

A GRAMMAR OF ASSINIBOINE:
A SIOUAN LANGUAGE OF THE NORTHERN PLAINS

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This seed for this project was planted in north Georgia through conversations with Chipa Wolf (Cherokee-French) that led me to ask two questions: what is being done to address the problem of Native American language endangerment, and can I contribute anything to the endeavor? Starting, as I did, with no background in either anthropology or linguistics, I wonder now at my stunning naivete and at the equally stunning confidence placed in me by Raymond J. DeMallie and Douglas R. Parks, who introduced me to the Assiniboine language, awarded me the fellowship that made it possible for me to come to Indiana University, and who have directed every step of my progress toward answering both questions. My first and enduring gratitude is to them. Along the way, a great many other people have offered encouragement and support in generous measure.

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Abstract**A GRAMMAR OF ASSINIBOINE:
A SIOUAN LANGUAGE OF THE NORTHERN PLAINS**

Assiniboine, sometimes referred to as Nakoda, is an American Indian language of the Siouan language family presently spoken by fewer than one hundred people in Montana (United States) and Saskatchewan (Canada). It is a member of a dialect continuum identified by Parks and DeMallie (*Anthropological Linguistics* 1992) as Sioux-Assiniboine-Stoney. The canonical sentence structure is subject-object-verb, also characterized by postpositions, head marking, and internally headed relative clauses. Morphological processes are primarily agglutinating. The phoneme inventory consists of twenty-seven consonants, including plain, aspirated, and ejective stops, and eight vowels, five oral and three nasal. The language is structure-preserving; consonant allophony is restricted to the phoneme inventory. Assiniboine has no nominal case system, no definite or indefinite articles, and no verbal tense marking. Clauses are marked as “potential” by means of a verbal enclitic and unmarked clauses are “realized,” effectively creating a future/non-future distinction. The verbal system is split-intransitive (active/stative); the object pronominal affixes of active-transitive verbs coincide with the subject pronominal affixes of the stative verbs. Participant information is encoded on the verb so that nominal antecedents may be omitted from the clause, but the question of whether Assiniboine is a “pronominal argument” language remains open. Deverbal nominalization is highly productive, as are verb compounding and noun incorporation. Verbal prefixation and

suffixation both occur, but verbal prefixation is more systematic. Suffixation occurs in all major word classes. Assiniboine has an elaborate system of post-verbal particles that express aspect and modality; in verb compounding, verbal enclitics attach to the matrix verb and objects of the complement remain on the complement. There is a complex system of motion verbs, analyzed here as consisting of four triadic modules that encode notions of deictic center, base, direction, and belonging. A chapter on kinship includes a description of respect speech and a comprehensive list of kin terms. Appendices include three texts, orthographic equivalencies, and a cross-dialect comparison of instrumental prefixes. The grammar is written in what has recently been characterized as “basic linguistic theory.” This is the first comprehensive description of the phonology, morphology, and syntax of the Assiniboine language.

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Abbreviations

1du	first person dual pronominal
A1s	first person singular agent pronominal
A2	second person singular agent pronominal
A3	third person singular agent pronominal
app	appendix
AUG	augmentative
AUX	auxiliary
BEN	benefactive
C	consonant
CAR	Compound Accent Rule
CAUS	causative
COMP	complementizer
CONJ	conjunction
CONT	continuative
CTK	Carry The Kettle Reserve, Saskatchewan
DAR	Dakota Accent Rule
DAT	dative
DECL	declarative particle
DEM	demonstrative
DET	determiner
DIM	diminutive
DO	direct object
DUB	dubitative
DUR	durative
FB	Fort Belknap Reservation, Montana
HAB	habitual
IDD	Indiana Dictionary Database: Assiniboine
IMPER	imperative
INDEF	indefinite
INSTR	instrumental
INTNS	intensifier
IO	indirect object
LOC	locative prefix
NEG	negative
NOM	nominalizer
NR	Nakoda Reader (Parks and DeMallie 2002); e.g., NR T1.3 = Nakoda Reader, text 1, line 3
OM	Ocean Man Reserve, Saskatchewan
PART	particle
P1s	first person singular patient pronominal
P2	second person patient pronominal
P3p	third person plural animate patient pronominal

PL	plural
PSV	passive
POSS	possessive
POST	postposition
POT	potential, hypothetical
Q	question, interrogative
QUANT	quantifier
REDUP	reduplicated
REFL	reflexive
REL	relative clause marker
RSP	Rhythmic Stress Patterning
SB	“Scabby Boy,” a text narrated by a CTK speaker
SPC	specific
ST	first part of a discontinuous root
SUUS	suus, reflexive-possessive
T	text; e.g., T1.3 = text 1, line 3
V	vowel
VERT	vertitive, ‘go back’
WB	White Bear Reserve, Saskatchewan
##	external word or phrase boundary
#	internal word boundary
=	enclitic boundary
	lexical derivational boundary
+	morpheme boundary
.	syllable boundary
-	generic internal boundary
^	pronominal insertion point in discontinuous verb roots

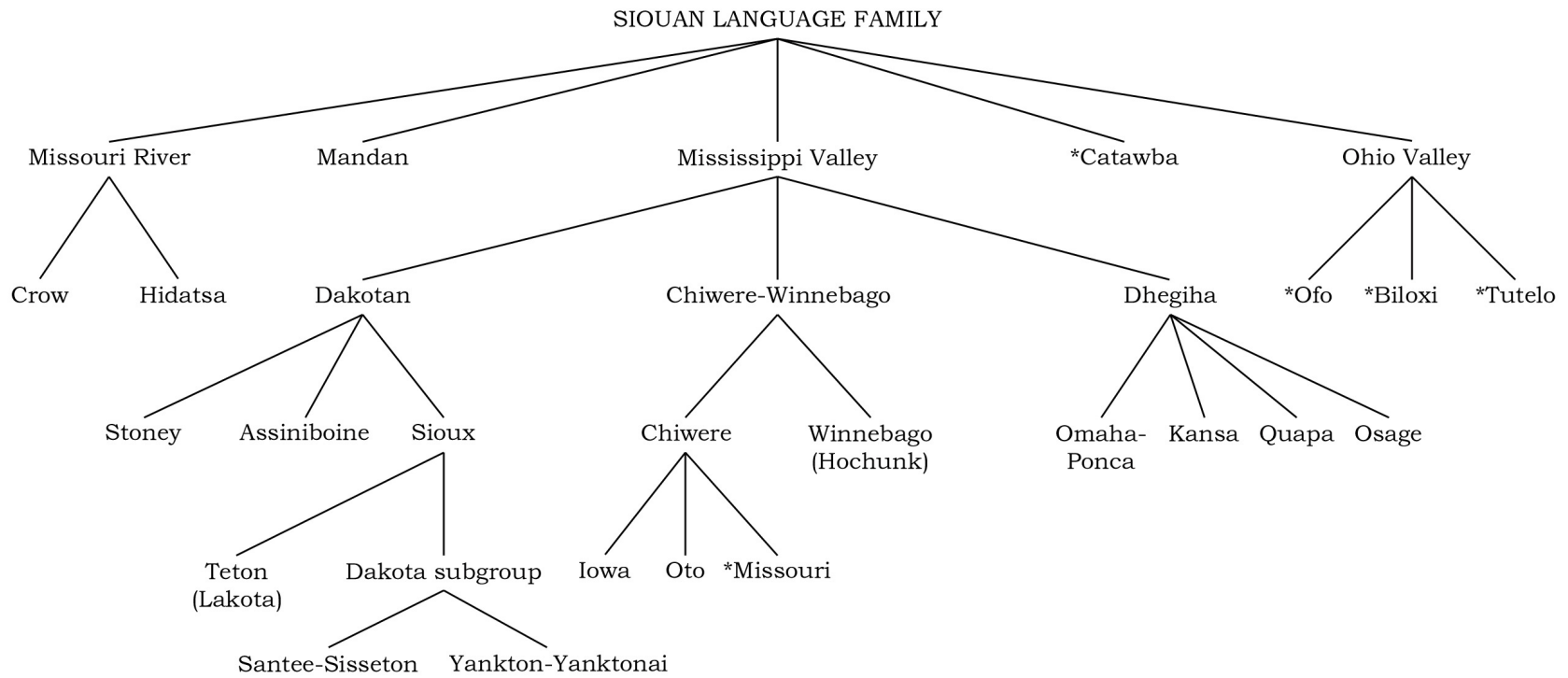
A period (.) is used in glosses to connect words or abbreviations that gloss a single Assiniboine morpheme (this is the same symbol used to mark a syllable boundary in an Assiniboine word; I rely on the different contexts for a distinction between the two uses). A single asterisk (*) before a word or example indicates unacceptability. When used before a single segment, a single asterisk also indicates a reconstructed historical phoneme. Forms or examples of questionable acceptability are indicated by a question mark (?) preceding the form. For the sake of economy, the words ‘someone’ and ‘something’ in glosses are occasionally abbreviated as ‘s.o.’ and ‘s.t.’ respectively.

Chapter 1

Introduction

Assiniboine is a member of the Sioux-Assiniboine-Stoney dialect group of the Siouan language family (Parks and DeMallie 1992). A diagram of the Siouan language family is given in figure 1. Once spoken over a vast, contiguous area of the northern plains of North America, Assiniboine today is only spoken fluently by approximately one hundred speakers on five reserves in Saskatchewan, Canada, (Carry The Kettle, Mosquito-Grizzly Bear's Head, Ocean Man, Pheasant Rump, and White Bear) and on two reservations in Montana (Fort Belknap and Fort Peck). (See fig. 2.)

