **naké** na wdédéymen o Alex.
 wagwéndek na ga-mingogwén
 whoever EMPH IC.PST-she.was.given.CONJ.DUB
 naké na wdédéymen o Alex
 or EMPH her.father DEM
 ‘I don’t know who might have given them to her, maybe Alex’s father.’
 MJT 2014-05-15-01 033

Note also the dubitative pronoun *wagwéndek* ‘I don’t know who,’ discussed in section and dubitative marking on *ga-mingogwén*.

Whereas *anaké* is a free word, *bwamshe-* ‘before’ appears as a preverb but still shifts the time of the expression. The examples below are typical.

- (103) Mine o ngot, énwémek, wdansen, wzam zhe na pené gi-mnekwé **bwamshe-débnék**
i per cap.
 mine o ngot énwémek w-dansen wzam zhe na
 and DEM one IC.she.is.related.CONJ 3-her.daughter much PC EMPH
 pené gi-mnekwé bwamshe-débnék i per cap
 always PST-she.drinks before-she.got.it.CONJ DEM
 ‘And one, relative of mine, her daughter, she always drank too much before she got her per cap.’
 MJT 2014-03-10-06 079-083
- (104) Da-je-kenonaywat gi **bwamshe-nim'edek.**
 da-je-kenonaywat gi bwamshe-nim'edek
 MOD-REL-they.are.taught DEM before-they.dance.CONJ
 ‘They [the children] should be taught before they dance.’
 LR 2014-02-12-09 114-115
- (105) Byé-bidgék **bwamshe-bkonyak.**
 byé-bidgék bwamshe-bkonyak
 here-you.come.IMP before-it.is.dark.CONJ
 ‘Come inside **before it gets dark.**’
 JT 2013-02-19

Note that all examples of *bwamshe-* appear on verbs in the conjunct order. Since *bwa-* is the negator in the conjunct, this collocation could be literally translated ‘not yet.’

6 Quantification and Quantifying Expressions

In Potawatomi, there are a number of preverbs and adnominal or adverbial particles that indicate quantity. When a quantifier is available as both a free particle and a preverb, the semantic differences are not always clear; I discuss concrete examples as they arise.

6.1 Universal quantification

This section describes three common particles and preverbs that function like universal quantifiers:

- *jak* ‘all, every’ (particle or preverb)
- *pené* ‘always’ (particle)
- *gbé-* ‘all through; to the end’ (prenoun)

This list is not exhaustive; other preverbs and particles in this class include *égme-* ‘every’ (prenoun) and *étso-* ‘every’ (preverb or prenoun).

6.1.1 *jak, jak-* ‘all, every’

The most common way of denoting universal quantification is with *jak* ‘all, every.’ The quantifier *jak* can appear both as a particle and as a preverb. In (106a), *jak* appears in combination with *gégo* ‘something, anything,’ which is absent in (106b). Note that in both examples, *jak* appears adjacent to the demonstrative *ode* ‘this.’

(106)

- a. **Jak gégo** ode wa-gishnedak, wa-gishnedaseygo wa-mijimgo
 jak gégo ode wa-gishnedak wa-gishnedaseygo wa-mijimgo
 everything DEM IC.FUT-we.buy.CONJ IC.FUT-we.shop.CONJ IC.FUT-we.eat.it
 ‘All of this, what we will buy, what we will eat’
 BD 2013-10-04-02 060-062
- b. **Jak** ode kekosek é-ték.
 jak ode kekosek é-ték
 all DEM in.a.box FCT-it.is.located.CONJ
 ‘It's all in a box.’
 BD 2013-10-04-02 063

As a particle, it often appears left-dislocated and clause-initial, as in the examples above. Lewis (2016:5) finds that a class of quantificational particles like *mteno* occupy either the focus position or the adverb position when to the left of the verb. In the example below, the topic (Joe) precedes the quantificational expression *jak gégo* ‘everything,’ which is consistent with that analysis.

- (107) Joe **jak gégo** wgi-gkéndan gé o.
 Joe jak gégo wgi-gkéndan gé o
 everything 3.PST-he.knows.it TOP DEM
 ‘Joe also knew everything.’
 BD 2013-10-04-01 319

Sometimes, however, *jak gégo* appears to occupy a topic position. Lewis (2016) describes *gé* as a topic marker; it can appear either after the verb (where word order is relatively fluid) or in the topic position described in section 2, where it appears as (Topic NP)+*gé*+pronoun+verb (2016:10). In the example below, *jak gégo* precedes the *gé*+pronoun+verb construction.

- (108) A mine **jak gégo** gé winwa ngi-byé-zhe-wawidmagwnan.
 a mine jak gégo gé winwa ngi-byé-zhe-wawidmagwnan
 and.so again everything TOP they 1.PST-here-REL-they.announced.to.us
 ‘Again they came here to promise us all kinds of things.’
 JT 2016-01-14-03 060

And *jak gégo gé winwa* does not seem to form a constituent here; according to the translation, *jak gégo* ‘all’ refers to the object of the verb (the set of promises made), while *gé winwa* ‘as for them’ refers to the subject of the verb (the ones making the promises).

In the next example, *gé* marks a shifted topic, and *jak gégo* appears post-verbally.

- (109) A je gé ninan é-ndo-kwidnemak **jak gégo** ode.
 a je gé ninan é-ndo-kwidnemak jak gégo ode
 and.so TOP we FCT-try-we.lift.it.CONJ everything DEM
 ‘And so we are trying to lift all of this up.’
 BD 2013-10-04-02 162

Jak gégo ‘everything’ can be discontinuous, as in the example below.

- (110) **Jak** zhe na **gégo** wgi-wzhetonawa.
 jak zhe na gégo wgi-wzhetonawa
 all PC EMPH something 3.PST-they.make.it
 ‘They made all kinds of things.’
 JT 2016-01-11-01 006

The particle cluster *zhe na* is nearly always in the second position, however, so this discontinuity is not surprising.

Welcher’s database recorded *jak weye* ‘everybody, everyone,’ but speakers today are more likely to use *jayék* ‘all, all of them, everyone’ to express universal quantification over groups of individuals. This appears to be an old initial change form of *jak*; since initial change does not routinely apply to particles in Potawatomi, this is noteworthy.

- (111) Bnewi **jayék** ngi-neshnabémomen
 bnewi jayék ngi-neshnabémomen
 long.ago all 1.PST-we.spoke.Potawatomi
 ‘A long time ago we all spoke Potawatomi.’
 BD 2015-03-10-01 089
- (112) É-pich-giwséwat **jayék** gi nenwek, é-gi-basksewawat ni kewéziyen
 é-pich-giwséwat jayék gi nenwek
 FCT-REL-they.hunt.CONJ everyone DEM men
 é-gi-basksewawat ni kewézi-yen
 FCT-PST-they.shoot.him.CONJ DEM old.man-OBV
 ‘While all the men were hunting, they shot that old man.’
 JT 2014-02-12-06 082-083

In the first example, *jayék* is in the argument focus position, after the adverb *bnewi* ‘long ago.’ In the second example, *jayék* follows the verb.

In the following examples, *jak-* appears as a preverb.

- (113) Ga-**jak**-majiwat, ntagya.
 ga-jak-majiwat ntagya
 IC.PST-all-they.left.CONJ it.is.quiet
 ‘After everyone left, it was lonely.’
 LBW 4649/3043

- (114) **Njak**-giwshkwébimen.
 n-jak-giwshkwébimen
 1-all-we.are.drunk
 ‘We’re all drunk.’
 JT 2011-01-20-01 026
- (115) **Gi-jak**-zigwébsa i mbish.
 gi-jak-zigwébsa i mbish
 PST-all-it.spills DEM water
 ‘The water all spilled out.’
 BD/JT/MJT 2010-11-16

In each of these cases, preverb *jak*- takes scope over the subject: all the people left in (113), all the people are drunk in (114), and all the water spilled in (115). In the next example, *jak*- takes scope over the object of an AI+O verb.

- (116) **Ngi-jak**-migwé.
 1.PST-all-give.away
 ‘I gave them all away.’
 MJT 2014-02-12-10 033

There are no attested cases of *jak*- as an initial. There is one initial similar to *jak*- worth discussing here:

- (117) **Jaksémget** i ziwtagen.
 jaksémget i ziwtagen
 it.is.gone DEM salt
 ‘The salt’s all gone.’
 BD/JT/MJT 2013-02-19

At an underlying level of representation, *jak*- in the example above is *jag*-, an initial that means ‘used up, exhausted, depleted’ which has its own matching preverb form *jag*- ‘everything, all.’

The connection here may be more than coincidental; neighboring varieties of Ojibwe do not use a cognate of *jak* for the universal quantifier, but there is a cognate to the form above:

jaagise(migad) ‘it (in.) runs out, becomes exhausted,’ with cognate initial *jaag*- ‘use up all of, exhaust, deplete.’ Meskwaki, on the other hand, has *châki* ‘all, everywhere’ as both a free

particle and a preverb alongside forms like *châkisêwi* ‘it is all gone, spent’ (see also Costa 2013:207), so this probably represents Meskwaki influence.

While *jak* applies to individuals and objects, it does not quantify over events, situations, or spans/scales. Even as a preverb, it does not apply to the verb itself, but rather to one of the core arguments of the verb. Two ways of quantifying over events follow.

6.1.2 *pené* ‘always’

The adverbial particle *pené* ‘always’ specifies that the situation in question holds at all relevant times. It frequently appears before the verb.

- (118) **Pené** ndedzhemgok.
 pené nde-dzhemgok
 always 1-they.talk.about.me
 ‘They are always talking about me.’
 JT 2012-10-15

- (119) **Pené** ngi-wabdan ibe.
 pené ngi-wabdan ibe
 always 1.PST-I.see.it there
 ‘I always saw it there.’
 BD 2013-10-04-01 2013

- (120) **Pené** node dgwesnon.
 pené node dgwesnon
 always DEM they.go.together
 ‘Those always go together.’
 JT 2011-05-20

I assume this generally occupies a focus position, appearing immediately prior to the verb. In the first example, the event of drinking is understood to hold at all relevant times because it is modified by *pené*; in the second and third examples, an adverb precedes *pené*, consistent with the analysis that adverbs precede focus in Lewis’s template.

- (121) Ndédéyem zhe na **pené** gi-mnekwé.
 ndédéyem zhe na pené gi-mnekwé
 my.father PC EMPH always PST-he.drinks
 ‘My father always drank.’
 MJT 2014-10-03-01merged 152
- (122) Wzam zhe na **pené** wjimdewek.
 wzam zhe na pené wjimdewek
 much pc emph always they.kiss.each.other
 ‘They’re always kissing each other.’
 JT 2014-10-29
- (123) Bikwa zhe na **pené** ngi-byé-zhechké je ga-zhechkét.
 bikwa zhe na pené ngi-byé-zhechké je ga-zhechkét
 similar PC EMPH always 1.PST-here-I.do and IC.PST-he.does.CONJ
 ‘I always did what he did.’
 JT 2014-02-12-16 028

As with *jak* in the previous section, *pené* sometimes precedes the topic marker *gé*.

- (124) I je **pené** gé winwa ga-zhechkéwat gi ngetsimnanek.
 i je pené gé winwa ga-zhechkéwat gi ngetsimnanek.
 DEM and always TOP DEM IC.PST-they.do.it DEM our.parents
 ‘So that’s how our parents always did.’
 JT 2015-01-20-01 010
- (125) **Pené** gé ni nwabma ode seksi.
 pené gé ni nwabma ode seksi
 always TOP 1 I.see.it DEM deer
 ‘I always see that deer.’
 MJT 2013-12-13-01 056

In these instances, *pené* appears to be targeting a topic position. The particle *pené* can also appear after the verb, as below.

- (126) Ngi-gkenomagomen é-wi-mijyak i pkwézhgen **pené**.
 ngi-gkenomagomen é-wi-mijyak i pkwézhgen pené
 1.PST-we.are.taught FCT-FUT-we.eat DEM bread always
 ‘We were taught to always eat bread.’
 MJT 2014-05-15-03 031

6.1.3 *gbé-* ‘all through; to the end’

The quantifier *gbé-* ‘to the end’ only appears as a prenoun attached to nouns that denote spans of time (e.g. hours, days, seasons, years).

- (127) **Gbé-niben** zhe na ngi-kewabma.
 gbé-niben zhe na ngi-kewabma
 all-summer PC EMPH 1.PST-I.guard.him
 ‘I watched over him all summer.’
 MJT 2013-12-13-02 120

- (128) **Gbé-dgwagek** ngi-giwsémen.
 gbé-dgwagek ngi-giwsémen
 all-fall 1.PST-we.hunt
 ‘All fall we hunted.’
 JT 2011-05-20

- (129) **Gbé-pon** mbéwak o mko.
 gbé-pon mbéwak o mko
 all-winter he.sleeps DEM bear
 ‘The bear sleeps all winter.’
 JT/MJT 2011-05-19

- (130) **Gbé-gizhek** ne gwi-ye?
 gbé-gizhek ne gwi-ye
 all-day Y/N 2.FUT-be.located
 ‘Are you going to stay all day?’
 LBW3843/JDN4072

In the following examples, *gbé-* precedes the adverbial particle *neko* ‘used to’ – this is potentially evidence in favor of *gbé-* occupying a topic position, like *jak* and *pené* above.

