

Acknowledgments

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction.....	1
The Frame of Analysis.....	3
Stress.....	4
Pitch.....	5
The Phonemes.....	7
Consonants and their Allophones.....	15
Vowels and their Allophones.....	19
Distribution of Consonants.....	25
Distribution of Vowels.....	32
Syllable Structure.....	34
Texts.....	35

Introduction

The Caddo language, a member of the Caddoan family, Hokan-Siouan stock of American Indian languages, is spoken by the Caddo Tribe, the majority of whose members live in and around the towns of Anadarko, Binger and Fort Cobb, in north-central Oklahoma. The tribal membership is estimated by the tribe's Secretary to be approximately 1,500, of whom not more than one-third speak any one of the various dialects of Caddo with any degree of fluency.

Caddo tribal history places the tribe in the bayou country of Louisiana before the advent of the white man. Forced migrations in the second half of the 19th Century sent the tribe wandering north and west through the Plains states, where epidemics of spinal meningitis and small pox decimated them. In the early years of this century they were given grants of land by the U. S. Government and were settled in their present location. Of their previous reputation as fine artisans little remains but the memory; most Caddos have been assimilated, as farmers, into the white man's culture, which accepts them more or less on terms of social equality.

Mrs. Sadie Bedoka Weller, the informant, is a lady of 57 years of Caddo, Delaware and French ancestry. She is a graduate of Carlisle Institute, Pennsylvania, and occupies the position of tribal Secretary. Mrs. Weller is a native speaker of Caddo, Delaware and English.

The corpus on which this paper is based consists of some 2,500 tape-recorded utterances in the Hasiiney dialect of Caddo. Approximately 800 of the utterances the informant considers to be "words," and the residue, "sentences." The corpus was first transcribed in Anadarko, Oklahoma, during August and September, 1956, while this student served as assistant to Prof. Paul L. Garvin under a grant from the American Philosophical Society. Additional field work was done in December 1956 and January 1957.

A Note on Method

A reversed-tape technique* has been used to determine with greater accuracy the phonetic quality of vowel nuclei. More than 600 items in which the vowel quality (and utterance-final release of consonants as well) was in doubt were subjected to tests in which the tape-recorded item was played on a Webcor recorder in reverse, at the same speed as recorded. In this manner such features as vowel length and glides were ascertained with a substantial degree of certainty. The technique was also useful to confirm relative pitch and stress.

To determine relative loudness of segments, the tape recorder volume was reduced to the point where only one segment was clearly heard; this segment was assigned primary stress. The volume was then increased to the point where the next loudest segment could be heard; this segment was assigned secondary stress. Further differentiation in degree of loudness was not perceived, and segments contrasting with those bearing primary and secondary stress have been assigned to the class of unstressed segments.

At the suggestion of Prof. Garvin, the items of the corpus were repeated in the recording three times in succession to insure consistency of pronunciation. Invariably the first two repeats are indistinguishable, while the third repeat is invariably accompanied by changes in tone, stress, length, or all three. The present analysis was made on the basis of the first two repeats, which are assumed to correspond more closely to the informant's natural speech pattern, and on the assumption that the third repeat might contain a special enumerative intonation.

* The reversed-tape technique is described by W. Meyer-Appler, of the Institute for Phonetic and Communications Research of the University of Bonn, in the Journal of the Acoustical Society of America (Vol. XXII, No. 6, 1950).

1.0 The Frame of Analysis

The phonological frame upon which this analysis is based is: (1) the "informant word," hereafter called the word, that utterance not containing medial phonological breaking points, volunteered by the informant as the Caddo equivalent of utterances in English, and considered by the informant to be single words in her language; and

(2) those phonological segments of other utterances between which there are clearly identifiable pauses of a duration exceeding that of the minimum pause, such as occurs, for example, between geminate consonants, the first of which is voiceless and the second voiced. This latter minimum pause is postulated to be the plus juncture in Caddo, and represents a phonological boundary within the word only.

The phonemic status of juncture is not treated in this paper, and juncture, as determined impressionistically, is employed solely to provide the frame for segmental phonemic analysis.

All medial junctures occurring within "informant phrases" and "informant sentences" -- both units, like the word, based on the informant's own judgment -- will be designated by the double bar (//). Terminal junctures, occurring at the end of utterances, will be designated by the double cross (#), but will be omitted from sections 3.0 to 4.0 inclusive.

2.0 Stress and Pitch

2.1 Stress

The exact phonemic status of stress has not been definitely determined. However, certain minimal stress oppositions establish stress as a suprasegmental phonemic feature. Segments occur under primary stress, secondary stress, and unstressed. Some examples occur with alternative stress patterns in different environments, e.g.:

/kíkáh#/ "snake"
/dí· // kíkáh // kucá#/ "This is my snake."
/kʔuníʔ#/ "fly" hák-ʔini-hana-yi-yan
/kʔúniʔ // háh // ʔinánniya#/ "The fly flies."
/háʔimìy#/ "big"
/hàʔimìy // dàʔa #/ "He is big."

The following are items contrastive in stress:

/hìtcínčaskiyùw // ná·načaskì #/ "I'm opening the door."
/hìtcínčaskìyùw // ná·načaskì #/ "I'm closing the door."
/kùnuʔí· // sà·ʔaʔ #/ "at their (dual) house."
/kùnuwi // sà·wá·waʔ #/ "at their (plural) house."
/háhcìyù // kìybúwsaʔ #/ "I am listening."
/hàhcìyú· // kìybuwsaʔ #/ "We (dual) are listening." *
/nakìmbínʔ #/ "dishrag"
/nakìmbìnʔh #/ "whip"
/háninʔ #/ "nephew"; "niece"
/hanínʔ #/ "third cousin"
/kʔúnuw #/ "melon"
/kunúw #/ "ax"

* There is also contrast in tone pattern. See section 2.2.

2.2 Pitch

As in the case of stress, the exact phonemic status of pitch has not been completely determined as yet, although contrasting levels of pitch under similar conditions of stress establish pitch as phonemic. There are five phonetic pitches: high, mid, low, rising, falling. High, mid and low level pitches may occur with all short vowels except when members of a diphthong or vowel cluster. Examples:

/k [?] apáhci [?] #/	"chicken"
/k [?] uhút #/	"grass"
/nána #/	"kind"; "sort"
/nahá #/	"ready"
/ná [?] naná #/	"that kind"
/dí [?] // hasí [?] niy // dá [?] a #/	"He is a Caddo."

Diphthongs, vowel clusters and long vowels may be accompanied by either rising or falling tone, as well as high, mid and low tones. Examples:

/sá [?] diha #/	sá [?] /sa [?] a-ti-hah/	"Are you (singular) going?"
/nakihiyká [?] wan [?] #/		"garden sprinkler"
/?iyí [?] #/		"maternal aunt's children"
/dánhuw // haka [?] yu [?] #/		"wheat"
/híyniwà #/		"blanket"; "wool"
/nakí [?] šuw // káyača #/		"fountain pen"
/?aháy #/		"yes"

The following are examples of items contrastive in pitch:

/sá [?] diha #/	"Are you (singular) going?"
/sá [?] diha #/	"Is he (she) going?"
/hāna // časkiyúw // sà [?] #/	"The door is closed."
/hāna // časkiyúw // sà [?] #/	"He is opening the door."

