

## Dèènáá Bìč'èècéé Bìčìł'áá: A Plains Apache Text

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This paper presents the first publication of a Plains Apache text. Native speaker Alfred Chalepah Sr. told the story to linguist Harry Hoijer ca. 1935. Hoijer's transcription included word level glosses, but no free translation. A free translation was collected by Hoijer's student, William E. Bittle, from the original speaker Alfred Chalepah Sr. using Hoijer's original transcription, though no date was noted for when this was collected. Hoijer also collected paradigms related to the text on hundreds of slip files. This paper combines all of this information into a single presentation of the text, 'Dèènáá Bìč'èècéé Bìčìł'áá - Man and His Wives and His Brother.' I also discuss new analyses found in the text concerning third person object prefixes (*yi-* and *bi-*) and aspectual prefixes on the verb in Plains Apache.\*

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### 1. Introduction

Plains Apache (formerly Kiowa-Apache) is spoken in southern Oklahoma by members of the Apache Tribe of Oklahoma. Plains Apache is a member of the Apachean branch of the Athabaskan (Dene) language family. The last fluent first language speaker of Plains Apache passed away in 2008. Today, Sean O'Neill (University of Oklahoma) is working with several capable but not fluent speakers to create a dictionary for the tribe. He estimates that there are as many as a few dozen semi-speakers with some knowledge of the language but widely different degrees of competence (O'Neill, personal communication, 2013).

Several linguists, beginning in the late nineteenth century, worked with fluent speakers to document Plains Apache. Three of these linguists focused on gathering texts and they each recorded the same story about the man, his wife (or wives), and his younger brother (*Dèènáá Bìč'èècéé Bìčìł'áá*)<sup>1</sup>. Tennyson Berry told the story to Pliny Earle Goddard in 1911, Alonzo Chalepah Sr. told it to Harry Hoijer circa 1935, and Tennyson Berry again told this story to William E. Bittle in 1953. Some of the same texts collected by these linguists in Plains Apache are printed as English translations in *The Sky is My Tipi* (McAllister 1949) and in the article 'Six Kiowa Apache Tales' (Bittle 1964). However, the story of the man, his wife, and his younger

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<sup>1</sup> Throughout this paper, I use Bittle's transcription system, which is based on the American Phonetic Alphabet: b = p, d = t, ʒ = ts, ʒ̣ = tʃ, c = ts<sup>h</sup>, č = tʃ<sup>h</sup>, λ = tl, λ̣ = tʃ, g = k, k = k<sup>h</sup>, š = ʃ, ž = ʒ, and ' indicates a glottalized consonant. Vowels are marked for length, tones (high, low, rising, falling), and nasalization.

brother is not included in either of those publications. Furthermore, no Plains Apache texts have ever been published in the Plains Apache language<sup>2</sup>.

In every telling of this story, the wife (or wives) decides that she wants to sleep with her husband's younger brother. The younger brother refuses, and so the wife, angry, sets a trap where she digs a hole under his bed. The younger brother falls into the hole and she buries him there. The wife and husband then move camp, leaving the younger brother trapped. However, he is rescued by wolves, who feed and care for him and become his new family. The man finds his younger brother with the wolves and captures him. The younger brother explains what the wife did to him. The wife is then killed, either by the husband or by the wolves, who eat her.

For the sake of space, I only include the Chalepah-Hoijer version of the text here, though having all three versions was useful in the analysis. The next section of this article contains a brief overview sketch of Plains Apache, essentially summing up the little descriptive work that has been done (Bittle 1956, 1963). The third section includes the Chalepah-Hoijer text, in full, with morphemic analysis. In the fourth section, I discuss new analyses found in the text concerning the alternation of the third person object prefixes and aspectual marking on the verb. Section 5 includes a summary and conclusion.

## 2. Plains Apache Sketch

As in other Apachean languages, there are four major classes of words in Plains Apache: nouns, postpositions, particles, and verbs (Young 1983). This section briefly discusses simple word order and the morphology of nouns, postpositions, particles, and verbs. Each of these word classes is defined by the types of morphological processes they can and cannot undergo. All examples are from the text unless otherwise noted.

### 2.1 Plains Apache Word Order

As found in other Apachean languages, the common word order in Plains Apache is Subject-Object-Verb (Axelrod 2007, de Reuse 2006). The basic sentence in Plains Apache can often solely contain the verb, with the subject and object(s) indicated by prefixes. When a postpositional phrase is present, it appears to the left of the verb. (1) shows the basic SOV word order in Plains Apache<sup>3</sup>.

- (1) S O PP V  
 bíč'èèčáá bizèèdá yìč'ì? dáágòłči?  
 his.wives ther.brother-in-law to.him they.spoke  
 'His wives spoke to their brother-in-law.'

The argument structure of a sentence or phrase in Plains Apache is not determined by word order but rather through the assignment of roles by the verb through the use of pronominal prefixes. If the object is not first or second person, the verb of Plains Apache has to carry a third person, fourth person, or indefinite object marker, regardless of whether there is a co-indexed

<sup>2</sup> John Beatty's (1974, 1976) publications that contain transcribed songs are the only publications of Plains Apache language longer than a single sentence.

<sup>3</sup> Morpheme gloss abbreviations: 1 = first person, 2 = second person, 3 = third person, 4 = fourth person, ADV = adverbial, CLF = classifier, CONT = continuative, DISTR = distributive, DUPL = duoplural, FUT = future, INC = inceptive, INDF = indefinite person, IPFV = imperfective, ITER = iterative, MOM = momentaneous, NEUT = neuter, OBJ = object, OPT = optative, PFV = perfective, PL = plural, POSS = possessive, PP = postposition, PROG = progressive, REP = repetitive, REV = reversionary, SBJ = subject, SG = singular, SMLT = semeliterative, THM = thematic.

noun or noun phrase. It is highly common to find a verb marked for two third person objects, direct and indirect, with no free nouns in the phrase. In the texts, I have not yet found examples of ditransitive sentences where all three noun phrases referred to by the verb were present, which is not unusual in Apachean languages. In fact, transitive sentences where even just two noun phrases are present are not common in most Apachean languages (Willie 2000).

## 2.2 Plains Apache Noun Morphology

There are three types of nouns based on their structural complexity: primary nouns (made up of either a root or a root and possessive prefix), compound nouns (made up of two or more roots), and nouns derived from verbs or phrases (Hoijer 1945, Bittle 1956). All nouns may be possessed by a pronominal prefix. Almost all nouns in Plains Apache appear in both uninflected and inflected forms, though some only occur uninflected and some only inflected (Bittle 1956).