- (131) **Gbé-gizhek** neko ngi-bmosémen o nsezé mégwa na gé ni gigabé é-gi-yawyan
 gbé-gizhek neko ngi-bmosémen o nsezé
 all-day used.to 1.PST-we.walk DEM my.older.brother

 mégwa na gé ni gigabé é-gi-yawyan
 yet EMPH TOP 1 boy FCT-PST-i.am.CONJ
 ‘All day long my older brother and I walked when I was still a boy’
 JT 2015-01-20-01 214

- (132) **Gbé-dbek** neko gi-majiwek kedo i je gbé-gizhek é-gkezwat.
 gbé-dbek neko gi-majiwek kedo
 all-night used.to PST-they.go he.said
 i je gbé-gizhek é-gkezwat.
 DEM and all-night FCT-they.hide.CONJ
 ‘All night they went, and then they would hide all day.’
 JT 2014-02-12-06 065-066

Post-verbal uses of *gbé-* are also attested.

- (133) Ngwankwet **gbé-gizhek**.
 ngwankwet gbé-gizhek
 it.is.cloudy all-day
 ‘It’s cloudy all day.’
 MJT 2013-01-14

6.2 Negated quantifiers

In this section, I give examples of words with meanings like ‘never,’ ‘none,’ and ‘nobody.’ The negated quantifiers I discuss here all include *jo* ‘no,’ so they are associated with main clauses in the independent order with negative agreement.

6.2.1 *jo wika* ‘never’

Lewis’s template places negation after topic but before focus; in the following example, *nin* is in contrastive focus, and is preceded by the negator.

- (134) **Jo wika** nin nde-mwasi.
 jo wika nin nde-mwasi
 never I 1-I.do.not.eat.it
 ‘I myself have never eaten it.’
 JT 2015-05-06-01 332

The verb is in the negative (see chapter 5). In the next example, *jo wika* precedes the adverb *gnebech* ‘maybe.’

- (135) Jo wika gnebech mine gge-wabdesimen i.
jo wika gnebech mine gge-wabdesimen i
 never maybe and 2.FUT-we.do.not.see.it DEM
 ‘Maybe we will never see it again.’
 JT 2016-04-07-01 049

Both of these are consistent with Lewis's analysis.

6.2.2 *jo gégo* 'none'

The particle cluster *jo gégo* 'none' can appear directly adjacent to the verb or noun it quantifies.

Note that the first two examples contain no verb in the negated clause.

- (136) Ngi-gwdektomen i éskonweyak **jo gégo** zhonya
 ngi-gwdektomen i éskonweyak jo gégo zhonya
 1.pst-we.struggled dem ic.we.go.to.school.conj none money
 'It was hard on us to go to school; we didn't have money.'
 LR 2014-10-29-02 054

- (137) **Jo gégo** wiyas.
 jo gégo wiyas
 none meat
 'There's no meat.'
 MJT 2015-10-05-01 134

The examples below are typical.

- (138) **Jo gégo** ngi-mijsimen
 jo gégo ngi-mijsimen
 none 1.PST-we.do.not.eat
 'We didn't eat anything.'
 LR 2014-03-10-01 137

- (139) **Jo gégo** wgekéndesin.
 jo gégo w-gekéndesin
 none 3-he.does.not.know
 'He doesn't know anything.'
 LR 2014-02-12-14 015

It can also appear fronted and discontinuous from what it quantifies, as in the example below.

- (140) **Jo gégo** zhi mnedoshkwedé gi-tésnon.
 jo gégo zhi mnedoshkwedé gi-tésnon
 none there electricity PST-there.is.none
 'There wasn't electricity there.'
 JT 2014-10-29-01 038

In the example above, *jo gégo* is separated from *mnedoshkwedé* 'electricity' by the particle *zhi* 'there.'

6.2.3 *jo weye* ‘nobody, no one’

Negating universal quantification over individual people is accomplished with *jo weye* ‘no one.’

- (141) **Jo weye** wdozhtosinen zhode.

jo weye	wd-ozhtosinen	zhode
nobody	3-he.does.not.make.them	DEM

‘Nobody makes them here.’
LBW 6713/JDN 1686

- (142) **Jo weye** ode wpi ngi-wjitmakwsinan.

jo weye	ode	wpi	ngi-wjitmakwsinan
nobody	DEM	time	1.PST-they.do.not.help.us

‘No one helped us at that time.’
JT 2016-01-14-03 067

- (143) **Jo weye** ngi-nizhokmaksinanek zhe na.

jo weye	ngi-nizhokmaksinanek	zhe	na
nobody	1.PST-they.do.not.help.us	PC	EMPH

‘Nobody helped us either.’
LR 2014-10-29-02 062

- (144) **Jo weye** wgi-gshketosin mégwa é-wi-zhechkét i.

jo weye	wgi-gshketosin	mégwa	é-wi-zhechkét	i
nobody	3.PST-he.is.not.able	yet	FCT-FUT-he.does.it.CONJ	DEM

‘No one was able to do it anymore.’
JT 2016-04-07-01 085

There is one example of *jo weye* following a temporal adverb.

- (145) Ngom na **jo weye** gwabmasimen neshnabé é-gishk'akwét.

ngom	na	jo weye	g-wabmasimen	neshnabé	é-gishk'akwét
today	EMPH	nobody	2-we.do.not.see.them	Neshnabé	FCT-he.logs.CONJ

‘Today we don’t see any Neshnabé people logging.’
JT 2015-05-06-01 067

This is contrary to the ordering we expect from Lewis’s template, and the only non-initial example of *jo weye* in my corpus.

6.3 *Existential quantification*

Quantifiers in this section have meanings like ‘some’ or ‘sometimes.’

6.3.1 *anet* ‘some, a few’

The particle *anet* ‘some, a few’ often appears adjacent to the noun it quantifies.

- (146) Bidedon **anet** msén!
 bidedon *anet* msén
 bring.it some firewood
 ‘Bring in some firewood!’
 MD-LBW6406

It often appears preceding a demonstrative, as below.

- (147) Ndesak **anet** gode gigoyek, ndena.
 nde-sak *anet* gode gigoyek ndena
 1-I.have.them some DEM fish.pl I.tell.him
 ‘I have some of these fish, I say to him.’
 MJT 2014-05-15-02 008
- (148) **Anet** gi TB wgi-yénawa.
anet gi TB wgi-yénawa
 some DEM TB 3.pst-they.have.it
 ‘Some people had TB.’
 MJT 2014-10-03-01 004
- (149) “**Anet** i zhechkéwen, nizanet i da-je-zhechkéygo,” ngi-gomen ninan.
anet i zhechkéwen nizanet i da-je-zhechkéygo
 some DEM way.of.doing it.is.dangerous DEM MOD-REL-we.do.conj

 ngi-gomen ninan
 1.PST-we.are.told we
 “‘Some of these doings, it's dangerous for us (Potawatomi people) to do this way,’
 we were told.’
 JT 2016-04-07-01 025-026
- (150) Nwi-zgeknan **anet** i nzhonyam.
 nwi-zgeknan *anet* i nzhonyam
 1.fut-I.put.it.away some DEM my.money
 ‘I will save some money.’
 BD/JT/MJT 2013-02-19

As in previous sections, sometimes *anet* appears to occupy the topic position, as in the example below where it appears to be part of the (Topic)+*gé*+pronoun+verb construction described earlier.

- (151) **Anet** gé wi o-sknonet gi-kedwek a je é-gi-gwetegwe'awat é-neki'awat gi-kedwek.
 anet gé wi o-sknonet gi-kedwek
 some TOP 3 go-OBV.goes.to.school.CONJ PST-they.say
 a je é-gi-gwetegwe'awat é-neki'awat gi-kedwek
 in.order.to FCT-PST-they.are.made.to.fear?.CONJ FCT-they.work pst-they.say
 ‘Some of those those who went to school said they treated them bad and made them work
 (instead of going to school), they said.’
 MJT 2014-03-10-02 040

There are a few discontinuous cases of *anet*; in this example, *anet* modifies *gode kewéziyek*

‘those old men’.

- (152) Ga-byé-kedwat **anet** ngi-nodwak gode kewéziyek.
 ga-byé-kedwat anet ngi-nodwak gode kewéziyek
 IC.PST-here-they.said.CONJ some 1.PST-I.heard.them DEM old.men
 ‘That's what they said, some of those old men that I heard.’
 BD 2013-10-04-05 165

It can also appear with a reduplicated first syllable.

- (153) **Anet, ayanet** zhe ngi-bzedagok, éhe.
 anet ayanet zhe ngi-bzedagok éhe
 some REDUP.some PC 1.PST-they.listen.to.me yes
 ‘Some, some of them listened to me, yes.’
 LR 2014-03-10-03 042

The semantic effects of this redpulation are unclear.

6.3.2 *nangodgen* ‘sometimes’

The particle *nangodgen* ‘sometimes’ can also both precede and follow the verb. Note in the first example that it occupies the adverbial position between the topic pronoun and the verb.

- (154) Gé winwa **nangodgen** nwabmak gode.
 gé winwa nangodgen n-wabmak gode
 TOP they sometimes 1-I.see.them DEM
 ‘Sometimes I see them, too.’
 MJT 2013-12-13-02 101

- (155) Mine gode sengoyek, é-batinwat **nangodgen** gé winwa.
 mine gode sengoyek é-batinwat nangodgen gé winwa
 and DEM squirrels FCT-they.are.many sometimes TOP they
 ‘And these squirrels, sometimes there are a lot of them too.’
 MJT 2014-05-15-01 018

6.4 Comparatives and superlatives

Finally, in this section I give examples of comparative and superlative constructions. Following Dahlstrom (2015:15), comparative constructions have three crucial pieces: a *dimension* of comparison (a scalar predicate like height, weight, temperature, etc.), a *target*, and a *standard* to compare the target against.

6.4.1 *nwech*, *noch* (<*nawaj) ‘more’

There are only a few examples of comparison in the corpus; eliciting comparatives can be culturally sensitive. However, the following examples are typical. As Lewis (2016:16) notes, *nwech* is only found before the verb. A standard of comparison is often not explicit, but rather is contextually determined (cf. Valentine 2001:905-906; Dahlstrom 2015:18). That is the case in the first example.

- (156) **Noch** na gi-zhiwéndeze.
 noch na gi-zhiwéndeze
 more EMPH PST-he.is.arrogant
 ‘He was too arrogant.’
 JT 2014-02-12-12 022

The dimension of comparison here is arrogance; the target is the (unnamed) subject of the sentence, and the standard is left implicit. A more literal translation might be ‘He was more arrogant (than another person, or more than he should have been).’ In the next example, the standard is also not named, but is implicitly ‘more than it is now, more than current times.’

- (157) “**Nwech** wi-zneget ngodek yawek,” gi-kedwek.
 nwech wi-zneget ngodek yawek gi-kedwek
 more FUT-it.is.hard once it.is PST-they.said
 “‘It will be harder at one time,’ they said.’
 JT 2015-01-20-02 100

In the next example, the standard is present but the target is implicit.

- (158) **Nwech** mnepkwedon ni ni je kchemokman-démenen.
 nwech mnepkwedon ni ni je kchemokman-démenen
 more it.tastes.good those how white.people-strawberries
 ‘They taste better than white people’s strawberries.’
 MJT 2014-03-10-08 077

The standard of comparison is *kchemokman-démenen* ‘white people’s strawberries,’ while the target is clear from the full context of the conversation (about picking wild strawberries in their youth).

6.4.2 *osmé* ‘more’

This is rarely used; it appears to be a borrowing from Meskwaki *âwasi*, *âwasîmêhi* ‘more (particle)’ rather than a cognate with Ojibwe *awashime*.⁹ There are two appearances of this particle in my corpus; both involve comparisons of measured distances. The first appears following the verb, unlike *nwech*.

- (159) Ngoji na nish dbe'gen da-gi-yawen nake zhe **osmé**
 ngoji na nish dbe'gen da-gi-yawen nake zhe osmé
 anywhere EMPH two mile MOD-PST-it.is or PC more
 ‘It was about two miles or farther.’
 JT 2015-01-20-01 132

The other includes a standard of comparison (‘one mile’) and appears before the verb but following the adverb *ngoji*.