/kùkasá·ti // diwabúw?a? #/ "We (pl.incl.) ought to see him
 sometimes."
 /kùkasá·ti? // diwabúw?a? #/ "They (pl.) see him sometimes."
 /háhci // ná·yúhsa? #/ "I'm telling a fairy tale."
 /háhci· // ná·yúhsa? #/ "We (dual,incl) are telling a fairy tale."
 /hítci // ná·yuh #/ "I told a fairy tale."
 /hítci· // ná·yuh #/ "We (dual,incl.) told a fairy tale."
 /háhciyù // kíybúwsa? #/ "I'm listening."
 /háhciyú· // kíybúwsa? #/ "We (dual,incl.) are listening."

3.0 Phonemes

3.1 The phonemes in Caddo are:

Consonants

		<u>Labial</u>	<u>Dental</u>	<u>Alveolar</u>	<u>Palatal</u>	<u>Velar</u>	<u>Glottal</u>
<u>Stops</u>	Vl.	p	t			k	ʔ
	Vd.	b	d				
<u>Affricates</u>				c	ç		
<u>Spirants</u>				s	š		h
<u>Nasals</u>		m		n			
<u>Semi-Vowels</u>		w			y		

Vowels

<u>Front</u>	<u>Central</u>	<u>Back</u>
i	a	u

Doesn't include ejectives

3.1.1 Illustrative Examples

/p/	/páhci?/	"nephew"; "niece"
/t/	/tánaha?/	"buffalo"
/k/	/káh?u/	"cotton"
/ʔ/	/ʔá?a/	"father"
/b/	/báh?u/	"blood"
/d/	/dáf?/	"deer"
/c/	/càkakičátti?/	"automobile"
/č/	/čáhwey/	"bow"
/s/	/sáh?u/	"canvas tent"
/š/	/šahát/	"first cousin"
/h/	/há·/	"What?"
/m/	/mán/	"heart"
/n/	/ná·/	"from"; "at"
/y/	/yáhah/	"tobacco"
/w/	/wá·hi·/	"shoes"
/i/	/bit/	"two"
	/sí·sit/	"Indian paint"; "rouge"
/a/	/báf?/	"arrow"
	/sá·sin?/	"mother" (non-relative)
/u/	/ʔút/	"coon"
	/šú·wi?/	"man"; "hero"

3.2 Consonants

3.2.1 Contrastive pairs for minimal oppositions:

/p:/t/ /páhci?/ "nephew"; "niece"
/batáh/ "fish"
/kapí·/ "coffee"
/tí·/ "tea"

✓ /p:/k/ /na·pít+diha/ "They (dual) are going."
/nakí?+tùw/ "chair"
/kapí·/ "coffee"
/tikí·/ "far"

/p:/ʔ/ /kapút/ "coat"
/kakkùw+wi?úddah/ "mist"

/p:/b/ /páhci?/ "nephew"; "niece"
/báh?u/ "blood"
/na·pít+diha/ "They (dual) are going."
/bít/ "two"

/p:/m/ /kapí·/ "coffee"
/mí·yu/ "cat"

/t:/k/ /tí·/ "tea"
/tikí·/ "far"
/tí?/ "tiny"
/nakí?+tùw/ "chair"

/t:/ʔ/ /tí?/ "tiny"
/kà?kà?čà?í?/ "cloudy"
/támma?/ "spokesman"
/da?ámmiss?ah/ "That is your arm."

/t:/d/	/batáh/	"fish"	
	/sahdáh?ni?/	"tin bucket"	
	/tí·/	"tea"	
	/dí·/	"this"	
/t:/c/	/kutí· // kahám?mi?/	"on the other side"	
	/kahcí·/	"me"; "myself"	
	/tí?/	"tiny"	
	/dú?u? // cí?/	"burro"	
/t:/s/	/tá·šah/	"wolf"	
	/sá·sin?/	"mother" (non-relative)	
	/tí·/	"tea"	
	/tàsí·/	"spider"	
/t:/n/	/tánaha?/	"buffalo"	
	/ná·nuw/	"light"; "luminescence"	
/k:/?/	/kúku/	"water"	
	/kú?u/	"worm"	
	/nakínčayin?/	"dishwater"	
	/?inniya/	"someplace"	
/b:/d/	/ká?a // simbíca/	"finger"	
	/dídu?/	"copper"	
	/bá?/	"arrow"	
	/dá?/	"deer"	
? 6	/c:/č/	/dí· // nùšt?uw // ducáhba/	"This is our (pl.) book."
	/?ičáh/	"canoe"	
	/ná·ci // tucá·yni/	"enough"; "sufficient"	
	/da·čá·?imiy/	"cannon"	
/c:/s/	/kahcí·/	"me"; "myself"	
	/nasí·/	"kidney"	
	/habicúw/	"sugar"	
	/hissúw:kana/	"Did you say....?"	

iq = ay

/č:/š/	/ʔičáh/	"canoe"
✓	/šáhci·diʔàʔ/	"I will go."
	/da·čá·ʔimiy/	"cannon"
	/šá·titi/	"second cousin"
/č:/t/	/nakìnčí·ybin/	"belt"
	/tí·yšaʔ/	"friend"
	/hačá·suw/	"animal"; "wild game"
	/hittá·yuh/	"He told a fairy tale."
/s:/š/	/hwtʔá·sa/	"preparing"
	/tá·šah/	"wolf"
	/hasá·kuw/	"blue"
	/cinuwšá·ba/	"We (pl.incl.) are sitting."
/m:/n/	/haʔimíy/	"big"
	/biníyʔa/	"ten"
	/mán/	"heart"
	/náttih/	"woman"
/m:/b/	/mí·yu/	"cat"
	/nakimbí·ci/	"pillow"
	/mán/	"heart"
	/bánkʔas/	"lizard"
/n:/d/	/ní·tʔuw/	"feathers"
	/dí·tama/	"horse"
	/níš/	"moon"
	/widíš/	"salt"; "soup"; "show-off"
/n:/s/	/níš/	"moon"
	/sìssímbakkʔihà/	"What's your name?"
	/biníyʔa/	"ten"
	/kàhnisí·yʔa/	"house"

uw = ow

/w:/b/	/wísci?/ /bíssika/ /wá·dat/ /bá·din?/ /wá·kiš/ /bá·kiš	"one" "seven" "earth"; "ground" "snapping turtle" "bat" "dead wood"
/w:/y/	/kiwíy?/ /?iyíy?h/ /šihawáh/ /yáhah/ /wá·hi/ /yá·hah/	"soft-shelled turtle" "maternal aunt's children" "water turtle" "tobacco" "shoe" "edible"
/h:/w/	/kahísč?ah/ /wísci?/ /híyniwah/ /kiwíy?/ /ka?ás // bahát/ /dawát/	"day" "one" "blanket"; "wool" "soft-shelled turtle" "Red River Plum" "basket"
/h:/y/	/háhci // dašbúwsa?/ /yáhah/ /há·yu/ /yá·hah/ /hú·wa?/ /yú·?us/	"I see a tree." hák-ci-da -yi-bahw-sa "tobacco" "up" "edible" "cat-tail" (reed) "lung"
/h:/?/	/báh/ /bá?/ /ka?ás // bahát/ /ba?át/ /hiwí?/ /?iwí?/	"acorn" "arrow" "Red River Plum" "hair" "four" "eagle"