The most common type of noun in Plains Apache is primary nouns, the simplest of which are monosyllabic uninflected nouns, such as *sée* ‘dirt’, *cààl* ‘needle, awl’, *čís* ‘tree’, and *ł’ò* ‘grass’ (Bittle 1963). Inflected primary nouns may have a possessive prefix attached, as in ‘his wife’ *bič’èèčéé*, ‘his brother’ *bič’ìł’áá*, and ‘your wife’ *dič’èèčéé*.

Plains Apache has the following possessive prefixes: *ši-* 1SG; *di-* 2SG; *bi-*, *mi-* 3; *go(o)-* 4; *?i-* INDF; *dàxi-*, *da-* 1DUPL/2DUPL. The third, fourth, and indefinite person prefixes can be singular, dual, or plural depending on context (Bittle 1963). The indefinite refers to a general ‘someone’ and is used when the referent is unknown to the speaker. The fourth person refers to someone who is ‘psychologically remote from the speaker,’ such as a sister-in-law or other person with whom contact is culturally proscribed, as in line 3 of the text (Bittle 1956).

Some nouns are inalienably possessed and must always appear with a possessive prefix. These nouns typically refer to body parts, for example *-lààšgyàà* ‘fingernail’ and *-ɣwòòžà?* ‘canine tooth’ (Bittle 1956). Other primary nouns have to occur with an indefinite possessive prefix attached; all other prefixes were rejected by Bittle’s informants (Bittle 1956). For example, *?ibààh* is ‘buckskin,’ but you cannot have *\*bibààh* ‘his buckskin.’ To say ‘his buckskin,’ the indefinite prefix is treated as part of the noun base: *bi?ibààh* (Bittle 1956).

There are three types of compound nouns, based on the forms that combine. Compound nouns can be formed by either two bound stems, one free stem and one bound stem, or two free stems (Bittle 1956). For other Apachean languages, there are examples of verb stems participating in these compounds. However, for Plains Apache, Bittle only found compounds consisting of two noun stems (1956). One of Bittle’s few examples is *biłààkál* ‘his breech clout,’ which combines *-łàà* ‘buttocks’ with *-kál* ‘cloth-like material’ (1956).

Nouns derived from verbs or phrases are the most difficult type of noun to identify. There are four ways to create derived nouns from verbs. The first is a verb that functions as a noun with no structural changes. For example, *gósđòh* can mean either ‘we two are hot’ or ‘summer.’ Hoijer (1945) and Bittle (1956) require frequency of use in order to classify these verbs as nouns.

Nouns may also be derived when free nouns combine with a verb form as in (2), a verb form is modified by a relative enclitic as in (3), or one or more free nouns combine with a free verb and with a relative enclitic as in example (4). Examples (2)-(4) are from Bittle’s dissertation (1956).

- |     |                   |   |
|-----|-------------------|---|
| (2) | <i>tálbàyé</i>    | ‘crane’ [ <i>tá</i> ‘feathers’ + <i>libàyé</i> ‘it is white’]                               |
| (3) | <i>dò?ilxòšé</i>  | ‘whippoorwill’ [ <i>dò?ilxòš</i> ‘he never sleeps’ + <i>=é</i> ‘he who’]                    |
| (4) | <i>?ibèšičíhí</i> | ‘cheese, butter’ [ <i>?ibè</i> ‘milk’ + <i>šičí</i> ‘it is solid’ + <i>=í</i> ‘that which’] |



### 2.4 Plains Apache Verb Morphology

As an Athabaskan language, Plains Apache verbs are difficult to briefly describe given the number of verbal prefixes and complex morphophonemic fusions. This section briefly describes verb stems, themes, prefixes, and suffixes (for a grammatical sketch, see Bittle, 1956).

The Plains Apache verbs consists of a verb stem with multiple derivational and inflectional prefixes. Figure 1 outlines the order of the prefixes in the template. No single Plains Apache verb employs all thirteen prefixes.

13	12	11	10	9	8	###			
Indirect Object	Postposition	Adverbial Aspect	Thematic	Iterative	Number	Disjunct Boundary			
7	6	5	4	3	2	1	0	-1	
Direct Object	Deictic	Adverbial Aspect	Tense	Mode	Subject	Classifier	Stem	Aspectual Suffixes	

FIGURE 1. Plains Apache verbal prefix chart (revised from Bittle 1956)

The verb theme is the basic lexical piece of the Athabaskan verb which must be present no matter what other operations are performed. The verb theme minimally contains the verb stem and classifier, as shown in (9a), though many verbs require thematic prefixes to form the lexical verb. The verb form is the inflected verb theme, as in (9b). A minimally inflected verb form is marked for valence (classifier prefix), subject, tense/aspect/mode, and number. The verb stem itself, however, can have alternant forms referred to as variations in the stem shape (Leer 1979). Few verbs have an unvarying stem, while most have several stem shapes that alternate depending on the mode and aspect of the verb form (Hojjer 1945).

- (9) (a) ...- ɫ-niʃ  
 (b) gòyɪniʃ  
 go-yi-0-0-ɫ-niʃ  
 PL-3OBJ-IPFV-3SBJ-CLF-to.say.it.IPFV  
 'They said to him.'

The term 'classifier' has a specific use in Athabaskan linguistics. The classifier is the valence prefix that always occurs just before the verb stem, in position 1, as seen in (9). Plains Apache has four possible classifiers ( $\emptyset$ -, *ɫ*-, *d*-, and *l*-), though every verb form has only one classifier which historically marked valence. In other Apachean languages the *ɫ*- classifier often functions as a causative and the *d*- and *l*- classifiers often imply passive and medio-passive constructions (Hojjer 1945). Today the classifiers in Apachean languages are also often lexical or thematic in their distributions (Axelrod 2007). I do not mark null classifiers in this paper.

The subject of the verb is expressed either through a subject prefix in position 2 or a deictic prefix in position 6, and the two cannot co-occur. 'Deictic' refers to the fourth person and indefinite subjects, indicated by prefixes *č'i*- and *?i*- respectively (Bittle 1956). As with other Apachean languages, there are four sets of subject prefixes, the choice of which depends on the mode and classifier of the verb form (Bittle 1956). Bittle's (1956) thorough analysis of modal prefixes and their required subject prefix set is used to identify mode in the texts. Plains Apache

subject prefixes are: *š-* or *éé-* 1SG; *ʔỵ-* or *ʔdí-* 2SG; *ʔd-* 1DUPL; *á-* or *áh-* 2DUPL. The third person subject in Plains Apache is unmarked and indicated by the null  $\emptyset$ - in the analysis.

