The noted Smithsonian ethnographer, John R. Swanton, while visiting the remnant of the Tunica tribe in Marksville, LA in 1908, encountered a single speaker of the Ofo language, a language earlier thought to have been Muskogean because of the presence of the consonant $f$ in the tribal name. Upon eliciting some basic vocabulary, Swanton quickly discovered that Ofo was actually Siouan, and ultimately related to Dakota Sioux and other languages of the northern plains. He collected and published a vocabulary of about 600 items and a few phrases, and these represent all that we have of the Ofo language.

1. **Summary of Ofo phonology.** The Ofo phonological inventory is the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Consonants:</th>
<th>labial</th>
<th>dental</th>
<th>palatal</th>
<th>velar</th>
<th>glottal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aspirated stops</td>
<td>ph</td>
<td>th</td>
<td>čh</td>
<td>kh</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plain stops</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>č</td>
<td>k</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aspirated fricatives</td>
<td>fh</td>
<td>sh</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plain fricatives</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>š</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sonorants</td>
<td>w</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasals</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vowels:</th>
<th>front</th>
<th>central</th>
<th>back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>high</td>
<td>i</td>
<td></td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mid</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>œ</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>low</td>
<td></td>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nasal vowels:</th>
<th>high</th>
<th>low</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>high</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>low</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
All vowels except $\varepsilon$ may occur either long or short, and all vowels without exception may occur accented or unaccented.

2. Symbols that require explanation are:
   - $c$ /s/.
   - dj /dʃ/, unaspirated.
   - tc /tʃ/.

3. **Typology.** Siouan languages are primarily head-marking, active-stative, SOV languages of moderate morphological complexity. Sapir (1921:142) characterized Dakota Sioux as “complex pure-relational” in basic type with derivational concepts signaled by agglutinating elements and pure relational concepts somewhat fused. Dakota’s overall morphological technique he characterized as “agglutinative-fusional” and degree of synthesis he characterized as “synthetic (mildly polysynthetic)”. Siouan languages are among those considered by many linguists to be *pronominal argument* languages, i.e., the pronominal prefixes on the verb are considered to be the arguments of that verb, not just agreement markers for external arguments. If they are considered agreement markers, then Siouan languages are double or triple agreement languages, with agreement pronominals for subject, object and indirect object, or, alternatively, actor, patient, recipient – and perhaps additional semantic roles. Ofo appears to possess the vast majority of these characteristics, minus, perhaps, noun incorporation and an active-stative split. Ofo lexical classes include nouns, verbs, pronouns, postpositions, particles and probably adverbs. Adjectives and simple coordinating conjunctions are not normally a feature of Siouan languages.

4. **Ofo noun possession.** There are two basic, lexically determined, sets of prefixes, both with phonological variants:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I</th>
<th>V-initial</th>
<th>II</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>alienable?</td>
<td>both</td>
<td>inalienable?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1sg</td>
<td>$ba$-</td>
<td>$aba$-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sg</td>
<td>$\check{c}a$-</td>
<td>$a\check{c}a$-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sg</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1du</td>
<td>$\check{q}$-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5. Examples of apparent alienable nouns include:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I</th>
<th>V-initial</th>
<th>II</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mind</td>
<td>calf of leg</td>
<td>blood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>phámihi</td>
<td>čáfihe</td>
<td>ahíhi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1sg</td>
<td>baphámihi</td>
<td>batcañhihi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sg</td>
<td>teaphámihi</td>
<td>teñcañhahí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1du</td>
<td>oñteñhahí</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2pl</td>
<td>teñcañhahí-tu</td>
<td>atcañhí-tu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
6. Vowel-initial stems obscure any underlying prefix vowel:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Prefix</th>
<th>Morpheme</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>skin</td>
<td>alá-hi</td>
<td>athi</td>
<td>father</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>father</td>
<td>bathi</td>
<td>etikásō</td>
<td>grandfather</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grandfather</td>
<td>bitcásu</td>
<td>(i-?)čá-su</td>
<td>liver</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hand</td>
<td>bitcásu</td>
<td>icá-ki</td>
<td>finger</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7. The fourth column is found used with a very few nouns. There is quite a bit of exceptionality. All seem to be nuclear family terms.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>1sg</th>
<th>2sg</th>
<th>2du</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>child</td>
<td>hó̄-ška</td>
<td>tok</td>
<td>m60ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>brother</td>
<td>tok</td>
<td>m60ni</td>
<td>tok</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mother</td>
<td>tok</td>
<td>mé̄thā</td>
<td>m60ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>husband</td>
<td>tok</td>
<td>mé̄thā</td>
<td>tok</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hand</td>
<td>teč̄ik6-txa</td>
<td>teč̄oni</td>
<td>teč̄oni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>person</td>
<td>teč̄ik6-txa</td>
<td>teč̄oni</td>
<td>teč̄oni</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