3.3 Vowels

3.3.1 Contrastive pairs for minimal oppositions:

/i:/a/	/nikís/	"gizzard"	
	/kás/	"hail"	
	/bíhkuw/	"robin"	
	/báh?u/	"blood"	
	/nasí·niy/	"Caddo"	
	/hasá·kuw/	"blue"	
/a:/u/	/kámbakə?/	"He said."	kan-baka?
	/kúmbaka?/	"He said to me."	ku-n-baka?
	/kát/	"knife"	
	/ʔút/	"coon"	
	/šá·titi/	"second cousin"	
	/šú·wi?/	"man"; "hero"	
/i:/u/	/kíkah/	"snake"	
	/kúku/	"water"	
	/dí?ci?/	"dog"	
	/dú?nu?/	"bull"	
	/sittutiha/	"why?"	
	/nàki·sút/	"thimble"	

3.3.2 Contrastive pairs for vowel quantity:

/i:/i·/	/hayší· // cíčahkàh/	"I had to shoot him."
	/hayší· // cí·čahkah/	"We (dual, excl.) had to shoot him."
	/dídu?/	"copper"
	/dí· // dù?u?/	"this rabbit"
	/náhci // nà·yúhsa?/	"I'm telling a fairy tale."
	/háhci· // nà·yúhsa?/	"We (dual, excl.) are telling a fairy tale."
/a:/a·/	/yáhah/	"tobacco"
	/yá·hah/	"edible"
	/tʔá?u/	"beaver"
	/tʔá·hay?/	"elder sister"
	/ʔá?a/	"father"
	/ʔá·kin?/	"son"
/u:/u·/	/hákkúnitisa?/	"I want."
	/hákkú·nitisa?/	"We (dual, excl.) want."
	/kúsi·/	"sometime"
	/kú·su/	"on the other hand"
	/ciyúkʔas/	"star"
	/yú·?us/	"lung"

3.4 Consonants and their Allophones

There are four series of glottalized consonants in Caddo on the phonetic level: the post-glottalized stops and affricates [tʔ] [kʔ] and [cʔ] [ʃʔ], and the preglottalized nasals and semi-vowels [ʔm] [ʔn] and [ʔw] [ʔy]. While in each case the consonants and glottal stop are often co-articulated, and are in contrast with the corresponding consonants lacking the feature of glottalization, they have been omitted from the inventory of consonant phonemes on the grounds that there is no contrast between separately articulated and co-articulated (consonant + glottal stop) or (glottal stop + consonant). Only such a contrast would unequivocally justify the inclusion of these eight glottalized consonants in the inventory as separate phonemes. For the purposes of this analysis, they will therefore be considered clusters (see section 3.5.11) of /Cʔ/ and /ʔC/ respectively.

3.4.1 Description of the Consonants and their Allophones

There are two series of stops: voiceless /p/ /t/ /k/ /ʔ/ at the bilabial, dental, velar and glottal points of articulation, respectively; and voiced /b/ /d/ at the bilabial and dental points of articulation, respectively.

/p/ /t/ /k/ are characteristically unaspirated in initial and medial positions in spontaneous speech, and slightly aspirated in deliberate speech.

In word final position /t/ has the aspirated allophone [t^h] (/p/ and /k/ do not occur in word final). Examples, (deliberate speech):

[k^ht^h] /kát/ "knife"
[hik^ht^h] /hikút/ "lake"; "ocean"
[bít^h] /bít/ "two"

/k/ has the slightly retracted allophone [k̠] when followed by a back vowel. Examples:

[k̠úku^v] /kúku/ "water"
[he·y // hakú·du^v?] /hí·y // hakú·duʔ/ "It's cold."

/ʔ/ in word initial and medial positions is a voiceless glottal closure, lenis when occurring syllable initially before /m/ /n/ /w/ /y/, and ranging from fortis to lenis intervocally depending on whether the speech style is deliberate or spontaneous. In word final position /ʔ/ may be either released or unreleased, in analagous environments. To avoid postulating released and unreleased glottal stops as phonemes, the released final glottal stop will be written /ʔh/ inasmuch as /h/ does not elsewhere appear in contrast following word-final glottal stop. Examples:

- | | | |
|--------------|---------------|--------------------------|
| [ʔidi•] | /ʔidi•/ | "Black Pencil Wax Beans" |
| [ʔáʔa^] | /ʔáʔa/ | "father" |
| [nakím•bírʔ] | /nakimbínʔ/ | "dishrag" |
| [nakím•blnʔ] | /nakimb̀lnʔh/ | "whip" |
| [ʔinényʔ] | /ʔiníyʔh/ | "elder brother" |

There is a series of voiced stops at the bilabial and dental points of articulation: /b/ /d/. /d/ has the allophone [ɾ], a weakly-voiced dento-alveolar flap, which occurs word-medially when preceded and followed by unstressed central vowels. Examples:

- | | | |
|-------------------------|------------|---------------------------|
| [hadínhuʔ] | /hadínhuʔ/ | "slow" |
| [bək ^h kahi] | /bákkahi/ | "timber in a valley" |
| [widiš•] | /widiš/ | "salt"; "soup; "show-off" |
| [həbbaʔa^] | /hábbada/ | "bađ" |

There is a series of voiceless affricates at the alveolar and palatal points of articulation: /c/ /č/. They are considered single phonemes not only because of their distribution, which is analagous to that of the stops, but primarily because of their contrast with the clusters /ts/ and /tš/, thus:

[nakItsáy?In?] /nakitsáy?in?/	"tape measure"; "ruler"
[hàciyucása^] /hàciyucása/	"I think."
[hà?ahatšá.] /hà?ahatšá./	"better"
[?ičáh] /?ičáh/	"canoe"

Both /c/ and /č/ are voiceless fortis with stop on-glide and spirant off-glide. Examples:

[ká?a^ // nací?a^] /ká?a // nací?a/	"neck"
[kú.yà. // cu^detčà^] /kú.yà. // cudátčà/	"Oklahoma City"
[hačá.sow] /hačá.suw/	"animal"
[habiców] /habiców/	"sugar"

There is a series of voiceless spirants at the alveolar, palatal and glottal points of articulation: /s/ /š/ /h/. /s/ and /š/ are fortis fricatives in word initial and word final positions, and word medially in gemination. Intervocally, /s/ and /š/ range from fortis to lenis, in spontaneous speech tending toward lenis, and in deliberate speech tending toward fortis. /s/ and /š/ have the allophones [s.] and [š.] which occur before stops and affricates and word finally. /h/ is produced in the larynx with a light breath of voice in word initial and word medial positions; in word final position the degree of friction is usually reduced. Examples:

[tàsí] /tàsí/	"spider"
[bÍssika^] /bíssika/	"seven"
[wá.kes.] /wá.kas/	"cow"
[bá.kIš.] /bá.kiš/	"dead wood"
[hayší. // há?ahà^t ^h] /hayší. // há?ahàt/	"best"
[siná. // keššá?ana^] /siná. // kaššá?na/	"Don't do that!"
[hidí? // čáh] /hidí? // čah/	"He got shot."
[?aháy] /?aháy/	"yes"

There is a series of voiced nasals at the bilabial and alveolar points of articulation: /m/ /n/. /m/ and /n/ have the allophones [m̥] and [n̥] respectively, occurring before homorganic stops and affricates only; [ɲ̥], an alveo-palatal nasal, occurs before /ʃ/; and [ŋ̥], a velar nasal, occurs before /k/ only. Examples:

- [mén] /mán/ "heart"
- [kám·bakàʔ] /kám·bakàʔ/ "He said."
- [nà·nónʔniʔ] /nà·nánʔniʔ/ "in the iron pot"
- [wén·tʔiʔ] /wántʔiʔ/ "all"
- [wén·kʔiʔ] /wánkʔiʔ/ "goat"
- [kaʔés // háyŋ·kuʔ] /kaʔás // háyŋku/ "Slick Apple"

There is a series of voiced semi-vowels at the bilabial and palatal points of articulation: /w/ /y/. Examples:

- ✓ [háhci // ʔaswí·ya] /háhci // ʔaswí·ya/ "I'm walking."
- ✓ [kaʔʊtʰ // ʔnawíʔ] /kaʔʊt // ʔnawíʔ/ "ache"; "pain"
- [wísciʔ] /wísciʔ/ "one"
- [yákkʔow] /yákkʔuw/ "woods"; "forest"
- [ʃʔayáh] /ʃʔayáh/ "turtle"
- [mí·yuʔ] /mí·yuʔ/ "cat"

há·k·ci-

3.5 Vowels and their Allophones

There is considerable stylistic variation in the quality of Caddo vowels in all positions, depending upon whether the informant uses a spontaneous or deliberate speech style, whether or not she syllabates, and whether the utterance is conversational or narrative. In deliberate speech, vowel quality is more clearly definable, pre- and post-glottalization of consonants is more fortis, and syllable boundaries are unequivocal and consistent. In spontaneous utterances, vowel quality is more greatly affected by contiguous phonemes so that, for example, vowels occurring between glottal stops will have a feature of glottalization, and vowels occurring in open syllables before nasals will be centralized and slightly nasalized. In narrative style -- as opposed to conversational style -- vowels with quantity are frequently lengthened for exclamatory effect. This analysis has taken these factors into account and has attributed to them such marginal distinctions in vowel quality which, in the absence of contrasting pairs in analagous or identical environments, appear to have no phonemic status. Further investigation, of course, may necessitate an upward revision in the inventory of vowel phonemes.

3.5.1 Description of the Vowels and their Allophones

/i/ has the following allophones:

[i] is a voiced, high close, front unrounded vowel, occurring in open syllables only, with or without length. It may occur before nasals, and word finally, only when the feature of length is present.

[i^h] is a slightly lowered voiced, high close, front unrounded vowel, occurring without the feature of length only, in: open syllables before nasals, closed syllables before /h/ and /ʔ/, and word finally.

[I] is a voiced, high open, front unrounded vowel, occurring without the feature of length only and in closed syllables except before /h/ /ʔ/ /w/ /y/ and after palatal, velar or glottal consonants.

[e] is a voiced, mid-close, front unrounded vowel, occurring with or without the feature of length in closed syllables before /y/ only.

[ɛ] is a voiced, mid-open, front unrounded vowel, occurring in closed syllables only, and without the feature of length, following palatal, velar, and glottal consonants except before /h/ /ʔ/.

[Y] is a slightly lowered voiceless, high close, front unrounded vowel, occurring unstressed and without length in free variation with its unstressed voiced counterpart [i[˥]] in word final position only.

Examples:

[i]

[kaʔá[˥]// sIm·bíca[˥]h] /kaʔá // simbícah/ "finger"
 ✓ [ʔàdíha[˥]] /ʔàdíhah/ "He is going."
 [tikí[˥] // kŭkkwisà·ʔa[˥]ʔ] /tikí[˥] // kŭkkwisà·ʔaʔ/ "far from my house"

[i[˥]]

[dà[˥]h + ʔí[˥]h] /dàh + ʔih/ "Give it to him."
 [tàsí[˥]] /tàsí/ "spider"
 [dí[˥]ʔci[˥]h] /díʔcih/ "dog"
 [ʔí[˥]nikow] /ʔínikow/ "church"

[I]

[kàʔa[˥]// bíŋʔna[˥]] // /kàʔa // bíŋʔna/ "stomach"
 [dí[˥]s·kah] /dískah/ "noon"
 [wí[˥]sci[˥]ʔ] /wísciʔ/ "one"

[e]

[hàʔikʔéy]	/hàʔikʔiy/	"strong"
[ʔiyéyʔ]	/ʔiyíyʔh/	"elder sister"
[nakIn·čé·ybIn]	/nakìnčí·ybin/	"belt"

[ɛ]

[kén·di ^v]	/kíndi/	"candy"
✓ [hítciʔiyèt ^h]	/hítciʔiyít/	"I went."
[nàkihešʔnówya [^]]	/nàkihišʔnúwya/	"table"
[nowčétsusít ^h]	/nuwčítsusít/	"horseshoe"

[ɪ]

[wá·kəs· // títɪ]	/wá·kas // títɪ/	"calf"
[dà [^] hdínnɪ]	/dàhdínni/	"timber on a hill"
[késsɪ]	/kássi/	"beads"

/a/ has the following allophones:

[a] is a voiced, low central, unrounded vowel, occurring in open syllables except unstressed after /ay/, or in closed syllables before /w/ and /y/ only, with or without the feature of length; never occurs finally.

[a[^]] is a slightly raised voiced, low central, unrounded vowel, occurring without the feature of length only, in closed syllables preceding or following /h/ and /ʔ/ except when final consonant of the syllable is /w/ or /y/, and word finally.

[ə] is a voiced, mid central, unrounded vowel, occurring without the feature of length in closed syllables only, except before /w/ /y/ /h/ /ʔ/ and after /h/ /ʔ/.

[æ] is a fronted voiced, low central, unrounded vowel, occurring without the feature of length only, in unstressed open syllables following /ay/.

[A] is a slightly raised voiceless, low central, unrounded vowel, occurring without length in free variation with its voiced counterpart [a^ˆ] word finally only.