Direct and indirect object prefixes occur in positions 7 and 13, respectively. They are identical in form and only differentiated by their placement on the verb template. The object prefixes are: *ši-* 1SG; *di-* 2SG; *bi-*, *mi-*, *yi-*, *o-* 3; *go-* 4; *ʔi-* INDF; *dàxi-*, *da-* 1DUPL/2DUPL. Object prefixes can be seen in examples (10), (15), and throughout the text. The third person object pronouns have a specific distribution, described in section 3.

Plains Apache has two number prefixes in position 8 on the verb, the distributive-plural *da-*, seen in (12), and the dual-plural *go-*, seen in (9b). These prefixes may describe the object, subject, or event as being distributed or plural or dual (Bittle 1956).

Plains Apache has one tense prefix in position 4, four modal prefixes in position 3, and one modal prefix in position 9. The tense and modal prefixes are presented in this section as individual prefixes, though they commonly and predictably appear as fused combinations with the subject prefixes. See Bittle (1956, 1963) for a discussion.

The imperfective, perfective, progressive, and optative modal prefixes appear in position 3 on the verb (Bittle 1956). The iterative modal prefix occurs only in position 9 (Bittle, 1956). Every verb form includes only one modal prefix (Bittle 1956). Traditionally, mode in Athabaskan linguistics has been defined structurally because all modal conjugations are identical in structure, all having a prefix in the same slot on the verb (Rice 1989). However, in a general linguistic sense, aspect situates an event in respect to the reference point of the speaker and mode expresses the attitude of the speaker toward the event (Rice 1989). Thus semantically, the perfective, imperfective, and progressive are used to denote aspect and only the optative is modal. However, in this paper, Bittle's and others' structural definition of mode and aspect is maintained.

Imperfective mode refers to an action that has begun but is incomplete and perfective refers to a completed action. These two modes have the most complex paradigms in Plains Apache, as both divide into three sub-modes. The  $\emptyset$ -imperfective takes a zero prefix, the h-imperfective takes the prefix *hi-*, and the n-imperfective takes the prefix *ni-* in position 3. The y-imperfective has been analyzed as having an epenthesized [y] after a disjunct prefix in Navajo, making the y-imperfective merely a special case of the  $\emptyset$ -imperfective (Krauss 1970). The h-imperfective in Plains Apache is likely similar, where the [h] is epenthesized after a disjunct prefix, though throughout this paper I continue to call it the 'h-imperfective' following Bittle's original description (1956). The s-perfective takes the prefix *si-*, the h-perfective takes *ʔỵ-* or *yi-*, and the n-perfective takes *di-*, *ni-*, *ḍi-*, or *ṇi-* in position 3 (Bittle 1956). The following examples from the text show the various sub-modes of the perfective and imperfective.

(10) *šilížóó*  
*ši-lí-0-0-žóó*  
 1SG.OBJ-?-IPFV-3SBJ-to.esteem.or.love  
 'I love him.'

(11) *dòdáyìlécéé*  
*dòd-dá-yì-hi-l-céé*  
 NEG-?-3OBJ-IPFV-CLF-to.see.IPFV  
 'He could not find him.'

- (12) dàànídèès  
da-ni-0-dèès  
DISTR.PL-IPFV-3SBJ-to.be.long.IPFV  
'They were long.'
- (13) šíčí  
ši-čí  
PFV-animate.lays.PFV  
'He lay.'
- (14) č'iyééłłiš  
č'i-γi-éé-ł-łiš  
THM-PFV-1SG-CLF-animate.fall.PFV  
'I fell in.'
- (15) dàʔidiłłžiš  
da-ʔi-ni-ł-žiš  
ADV-INDF.OBJ-PFV-CLF-to.cut.or.slice.PFV  
'He cut it off.'

The progressive mode, shown in example (7), refers to an action that is ongoing (Young 2000) and takes the prefix *γi-* in position 3. The future tense takes the progressive mode with the addition of the future tense marker *di-* in position 4. The iterative mode refers to an action that is repeated and customary (Young 2000) and takes the prefix *dá-* in position 9, as in (16). The customary mode (called usitative in Navajo in Young et al. 1992) uses the same verb stem as the iterative and takes the same prefix complex as the imperfective. Where the iterative and imperfective stems do not vary, as for example some verbs take the same stem in all modes, these two modes have identical verb forms. The optative mode describes an action that is wished for or desired (Young 2000) and takes the prefix *γii-* in position 3, as in (17).

- (16) dààščééh  
dá-0-š-čééh  
ITER-3OBJ-1SG.SBJ-handle.animate.being.ITER  
'I carry someone [on repeated occasions].' (Bittle, 1952-1955)
- (17) biγàhàγíiščìš  
bi-γàhà-γii-š-čìš  
3OBJ-THM-OPT-1SG.SUBJ-handle.slender.stiff.object.OPT  
'I [wish to] take a long object away (from someone).' (Hoijer, ca. 1935)

In addition to the modal prefix, mode is also marked in Plains Apache by the choice of a particular verb stem shape (Morgan 2013). Bittle never described the aspectual system of Plains Apache, which is marked by the use of a prefix and/or special stem shape, as has been described in the closely related languages of Jicarilla Apache and Navajo (Axelrod 2007, Young 2000). Section 3 uses the text to analyze aspect in Plains Apache.

### 3. The Story of the Man, His Wife, and His Younger Brother

The text is included here in Bittle's transcription system, which only varied slightly from Hoijer's original transcription. The word glosses are those originally noted by Hoijer in his handwritten copy of the text. The free translation included for this text is directly from the original author, Alonzo Chalepah Sr., collected by Bittle using Hoijer's transcription of the text. No date was noted for this translation. Hoijer's transcription is held in Indiana; the English transcription is in the Bittle collection at the University of Oklahoma Western Histories Collection. During his fieldwork with the Plains Apache, Hoijer additionally collected verb and noun paradigms on slip files, also held at Indiana. This paper combines three various sources of information into a single presentation of the text.

My goal in this analysis is to unite the information that Hoijer collected on slip files together with the text that he used to elicit them, along with Bittle's free English translation of the text. I have also supplemented Hoijer's materials with information from Bittle's much longer and more extensive fieldwork, using the information found on his large collection of slip files. However, there is not always an analysis to be found in the archival record, and there are no living fluent speakers to consult. In this section, a '?' in the gloss line indicates no analysis; a '?' after a gloss indicates an unsure analysis.

#### 2.1 'Dèènáá Bìč'èèčéé Bìčìł'áá' told by Alonzo Chalepah, Sr. to Harry Hoijer ca. 1935

1 dèènáá dèèšžàà

dèènáá di- si- 0- žàà  
man INC PFV 3 hunt.PFV.MOM  
man he.went.out.hunting

'A man went out hunting one time.'