8. Possession of a noun by another noun involves juxtaposition, with the usual bi-, ci-, i- prefixes if the possessed noun is inalienable:

- **bi-txo"yfka i-txi"to** 'my sister’s husband'
- **ánkwa i-tcáki** 'someone’s hand'

Alienable nouns are simply juxtaposed, although the examples, ‘flour’ and ‘rice’, may actually be noun-noun compounds rather than true possessive constructions.

- **gM-fa anaphó-si** 'white man’s flour'
- **gM-fa čéki** 'rice, white man’s corn'

9. Ofo deictics. Local and temporal deictics are poorly represented in the corpus. It is possible to see reflexes of Proto-Siouan *re ~ *Re ‘this, now, here’; *7e ‘general demonstrative’.

- **lemátí** ‘here, this’ e.g. **lemóti anóñki** ‘I live here’, **lémóti tcákíu** ‘you come here’!
- **lemónti téska** ‘this bird’, **lémóti bofsháhi** ‘I arrive here’.

- **lékhó-tí, lékhati, lékhatí** ‘now, right now, just now’, **lokačáh** ‘this morning, forenoon’, **lókobathi, ló-kobati** ‘tomorrow’. These are probably combining forms with stem-initial o- ‘in’. **lekháti aitk6na** ‘I am going right now’.

- **móka** not glossed (Cf. the same word under WH-questions.) **mónka tčinóñki** ‘you live here’.
tómua 'that' támua téska 'that bird' [šetá, cetá, crossed off preceding támua on card. Common Siouan še-? 'that' RLR].

čámua, čómwa, čá-muwa 'way off yonder, on the other side, beyond, away off'.

ečqsa 'then? after while', ética"sa atékna 'I will go by and by', cf. lekhátí atékna 'I am going right now'.

10. Independent pronouns listed by Swanton are those that are used with a contrastive or predicative function in other Siouan languages.

mí-ti, mí-te 'I, me'
čí-ti 'you'
ít-í 'he'
ští, š-tí 'we'

"Reflexive" pronouns.
mihísa 'myself' ['by myself' RLR]
*čihísa 'yourself' (not attested)
mihísa ec(ti 'ourselves' ['by ourselves' RLR]
ihísa 'himself'. ['by himself' RLR]

11. Ofo conjugations. The regular and productive actor pronominal set found used with Ofo verbs is:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ofo</th>
<th>Swanton</th>
<th>Correspondences</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1sg actor</td>
<td>ba-</td>
<td>&lt;ba&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sg actor</td>
<td>ča-</td>
<td>&lt;tca&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sg actor</td>
<td>θ</td>
<td>(Dakota θ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1du actor</td>
<td>q-</td>
<td>&lt;o^n&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1pl actor</td>
<td>q-...-tu</td>
<td>&lt;o^u...tu&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2pl actor</td>
<td>ča-...-tu</td>
<td>&lt;tca...tu&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3pl actor</td>
<td>θ...-tu</td>
<td>&lt;...tu&gt;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The pluralizing suffix -tu corresponds in usage to Dakotan -pi.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb</th>
<th>ášóka</th>
<th>má-hi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1sg</td>
<td>ba-ášóka</td>
<td>ba-mahi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sg</td>
<td>tca-ášóka</td>
<td>tca-mahi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