Examples:

[a]

[kʔapá ^ˆ hci ^ˆ ʔ]	/kʔapáhciʔ/	"chicken"
[káyʔ ^ˆ]	/káyʔh/	"goose"
[nihidá ^ˆ ·y]	/nihidá ^ˆ ·y/	"river"
[ná ^ˆ ·nana ^ˆ]	/ná ^ˆ ·nana/	"that kind"

[a^ˆ]

[naʔá ^ˆ]	/naʔá/	"grapes"
[ká ^ˆ ·ʔa ^ˆ nčĩ ^ˆ ʔ]	/ká ^ˆ ·ʔanʔčĩʔ/	"grandson"
[šahá ^ˆ t ^h]	/šahát/	"first cousin"

[ə]

[təmmà ^ˆ ʔ]	/támmàʔ/	"spokesman"
[naʔanən // čəttahà ^ˆ n]	/naʔanən // čáttahàn/	"stockings"
[nəp + ba ^ˆ ʔ ^ˆ]	/náp + baʔh/	"night"

[ə]

[kútʔayəʔiʔa ^ˆ ʔ ^ˆ]	/kútʔayaʔiʔaʔh/	"I won't be here."
[nakí·šow // káyəča ^ˆ]	/nakí·šuw // káyača/	"fountain pen"
[háyn·kow // nakina ^ˆ // káyəč ^ˆ ʔa ^ˆ]	/háynkuw // nakina // káyač ^ˆ ʔa/	"ironing board"

[A]

[kaʔà ^ˆ // čəm̩iš ^ˆ ʔA]	/kaʔà // čám̩iš ^ˆ ʔa/	"jaw"
[kàʔa ^ˆ ʔ // tʔənnA]	/kàʔaʔ // tʔánna/	"teeth"
[hittəmmé·yc ^ˆ ʔA]	/hittammí·yc ^ˆ ʔa/	"ghost town"

/u/ has the following allophones:

[u] is a voiced, high close, back rounded vowel, occurring in open syllables only, with or without length. It may occur medially before nasals and word finally only when the feature of length is present.

[u[~]] is a slightly lowered, high close, back rounded vowel, occurring only when the feature of length is absent, in closed syllables before /h/ /ʔ/, in open syllables before nasals, and word finally.

[U] is a voiced, high open, back rounded vowel, occurring only when the feature of length is absent, in closed syllables except before /h/ /ʔ/ /w/ /y/.

[o] is a voiced, mid close, back rounded vowel, occurring in the presence or absence of the feature of length in closed syllables before /w/ only.

[ʊ] is a slightly lowered voiceless, high close, back rounded vowel, occurring unstressed without length in free variation with its unstressed voiced counterpart [u[~]] in word final position only.

Examples:

[u]

[súkati [~]] /súkati/	"buzzard"
[ciyúkʔəs·] /ciyúkʔas/	"star"
[tú·hača [^]] /tú·hača/	"By God!"

[u[~]]

[dú [~] ʔnù [~] ʔ] /dúʔnùʔ/	"bull"
[kàʔa [^] // biyú [~] ʔča [^]] /kàʔa // biyúʔča/	"knee"
[nakí· // dí [~] ni [~] // hú [~]] /nakí· // díni // hú/	"washboard"

3.6 Distribution of Phonemes

3.6.1 Single Consonants

All consonants may occur in word initial (see section 3.1.1). All consonants may occur in word medial. The following consonants only may occur in word final: /t/ /ʔ/ /s/ /š/ /h/ /n/ /w/ /y/. Examples:

/dawát/	"basket"
/šiyáhciʔ/	"boy"
/kás/	"hail"
/dákíš/	"root used as bread substitute"
/sunáh/	"money"
/mán/	"heart"
/kunúw/	"ax"
/kàwskudíy/	"crazy"

3.6.11 Consonant Clusters

Clusters of /Cʔ/ and /ʔC/ are usually coarticulated. Nevertheless, they have been considered clusters instead of separate glottalized series for reasons given in section 3.4.

Consonant clusters which may occur in word initial position are: /tʔ/ /kʔ/ /ʔn/ /ʔw/ /cʔ/ /čʔ/ /kw/ /cw/ /hw/.
Examples:

✓ /tʔá·dihah/	"Am I going?"
/kʔuhút/	"grass"
/kaʔút // ʔnawíʔ/	"ache"; "pain"
/ʔwíyšíy/	"extremely"
/cʔú·cʔu/	"milk"
/čʔayáh/	"turtle"
/kwí·/	"tarantula"
/cwí·daʔni/	"cup"
/hwí·/	"very well"

In word medial the following two-consonant clusters have been found:

	p	t	k	ʔ	b	d	c	č	s	š	h	m	n	w	y	
P	pp				pb											
t		tt		tʔ		td	tc	tč	ts	tš			tn			
k			kk	kʔ										kw		
ʔ		ʔt	ʔk				ʔc	ʔč			ʔh					ʔy
b					bb											
d						dd										
c				cʔ												
č				čʔ												
s			sk	sʔ	sb	sd	sc	sč	ss		sh			sw		
š			šk	šʔ	šb	šd	šč		šš							
h		ht	hk	hʔ	hb	hd	hc	hč	hs				hn	hw	hy	
m				mʔ	mb							mm				
n			nk	nʔ		nd	nc	nč					nn			
w		wt	wk	wʔ		wd	wc	wč	ws	wš	wh		wn	wv	wy	
y		yt		yʔ	yb				ys	yš		ym	yn	yv	yy	

Two-consonant clusters which may occur in word final position are: /ʔh/ /yʔ/ /nʔ/. Examples:

/ʔináʔh/

"mother"

/kuyùwčahawáhwiʔ/

"We (pl.excl.) are busy."

/dàhkuhfybùwdinʔ/

"Show me!"

Three-consonant clusters which may occur in word final position are: /nʔh/ /yʔh/. Examples:

/nakimbìnʔh/	"whip"
/ʔiyíyʔh/	"elder sister"

The following are examples of two-consonant clusters occurring word medially. Of these, the following clusters are always separated by plus juncture: [t+d] /td/; [p+b] /pb/.

/pp/ /híppi // ná·yuh/	"They (dual) told a fairy tale."
/pb/ /síp+bakàʔ/	"What's he saying?"
/tt/ /ditti // dátuw/	"Sit here."
/tʔ/ /kàʔaʔ // tʔí·yʔa/	"tooth"
/td/ /bít+di/	"outside"
/tc/ /hítci· // čʔúttánahaʔ/	"I skinned the buffalo."
/tč/ /bí·datčahi/	"edge of forest"
/ts/ /nuwčítsusít/	"horseshoe"
/tš/ /hàʔahatšá·/	"better"
/tn/ /daʔitnúwšah/	"You (dual) are sitting."
/kk/ /kàkkúwya/	"rain"
/kʔ/ /dì·sikʔán/	"five"
/kw/ /kàʔa // nàhcʔakwí·ʔah/	"chin"
/ʔt/ /nakíʔ+tùw/	"chair"
/ʔk/ /biyúʔkuw/	"knee of animal"
/ʔc/ /nayá·niʔcišáʔ/	"bed-spread"
/ʔč/ /kàʔa // biyúʔča/	"knee"
/ʔh/ /nàʔhiwí· // hà·yšu/	"Thursday"
/ʔy/ /kú·ha·yšù+dá·ʔyit/	"Go straight ahead."