⁹ In my corpus, the expected Potawatomi cognate *weshmé* appears only once in Welcher’s original database (JDN3592/LBW6661) but the note there indicates that she believed it to be incorrect at that time. It was never confirmed or rejected by a fieldworker for the dictionary project. Beyond that single unreliable source, the expected cognate is not present at all in the modern Potawatomi records.

- (160) Ngoji na **osmé** one mile ngi-zhe-bmosémen.
 ngoji na osmé one mile ngi-zhe-bmosémen
 anywhere EMPH more 1.PST-REL-we.walk
 ‘We walked somewhere over a mile’
 JT 2014-10-29-01 097

6.4.3 *mamwe-*, *mamo-* ‘most, in total, of all’

Finally, as in Ojibwe (Valentine 2001:906), the preverb/free particle *mamwe* (or *mamo-*) ‘most, of all’ has a superlative reading.

- (161) Zhi **mamo**-shkwéyak zhi gi-ténon
 zhi mamo-shkwéyak zhi gi-ténon
 there most-end there PST-they.are.there
 ‘There at the very back they were.’
 JT 2013-10-03-01 258

Chapter 7: Conclusion

1 Future Research

Everything in this dissertation is dedicated to the community of Potawatomi speakers and learners who are carrying the language forward. However, there are still areas of Potawatomi language documentation which demand more attention; in this brief chapter, I outline a few areas for future research that could benefit both linguists and language teachers.

1.1 Dialect variation and comparative work

The goal of this dissertation was to provide a close description of the variety of Potawatomi currently spoken in Forest County, Wisconsin. However, there is significant anecdotal evidence of dialect variation in Potawatomi, but little systematic documentation of its extent or nature (as noted briefly in chapter 1). There are, however, many hours of recordings from Welcher's work with speakers from Michigan, Kansas, Oklahoma, and Wisconsin. Together with this new work on Forest County Potawatomi, sufficient data exists to start systematically researching the dialect variation once present in Potawatomi at the time that it was more widely spoken.

A more complete account of specific dialect differences among Potawatomi speakers would be invaluable for language revitalization purposes; it would allow students from across the Potawatomi diaspora to learn the dialect of their ancestors. The specific dialect differences that might be identifiable would also be an important source of evidence for the reconstruction of Common Ojibwe-Potawatomi, filling a gap in the Algonquian family tree. Though scholars agree that Ojibwe and Potawatomi stem from this relatively recent common ancestor, it is never precisely described (but see Goddard 1994:196-197, Lockwood in press c).

1.2 *Acoustic phonetics*

Through a combination of targeted elicitation and years of recording narratives and conversations, sufficient data exists to continue work that Gathercole (1978) started: an empirical, instrumental description of Potawatomi phonetics. A full account of Potawatomi vowels would assist scholars working on a linguistic description of syncope, stress, and the vowel system. Carefully articulating all the variation of the weak vowels, for example, would also be invaluable for students of Potawatomi; recall from chapter 2 that the pronunciation of vowels is such an important issue in the Potawatomi language revitalization community that a new alphabet was created by Potawatomi teachers in order to help students focus on it. In addition, an updated description of the fortis and lenis consonants is needed, informed by more current studies of voicing distinctions cross-linguistically.

1.3 *Morphology*

Hockett's dissertation provided a lexicon of components in an appendix (1939); in chapter 3, I provide a list of components building off of Hockett's list. However, a full lexicon of the pieces of Potawatomi words would be a significant undertaking that could potentially have benefits to both language activists and linguists. Similar lexicons of components either exist or are being prepared for a number of other Algonquian languages, including Ojibwe, Cree, and Menominee. Pulling all of these together could provide historical linguists a fruitful resource for comparative studies while also being useful to language activists as a source for understanding and teaching about complex words (or even creating new words).

1.4 *Syntax and semantics*

Hockett described his account of syntax as a set of tentative hints, and though much more ground is covered in this dissertation (and in the work of Robert Lewis), much work remains. This work

does not just benefit theoreticians; Potawatomi teachers and students need better models of sentence structure to ensure that they can carry the language forward effectively. For example, in some cases in chapter 6, it appears that adverbs can left-dislocate and precede what would otherwise occupy the first slot, but the conditioning of these alternations is not always clear.

More research into Potawatomi syntax is needed (and ongoing), but this dissertation and the texts provided in the appendix will help syntacticians working in different frameworks. However, while this dissertation provides a very basic overview of quantification, much more must be done before a semantic sketch of Potawatomi could be completed.

1.5 *Discourse analysis*

The appendix provides both narratives and natural conversations. As far as I can tell, it is the largest single publication of natural speech in Potawatomi. As such, there are a number of differences between the natural speech given in the appendix and the either elicited sentences or formal narratives relied upon by previous linguistic studies of Potawatomi. These texts include backchannels, pauses, re-statements, turn-taking, and code-switching, none of which are previously described in Potawatomi at any length. Some lines also include native speakers' revisions and edits alongside the original, so researchers can see both the line from the original performance and how it changed upon reflection and review.

This research, too, would benefit the Potawatomi language revitalization community – because learning to speak Potawatomi is so much more than learning the set of grammatical sentences.

Appendix A: Orthography Comparison Charts

	TRADITIONAL	FCPLO	HOCKETT (1939)	HOCKETT (1948)	WNALP
VOWELS	i	i	i	i	i
	e	é, è	ɛ	e	é
	a	a	a	a	a
	o	o	o	o	o
	e	e, ë, ê	ə	u	e
CONSONANTS	l	p	p̣	p̣	p
	t	t	ṭ	ṭ	t
	s	s	ṣ	ṣ	s
	sh	sh	ṣ̌	ṣ̌	sh
	tth	tth	č̣	č̣	ch
	k	k	ḳ	ḳ	k
	q				kw
		‘	ʔ	ʔ	‘
	l	b	p	p	b
	t	d	t	t	d
	s	z	s	s	z
	sh	zh	š	š	zh
	tth	th	č	č	j
	k	g	k	k	g
	q				gw
	m	m	m	m	m
	n	n	n	n	n
	w	w	w	w	w
	y	y	j	y	y

Table 1. Overview of the most common writing systems

FCPLO glyph	Example in English	IPA Equivalent	WNALP Equivalent
a	f <u>a</u> ther	[ɑ]	a
i	f <u>e</u> et, b <u>e</u> et	[i]	i
o	s <u>no</u> w, g <u>o</u>	[o]	o
e	b <u>i</u> t, s <u>i</u> t, n <u>i</u> t	[ɪ]	e
é	b <u>a</u> t, s <u>a</u> t, m <u>a</u> t	[æ]	é, e
ë	b <u>u</u> t, m <u>u</u> tt, sh <u>u</u> t	[ʌ, ə]	e
ê	b <u>oo</u> k, sh <u>oo</u> k, c <u>oo</u> k	[ʊ, ə]	e
è	b <u>e</u> t, m <u>e</u> t, w <u>e</u> t	[ɛ]	é, e

Table 2. FCPLO vowels (adapted from Thunder 2016[1996]:6 and onward).

Hockett (1939)	Hockett (1948)	Buszard (2003)	Function, in brief
a/ε	a/e	a/é	Strong vowel; a ~ ε
α	U	E	Weak vowel; Ø ~ ə
O	O	O	Weak vowel; Ø ~ o
E	E	E	Strong vowel; limited
#	#	(not used)	Abstract consonant; w or j
N	N	N	Palatalizing N; n ~ š
T·	T·	T	Palatalizing fortis
T	T	D	Palatalizing lenis
S·	S·	S	Palatalizing fortis

Table 3. Summary of morphophonemic symbols used by Hockett and Buszard.

Appendix B: Transcribed Narratives and Conversations

This appendix contains narratives and conversations. Each one was recorded and transcribed in ELAN by Lindsay Marean, reviewed by the elders involved, and approved for public viewing. I have formatted them and in places lightly edited them. Linguists and native speakers' goals are sometimes at odds during the review process: linguists tend to want a spontaneous performance with all the pauses and errors, while native speakers consider their stories to be authored texts that should be edited. Revisions made during the review process are given in brackets and parentheses, which are sometimes used interchangeably in the original transcriptions; I have faithfully reproduced them here. Generally, brackets represent changes made during the review process and parentheses generally elaborate on the translation. Typical changes involve the addition or substitution of words.

Each line contains a single time-aligned annotation from ELAN and the tiers associated with it. The tiers are labeled as follows: text@[speaker] (Potawatomi words transcribed in the WNALP orthography), FCP@[speaker] (Potawatomi words transcribed in the FCP orthography), transl@[speaker] (an English translation, reviewed and approved by the speaker), and SD (silence duration when greater than 500 milliseconds). These lines are byproducts of the task of transcription and do not have theoretical or analytical intent. When two or more speakers overlap, the silence duration count can be somewhat misleading; this is not the norm.

1 Jim's School Story

Citation code: 2014-10-29-01 JT/LR

Synopsis: In a conversation with Lillian, Jim tells the story of his going to school and being forced to learn English. This story is the only one presented with both the WNALP and FCP writing systems.

text@Lillian Wéni je nétem? Gin ne?
 FCP@Lillian Wenithè nètëm? Gin nè?
 transl@Lillian Who first? You?
 SD (0.51)

text@Jim Wa?
 FCP@Jim Wa?
 transl@Jim What?

text@Lillian Wéni je nétem? Gin ne?
 FCP@Lillian Wenithè nètëm? Gin nè?
 transl@Lillian Who first? You?
 SD (1.08)

text@Lillian Gin ne nétem?
 FCP@Lillian Gin nè nètëm?
 transl@Lillian You first?
 SD (0.74)

text@Jim O, ahaw. Nin nétem.
 FCP@Jim O, ahaw. Nin nètëm.
 transl@Jim Oh, OK. Me first.

text@Lillian Ahaw, gin nétem.
 FCP@Lillian Ahaw, gin nètëm.
 transl@Lillian OK, you first.

text@Jim O, ézhi zhna gé ni ngi-che-wépskono
 FCP@Jim O, ézhi shna géni ngi ktthe wèbskono
 transl@Jim Oh, as for me, when I started school
 SD (3.95)

text@Jim mégwe-mtegwigkik
 FCP@Jim mēgwé mtēgwagkik
 transl@Jim in the middle of the woods

text@Lillian O.
 FCP@Lillian O.
 transl@Lillian Oh.

text@Jim ézhi Zheshkzibik ga-zhenkadék [ézhnekadék].
 FCP@Jim ézhi Zheshkzibik ga zhenkadék.
 transl@Jim there at Rat River, it was called [it is called].

text@Jim Miziwigemek éje-ték.
 FCP@Jim Miziwigēmêk èthe tèk.
 transl@Jim Where there's a bathroom (outhouse). [This bathroom is a reference point for where different places are.]
 SD (2.07)

text@Jim Ézhi i mBIA gi-wzhetonawa zhi skonwigemek.
 FCP@Jim Ézhi i BIA gi wzhetonawa zhi skonwigēmêk.
 transl@Jim There the BIA build a school building.

text@Lillian O.
 FCP@Lillian O.
 transl@Lillian Oh.
 SD (2.77)

text@Jim Jayék shna Neshnabék gi-yawwik zhi ga-skonojek.
 FCP@Jim Thayék shna neshnabék gi yawwik zhi ga skonothêk.
 transl@Jim All of the people who were students there were Neshnabé.

text@Lillian Mm.
 FCP@Lillian Mm.
 transl@Lillian Mm.
 SD (3.21)

text@Jim Jigwé "school" zhna gi-zhenkadé.
 FCP@Jim Thigwé "school" shna gi zhenkadé.
 transl@Jim It was called "Thunder school."

text@Lillian O.
 FCP@Lillian O.
 transl@Lillian Oh.

text@Jim All those Thunders went to school there.
 FCP@Jim All those Thunders went to school there.
 transl@Jim All those Thunders went to school there.

text@Lillian Jigwé s...
 FCP@Lillian Thigwé s...
 transl@Lillian Thunder s...

text@Jim Éhé'.
 FCP@Jim Éhé'.
 transl@Jim Yes.

text@Lillian Jigwé skongemek.
 FCP@Lillian Thigwé skongëmêk.
 transl@Lillian Thunder School.
 SD (5.33)

text@Jim Jo zhe na ngi-kchemokmanmosi é-wépskonoyan.
 FCP@Jim Ttho shna ngi kthēmokmanmosi è wépskonoyan.
 transl@Jim I didn't speak English when I started school.

text@Lillian O.
 FCP@Lillian O.
 transl@Lillian Oh.
 SD (0.56)

text@Jim Jayék zhna ninan.
 FCP@Jim Thayék shna ninan.
 transl@Jim All of us.
 SD (1.83)

text@Lillian Ni je ga-tso-pongezyen?
 FCP@Lillian Ni thè gatso pongezyen?
 transl@Lillian How old were you?

text@Jim Éhé'.
 FCP@Jim Éhé'.
 transl@Jim Yes.

