

Ives Goddard, 1994,

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Critical Edition.

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Appendix

Verbal Inflections

Bloomfield included five pages of verbal inflectional affixes at the end of his manuscript. He listed each pronominal category or subject-object combination on a separate line followed by the suffixes or prefix-suffix combinations for all the attested modes in a standard order. The modes were unlabeled but in the same order in which they were discussed in Bloomfield (1925-1927, 2:194-219): independent, dubitative, imperative, prohibitive, potential, conjunct, negative-iterative, injunctive, subjunctive, unreal, conjunct participle, interrogative, interrogative participle. Almost all of the affixes given were based on textual attestations, which were entered in the slip file; a few were supported only by forms in JS.

In the present edition these lists have been replaced by separate tables of paradigms, one for each of the major modal types. The affixes given are largely derived from texts, building on Bloomfield's work. Some gaps, including much of the dubitative paradigm, were filled in following Voorhis (1971) or on the basis of my fieldwork (1990-1993); a few inflections attested only in JS were included when there was good indirect supporting evidence from paradigmatic structure or from Kickapoo. The dash (–) indicates the position taken by the verb stem. A dash by itself indicates an accidental gap in attestation. A double dash (– –) indicates a systematic gap, as in the case of reciprocal subject-object combinations, which cannot be marked inflectionally. A blank is left where the status of the gap is uncertain and where the pronominal category on the left cannot appear with a given stem type.

The order of the tables is: independent, independent of diminutive stems, dubitative, imperative and injunctive, prohibitive, potential, conjunct, conjunct of diminutive stems, interrogative. The modes not tabulated can be described by how they differ from the dubitative, conjunct, or interrogative; these are the assertive, conclusive, negative-iterative, subjunctive, unreal (perhaps better called preterite), conjunct participle, prioritive, and interrogative participle. Of these, Bloomfield did not describe the assertive and conclusive, which are modes of the independent order, or the prioritive, a mode of the interrogative order. The assertive emphatically asserts a statement. The conclusive states an emphatic or surprised conclusion, often contrastive. The prioritive is used with the preverb *me'hi* 'yet' to mean 'before (in the past)' and with the particle *metwi* (or stems containing an initial *metw-*) and usually a negative for third-person statements of exasperation meaning 'it's about time; why not before now'. The functions of the other modes and submodes are given by Bloomfield (1925-1927). One correction to be made is the recognition of the distinctness of the changed interrogative, which indicates hypothetical conditions ('if it should be that'); some apparent changed interrogatives in JT are errors for simple

interrogatives.

The formation of the untabulated modes can be described as follows.

(1) Assertive (third person only): replace dubitative *-toke* with *-pani*, and *-toke'hiki* with *-paniki*.

(2) Conclusive: (third person) replace dubitative *-toke* with *-hapa*, and *-toke'hiki* with *-hapaniki*; also attested: AI *ne-pahapa* '1', *-pehapa* 'X', TA *ne-eko'hapaniki* '3p-1s', *ke-eko-pahapa* 'X-2s'.

(3) Negative-iterative: replace final *-i* or *-e* of the conjunct by *-ini* (except that *-enako'we* '1s-2p' is unmodified). The iterative has initial change.

(4) Subjunctive: replace the final *-i* or *-e* of the conjunct by *-e*, changing *-či* to *-te*.

(5) Unreal: replace the final *-i* or *-e* of the conjunct by *-ehe*, changing *-či* to *-tehe* and changing *-kwe* to *-koha* (*-enako'we* '1s-2p' is unmodified). The simple unreal functions as a past subjunctive. The aorist unreal is a removed past corresponding to the aorist conjunct; it often appears with *-ye'toke* 'perhaps' and sometimes with *keye'hapa* 'as it turns out'. The changed unreal seems to be found only after *keye'hapa*. Unreal participles refer to a removed past; they are homophonous with the changed unreal or (with locative obliques) the aorist unreal. Since nothing may follow the suffix *-ehe* (*-oha*), the different modes and the participial heads are not differentiated in the usual ways.