B. Vowel initial verb stems show consonantal pronominal variants.

| 1sg actor | b- | <b> |
| 2sg actor | č- | <tč> |
| 3gs actor | θ | |
| 1du actor | q- | <o^n> |
be drowned  be stingy  say  split  sleep  be cold  stink
alúthe  a-kuitcu  éhe  ófpaki  i-wá  ēcēhi  ishú-hi
1sg  b-alúthe  bákuincu  bèhe  bófpaki  biwá  boi-tréhi  bishúhi
2sg  te-alúthe  teákuincu  tēfe  tèfpaki  tēiwá  tēishúhi
1du  o"-lúthe  o"éhe  o"fpaki
3pl  ehe-tú

C. If the verb stem begins with a locative prefix, a- ‘at, on’, o- ‘in, into’ or i- ‘toward’ or ‘with’, the derivational locative normally precedes the inflectional pronominal.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>be satisfied</th>
<th>know</th>
<th>make fun of</th>
<th>cut across</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a- khípi</td>
<td>fi- fpe</td>
<td>īto-nisi</td>
<td>ofípi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1sg abáfhi</td>
<td>ibásfē</td>
<td>abinítonisi</td>
<td>bofípi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sg atcáfhi</td>
<td>tcafpē</td>
<td>tcaínítonisi</td>
<td>tcofípi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

D. Irregular stem types. Stems that are phonologically irregular in other Siouan languages include those beginning with h, p, t, k, ō and r. Some of these are also irregular in Ofo. The actor prefixes for these verbs are:

1sg a-
2sg 槁 - ō-
3sg ō-
1du  a-
1pl  a- - -tu
2pl  a- - -tu
3pl  ō- - -tu

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>see</th>
<th>come</th>
<th>cross</th>
<th>run</th>
<th>kill</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>atãhi</td>
<td>kiúkna</td>
<td>któ-pe</td>
<td>a- - thãhi</td>
<td>kthé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1sg a-šthãhi</td>
<td>a-kiúkna</td>
<td>a-któpe</td>
<td>a-ba-thôthãhi</td>
<td>a-kité</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sg a-č-šthãhi</td>
<td>tea-kiúkna</td>
<td>tea-któpe</td>
<td>a-č-thôthãhi</td>
<td>tea-kité</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1du a-šthãhi</td>
<td>o&quot;-kiúkna</td>
<td>o&quot;-kiúkna</td>
<td>oš-kiúkna</td>
<td>oš-kité</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1pl o&quot;-kiúknatú</td>
<td>kiúknatú</td>
<td>kiúknatú</td>
<td>kiúknatú</td>
<td>kiúknatú</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2pl  te-kiúknatú</td>
<td>tca-kiúknatú</td>
<td>tca-kiúknatú</td>
<td>tca-kiúknatú</td>
<td>tca-kiúknatú</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3pl  o&quot;-kiúknatú</td>
<td>o&quot;-kiúknatú</td>
<td>o&quot;-kiúknatú</td>
<td>o&quot;-kiúknatú</td>
<td>o&quot;-kiúknatú</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>go/lead</th>
<th>buy</th>
<th>eat</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>té-kna</td>
<td>tu-fi</td>
<td>a- - tuti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1sg a-ťékna</td>
<td>a-túfĩ</td>
<td>a-ba-túfĩ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sg a-ťékna</td>
<td>tca-ťúfĩ</td>
<td>a-ťca-túfĩ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1du a-túfĩ</td>
<td>~ a-ťúfĩ</td>
<td>~ a-ťca-túfĩ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1pl o&quot;-túfĩ</td>
<td>o&quot;-túfĩ</td>
<td>o&quot;-túfĩ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2pl c-ťékna-tu</td>
<td>c-ťékna-tu</td>
<td>c-ťékna-tu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5
E. Extraordinarily, some Ofo verbs appear in the Swanton dictionary conjugated without pronominal prefixes, solely with independent pronouns.