Research for this study was conducted primarily at Carry The Kettle Reserve in summer 1999 and during a year of residence from August 2000-August 2001, with subsequent visits in February 2002 and the summers of 2002-2004. Six weeks of research were also conducted at Fort Belknap in summer 1998. During my research I was privileged to work with over twenty first-language Assiniboine speakers, many of whom have now passed away. At Carry The Kettle I worked primarily with Bertha O'Watch, but also extensively with Angeline Eashappie and her sisters Sarah Eashappie and the late Velma O'Watch; also with Wilma Thomson Kennedy, the late Kay Thompson, the late Violet Ashdohonk, and Herb Walker (Regina, Saskatchewan). At Fort Belknap I worked with Josephine Mechance and Selena Ditmar. Many other speakers, fluent and partially fluent,



*extinct

Figure 1.1 Siouan language family

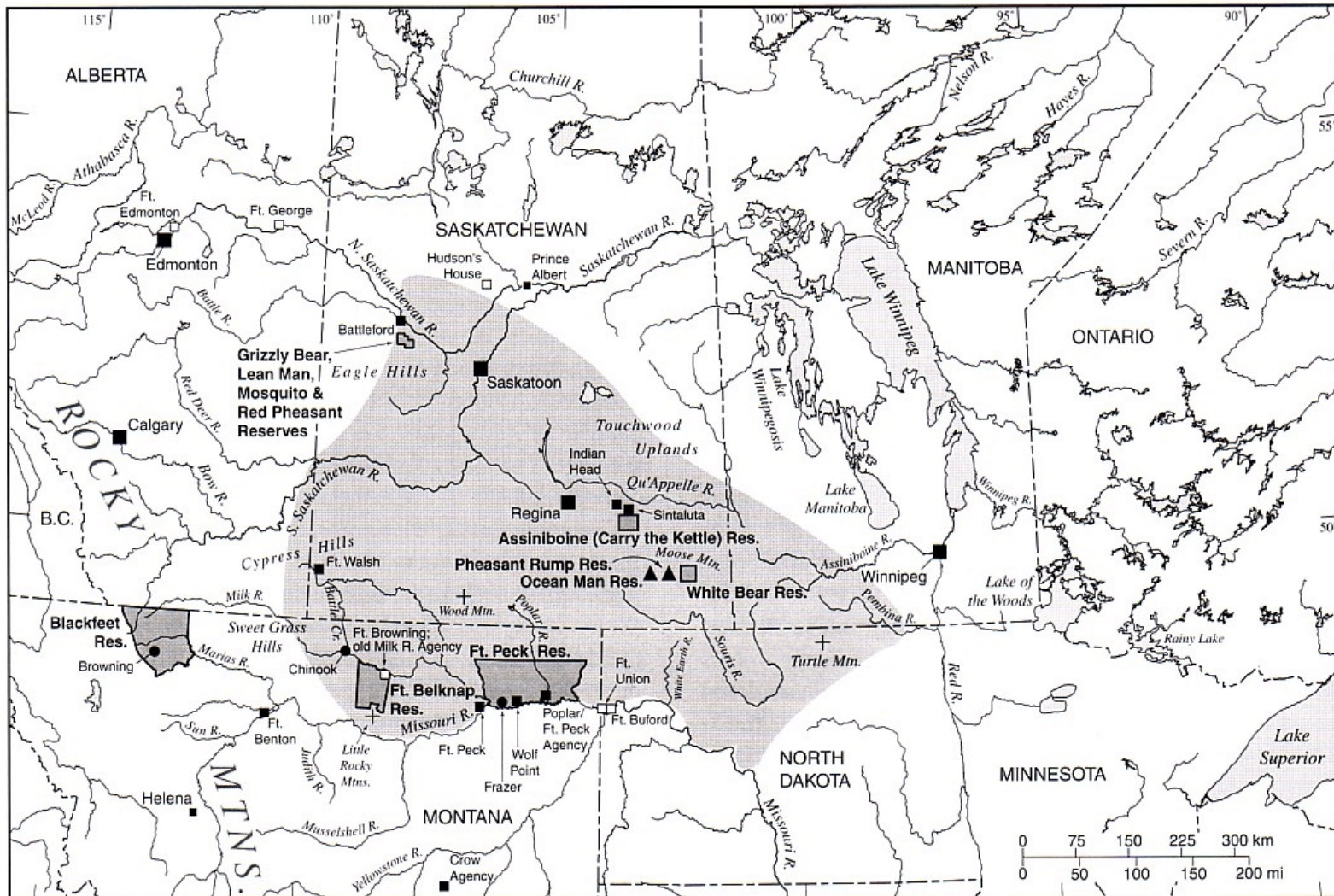


Fig. 2. Territory in the 19th century, with modern reservations and reserves. (DeMallie and Miller 2001:573)

have been wonderfully generous in helping me to learn about their heritage language. A complete list of consultants for this study is provided in Appendix 6.

The body of literature on the Assiniboine language is fairly small. Deloria (1936) provides brief grammatical notes and vocabulary in comparison with Dakota. Articles by Taylor (1981, 1983) compare Stoney and Assiniboine. Parks and DeMallie (1992) provide a classification of Assiniboine as an independent member of the Sioux-Assiniboine-Stoney dialect continuum. West (2003) provides a syntactic analysis of subjects and objects in Assiniboine.

There are seventeen published texts, ranging in length from a single paragraph to six pages: two texts appear in Lowie (1909); one in Boas and Deloria (1941), re-edited and included in the present work as Appendix 3; seven in Lowie (1960), which are unedited texts taken from Lowie's fieldnotes and published posthumously, the two longest of which are repetitions of those in Lowie (1909); three in Farnell (1997); and six in Schudel (1997).¹ Seven additional texts comprise the *Nakoda Reader* (2000), in limited publication as part of the Hoteja (Nakoda) Language Project, a joint project between Indiana University and Fort Belknap College. A few unpublished texts also are presented in Drummond (1976), archived at the Canadian Museum of Civilization in Quebec. Texts in Lowie, Boas and Deloria, Farnell, and the Hoteja Project were recorded at Fort Belknap; texts in

¹ The texts from Schudel (1997) are reflectively constructed; that is, the narrator, Herb Walker, carefully wrote and edited the texts before reading them aloud as "oral" performances (Schudel, p.c.; Kay Thompson, p.c.). They are of interest in their own right as rare examples of Assiniboine literacy, but are grammatically anomalous when compared to purely oral speech. (See Morgan 2001 for a discussion of literacy effects and the writing of Assiniboine.)

Schudel and Drummond were recorded at Carry The Kettle.

Word lists are found in several sources. David Rodnick (1937:410-412, 1938:34) compares the names of Assiniboine bands as listed in Alexander Henry (1807), Maximilian (1833), Lewis and Clark (1804-6), and Lowie (1908, according to Rodnick, but presumably refers to Lowie 1909). A further compilation of band names is in volume 13 of *The Handbook of North American Indians* (DeMallie 2001:593-94). Kinship terms are listed in Morgan (1871) and Denig (1961 and 2000); Denig also lists personal names and the names of some Assiniboine men's societies. Men's society names are also listed in DeMallie 2001:580. A few additional word and phrase lists recorded by Edward M. Griva, S.J., c.1895, are archived at Gonzaga University, together with some of his translations into Assiniboine of religious texts. Products of the Hoteja (Nakoda) Language Project referenced above also include a verb book with paradigms for two hundred and forty-one verbs (Nakoda Language Project 1998), a student dictionary comprising approximately four thousand terms (Parks 2002), and a series of twelve language lessons (Parks, Ditmar, and Morgan 1999). The most extensive and reliable lexical resource is Parks and DeMallie (1996), a database containing approximately eight thousand entries, many of which include phrasal examples, recorded at Fort Belknap and Carry The Kettle between 1985-1998. My personal copy of the database has been expanded by approximately five hundred additional entries, and by examples added to many of the previously existing entries. Also, unpublished data collected for a survey of Sioux-Assiniboine-Stoney dialects conducted from 1977-1983, directed by Douglas Parks and archived at the American Indian

Studies Research Institute (AISRI) at Indiana University, were made available to me for this study.

At Fort Peck, Kenneth Ryan (1998) has produced a series of language lessons and Jerome Fourstar (1978) has produced an unpublished dictionary that draws heavily on English dictionary definitions for its glosses. Levin (1964), is based on research at Fort Peck but includes a considerable amount of data that are not typically Assiniboine. Robert Hollow (1970), writing in response to Levin's work, provides a more reliable account of the phonemes and certain morphophonemic phenomena of Assiniboine.

Because it is presented as a grammar of Assiniboine, Levin (1964) requires some discussion. Despite its title, it is only marginally usable as a reference for Assiniboine. The descriptive portion is quite short (sixty-seven pages) and suffers from an unfortunate combination of several factors. First, Levin's exposure to Assiniboine is narrow. He had three consultants, all from Fort Peck and possibly all from a single family, who spoke what appears to be a creative synthesis of Lakota and Assiniboine. One example is the consistent use of Lakota *he* 'that' for Assiniboine *žé*, as an independent form, and in all derived forms where *žé* occurs in Assiniboine, e.g., *héce* (Assiniboine *žéc^ha*) and *hécayata* (Assiniboine *žéc^hiyata*), yet Assiniboine *né* 'this' occurs consistently, as expected, rather than Lakota *lé*. That is, where Assiniboine speakers have *né/žé* and Lakota speakers have *lé/hé*, Levin's consultants have a hybrid *né/hé*. Also, Levin's speakers ablaut A-words to *e* in phrase-final position, which is obligatory in Lakota but does not occur in

Assiniboine. Some Lakota words occur in Levin's data, e.g., *hayake* 'clothes' (Assiniboine *hayápi*), but many words in Levin's data are not found in either language, e.g., his questionable forms *?hiná* 'mother' (cf. *iná*), *?mihúku* 'my mother' (cf. Assiniboine *iná*; Lakota *ináwaye*), *?suíciye* 'hurt oneself' (probably a reduction of a reflexive form of *ksúyA* 'to injure'; Levin may simply not have heard the *k*). He reports fully reduplicated forms such as *yaká-yaká* 'stay' (cf. *yaká* 'sit') and *hiyá-hiya* 'to go after' (cf. *hiyó* 'go after'), whereas Assiniboine and Lakota have partial reduplication, copying only the last full syllable of a root (e.g., *háska* > *háska-ska* 'tall'). (Neither of Levin's examples is attested with reduplicated forms in the corpus of the present study.)

Secondly, Levin lists only Deloria (presumably 1936) and Lowie (presumably 1909) as sources on the Assiniboine language but does not cite them in the course of his analysis. He does not mention Boas and Deloria (1941) or any work by Buechel or Riggs, and it seems clear that he did not refer to those sources for his analysis. In fact, it appears he undertook his analysis without recourse to any existing sources on Sioux grammar, relying solely on his own data which, as noted above, are not representative of Assiniboine (or even Sioux) as spoken anywhere else.

The result is an anomalous description. For example, he analyzes consonant voicing and aspiration as complicated phenomena that depend on whether a following vowel is stressed or unstressed. He describes ejective stops as two-phoneme sequences — which, in fact, Boas and Deloria do, also — but he writes

them as geminates and is inconsistent in identifying ejective stops, e.g., *makku* ‘he gave me’ (cf. *makʷú*) vs. *cicú* ‘I gave you’ (cf. *c^hicʷú*), and *naxú* for *naḥʷú* ‘hear’. Many of his phonological rules are too powerful. For example, he explains y-stem verb inflection (A1s *mn-*, A2 *n-*, A3 *y-*) with a rule of “phoneme loss” (“/y/ > ∅ when /y/ follows /n/” 1964:13), which only succeeds in his small corpus because his consultants atypically do not nasalize stops and affricates in codas. For the majority of Assiniboine speakers, his rule would disallow words like *azinya* ‘to smudge’ and *c^hátéšinya* ‘to sadden’.

