

CONTENTS

Preface	<i>xiii</i>
----------------	-------------

List of Abbreviations	<i>xv</i>
------------------------------	-----------

Introduction	1
---------------------	----------

1 The Arapaho People and the Social Contexts of the Arapaho Language	1
2 The Aims and Purposes of this Grammar	4
3 The Arapaho Language Sources Used	4
4 General Introduction to the Structure of the Arapaho Language	7
5 Organization of the Grammar	12

PHONOLOGY

1. Phonology	13
---------------------	-----------

1.1 Phonemes and Phonological Characteristics	13
1.2 Intermorphemic Rules	16
1.3 Pitch Accent	22
1.4 Notes on Phonological Analyses in the Remainder of the Grammar	49

MORPHOLOGY—INFLECTION

2. Inflection—Nouns	51
2.1 Preliminary: Animacy and Inanimacy	51
2.2 Plurals	54
2.3 Obviation	57
2.4 Noun/Verb Agreement	59
2.5 Possession	60
2.6 Vocative	68
2.7 Locative	70
3. Inflection—Verbs	73
3.1 Preliminary: Initial Change	73
3.2 Affirmative Order	75
3.3 Non-affirmative Order	81
3.4 Imperative Order	84
3.5 Conjunct Order	86
3.6 Tense and Aspect	92
3.7 Tense, Aspect, and Negation with Vowel-Initial Stems: Morpho- phonemic Details	95
3.8 Conclusion	96

MORPHOLOGY—DERIVATION

4. Derivation—Nouns	99
4.1 The Base Noun Stem	99
4.2 Derivational Suffixes	104
4.3 Grammatical Initials, Prenouns, and Proclitics Used with Nouns	106
4.4 Overall Morphosyntax of the Noun	107
4.5 Deverbalisation Processes	108
4.6 Verbal Nouns	118
5. Derivation—Verb Finals	121
5.1 Introduction	121
5.2 Preliminary Remarks: Grammatical vs. Semantic Transitivity	123
5.3 Derivational Finals	125
5.4 Secondary Derivation and Valence Shifting	150
5.5 Passives	151
5.6 Causation	156
5.7 Rapid Action	158
5.8 Multiple Secondary Derivational Finals	159
5.9 Derivation from Verb to Noun and Noun to Verb	162
5.10 Samples of Various Verb Stems Based on the Same Root	163

6. Derivation—Verb Medials and Concrete Finals	165
6.1 Introduction	165
6.2 Object/Undergoer Construction	168
6.3 Body Part Medials	169
6.4 Instrumental Construction	172
6.5 Mode of Action Construction	174
6.6 Topic Construction	177
6.7 Sensation Construction	180
6.8 Self-sensation Construction	181
6.9 Natural Forces Construction	182
6.10 Contrasting Independent and Dependent (Final) Verbs	183
6.11 Dependent Verb Finals with Nominal-like Initial Elements	184
6.12 Additional Nominal Incorporations	186
6.13 Derivation of Additional Medials and Concrete Finals from Verbs	188
7. Derivation—Denominalizations	189
7.1 Possessive Construction	189
7.2 ‘Have as a . . .’ Construction	191
7.3 Gathering/producing Construction	192
7.4 Predicative Construction, ‘to be a . . .’	192
7.5 Similitive Construction, ‘to be like a . . .’	193
7.6 Existential Construction, ‘there is . . . here’	193
7.7 Impersonal Verb	194
8. Derivation—Reduplication	197
8.1 Formation	197
8.2 Semantics of Reduplication	199
8.3 Multiple Reduplications—of Different Morphemes—in One Word	203
8.4 Lexicalized Reduplications	204
9. Derivation—Preverbs and Verb Initials	205
9.1 Introduction	205
9.2 Aspect	209
9.3 Auxiliary/Modal Forms	209
9.4 Qualifiers, Quantifiers, Intensifiers, and Delimiters	211
9.5 Direction and Location	213
9.6 Time	217
9.7 Manner	218
9.8 General Remarks on the Semantics of Arapaho Preverbs/Initials	219
9.9 Unusual Verb Initial Roots	220
9.10 Derivation of Additional Preverbs and Verb Initials	221
9.11 A Derivational Sample	222
9.12 The Abstract, Deictic Directionals	223