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>make</td>
<td>fight</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čayu</td>
<td>ákíthë</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1sg</td>
<td><em>mí</em>ti tcáyu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sg</td>
<td>tcí*ti tcáyu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1du</td>
<td><em>ó</em>ti tcáyu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

12. Plural verb forms. The pluralizer, -tu creates the same sort of ambiguities in Ofo as in Mississippi Valley Siouan languages like Dakota. -Tu may pluralize either subject or object, or both.

- b-óktäki-tu 'I tell them' or 'they tell me'
- tc-óktääki-tu 'you tell them' or 'they tell you'
- tcüpi tc-óktääki-tu 'they tell you all' or 'you all tell them'

13. There are few examples of patient pronominals in the data. They typically precede actor pronominal prefixes.

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1sg</td>
<td>bi-, i- (or a- ?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sg</td>
<td>či - or čt-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sg</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1du</td>
<td>q-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- tcí* kmání 'he meets me [you? JRS] [‘he meets you’. RLR]
- y-eti 'he sees me'.

14. Ofo reflexives and reciprocals. The ordinary Siouan *hki- reflexive and reciprocal is found in a few examples.

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ahiti</td>
<td>'to kick'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>abahiti</td>
<td>'I kick'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>atcahiti</td>
<td>'you kick'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>itca-kí-tí</td>
<td>'we kick each other' [‘you kick each other’. RLR]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* ki-kthë-ha-we, a-kí-kthë 'they killed each other, one another; themselves'*

Rosa Pierrette seems to have “created” reciprocals by placing inflected 1st and 2nd person forms in serial constructions.

- a-tca-atśihe a-b-ášihe 'they burnt each other'
- LOC-you-burn LOC-I-burn
- mihí'sa e-tcí*ti b-alúíhë 'we drown each other'
- mihí'sa e-čtí b-ala-o-the 'you drown each other'
- myself ? yourself I-water-in-die
15. Ofo causative. The Ofo causative enclitic/auxiliary is –we, inflected for both subject and object (agent and patient). However, in certain verbs, like know/teach, the causative appears to be fossilized and the entire construct is usually conjugated.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ifpe} & \quad \text{‘to know’} \\
\text{ifphé*-we} & \quad \text{‘to teach’} \\
\text{b-ifphé*-we} & \quad \text{‘I teach’} \\
\text{tc-ifphé*-we} & \quad \text{‘you teach’}
\end{align*}
\]

But:

\[
\text{ifphe-tcí*-we} \quad \text{‘you teach me’} \quad [‘s/he teaches you’. RLR]
\]

16. The active-stative distinction is not obvious in Ofo, if it exists at all.

17. Dative. There are few examples of dative (or benefactive) constructions. Normally the Siouan dative has the form ki-, and the person marker is prefixed to it. Ki- is entirely lacking in Ofo.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{tcítécki antcká} & \quad \text{‘give me your hand!’ (imperative?)} \\
\text{čí-čaki q-č-ká} & \quad \text{your-hand me-you-give}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{tcílécí } & \text{š”tcíku} \quad \text{‘hold your tongue!’ (imperative?)} \\
\text{your.tongue me.you.give}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{tcúpi } & \text{tcîtécí } \text{š”tcíku} \quad \text{‘hold your tongues!’ (imperative?)} \\
\text{all your.tongue me.you.give}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{athé } & \text{š”tcıkpe} \quad \text{‘you help me dress’ (benefactive? Raised possessor?)} \\
\text{dress me.you.put on}
\end{align*}
\]