His representation of vowels is especially inconsistent. It cannot be known now to what extent this is due to the unique speech patterns of his consultants or to his own ability to distinguish sounds. Nasalization and aspiration are frequently omitted, even in words where they are unambiguously present in both Assiniboine and Lakota, e.g., *c^hícá* ‘child’, which he writes as *cicá*. Nasal vowels and oral vowels appear in unexpected places, e.g., his *maká* ‘I am sitting’ for Assiniboine and Lakota *mąká*. He devotes a section of his phonological analysis to “nasal loss” for words he cites as *mázq* ‘metal’ and *qk^híta* ‘look at’, neither of which have nasal vowels in either Assiniboine or Lakota. The well-documented ambiguity of the high and mid back vowels finds new expression in Levin: the unambiguous *tukté* ‘where’ is *tokté* in his data, and what in Assiniboine and Lakota is *tók^hetu* is *tók^heto* for him. There is no ready explanation for why, for Levin (or his consultants), *c^hyuwítku* ‘her daughter’ becomes *c^hawítku*, where the high back vowel is lowered, but *hą* ‘yes’ becomes *hú*, in which the low back vowel is raised, nor why *néc^hi* ‘over here’

should become *néce* and *ecíya* ‘be called’ should become *icáya*. His syntactic analysis suffers, among other things, from failing to distinguish between the homophonous demonstrative articles, which function as subordinate clause markers, and demonstrative pronouns, which do not.

Levin’s data and analysis differ strikingly from resources available to him at the time, but he does not comment on this discrepancy. Although Levin’s description is occasionally accurate, one needs a prior knowledge of Assiniboine to sort the accurate portions from the inaccurate and atypical portions.

The present analysis draws primarily on my own fieldnotes. These include several unpublished narratives, “Scabby Boy,” “Seven Horses,” “Dragonfly Goes to War,” “Buffaloes Underground,” and “The Big Stone.” When examples in this study are taken from those narratives, “Scabby Boy” is abbreviated *SB* and the others are referenced by their full titles. In addition to elicited words, phrases, and narratives, I organized several “language circles,” all-day gatherings of fluent speakers, held in various homes, during which the speakers were asked to avoid using any English words. The hours of conversation were taped and portions of them transcribed over the following months with the assistance of the participants. Four language circles were held during my year of residence at Carry The Kettle, 2000-2001. The language circles (abbreviated in examples as *LgC1*, *LgC2*, etc.) are an invaluable source of data that reflect extended, natural speech patterns, as well as offering insights into past and present life on the reserve, and boarding school

experiences.²

I also make extensive use of the *Nakoda Reader* and the Parks and DeMallie (1996) lexical database, which I assisted in editing from 1998-2000 and later expanded with my own data. The software, developed at AISRI, is the Indiana Dictionary Database (IDD), a multimedia dictionary database software program that structures data in one-to-many relationships, allowing searches by multiple criteria, which greatly facilitated the present analysis.

While this is not a comparative work, resources on the much more extensively documented Sioux (Lakota and Dakota), the languages most closely related to Assiniboine, have served as a starting point and guide for many aspects of my analysis. In particular, I have drawn on the work of Boas and Deloria (1941), Taylor and Rood (1976), Shaw (1980), and Rood and Taylor (1996).

Data used in the study are not associated with specific speakers, as stipulated in the Human Subjects consent form signed by all participants in the study (although the narratives in the appendices are attributed to the narrator with her verbal permission). There are numerous variations in individual word forms used by speakers, even on the same reservation or reserve, and disputes can arise among speakers over individual words or even the pronunciation of a single word. Such issues are sensitive, and while the consultants for this grammar are still

² As a condition of the Human Subjects agreement form, all names of consultants and any other members of the community referred to have been changed to neutral names such as John and Mary when cited in this work. The assurance this provided to the participants permitted much more spontaneous exchange and minimized self-censorship.

living, it is in their best interest not to expose them to internal criticisms. With no consultants' names associated with specific words, the linguist might be criticized instead; better that than to create problems within the community. For my part, I have carefully checked the data and noted regional and generational variations as thoroughly as possible, and I believe all of the forms and glosses provided here are accurate.

The goal of the grammar is to identify dominant patterns, and some observed variants will go unmentioned. As Gleason (1961:43) has observed, "Arbitrariness is the price of uniformity." Nonetheless, forms or patterns that appear to vary geographically rather than idiolectally are identified in parentheses by the initials of the reserve on which a form was found. Usually, this will be a distinction between Fort Belknap (FB) and Carry The Kettle (CTK), where most of the data were collected. Generational differences also occur in some instances. Speakers born around the turn of the twentieth century are identified as "older" speakers and those born twenty to thirty years later are referred to as "younger" speakers. It is a sad truth that those identified as younger speakers, now in their seventies and eighties, are the last generation to have learned Assiniboine as their first language.

The primary purpose of this work is to document the basic processes of Assiniboine phonology, morphology and syntax in a manner that will be accessible to linguists and educators in the future. As such, it does not attempt to exemplify or debate a particular theory or theories. I employ some notational conventions of generative phonology for their ability to capture generalizations in concise

formalizations and because these conventions have proven their durability by remaining comprehensible to linguists for more than half a century, regardless of the theoretical preferences of individual linguists. In general, I follow what Dixon (1997) and Dryer (in press) refer to as *basic linguistic theory*, “a single descriptive theoretical framework [that] has emerged as the dominant theory assumed in descriptive grammars,” summarized as “traditional grammar modified in various ways by other theoretical traditions over the years” (Dryer: in press:5).

This study uses the American Usage IPA as tabulated in Pullam and Ladusaw (1996:301-302) with four exceptions: the voiceless velar fricative x is represented as $ħ$ and its voiced counterpart is represented as $ǰ$ rather than $ɣ$; nasalization on vowels is indicated by a nasal hook ($\underset{~}{\text{}}$) rather than a tilde, and the alveo-palatal affricate is simply c rather than $č$. Although there is no universally accepted orthography for the Dakotan languages, the use of $ħ$, $ǰ$, and the nasal hook are fairly widespread. There is no consensus in Siouan linguistic studies for representing aspiration. Some, such as Boas and Deloria (1941) use a single open-quotation (') to mark aspiration, while others, such as Taylor and Rood (1976) use a full h , written on the line. I have eschewed both practices in favor of a raised h (h) to make a stronger visual distinction between aspiration and glottalization, which is indicated by a single close-quotation ('), and to signal the fact that aspirated segments are unitary phonemes. This study further distinguishes glottalization ($C^ʔ$) from the independent glottal stop, for which $ʔ$ is used. Motivation for this distinction is discussed in the Phonology chapter.

The grammar is conceptually organized along traditional lines. This introductory chapter is followed by a description of phonology in chapter 2. Chapters 3-9 describe morphology, and chapters 10-11 present major syntactic processes. Three narrative texts are presented in the appendices, two of which I recorded at Carry The Kettle, and one of which is my re-edited version of Deloria's "Red Fox" from Boas and Deloria (1941).

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Chapter 2

Phonology

1. Introduction

This chapter presents the phonemes of Assiniboine as well as a description of phonetic and phonological processes that occur. The orthography used here is phonemic.¹

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the sounds and patterns described here reflect the speech of native speakers on Fort Belknap Reservation, Montana (FB) and Carry The Kettle Reserve, Saskatchewan (CTK). The phonology of the two communities varies somewhat both between the two regions and across the two generations identified here as “older” (born around the beginning of the twentieth century) and “younger” (generally born some twenty years later). A notable difference in the speech of the younger generation is a shift currently in progress from laminal to apical articulation of the dental stops, alveolar fricatives, and the alveolar nasal stop.² Judging from the uniformly laminal articulation audible in recordings made in the 1970s (Valerie Drummond 1976, 1976a, at Carry The Kettle) and 1980s (Hoteja Project 2000, at Fort Belknap), laminal articulation of

¹ This work takes the position that simple stops and the affricate are underlyingly voiceless, despite the fact that they are predominantly voiced in surface forms. Consequently, the phonemic representation in this work is well-suited to linguistic description but less desirable as a practical orthography such as those that are common in pedagogical materials in use at several tribal institutions.

² For a discussion of laminal articulation, see Ladefoged and Maddieson (1996:14).

these segments was probably universal until very recently, and the somewhat arbitrary choice taken here is to describe laminal articulation as primary, although it is certain to disappear with the passing of the older generation.

2. Phoneme inventory

The inventory of Assiniboine phonemes comprises twenty-seven consonants and eight vowels. These are given in tables 2.1 and 2.2.

Table 2.1. Consonants

		<i>Labial</i>	<i>Lamino-</i>	<i>Lamino-</i>	<i>Palato-</i>	<i>Velar</i>	<i>Laryngeal</i>
			<i>dental</i>	<i>alveolar</i>	<i>alveolar</i>		
Obstruents							
stops	unaspirated	p	t			k	ʔ
	aspirated	p ^h	t ^h			k ^h	
	glottalized	p'	t'			k'	
affricates	unaspirated				c		
	aspirated				c ^h		
	glottalized				c'		
fricatives	voiceless			s	š	ħ	
	glottalized			s'	š'	ħ'	
	voiced			z	ž	ǧ	
Sonorants	nasals	m	n				
	glides	w		y			h

The glottalized stops *p'* *t'* *k'* are ejectives, and although the fricatives *s'* *š'* *ħ'* are phonetically clusters, i.e., [*s'*, *š'*, *k'*], they are treated as unitary segments; they occur morpheme-initially, as in *k'ǫ* 'carry on the back', *ħ'ǫ* 'do, act, behave', and *s'a* habitual enclitic, where the glottalization is not accounted for by the rule of glottal insertion described in 11.1, below.

Contrasts among consonants are illustrated by the following minimal pairs.

(An upper case *A* indicates an ablauting, *a*; see section 9.)