2 bič'èèčáá bizèèdá, yič'ì? dáágòłči?  
bi- č'èèčáá, bi- \*zèèdá, yi- č'ì? dáá- go- hi- 0- ł- či?  
3.POSS woman 3.POSS in.law? 3OBJ to THM? <sup>4</sup> PL IPFV 3SBJ CLF talk  
his.wives their.brother-in-law to.him they.spoke

'When he was gone, his wives said to their brother-in-law,'

3 'dàkxà dǰǰgyééš' <sup>5</sup>

dà- kxà- di-<sup>6</sup> 0- íj- gyééš  
1DUPL among INC IPFV 2SG.SBJ choose.pick.select  
choose.one.of.us

<sup>4</sup> The *dáá-* occurs in every form of 'to speak to' in the paradigms Hoijer collected for the perfective, imperfective, future, and optative modes. Bittle, in his slips, similarly has *dá-* in all paradigms with this verb form, in addition to other paradigms with different prefixes to form the verbs 'talk about,' 'talk with,' or 'talk to someone.' *dáá-* is likely a thematic prefix. Both Bittle and Hoijer specifically noted that this verb appeared with the h-perfective and h-imperfective.

<sup>5</sup> As far as I have seen, commands always appear in the imperfective mode.

<sup>6</sup> Hoijer noted that the *di-* prefix was 'probably inceptive' on one of his slips.



8 nìnèg      ʔèègòwéć'ìiʔ  
 nìnèg      ʔèègó      wéć-      c'ìiʔ  
 deep(hole) ?      3.PFV      dig.PFV  
 deep      they.dug.a.hole  
 'It was a deep hole.'

9 yìč'adáʔ                      ʔéédààgògòsʔèèł  
 yì-      č'à      dáʔ      ʔi-              é      da-              go-      gò-      si-      0-      ʔèèł  
 3      top      on      INDF.OBJ      ?      DISTR.PL      PL      ?      PFV      3      spread.PFV  
 its.top                      they.spread.it.on.it  
 'They spread his bed on top of the hole.'

10 c'áascàʔáá      dánáážááʔ  
 c'áascàʔáá      dá-      náá-      si-      0-      d-      žááʔ  
 young.man      REV      SMLT      PFV      3      CLF      go.walk.SG.PFV  
 young.man      he.came.back.again  
 'Then the young man came back in again.'

11 bìdèʔéé                      dàdìdàáš  
 bi-              \*dèʔ      ʔèèʔ      nà-      nì-      0-      0-      dàáš  
 3.POSS      bed      at      down      down      IPFV      3      sit.SG.IPFV  
 his.bed                      he.sat.on.it  
 ʔìgòʔáá                      č'ìyíłłłiš  
 ʔi-              gòʔáá      č'i-              yíł-      ł-      λiš  
 INDF.POSS      hole      animate.fall      3.PFV      CLF      animate.fall.PFV  
 hole                      he.fell.in  
 'He sat on his bed, and he fell into the hole.'

12 yìč'èè      gògòòzìì                      yìč'adáʔ  
 yì-      č'èè      gògòò      zìì                      yì-      č'à      dáʔ  
 3      ?      ?      cover.up.PFV      3      top      on  
 they.covered.it.up                      its.top  
 ʔéédààgògòsʔèèł  
 ʔi-              é      da-              go-      gò-      si-      0-      ʔèèł  
 INDF.OBJ      ?      DISTR.PL      PL      ?      PFV      3      spread  
 they.spread.over.it  
 'They covered it up quickly. They spread the bed back over the top of the hole.'

13 c'áascàʔáá nìinìgèè                      šíćí  
 c'áascàʔáá nìinèg                      ʔèèʔ si-    číí  
 young.man deep(hole) at    PFV animate.lay.PFV  
 young.man way.down                      he.lay  
 'The young man was lying way down in that hole.'

14 míídàyáá,                      náážáá                      ' šičil'áá,                      šáʔxàà '  
 mi-      dàyáá,                      dá-    ni-    0-    d-      žáá      ši-              čil'áá,                      šáʔ    xà  
 3.POSS brother.older REV    ADV    3      CLF    walk.SG 1SG.POSS younger.brother ?<sup>8</sup> ?  
 his.brother                      he.returned                      my.brother                      where.is.he?  
 nìš  
 nìš  
 to.say.it.IPFV  
 he said  
 'The man returned and said, 'Where is my brother.'''

15 ' nàłni?                      šíiníížáá                      xàyáá                      dàłni?  
 nàłni?                      ši-    ni-    0-    žáá      xà    -yáá      dàłni?  
 perhaps.maybe ?    PFV    3      walk.SG ?      toward.to perhaps.maybe  
 perhaps                      he.went.out                      to.where                      perhaps.maybe  
 dèèžáá '  
 di-    si-    0-    žáá      go-    nìš  
 INC    PFV    3      walk.SG PL      say.it.IPFV  
 he.went                      they.said  
 'Perhaps, he went out somewhere. Perhaps he just went out,' they said.'

16 dèènáá bičil'áá,                      yłkxáá                      nààdikxáá  
 dèènáá bi-                      čil'áá,                      yi-    -kxáá      nààdi    0-      0-      kxáá  
 man 3.POSS younger.brother 3      for ?      IPFV 3      search.for  
 man his.brother                      for.him      he.searched.around  
 dòòdáyiłcécé  
 dòò-    dá    yi-    hi    ł-      cécé  
 NEG ?    3    ?    CLF    see.IPFV  
 he.could.not.find.him  
 'The man searched around for his brother, but couldn't find him.'

<sup>8</sup> On one of his slip files, Bittle notes that this morpheme is 'demonstrative (then) (narrative prefix)'. However, šáʔ- is cognate to a question particle in Jicarilla Apache (Axelrod 2007) and Navajo (Young 2000). This prefix appears in a large variety of contexts in other Plains Apache texts.

17 gòòkxà?yá           č'ííšyíjkkxáánààdikxáá  
 gòòkxà? yá           č'ííš yi- -kxáá nààdi kxáá  
 camp toward.to rain? 3 for ? search.for  
 in.the.camp he.looked.in.the.rain.for.him  
 'He looked in the camp, and looked in the rain for him.'

18 <sup>n</sup>dádààdèèzázá,  
<sup>n</sup>dádadi si- zázá,  
 ? PFV move.camp.PFV  
 there.was.a.moving.of.the.camp  
 'Then there was a moving of the camp.'

19 šó?òòkxà?yá           bà?łbáá           ?ižáá           yíikxáá dààdàà<sup>n</sup>dikxáá  
 šó?òòkxà? yá           bà?łbáá           ?ižáá yi- -kxáá da-           dàà<sup>n</sup>dí kxáá  
 deserted.camp toward.to wolf something 3 for DISTR.PL ? search.for  
 in.the.deserted.camp Gray.Wolves something they.were.searching.for.it  
 'In the deserted camp, some Gray wolves came. They were looking for something. They searched around the camp.'