18. Ofo instrumental prefixes. Most of the instrumentals found across Siouan are attested in Ofo.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ata-} & \quad \text{‘by extreme temperature’, as in ata-čháwa ‘warm something’} \\
\text{tu-~ dу-} & \quad \text{‘by pulling/hand’, as in tu-sháhi – du-shá-hi ‘to pull’} \\
\text{ta-} & \quad \text{‘by mouth’, as in ta-shkóki ‘to chew’} \\
\text{pa-} & \quad \text{‘by pushing’, as in pa-čhé ‘to wipe’} \\
\text{la-} & \quad \text{‘by foot’, as in lá-ška ‘to jump’ (may have long vowel).} \\
\text{ka-} & \quad \text{‘by striking’, as in ka-lalu, ka-lala ‘to make a ringing sound by striking’} \\
\text{pú-} & \quad \text{‘by pressure’ pú-suhi ‘to blow’} \\
\text{po-} & \quad \text{‘by blowing/shooting’, as in po-phúti ‘to swell or puff out’}
\end{align*}
\]
19. Ofo negation. The negative enclitic is \(-ni\) postposed to the element being negated, normally the predicate:

\(afpé-\text{ni}\) ‘forget, not to know’, \(bafpén\) ‘I forget, or do not know’, \(tcáf\text{pén}\) ‘you forget, or do not know’, \(ô''afpén\) ‘we forget’. Cf. \(afpe\) ‘to know’.

\(mi^n\text{í} ni\) ‘It is not I.’ \(Ni\), or the entire pronominal, functions as a predicate.

\(tcí^n\text{í} ni\) ‘It is not you.’

In a few instances a preposed particle \(ki\) seems to be associated with the negative, as with French \(ne\) and \(pas\).

\(ab-\text{atxá-\(ki\)-b-\(áfpe\)-\(ni\)}\) ‘I can not run’. 
\(1\text{-run-NEG1-1-know-NEG2}\)

\(até-\(ki\) b-\(áfpe\)-\(ni\) até-ha-w-\(q\bī\) ‘I cannot go, but I will send someone.’
\(go\text{-NEG1-1-know-NEG2 go-1CAUSATIVE-IRREALIS}\)

\(até\) b-\(áfpe\)-\(ni\) até-hawa-be ‘I cannot go, but I will send someone.’
\(go\ 1-know-NEG go-1CAUSATIVE-IRREALIS\)

A lexical negative, \(tinik\), \(ník\) ‘not to have, to be missing’, the reflex of the Proto-Siouan stative verb \(^{*}\,rike\) ‘not to be, to be none’, seems to be used as a general negator on occasion:

\(abát\text{hē-\(ti\,ni\,k\)}\) ‘I have no dress’.
\(my.dress ?-be\ none\)

\(tā\text{nq\(n\)} \(n\)\(i\)k\) ‘widower’.
\(\(h\)in\).wife be.none\)

\(n\)\(i\)k\(i\) n\(q\)t\(o\)-\(ni\) ‘It is not at all far.’ Cf. \(nít\) ‘far’.
\(be\).none far-NEG\)

\(ô''\phi\)h\(i\) n\(ík\) \(i\) ‘dull, not sharp’ p. 328. Cf. \(á\phi\)h ‘sharp’.

20. Ofo tense, aspect and mode.
A. Tense is not an inflectional category in Siouan. But just with the verb ‘go’:

\(a-\text{tē-kn\text{a-t\(a\)n\)i\)}\) ‘I went’
\(1\text{-go-motion "PAST"}\)
\(c-\text{tē-kn\text{a-t\(a\)n\)i\)}\) ‘you went’
\(c-\text{tē-kn\text{a-t\(a\)n\)i-\(t\)u\)}\) ‘you (plural) went’
The same enclitic is also used in what Swanton translates as conditional mode in a single example:

\[ \text{dé-to"ni á-kiu-bē} \quad \text{go-"COND I-come-IRREALIS} \]

\[ \text{‘if he goes, I will come’} \]