(1) Stops:

/p/, /p ^h /	pahá	‘hill’	p ^h ahá	‘hair’		
/p/, /p’/	pó	‘to swell’	p’ó	‘steam’		
/t/, /t ^h /	íté	‘face’	ít ^h é	‘forehead’		
/t ^h /, /t’/	t ^h á	‘moose’	t’Á	‘be dead’		
/k/, /k ^h /, /k’/	ká	‘yonder’	k ^h Á	‘to mean’	k’á	‘dig’

(2) Affricates:

/c/, /c ^h /	cé	‘always’	c ^h é	‘penis’
/c ^h /, /c’/	chěga	‘kettle, pot’	c’ěga	‘be hardy’

(3) Sonorants:

Nasals:

/n/, /m/	nǫká	‘you (sg.) sit’	mǫká	‘I sit’
----------	------	-----------------	------	---------

Glides:

/w/, /y/, /h/	wá	‘snow’	yÁ	‘go’	há	‘skin’
---------------	----	--------	----	------	----	--------

(4) Fricatives:

/ǧ/, /ħ/	káǧe	‘make’ (ablauted)	káħe	‘ravine’
/ħ/, /ħ’/	ħǧ	‘scab’	ħ’ǧ	‘behave, act’
/s/, /š/	sápA	‘be black’	šápA	‘be soiled’
/s’/, /š’/	s’A	HABITUAL	š’a	‘be a roaring sound’
/z/, /ž/	zí	‘be yellow’	ží	‘be tawny’
/s/, /z/	sǫsǧ	‘be off-white’ (REDUP)	zǫzǧ	‘be thin, as soup’
/š/, /ž/	šasá	‘be red’ (REDUP)	-žazǧ	‘wash’

Table 2.2 Vowels

	<i>Front</i>	<i>Central</i>	<i>Back</i>
Oral:			
high	i		u
mid		e	o
low		a	
Nasal:			
high	ɪ		ʊ
low		ɶ	

Vocalic contrasts are demonstrated in the following examples:

- (5) hí 'arrive there'
hĩ 'hair, fur'
hé 'horn, antler'
há 'skin'
hĀ 'be standing (inan.)'
hó 'voice'
hú 'stem; leg'
hušté 'be lame'
hʉšté 'evidently'

2.2 Intervocalic voicing

Analysts differ in their judgement regarding the unaspirated stops and affricate. Some have treated them as underlyingly voiced, for example, Hollow (1970), Schudel (1997), and West (2003). Others have analyzed them as underlyingly voiceless, for example, Parks and DeMallie (1996), Farnell (1998), and DeMallie and Miller (2001). This study represents the unaspirated stops and affricate as voiceless, based on a spectrographic study of voicing patterns (Cumberland 2000) that supports the claim that unaspirated stop and affricate phonemes are underlyingly voiceless with voiced allophones.³ The voiced allophones surface as

³ In the spectrographic study, the speech of the younger and older generations of speakers showed no significant generational difference in the voicing of independently

the result of an intervocalic voicing rule, formalized as rule 1, with the voiceless allophones occurring elsewhere, primarily in clusters. Because voicing of these segments is derived, it will only be represented in this study where it is crucial to the explanation of a particular phonological rule or example.

RULE 1 Intervocalic Voicing Rule (IVVOICE):

C -> [+voiced] / V_V
 [-cont]
 [-voiced]
 [-spread gl]
 [-constr gl]

To illustrate this effect, spectrograms are given in figure 1 for *ka* ‘that yonder’ and *t^hóka* [t^hog^a] ‘enemy’. Both words were spoken in isolation by the same speaker. The *k* of *ka* is voiceless, while the intervocalic *k* of *t^hóka* is voiced. (The final vowel of *t^hóka* is devoiced.)

occurring unaspirated stops, with only slightly more voicing of stops in clusters by the younger generation. Today’s speakers seem to perceive these segments as voiced everywhere, probably by analogy with English, a perception codified and reinforced by the increasingly popular Fort Belknap orthography (Morgan 2001, Cumberland 2004).

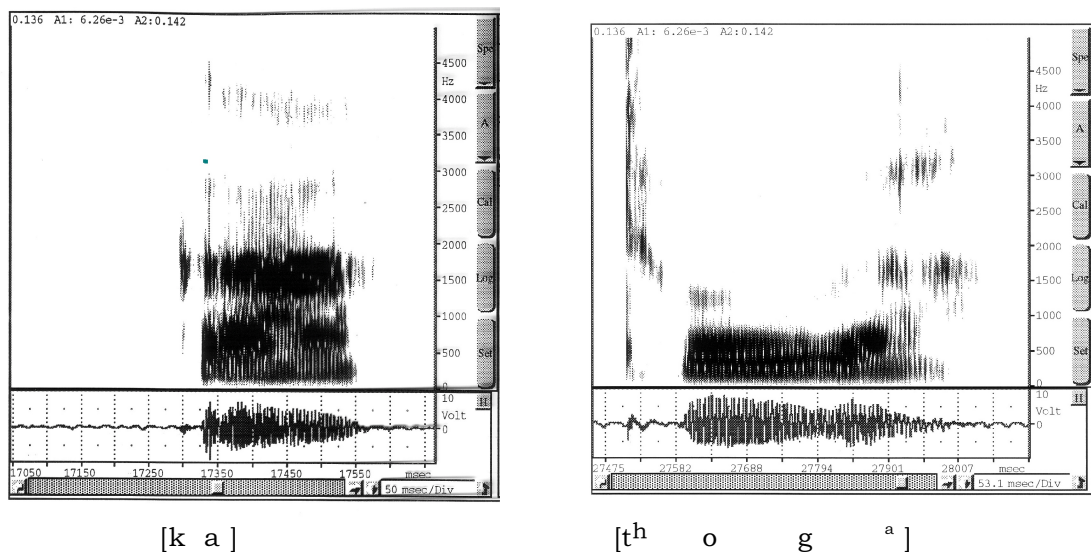


Fig. 2.1. Spectrograms illustrating intervocalic voicing of /k/

The rule applies across all boundaries, so that if a simplex stop or affricate is preceded by a pause of any kind it will be voiceless. In the following example, the initial underlying *t* of *táku* ‘thing’ is voiced because there is no pause between it and the preceding *e* of *né* ‘this’. (The word internal *k* is also voiced because it is between vowels.)

- (6) /né táku iyómahiši/
 [né dágu iyó-ma-hi-ši]
 this thing ST-P1s-be.big.enough-NEG
 ‘this thing isn’t big enough for me’ (NR T3.17)

The following examples, a near minimal pair, were uttered by the same speaker in a single text. In (7a) the /t/ is voiceless in the surface form because the speaker has paused between words. In (7b) the /t/ surfaces as [d] because the speaker does not pause.

(7a) Slight pause between words:

/hî! tuwénuk/
 [hî! tuwénuk]
 ‘Aha! There’s no one’ (NR T3.12)

(7b) No pause between words:

/a! tuwénike/
 [a!_duwénige]
 ‘Ah! It’s nobody’ (NR T3.15)

In the following example, where there would typically be a pause after the vocative, the speaker does not pause on this occasion and the word initial /t/ is voiced (as is the word internal /t/):

(8) /misû tók^hiyata ya-ú he/
 [misû _dók^hiyadâ ya-ʔú he]
 younger.brother where.from A2-come Q
 ‘Younger Brother, where have you come from?’ (NR T4.41)

The example in (9) illustrates affricate voicing by the same rule:

(9) /ya-nûwə ece/
 [ya-nûwə ejé]
 A2-swim only
 ‘you only swim’ (NR T4.35)

2.3 Stress

Assiniboine words bear a single primary stress but secondary stress may occur multiple times in a single word, typically on alternate syllables, earning Assiniboine a reputation for being, as Deloria describes it, “sing-song-y” (1936:4). At the present stage of analysis, only primary stress (ˈ) appears to be phonemic and is marked in all examples. Because the rules governing secondary stress (ˌ) remain to be determined, it is marked only in those examples where I am reasonably

confident that I heard it. There is an acknowledged risk in doing this. While some stress rules are word based, there appears to be at least one phrase-level stress rule, so a word uttered in isolation sometimes exhibits a different stress pattern from the same word uttered in a phrase, and phrases themselves might have different stress patterns when removed from the context of the full utterance. Nonetheless, it is hoped that the inclusion of relatively certain instances of secondary stress will provide a preliminary data resource for future research.⁴ Stress is described in section 12.4 below.

2.4 Vowel length

Vocalic length is not phonemic in Assiniboine but phonetically long vowels, indicated throughout this work as geminates, do occur in four circumstances.

- A vowel is obligatorily lengthened when it precedes the durative enclitic *:ka* (where the colon indicates that the preceding vowel will be lengthened as a function of the enclitic), occasionally creating a minimally contrasting pair, as in (10).

(10) *ch'éyaaka* 'cry continuously' (*ch'éya* 'cry', *:ka* DUR)
ch'éyaka 'should, must, could'


The lengthened vowel has falling pitch, whether in a stressed or unstressed syllable; for example, in *ú* 'come' > [*úùga*] 'he kept coming, was coming for a long time', the stressed vowel is lengthened, and in *máni* 'walk' > [*mániùga*] 'he kept walking and walking', the unstressed vowel is lengthened. When the lengthened

⁴ Even this conservative approach may produce misleading representations. Examples taken from texts are referenced and all texts referenced in this work are transcriptions of sound recordings that are, or will shortly be, archived at the American Indian Studies Research Institute at Indiana University.

vowel is in an unstressed syllable, the long-vowel syllable is not as prominent as the stressed syllable, yet there is still a perceptible falling intonation on the unstressed long vowel.

- There are three interjections that are typically articulated with phonetically lengthened vowels, namely, *hǎ* [hǎǎ] ‘yes; hello (fem.)’, *ohǎ* > [ohǎǎ] ‘I see; oh, really’, and the female exclamation *hǐ* [hǐǐ]. The vowel can be lengthened considerably, with intonational contours that, interestingly, can exhibit the stress patterns of a multisyllabic word. In (7a), repeated here as (11), *hǐ* is uttered *sotto voce* by the narrator to suggest that the protagonist is thinking to herself. The contour of the lengthened vowel reflects the iambic pattern that is found in most words due to the Dakota Accent Rule (see 4.2.1).

(11) /hǐ! tuwénuk/

 [hǐǐǐǐǐ! tuwénuk]
‘Ah! There’s no one’ (NR T3.12)

These interjections contrast with the lexical items *hǎ* ‘stand’, *hǐ* ‘fur’, and *ohǎ* ‘boil’, respectively, but because the vowel length of the interjections is rhetorically variable, it is not analyzed as phonemic.

- Rhetorical vowel length is used freely for emphasis. It occurs most commonly in adverbs, as in *tóobaǎ* ‘four times’ (Eng. colloq. “four whole times!”), *tʰéehǎ* ‘a loong way’ and *iyúuha* ‘aaall’ (“every last one of them; every last bit of it”). When rhetorical vowel length occurs in a verb, it is usually in the syllable with primary stress, as in (12a), although the final vowel of the verb stem may lengthen instead when followed by a postverbal particle, as in (12b); the vowels of co-

occurring enclitics do not lengthen. As with interjections, vowel length can be extensive, but unlike the interjections, intonation is level throughout.