9.13 /eti/ Preverb: Unrealized Actions in Main Clauses	227
9.14 Comparatives and Superlatives	228
9.15 Semi-independent Detachment Construction	231
10. Proclitics	233
10.1 Introduction	233
10.2 Phonology	234
10.3 Morphosyntax	235
10.4 Syntax and Semantics	236
10.5. Proclitic/Particle Interaction	238
USAGE	
11. Usage—Non-affirmative Order	241
11.1 Wh-/Substantive Questions	241
11.2 Other Details of Question Constructions	248
11.3 Admonitive Construction with /ibeexu/	252
11.4 Desiderative Construction with <i>kookóós</i> =	253
11.5 Potential Construction with /eebeh/	253
11.6 ‘How . . .!’ Construction	253
11.7 ‘Whether’ Construction: Embedded Yes/No Questions	254
11.8 ‘Probably’ Construction	255
11.9 Contrary-to-fact, Negative Judgment Construction	256
11.10 ‘Seems . . .’ Construction with <i>wootíí</i>	256
11.11 ‘Should be known that . . .’ Construction with <i>wóóce</i> ’	257
11.12 Emphatic Negative Construction	257
11.13 ‘I suppose . . .’ Construction	257
11.14 Additional Negative Roots, Preverbs, Proclitics, and Particles	257
11.15 Affirmative Order Negative Markers	259
11.16 Narrative Past Tense /e’ih/ and Other Special Features of Narrative	260
11.17 Personal Names	264
11.18 Non-affirmative Inflections with Commands and Requests	264
11.19 The Concept of Irrealis and Uncertainty in Arapaho	265
12. Usage—Imperatives and the Imperative Order	271
12.1 Lexical Imperatives	271
12.2 Use of Deictic Directionals with the Imperative	273
12.3 Indirect Imperatives	274
12.4 Suggestive/Potential Imperative	275
12.5 Future Imperative	277
12.6 Conjunct Order Semi-imperative/Hortatory Construction with /eetih/	279

12.7 Impersonal Verbs as Command Forms	279
12.8 Pragmatic Particle <i>tous</i> as Consent to Commands or Suggestions	280
12.9 Future Tense as Imperative	281
12.10 Imperative Morphosyntax and Syntax	281
12.11 Special Forms Used in Prayers	283
13. Usage—Conjunct Order	285
13.1 Conjunct Order, Simple Conjunct Mode	285
13.2 Conjunct Order, Subjunctive Mode	291
13.3 Conjunct Order, Iterative Mode	294
COMPLEX CLAUSES AND SYNTAX	
14. The Noun Phrase	301
14.1 Adjectival Modification	301
14.2 Demonstratives	306
14.3 Presentational Constructions	309
14.4 Noun Sequences	312
14.5 Definiteness and Indefiniteness	314
14.6 Pronouns	319
14.7 Noun Phrase Syntax	323
15. The Verb Phrase—Particles	325
15.1 General Particles	326
15.2 Locative Particles	326
15.3 Multiple Particles Together	328
15.4 Particle/Verb Stem Interactions	328
15.5 Adverbial Particles	330
16. The Verb Phrase—Noun-Verb Agreement	349
16.1 Proximates and Obviatives	349
16.2 Object-marking on Verb Stems: A Broader Perspective	354
16.3 Transitive vs. Semi-transitive Stems: A Text Sample	358
16.4 / <i>tii</i> / Semi-transitive Stems	361
16.5 / <i>yei</i> / Semi-transitive Stems	364
16.6 Ditransitive Verbs and Secondary Objects	366
16.7 Secondary Derivation to Shift the Object Marked on Verb Stems	367
16.8 Aesthetic and Poetic Factors in Marking Arguments on the Verb	370
17. The Verb Phrase—Subordinate Clauses	373
17.1 Relative Clauses	373
17.2 Adverbial Clauses	384
17.3 Complement Clauses	390

17.4 Relative Roots/Preverbs and Independent Verbs	395
17.5 Relativizer/Complementizer/Adverbial Clause Markers /toh/ and /tih/	396
18. Syntax—Main Clauses and Sentence-level	399
18.1 NP Occurrence in Main Clauses	400
18.2 Marked Syntactic Order: NP-V	400
18.3 Pragmatic Saliency as Determining Factor for Preposed NPs	403
18.4 Left Dislocation and Apposition	405
18.5 Shifting from Focused to Unfocused Position	406
18.6 Tendencies in NP Occurrence and Placement	407
18.7 Clauses with Two NPs	410
18.8 Comparative Example: A Text from John Goggles (1883–1952)	413
18.9 Word Order and Focus: Beyond NPs	415
18.10 Syntax of Subordinate Clauses	416
18.11 Discontinuous Constituents	422
18.12 Cleft Constructions	423
18.13 Appositions/Pseudo-clefts, and Right Dislocation	425
18.14 Copulatives	426
18.15 Multi-verb Serial Sequences	429
19. Discourse-level Features	431
19.1 Presentational Particles	431
19.2 Pragmatic Particle <i>wohéi</i>	439
19.3 Pragmatic Particle <i>nohuusóho'</i> and Other Summational Devices	440
19.4 Sequential preverb /e'ne'i'/ or 'ne'i'/	440
19.5 Sequencing Particles	441
19.6 Emphatic and Gendered Particles and Proclitics	443
19.7 Emphatic Citational Form	448
19.8 Greetings and Departures	449
19.9 Substitutionary/Pausal Particles	449
20. Numbers, Counting, Times, and Dates	451
20.1 Count Numbers	451
20.2 Basic AI/II Number Verbs	452
20.3 Ordinal Numbers	454
20.4 Group-Count Forms	455
20.5 Special Derivational Nominal Suffix for 'Number of Days'	455
20.6 Special Number Preverb for Numbers Used as Substantives	456
20.7 Number Particles	456
20.8 The Semantics of Counting in Arapaho	456
20.9 Times and Dates	457