**B. Irrealis mode.** Ofo verbs with a suffix, -abe are translated as future by Swanton.

\[ \text{o"-tci-khū-be} \quad \text{‘you will give (it) to me’} \]
\[ \text{déto"ni ákiiu-bē} \quad \text{‘if he goes I will come’} \]
\[ \text{atcikthé-be} \quad \text{‘I will kill you’} \quad [‘you will kill me’ RLR] \]
\[ \text{óktat-abe} \quad \text{‘he will work’; cf. oktati ‘he is working’} \]
\[ \text{tcóktat-qbē} \quad \text{‘you will work’} \]
\[ \text{b-aphúska a-tci-tp-ābe} \quad \text{‘I will hit you with my fist’} \]
\[ \text{atéki básfeni atéhaw-qbī} \quad \text{‘I cannot go, but I will send someone.’} \]

**C. Continuative aspect.**

\[ \text{b-áshē nōŋki} \quad \text{‘I am sitting down’} \]
\[ \text{I-sit CONTIN} \]
\[ \text{tc-áshē nōŋki} \quad \text{‘you are sitting down’} \]
\[ \text{you-sit CONTIN} \]
\[ \text{o"-shē nōŋki} \quad \text{‘we (dual) are sitting down’} \]
\[ \text{we2-sit CONTIN} \]

Contrast this usage with the inflected form of the same verb when it means ‘dwell’, the main verb in the clause.

\[ \text{efhahi lemō"ti a-nōŋki} \quad \text{‘I have lived here a long time.’} \]
\[ \text{long.time here I-sit} \]

**D. Iterative aspect** seems to be inflected by reduplication.

\[ \text{é-te-te} \quad \text{‘sick, keep on suffering’. Iterative aspect.} \]
\[ \text{šni-šni-we} \quad \text{‘itch’, iterative.} \]
\[ \text{up-lé-le-hi} \quad \text{‘swing’, presumably iterative.} \]
\[ \text{tu-fa-fla-hi} \quad \text{‘tear’ (as cloth or paper) presumably iterative.} \]
\[ \text{tó-fku-fku-pi} \quad \text{‘wink, blink’ presumably iterative.} \]
\[ \text{abā-pa-pa-tōpi ~ ibápatōpi} \quad \text{‘I shoot’.} \]
\[ \text{ta-sti-shi-hi} \quad \text{‘whine’} \]
\[ \text{ta-tā-hi} \quad \text{‘shake, tremble’} \]
\[ \text{pa̱-nā-nā-hi} \quad \text{‘sift’} \]
\[ \text{apak-lē-li-hi} \quad \text{‘roll, roll it!’} \]
\[ \text{fōt-fōt-e} \quad \text{‘whistle’} \]
\[ \text{á-tu-tu-e} \quad \text{‘be cooking’} \]
ka-la-la ‘make a ringing sound by striking’

21. Ofo verb template.

Orders:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1st, 2nd PERS</th>
<th>DUAL</th>
<th>LOCAL</th>
<th>PATIENT AND</th>
<th>VERT.</th>
<th>INSTRUMENTAL</th>
<th>ASPECT &amp; MODE</th>
<th>PLURAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>INCL.</td>
<td>TIVES</td>
<td>ACTOR</td>
<td>PRO-</td>
<td>REFLX</td>
<td>MENTALS</td>
<td>ROOT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>NOMINALS</td>
<td>RECIP</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Affixes:

1  2  3  4  5  6

- a-  i-  b-  b-  k-  p-  -abe  -tu
- a-  c-  c-  k-  t-  -we
- ō  ō  k-  l-  -naki
- i-  t-  -ni
- ka-  -t-ani
- pu-
- ate-

Glosses:

we2  with me  I  back  pushing  irrealis  plural
at/on  you  you  self  hand  causative
in  him/  s/he  each/  foot  continuative
toward  her  other  mouth  negative
pressure