(12a) Hĭ! eyáš Ø-įštécâpi né ʔŭ
 oh! then P3-be.embarrassed this because.of
 ‘oh! then he was terribly embarrassed by this’ (NR: T6.8)

(12b) Ø-pamnâskaa-c^huna
 A3-flatten-DUR
 ‘he kept flattening it out’ (NR T4.18)

- Vowel length occurs in what may be termed “processing hesitation,” as a speaker considers what to say next or searches for a lexical form. This is frequently heard on the conjunction *hĭk* (*hĭĭĭĭk*) ‘and’ (but not on other conjunctions), and the hesitation form *ny* (*nyĭĭĭ*) ‘um, uh’. Intonation on the long vowel is not contoured, and vocal pitch is lowered.

A possible fifth use of vowel length is for comparative purposes, as in the following set provided by a Fort Belknap speaker:

(13) síca ‘bad’
 nína síca ‘very bad’
 nĭĭna síca ‘the worst’

Not all speakers agree that a long vowel formally creates a superlative, although many speakers have been heard to use it in that way.

3. Phoneme descriptions

3.1 Obstruents

3.1.1 Stops and affricates

The stops and affricate occur with a three-way contrast: voiceless unaspirated *p t*

k; voiceless aspirated *p^h t^h k^h*;⁵ and ejective *p' t' k'*. *p p^h p'* are bilabial stops, *t t^h t'* are lamino-dental stops, *c c^h c'* are lamino-palatal⁶ affricates, and *k k^h k'* are velar stops.

p t c k have voiced allophones *b d j g* respectively by rule 1, above. The velars *k k^h k'* are slightly fronted when followed by a front vowel. The affricates *c c^h c'* pattern like stops with two exceptions: affricates may not form clusters with fricatives, and clusters containing an affricate do not occur in word initial position (see table 2.3).

3.1.2 Fricatives

Fricatives occur in three series: voiceless, glottalized, and voiced. *s s' z* are lamino-alveolar, *š š' ž* are lamino-palatal, and *ħ ħ' ǵ* are post-velar. In fast speech, *ħ* may be fronted when preceded by a front vowel. Apical articulation of the dental, alveolar, and palatal segments occurs as a variant of the laminal segments, especially among younger speakers, but no lexical contrasts result from the variation.

⁵ The aspiration of the stops and affricate are not velarized in release as they are in some Siouan languages. In Osage, for example, the aspirated stops become *pħ, tħ, kħ* [*p^x, t^x, k^x* in Quintero's orthography] before back vowels (Quintero 2004:31) and for many Lakota speakers, the aspirated stops are velarized in release before all vowels except *i, ĭ* and *u* (Taylor and Rood 1976:3.6; Rood and Taylor 1996:442), for example, *tħápa* 'ball', *tħó* 'blue, green'.

⁶ As stated earlier, the younger (current) generation of speakers uses apical articulation.

3.2 Sonorants

3.2.1 Nasals

There are two nasal consonants, bilabial *m* and laminal alveolar *n*. For many speakers in the past, up to and including the generation identified in this work as the older generation, *n* was frequently post-occluded before oral vowels to produce [n^d]. This is found both at FB and at CTK. The pattern of occurrence is unsystematic in the speech of the immediate past (older) generation of speakers and does not seem to occur at all among the present (younger) generation.

However, it appears to be a longstanding phonetic effect, as indications of it are found throughout the literature. Denig (2000[1864]:124, 125), for example, records *wamní* ‘eagle’ as “Wah-min-de”, i.e., [wam^an^dɪ].⁷ Drummond, working at CTK, transcribes this effect simply as [nd], as in examples (14) and (15) (Drummond 1976:23-26 passim). She states that “phonetic [d] occurs in free variation following n” (Drummond 1976:14). Although she does not explicitly say

⁷ This occurs in a list of specifically Assiniboine names, the full name given as “Wah-min-de To-pah ‘The Four War Eagles’, lest the reader wonder if Denig might have been referring to the Dakota word *wamdí* ‘eagle’. Denig was well familiar with the Assiniboine language due to his twenty-one year residence at Fort Union in the Assiniboine territory during the height of the fur trade, and to his having had two Assiniboine wives (Denig c.1854 [2000]). It is interesting to note that he writes *tópa* ‘four’ with voiceless stops. While there are many voiced stops in his representation of the language, stop voicing does not appear to have been as universal as it is in contemporary speech. Although evidence of post-occluded *n* occurs in the text collections of Drummond and Denig, and is audible in the DeMallie recordings made at Fort Belknap in the 1980s, there is no evidence of such an effect in the writings of Edward M. Griva, S. J., who was missionary at Fort Belknap on and off between 1907 and 1930 and who became fluent in the language. Griva, an Italian, seems to have been especially skilled at learning languages, having by his own account (n.d.) learned twelve different Indian languages, so it is possible that he recognized the post-occlusion as a phonetic effect and did not write it.

so, her transcriptions further suggest that *m* was also post-occluded, at least by her consultant, although no evidence of post-occluded *m* has been found outside of Drummond. See, for example, her “owakmba” (*owákma* ‘I write’) in example (14). The [b] she records can only be phonetic because tautosyllabic triconsonantal clusters are disallowed in the language. Drummond’s transcriptional conventions and glosses are preserved in the following examples, but underlining is added:

- (14) waʔoyapi nde en owakmba nde makʔupi
 book DEM in I-write REL me-give-they
 ‘They gave me this book I am writing in’ (Drummond 1976:23)
- (15) . . . owic^handepi . . . [cf. oné ‘to look for’, wic^há ‘them’]
 them-search[-they]
 ‘they looked for them’ (Drummond 1976:26)

Examples (16)-(18) are from three different Fort Belknap speakers of the older generation, illustrating that post-occlusion commonly occurs in the speech of that generation.

- (16) Ø-kní-ṣ̌i
 [kn^díṣ̌i]
 A3-arrive.back.here-NEG
 ‘he did not return’ (NR T2.4)
- (17) wanákaš mak^hóc^{he} né tákuniṣ̌i c^hen
 [wanágaš mək^hóc^{he} n^dé dáguniṣ̌i c^hén]
 long.ago earth this nothing thus
 ‘long ago when there was nothing on earth’ (NR T4.1)
- (18) naḡáhā né íṣ̌ tók^hen šiyáka ewíc^hakiyàpi
 [naḡáhā n^dé íṣ̌ tók^hen šiyága ewíc^hagiyab’]
 now this SPC how mudhen they.call.them
 ‘these are the ones they call “mudhen” today’ (NR T5.28)

3.2.2 Glottal stop

Glottal stop (?) occurs phonetically as well as phonemically. Phonetic glottal

insertion is discussed and formalized in section 11 of this chapter. Here it is noted only that a phonetic rule inserts a glottal stop between adjacent vowels.

Glottal stop is phonemic in a number of lexicalized forms, such as *aʔána* ‘crow’, *chʰoʔúpa* ‘bake’, and *eháʔi* ‘reach a point’. It creates a contrast between *ʔú* ‘use; wear’ and *ú* ‘be, stay’.⁸ This is most clearly illustrated by the first person plural forms, given in (18).

- (19) *úk-ʔú-pi* [úkʔúbʰ] ‘we use it, wear it’
 úk-ú-pi [úgúbʰ] ‘we stay’

The presence of the glottal stop in the first person plural form meaning ‘we use it; we wear it’ is not predicted by the glottal insertion rule and so is analyzed as being part of the underlying representation. The *k* in *úkʔúpi* is then unexpected as well, since it normally surfaces only before a vowel-initial stem. In fact, *úʔúpi* is an attested, although rare, variant of *úkʔúpi*.

In the present work phonetically inserted glottal stops will only be shown word internally. To avoid ambiguity between a glottal stop and the glottalization on unitary ejective stops this study distinguishes orthographically between the independent glottal stop, written as *ʔ*, and the glottalization on ejective stops, marked by *ʰ*. For example, in *šúkʔákʰimahetu* ‘saddle blanket’ (*šúk-* ‘horse’, *a-* LOC, *kʰi* ‘pack on the back’, *mahétu* ‘inside’), *kʔ* consists of two separate segments, *k*

⁸ When uttered in isolation, *ú* ‘stay’ would be indistinguishable from *ʔú* ‘use; wear’ by the glottal insertion rule. The two glottal stops differ in that the first is phonetic and the second is phonemic.

and the phonetically inserted ʔ, while the following *k'* is a unitary ejective stop.⁹

Finally, ʔ occurs morphemically as a declarative marker. In this position, incomplete closure causes ʔ to surface sometimes as *ħ* or *h*, and sometimes as schwa,¹⁰ so that while ʔ is non-syllabic, its schwa variant is a semi-vowel that sounds syllabic but otherwise doesn't behave like a vowel. It is not devoiced when phrase final as any other phrase final vowel would be, nor is it separated from a preceding vowel by the insertion of (yet another) glottal stop, as would normally occur by the rule of glottal insertion (discussed in section 11). The tendency is for morphemic glottal stop to surface as *ħ* after a low or mid vowel, as in (20), and as [ə] after a high vowel, as in (21). Examples are:

(20) Morphemic glottal stop realized as fricative:

(20a) [∅-škán-ùyuga ħ]
 škat- u:-ka ʔ
 A3-play-be-DUR DECL
 'he was playing around all that time' (NR T3.6)

(20b) [nedám miní, miní t^hága ħ]
 netám miní, miní t^háka ʔ
 over.here lake, lake be.big DECL
 'over this way there was a lake, a big lake' (App.1: Big Snake.2)

⁹ Shaw (1980) also makes this distinction, using “?” on the line for the glottal stop and raised “?” to indicate glottalization of stops. It is now generally accepted that the ejective stops of Dakotan languages are unitary phonemes. See Shaw 1980:64ff for a discussion of the arguments supporting this analysis.

¹⁰ See Ladefoged and Maddieson (1996:74-5): “. . .glottal stops are apt to fall short of complete closure, especially in intervocalic positions. In place of a true stop, a very compressed form of creaky voice or some less extreme form of stiff phonation may be superimposed on the vocalic stream.” Also, “. . . glottal stops serve to demarcate the boundaries of phrases or other prosodic units. A frequent role of this type (for example, in German) is to indicate the beginning of a word when no other consonant is present.”