21. Variation in Arapaho	463
21.1 Northern vs. Southern Arapaho	463
21.2 Northern Arapaho Internal Variation	464
21.3 Incipient Obsolescence as a Source of Variation	466
22. Beyond Grammar	471
Appendices	475
Verb Tables	479
Bibliography	501
Index	505

INTRODUCTION

1. THE ARAPAHO PEOPLE AND THE SOCIAL CONTEXTS OF THE ARAPAHO LANGUAGE

The Arapaho language is an Algonquian language currently spoken in two very closely related dialects. Northern Arapaho is spoken fluently by probably 250 people on and around the Wind River Reservation in Wyoming, all in their late fifties and older (as well as some people of the same age living elsewhere in the United States). Southern Arapaho is spoken fluently by only a handful of people in and around western Oklahoma, all near eighty or older. In Wyoming, many people in their thirties and older have varying competence in the language—quite a few are near-fluent passive understanders, and some have limited speaking ability.

Until the late nineteenth century, the Arapaho were nomadic buffalo hunters of the classic Great Plains culture type (although they also spent significant time in the mountains). Throughout that century, they occupied a homeland centered

on central and northern Colorado and southern Wyoming, but they ranged south into Texas, Oklahoma, and New Mexico and north to Montana. Earlier, they appear to have occupied more northerly areas, and the closely related Gros Ventre Tribe occupied southern Alberta and Saskatchewan and northern Montana. The development of trading posts at Ft. Laramie on the North Platte River and Bent's Fort on the Arkansas in the 1830s and 1840s is often cited as a factor leading to a split between northern and southern bands. The Treaty of Ft. Laramie in 1851 allotted the Arapaho and Cheyenne the lands between the Arkansas and North Platte Rivers, from the continental divide east into Kansas and Nebraska. The Southern Arapaho and Cheyenne reservation reached its final form in 1869, and the Northern Arapaho settled at Wind River in 1878.

The Northern Arapaho share the Wind River Reservation with their traditional enemies, the Eastern Shoshone. It is fairly isolated, with few non-Indians living in the main reservation settlements of Ft. Washakie, Ethete, Arapahoe, and St. Stephens. As a result, until recently, there was comparatively little intermingling or intermarriage between the two tribes or with non-Indians, and the Northern Arapaho remained a quite cohesive cultural and linguistic group. But after World War II, there was a major—and very rapid—cultural shift, and children began to be raised speaking English rather than Arapaho; the youngest speakers alive today were born in the 1940s. Interestingly, speakers continued to use Arapaho preferentially among themselves even as they used English with their children. As a result, a rich Arapaho-language environment persisted on the reservation through the 1970s and into the 1980s. Thus, there are people born in the late 1930s and early 1940s who are completely fluent and use the language regularly, but they have siblings born in the late 1940s who have very little speaking ability, although they have fluent passive comprehension abilities. Even today, there are some older people who are more fluent in Arapaho than English and use Arapaho as their first language on a daily basis—at least whenever possible. Current population on the reservation is perhaps 5,000.

The Southern Arapaho shared their reservation with their traditional allies, the Southern Cheyenne. The reservation was effectively dissolved by allotment in the early twentieth century, and both groups now live intermingled among a majority non-Indian population. As a result, there was extensive intermarriage and language shift in the early twentieth century. The few living fluent speakers of Southern Arapaho were a minority among their own generation born in the 1920s and early 1930s and learned the language because they were raised by non-English-speaking grandparents. Most members of the Southern Cheyenne and Arapaho Tribe (which has a single tribal government) do not identify specifically as Arapaho, although there are over 1,000 who do among the population of over 10,000.