22. Interrogatives. There is no overt difference between statements and polar questions in Ofo. Nor does there seem to be any evidence for the clause-final gender-sensitive particles found in so many Siouan languages.

tcí-qsxe kiawe-he  ‘Do you hear what I say?’
you-hear what/that-I.say

dokfáhi c-tóhe c-tékna  ‘Are you going to see the old man?’
old.man you-see you-go

nátá c-tékna  ‘Are you going far?’
far you-go

tcobishíkí-ní  ‘Are you not ashamed?’ cf. tcobishíkí ‘you are ashamed’, -ní is the negative enclitic here.

A few Ofo WH words and questions are found. The particle -ké is segmentable but not identifiable.
báka  ‘whence, whither’ e.g. báka tcákka ‘whence do you come?’  p. 323.

mákka  not glossed e.g. márka tcákka ‘where are you?’  p. 326. e.g. báka atékna ‘where is (are) you going?’ e.g. báka atékna ‘where am I going?’ There may be a distinction between ‘where’, ‘where to’ and ‘where from’.

béqka  ‘who? who is it?’ e.g. béko tcéti ‘Who are you?’  p. 323. < *pe ‘who’.

yáškika  ‘how come?’ e.g. yáckika tcotkábidi ‘how comes it that you cut your hand?’  p. 328.

kiáwe  ‘what, something’ e.g. kiáwe tce ‘what do you say?’ e.g. kiáwe tcótékna ‘what are you going to get?’  p. 325. e.g. kiáwe túnkóhi ‘What do you call?’ (n.b. form of 2nd person here, cf., tcákóhi ‘you shout, you are calling’.) e.g. mítte kiáwe ibáko hi ‘What am I calling?’  p. 320; cf. p. 325. e.g. kiáwe tcópié-kna ‘what are you going to get?’

cékka  which?  p. 329.

23. Ofo word order. The corpus contains rather little in the way of real syntactic information. What little that can be pieced together reveals Ofo to have consistent dependent-head orderings.

A. Verbs are pretty consistently clause-final; there are numerous examples.

b-apháskala a-tci-tp-ábe  ‘I will hit you with my fist’
   my-fist  I-you-hit-IRREALIS

B. Like other Siouan languages, Ofo has at least a few postpositions and no prepositions.

i'tuf-ati atiiccō  ‘to the town’
   town  toward

C. Auxiliary verbs follow main verbs.

b-áshē nōŋki  ‘I am sitting down’
   I-sit  sitting-CONTINUATIVE

ifphe-tci-we  ‘you teach me’.
   know-you/(me?)-CAUSATIVE

D. Deictics and possessives precede the nouns they modify, and deictics seem to be one of the very few kinds of noun modifiers.

lēmōnti tēska  ‘this bird’
   this  bird
E. Other apparent noun modifiers are, in fact, stative verbs and follow the noun.

- **akfú activexi**  
  bead red
  ‘red bead’ (JRS) [or ‘a/the bead is red’ RLR]

- **akhisi sxápka**  
  turtle soft-shelled
  ‘soft-shelled turtle’

F. Adverbs precede their verbs and deictics used as adverbials precede the verb.

- **nátá c-tékna**  
  far you-go
  ‘Are you going far?’

- **lém̥̑̓̊n ti b-ofiháni**  
  here I-arrive
  ‘I arrive here’

G. WH-words do not necessarily come in sentence-initial position.

- **mi² te kiáwe ibákohi**  
  I what I.call
  ‘What am I calling?’

H. Subordinate clauses apparently precede main clauses.

- **deto² ni a-kīu-bē**  
  (he),go.COND I-come-IRREALIS
  ‘if he goes, I will come’

I. Co-subordination in the form of serial verbs occurs in one or two instances.

- **dokfáhi c-tóhe c-tékna**  
  old.man you-see you-go
  ‘Are you going to see the old man?’

References