(6) Conjunct participle (with initial change): replace the final *-i* or *-e* of the conjunct by an ending agreeing with the gender, number, and obviation of the head of the participial clause (relative clause) – an. sg. *-a* (changing *-či* to *-ta*), an. pl. *-iki*, obv. sg. or inan. pl. *-ini*, obv. pl. *-ihi* (*-enako'we* '1s-2p' is unmodified). Inanimate singular participles are identical with the corresponding changed conjunct form, and obviative singular and inanimate plural participles are identical with the corresponding iterative. Participles with locative obliques as head have the proclitic preverb *e'h=* instead of initial change; they may be pluralized with *-ini*.

(7) Prioritive: replace the final *-e'ni* of the interrogative by *-e*; replace final *-kwe'hiki* (3pl) by *-wa'kwe*. Probably initial change is present, but the usual presence of a preverb *pwa'wi* or *me'hi* makes the change invisible.

(8) Interrogative participle (with initial change): modify the interrogative ending to show agreement with the head of the participial clause. Replace *-e'ni* by *-e'na* (an. sg.), *-e'hiki* (an. pl.), *-e'hini* (obv. sg. or inan. pl.), *-e'hihi* (obv. pl.). Replace *-kwe'hiki* by *-wa'kwe'hini* (obv. sg.); a corresponding obviative plural is not attested. Animate plural participles retain *-kwe'hiki* making them homonymous with the changed interrogative, but in the AI *-kwe'hiki* is optionally replaced by *-wa'kwe'hiki*. The inanimate singular participle is homophonous with the changed interrogative. Interrogative participles with locative obliques as head have the proclitic preverb *e'h=* instead of initial change.

A small number of forms are attested with endings resembling those of the Cree relative: AI stem or TA or TI theme followed by *-(o)w-* and an ending matching that of the TA. These indicate the peripheral involvement of an animate third person, such as a nominal adjunct or the subject of a higher clause. The attested endings of this type are: (conjunct; inanimate conjunct participle) AI (and TI2) *-waki* '1s' ('1s-0'), AI (and TI2) *-weči* 'X' ('X-0'), TI1 *-amoweči*

'X-0', TA *-iweči* 'X-1s'; (potential) TI2 *-wene'ha* 'X-0'; interrogative participle AI (and TI2) *-wa'te'ni* 'X (inan. sg.)' ('X-0 (inan. sg.)'), TI1 *-amowa'te'ni* 'X-0 (inan. sg.)', TA *-a'wa'te'na* 'X-3 (an. sg.)', *-ema'wa'te'hini* 'X-3' (obv. sg.)'.

Some AI and II endings have variants selected by different inflectional classes. The AI classes are: vowel stems, retaining consonant stems, and deleting consonant stems; the II has vowel stems and consonant stems. The AI deleting consonant stems all end in *n*, but some retaining consonant stems also end in *n*. Where the stem-class variants are given in the tables the ending used after vowel stems is given first, and the second variant is placed beneath it and indented. (Optional variants are not indented.) With AI stems the second variant in some cases is used after all consonant stems and in other cases is used after only one subclass of consonant stems; the notes to the tables specify the details. AI deleting consonant stems and all II stems in *n* delete their final *n* before *k*, *hk*, *n*, or *č*; *n-hk* gives plain *k*. II stems in *t* optionally replace the *t* by *h* before *k*. A stem-final consonant in word-final position or retained before another consonant other than *w* adds *e*. Endings given with an initial length mark (·) lengthen stem-final short vowels; the ending given with initial (*e*) inserts *e* after all consonant stems.