text@Lillian Ni je ga-tso-pongezyen?
 FCP@Lillian Ni thè gatso pongezyen?
 transl@Lillian How old were you?
 SD (2.58)

text@Jim Ngi-ngotwatso-ponges.
 FCP@Jim Ngi ngotwatso ponges.
 transl@Jim I was six years old.

text@Lillian O, ahaw.
 FCP@Lillian O, ahaw.
 transl@Lillian Oh, OK.
 SD (6.85)

text@Jim Jayék zhna ngi-neshnabémtadmen zhe.
 FCP@Jim Thayék shna ngi neshnabémtadmen she.
 transl@Jim We all spoke Potawatomi to each other.

text@Jim Jo ngi-kchemokmanmosimen.
 FCP@Jim Ttho ngi ktthemokmanmosimen.
 transl@Jim We didn't speak English.

text@Lillian Jo wgi-nsestewasiwa.
 FCP@Lillian Ttho wgi nsestewasiwa.
 transl@Lillian They didn't understand it.

text@Jim Éhé'.
 FCP@Jim Éhé'.
 transl@Jim Yes.
 SD (1.0)

text@Jim Mech na ga-néndemegwén o éskono'wét.
 FCP@Jim Metth na nènmëgwèn o éskono'wét.
 transl@Jim I don't know what that teacher must have thought.
 SD (0.82)

text@Jim Jo zhna wgi-gkéndesin é-dzhemayak.
 FCP@Jim Ttho shna wgi gkéndesin édzhëmayak.
 transl@Jim He didn't know when we were talking about him.
 SD (10.59)

text@Jim Jo zhna gégo apje ngi-zhe-gkéndesin é-gi-skonoyan zhi.
 FCP@Jim Ttho shna gégo aptthe ngi shë gkéndesin ègi skonoyan zhi.
 transl@Jim I didn't learn much when I went to school there.

text@Lillian O.
 FCP@Lillian O.
 transl@Lillian Oh.
 SD (1.71)

text@Jim Jo gégo zhi mnedoshkwedé gi-tésnon.
 FCP@Jim Ttho gégo zhi mnedoshkwedè gi tésnon.
 transl@Jim There wasn't electricity there.
 SD (2.28)

text@Jim Zagech na gi-ténon ni miziwgemgon.
 FCP@Jim Zagetth na gi-tènon ni miziwgëmgon.
 transl@Jim The bathrooms were outside.

text@Lillian O.
 FCP@Lillian O.
 transl@Lillian Oh.
 SD (0.98)

text@Lillian Wigwam zhna mteno.
 FCP@Lillian Wigwam zhna mteno.
 transl@Lillian Just a building [no plumbing, electricity, etc.].

text@Jim Éhé'.
 FCP@Jim Éhé'.
 transl@Jim Yes.

text@Jim Mine o éskonowét
 FCP@Jim Mine o éskonowèt
 transl@Jim And the teacher
 SD (1.89)

text@Jim gé wi zhi wigwam zhi gi-wzhetwaye.
 FCP@Jim géwi zhi wigwam zhi gi wzhetwayè.
 transl@Jim also had a house build for him there.

text@Lillian O.
 FCP@Lillian O.
 transl@Lillian Oh.
 SD (6.1)

text@Jim Mteno wgi-jagzan "coal."
 FCP@Jim Mteno wgi thagzan "coal."
 transl@Jim He only burned coal.

text@Lillian O.
 FCP@Lillian O.
 transl@Lillian Oh.

text@Jim "Furnace" zhi gi-témget.
 FCP@Jim "Furnace" zhi gi témget.
 transl@Jim There was a furnace there.

text@Lillian O.
 FCP@Lillian O.
 transl@Lillian Oh.

text@Jim Kche-gzhapkezgen.
 FCP@Jim Kthë gzhapkezgen.
 transl@Jim A big stove.
 SD (0.88)

text@Lillian Jo msen wgi-yosinawa.
 FCP@Lillian Ttho msen wgi yosinawa.
 transl@Lillian They didn't use firewood.

text@Jim Éhé'.
 FCP@Jim Éhé'.
 transl@Jim Yes.
 SD (1.35)

text@Lillian Jo ne msen wgi-yosinawa?
 FCP@Lillian Ttho ne msen wgi-yosinawa?
 transl@Lillian Didn't they use firewood?
 SD (0.67)

text@Lillian Jo ne msen wgi-yosinawa?
 FCP@Lillian Ttho ne msen wgi-yosinawa?
 transl@Lillian Didn't they use firewood?
 SD (0.84)

text@Lillian Msen.
 FCP@Lillian Msen.
 transl@Lillian Firewood.
 SD (0.64)

text@Lillian Msen.
 FCP@Lillian Msen.
 transl@Lillian Firewood.

text@Jim Jo.
 FCP@Jim Ttho.
 transl@Jim No.
 SD (3.87)

text@Lillian I ne i yé i mteno i mékdéwak.
 FCP@Lillian I nè i yé i mteno i mékdéwak.
 transl@Lillian Just the black stuff. [coal]

text@Jim Éhé'.
 FCP@Jim Éhé'.
 transl@Jim Yes.
 SD (0.65)

text@Jim Éhé'.
 FCP@Jim Éhé'.
 transl@Jim Yes.
 SD (3.82)

text@Jim Mine zhi "pump" gi-thegadé, mbish wa-wdenek o éskono'wét.
 FCP@Jim Minè zhi "pump" gi thegadé, mbish wa wdenêk o èskono'wèt.
 transl@Jim And there was a pump put there, where the teacher would get water.

text@Lillian O.
 FCP@Lillian O.
 transl@Lillian Oh.
 SD (4.01)

text@Jim Mine zhe gé zhe win miziwgemek zhi gi témget.
 FCP@Jim Minè zhe gé zhe win miziwgëmêk zhi gi témget.
 transl@Jim And there was also an outhouse there for him.
 SD (1.87)

text@Jim Gi-nchiwnagwet zhe na i ndemiziwgemgomenan.
 FCP@Jim Gi ntthiwnagwet zhe na i ndë miziwgëmgonenan.
 transl@Jim Our outhouse was funny-looking (ugly-looking).
 SD (0.76)

text@Jim Gigabéseek mine zhode kwézéseek.
 FCP@Jim Gigabésêk minè shodè kwésésêk.
 transl@Jim Boys and here girls.

text@Lillian O.
 FCP@Lillian O.
 transl@Lillian Oh.
 SD (1.54)

text@Jim Mine zhe na ézhi ni "swings" zhi gi-ténon. [wéwébzownen]
 FCP@Jim Miné zhe na ézhi ni "swings" zhi gi ténon. [wéwébzownen]
 transl@Jim And there were also swings there.
 SD (2.67)

text@Jim Jo gé na ngi-gkéndesimen wa-zhe-chikmak i "football." [pkwakwet]
 FCP@Jim Ttho gé na ngi gkéndesimen wa zhe tthikmak i "football." [pkwakwet]
 transl@Jim We also didn't know how to play with a football.

text@Lillian Wa-zhe-...
 FCP@Lillian Wa zhe ...
 transl@Lillian ...
 SD (3.48)

text@Jim Mine i m"basketball."
 FCP@Jim Miné i m"basketball."
 transl@Jim And a basketball.

text@Lillian O.
 FCP@Lillian O.
 transl@Lillian Oh.
 SD (4.3)

text@Lillian Ni je wa-zhechgéygo, ggi-ket.
 FCP@Lillian Ni the wa zhetthgéygo, ggi ket.
 transl@Lillian "How will we do this?" you said.

text@Jim Éhé'.
 FCP@Jim Èhé'.
 transl@Jim Yes.
 SD (0.95)

text@Jim Jak zhna gégo ngi-dgeshkamen.
 FCP@Jim Thak zhna gégo ngi dgeshkamen.
 transl@Jim We kicked everything.
 SD (7.68)

text@Jim Mine zhe na noch na gi gigyagok winwa gé noch na gi-gkéndaswek.
 FCP@Jim Minè zhe na notth na gi gigyagok winwa gé notth na gi gkéndaswêk.
 transl@Jim And the girls are the ones who learned more.

text@Lillian O.
 FCP@Lillian O.
 transl@Lillian Oh.

text@Jim Ninan je wi na.
 FCP@Jim Ninan the wi na.
 transl@Jim But not us [boys].
 SD (2.14)

text@Jim Nangodgen gé jayék gi gigabéseki é-yawyak
 FCP@Jim Nangodgen gé thayè gi gigabèsèk è yawyak.
 transl@Jim Sometimes all of us boys
 SD (0.67)

text@Lillian O.
 FCP@Lillian O.
 transl@Lillian Oh.

text@Jim Ngi-majimen éje-mtegwagkik ézhi ngi-tomen zhi éje-gzibingék, "washtub."
 FCP@Jim Ngi mathimen èthe mtêgwagkik ézhi ngi tomen zhi èthe gzibingék, "washtub."
 transl@Jim We went to the woods, where we had a washtub.

text@Lillian Éhé.
 FCP@Lillian Éhè.
 transl@Lillian Yes.

text@Lillian O.
 FCP@Lillian O.
 transl@Lillian Oh.

text@Jim Kche-zéksoyak ézhi.
 FCP@Jim Ktthe zéksoyak ézhi.
 transl@Jim We did our ceremonies [practicing] there.
 SD (1.62)

text@Jim Bama ga-gish-skono'wat é-wabmayak é-bgednaywat gé ninan é-ne-gagiwéyak.
 FCP@Jim Bama ga gish skono'wat è wabmayak è bgednaywat gé ninan è në gagiwéyak.
 transl@Jim When we saw the ones in school getting let out, we also headed for home.
 SD (8.14)

text@Jim Kwetan na gé wi gi-znekto o éskono'wét.
 FCP@Jim Kwetan na gé wi gi znêkto o èskono'wèt.
 transl@Jim I suppose it was hard on that teacher.

text@Lillian O.
 FCP@Lillian O.
 transl@Lillian Oh.
 SD (2.28)

text@Jim Mine neko ni ngi-shemgomen "iodine tablets."
 FCP@Jim Minè nëko ni ngi shēmngomen "iodine tablets."
 transl@Jim We used to be fed iodine tablets.

text@Lillian O.
 FCP@Lillian O.
 transl@Lillian Oh.
 SD (0.59)

text@Jim Mine gé ngi-mingomen kche-mkek i "cod liver oil."
 FCP@Jim Minè gé ngi mingomen ktthe mkêk i "cod liver oil."
 transl@Jim And also we were given a big box of cod liver oil.

text@Lillian O.
 FCP@Lillian O.
 transl@Lillian Oh.
 SD (1.21)

text@Jim Ggi-dé-mnekwé ne gé gi i?
 FCP@Jim Ggi dé mnëkwé në gé gi i?
 transl@Jim Did you ever get to drink it?

text@Lillian A, nokmesmenan ngi-mingonan neko [é-dgwagek].
 FCP@Lillian A, nokmesmenan ngi mingonan nëko [è dgwagêk].
 transl@Lillian Our grandmother gave it to us [in the fall].

text@Jim O.
 FCP@Jim O.
 transl@Jim Oh.
 SD (4.46)

text@Jim É-gi-gwjebdek o ndédéyem é-gi-bon-shemgweyak.
 FCP@Jim È gi gwthëbdêk o ndédéyëm è gi bon shëmgwiyak.
 transl@Jim When my father tasted it we stopped being fed that stuff [cod liver oil].
 SD (1.63)

text@Jim I zhe na é-gi-, ndeynanek é-gi-shemat o nénéyben i "cod liver oil."
 FCP@Jim I zhe na è gi, ndëynanêk è gi shëmat o nénéyben i "cod liver oil."
 transl@Jim Then my mother fed the cod liver to our dogs.
 SD (2.42)

text@Jim Gi-mno-bmadzewek gi nemoshek.
 FCP@Jim Gi mno bmadzêwêk gi nëmoshêk.
 transl@Jim The dogs were healthy.
 SD (6.3)

text@Jim Ngoji na osmé "one mile" ngi-zhe-bmosémen.
 FCP@Jim Ngothi na osmé "one mile" ngi zhë bmosémen.
 transl@Jim We walked somewhere over a mile.
 SD (0.52)

text@Lillian O.
 FCP@Lillian O.
 transl@Lillian Oh.

text@Jim Ga-je-dayak ninan.
 FCP@Jim Ga the dayak ninan.
 transl@Jim Where we lived.
 SD (7.35)

text@Jim Anet je wi noch wase gi-zhe-bmosék.
 FCP@Jim Anet thë wi notth wasë gi zhë bmosék.
 transl@Jim Some walked farther [than we did].
 SD (1.3)

text@Jim Clara Mexico mine Rose Bemis.
 FCP@Jim Clara Mexico minë Rose Bemis.
 transl@Jim Clara Mexico and Rose Bemis.