20 ?ižáá    là?š           gódééš  
 ?ižáá    là?š           gó 0- 0- dééš  
 someone in.the.ground ? IPFV 3 shout.IPFV  
 someone in.the.ground he.was.shouting  
 'They heard someone shouting from the ground.'

21 bà?łbáá ?išžááná    hààyééčà?           d'ééš  
 bà?łbáá ?išžááná    hàà yéé- čà?           d'ééš  
 wolf old.woman ? 3.PFV to.cry.PFV four  
 wolf old.woman she.howled           four  
 'An old woman Gray Wolf she howled four times.'

22 lè?łhí    nič'ìyèèskxáá,  
 lè?łhí    nič'ìyi si- 0- kxáá,  
 the.others ? PFV 3 cause.to.come?  
 the.others they.were.caused.to.come.there  
 'The others, they came over to where she was.'

23 c'áascàʔáá làʔš dáálčì? ' k'ádée báʔdààšcáá  
 c'áascàʔáá làʔš dá- hi- ɬ- čìʔ k'ádée báʔ- dà š- cáá  
 young.man in.the.ground talk IPFV CLF talk now without.water<sup>9</sup> ? 1SG die  
 young.man in.the.ground he.spoke now I'm.dying.of.thirst  
 čìsìzìłxéé '  
 čìsìzìłxéé  
 I'm.starving  
 I'm.starving

'The young man spoke from the ground, and said 'Now, I'm dying of thirst. I'm starving.'

24 bàʔłbáá bíldààgóóc'ì?  
 bàʔłbáá bi- ɬ da- gó si- 0- c'ìiʔ  
 wolf 3 ? DISTR.PL ? PFV 3 dig.PFV  
 wolf they.dug.him.out  
 'The Gray wolves dug him out.'

25 háábìyéłč'íí c'áascàʔáá  
 hàà- bi- yéé- ɬ- č'íí c'áascàʔáá  
 out 3 3.PFV CLF handle.animate.PFV young.man  
 they.took.him.out young.man  
 kxóʔáłáá  
 kó ʔi- hi- d- láá  
 water INDF.OBJ IPFV CLF drink  
 he.drank.water

'They took him out of that hole. The young man drank water.'

26 bàʔłbáá ʔìšžáánáá ' nìčèè č'áłč'ìšš ' yìłnìš  
 bàʔłbáá ʔìšžáánáá nìčèè č'ì áh- ɬ- č'ìšš yì- ɬ- nìš  
 wolf old.woman ? 2DUPL CLF scatter.out.IPFV 3 CLF say.it.IPFV  
 wolf The Old Woman scatter.out she said to them  
 'The wolf said to the others, 'Scatter out.'

27 ' lèʔ λ'áàhàà bížàáyéé básáłxéé  
 lèʔ λ'áàhàà bi- žàáyéé bi- á- 0- si- 0- áh- ɬ- xéé  
 one Buffalo 3.POSS child 3 for 3 ? IPFV 2DUPL CLF kill.IPFV  
 one buffalo its.little.one kill.it.for.him  
 'Kill a young buffalo for him.'

<sup>9</sup> On one of his slips, Bittle identified this prefix as meaning 'endurance without water.' He included as evidence the forms: *šìbádèèh* 'I endure without water' and *báʔdèèh* 'prairie dog.'

28 čáádiłkxòòcéé bádáyiniíʔááʔ

čáádiłkxòòcéé bi- -a dá yi- ni- ʔáá,  
liver 3 toward.to ? 3 PFV handle.round.object.PFV  
liver bring.it.for.him

‘Bring the liver to him.’

29 yìyééńááʔ

yì- yéé- nááʔ  
3 3.PFV eat?  
he.ate.it

‘The wolves did this, and they brought the liver to the young man. He ate it.’

30 dèèńáá bìčìł'áá

dòòdáyìłhcéé

dèèńáá bi- čìł'áá, dòò- dá yi- hi- ł- céé  
man 3.POSS younger.brother NEG ? 3 IPFV CLF see.IPFV  
man his.brother he.could.not.find.him

bìčìł'áá

bi- čìł'áá  
3.POSS younger.brother  
his.brother

‘The man, who was searching for his brother, had not yet found him.’

31 bàʔłbáá ʔišžáánaá

čáʔbìcóóyáá

silíj

bàʔłbáá ʔišžáánaá čáʔ bi- \*cóóyáá, si- líj  
wolf old.woman ? 3.POSS grandparent PFV change.PFV.NEUT  
wolf The Old Woman his.grandmother she became

‘The old woman Gray wolf became the young man's mother and his grandmother.’

32 c'ááscàʔáá biywòòžàʔ

hààdiyíjśáá

c'ááscàʔáá bi- \*yiwòòžàʔ hàà- di yíj- śáá,  
young.man 3.POSS canine.tooth out ? 3.PFV grow.PFV  
young.man his.canine.teeth they.grew.out

‘His canine tooth grew out long.’

33 bíl'ààšgyàà,

dàànídèès

silíj

bi- \*l'ààšgyàà, da- ni- 0- dèès si- líj  
3.POSS fingernails DISTR.PL IPFV 3 be.long.IPFV PFV change.PFV.NEUT  
his.fingernails they.were.long they became

‘His finger nails grew long.’

34 c'áascàʔáá dą̀gòłgòòkxàʔyáá hł̀xılđáʔ  
 c'áascàʔáá dą̀gòłgòòkxàʔ yáá yi- 0- ł- xıl dáʔ  
 young.man camp toward.to PROG 3 CLF be.night.PROG on  
 young.man to.their.camp at.night

dılʔis ʔiciʔ nı̀dıyíʔı̄s  
 di 0- 0- ł- ʔis ʔiciʔ ni- di- yi- 0- ʔı̄s  
 ? IPFV 3 CLF run.SG meat ? FUT PROG 3 steal  
 he.goes meat he.stole.it.constantly

‘The young man went to their camp. At night, he would go about with them. He constantly stole meat with them.’

35 bícóóyáá bàʔłbáá ʔı̄sʒáánáá  
 bi- \*cóóyáá, bàʔłbáá ʔı̄sʒáánáá  
 3.POSS grandparent wolf old.woman  
 his.grandmother wolf The Old Woman

yádáyıʔı̄s  
 yi- á- dá- yi- 0- ʔı̄s  
 3 for ITER 3 3 handle.indefinite.objects.REP  
 he.brought.it.back.for.her

‘His grandmother, the old lady Gray wolf, he brought meat back for her.’