- (20c) [snoh-yá duwé ak^híde ne ĥ]
 snok- \emptyset -ya tuwé a- \emptyset - \emptyset -k^hite né ?
 ST-A3-know someone ST-A3-P3-watch REL DECL
 ‘she knew that someone was watching her’ (NR T3.13)

(21) Morphemic glottal stop realized as neutral vowel:

- (21a) [k^hoškáb agéwəži t^híbi ə]
 k^hošká-pi akéwəži \emptyset -t^hí-pi ?
 young.man-PL eleven A3-live-PL DECL
 ‘there lived eleven brothers’ (NR T3.1)

- (21b) [tuwéni-ṣ̌i ə]
 tuwéni-ṣ̌i ?
 nobody-NEG DECL
 ‘there was nobody’ (NR T3.14)

3.2.3 Glides

There are three glides: *w* is bilabial, *y* is lamino-palatal, and *h* is a laryngeal fricative glide.

Each occurrence of *h* acquires place features from the vowel that follows it (cf. Ladefoged and Maddieson 1996:325-6). For example, it is [+round] in the sequence *ho*, [-round] in the sequence *ha*, and fronted and tensed in the sequence *hi*. Phonologically, *h* behaves like sonorants in that it triggers coda nasalization (see 13.4) and like fricatives in that it may not form a cluster with another fricative, both tauto- and heteromorphemically.

For historical reasons, *y* behaves differently in verb roots depending on whether it is etymologically organic or epenthetic. Historically organic *y* contracts with the agent prefixes (A1s *mn-*, A2 *n-*, A3 *y-*) and verbs with historically epenthetic

y inflect as regular active verbs (A1s *wa-y-*, A2 *ya-y-*, A3 *∅-y-*).¹¹ See chapter 6 for further discussion.

3.3. Vowels

3.3.1 Oral vowels

The five oral vowels are *i e a o u*. *i* is a high front vowel. *e* is a mid front vowel that has a lax phonetic variant [ɛ] when preceded by an affricate, as in *cé* [ˈcɛ] ‘always’ or *žéc^hen* [ˈžec^hɛn] ‘so then’, or by the velar fricative *ħ*, as in *aħémno* [aˈħɛmno] ‘ridge’. *a* is a low back vowel, *o* is a mid back rounded vowel, and *u* is a high back rounded vowel. *a i u* frequently become nasalized when preceded by a nasal consonant, as in *ma-k^há* [mǣˈk^hǣ] ‘she meant me’ (*ma* P1s, *k^há* ‘mean’). Note that nasalization of oral vowels is restricted to those that have nasal counterparts in the phoneme inventory. This is discussed further in section 10, below.

3.3.2 Nasal vowels

There are three phonemic nasal vowels: *ǣ ĭ ǣ̃*. The contrast between nasal and oral vowels may be seen in the following examples:

(22)	<i>hí</i>	‘tooth/teeth’	<i>hǐ</i>	‘fur’
	<i>há</i>	‘animal skin’	<i>hǣ̃</i>	‘be standing’
	<i>ú</i>	‘come’	<i>ǣ̃</i>	‘stay’

As in Sioux, *ǣ̃* is sometimes lowered to a nasalized *o*, but as Shaw (1980:16) notes for Sioux, “the conditions are unsystematic and the alternation is one of free

¹¹ This analysis is based on unpublished research of John Koontz (Robert Rankin p.c. 11 December 2003). The historical source of organic *y* is Proto-Mississippi Valley-Siouan **r*.

variation.” Buechel (1939, 1970) (Lakota) and Riggs (1890) (Dakota) write the occasionally lowered μ as [oŋ]. Buechel lists oŋ as an independent sound, or letter, in his alphabet, although in his pronunciation guide he gives the same English word, *soon*, for both uŋ and oŋ. Riggs (1890:1) lists only the five oral vowels, stating that they “have each one uniform sound except when followed by the nasal “ŋ,” which somewhat modifies them.” Both Buechel and Riggs cross reference a number of words in μ with their words spelled with oŋ. For instance, in his dictionary entry for uŋ (his representation of μ), Buechel states, “Same as oŋ,” and later in the same entry he states, “uŋ seems to take the place of the article kiŋ, or perhaps it is the same as k’uŋ (k’oŋ)” (1970:505). In fact, there are far fewer entries under oŋ than under uŋ in both authors’ dictionaries and many of those have redundant entries with forms in uŋ. There are no minimal pairs either in Sioux or Assiniboine that establish a distinction between the two sounds and they are now accepted as allophones of a single phoneme.¹²

4. Syllable structure

Syllables incline to strong onsets and weak codas. Onsets allow up to two consonants whereas codas are largely absent and, where they exist, may consist of only one segment. As will be seen, codas are subject to several rules of lenition but onsets are not. Onset clusters may not be divided by resyllabification while codas

¹² A notable exception is the orthography employed for Assiniboine by the Saskatchewan Indian Cultural Centre. They claim to have based their orthography on Riggs’ orthography and consequently list five nasal vowels in their Nakoda alphabet. (<http://www.sicc.sk.ca>; December 2004.)

are systematically resyllabified as onsets of subsequent vowel-initial syllables, simultaneously eliminating the coda from one syllable and supplying an onset for the other. Indeed, although underlying VC syllables exist, none surface as such; phonetic glottal insertion and phonological processes of coalescence, syncope, and epenthesis function to the effect that all surface syllables have onsets. With the exception of the male greeting *hau* (the only example of a diphthong in the language), each syllable may have only one vowel.

4.1 Syllable canon

Possible syllables are summarized in (23). Examples of each type are given in (24).

These fall into two basic categories, vowel final and consonant final.¹³

(23) Possible syllables: $(C_0^2)V(C_0^1)$

(24) Examples of possible syllables:

Vowel-final:

V í ‘mouth’

CV hí ‘tooth, teeth’

CCV šmá ‘deep’

Consonant-final:

VC én ‘at, to’

CVC hĭk ‘and’

CCVC štén ‘when’

4.2 Syllabification of CVC roots

Underlying consonant-final roots are referred to as “CVC” roots, following Boas and Deloria (1941) and Shaw (1980), even though they may variously have no onset or onsets of one or two consonants.

CVC roots receive a final *a* by a rule of epenthesis described and identified

¹³ Motivation for the existence of C-final roots in UR is summarized by Shaw (1980:33) and discussed in greater detail and formalized in her chapter 3.1 (1980:117ff).

by Chambers (1974, cited in Shaw 1980:121) and Shaw (1980) as STEM FORMATION. Shaw's (1980:121) rule of stem formation is reproduced below, where an equal sign (=) indicates an enclitic boundary and a pound sign (#) indicates an internal word boundary. The rule is restricted to nouns and verbs, represented by subscript 'N.V.', to avoid application to words ending in suffixes like adversative *š* or non-nominal and non-verbal forms that are underlyingly consonant final, such as the negative enclitic *ken*, the conjunction *hík*, and the adverb *tók* 'certainly'.

RULE 2 STEM FORMATION:

$$\emptyset \rightarrow a / C _]_{N.V.} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} = \\ \# \end{array} \right\}$$

The coda consonant of a CVC root is resyllabified as the onset of a separate syllable with the stem-forming *a*. However, across internal word boundaries and lexical derivation boundaries (as defined in 12.1), *a* is not inserted and the coda is not resyllabified as the onset of the following syllable.

(25)	/sap/	sapa	[sá.ba]	'black'
		sap-sapa	[sap.sá.ba]	'black (reduplicated)'
(26)	/p ^h et/	p ^h éta	[p ^h e.da]	'fire'
		p ^h et-mná	[p ^h en.mná]	'be the odor of smoke'

5. Phonotactics

Any consonant may occur as a syllable onset, but codas are restricted to the set *p, t, c, k, ħ, s, š, m, n*.¹⁴ No complex codas occur.

¹⁴ An exception is the phrase marker *-c*, typically pronounced with an aspirated release, [c^h]. This is a reduction of an earlier full form *c^he* which was last recorded in the 1970s (Parks et al. n.d), and is ubiquitous in Deloria 1936.

Onsets may consist of one or two segments. Geminate clusters do not occur, nor do fricatives cluster together. The set of permissible onset clusters, together with examples, is given in table 2.3.¹⁵

Table 2.3 Onset clusters

		S e c o n d M e m b e r							
		<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>š</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>
F i r s t M e m b e r	<i>p</i>	-	ptâ <i>otter</i>	-	psî <i>rice</i>	pšÁ <i>sneeze</i>	napcÁ <i>swallow</i>	-	-
	<i>t</i>	-	-	tkÁ <i>heavy</i>	-	-	-	-	-
	<i>k</i>	kpámni <i>serve</i>	kté <i>kill</i>	-	ksúyA <i>hurt</i>	kšikšÁ <i>curly</i>	pakcÁ <i>comb</i>	kmûkA <i>snare</i>	kní <i>arrive</i>
	<i>s</i>	spáyA <i>wet</i>	stustÁ <i>tired</i>	skâ <i>melt</i>	-	-	scú <i>bashful</i>	smúna <i>fine</i>	sní <i>cold</i>
	<i>š</i>	špâ <i>cooked</i>	štuštÁ <i>salty</i>	škátA <i>play</i>	-	-	ščuka <i>lazy</i>	šmá <i>deep</i>	šnó <i>melt</i>
	<i>ħ</i>	ħpâ <i>soaked</i>	ħtayétu <i>evening</i>	-	-	-	ħciná <i>tattered</i>	ħmá <i>sleepy</i>	ħní <i>have a sore</i>
	<i>m</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	mnÁ <i>smell</i>

The clusters *kc*, *pc*, *sc*, *šc*, *kw*, *sw*, and *tk* require some discussion regarding their status as acceptable clusters.

5.1 *kc*, *pc*

These clusters, while allowed as onsets, do not occur word-initially.

¹⁵ No attempt at determining a sonority hierarchy is undertaken here, but see Patterson (1990:62-74) for a proposed sonority hierarchy for Lakota.

5.1.1 kc Two dependent roots, /-kcA/ ‘unravel, unwind’ and /-kcə/ ‘think’ do not occur word-initially but occur with various instrumental and locative prefixes, for example, *pakcÁ* ‘to comb’ and *wókcə* ‘to think about’.

5.1.2 pc

The example given in table 2.3 for the cluster *pc*, *napcá* ‘swallow’ has the first person singular form *na.wá.pca* ‘I swallow’ and reduplicates as *na.pcá.pca* ‘to take big bites’, providing evidence that *pc* is an onset cluster.