In the tables the pronominal categories listed at the left are the subjects and those listed at the top are the objects, except in the TA inverse (with theme sign *-ekw*, *-eko*, *-eko*; *-ekwi*) where these roles are reversed. Labels of the form "2s-1s" indicate the subject (before the dash) and the object (after the dash) of certain forms of the TA. The abbreviations used for the pronominal categories are as follows:

- 0 = third person inanimate, singular or plural
- 0s = third person inanimate singular
- 0p = third person inanimate plural
- 0', 0's, 0'p = inanimate obviatives (either number, singular, and plural)
- 1s = first person singular
- 1p = first person plural exclusive (excluding addressee)
- 12 = first person plural inclusive (including addressee)
- 2 = second person, singular or plural
- 2s = second person singular
- 2p = second person plural
- 3 = third person proximate (non-obviative), singular or plural
- 3s = third person proximate singular
- 3p = third person proximate plural
- 3', 3's, 3'p = animate obviatives (either number, singular, and plural)
- 3'' = third person further obviative, singular or plural
- X = indefinite ('one, they (general reference), we (general reference)')

Independent

	AI, TI2, II	TI1	TA	
			Theme 1 (Direct)	
			-3s	-3p
1s	ne -	ne - a	ne - a·wa	ne - a·waki
2s	ke -	ke - a	ke - a·wa	ke - a·waki
1p	ne - pena	ne - a·pena		ne - a·pena
12	ke - pena	ke - a·pena		ke - a·pena
2p	ke - pwa	ke - a·pwa		ke - a·pwa
3s	-wa	-amwa		-e·wa (3s-3')
3p	-waki	-amo·ki		-e·waki (3p-3')
	-o·ki			
3's	-niwani	-aminiwani		-e·niwani (3's-3'')
3'p	-niwahi	-aminiwahi		-e·niwahi (3'p-3'')
X	-pi	-a·pi		
0s	-wi	-amo·mikatwi		
0p	-wani	-		
	-o·ni			
0's	-niwi	-		
0'p	-niwani	-		

NOTES. AI and II variants: *-waki* and *-wani* after vowel stems, *-o·ki* and *-o·ni* after consonant stems.

TA			
Theme 2 (Inverse)		Themes 1 & 2 (Passive)	Theme 2 (Inanimate Subject)
3s-	3p-	X-	0-
ne-ekwa	ne-eko'ki	ne-eko'pi	ne-ekwi
ke-ekwa	ke-eko'ki	ke-eko'pi	ke-ekwi
ne-ekona'na	ne-ekona'naki	ne-eko'pena	ne-ekwipena
ke-ekona'na	ke-ekona'naki	ke-eko'pena	ke-ekwipena
ke-ekowa'wa	ke-ekowa'waki	ke-eko'pwa	ke-ekwipwa
-ekwa (3'-3s)		-a'pi	-ekwiwa
-eko'ki (3'-3p)		-a'pi	-ekwiwaki
-ekoniwani (3''-3's)		-ema'pi	-ekwiniwani
-ekoniwahi (3''p-3'p)		-ema'pi	-ekwiniwahi
			-ekwipi

TA Theme 3

ke-i (2s-1s)

ke-ipwa (2p-1s)

ke-ipena (2-1p)

TA Theme 4

ke-ene (1s-2s)

ke-enepwa (1s-2p)

ke-enepena (1p-2)

Independent of Diminutive Stems

	AI, TI2, II	TI1	TA Theme 1 (Direct) -3
1s	ne - ·hi	ne - amo·hi	ne - e·hi
2s	ke - ·hi	ke - amo·hi	ke - e·hi
1p	ne - ·hipena	ne - amo·hipena	ne - e·hipena
12	ke - ·hipena	ke - amo·hipena	ke - e·hipena
2p	ke - ·hipwa	ke - amo·hipwa	ke - e·hipwa
3s	- ·hiwa	- amo·hiwa	- e·hiwa (3s-3')
3p	- ·hiwaki	- amo·hiwaki	- e·hiwaki (3p-3')
3's	- ·hiniwani	-	-
3'p	- ·hiniwahi	-	-
X	- ·hipi	- amo·hipi	
0s	- ·hiwi	-	
0p	- ·hiwani	-	
0's	- ·hiniwi	-	
0'p	-	-	

NOTES. AI and II variants: The endings given with -·hi have -o·hi after consonant stems.