/hn/	/kàhnisí·y?ah/	"house"
/hy/	/kahyámmiš?ah/	"limb" (of a tree)
/m?/	/k?ám?à·dat/	"mud dauber"
/mb/	/ka?ùmbáč?a/	"throat"
/mm/	/niytàmmakánniya/	"many fishermen"
/nk/	/dánkih/	"six"
/n?/	/kačán?uw/	"general store"
/nd/	/kándiy/	"wooden bowl"
/nc/	/ka?à // simbiya?úncah/	"elbow"
/nč/	/kančíybah/	"glass"; "window"
/nn/	/witánna/	"Who?"
/wt/	/yàka·sú·wtuw/	"lumber"
/wk/	/sù·wki·yba/	"Are you listening?"
/w?/	/nìppit?wuw?í·nuwnà/	"They got married."
/wd/	/kahàwdín?uwnah/	"lightning"
/wc/	/dí·tùwci?/	"pepper"
/wč/	/dàškát // kùwčahsán/	"pie"
/ws/	/hahàwdín?uwsah/	"This is lightning."
/wš/	/nà·wi // ?ú·wša?ah/	"He is sitting down."
/wh/	/há·nuw+hatínuw/	"Indian"
/wn/	/ka?à // nùwní·y?ah/	"toe nail"
/ww/	/háhci // kúwwi // búwsa?/	"I see the rain."
/wy/	/nàkihiš?núwyah/	"table"
/yt/	/niytàmmakánniya/	"many fishermen"
/y?/	/biníy?ah/	"ten"
/yb/	/nakíybidit/	"lid"
/ys/	/nakidíysa·wà?/	"grill"; "roaster"

/bb/	/hábbada/	"bad"
/dd/	/haddínhu/	"slow"; "heavy"
/c?/	/cʔúʔu/	"milk"
/č?/	/káhadàčʔah/	"tree"
/sk/	/dískah/	"noon"
/sʔ/	/kakinásʔàčə/	"step"; "pace"
/sb/	/núsbikʔúw/	"egg"
/sd/	/kakùtʔisdáppaʔ/	"weak-willed"
/sc/	/wísciʔ/	"one"
/sč/	/nísču/	"yesterday"
/ss/	/bíssikah/	"seven"
/sh/	/kàs+haʔúwwiya/	"It's hailing."
✓ /sw/	/há·yaswí·ya/	"He's walking."
/šk/	/ká·dašúnna/	"shadow"
/šʔ/	/káʔa // nášʔah/	"foot"
/šb/	/háhci // dašbúwsaʔ/	"I see a tree."
/šd/	/sukadášdìy/	"table knife"
/šč/	/kaʔás // dablišciʔ/	"Sand Plum"
/šš/	/siná· // kaššáʔna/	"Don't do that."
✓ /ht/	/šahtúhci·diʔàʔ/	"I might go."
/hk/	/dáhkuʔi/	"Give it to me."
/hʔ/	/kabáhʔuw/	"damp"
/hb/	/dì· // núštʔuw // ducáhba/	"our (pl.incl.) book"
/hd/	/káʔa // cahdíyʔa/	"forehead"
/hc/	/páhciʔ/	"nephew"; "niece"
/hč/	/kàkkahčíyʔah/	"sky"
/hs/	/káʔa // dáhsuca/	"crown of the head"

/n?c/	/sá·sin?cì?/	"mother's sister" (non-relative)
/n?č/	/ká·?an?čì?/	"grandson"
/n?n/	/nán?nì?/	"iron pot"
/m?b/	/káhyam?bì?/	"bundle of wood"; "yoke"
/m?m/	/kutí· // kahám?mi?/	"on the other side"
/wt?/	/hú·wt?uw/	"wind"
/wk?/	/t?ána· // dúwk?ana/	"Please repeat that."
/w?d/	/yúw?dus/	"redbird"
/wc?/	/kahì·yyúwc?a/	"true story"
/wsk/	/kàwskudíy/	"crazy"
/wmb/	/niytànkánniya // kuwmbíšč?a/	"fisherman's hat"
/ypp/	/niyppi // nànkánniya/	"two fishermen"
✓ /ytd/	/síyt+dihah/	"Are they (dual) going?"
/yc?/	/hittammí·yc?a/	"ghost town"
/ynk/	/ka?ás // háynku/	"Slick Apple"
/?k?/	/yá?k?uw/	"woods"; "forest"
/?č?/	/dì· // káttiš // sá?č?a+kaóc?a/	"Is this flower withered?"

In word medial position the following four-consonant clusters occur:

/tt?w/	/niyt+sitt?wú·?iya/	"spouse"
/nč?w/	/kà?a // sinč?wí·?a/	"wrist"
/wnk?/	/cakùwnk?f?/	"train"

/yš/	/há·yšu/	"Monday"
/ym/	/nakihà? // wiká·ymi // kàyaná?a/	"crutches"
/yn/	/híyniwah/	"blanket"; "wool"
/yw/	/bànit // hàh // nì·ywa?úwsa?h/	"The bird is singing."
/yy/	/háyyah // c?úc?u // ciyáh+k?ahàh/	"I always drink milk."

In word medial position the following three-consonant clusters and sequences occur:

/tt?/	/bátt?ùw/	"feather headress"; "tail"
/t?n/	/kubámit?nà?/	"I'm weak."
/t?w/	/sinà·sa?at+?wá·wa?/	"Are you (pl.) the same?"
/tcw/	/kà·?itcwí·cah/	"handle"
/tč?/	/dátč?àh/	"rifle"; "pistol"
/kk?/	/sìssimbakk?ihàh/	"What's your name?"
/kkw/	/hà·?f·?à // kúkkwi // sà·?a?/	"He's at my house."
/sč?/	/kahísč?ah/	"day"
/št?/	/dì· // núšt?uw // du?í·cah/	"our (pl.incl.) book"
/šk?/	/hadášk?a/	"hard"
/š?n/	/nàkihiš?núwyah/	"table"
/šc?/	/dì· // bíšc?a?ah/	"ear"
/ht?/	/hìht?íyahnáh/	"I should have gone."
/hk?/	/ciyáh+k?ahàh/	"I drink."
/h?w/	/nakinkáh?wì?/	"fire poker"
/h?y/	/dàh+?yá?/	"Come here!"
/hdw/	/kà?a // nàhdwí·?a/	"ankle"
/hc?/	/kà?a // nàhc?akwí·?ah/	"chin"
/nt?/	/wánt?i?/	"all"
/nk?/	/wánk?i?/	"goat"

3.6.2 Single Vowels

All vowels occur in word medial and word final positions only. Examples:

/i/	/ʔídi·/	"Black Pencil Wax Beans"
	/ʔí·yawaciʔ/	"antelope"
/a/	/ʔáʔa/	"father"
	/ka·ná·čʔa/	"bone"
/u/	/kú·su/	"on the other hand"
	/hačʔú·nu/	"soft"

3.6.21 Diphthongal Vowel Clusters

There are two diphthongal vowel clusters, [aow] /auw/ and [a·ow] /a·uw/. [áow] /áuw/ occurs in free variation with [áhow] /áhuw/, as in:

[dáow] /dáuw/ ~ [dáhow] /dáhuw/ "three"

[aów] /aúw/ occurs in free variation with [ayów] /ayúw/, as in:

[dì· // hakʔáykʔow // ʔičá^h // kaówcʔa^]

/dì· // hakʔáykʔuw // ʔičáh // kaúwcʔa/

alternating with

[dì· // hakʔáykʔow // ʔičá^h // kayówcʔa^] "This is a yellow flower"
/dì· // hakʔáykʔuw // ʔičáh // kayúwcʔa/

[á·ow] /á·uw/ occurs in free variation with [á·yow] /á·yuw/, as in:

[há·ow] /há·uw/ ~ [há·yow] /há·yuw/ "plus"

The shorter variant is regularly used by the informant in spontaneous utterances; the longer variant is regularly used in deliberate utterances.