The Northern Arapaho have made a number of efforts to maintain their language. There is a Language and Culture Commission, which has engaged in documentation activities, especially using audio and video. They have also produced curricular materials. There is a preschool immersion program; however, it ends once the children enroll in regular kindergarten and it does not have a large number of students. The language is taught in the schools in all grades, but for only limited

time each day and as an optional subject in the later grades; therefore, few students gain knowledge beyond some common memorized nouns, commands, and other phrases. The language is also taught through the Wind River Tribal College. Some students of college age are now acquiring the ability to actively manipulate the language, but still only at a basic level. There are also community language classes at locations such as the Tribal Casino and the Tribal Housing Department for workers. These classes provide basic words and phrases only. There are a few traditionally oriented families where younger members are working with elders in what are effectively informal, low-intensity master-apprentice programs. A few adults ranging from their twenties to their forties who are part of these families are actively improving their listening comprehension in the language and probably have the best active speaking ability among learners, although none are fluent or even near-fluent at this time. The Northern Arapaho have also produced extensive curricular materials, both written and taped, some of which are quite interesting linguistically. Few fluent speakers are literate in the language, but many learners now know how to read and write (within the limits of their overall language ability) using the standard orthography developed in the late 1970s.

In general, there is a high awareness of language loss among the Northern Arapaho, a very positive attitude toward the language among the older speakers, and a general positive attitude among most members of the tribe, as well as a willingness on the part of the tribal government to spend money on preservation efforts. Many young people continue to take classes and show interest in the language. However, there is a lack of effective learning due to a number of social, economic, organizational, and pedagogical limitations; in addition, although many younger people express a desire to learn the language, few have shown the willingness to commit the time and effort required to effectively learn it well, especially in the face of the obstacles just mentioned. Underlying the general expression of positive attitudes toward the language is a profound ambivalence among most members of the tribe about the exact value and purpose of Arapaho, which often translates into lack of full commitment to language teaching, learning, and programs. Few express a desire to see Arapaho as the daily language again—even as some elders continue to use it in this manner—and most desire simply to know it (often expressing the belief that the culture is embedded in the language) or to use it for a limited range of activities, such as singing, ceremonies, and religious purposes.

Among the Southern Arapaho, the language is in general less highly valued, and there is less expression of interest in it, at least broadly speaking. Until recently, no active preservation or documentation efforts were being done, other than by isolated individuals, and there is passive resistance (especially financial) to these efforts at the level of the tribal government. There are however a small core of individuals who share attitudes similar to those shared by most Northern Arapahos, and within the last two to three years, distance-learning courses have been conducted via video, taught by teachers in Colorado or Wyoming. Several dozen Oklahoma Arapaho individuals have been involved in these courses, and some momentum seems to be developing.

2. THE AIMS AND PURPOSES OF THIS GRAMMAR

This grammar is intended as a reference grammar of the Arapaho language. However, it is also written from a functional/pragmatic perspective on the Arapaho language. The main author is a specialist first and foremost in linguistic anthropology, ethnopoetics, and traditional literatures, and his bias may be apparent in the grammar, which pays a good deal of attention to the pragmatic and communicative functions of the language.

This approach is chosen because of our belief that pragmatic factors drive much of Arapaho morphology, morphosyntax, and syntax. Arapaho has no fixed word order; pragmatic factors largely determine word order. Transitivity and intransitivity also work very differently in Arapaho than they do in English and other better-known languages of the world. In this case as well, pragmatic factors drive many of the choices speakers make in terms of the derivational and inflectional morphology used with transitive and intransitive verb stems, and noun-verb agreement can be understood as a function of pragmatics to a significant extent. Finally, Arapaho is a highly polysynthetic language, which incorporates many different elements into complex verbs. The choices of what to incorporate, not incorporate, or deincorporate are driven to a significant extent by pragmatic factors.

Thus, this grammar has a broad theoretical perspective. But we have chosen to use this perspective specifically because we believe it *clarifies* the grammar of this particular language as a whole, not out of any commitment to general claims about the fundamentally pragmatic organization of all languages. We have also been mindful of the need to present as much data as possible, in as transparent a manner as possible, and for as wide a range of users as possible. We feel this is especially important for a relatively little-known indigenous language for which this could conceivably be the *only* grammar ever written. For this reason, we have avoided using vocabulary and frameworks specifically linked to any explicit theory of the moment. We have used a fairly traditional set of grammatical terms with minimal new coinages, have tried to respect the analytical tradition already in existence for Algonquian languages wherever possible, and have provided references to that tradition where we depart from it.

3. THE ARAPAHO LANGUAGE SOURCES USED

As this is primarily a reference grammar, we have not cited much theoretical linguistic literature. We have chosen to give some cross-references to other Algonquian languages, in two instances usually. The first concerns occasions where Arapaho shares a feature with another Algonquian language that is otherwise less common within the Algonquian family. The second concerns features that are common in Algonquian but less familiar or less common cross-linguistically. In this case, we have tried to cite five exemplary sources: Goddard and Bragdon 1988 on Massachusetts, an interesting broad survey of an eastern Algonquian language that relies on native texts; Valentine 2001 on Nishnaabemwin (Ojibwe), a massive and highly detailed

study of a central Algonquian language; Wolfart 1996 on Plains Cree, a very clear, succinct sketch of another central Algonquian language that is likely to be familiar to a large number of readers due to its appearance in the *Languages* volume of the *Handbook of North American Indians*; Frantz 1991 on Blackfoot, a grammar of a Plains Algonquian language with close geographic connections to Arapaho; and Leman 1980 on Cheyenne, a reference grammar of another Plains Algonquian language with even closer geographic (and historical) connections to Arapaho.