Theme 2 (Inverse)		TA	
3s-	3p-	Themes 1 & 2 (Passive) X-	Theme 2 (Inanimate Subject) 0-
ne-eko·hiwa	ne-eko·hiwaki	ne-eko·hipi	ne-ekwi·hi
ke-eko·hiwa	ke-eko·hiwaki	ke-eko·hipi	ke-ekwi·hi
ne-eko·hena·na	ne-eko·hena·naki	ne-eko·hipena	ne-ekwi·hipena
ke-eko·hena·na	ke-eko·hena·naki	ke-eko·hipena	ke-ekwi·hipena
ke-eko·hwa·wa	ke-eko·hwa·waki	ke-eko·hipwa	ke-ekwi·hipwa
-eko·hiwa (3'-3s)		-e·hipi	-ekwi·hiwa
-eko·hiwaki (3'-3p)		-e·hipi	-ekwi·hiwaki
-		-eme·hipi	-ekwi·hiniwani
-		-	-

TA Theme 3

ke-i·hi (2s-1s)

ke-i·hipwa (2p-1s)

ke-i·hipena (2-1p)

TA Theme 4

(No diminutives are made on Theme 4.)

Dubitative

	AI, TI2, II	TI1	TA
			Theme 1 (Direct) -3
1s	ne-petoke	ne-a'petoke	ne-a'petoke
2s	ke-petoke	ke-a'petoke	ke-a'petoke
1p	ne-pena'toke	ne-a'pena'toke	ne-a'pena'toke
12	ke-pena'toke	ke-a'pena'toke	ke-a'pena'toke
2p	ke-pwa'toke	ke-a'pwa'toke	ke-a'pwa'toke
3s	-toke -o'toke	-amo'toke	-e'toke (3s-3')
3p	-toke'hiki -o'toke'hiki	-amo'toke'hiki	-e'toke'hiki (3p-3')
3'	-ni'toke	-amini'toke	
X	-petoke	-a'petoke	
0s	-toke -o'toke	-	
0p	-toke'hini -o'toke'hini	-	
0's	-ni'toke	-	
0'p	-ni'toke'hini	-	

NOTES. AI and II variants: The endings beginning with *-o'toke* are used after consonant stems.

Theme 2 (Inverse)		TA	
3s-	3p-	Themes 1 & 2 (Passive) X-	Theme 2 (Inanimate Subject) 0-
ne-eko'toke	ne-eko'toke'hiki	ne-eko'petoke	ne-ekwipetoke
ke-eko'toke	ke-eko'toke'hiki	ke-eko'petoke	ke-ekwipetoke
ne-ekona'toke	ne-ekona'toke'hiki	ne-eko'pena'toke	ne-ekwipena'toke
ke-ekona'toke	ke-ekona'toke'hiki	ke-eko'pena'toke	ke-ekwipena'toke
ke-ekowa'toke	ke-ekowa'toke'hiki	ke-eko'pwa'toke	ke-ekwipwa'toke
-eko'toke (3'-3s)		-a'petoke	-ekwi'toke
-eko'toke'hiki (3'-3p)		-a'petoke	-ekwi'toke'hiki
		-ema'petoke	

TA Theme 3

ke-ipetoke (2s-1s)

ke-ipwa'toke (2p-1s)

ke-ipena'toke (2-1p)

TA Theme 4

ke-enepetoke (1s-2s)

ke-enepwa'toke (1s-2p)

ke-enepena'toke (1p-2)

Imperative and Injunctive

	AI, TI2	TI1	TA
			-3(')
2s	-no -eno	-ano	-i
12	-ta·we -ta·ke	-a·ta·we	-a·ta·we -a·ta·ke
2p	-ko -oko	-amoko	-ehko
3s	-če -eče	-ače	-a·če
3p	-wa·če	-amowa·če	-a·wa·če
3'	-niče	-aminiče	
0	-če		
0'	-niče		

NOTES. The second-person- and first-person-inclusive –subject forms are classed in the imperative mode, and the third-person –subject forms in the injunctive.