36 ʔálèʔéé ʔ'éég bégòc'ı̄ısiʔ  
 ʔálèʔéé ʔ'éég bi- égò č'i- sıʔ  
 one night 3 ? 4 learn.recognize  
 one night they.recognized.him

‘One night, the people recognized the young man.’

37 ‘ ʔı̄záá ʔiciʔ dą̀xıyá nı̀dàdıyíʔı̄ı? ’  
 ʔı̄záá ʔiciʔ dą̀xi- yá ni- da- di- yi- 0- ʔı̄ı?  
 someone meat 1DUPL ? ? DISTR.PL INC PROG 3 steal  
 someone meat ours they.are.stealing.it

‘They said ‘someone is stealing our meat.’’

38 yéłxéél bidááčidèèšžéé  
 yéł- 0- ł- xéél bi- dáá č'i- di- si- žéé  
 3.PFV 3 CLF be.night.PFV 3 ?<sup>10</sup> 4 down PFV lay.PL  
 it.got.dark they.lay.in.ambush.for.him

‘It got dark. They lay in ambush for him.’

<sup>10</sup> The *dáá-* prefix may at first look like the plural prefix *da-*, but Hoijer collected full paradigms of this verb and *dáá-* is present in all forms of all paradigms, even for singular forms.

39 t'é?nááč'iníít'i?                      bíldààc'idèèsdàà  
 t'é? náá- č'iníí d- ?i? bi- ł dà- č'i- di- si- dàà  
 ? SMLT ? CLF come 3 ? DISTR.PL 4 INC PFV chase.someone  
 there.he.came.again                      they.chased.him  
 č'išil                      c'ááscà?áá, hààyííčà?  
 č'i- si- šil c'ááscà?áá, hàà yi- 0- čà?  
 4 PFV catch young.man ? PFV 3 cry.PFV  
 they.caught.him young.man he.cried  
 'When he came to the camp, they caught him. He cried out.'

40 mífdàyáá,                      yič'i?                      hààyíížíí  
 mi- dàyáá, yi- č'i? hàà yi- 0- žíí  
 3.POSS brother.older 3 to ? PFV 3 speak.to.it  
 his.brother                      to.him he.spoke  
 ' dá?šiyíídíít'è? '                      yilniš  
 dá?i ši- yi- di- ł- t'è?                      yi- 0- ł- niš  
 ? 1sg PFV 2SG CLF throw.animate 3 3 CLF say.it.IPFV  
 you.threw.me.away                      he.said.to.them  
 'His brother came to him, and the young man said, 'You throw me away, let me go.''

41 ' ?ééšdòò ' niš                      c'ááscà?áá, dààžišžil  
 ?ééšdòò? niš                      c'ááscà?áá, dààžì si- 0- šil  
 no say.it.IPFV young.man ? PFV 3 catch  
 no he.said young.man they.caught.him  
 'No,' said his brother. The young man said,'

42 ' híłcécé                      sícóóyáá,                      bà?łbáá                      ?išžáánáá  
 hi íł- ł- cécé ši- \*cóóyáá,                      bà?łbáá                      ?išžáánáá  
 ? 2SG CLF see.IPFV 1SG.POSS grandparent wolf                      old.woman  
 wait                      my.grandmother                      Gray.Wolf                      The.Old.Woman  
 č'èènáádišgyéé                      ?ééžááyéé ?ááži?                      dádiyíšdáá '  
 č'èè náá- di š- gyéé ?ééžááyéé ?ááži?                      dá- di- yi- š- d- áá  
 ? SMLT ? 1SG ? afterwards to.here REV FUT PROG 1SG CLF walk.SG  
 I'll.see.her.again                      afterwards to.here I'll.return<sup>11</sup>  
 'I'll see my grandmother again. Afterwards, I'll return here.'

<sup>11</sup> Proto-Athabaskan \*y- > y- in Navajo and Jicarilla Apache, but ž- in Plains Apache (Hoiyer, 1938). The stem -ya in Navajo, cognate to -aa 'walk' in Plains Apache, has the variant -a. The variation existing in at least Proto-Apachean explains the variation in Plains Apache of -žaa- and -aa as stems. When these stems occur with a d- classifier, the stems then surface as -žaa and -daa.

43 bàʔhbaá ʔišžáánaá      bìywòòžàʔ      bíflààšgyàà,  
 bàʔhbaá ʔišžáánaá      bi-      \*ɣwòòžàʔ      bi-      \*lààšgyàà,  
 wolf      old.woman      3.POSS      canine.tooth      3.POSS      fingernails  
 wolf      The.Old.Woman      his.canine.teeth      his.fingernails

góbáʔádaádàyiilàà,  
 góbáʔádaádàyiilàà,

she.made.them.so.again.for.him

‘So he went off to see his grandmother. She made his teeth and his fingernails short again.’

44 míidàyáá,      yìyànáážáá      míidàyáá,  
 mi-      dàyáá,      yi-      yà      náá-      d-      žáá      mi-      dàyáá,  
 3.POSS      brother.older      3      ʔ<sup>12</sup>      SMLT      CLF      walk.SG      3.POSS      brother.older  
 his.brother      he.returned.to.him      his.brother

yìlgóótniʔ

yi-      lgó      0-      0-      ɫ-      niʔ  
 3      ?      IPFV      3      CLF      tell.or.narrate

he.told.him

‘He returned to his brother. He told him’

45 ‘ dič'èècéé      ʔáát'áá, gòsbiʔižàʔèè      ʔèègògòwééč'iì      ʔáát'éʔèè  
 di-      č'èècéé      ʔáát'áá, gòsbiʔ      ʔižàʔèè      ʔèè      go-      gò      wéé-      c'iìʔ      ʔáát'éʔèè  
 2SG.POSS      woman      it.was      tipi      inside      ?      PL      ?      3.PFV      dig.PFV      right.there  
 your.wives      it.was      inside.the.tipi      they.dug.a.hole      right.there

‘It was your wives that buried me. They dug a hole in my tipi, right there.’

46 ʔigòʔáá,      č'i'yééłiš      ʔáát'éʔèè      séé  
 ʔi-      gòʔáá,      č'i-      yi-      éé-      ɫ-      λiš      ʔáát'éʔèè      séé  
 INDF.POSS      hole      animate.fall      PFV      1SG      CLF      animate.fall.PFV      right.there      dirt  
 hole      I.fell.in      right.there      dirt

šdààgòyidèènízíí ’

ši-      dààgò      yi-      dèèníí      zíí  
 1SG      ?      3      ?      cover.it.up

they.covered.it.on.me

‘I fell in the hole, and they covered me with dirt. They covered me up.’

<sup>12</sup> Bittle recorded other forms for ‘to return to someone,’ all with the prefix yà-. This may be either a thematic or adverbial prefix.