We have tried to take Arapaho usage examples from texts and natural discourse as much as possible. We have taken an especially large number from the anthology of stories of Paul Moss published in 2005, as this offers high-quality Arapaho language that is also readily available to linguists and others who want to further examine the context of the examples critically. Although work was completed on that collection just two years ago, Cowell has learned a good deal more in the intervening, intense two years required to complete this grammar, and so several of the glosses from the anthology have been slightly improved—or in a few cases, corrected—in this grammar. All sources used are listed below, with a letter code that is referenced in the source citations in the text. All examples without a source citation either are taken from Andrew Cowell's field notes and recordings or were provided by Alonzo Moss Sr., a fluent native speaker. In a few cases, we cite dictionary entries.

There are three English-Arapaho dictionaries. The first, produced by Zdeněk Salzmann in 1983, provides reasonable coverage of basic vocabulary. The second, a revision of Salzmann's work (with some additions by Jeffrey Anderson), was produced by Alonzo Moss in 2002 and provides more extensive vocabulary coverage, although without pitch accents indicated, and includes changes to a number of the English glosses and Arapaho spellings. The third, under production, is by Lisa Conathan. She is also producing an Arapaho-English dictionary at this time. Both of these are online.

Most of the texts used and cited in this grammar were (re)transcribed, edited, and/or translated by the authors. Most of the Wyoming Indian Schools' materials were produced at least partly by Alonzo Moss Sr. When the texts are cited in the grammar, additional information, such as sections, line numbers, pages, titles, and so forth, is given after the code, with the exact nature of this information depending on the organization of the texts in the sources. The following sources were used:

- A = Kroeber 1916: 3 brief texts.
- B = Salzmann 1956b, c: 10 short texts, recorded 1949–1952, around 500 lines total.
- C = Salzmann 1983: dictionary.
- D = Haas and Moss 1993: 260 sentences, mostly short, with a fair number of repetitions; accompanying audiotape.
- E = Brown et al. 1993a: 320 sentences, accompanying audiotape.
- F = Brown et al. 1993b: a narrative of Arapaho history; around 70 sentences.
- G = R. Moss and Haas 1993: a booklet about traditional Arapaho music; around 25 sentences.

INTRODUCTION

- H = A. Moss and Haas 1995: 200 sentences, with some repetition; accompanying audiotape.
- I = R. Moss et al. 1995: 60 sentences, with some repetition.
- J = A. Moss 1997: 320 sentences.
- K = Cowell and Northern Arapaho Tribe 2001: 2 texts, recorded in 2000 from Richard Moss, containing around 400 lines; video with subtitles plus booklet.
- L = Cowell and Moss 2004a: texts originally transcribed and translated by Truman Michelson in Oklahoma, 1910–1929; retranscribed and retranslated by the authors; 4 texts in Arapaho, 159 lines, no audio.
- M = Cowell and Moss 2004c: texts originally transcribed and translated by Truman Michelson in Oklahoma, 1910–1929; retranscribed and retranslated by the authors; 6 texts in Arapaho, 149 lines, no audio.
- N = Cowell and Moss 2005a: text originally transcribed and translated by Truman Michelson in Oklahoma, 1910; retranscribed and retranslated by the authors; 234 lines, no audio.
- O = Cowell and Moss 2005b: 12 long texts, recorded in the 1980s and 1990s from Paul Moss, father of Alonzo Moss, containing around 4,000 lines; accompanying CD-ROMs available.
- P = Cowell and Moss 2005c: text originally transcribed and translated by Jesse Rowledge in Oklahoma, 1929; retranscribed and retranslated by the authors; around 150 lines, no audio.
- Q = Cowell and Moss 2005d: text originally transcribed and translated by Jesse Rowledge in Oklahoma, 1929; retranscribed and retranslated by the authors; 400+ lines, no audio.
- R = A. Moss and Cowell 2006: 27 texts of variable length, recorded mostly in the early 2000s from Richard Moss, containing 1,500–2,000 lines of Arapaho; book plus 3 CD-ROMs.
- S = Cowell and Borsik 2006: 5 prayers and speeches originally transcribed and translated by Alfred Kroeber, 1899–1901; retranscribed and retranslated by the authors; 143 lines, no audio.
- T = Francis 2006: dissertation.
- U = Woxuu niibeii/Bear Singer. *Annual Chapbook*. Wyoming Indian High School, 1990–2000: contains at least 300–400 lines of Arapaho written by fluent high school teachers working with Arapaho-language students.
- V = Conathan 2004–2006: several dozen texts, totaling over 3,000 lines, from many speakers on a wide range of topics.