AI stem-class variants: *-eno* '2s' and *-oko* '2p' are used after all consonant stems; *-eče* '3s' is used after retaining consonant stems only.

In the first-person-inclusive endings those with *-ta·ke* are the younger variants (Voorhis 1971:68) beside those with *-ta·we*, which predominate in the texts.

TA				
-1s	-1p	-2s	-12	-2p
-ino	-ina·ke	--	--	--
--	--	--	--	--
-iko	-ina·ke	--	--	--
-iče	-iyameče	-eneče	-enakoče	-enwa·če
-iwa·če	-iyameče	-eneče	-enakoče	-enwa·če

Prohibitive

	AI, TI2, II	TI1	TA	
			-3	-3'
1s	-hka	-aka	-iye·ka	
1p	-hka·ke	-aka·ke	-iye·ka·ke	
2s	-hkani	-akani -amo·hkani	-iye·kani -a·hkani	
12	-hkakwe	-akakwe	-iye·kakwe	
2p	-hke·ko	-ake·ko	-iye·ke·ko -a·hke·ko	
3s	-hkiče	-akiče	--	-iye·kiče -a·hkiče
3p	-hkiwa·če -wa·hkiče	-akiwa·če -amowa·hkiče	--	-iye·kiwa·če -a·wa·hkiče
3'	-nihkiče	-aminihkiče	<u>-3s</u> -ekohkiče	<u>-3p</u> -ekowa·hkiče
0	-hkiče	-	-	-
0'	-nihkiče			
X	-hki·ke	-aki·ke	<u>-3</u> -iye·ki·ke	<u>-3'</u> -

NOTES. Where there are doublets for second-person-subject forms the second variant seems to be used optionally for future imperatives.

Of the third-person-subject forms *-iye·kiče* '3s-3' is attested for an undesirable past event (JT 292.3) and *-a·hkiče* '3s-3'

for a desirable future event (AR40: 308.8). In the doublets with third plural subjects, the only variants that seem to be attested in texts are some of those listed second.

TA				
-1s	-1p	-2s	-12	-2p
--	--	-enaka	--	-enaka
--	--	-enaka·ke	--	-enaka·ke
-ihkani	-ihka·ke	--	--	--
--	--	--	--	--
-ihke·ko	-ihka·ke	--	--	--
-ihkiče	-iyamehkiče -iyamihkiče	-enakiče	-enakakwe	-enaka·kwe
-ihkiwa·če	-iyamihkiwa·če			
-iwa·hkiče	(or 3-1p form)			
-inihkiče	-iyaminihkiče (or 3-1p form)			
-ekwihka	-	-ekwihkani	-	-ekwihke·ko
-ihki·ke	-i·namihki·ke	-enaki·ke	-enakakwe	-enaka·kwe

The form *-iyamehkiče* '3s-1p' is from a text (JT 370.12). The forms *-iyamihkiče* '3s-1p', *-iyamihkiwa·če* '3p-1p', *-iyaminihkiče* '3'-1p', and *-i·namihki·ke* 'X-1p' were obtained by elicitation.