text@Lillian O.
 FCP@Lillian O.
 transl@Lillian Oh.
 SD (2.06)

text@Jim Mégwe-mtegwagkik na gi-byé-zhyéwek, myéwése.
 FCP@Jim Mégwë-mtëgwagkik na gi byë zhyëwêk, myëwësêk.
 transl@Jim They came through the middle of the woods, on a little path.
 SD (0.59)

text@Lillian O.
 FCP@Lillian O.
 transl@Lillian Oh.
 SD (0.66)

text@Jim Nekmek na zhi myéwése gi-ténon béba-zhyayak neko.
 FCP@Jim Nëkmëk na zhi myëwësêk gi ténon béba zhyayak nêko.
 transl@Jim There were little paths all over there that we followed back then.

text@Lillian Éhé'.
 FCP@Lillian Èhë'.
 transl@Lillian Yes.

text@Jim Jo zhe na wika i kche-myéw ngi-nagdosimen.
 FCP@Jim Tho zhe na wika i ktthe myéw ngi nagdosimen.
 transl@Jim We very seldom followed the big road.
 SD (6.81)

text@Jim I zhi yé i ga-gish-skonoyan i, é-gi-gbak'emwat i skonwgemek.
 FCP@Jim I zhi yé i ga gish skonoyan i, è gi gbak'ëmwat i skonwgëmêk.
 transl@Jim After I went to school there [one year], they closed that school.

text@Lillian Éhé.
 FCP@Lillian Éhë.
 transl@Lillian Yes.

text@Jim É, abdék mine zhe ga-zhe-anthiyak mine zhi béshoch o "school bus"
 FCP@Jim È, abdék mine zhë ga zhë anthiyak mine zhi bèshotth o "school bus"
 transl@Jim We had to move again to close to where the school bus

text@Lillian O.
 FCP@Lillian O.
 transl@Lillian Oh.

text@Jim ga-je-byat.
 FCP@Jim ga thë byat.
 transl@Jim came.
 SD (1.09)

text@Jim Mtegowgemgomesesh na ngi-o-yèmen.
 FCP@Jim Mtêgowgëmgomesesh na ngi o yèmen.
 transl@Jim We went and stayed at an old log house.
 SD (1.31)

text@Jim I zhe é-gi-gachnewak. Ode zhe na apte-tso yawek ode ga-negkwak i.
 FCP@Jim I zhë è gi gatthnëwak. Ode zhe na aptè-tso yawêk odë ga nêgkwak i.
 transl@Jim It was small. Half the size of this [room], that's how big it was.
 SD (1.51)

text@Jim Mji' na je wi zhe gi-shpemsekgadé.
 FCP@Jim Mthi' na thë wi zhë gi shpëmsêkgadé.
 transl@Jim But it had some kind of attic [any old way].
 SD (0.86)

text@Jim I zhe na gigabésesek ga-je-mbayak.
 FCP@Jim I zhe na gigabèsêk ga thë mbayak.
 transl@Jim That's where we boys slept.

text@Lillian O.
 FCP@Lillian O.
 transl@Lillian Oh.
 SD (0.73)

text@Lillian O, ga-byé-zhe-giwéyen.
 FCP@Lillian O, ga byè zhë giwéyen.
 transl@Lillian Oh, that's what you came home to.

text@Jim Éhé'.
 FCP@Jim Éhé'.
 transl@Jim Yes.
 SD (4.06)

text@Jim A, i je mine é-gi-wép-skonoyak zhi "public school."
 FCP@Jim A, i the minè è gi wép skonoyak zhi "public school."
 transl@Jim So then we started to attend the public school.

text@Lillian Aha.
 FCP@Lillian Aha.
 transl@Lillian Uh-huh.
 SD (1.62)

text@Jim Jo zhe mshe wéwéne ngi-kchemokmanmosimen.
 FCP@Jim Tho zhë mshë wéwéne ngi kthëmokmanmosimen.
 transl@Jim We still didn't speak English very well.
 SD (2.34)

text@Jim Pené na ngi-ndo-migangomen.
 FCP@Jim Pené na ngi ndo migangomen.
 transl@Jim They were always trying to start fights with us.

text@Lillian O.
 FCP@Lillian O.
 transl@Lillian Oh.
 SD (4.54)

text@Jim Mine gi kchemokmanésesek
 FCP@Jim Minë gi ktthëmokmanésêk
 transl@Jim And those little white kids
 SD (3.37)

text@Jim gégo énewat se na ni neshnabé-gigyagosek
 FCP@Jim gégo énewat se na ni neshnabè gigyagosêk
 transl@Jim when they said something to the Neshnabé girls
 SD (0.51)

text@Jim é-wjitmewayak é-migadiyak.
 FCP@Jim è wthitmëwayak è migadiyak.
 transl@Jim we'd fight for them (to help them).
 SD (5.24)

text@Jim I zhe ga-je-wép-skonoyan
 FCP@Jim I zhë ga thë wèp skonoyan
 transl@Jim So when I started school

text@Lillian O.
 FCP@Lillian O.
 transl@Lillian Oh.

text@Jim mégwa zhe "first grade" ngi-yaw.
 FCP@Jim mégwa zhe "first grade" ngi-yaw.
 transl@Jim I was still in first grade.
 SD (0.8)

text@Jim I je i ngoji na abte-bbon yawek
 FCP@Jim I the i ngothi na abtë bbon yawêk
 transl@Jim And then, around the middle of the winter
 SD (2.25)

text@Jim ézhi i Hayward ga-témgek i Neshnabé mshkekiwgemek
 FCP@Jim èzhi i Hayward ga témgêk i Neshnabé mshkêkiwgëmêk.
 transl@Jim there was an Indian hospital in Hayward (that's where it was)

text@Lillian Éhé.
 FCP@Lillian Éhë.
 transl@Lillian Yes.

text@Jim wi yé zhi ga-zhyayak.
 FCP@Jim èzhi ga zhyayak.
 transl@Jim and that's where we went.

text@Lillian O.
 FCP@Lillian O.
 transl@Lillian Oh.

text@Jim "TB" ngi-napnémen.
 FCP@Jim "TB" ngi napnémen.
 transl@Jim We were sick with TB.

text@Lillian O.
 FCP@Lillian O.
 transl@Lillian Oh.
 SD (0.75)

text@Jim Nin mine nsezé Zagma.
 FCP@Jim Nin minë nsezé Zagma.
 transl@Jim Me and my older brother Zagma [Tom].

text@Lillian Éhé'.
 FCP@Lillian Éhë'.
 transl@Lillian Yes.
 SD (0.98)

text@Jim Gagéyasen gé wi o.
 FCP@Jim Gagéyasen gè wi o.
 transl@Jim Also Gagéyasen [George].
 SD (3.24)

text@Jim Gé wi zhe na gé wi gi-zhyé ézhi.
 FCP@Jim Gè wi zhe na gè wi gi zhyé èzhi.
 transl@Jim He [George] also went there.
 SD (2.95)

text@Jim Bèshoch i Superior gi-témget i "sanitorium."
 FCP@Jim Bèshotth i Superior gi témget i "sanitorium."
 transl@Jim The sanitorium was close to Superior [~20 miles].
 SD (5.37)

text@Jim Nagech zhe pi gé ninan ézhi ngi-zhenashkagomen.
 FCP@Jim Nagetth zhë pi gé ninan ézhi ngi-zhenashkagomen.
 transl@Jim Later we [Jim and Tom] were sent there.
 SD (2.21)

text@Jim Jo zhe na wika ngi-wabmasimen gi ngetsimnanek.
 FCP@Jim Tho zhe na wika ngi wabmasimen gi ngetsimnanêk.
 transl@Jim We never saw our parents [during that time].
 SD (0.81)

text@Jim Nso-pon ngi-o-dnezmen zhi.
 FCP@Jim Nso pon ngi o dnezman zhi.
 transl@Jim We stayed there three years.
 SD (4.23)

text@Jim Wi yé i ga-wje-kchemokmanmoyan.
 FCP@Jim Wi yé i ga wthë kthëmokmanmoyan.
 transl@Jim That's why I learned to speak English.
 SD (2.86)

text@Jim Mine o ngot na mdemozé éskono'wét gi-yawe.
 FCP@Jim Minè o ngot na mdëmozé èskono'wèt gi-yawë.
 transl@Jim And there was one old lady who was a teacher.
 SD (5.09)

text@Jim A, gi-wenze o éskono'wét.
 FCP@Jim A, gi wenze o èskono'wèt.
 transl@Jim Ah, that teacher was good.
 SD (9.87)

text@Jim A, zhna é-gi-wabmayak mine o nsezéynan ibe é-gi-zhyayak.
 FCP@Jim A zhna è gi wabmayak minë o nsezéynan ibè è gi zhyayak.
 transl@Jim We saw our older brother when we went there. (Jerry Thunder, a cousin, also lived there.)
 SD (0.65)

text@Jim Gagéyasen ga-zhenkazet.
 FCP@Jim Gagéyasen ga zhenkazet.
 transl@Jim His name was Gagéyasen.
 SD (1.46)

text@Jim Ggi-gkénmadek se na gé gi, nGeorge.
 FCP@Jim Ggi gkénmadêk se na gé gi, nGeorge.
 transl@Jim You must have known him, George.

text@Lillian O, ngi-gkénma, éhé.
 FCP@Lillian O, ngi gkénma, éhé.
 transl@Lillian Oh, yes, I knew him.

text@Jim Gagéyasen gi-zhenkaze.
 FCP@Jim Gagéyasen gi zhenkazë.
 transl@Jim His name was Gagéyasen.

text@Lillian O. Gagéyasen.
 FCP@Lillian O. Gagéyasen.
 transl@Lillian Oh. Gagéyasen.
 SD (0.83)

text@Jim Ézhi i 1946 é-yawek é-gi-bgednegoyak [é-gi-byé-giwéyak].
 FCP@Jim Èzhi i 1946 è yawêk è gi bgednëgoyak [è gi byé giwéyak]
 transl@Jim It was 1946 when we were released [when we came home].
 SD (0.79)

text@Jim É-gi-byé-giwéyak.
 FCP@Jim È gi byé giwéyak.
 transl@Jim When we came home.

text@Jim Ngi-ngeton i neshnabémwen.
 FCP@Jim Ngi ngeton i neshnabémowen.
 transl@Jim I had lost the Potawatomi language.

text@Lillian O.
 FCP@Lillian O.
 transl@Lillian Oh.
 SD (2.48)

text@Lillian I wpi ga-ngetoyen.
 FCP@Lillian I wpi ga ngetoyen.
 transl@Lillian That's when you lost it.

text@Jim Éhé'.
 FCP@Jim Èhé'.
 transl@Jim Yes.

text@Jim Abdék zhna mine néyap ngi-ndo-gigdo, (gégo é-kchemokmanmotewek) [gégo kchemokmanmoshikén] o nnénéymeben [ngi-yek].
 FCP@Jim Abdék zhna mine néyap ngi ndo gigdëw, (gégo ktthemokmanmotëwêk) [gégo ktthemokmanmoshikén] o nnénéymëben [ngi yêk].
 transl@Jim When I tried to talk back, (I said something in English to my mother) ["Don't speak English to me," my mother said].
 SD (0.92)

text@Jim A, neshnabémon, jo kchemokman gdawsi, ngi-yek.
 FCP@Jim A, neshnabémon, tho ktthëmokman gdawsi, ngi yek.
 transl@Jim "Ah, speak Potawatomi, you're not a white person," she told me.
 SD (1.74)

text@Jim Wika she zhe é-shketoyan é-neshnabémyan.
 FCP@Jim Wika she zhë è shketoyan è neshnabémyan.
 transl@Jim Finally I was able to speak Potawatomi.

text@Lillian Wika, o.
 FCP@Lillian Wika, o.
 transl@Lillian Finally, oh.
 SD (0.87)

text@Jim Wi yé wéch ngom gé ni wéje-ndo-gkénomagéyan na é-bwa-ngetoygo she zhna ode zshesmowen.
 FCP@Jim Wi yé wèthh ngom gè ni wèthe ndo gkénomagéyan na é bwa ngetoygo she zhna ode zshesmowen.
 transl@Jim That's why now I try to teach, so we won't lose this language.

text@Lillian Aha.
 FCP@Lillian Aha.
 transl@Lillian Uh-huh.
 SD (0.93)

text@Jim Ga-zhe-wjitmagoygo.
 FCP@Jim Ga zhë wthitmagoygo.
 transl@Jim That we were blessed with [spiritual help].

text@Lillian Éhé'.
 FCP@Lillian Éhë'.
 transl@Lillian Yes.
 SD (4.48)

text@Lillian Ga-mingoygo.
 FCP@Lillian Ga mingoygo.
 transl@Lillian That we were given.

text@Jim Éhé'.
 FCP@Jim Éhé'.
 transl@Jim Yes.

text@Jim I néyap i mtegwgemgos é-gi-dayak.
 FCP@Jim I néyap i mtëgwgëmgos è gi dayak.
 transl@Jim Then we were back living in the little log house.
 SD (7.34)

text@Jim Nin mine Tom mine nGeorge.
 FCP@Jim Nin mine Tom mine nGeorge.
 transl@Jim Me and Tom and George.
 SD (2.25)

text@Jim Wgemagizhek gé wi nétém gi-zhyé Tama, Iowa, gé wi [ézhi] gi-zhenashkewaye.
 FCP@Jim Wgëmagizhêk gè wi nètëm gi zhyé Tama, Iowa, gè wi [èzhi] gi zhenashkëwayè.
 transl@Jim Ben went first, he was sent [there] to Tama, Iowa. [George also went to Tama
 first, then to the sanitorium near Hayward.]