5.2 sc, šc

The only occurrences of fricative-affricate clusters are in the low frequency words *scú* ‘be bashful’, or *šcuká* ‘lazy,’ thought by several Assiniboine speakers to be loanwords from Sioux. This opinion is supported by the coexistence of the word *štuká* ‘be lazy’, which, if the loanword hypothesis is correct, is an adaptation of the Sioux word *šcuká*, where the alien *šc* is adapted as the permissible *št* onset. There are also Assiniboine synonyms for these probable loanwords that are preferred (e.g., *įstéca* ‘be bashful’, *įknútaši* ‘be lazy’). In contrast, in the higher frequency term *mišícep^hə* ‘woman’s female cousin’, cognate with Sioux *scep^háši*, the fricative and affricate are separated by what appears to be a diachronically inserted vowel, further suggesting that the fricative-affricate cluster is disfavored. Therefore, although *sc* and *šc* are included in the table because they are attested in contemporary forms, they are only marginally acceptable as onset clusters.

5.3 *kw*

Hollow (1970:298)¹⁶ lists *kw* as an onset cluster, which he exemplifies with the word *hokwá* ‘male expression of surprise’, but the *kw* cluster here is more likely heteromorphemic. The Sioux interjection *wá!* (male expression of surprise) is not attested as an interjection in Assiniboine, but the male affirmative particle *hók!* is common, so that *hokwá* is undoubtedly a compound, with *k-w* occurring heteromorphemically. All other instances of *kw* occur across boundaries as well, as in *t^hokwíyá* ‘a Gros Ventre woman’ (*t^hóka* ‘enemy’, *wíyá* ‘woman’) and *šukwáč^hípi* ‘Horse Dance’ (*šuk-* ‘horse, comb. form’, *wáč^hípi* ‘dance’). Therefore, *kw* is not included here as a possible tautosyllabic cluster in Assiniboine.

5.4 *tk*

Although somewhat rare, the cluster *tk* occurs in several roots, e.g., *tkÁ* ‘be heavy,’ *ít^hkú* ‘to be ignited,’ *ít^hkúza* ‘be enough,’ *otkéya* ‘hang,’ and *wít^hkó* ‘be crazy’ (reduplicated as *wít^hkótko*, demonstrating the syllabic integrity of the *tk* cluster). Therefore, although Hollow finds at Ft. Peck that “/t/. . . do[es] not occur as the first member of a cluster” (1970:296), *tk* does occur as such at FB and CTK and is included here as an acceptable onset cluster.

5.5 *sw*

Hollow gives an example of an *sw* cluster, exemplified by *swépada* (*swép^hata*) ‘left

¹⁶ Hollow conducted his research at Fort Peck, Montana, which may account for these differences. The Assiniboine spoken at Fort Peck exhibits significant phonological and lexical differences from that spoken at Fort Belknap and Carry The Kettle, the latter two being much more similar to each other. Analyses for this study do not consider data from Fort Peck.

handed' (170:298). This word is not attested at FB or CTK (cf. *ic^hatkám* 'left handed' at CTK and FB), nor is the cluster *sw* found in any other attested forms and therefore *sw* is not included here as a possible onset cluster.

5.6 *km, kn and mn*

In general, the clusters *km* and *kn*, cognate with Lakota *gl* [g^ol] (in which a slight break systematically occurs), are pronounced without interruption, for example, [kmúga] 'trap', not *[k^omúga]. Occasional exceptions have been noted in texts, but where this occurs the slight vocalic gesture is sufficient to trigger intervocalic voicing, for example, wáknakùpi 'they were returning with game', normally heard as [wáknagùbⁱ], occurs in one instance as [wág^on^dagùbⁱ](NR T3.24). Deloria records both *g.m* and *k.m* in her Assiniboine data, stating that the dual representation "means I have heard both, and am unsure which is the correct form, as yet" (1936:1). In fact, *k.m* does not occur, at least not in contemporary speech.

Likewise, the cluster *mn*, cognate with Sioux *bl* [b^ol], is pronounced without interruption, for example, [mnúna] 'fine', not *[m^onúna]. However, the root meaning 'water' usually occurs as *miní* when used independently but as *mni-* in compounds. For example, by the Dakota Accent Rule (see 12.2), the word *mnik'ápi* 'well' (*k'Á* 'dig', *-pi* NOM) could not have stress on the *a* if the first member of the compound were *miní-*, in which case the expected form would be **miník'api*.

6. Phonetic effects in monosyllabic clusters

The stops *k* and *t* are often accompanied by slight aspiration or voicing when they are the first member of a tautosyllabic cluster. These effects are irregular,

occurring in slightly fewer than fifty percent of the tokens analyzed instrumentally (Cumberland 2000), and are found among all speakers. As the first member of a cluster with *n* or *t*, *k* will often be slightly aspirated, or it may be slightly voiced.

Each of the stops *p t k* may have slight aspiration when occurring as the second member of a cluster. That is, the aspiration that occurs is less than the aspiration of underlyingly aspirated stops. This weak aspiration is especially likely to occur when the first member of the cluster is an alveolar fricative. Examples from several different speakers include the following.

(27)	<u>Plain</u>	<u>Weak aspiration</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
	[éstena]	[ést ^(h) ena]	‘soon’
	[hʉštá]	[hʉšt ^(h) á]	hearsay
	[ʃktómi]	[ʃkt ^(h) ómi]	‘ʃktómi, the trickster’
	[kta]	[kt ^(h) a]	potential enclitic
	[kiktá]	[kikt ^(h) á]	‘get up’
	[nabɨkpa]	[nabɨkp ^(h) a]	‘mittens’
	[štén]	[št ^(h) én]	‘when’

7. Sound symbolism

More a lexical phenomenon than a phonological process, sound symbolism involving fricatives may indicate varying degrees of intensity. This seems not to be as prominent as in Sioux, where Boas and Deloria (1941:16-19) provide an extensive list of comparative forms. The classic Sioux example is *zí* ‘yellow’ < *ží* ‘tawny’ < *ǵí* ‘brown’ (Boas and Deloria 1941:18) but in Assiniboine, **ží* is not

attested and speakers disagree on which of the pair *zí/ǰí* means ‘yellow’ and which means ‘brown’. A number of undisputed pairs exist, such as those in (28), but they seem more likely remnants of a system that was, but is no longer, productive.

(28)	<i>kíza</i>	‘to squeak’	<i>kíža</i>	‘to low, as cattle’,
	<i>sápa</i>	‘black’	<i>šápa</i>	‘soiled’
	<i>šóta</i>	‘hazy, smokey’	<i>hóta</i>	‘gray’
	<i>wach^hísica</i>	‘quick-tempered’	<i>wach^híšica</i>	‘cranky’

In other instances, such as Assiniboine *kawíža* ‘bend, flex’ and *kawíǰa* ‘glide in circles’, the relationship is less direct than in Sioux, in which the roots are, respectively, *-wiža* ‘flexible’ and *-wiǰa* ‘bent at a sharp angle’ (Boas and Deloria 1941:16). Still others, like Boas and Deloria’s “*núza* ‘soft, as a gland’” < “*núža* ‘the same, but harder, as cartilage’” < “*núǰa* ‘hard, like callus on a bone,’” have no apparent Assiniboine cognates.

Although there remain traces of sound symbolism in Assiniboine, one cannot, by some predictable scale, simply vary the quality of a fricative that may be found in a verb root and thereby convey a difference in intensity, but as the phenomenon does reflect semantic differences in some cases it is noted here but will not be explored further.

8. Metathesis

A few compound nouns have lexicalized metathesis, as in (29).

(29a) *nəkphâ* ‘wrist’ (*nəpé* ‘hand’, *k^hâ* ‘vein’)

(29b) *həkphâ* ‘shoelace’ (*hâpa* ‘shoe’, *k^hâ* ‘vein’)

Compare (29a) to *nəm^hká* ‘sinews of the wrist’ (*p > m* in coda position), which compounds the same two words as *nək^há* but has not undergone metathesis. It is interesting to note that aspiration feature is not affected by the metathesis; it remains in its original position, namely, to the right of the second segment in the cluster. The aspiration in the examples in (29) is full aspiration; it is not the weak aspiration that sometimes occurs, discussed in section 6, above.

Some speakers systematically metathesize tautomorphemic *tk* clusters as *kt*, as illustrated in (30). While this form of metathesis is only found in Canada, many Canadian speakers do not metathesize the *tk* cluster.¹⁷ More research is needed to determine the precise distribution, but those CTK speakers who do not methathesize *tk* include all members of a single, large family and their close friends. Some examples are:

(30)	<u>Base form</u>	<u>Metathesized</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
	ažútká	ažúkta	‘kidney’
	č ^h atkám	č ^h aktám	‘on the left side’
	č ^h atkú	č ^h aktú	‘the honor place’
	katká	kaktá	‘choke’
	otkéya	oktéya	‘hang up’
	yatká	yaktá ¹⁸	‘drink’

¹⁷ Assiniboine speakers at Mosquito Reserve methathesize the *tk* cluster, as do Stoney speakers at Morley (Parks et al. n.d.).

¹⁸ Bertha O’Watch of Carry The Kettle says that *yaktá* is an old word meaning ‘to bite something into a curve’, as a quill when doing quillwork, or a strip of rawhide, but now it is “just a different way of saying *yatká*.” Both Riggs (1890:608) and Buechel

9. Ablaut

The final *a* and *a* of some verbs undergo regular change to *e* or *i* when immediately followed by certain grammatical elements (see table 2.4). Although the environments in which ablaut occurs are well defined, words that undergo ablaut are not predictable. Following an established convention (e.g., Taylor and Rood 1976, de Reuse 1983, Rood and Taylor 1996), changeable-*a*/*a* is indicated by uppercase *A* or *A* in citation forms. Words, enclitics, and particles that undergo ablaut are collectively referred to as “A-words.”

The enclitic *ktA* triggers ablaut to *i* on a preceding A-word; all other ablaut-inducing elements induce a change to *e*. Unlike Lakota, ablaut does not occur when an A-word is in phrase final position.

Elements that induce change of *A* to *e* are given in table 2.4. Note that some of these elements are themselves A-words.

Table 2.4 Forms that induce ablaut to *e*

Demonstratives	Enclitics	Modality Particles	Dependent Verbs
<i>né</i> ‘this’ and all derivatives of <i>né</i>	<i>na</i> DIM <i>sʰA</i> HAB	<i>stéñ</i> ‘as if’ <i>chuna</i> CONT	<i>kná</i> ‘consider’ <i>ší</i> ‘order to’
<i>žé</i> ‘that’ and all derivatives of <i>žé</i>	<i>ši</i> NEG <i>ken</i> NEG	<i>káč^ha</i> ‘wrong’ <i>no</i> DECL-m <i>wáč^hi</i> ‘intend to’	<i>kúza</i> ‘pretend to’ <i>kh^hiyA</i> CAUS <i>yA</i> CAUS

Examples of each of the elements in table 4 are given in (31)-(48), in the order they

(1970:623) record *yaktá* ‘to bend with the mouth’.

are listed in the table.