Potential

	AI, TI2, II	TI1	TA	
			-3	-3'
1s	-hka·ha	-aka·ha	-iye·ka·ha	
1p	-hka·kehe	-aka·kehe	-iye·ka·kehe	
2s	-hkapa	-akapa	-iye·kapa	
12	-hkakoha	-akakoha	-iye·kakoha	
2p	-hke·koha	-ake·koha	-iye·ke·koha	
3s	-sa	-asa	--	-a·sa
3p	-wa·sa	-amowa·sa	--	-a·wa·sa
3'	-nisa	-aminisa	<u>-3s</u> -ekosa	<u>-3p</u> -ekowa·sa
0	-sa	-	-ekwisa	-ekwiwa·sa
0'	-nisa			
X	-ne·ha	-ane·ha	<u>-3</u> -ene·ha	<u>-3'</u> -emene·ha

NOTES. The variant *-i·namene·ha* 'X-1p' is textually attested; *-i·namine·ha* is the contemporary form.

Beside *-enaka·wa·hi* '1s-2p', the more recent form *-enaka·wa·ha* (Voorhis 1971:69) is also found in texts. There is one example of *-enaka·ha* '1s-2s' apparently used for '1s-2p' (JT 58.23).

A variant *-enenene·ha* (AR40: 80.26 ms.) for *-enene·ha* 'X-2s' is presumably an error.

TA				
-1s	-1p	-2s	-12	-2p
--	--	-enaka·ha	--	-enaka·wa·hi -enaka·wa·ha
--	--	-enaka·kehe	--	-enaka·kehe
-ihkapa	-ihka·kehe	--	--	--
--	--	--	--	--
-ihke·koha	-ihka·kehe	--	--	--
-isa	-iyamesa	-enesa	-enakosa	-enwa·sa
-iwa·sa	-iyamesa	-enesa	-enakosa	-enwa·sa
-				
-ekwihka·ha	-	-ekwihkapa	-	-ekwihke·koha
-ine·ha	-i·namene·ha -i·namine·ha	-enene·ha	-	-

Conjunct

	AI, TI2, II	TI1	TA	
			-3	-3'
1s	-ya·ni -a·ni	-ama·ni	-aki	-emaki
1p	-ya·ke -a·ke	-ama·ke	-akeči	-emakeči
2s	-yani -ani	-amani	-ači	-emači
12	-yakwe -akwe	-amakwe	-akwe	-emakwe
2p	-ye·kwe -e·kwe	-ame·kwe	-e·kwe	-eme·kwe
3s	-či -ki	-aki	--	-a·či (-a·niči 3'-3'')
3p	-wa·či -owa·či	-amowa·či	--	-a·wa·či
3'	-niči	-aminiči	<u>-3s</u> -ekoči	<u>-3p</u> -ekowa·či (-ekoniči 3''-3')
0	-ki	-amo·mihakki -amo·mikateki	-ekwiči	-ekwiwa·či (-ekwiniči 0-3')
0'	-niki	-amo·mikateniki		
X	-(e)ki	-ameki	<u>-3</u> -eči	<u>-3'</u> -emeči

NOTES. AI stem-class variants: The endings beginning with y are used after vowel stems and retaining consonant stems (which add *e*); the variants without y are used after deleting consonant stems. Third-person *-či* and *-wa·či* are used after vowel stems, *-ki* and *-owa·či* after all consonant stems. The indefinite-subject ending *-(e)ki* is *-ki* after vowel stems, and *-eki* after all consonant stems.

TA				
-1s	-1p	-2s	-12	-2p
--	--	-ena'ni	--	-enako'we
--	--	-ena'ke	--	-ena'ke
-iyani	-iya'ke	--	--	--
--	--	--	--	--
-iye'kwe	-iya'ke	--	--	--
-iči	-iyameči	-ehki	-enakwe	-ena'kwe
-iwa'či	-iyameči	-ehki	-enakwe	-ena'kwe
-iniči	-iyameči	-ehki	-enakwe	-ena'kwe
-ekwiya'ni	-ekwiya'ke	-ekwiyani	-ekwiyakwe	-ekwiye'kwe
-iki	-i'nameki	-eneki	-enakwe	-ena'kwe