SD (0.95)

text@Jim Neshnabé "sanitorium."
 FCP@Jim Neshnabè "sanitorium."
 transl@Jim An Indian sanitorium.

SD (1.12)

text@Jim Nomek zhe na zhi gi-yé, é-gi-byé-giwét.
 FCP@Jim Nomêk zhe na zhi gi yé, è gi byé giwèt.
 transl@Jim He was only there for a little while, then he came home.

SD (7.15)

text@Jim Jo zhe wika mine néyap ngi-zhyasimen.
 FCP@Jim Tho zhë wika mine nèyap ngi zhyasimen.
 transl@Jim We never went back. [Three went into military service.]

SD (2.58)

text@Jim I je i ga-gish-bgednegoyak é-gi-mkemwat na i mshkeke é-yojgadék.
 FCP@Jim I thè i ga gish bgednëgoyak è gi mkëmwat na i mshkêkë è yothygadék.
 transl@Jim After we'd been released, they found the medicine to use.

SD (1.24)

text@Jim "TB."
 FCP@Jim "TB."
 transl@Jim TB.

SD (6.07)

text@Jim Iw. Gin azhtek.
 FCP@Jim Iw. Gin azhtêk.
 transl@Jim That's it. Your turn.

2 Children in Winter

Citation code: 2016-01-14-01 MJT

Synopsis: Mary Jane talks about various outdoor activities in the winter.

- | | |
|---|---|
| textWNALP@Mary Jane
translation@Mary Jane
SD (0.86) | É-gi-byé-gachiyak ago Wéndabnok ninan.
When I was little Marie (my cousin) and I. |
| textWNALP@Mary Jane
translation@Mary Jane
SD (1.15) | Ndédéyem wgi-zhe'an ni agmek. [wzhe'an?]
My father made snowshoes. |
| textWNALP@Mary Jane
translation@Mary Jane
SD (0.56) | I je ga-zhechkéyak é-gbomgek é-gi-o-pamséyak ézhi mtegoskik.
So what we did when it snowed, we went and walked around there
in the woods. |
| textWNALP@Mary Jane
translation@Mary Jane
SD (1.15) | Biskowayak gi agmek.
We were wearing snowshoes. |
| textWNALP@Mary Jane

translation@Mary Jane

SD (1.64) | I je ni, mine é-wabek é-mshkodek gi ga-wzhetoyak mikasen a je é-
gi-dnekmegzeyak é-pambetoyak ni ga-pa-zhyayak é-gi-yowayak gi
agemek.
And then the next day when it was frozen, where we had made
little snowshoe trails we played, running around where we had
used the snowshoes. |
| textWNALP@Mary Jane
translation@Mary Jane
SD (0.89) | Pené zhe na ngi-mdagwéndamen kwejik é-gi-yéyak,
We always liked being outside, |
| textWNALP@Mary Jane
translation@Mary Jane
SD (0.98) | pambetoyak.
when we were running around. |

textWNALP@Mary Jane translation@Mary Jane SD (0.83)	Mine o sleigh ga-wzhe'ajen And the sleigh that he (my dad) made
textWNALP@Mary Jane translation@Mary Jane SD (1.28)	é kwe mine ga-yowayak nangodgen at times that's what we used from time to time
textWNALP@Mary Jane translation@Mary Jane	é-zhoshke'oyak é-kwedakiwek i miken. to sled on the road where it goes uphill.
textWNALP@Mary Jane translation@Mary Jane	Jo gé apje wdabanek gi-bmebzesiwek i wpi. Cars didn't drive by there much at that time.
textWNALP@Mary Jane translation@Mary Jane SD (2.22)	Nangodgen na kwe gi-bmebzo. From time to time one would drive by.
textWNALP@Mary Jane translation@Mary Jane SD (6.1)	I je ga-je-mdagwénmak And so we liked
textWNALP@Mary Jane translation@Mary Jane SD (2.81)	-mdagwénmak é-gi-zhoshke'oyak zhi miknak mine zhe kchemokman sledding on the road and we
textWNALP@Mary Jane translation@Mary Jane SD (1.21)	sleighs ngi-yowamen. used store-bought sleighs.
textWNALP@Mary Jane translation@Mary Jane SD (0.88)	Jo je zhe na apje ngi-yowasimen wzam zhe na kwe gi-shpagwnega je i cardboard é-gi-yoyak nwech. We didn't use them much because at times the snow was too deep, so we used cardboard more.

textWNALP@Mary Jane translation@Mary Jane SD (4.66)	Wi yé i That's what
textWNALP@Mary Jane translation@Mary Jane SD (1.84)	ga-mdagwéndemak pené é-yowak we always liked to use
textWNALP@Mary Jane translation@Mary Jane SD (1.51)	i se é-zhoshke'oyak. when we were sledding.
textWNALP@Mary Jane translation@Mary Jane SD (3.68)	A mine é-gi-wzhe'ayak o snowman nangodgen. And we made a snowman sometimes.
textWNALP@Mary Jane translation@Mary Jane SD (1.66)	Wéni nétem o gi-wzhe'at ni snowman. Who could make a snowman first (racing).
textWNALP@Mary Jane translation@Mary Jane SD (1.91)	Neko ga-zhechgéyak. That's what we used to do.
textWNALP@Mary Jane translation@Mary Jane SD (0.53)	A mine je zibiwék kwe mine é-gi-zhyayak And we used to go to the river at times
textWNALP@Mary Jane translation@Mary Jane	é-gi-wawabdemak iw se é-mshkodek i mbish. and we'd watch the water freezing (the bubbles under the ice).
textWNALP@Mary Jane translation@Mary Jane SD (8.46)	I je wabdemak i And we looked at

textWNALP@Mary Jane translation@Mary Jane SD (0.59)	mbish é-bmejewek zhi namek o mkwem. the water flowing below the ice.
textWNALP@Mary Jane translation@Mary Jane SD (3.46)	É-zhazhgeshnak ga-wabdemak (é-mikjewek i mbish). We lay there to watch it (the water bubbling up).
textWNALP@Mary Jane translation@Mary Jane SD (1.21)	I je o mkwem é-mdwéshkat nnénéyem gé é-widmagweyak zhi gda-dnekmekzesim zhi bishpen é-mdwéshkat o mkwem And when the ice creaked, my mother told us "You can't play there if the ice is creaking
textWNALP@Mary Jane translation@Mary Jane SD (0.69)	é-ne-ngezet bishpen when it's starting to melt
textWNALP@Mary Jane translation@Mary Jane	é-kche-gzhaték. when the weather gets warm."
textWNALP@Mary Jane translation@Mary Jane SD (2.57)	I ga-gweyak i je zhi é-gi-kogayak zhi na ngi-ne-giwéyak. That's what we were told, and so we got out of there and we went home.
textWNALP@Mary Jane translation@Mary Jane SD (1.76)	É-ne-abwak zhe na mkwem é-mdwé- When it started getting warm, the ice
textWNALP@Mary Jane translation@Mary Jane SD (1.8)	baskekat se zhe na o mkwem. could be heard breaking up.
textWNALP@Mary Jane translation@Mary Jane SD (0.7)	I je jo apje zhi ngi-dnekmekzesimen bishpen é-abwak. So we didn't play there much when it was warm.

textWNALP@Mary Jane translation@Mary Jane	Nami'i ngeze o mkwem, gi-kedwik. "The ice is melting under there," they said.
textWNALP@Mary Jane translation@Mary Jane SD (0.82)	Ézhi da-je- [gda-je-?] There
textWNALP@Mary Jane translation@Mary Jane	tkwebisé m bishpen ngezet o mkwem ézhi nami'i, ngi-gomen. you could fall, if the ice melts there underneath, they said to us.
textWNALP@Mary Jane translation@Mary Jane SD (0.51)	Bishpen é-mdwéshkat o mkwem. If the ice creaks.
textWNALP@Mary Jane translation@Mary Jane SD (0.99)	I ga-goyak. That's what we were told.
textWNALP@Mary Jane translation@Mary Jane SD (2.54)	I je kwe é-gi-giwéyak. And so at that time we went home.
textWNALP@Mary Jane translation@Mary Jane SD (3.64)	Mine ézhi mtegoskik And there in the shrubs
textWNALP@Mary Jane translation@Mary Jane SD (3.81)	wabozoyek kwe ngi-pamnashkewamen i swamp. we chased rabbits in the swamp.
textWNALP@Mary Jane translation@Mary Jane SD (0.7)	Pamnashkewayak gi, nangodgen gish-nawkwék é-gi-zhyayak ézhi pambetoyak, é-pamnashkewayak gi wabozoyek. Sometimes after noon we went there and ran around, we chased those rabbits around.

textWNALP@Mary Jane translation@Mary Jane SD (0.69)	Bikwa she zhe na gé winwa ngi-nantkwegenanek. Just like they were teasing us.
textWNALP@Mary Jane translation@Mary Jane SD (1.2)	Nangodgen kwe néyap é-byé-petowat a mine é-gadzekmiwat. Sometimes they'd come running back and then take off running again.
textWNALP@Mary Jane translation@Mary Jane	I ga-pamnashkewayak gi wabozoyek. We used to chase the rabbits.
textWNALP@Mary Jane translation@Mary Jane SD (1.89)	Gi-batinwik gi wabozoyek. There were a lot of rabbits.
textWNALP@Mary Jane translation@Mary Jane SD (1.37)	I je ndédéyem ngodek é-byé-nanondagwzet Then once our father, we heard him calling,
textWNALP@Mary Jane translation@Mary Jane SD (2.37)	byé-giwék ndegomen. "Come on home!" we're told.
textWNALP@Mary Jane translation@Mary Jane SD (0.88)	Widmowayak, We told him,
textWNALP@Mary Jane translation@Mary Jane SD (2.75)	bama nagech nge-ne-giwémen. "Later we'll come home."
textWNALP@Mary Jane translation@Mary Jane SD (0.96)	I je gda-byé-wisnem. And then "You should come and eat" (he said).

textWNALP@Mary Jane translation@Mary Jane SD (1.94)	Nwisnemen. "We're eating."
textWNALP@Mary Jane translation@Mary Jane SD (1.07)	A je nagech é-gi-ne-giwéyak. And so later we headed for home.
textWNALP@Mary Jane translation@Mary Jane SD (1.71)	Wéndabnok gé wi wisneyak. Marie and I went to go eat.
textWNALP@Mary Jane translation@Mary Jane SD (4.31)	A je mine kojik na é-pambetoyak mine. And then we were outside running around again.
textWNALP@Mary Jane translation@Mary Jane SD (1.97)	Nangodgen. Sometimes.
textWNALP@Mary Jane translation@Mary Jane SD (1.96)	Mine miknak é-pamséyak a mine Again we walk around on the road, and
textWNALP@Mary Jane translation@Mary Jane	sleigh mine é-majinayak kwedake. we take the sleigh along up the hill.
textWNALP@Mary Jane translation@Mary Jane SD (0.62)	Ngodek kche-mkwemiwen i miken. One time the road is really icy.
textWNALP@Mary Jane translation@Mary Jane SD (0.77)	I je o nsezé Wgemagizhek And so my older brother Ben
textWNALP@Mary Jane translation@Mary Jane	mine ngot nsezé Mkedébné i je and another older brother of mine, Hoover,

textWNALP@Mary Jane translation@Mary Jane SD (3.26)	é-yowayak gi kchemokman we used the store-bought
textWNALP@Mary Jane translation@Mary Jane SD (3.09)	sleighs (zhwashkweséjek) bama gaga ézhi i sleighs until
textWNALP@Mary Jane translation@Mary Jane SD (0.77)	bridge (azhgen) éje-ték gaga ngi-o-bgembozmen gi sleigh (zhwashkweséjek). we slid almost all the way to the bridge.
textWNALP@Mary Jane translation@Mary Jane SD (1.68)	É-gi-o-nadmagweyak gi nsezénanek é-zhazhoshke'oyak. Our older brothers helped us to go sliding.
textWNALP@Mary Jane translation@Mary Jane SD (0.5)	A mine é-dbekek kwe And when it got dark
textWNALP@Mary Jane translation@Mary Jane SD (1.42)	gizes o é-gojek a mine gé é-zhazhoshke'oyak o sleigh nangodgen and the moon was up and we were still sledding sometimes
textWNALP@Mary Jane translation@Mary Jane SD (2.23)	gi-bodwéwek ézhi they built a fire there
textWNALP@Mary Jane translation@Mary Jane SD (0.92)	é-zhazhoshke'oyak. I ga zhechkéwat. when we were sledding. That's what they did.
textWNALP@Mary Jane translation@Mary Jane SD (0.85)	Gé winwa. Them too.