47 míídà'yáá,                      bíłgòdèèyíínì  
 mi-      dà'yáá,                      bi-    łgòdè    yíí-      nìì?  
 3.POSS    brother.older    3      ?            3.PFV    be.angry.PFV  
 his.brother                      he.became.angry<sup>13</sup>  
 'His brother became angry.'

48 bič'èèč'áá,                      dòògààč'íí    ʔizíłxéé  
 bi-      č'èèč'áá,                      dòògààč'íí    ʔi-              si-      0-      0-      ł-      xéé  
 3.POSS    woman    skunk                      INDF.OBJ    ADV    IPFV    3      CLF    kill.IPFV  
 his.wife                      skunk                      he.killed.it  
 yíížó?dá?                      dà?idiłžiš  
 yi-      -žó?dá?                      da-      ʔi-              ni-      ł-      žiš  
 3      on.one's.back    ADV    INDF.OBJ    PFV    CLF    cut.or.slice.PFV  
 on.her.back                      he.cut.it.off  
 'He killed one of his wives, and cut a piece from her back.'

49 lèʔhíídó?    bič'èèč'áá,                      nááhizèèsgyéé                      bààgóóč'idáá,  
 lèʔhíídó?    bi-      č'èèč'áá,                      náá-      hì    si-      si-      d-      xéé      bààgóóč'idáá,  
 another.one    3.POSS    woman    SMLT    ?    ADV    PFV    CLF    kill.PFV    badger  
 another.one    his.wife                      he.killed.her.too                      badger  
 yíížó?dá?                      hààyiyééłžiš  
 yi-      -žó?dá?                      hàà-      yi-      yéé-      ł-      žiš  
 3      on.one's.back    out      3      3.PFV    CLF    cut.or.slice.PFV  
 on.her.back                      he.cut.it.out  
 'He killed the other wife, and cut a piece from her back.'

50 bič'èèč'éeé                      yiyééyáá,                      šá?bič'íl'áá,                      bilížóó,  
 bi-      č'èèč'éeé    yi-      yéé-      yáá,    šá?    bi-      č'íl'áá,    bi-      lí-      0-      žóó,  
 3.POSS    woman    3      3.PFV    ?    and.his.brother    3      ?      3      esteem.or.love  
 his.wives                      he.killed.them                      he.loved.him  
 'Then he killed them. (The first piece became a skunk, and the other became a badger.) He loved his brother.'

<sup>13</sup> Both Bittle and Hoijer recorded paradigms of this verb, though neither offered any insight about the meaning of the morphemes. Their paradigms clearly show that the subject of the English sentence is the object of the Plains Apache sentence (*bi-* in this form).

## 2.2 *The Uniqueness of the Chalepah-Hoijer Version*

In addition to the Chalepah-Hoijer version of this narrative, there are three other versions, all told by Tennyson Berry. In Plains Apache there is the Berry-Goddard (1911) and Berry-Bittle (1953) versions, in addition to an English telling of the story in 1969 to Bittle. The three versions told by Berry are not identical, but the version told by Chalepah is notably unique from all of them.

The Chalepah-Hoijer version is the only version in which the man has two wives instead of one. In Berry's two later tellings (1953, 1969), the wolves are the ones who kill the jealous wife, by eating her when they are called by the younger brother. In the Chalepah-Hoijer and Berry-Goddard versions, the wife (or wives) is killed by the husband. The Berry-Goddard version even notes that the husband killed the wife 'like a dog'.

The Chalepah-Hoijer version is also the only version that uses this narrative to describe how skunk and badger got their telltale white stripes. At the end of the Plains Apache transcription of the story, Hoijer noted in his notebook 'cut a piece from the back- thus the white stripe on the skunk'. In the English free translation, Chalepah summed this up by stating 'The first piece became a skunk, and the other became a badger,' information which is not made explicit in the Apache version of the text. Chalepah's word for badger is also entirely different from the one used by Berry and the several other speakers Bittle worked with during the years that he collected Plains Apache word forms onto over 7,000 slip files. Where Chalepah calls the badger *bààgóóóč'idááá*, Berry and others referred to it by *hàc'íyààsé*, which they translated as 'he scratched dirt out', 'he scratched a hole', and 'scratch-outer'<sup>14</sup>.

Additionally, based on other stories and conversations collected by Bittle from several other speakers, there is a different story that explains how the skunk became white-striped. In this story, when Coyote and the other animals play a handgame, skunk loses, has his hair cut, and then his hair grows back white.

## 4. New Analyses from the Text

Plains Apache is an under-studied language, with no dictionary or grammar and only a few publications offering any linguistic descriptions and analyses (Hoijer 1938, 1943, 1945, 1946a, 1946b, 1949, Bittle 1956, 1964, Hardy 1979, Collins 1983, Liebe-Harkort 1984, 1985, de Reuse 2001, Morgan 2012, Morgan 2013)<sup>15</sup>.

### 4.1 *The Yi-/Bi- Alternation*

As previously mentioned, the third person object prefixes in Plains Apache (*yi-* and *bi-*) have a specific but complex distribution. The *yi-/bi-* alternation is a famous problem in Apachean languages and has been extensively studied (Shayne 1982, Sandoval & Jelinek 1989, Thompson 1996, Willie 2000). According to Bittle's original analysis of the problem in Plains Apache, when the subject of the verb is third person, *yi-* is used for both indirect and direct objects (1963). But when the subject of the verb is anything other than third person, the third person direct object is unmarked on the verb and *bi-* or *mi-* is used for the third person indirect object (Bittle, 1963). However, the problem in Plains Apache is not so simply solved as Bittle suggested. Consider (18), where the subject in each sentence is third person and, by Bittle's analysis, should both carry *yi-*.

<sup>14</sup> *-yààs* is the verb stem for 'scratch', and *hà-* is likely a postposition meaning 'out (of an enclosed space)'.

<sup>15</sup> Hoijer undoubtedly used his knowledge of Plains Apache in his series on the Apachean verb, but very few of his publications actually cite Plains Apache data.