Conjunct of Diminutive Stems

	AI, TI2, II	TI1	TA	
			-3	-3'
1s	-·hiya·ni -o·hiya·ni	-amo·hiya·ni	-e·hiya·ni	
1p	-·hiya·ke -o·hiya·ke	-amo·hiya·ke	-e·hiya·ke	
2s	-·hiyani -o·hiyani	-amo·hiyani	-e·hiyani	
12	-·hiyakwe -o·hiyakwe	-amo·hiyakwe	-e·hiyakwe	
2p	-·hiye·kwe -o·hiye·kwe	-amo·hiye·kwe	-e·hiye·kwe	
3s	-·hiči -o·hiči	-amo·hiči	--	-e·hiči
3p	-·hiwa·či -o·hiwa·či	-amo·hiwa·či	--	-e·hiwa·či
3'	-·hiniči -o·hiniči	-amo·hiniči	<u>-3s</u> -eko·hiči	<u>-3p</u> -eko·hiwa·či
0	-·hiki -o·hiki	-	-	-
0'	-·hiniki -o·hiniki	-		
X	-·hiki	-amo·hiki	<u>-3</u> -e·hiki	<u>-3'</u>

NOTES. AI and II variants: The variant endings with *-o·hi* are used after all consonant stems.

TA

-1s	-1p	-2s	-12	-2p
--	--	(No diminutives are made on Theme 4 /-en/.)		
--	--			
-i'hiyani	-i'hiya'ke			
--	--			
-i'hiye'kwe	-i'hiya'ke			
-i'hiči	-			
-i'hiwa'či	-			
-	-			
-	-		-ekwi'hiyakwe	-ekwi'hiye'kwe
-	-			
-i'hiki	-			

Interrogative

	AI, TI2, II	TI1	TA	
			-3	-3'
1s	-wa·ne·ni -owa·ne·ni	-amowa·ne·ni	-a·wake·ni	
1p	-wa·ke·ni -owa·ke·ni	-amowa·ke·ni	-a·wakete·ni	
2s	-wane·ni -owane·ni	-amowane·ni	-a·wate·ni	
12	-wakwe·ni -owakwe·ni	-amowakwe·ni	-a·wakwe·ni	
2p	-we·kwe·ni -owe·kwe·ni	-amowe·kwe·ni	-a·we·kwe·ni	
3s	-kwe·ni -okwe·ni	-amokwe·ni	--	-a·kwe·ni
3p	-kwe·hiki -okwe·hiki	-amokwe·hiki	--	-a·kwe·hiki
3'	-nikwe·ni	-aminikwe·ni	<u>-3s</u> -ekokwe·ni	<u>-3p</u> -ekokwe·hiki
0	-kwe·ni -okwe·ni		-ekwikwe·ni	-ekwikwe·hiki
0'	-nikwe·ni			
X	-·ke·ni	-amo·ke·ni	<u>-3</u> -a·te·ni	<u>-3'</u> -ema·te·ni

NOTES. AI stem-class variants: Where doublets are given, the first variant is used after vowel stems and the variant beginning with *o* is used after all consonant stems.

The variant *-i·nameke·ni* 'X-1p' is textually attested; the contemporary form *-i·nami·ke·ni* was obtained by elicitation.

TA				
-1s	-1p	-2s	-12	-2p
--	--	-enowa·ne·ni	--	-enowe·kwe·ni
--	--	-enowa·ke·ni	--	-enowa·ke·ni
-iwane·ni	-iwa·ke·ni	--	--	--
--	--	--	--	--
-iwe·kwe·ni	-iwa·ke·ni	--	--	--
-ikwe·ni	-iyamekwe·ni	-enokwe·ni	-enowakwe·ni	-enowa·kwe·ni
-ikwe·hiki	-iyamekwe·ni	-enokwe·hiki	-	-enowa·kwe·hiki
-inikwe·ni	-	-	-	-
-	-	-ekwiwane·ni	-	-
-i·ke·ni	-i·nameke·ni -i·nami·ke·ni	-eno·ke·ni	-	-