textWNALP@Mary Jane
translation@Mary Jane
SD (1.84)

Nangodgen ngi-wabmamen é-zhoshkwad'ewat zhi zibik.
Sometimes we saw them ice skating by the river.

textWNALP@Mary Jane
translation@Mary Jane
SD (0.56)

Wawabmayak é-zhazhoshkwad'éwat,
We used to watch them skating,

textWNALP@Mary Jane
translation@Mary Jane
SD (2.0)

Mkedébné mine Wgemagizhek.
Hoover and Ben.

textWNALP@Mary Jane
translation@Mary Jane
SD (0.61)

Ga-gish-zhoshke'oyak ninan a je gé winwa
Once we were done sledding, then it was their turn

textWNALP@Mary Jane
translation@Mary Jane
SD (0.53)

é-gi-o-zhoshkwad'éwat.
to go ice skating.

textWNALP@Mary Jane
translation@Mary Jane
SD (1.49)

Mech na ndédéyem ga-wdenagwén ni
I don't how my dad got hold of those (skates),

textWNALP@Mary Jane
translation@Mary Jane
SD (2.39)

wgi-netonawa (wgi-gkéndanawa) zhi é-zhoshkwad'éwat.
they (already) knew how to ice skate.

textWNALP@Mary Jane
translation@Mary Jane
SD (3.56)

I ga-byé-zhechgéyak é-gbomgek.
That's what we did when it was winter.

textWNALP@Mary Jane
translation@Mary Jane

Iw se énajmoyan.
That's the end of my story.

3 Potawatomis in Mexico

Citation code: 2014-02-12-06 MJT/JT/LR

Synopsis: Jim tells the history of how there came to be Potawatomi people in Mexico during the removal period.

text@Lindsay Talking about Mexico
SD (1.91)

text@Lindsay How much do you guys know about the Potawatomis who went to Mexico? I know that some of that was your family.

text@Mary Ask him. He was there. I was way down,

text@Jim [laughter]

text@Lillian Widmoshen [crosstalk]
transl@Lillian Tell me [inaudible]

text@Mary Mexico City.

text@Jim Éhé'.
transl@Jim Yes.

text@Jim What was that you wanted, uh?

text@Lindsay About how the Pot, how there ended up being Potawatomis in Mexico.
SD (1.34)

text@Lindsay When the Kickapoos went down there and the Potawatomis went with them.

text@Jim Yeah.
SD (0.76)

text@Jim Ézhi pi gi i
transl@Jim There is where they
SD (1.14)

text@Jim Kansas é-gi-zhewnaywat gi Neshnabék, Bodéwadmik.
transl@Jim Kansas, the Potawatomi were taken.

text@Lillian Aha.
transl@Lillian Yeah.
SD (1.7)

text@Jim Ngeche-meshomsenan gé win ézhi
transl@Jim Our great-grandfather was also there
SD (1.09)

text@Jim wgi-dgeski'awan ni zhemagneshin zhe.
transl@Jim they escaped from the soldiers. (during the removal/death marches)

text@Lillian Oo.
SD (1.06)

text@Jim Mech natso ga-yawagwén gi Neshnabék.
transl@Jim I don't know how many Neshnabé people there were.

text@Lillian Mm-hm.

text@Jim É-gi-wébi'wéwat.
transl@Jim Then they ran away.
SD (1.18)

text@Jim I je ni
transl@Jim And so

text@Jim Gigaboyen
 transl@Jim to the Kickpoos
 SD (1.56)

text@Jim é-gi-po'wéwat.
 transl@Jim they ran. (probably in Illinois)

text@Lillian Oo.

text@Jim O, gda-wijéwmen wgi-gewan ni wdogmamwan.
 transl@Jim Oh, you can come along with us, they (Potawatomis) were told by their chief
 (Kickapoo).

text@Lillian Hm.
 SD (0.83)

text@Jim Ézhi Maygonak nwi-po'wémen gi-kedwek.
 transl@Jim We're running off to Mexico, they said.

text@Lillian Hm.

text@Jim I je é-gi-zhyawat ibe.
 transl@Jim So then they went over there.
 SD (2.59)

text@Jim Mégwétse-pon zhna zhi gi-dnezwek.
 transl@Jim They lived there for several years.

text@Jim Wi yé zhi ga-che-wdadzet o nJohn Mike.
 transl@Jim That's where John Mike was born.

text@Lillian Oo.
 SD (0.66)

text@Jim Ngi-zhya, nizhek zhe zhi ndezhya.
 transl@Jim I went, twice I go there.
 SD (1.05)

text@Jim Seminoles zhode gé gi-yewek, Gigaboyek mine zhe Badwad, Bodéwadmik.
 transl@Jim The Seminoles were here too, and the Kickapoos and Potawatomis.

text@Lillian Oo.
 SD (0.69)

text@Jim Shkwengenen zhi gi-minaywik.
 transl@Jim They were given reservations there.

text@Lillian Ha.
 SD (1.9)

text@Jim Éni zhe na wgi-miganawan ni Epéchiyen.
 transl@Jim That's who they fought, the Apaches.

text@Lillian [laughter]

text@Mary [laughter]
 SD (0.98)

text@Jim Wi yé i ga-zhe-shketowat na i shkwengen.
 transl@Jim That's how they earned the reservation.

text@Lillian Oo.

text@Mary Hm.

text@Jim [laughter]

text@Lillian Wi yé i ga-wje-minaywat.
 transl@Lillian That's why they were given it.

text@Jim Éhé'.
 transl@Jim Yes.
 SD (1.18)

text@Jim Ngodek zhe na é-yawek zhemaneshik é, ézhi é-gi-zhyawat zhi Mexico
 transl@Jim And at one time the soldiers went there into Mexico

text@Lillian Ha.

text@Jim é-gi-nadgenamayet o Bodéwadmi.
 transl@Jim to force back the Potawatomi people.

text@Lillian Oo.

text@Jim Néyap.
 transl@Jim Back.
 SD (0.85)

text@Jim I zhe na zhe mine zhi
 transl@Jim And so again there
 SD (2.21)

text@Jim Texas ngoji zhi
 transl@Jim somewhere in Texas (probably near modern-day Eagle Pass)
 SD (1.6)

text@Jim ga-yewat é-gi-gbéshwat gi zhemagneshek é-ne-gche-giwshkwébiwat.
 transl@Jim they were spending the night, and the soldiers got really drunk.

text@Lillian Hm.

text@Jim Na mine é-gi-dgeskiwat o
 transl@Jim So again they escaped,
 SD (0.66)

text@Jim ngeche-meshomseben.
 transl@Jim my late great-grandfather.
 SD (2.2)

text@Jim Nokmesnan.
 transl@Jim (And) our grandmother.

text@Lillian Hm.

text@Jim Mine o nJohn Mike met se natso gé wi ga-yawgwén i wpi.
 transl@Jim And John Mike, I wonder what age he was at that time.
 SD (4.69)

text@Jim Mine ézhi é-gi-po'wéwat mine néyap zhi Kansas.
 transl@Jim And so they fled again, and back to Kansas.

text@Lillian Ha.
 SD (0.66)

text@Jim Prairie Band.

text@Lillian Aha.
 transl@Lillian Yeah.
 SD (1.13)

text@Jim Gbé-dbek neko
 transl@Jim All night they
 SD (0.6)

text@Jim gi-majiwek kedo i je gbé-gizhek é-gkezwat.
 transl@Jim went, and then they would hide all day.

text@Lillian Hm.
SD (3.36)

text@Jim Ngodek gé zhe wgi-yajmo o
transl@Jim One time

text@Jim nmeshomseben, nJohn Mike
transl@Jim my grandfather, John Mike, talked about

text@Jim wpi zhna ga-nodéwat wpi néyap é-gi-byéwat.
transl@Jim when they were moving, when they were coming back.

text@Lillian Hm.
SD (0.82)

text@Jim Mtegon na zhi. I didn't know there were any trees in Texas, but...
transl@Jim In the trees

text@Jim [laughter]

text@Mary [laughter]

text@Jim É-pamazit zhi, bama zhe nish zhemagneshek
transl@Jim They were wandering there, when a little later two soldiers

text@Lillian Oo

text@Jim é-bme-byawat.
transl@Jim arrive.
SD (1.36)

text@Jim A zhe na o kewézi
transl@Jim An old man

text@Jim ga-wjeknayet zhe na ngot zhe na
 transl@Jim they must have left one (of the old men) there

text@Jim é-wi-wgemawet she zhe na.
 transl@Jim to be the leader.

text@Lillian Éhé'.
 transl@Lillian Yes.

text@Jim É-pich-giwséwat jayék gi nenwek.
 transl@Jim While all the men were hunting.
 SD (1.0)

text@Jim É-gi-basksewawat ni kewéziyen.
 transl@Jim They shot that old man.

text@Lillian Oo.
 SD (0.94)

text@Jim A je gode kwéwek é-gi-nshiw-gedazwat.
 transl@Jim Oh, those women got really angry.
 SD (2.2)

text@Jim É-gi-nakwiwat ni zaskokwanen.
 transl@Jim They threw those skillets.

text@Jim É-gi-niskenamawat ni zhemagneshen.
 transl@Jim They knocked those solders down (off of their horses).

text@Lillian Oo. [laughter]

text@Jim Wgi-kche-nsawan, gi-kedwek.
 transl@Jim They beat them severely, they said. (Literally they really killed them)

text@Lindsay Hm.

text@Lillian Oo.

text@Jim É-pich-gedazwat gé winwa jayék ngoji pa-zhenashkagoygo.
 transl@Jim That's how angry they were because we were chased all over the place.

text@Lillian Ha.
 SD (1.38)

text@Jim I je zhe na zhi wgi-ngwawgwe'wawat.
 transl@Jim And so they buried them there.
 SD (0.57)

text@Lillian [laughter]

text@Jim É-gi-wébi'wéwat.
 transl@Jim Then they ran away (again).
 SD (0.69)

text@Lillian Oo.

text@Jim A zhe na gi zhemagneshek é-gi-byawat, jo weye.
 transl@Jim When the soldiers came (to look for them), no one was there.

text@Jim É-gi-nagenawat.
 transl@Jim They (the soldiers) trailed them.

text@Lillian [laughter]

text@Lillian Oo.

text@Jim Ézhi ma ngi-mkamen i
 transl@Jim We found this

text@Jim é-zhebyé'gadék history.
 transl@Jim written down there, history (documents).

text@Lillian Éhé'.
 transl@Lillian Yes.

text@Jim I ga-zhewébek.
 transl@Jim That's what happened.

text@Lillian Oo.

text@Jim Mine zhe gé anet gi gdenwémagnenanek ibe Kansas gi-ajdanawa.
 transl@Jim And some of our relatives there in Kansas talked about it.

text@Lillian Ha.
 SD (2.12)

text@Jim Mkokwéwé gi-zhenkaze o ngeche-nokmesnan.
 transl@Jim Our great-grandmother was called Mkokwéwé.

text@Lillian Oo.

text@Jim Mine Gawsat gi-zhenkaze o ngech-, ngeche-meshomsenan.
 transl@Jim And our great-grandfather was called Gawsat.