As can be seen, the text sources can be grouped as follows:

- ca. 1,200 lines of material originally recorded in the early twentieth century and retranscribed/retranslated by Cowell and Moss.
- ca. 500 lines of material recorded by Salzmann around 1950.
- ca. 1,600+ lines of material produced by Wyoming Indian Schools for use as curriculum, in the 1990s, much done by Moss.

- ca. 6,000–6,500 lines of material recorded by Cowell and Moss in the 1980s–2000s.
- ca. 3000+ lines recorded by Conathan in the 2000s.

The total textual corpus used for this project thus runs to somewhat over 13,500 sentences of Arapaho, either produced as naturally occurring speech or written by native speakers. The corpus includes material recorded over the space of more than a century, in both Wyoming and Oklahoma, from a number of different speakers—primarily men, but several women as well. Some of the Wyoming Indian Schools materials are available within the Arapaho Language Archives section of the Web site for the Center for the Study of Indigenous Languages of the West (CSILW) at the University of Colorado (www.colorado.edu/csilw/). The materials funded by the Wyoming Council for the Humanities are available for sale through CSILW (see Outreach on the Web site), as are some additional, older materials. The materials funded by the Endangered Language Fund (ELF) are distributed by Wind River Tribal College in Ethete, Wyoming, with copies deposited with ELF at Yale University. Copies of all Wyoming Indian Schools curricular materials are held in the CSILW archives. Conathan's texts are at the University of London, Hans Rausing Endangered Languages Documentation Program archives, in London, with a copy held by CSILW.

In addition to the texts listed above, the field notes and recordings of Cowell have been used extensively, as have notes taken by Alonzo Moss Sr. The two authors have also recorded, transcribed, and/or retranscribed a number of additional texts that have not been cited in the grammar but have informed their view of the language. These include well over 100 song texts, Christian religious materials from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, several hundred personal names, over 200 place names, and several dozen narratives from other contemporary speakers. They have also consulted many other curricular materials containing at least several hundred additional lines of Arapaho. A major unpublished source not consulted is Kroeber's manuscript transcription of several dozen stories from around 1900, now at National Anthropological Archives (NAA).

Additional published sources that cover details of the language, and are useful supplements to this grammar, are included in the bibliography.

4. GENERAL INTRODUCTION TO THE STRUCTURE OF THE ARAPAHO LANGUAGE

4.1 Incorporation

It could be said, loosely speaking, that Arapaho, being a polysynthetic language, wants as much information as possible to be in the verb. As a result, many Arapaho sentences in both conversation and narrative consist only of a verb. Thus, the morphosyntax of the verb is the structural and conceptual heart of the language. The verb can be very roughly described as potentially including the following elements in the following order:

1. PROCLITIC + 2. PERSON MARKER + 3. TENSE/ASPECT/MODE PRE-
 VERB + 4. LEXICAL PREVERB + 5. VERB STEM + 6. DIRECTION OF
 ACTION THEME + 7. PERSON/NUMBER SUFFIX + 8. MODAL SUFFIX

This is not a complete analysis of the various positions within the verb phrase. Several of the categories listed (proclitic, the preverbs) can have multiple members simultaneously, and the order of these is usually fixed relative to each other. In addition, there are other, less important element positions not included in the simplified schema above, such as those of the instrumental prefix or the suffixed obviative marker. Nevertheless, this schema gives a good sense of the general structure of Arapaho verbs.

As a first-order approximation, the proclitics tend to have modal and evidential functions. The person inflections mark first, second, and third person. The preverbs indicate tense and aspect, as well as negation and *wh*- questions. Other preverbs are primarily adverbial in function, indicating direction, location, time, or manner of actions, but also include a number of modal auxiliaries (like to . . . , go to . . . , want to . . . , etc.) and other elements. The verb stem is itself typically internally complex. The theme occurs with transitive verb stems and indicates the direction of action when multiple arguments are marked on the verb (i.e., who is acting on whom). With some verbal modes, person is marked finally rather than initially. Singular and plural are marked as well. The mode refers to markers that indicate iterative and subjunctive constructions. It should be noted that the categories of preverb and verb stem are not always clear-cut—many adverbial preverbs that precede full verb stems can also occur as the initial element of a verb stem itself when combined with verbal medials and finals.

The verb stem normally contains at least a lexical initial root and an abstract derivational final. Together, these form the verb stem. The finals serve to create four classes of verb stems: transitive verbs with animate objects (TA) or inanimate objects (TI), for which two arguments are obligatorily marked on the verb inflectionally, and intransitive verbs with animate subjects (AI) or inanimate subjects (II), for which one argument is marked on the verb inflectionally. The stem classes largely determine the specific sets of person and number markers that are used inflectionally on the verbs.