3.5.22 Echo Vowels

An echo vowel may occur, in free variation with / \emptyset / in spontaneous utterances, following a syllable with a stressed central vowel only. The echo vowel; a short, unstressed central vowel, occurs only after /h/ and /ʔ/ within two-consonant clusters. Examples:

[ká ^h wà ^ʔ] ~ [ká ^h wà ^ʔ] /káhwàʔ/	"alive"
[siná [•] // kəššá ^ʔ na ^ʔ] ~ [siná [•] // kəššá ^ʔ na ^ʔ] /siná [•] // kaššá ^ʔ na/	"Don't do that!"

3.5.23 Diphthongs

The following diphthongs occur in word medial and word final positions only: /iy/ /i·y/ /ay/ /a·y/ /aw/ /a·w/ /uw/ /u·w/. Examples:

/iy/ /kadí [•] // ʔa ^ʔ imiy/	"president"
/i·y/ /sù·kí·yba/	"mouldy"
/ay/ /káy ^ʔ h/	"goose"
/a·y/ /nìhidá·y/	"river"
/aw/ /načàw+há·yšu/	"Wednesday"
/a·w/ /kàkiyu // ká·wei // há·din ^ʔ /	"prayer"
/uw/ /hadakí [•] // kahúwca/	"dry wind"
/u·w/ /kùya ^ʔ nú·w // datčà/	"porch"

4.0 Syllable Structure

The exact phonological conditions under which syllable boundaries occur and their degree of predictability are yet to be determined. Syllable boundaries in this analysis are based on the informant's syllabation, which is given consistently and without hesitation. The following syllable types have been found in Caddo:

CV	/kà-ʔa // na-cí--ʔa/	"neck"
CV·	/kù--si-dí--ša·/	"after a while"
CVC	/bít/	"two"
CV·C	/há·y-šu/	"Monday"
CVVC	/dáuw/	"three"
CV·VC	/há·uw/	"plus"
CVCC	/ʔi-náʔh/	"mother"
CVCCC	/ʔi-níyʔh/	"elder brother"
CCV	/kʔa-páh-ciʔ/	"chicken"
CCV·	/kwí·/	"tarantula"
CCVC	/sí-kʔuw/	"rock"

5.0 Caddo Texts

The following is the phonemically-transcribed text of a Caddo folk tale, with accompanying informant's word-by-word translation. A free translation is at the end of the text.

5.1 The Old Lady and Her Well

1 bà?nahšá· # ?á·tikì· // kín?a?iyàh+ ?imíyčì #
it has been said a long time ago there once lived old lady

2 bà?náh* // kú?anah+kín?a?ihah // kinnučámmač?ah // bitíti
it is said alone [she] lived [she] had a dug well near

3 // kù·?f?ah # síturtíyyaki+bá?nà? // kúsidi //
at her dwelling later on it is said shortly

4 hùwnacása?+ dikáy # nátti?+bá?na? //
tracks were there [of] something then it is said

5 kàymitánčà·h // wítturtahní?ah # síddisk?anináh //
she was startled [as to] who had done it several days later

6 ba?náh+ ^{hák-yi-yah}hiyà // nít?àn?ihah // ká·dut // kàya?a+
it is said she went [and] made tar image of

7 hayá·nuw // ba?ná? // ?ánkisàh // ?ù·w?ačáh?nah // náku
human it is said standing [she] stood it up at

8 kùčahmák?ah # nátti?+bá?nà? // nìtiháhdah // ná·du?ù? //
her well then it is said went by the rabbit
^{ri·hákiti}

9 bá?nà? // kanímbakàh // wàssahánna // niydàhkuwčàhmakánnuw #
it is said he told him so it's you who's stealing my water
_(the tar image)

10 húwwi // didú?a // dinísta?à // bì?ná //
all right this time [indefinite future] I'll hit you

* Upon each repetition of "/bà?náh/" ~ "/bà?ná?/" the listeners respond "/?aháy/" to show their rapt attention to the story and its teller.

tʔahàmmanʔiʔa # bàʔnaʔšáh+ ʔyúnnišʔàh // kaʔisikánnaʔah
I'll scatter you and it is said he hit him with his hand

12 káynʔitʔadiy // nànaká•dut # há: # náttiʔ // báʔnàʔ //
stuck on on the tar [exclamation] then it is said

13 kúsi•tʔa // hwí• // didúʔàʔ // tʔahàmmanʔiʔá• //
after a while very well now I'll scatter you

14 nàstaʔá // nàstaʔá // bíʔnàʔ // nástaʔà //
[converb] [hesitation repetition] hitting [converb]

15 ʔúwʔčaʔà # bàʔnaʔ // káynʔitʔadiy // báʔnaʔ // ciʔayá•ti //
kicking it is said stuck on it is said in the morning

• natíynidà // nà•sa•ʔimíyčʔi // ʔúwwiššiyà // káyba #
after daylight the old woman ^{ɔawɪ-witi} when she got there to see

7 tà:di // wàssahánna // niydàkučàmmakánnuw # bàʔnáʔ //
so! so it's you! who's stealing my water it is said

18 káynʔitʔadiy // dikúwniʔa+ baʔnàʔ // ditʔátuwkà //
stuck on bagged him it is said removed him

19 ^{dák•} dakínjʔa // kúnuʔisaʔà # nàʔimíyčʔi // náttiʔ // baʔnáʔ //
^{ɔɔt} carrying him to her house the old woman then it is said

20 dinikʔiyʔà // nànanʔni # kùmbakà // didúʔa // cindí•wáh //
put him under the iron pot [she] said this time I'll pound

• kɪni //naʔcínčaʔa // díduʔu # báʔnaʔ // ʔiháhiššʔiʔah // ?
hominy for eating with rabbit it is said [she] passed [her] ^{ɔ - hákiti} house ^{don't see 'her house'}

22 hùwtʔá•sa // bàʔnáʔ // kusidí• # kidà // huwíya //
preparing it is said after a while by the creek when she went