4 Mining

Citation code: 2016-01-14-03 JT

Synopsis: Jim tells about his experience fighting corporations that have tried to set up mining operations.

text@Jim Ahaw, bgéji zhe nwi-ajdan ode na ga-byé-zhewébek.
 transl@Jim OK, I'm going to talk a little about this thing that happened.
 SD (1.06)

text@Jim Mégwa na ode wpi é-gi-niganziyan gode Bodéwadmik.
 transl@Jim When I was still the chairman of these Potawatomi (Forest County).
 SD (3.12)

text@Jim É-gi-, é-wi-ndo-
 transl@Jim When they tried
 SD (1.97)

text@Jim dapnemwat se na ode i
 transl@Jim to get this
 SD (1.33)

text@Jim mskwabek.
 transl@Jim copper.
 SD (1.72)

text@Jim Nam'igwan zhode ndekimnan ga-ajdegadék.
 transl@Jim It was said to be under our land.
 SD (0.93)

text@Jim I je ode Kerr-McGee corporation
 transl@Jim And so this Kerr-McGee corporation
 SD (2.7)

text@Jim gi-nshiwze é-wi-ndo-
 transl@Jim was determined to try
 SD (1.06)

text@Jim wdetnek se na ode zhi.
 transl@Jim to obtain it there.
 SD (0.99)

text@Jim Gé ni, jo mamda, ngi-namen.
 transl@Jim And I, "No way," we said to them.
 SD (4.15)

text@Jim I, pené zhe ga-byé-zhe-
 transl@Jim Well, they were always
 SD (1.83)

text@Jim ndo-
 transl@Jim trying to
 SD (1.69)

text@Jim widmagweyak zhe na gégo abdék gwi-zhechkémen ngi-gomen gé o mBIA.
 transl@Jim tell us that we had to do things (that we had no recourse), the BIA said to us.
 SD (0.72)

text@Jim Winwa wi na nwi-kewabmegwnan mji' na.
 transl@Jim They're supposedly supposed to look after our interests.
 SD (4.0)

text@Jim A, i je zhe gé wi é-gi-kedwat i winwa é-gi-debéndemwat i
 transl@Jim And so they said that they owned the
 SD (1.75)

text@Jim mskwabek, ode Kerr-McGee.
 transl@Jim copper, Kerr-McGee.
 SD (0.67)

text@Jim Wgi-wdetnanawa zhi i
 transl@Jim They received from the
 SD (1.93)

text@Jim railroad companies,
 transl@Jim railroad companies,
 SD (0.51)

text@Jim wgi-damawan ni mineral rights zhode Bodéwadmí'nak,
 transl@Jim they sold them the mineral rights here where Potawatomi are,
 SD (0.69)

text@Jim Wjebwé'nak.
 transl@Jim where Ojibwe are.
 SD (1.73)

text@Jim Ode i je i
 transl@Jim And so this
 SD (0.92)

text@Jim kwedake ngom, ode,
 transl@Jim hill now, this
 SD (4.01)

text@Jim na azho-yegwan ode ngom éje-ték ode tribal headquarters
 transl@Jim across from here where the tribal headquarters are today,

text@Jim wi yé zhi éje-ték i copper lode.
 transl@Jim that's where the copper lode is.
 SD (4.19)

text@Jim I je zhe na gé wi jo zhe na gégo wgi-nabdesi o mBIA é-wi-ndo-wjitmagweyak.
 transl@Jim And then the BIA was good for nothing when they tried to help us.
 SD (3.36)

text@Jim Jak zhe na gégo ngi-zhe-wawidmagomen.
 transl@Jim They promised us all kind of things.
 SD (8.19)

text@Jim Bojgé nwi-o-
 transl@Jim Regardless we
 SD (1.21)

text@Jim gdawge'amen i gi-kedwek.
 transl@Jim are going to dig it up, they said.

text@Jim Jo mamda gégo gda-ketsim ngi-gomen.
 transl@Jim You can't say anything, we were told (you have no recourse).
 SD (1.43)

text@Jim A zhe na gé ni pené ngoji ngi-byé-natagwek gode wéshkejek
 transl@Jim As for me, the young people were always asking me,
 SD (2.21)

text@Jim zhode é-yéjek
 transl@Jim the ones who are around here,
 SD (0.74)

text@Jim gigabéseek
 transl@Jim boys,
 SD (0.59)

text@Jim gigyagosek i je é-gi-widmewgwa na ézhewébek.
 transl@Jim girls and so I told them what was happening.
 SD (1.98)

text@Jim Abdék zhe na gnebech gwi-miganamen ngi-nak.
 transl@Jim We may have to fight them, I said to them.
 SD (1.09)

text@Jim Basksegnen gwi-bmowdomen.
 transl@Jim We will carry guns.
 SD (3.04)

text@Jim Ahaw, widmewshenak wpi ode wa-zhewébek ngi-gok.
 transl@Jim OK, tell us when it will happen, they said to me.
 SD (1.53)

text@Jim I je gé ni ode ma mine pené ngi-gikamak ode mBIA.
 transl@Jim And I also was always fiercely arguing with the BIA.
 SD (2.16)

text@Jim Wika zhe gé ni ngi-nshke'gok.
 transl@Jim Finally they made me mad.
 SD (2.2)

text@Jim O, gda-dbabdam i béba-majmomgek mze'negen, headline, ndenak.
 transl@Jim Oh, you should check on what is going around in the newspaper, in the headlines, I said to them.

text@Jim Gishpen é-wi-byawat gode,
 transl@Jim If they come here,
 SD (2.23)

text@Jim jo weye namigwan ode wi-zhyasi ode ndekimnan, ninan gé na ndedebéndamen i
 kwej-yegwan i
 transl@Jim nobody will get under the ground on our land, because we own the surface rights,
 SD (1.3)

text@Jim ngi-nak.
 transl@Jim I told them.
 SD (0.83)

text@Jim Bojgé na gi gékyajek gi-kedwik zhe na mteno i bmawgebojgen ékwak ga-zhe-
 minayet o kchemokman ode ke.
 transl@Jim Regardless the old people said that the white people were only given this land to
 the depth of a plowshare.
 SD (0.52)

text@Jim One plowshare deep.
 transl@Jim One plowshare deep.
 SD (2.63)

text@Jim Iw ga-nawat gode neshnabék wpi node treaties
 transl@Jim That's what the Neshnabé people said to them when those treaties

text@Jim é-gi-wzhetowat.
 transl@Jim were made.
 SD (4.92)

text@Jim I zhe na ode wpi jayék zhe na ngi-dbéndamen na ode ngi-néndamen.
 transl@Jim And so at this time we believed that we owned all of it (including the mineral rights).
 SD (2.55)

text@Jim Jo wgi-ndo-wdetnesin ode mineral rights ode
 transl@Jim The BIA didn't try to get these mineral rights
 SD (1.6)

text@Jim mBIA wpi é-gishpnedewyak node kiwén.
 transl@Jim when we bought these lands.
 SD (1.49)

text@Jim Jo wi ngi-mingosimen.
 transl@Jim We weren't given them.
 SD (0.52)

text@Jim I zhe na i ga-wawidmagoyak i treaty zhonya,
 transl@Jim That's what we were promised about the treaty money;
 SD (1.17)

text@Jim wi yé i ga-yojgadék ode é-gishpnedoyak node kiwén zhode.
 transl@Jim that's what was used when we bought these lands here.
 SD (0.79)

text@Jim Mine na node wigwamshen é-gi-wzhechkadék.
 transl@Jim And these darned houses that were built (frame houses that were built with treaty money).

SD (4.39)

text@Jim I se ga-byé-kedwat zhode, gode wi anet Neshnabék gé winwa wgi-widokwawan
 node mBIAYen na gi
 transl@Jim And there were some Neshnabé people here who went along with the BIA, that's
 what they said,

SD (0.75)

text@Jim zhode pené ga-byé-zhe-kinoshkajmejek.
 transl@Jim the ones who were always coming here to lie.

SD (1.83)

text@Jim Ézhi wi ninan Wabeno édnezyak
 transl@Jim Those of us who lived there in Wabeno,

SD (0.81)

text@Jim jo na wgi-débwétsinawa ode.
 transl@Jim they did not believe this.

SD (6.95)

text@Jim I se gé wi ode ga-byé-zhewébek mine ode Kerr-McGee wika zhe gé wi é-gi-
 anshitek.

transl@Jim And so finally what came to happen was that Kerr-McGee gave up.

SD (3.23)

text@Jim Mine zhe ngodek gé wi ngot zhi company Canada ga-wje-byat.

transl@Jim And again one time a company came from there in Canada.

text@Jim A mine jak gégo gé winwa ngi-byé-zhe-wawidmagwnan.

transl@Jim Again they came here to promise us all kinds of things.

SD (0.64)

text@Jim A, gi-yanshitem o Kerr-McGee ngi-gomen.

transl@Jim Ah, Kerr-McGee gave up, they told us.

SD (1.21)

text@Jim Pené zhe na gé ni ngi-gendas étso-dbekek, bama ayapta-dbekek
 transl@Jim But I was always reading every night, until midnight

text@Jim ngi-gendas zhe na jayék zhe na node ndocuments.
 transl@Jim I read all of these documents.
 SD (1.84)

text@Jim É-gi-mkeman i winwa gode Kerr-McGee é-gi-dbéndemwat i corporation zhi
 Canada
 transl@Jim I found that Kerr-McGee owned that corporation in Canada

text@Jim ga-byé-kenongweyak.
 transl@Jim that came and talked to us.
 SD (3.89)

text@Jim I se zhe na wika gé winwa é-gi-anshitmewat.
 transl@Jim And so finally they also gave it up.
 SD (1.28)

text@Jim Jo weye ode wpi ngi-wjitmakwsinan.
 transl@Jim No one helped us at that time.
 SD (0.77)

text@Jim Mole Lake gé zhe
 transl@Jim Mole Lake also
 SD (0.8)

text@Jim jo na gégo gi-nabdesiwek.
 transl@Jim wasn't good for anything.
 SD (0.63)

text@Jim Mine gode jayék gode Great Lakes Intertribal
 transl@Jim And all of those in the Great Lakes Intertribal
 SD (2.64)

text@Jim gishpen gégo é-gi-byamgek zhi i
 transl@Jim if something came before
 SD (1.26)

text@Jim Great Lakes Intertribal meeting
 transl@Jim the Great Lakes Intertribal meeting
 SD (0.62)

text@Jim gi-byé-zhnashkewawan nin é-wi-kenonek na o gégo wa-gkénde.
 transl@Jim they sent anyone who wanted to know something to me so that I could talk to
 them.
 SD (4.6)

text@Jim I she zhe na wika é-gi-anshitmewat.
 transl@Jim And so they finally gave up.
 SD (1.25)

text@Jim A je mine zhe na pi gé ni ga-bon-niganzeyan mine gi-byé-gwjechkéwek
 transl@Jim Ah, and when I had quit being chairman they came again and tried,
 SD (0.78)

text@Jim wégwénde o yawegwén
 transl@Jim I don't know who the heck it was,
 SD (1.45)

text@Jim corporation
 transl@Jim corporation,
 SD (1.4)

text@Jim zhode é-wi-byé-gdawgwe'mewat ode
 transl@Jim came here to mine this
 SD (0.86)

text@Jim mskwabek zhode mine Mole Lake wji-igwan.
 transl@Jim copper here and towards Mole Lake.
 SD (1.31)

text@Jim Éje-manék i mskwabek.
 transl@Jim Where there's a lot of copper.
 SD (1.91)

text@Jim Ode je wpi gode kwéwek ibe
 transl@Jim This time those women there
 SD (0.52)

text@Jim Mole Lake gé winwa é-gi-migadmewat ode.
 transl@Jim at Mole Lake also fought this.
 SD (3.57)

text@Jim Ézhi gé winwa, gé winwa é-wabmawat gode nenwek ni
 transl@Jim There too when those men saw
 SD (1.44)

text@Jim kwéwen ni gode é-migadmewat i zhe na gé winwa ndewach é-gi-migadmewat.
 transl@Jim those women fighting it, then that's when they stepped in to fight too.
 SD (5.02)

text@Jim I je zhe wika gé winwa é-gi-gishpnedowat jak zhe na ode ke éje-ték i mskwabek.
 transl@Jim And finally they bought all of this land where there is copper.
 SD (0.68)

text@Jim Mine ni mineral rights.
 transl@Jim And the mineral rights.
 SD (1.73)

text@Jim Ndebéndamen zhe jayék ode, zhode mine zhe ézhi Mole Lake wji-igwan.
 transl@Jim We own all of this, here and there towards Mole Lake.
 SD (2.96)

text@Jim Nekmek zhe na ténon zhi (ga-je-)
 transl@Jim Here and there are
 SD (1.26)

text@Jim namigwan zhi ga-nakwsedwat na gégo é-gwejebdowat ni natso zhi mskwabek é-témgek.
 transl@Jim things they put under the ground to test and see how much copper is there.
 SD (1.61)

text@Jim Bojgé na zhode ndekimnan gé wi zhode Bodéwadmi wji-igwan.
 transl@Jim Even though it's our land, here on Potawatomi land.

text@Jim Nekmek ngi-mkamen ni, jo weye ngi-widmakwsinan é-wi-zhechkéwat.
 transl@Jim We found them all over the place; no one told us they were going to do that (and no one asked permission).
 SD (1.43)

text@Jim I je yé i ga-wje-kche-migadmak ode wpi.
 transl@Jim That's why we fought against it so hard at that time.
 SD (3.3)

text@Jim Jayék she zhe na ode jo na gégo nabdesi ode mBIA na mji' na é-wi-
 transl@Jim All of those people aren't good for anything, the BIA that supposedly

text@Jim nishokmaggo.
 transl@Jim will help us (they were half-ass in how they did things).
 SD (0.69)

text@Jim Winwa gé na wgi-widokwawan ni
 transl@Jim They always went along with
 SD (0.83)

text@Jim wij-kchemokmanwan.
 transl@Jim their fellow white people.

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