As noted above, the Arapaho language can be seen as putting as much information as possible in the verb. An important way of incorporating this information is through the use of verbal medials and concrete finals, which are not required for the formation of full verb stems but occur very commonly. These medials and/or concrete finals refer to common nominal objects (horses, wood, bags), which are acted upon as indicated by the verbal initial; to common non-volitional themes or topics (the weather, grass, foliage), which are described by the verbal initial; or common instruments and means of action (by speech, by hand, by flying, by running), which further specify the action indicated by the verbal initial. Less common objects, themes, instruments, and means are expressed through the use of independent nominal constructions, whereas less common adverbial concepts are expressed by independent adverbial constructions rather than by preverbs.

4.2 Saliency and Emphasis: Deincorporation

Competing with the tendency to incorporate as much information as possible into the verb is the fact that highly salient information is typically expressed through the use of independent nominals and adverbial particles. This is the case not just for the “less common” elements just mentioned, which lack medial, concrete final, or preverb forms and thus cannot be incorporated into verbs, but for any highly salient element or any information that the speaker wishes to emphasize (cf. Wolfart 1996:398 on Plains Cree, in which full nouns occur primarily where “new or contrastive information” is involved). Thus, nominal elements such as grass, foliage, horses, or wood can be “extracted” from the verb and replaced by full noun phrases, as can instruments and means of action, which are expressed independently in combination with a special instrumental prefix on the verb. Likewise, through the use of a special adverbial suffix, virtually any lexical element occurring prior to the verb stem (prefixes and preverbs) can be extracted from the verb and expressed as an independent particle. The adverbial particle formation in particular is also important for the sake of efficiency; when someone says ‘I’m going to town’, the listener can isolate the prefix ‘when?’ (which cannot otherwise occur independently), add the adverbial suffix, and say simply ‘when?’ rather than responding with the unnecessarily prolix ‘when are you going to town?’

4.3 Hierarchies of Saliency: Varying Ways of Expressing Nominal Elements

The expression of nominal arguments is not obligatory in Arapaho. As long as the referents are clear, speakers can simply mark participants on the verb with person and number markers, and in fact, there are no true independent pronouns in Arapaho. If we assume a conversation about my father, a book, and my sister, with all three referents identifiable, the verbal sentence *héét-biin-oo-t*, which can be glossed as ‘he will give it to her’, effectively states ‘my father will give my sister the book.’ The theme marker /oo/ indicates third person acting on another third person, whereas the /t/ indicates singular third person actor. The verb stem /biin/ semantically indexes a giver, a receiver, and a given object automatically, and *heet-* indicates future tense. This example makes clear that the person and number inflections are not agreement markers.

Speakers then have a number of choices in relation to the nominal arguments. They can leave them out entirely, as above. Or they can mention any or all three of them specifically: *neisónoo héétbíinoot* ‘my father will give it to her’; *héétbíinoot hínee wo3onohóe* ‘he will give her that book’; *neisónoo héétbíinoot nebio* ‘my father will give it to my (older) sister’. Note that all of these sentences refer to exactly the same real-world event. The choice of whether or not to use an explicit noun phrase is largely governed by pragmatic considerations involving saliency and emphasis.

In addition, the speaker has a choice of where to place the noun phrase. A single phrase can be placed before or after the verb. When two phrases occur, either of them can go before the verb, with the other after, or both can follow or (rarely)

precede the verb. These choices are also largely governed by pragmatic considerations of saliency, which interact with general, language-level rules that establish hierarchies of referents. All things being equal, referents new to a conversation tend to be both named explicitly and placed before the verb, as do contrastive referents. Thus *neisónoo héétbíínoot* suggests that the speaker is emphasizing that it is his father, rather than someone else, who will give the sister the book, or that the father is new to the conversation. All things are not quite equal, however, as people are considered hierarchically above animals, whereas inanimate objects are lower still. Proximate (focused) third persons are hierarchically superior to obviative (less focused) third persons. Agents are hierarchically superior to patients. Thus it is comparatively rare to find inanimate subjects or obviative third persons placed before the verb. But the pragmatic saliency rules sometimes override the hierarchical saliency rules, both in determining whether to use an explicit noun phrase at all and in determining where it will be placed. Thus, if an obviative third person is particularly salient pragmatically, this noun phrase can occur prior to the verb. Thus, Arapaho has no fixed word order.