(18) (a) léčù yééšk<sup>h</sup>ààł  
 léčù yi-        ø-        si- ø- k<sup>h</sup>ààł  
 horse 3SG.OBJ- 3SG.SBJ-PFV-CLF-kick  
 ‘He kicked the horse.’ (O’Neill, 2008)

(b) léčù bíšk<sup>h</sup>ààł  
 léčù bi-        ø-        si- ø- k<sup>h</sup>ààł  
 horse 3SG.OBJ- 3SG.SBJ-PFV-CLF-kick  
 ‘The horse kicked him.’ (O’Neill, 2008)

Bittle’s analysis of *yi-/bi-* in Plains Apache is obviously insufficient. Another researcher, Liebe-Harkort (1985) briefly commented on the problem in Plains Apache, essentially comparing the distribution in Plains Apache to an analysis of Navajo by Witherspoon (1977). Liebe-Harkort concluded that the *bi-* structures of Plains Apache are causatives, where the valence of the verb is increased to allow three arguments, two of which are co-indexed (1985). However, Liebe-Harkort’s analysis of *bi-* constructions as causatives seems unnecessarily complex. While a causative may be a better English translation of these sentences, this does not mean that the structure of the Plains Apache verbs with *bi-* produces a causative. Considering that these pronouns have been shown to be part of a complex system of voice, animacy hierarchy, discourse patterns, and semantics in other Apachean languages (see Willie 2000 for Navajo, Shayne 1982 for San Carlos Apache), Plains Apache likely has a similar system.

Navajo is described as having direct and inverse voice forms, where (18b) would be in the inverse voice and translated as ‘he was kicked by the horse’ (Willie 2000). In the inverse voice, the patient becomes the topicalized subject, viewed as a backgrounded argument, and the agent becomes the focused argument (Willie 2000). The alternation of *bi-* for *yi-* is required when the agent is of higher animacy than the patient (e.g. a horse acting on a human, as in example 18b) and is optional when the arguments are of equal animacy (Willie 2000). While these are translated into English as a passive, they are not passives, as the inverse has two arguments and is a transitive.

Willie’s (2000) analysis of the *yi-/bi-* distribution based on hierarchy and topicality is also plausible for the Plains Apache data. Looking at the text, we see examples of lower animacy agents, like the wolves, acting on a higher animacy patient, the younger brother.

(19) **bìldààgóóc’ì?**  
 ‘They dug him out.’ (line 24)

(20) **háábìyééłc’íí**  
 ‘They took him out.’ (line 25)

As predicted in Willie’s analysis, these verbs take *bi-* to refer to the higher animacy patient, the younger brother. In the text, there are also examples of equal animacy arguments, as when the younger brother and the other people from the camp interact.

(21) **bìdááçidèèšžéé**  
 ‘They lay in ambush for him.’ (line 38)

(22) **bìldààc'idèèsdàà**  
 'They chased him.' (line 39)

(23) **yádáyíʔìš**  
 'He brought it back for her.' (line 35)

All arguments in (21)-(23) are of equal animacy. However, they are not of equal topicality in the story. Again applying Willie's hypothesis for Navajo to Plains Apache, the alternation here is understood as being triggered by a minor character acting on a major character in the story. The use of *bi-*, what Willie calls the inverse voice, topicalizes the patient, in (21) and (22) the young man, into the subject role. (23) does not undergo this process, since the young man is already the subject of the verb.

While an initial look at the data supports Willie's (2000) analysis in Navajo, the alternation of *yi-/bi-* is a problem in need of further analysis in Plains Apache, one that incorporates all of the known text material. The author is compiling a database of Plains Apache texts and hopes to further analyze the *yi-/bi-* alternation in the future.

#### 4.2 Aspect

The aspectual system of Plains Apache has barely been described in any publications, only being mentioned in asides and endnotes in an analysis of Navajo (Hardy 1979) and briefly described in Plains Apache for only a specific subset of verbs (Morgan 2013). Given the lack of fluent first language speakers, the analysis of texts will likely be the best means for analyzing aspect in Plains Apache. Closely related languages like Navajo and Jicarilla Apache have extensive aspectual systems, with at least a dozen aspects that are in part marked with aspectual prefixes and distinctive verb stem shapes or variations in verb stem shape (Young 2000, Hardy 1979, Axelrod 2007). Plains Apache also has a similar aspectual system, and the analysis of this text has revealed evidence for the semeliterative and reversionary aspects. In determining aspect in Plains Apache, I have referred to descriptions of the two closely related languages of Navajo and Jicarilla Apache (Hardy 1979, Young et al. 1992, Young 2000, Axelrod 2007).

The SEMELITERATIVE ASPECT in Plains Apache, like in Navajo, indicates a single repetition of an action described by the verb (Young et al. 1992). In Plains Apache, the semeliterative aspect is marked by the prefix *náá-* in position 11 and the *d-* classifier.

(24) **yìyànáážáá** (line 44)  
 yi-yà-náá-0-0-d-žáá  
 3OBJ-?-SMLT-IPFV-3SBJ-CLF-walk.SG  
 'He returned to him.'

(25) **nááhizèèsgyéé,** (line 49)  
 náá-hì-si-si-0-d-xéé  
 SMLT-?-ADV-PFV-3SBJ-CLF-to.kill.PFV  
 'He killed her too.'

Perhaps the most telling example, (25), occurs at the end of the story, when the man kills one wife, and then immediately kills the other. This second verb in (25) is marked with the semeliterative to indicate the single repetition.

The REVERSIONARY ASPECT in Plains Apache, as in Navajo, indicates the return to a previous state. In the text, this aspect is used to refer to returning to camp. The reversionary is marked by the prefix *dá-* in position 11 and the *d-* classifier.

- (26) *dádìyíšdáá* (line 42)  
*dá-dì-yi-š-d-áá*  
 REV-FUT-PROG-1SG-CLF-walk.SG  
 ‘I’ll return.’
- (27) *náážáá* (line 14)  
*dá-ni-0-d-žáá*  
 REV-ADV-3SBJ-CLF-walk.SG  
 ‘He returned.’

If the reversionary aspect co-occurs with the semeliterative, the reversionary appears first (as in Navajo).

- (28) *dánáážáá?* (line 10)  
*dá-náá-si-0-d-žáá?*  
 REV-SMLT-PFV-3SBJ-CLF-go.walk.SG.PFV  
 ‘He came back again.’

## 5. Conclusions

This paper presents the first publication of a Plain Apache text. The text was originally transcribed by Hoijer from native speaker Alonzo Chalepah, Sr. Hoijer then collected slip files of paradigms based on words from the text. In total, Hoijer collected six texts and over 900 slip files. Hoijer’s student Bittle later worked with Plains Apache and created the largest collection of data, including six texts and over 7,000 slip files. During this time, though the exact date is unknown, Bittle also collected free English translations of Hoijer’s original Plains Apache transcriptions of his six texts, including *Dèènáá Bìč’èèčéé Bìč’ì’áá*. The presentation of the text in this paper combines the transcription and free translation, each of which had been housed at separate archives. In this paper, I additionally include morphemic analysis that combines the knowledge captured on Hoijer and Bittle’s slip files with the Chalepah-Hoijer transcription of the text and with the free translation. I have also discussed new analyses found in the text concerning third person object prefixes, which appear to follow Willie’s (2000) hypothesis for Navajo, and aspectual marking on the verb, describing the semeliterative and reversionary aspects.

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