- 23 bá?na? // kà·ka?a // kí·č?ùt // kùwakà?a+kínčadìs //
it is said to lye hominy to wash her corn
- 24 nàhsa·?imíyči // bá?na? // kùsidi+ ní?asàyt //
that old lady it is said after a while there appeared
- 25 há·nuw // bà?na? // ^{na?i-čá}na?ičahá·ya // kidàká?iyat //
somebody it is said who in a boat was going downstream
- 26 bá?na? // kùkančahdí·tišah // ?i?á·disa # kannímbakah //
it is said middle of the stream going by her he asked her
- 27 hí·y // hikadánihah // kámbakah // ci·kínčadísha #
hey! what are you doing? she said I'm washing corn
- 28 dú?u? // dàkkuttík?a?a // nanàn?ní # ^{when I return}nàsta // hú? //
rabbit I've got him under the pot when I go back
- 29 ?i. // hì·sa?atí·y?ah // kíkayahtánkayu?ah #
[hesitation pause] I wish you could share him with me
- 30 húwwi // hí·y?a?at // da?àmbakíy?ah // di?ná // kut?ùwčahwíy //
all right good you say it I can't I'm busy
- 31 kudícidíha // kàhčihačú·si # bá?na? // ?aššà
I'm going [over there] doctoring it is said what a
- 32 dá?ica // dančíyša // načànnìy //
gob of wrinkled forehead you have tied with sinew over your eyes
- 33 núka // nísti // nísti // kíinna?ah # hàki // hàkikant?íysah+
like old (man) old (man) (he) was holding his head
- 34 bà?na? // kú?a?at // há·wdat // bá?na? // kudàkkadanuwýásah
it is said just right hold up it is said skin just hung

- 35 • // kù·?ič?abihdán?a # nátti? // kan?ihahdàh // nátti? //
over his eyebrows then he passed by then
- 36 • kanùmbakúwwi // ?icìciyá·kit # bá?na? // nàsa·?imíyči // X
he said all right I'll go on it is said the old lady
- 37 • nàt?akìnčadiscú·?na // nàtayú·nah // nùka //
when she finished washing her corn she went home like
- 38 • ^{ku}kwi·?a // kasní·čah // kí·č?ut // nàndawándù?ù #
where she was to cook hominy to cook with the rabbit
- 39 • bá?na? // ?úwwišša // kùkayyá?yah #
it is said when she got there there was nothing there
- 40 • tà:báh // kámbakah // cidi?àhkah+cihiybúwni // kwiddi #
Good God! she said I'll go see where he went
- 41 • ?wly?šíy // hábbada // si·yáh // ba?nùwn^{nat-yán-yi-tah}?acánniyah
extremely no good he is it is said [she] tracked him
- 42 • # bà?na? // ?ášša // kwáh?ituššah //
to the creek it is said what a foam was in the creek
- 43 • kwi·?iháhkit # nùka // batáni // ?i?áš?ah # bá?na?
where he passed by like fast he was going it is said
- 44 • ku?ána // tuč?àdíy?a // kàtcahi #
at a distance his boat was afloat at the bank
- 45 • nit?úwšayah # bá?na? // ku?ána // há·ya //
he had gotten out it is said at a distance he went on
- 46 • ha?imiy // hákahadač?a # bá?na? // nátti? //
big he came to a tree it is said then

47 ?úwviššiya // dí·ca // dù?u? // bá?na? // ?áyha //
he got there this Mr. Rabbit it is said he went in

48 nátti? // káyngasà? # bá?na? // kùsidí // nása?imiyči //
there he stayed in it is said after a while the old woman

49 hussiy?asùw // ha·kinnacánniyah // ^{past} dinnacámmišiya #
[she] was coming [she] was tracking him she found him (there)

50 bá?na? // nàkudasúka? // bà?núw~~paty~~ahyusa?
it is said at the hollow it is said his tracks led into the hollow

51 // kàmbakah // tá·bada//dú?adì // hà·yší? // citti·?à?
hollow she said By God! this time necessary I'll do

52 cikahciyúcašahà # wicásakùw // kuw?yuíni?ah #
what I think best about it he thinks he's going to get away

53 bá?na? // nìbahšúttá? // ?aššà // bà?núwmbašuč?átisa?
it is said [she] got a switch a good one it is said she

54 # kùsidíšah // kàmbakah //
twisted it into the hollow after a while [he] said

55 nàhci?asu // nahcí?asu // bá?na? // wìhitussakáni?á
here I come here I come it is said skunk was also in the

56 // nátti? // bána? // dlyuní·?na // nakáina #
hollow there it is said he got away that's all

Free translation of The Old Lady and Her Well:

They say that once, a long time ago, there was an old woman who lived all alone. Near her house she had a well, and one day by the well she discovered tracks. She couldn't imagine who had been there, so a few days later she made a tar baby and stood it up near the well. When the rabbit who had left the tracks came back he saw the tar baby and cried, "So it's you who's been stealing my well-water. I'm going to knock the stuffings out of you." And he hit the tar baby with his fist. But his fist stuck to the tar, so he hit him with his other fist, and that one stuck too.

The next day at dawn the old woman came to the well to see what she had caught. "So," she said, "so it's you who's been stealing my well-water." And she pulled the rabbit loose and wrapped him up in her apron and took him home with her. She put him under an iron pot and said, "I'll pound some hominy to eat with this rabbit." She went about the house making preparations, and then went down to the creek to lye her hominy and wash her corn.

After a while she saw somebody in a canoe coming down the middle of the stream, and he shouted, "Hey, what are you doing?" She replied, "I'm washing corn to go with the rabbit I've got under my iron pot. Would you like to share him with me?" "Very good of you to ask me," the rabbit replied, "but I can't. You see, I've got to go over there to look after a patient."

The old woman suddenly noticed that he had a big fold of skin hanging over his eye-brows, tied with sinew. He looked like an old, old man. He said hastily, "I'd better be going," and he paddled off.

When she had finished washing her corn, the old woman returned home to cook the rabbit, but he had disappeared. "Good Grief," she said, "where could he have got to? He's no good, that one." She tracked him down to the creek, where she saw the wake of his canoe, and in the distance the canoe itself beached on the bank of the river.

The rabbit meanwhile had come to a big tree, and climbed into the bole to hide himself. Pretty soon the old woman came along, tracking him. And she found him in the hollow. "Now," she said, "he thinks he'll get away, but I'll catch him." She got a good stout switch, and twisted it into the hollow. In a minute the rabbit said, "I give up." I'm coming out." But instead of the rabbit, out comes Mr. Skunk, who was also in the tree. So the rabbit got away after all. That's the story.

5.2 The Joke on the Mule

1 ?áhyah // hakùn?dačannikínniwit // dítti # wísci.
 a long time ago when guns were first brought here one

2 há·nuw // kín?a?iyàh // hà?imiyči # kimmù·tanihíy?iy //
 man there lived old [man] he got mad at

3 kusikà·diba // kámbakah // kú· // kwítatan?ánihah
 the long ears he said [hesitation pause] I didn't do it
 ná dačah

4 // ku·?yàtitì+cítyahdànin // nádača //
 on purpose easy I pulled the trigger the gun

5 kut?úwcasináh // cìkiwà # tutánna // ku·?yàtitì+
 I didn't think I would kill him because easy

6 cítyahdànin #
 I pulled the trigger

Free translation of The Joke on the Mule

A long time ago, when guns were first brought here, an old man who had bought one of the things got mad at his mule. He said later: "I didn't do it on purpose. I didn't think I'd kill him. After all, I pulled the trigger easy."

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