The use and placement of noun phrases is clearly a central and very interesting feature of Arapaho syntax, and of the language more generally. But the various choices available to speakers are even more subtle and complex, and they interact with the morphosyntax of the verb as well. This is due to the fact that once speakers decide to use an NP, and decide where to place it, they can also decide whether or not to mark it on the verb. Speakers can say either *hootóónéé-noo wo'óhno* 'I am buying (INTR) shoes' or *hootóónóót-o-woo wo'óhno* 'I am buying (TR) shoes'. Notice the different form of the stems for 'buy' in the two cases (/noo/ and /woo/ both indicate first person). In the second case, the shoes are marked on the verb, since it is a transitive stem, with the /o/ theme indicating action on an inanimate object. In the first case, the shoes are not marked on the verb. This example suggests the surprising conclusion that transitivity and intransitivity in Arapaho have less to do with whether there are one or two referents involved in the action in the real-world situation, or whether one or two arguments are mentioned in the sentence, and much more to do with the relative saliency of the patient argument. We have not yet defined "saliency" technically (see 18.3), but it includes a number of different considerations. Here, the primary one seems to be the definiteness of the patient argument. The first sentence is close to English 'I'm buying shoes' or even 'I'm shoe-shopping' whereas the second sentence is closer to English 'I'm buying these shoes'.

Clearly, the issue of saliency (which will be defined technically later) is central to Arapaho morphosyntax (including verb stem formation) and syntax. One final point in relation to this topic, which illustrates the characteristic "gestalt" of Arapaho, is the issue of valence shifting. Although most inflecting languages typically mark agents, patients, and other fairly central participants on verb stems, Arapaho speakers have wide latitude both to shift the valence of the stem and to choose the particular participant who or which will be marked on the stem by using a combination of verbal prefixes and derivational finals. Once again, these shifts tend to be done with regard to the saliency of various arguments and participants. An example that both

shifts valency and also marks a co-participant on the stem as a grammatical object is the following:

- 1a) *heniiyó'ootinoo*.
 iiyo'ooti-noo
 IC.argue(AI)-1S
 'I am arguing about something [with someone].'
- 1b) *heniiyó'ootiiwó'*.
 iiyo'ootiiw-o'
 IC.argue(TA)-1S/3S
 'I am arguing about something with him/her.'

In the first example, the verb is grammatically intransitive. Semantically, of course, arguing requires a second person. Thus, semantically, the first sentence already contains an arguer, a co-arguer, and a topic of argument. But only the subject arguer is marked inflectionally on the verb. In the second example, a secondary derivational final has been added to the original verb stem to form a transitive stem. Now both arguer and co-arguer are marked inflectionally on the stem, thereby increasing the valence and marking the co-participant on the stem. Many other categories of arguments can be marked as grammatical objects on stems as well, including recipients, benefactees, goals, and even locations of action:

- 2) *3í'ookúútowoo nihu' bíito'owúú'*.
 3í'ookuut-o-woo nuhu' bíito'owu-i'
 IC.stand(TI)-intr. object-1S this earth-LOC
 'On this earth I stand.' [line from an Arapaho gospel song]

This concludes the introduction to the fundamental character of the Arapaho language. We started by looking at the fundamental incorporational tendency of the language and its morphosyntax, and then looked at processes of deincorporation, which are centrally connected to the syntax of the language and driven by pragmatic concerns. We have concluded by looking at ways in which noun phrases referring to a very wide range of argument types are inflectionally incorporated into the verb phrase. We have established a broad hierarchy for the way noun phrases are treated, based on their saliency, in four categories. Note that the following table does not indicate absolute rules, only tendencies:

	<i>Explicit Mention?</i>	<i>Position?</i>	<i>Inflectional Marking?</i>	<i>Incorporated?</i>
More salient NP	yes	preverbal	yes	no
Less salient NP	no	postverbal	no	yes

Clearly, the ways of marking saliency can interact, and one can make use of just one or two of the options, so that there are many more than two possibilities for treating nominal arguments. And as we have seen, saliency is a complex category involving at least language-level rules of hierarchical importance, degree of definiteness of referent, degree of newness of referent, degree of contrastiveness of referent,

and general emphatic intentions of speakers. The remainder of this grammar will examine all aspects of the language in order to provide a basis for better understanding the characteristic way in which Arapaho speakers talk about the world and, in particular, for appreciating the extent to which pragmatic features—especially saliency—fundamentally motivate the morphology, morphosyntax, and syntax of the language.

5. ORGANIZATION OF THE GRAMMAR

Chapter 1 treats phonology. Chapters 2 and 3 treat inflectional morphology. Chapters 4 through 10 treat non-inflectional morphology, especially derivational processes. Chapters 11 through 13 look at the language in use, examining the particularities of the different inflectional orders. Chapters 14 through 18 examine noun and verb phrases and syntax. Chapter 19 discusses various topics beyond the level of the sentence, related mainly to discourse. Chapter 20 treats the special topic of numbers, times, and dates, and chapter 21 examines internal variation within Arapaho. The conclusion briefly summarizes some important socio-cultural factors influencing the ethnography of communication within the Arapaho speech community.