(31) *né*

wɨç^hát'a wəží iyáph^a Ø-wúké né Ø-sní (cf. wúkÁ)
 human-be.dead one against A3-lie this P3-be.cold
 'this corpse he lay against was cold' (NR T7.84)

(32) *né* derivative

né wo-wá-tj-kte né'jš p^hiná-ma-ya-ya (cf. ktA)
 this ST- A1s-eat-POT this-because.of please-P1S-CAUS-REDUP
 'for what I am about to eat, I thank you'

(33) *žé*

(33a) *né* onówa awáhimne žé (cf. ahíyA)
 this song ST-A1S-sing that
 'this song that I sang' (NR T1.12)

(33b) *žé* ec^hŭ-kte žé o-Ø-Ø-kíci-yaka (cf. ktA)
 that A3-do-POT that ST-P3-A3-tell
 'she told him she would do that' (NR T7.148)

(34) *žé* derivatives

(34a) owánwan-hjkna žéchen
 lightning-sudden then
 'there were lightning flashes then' (Appendix: Big Snake.28)

(34b) ináne žehátahə (cf. iyáyA)
 A2.depart ever.since
 'ever since you left' (NR T7.104)

(35) *na*

síce-na (cf. sícA)
 'be naughty, kind of bad'

(36) *s'A*

Ø-žeyé-s'a (cf. žeyÁ)
 A3-say.that-HAB
 'he always says that'(37) šĭ

∅-h̄payé-š̄i (cf. h̄payÁ)
 A3-soak-NEG
 ‘he didn’t soak it’

(38) *ken*

ták-ehè-cen (cf. eyÁ)
 something-A2.say-NEG
 ‘you haven’t said anything’ (LgC1.338)

(39) *šteň*

∅-∅-íput^hakì-kte stéň (cf. ktA)
 P3-A3-kiss-POT as.if
 ‘as if to kiss her’ (NR T7.164)

(40) *c^huna*

∅-patí-iyèye-c^huna (cf. iyáyA)
 A3-spread-AUX-CONT
 ‘he kept spreading it out’ (NR T4.26)

(41) *káč^ha*

mázaskà yuhé cáč^ha (cf. yuhÁ)
 money A3.have as.if
 ‘as if she had money!’ (LgC1.316)

(42) *no*

wa-ú-kte no (cf. ktA)
 A1s-come-POT DECL
 ‘I will come (male speaking)’

(43) *wáč^hi*

wá-h̄hè wáč^hi (cf. h̄hÁ)
 snow-fall be.about.to
 ‘looks like snow, like it’s about to snow’ wáhihÁ

(44) *kná*

t^heňíke ya-kná he (cf. t^heňíkA)
 be.difficult A2-find.to.be Q
 ‘do you find it difficult?’

(45) *ší*

ahíyaye ma- \emptyset -ší-pi (cf. ahíyA)
sing P1s-A3-tell.to.do-PL
'they told me to sing it' (NR T1.26)

(46) *kúza*

chéye wa-kúza (cf. chéyA)
cry A1s-pretend
'I'm pretending to cry'

(47) *k^hiya*

iʔé-k^hiya (cf. iʔÁ)
speak-CAUS
'make someone speak'

(48) *ya*

(48a) ch_a-nâ-kse-ya (cf. -ksA)
tree-by.force-sever-CAUS
'saw down a tree'

(48b) o-špéye-ya (cf. špəyÁ)
LOC-brand-CAUS
'to brand'

A single example, *mimÁ* + *-ya* > *miméya* 'round', suggests that it is possible that adverbial *-ya* also triggers ablaut to *e* but additional examples will need to be found to be certain.

For some speakers, A-words do not ablaut to *ɨ* before *ktA*, e.g., *mná-ktA* 'I will go', although ablaut to *e* is retained by these speakers, e.g., A1s-NEG *mné-šɨ* 'I didn't go'. Although ablaut to *e* occurs in a number of environments, ablaut to *ɨ* only occurs before *ktA*, so these speakers retain ablaut as a general rule but have eliminated the anomalous *ɨ*. For them, all ablaut is ablaut to *e*. The following near

minimal pair occurred in a conversation between a speaker who does not ablaut to *ĩ* and one who does, the two women speaking virtually simultaneously.

(49a) táku omnáka-kta c'én . . .
 what ST-1s-tell-POT thus . . .
 'So what should I tell about . . . ' (LgC1.333)

(49b) táku wó-wa-knakj-kta hún.
 what ST-A1s-tell.stories-POT I.wonder
 'I wonder what tales (i.e., gossip) I should tell' (LgC1.334)

10. Vocalic nasalization

The oral vowels *a i u* often undergo nasal assimilation but this phenomenon is complex and further research is required for a full understanding of the processes involved. There are three types of nasal spread, which may be characterized as ranging from weak to strong. The weakest form entails optional nasal spread, formalized as rule 3, stating that a non-mid vowel is nasalized following a nasal consonant. The rule is subject to structure preservation; that is, only high and low vowels are affected by the rule, since the mid vowels *e o* do not have nasal counterparts in the phoneme inventory.

RULE 3 Weak nasal spread

$$V \rightarrow [+nasal] / C \text{ ___ } [+nasal]$$

Examples are:

(50)	mak ^h á	~	m̩ak ^h á	'earth'
	ma-k ^h á	~	m̩a-k ^h á	's/he means me' (k ^h Á 'mean')
	núpa	~	n̩úpa	'two'
	man̩ú	~	m̩an̩ú	'steal'

nité	~	nĭté	‘small of the back’
nůže	~	nŭže	‘ear’

It appears that weak nasalization only occurs when an oral vowel follows a simplex nasal consonant; it does not occur when the nasal consonant is the second member of a consonant cluster. Examples include the following:

(51)	sní	‘be cold’	*snĭ
	řmá	‘be sleepy’	*řmá
	kní	‘arrive here’	*knĭ
	mnaská	‘be flat’	*mnaská

Weak nasalization alternates within the speech of individual speakers and might be characterized as strictly phonetic but for several consistent exceptions: the diminutive enclitic *na* does not seem to have a nasalized alternant (**nq*), and the oral vowels *o e* never undergo nasalization, that is, like stop nasalization (see 13.4), variation is restricted to members of the phoneme inventory: only those oral vowels that have phonemic nasal counterparts are receptive to this type of variation. This weak form of nasalization appears to be more prevalent at FB than at CTK.

Somewhat more consistent, but still optional, are those cases in which nasalization of a nasal vowel perseveres across the glide *y*. (Nasalization does not appear to assimilate across the glides *w* and *h*.) This phenomenon, too, seems more prevalent at FB, but for those speakers whose speech exhibits this form, the occurrence is less ephemeral than the weaker type. However, *y* does not always allow nasal spread. Consider the following data:

- (52) *yÁ* ‘go’ > *uyápi* ~ *uyápi* ‘we go’
špayÁ ‘cook’ > *špáʷyapi* ~ *špáʷyapi* ‘we cook’
- (53) *yaĥtáka* ‘bite’ > *uyáĥtakapi* **uyáĥtakapi* ‘we bite’
yužáža ‘wash’ > *uyúžažapi* **uyúžažapi* ‘we wash’
manŭ ~ *mānŭ* ‘steal’ > *mayánu* **mayánu*, **māyánu* ‘I steal’

The examples in (52) demonstrate that the feature [nasal] can cross both etymologically organic and epenthetic *y*: the *y* of *yÁ* ‘go’ is organic (cf. A1s *mná*) but the *y* of causative *-yÁ* is epenthetic (cf. *špawáya* ‘I cook’), yet both allow nasal spread. On the other hand, the examples in (53) demonstrate that [nasal] does not simply spread across *y* whenever a sequence of [+nasal]-*y*-[-nasal] occurs. We see that the instrumental prefixes *ya-* and *yu-*, and the A2 pronominal affix *ya* do not admit nasalization. The phenomenon, while suggestive of a phonological process, seems also to be lexically restricted.

The example in (54) shows that nasal assimilation across *y* does not occur when the immediately preceding segment is a nasal consonant. That is, the feature [nasal] is only received across *y* from a nasal vowel.

- (54) *na-p^hó-p^hom-ya-pi*
 INSTR burst-REDUP-CAUS-NOM
 ‘popcorn’

The strongest type of nasal assimilation may be seen in a few forms where the feature [nasal] that appears in a surface form is invariant, that is, consistently present for all speakers. The clearest example of this type is the contraction of *mína* to *mĭ*: the root /min/ ‘knife’ loses *n* in compounds when the second element of the

compound begins with a bilabial stop, and the preceding *i* assimilates the feature [nasal] from the deleted consonant, as seen in (55a). Compare those forms to that in (55b), where assimilation does not occur.

- (55) /min/ 'knife'
- (55a) *mína* 'knife'
- mĭ-pšúpapina*¹⁹ 'pocket knife' (-pšu 'jointed', -na DIM)
- mĭ-p^hésto* 'a knife with a sharp point' (p^hé 'sharp', -sto 'oblong')
- (55b) *min-kaš'ĭ* 'boning knife'

This kind of nasal assimilation is also seen in (56), where *nyp^hín* 'both', has the augmentative suffix -š. The *n* is deleted but the feature [nasal] is retained and transferred to *i*, producing *nyp^hĭš*.

- (56) *nyp^hĭš e-∅-cíya*²⁰
 both-AUG ST-A3-tell
 'he told them both' (NR T2.13)

Almost as clear a case of “strong” assimilation is the root /wəyak/ ‘see’, where the second vowel of the root is nasalized in the citation form, *wəyáka* but not in the A1s form, *wəmnáka*. The second vowel of the A1s form does not nasalize by “weak” nasalization because when the preceding nasal consonant is in a cluster, as noted above, nasal consonants in clusters do not seem to induce weak nasalization.

¹⁹ CTK variant: *mĭpšúpina*

²⁰ Interestingly, the third person plural object pronominal *wĭc^ha* does not occur here. This may indicate that *wĭc^ha* refers only to more than two, or it may simply be an example of the practice of omitting *wĭc^ha* in informal speech. No other examples have been found in the corpus to make a determination between these two possibilities.

Finally, oral vowels frequently alternate with nasal vowels in two instances that are not conditioned by a nasal consonant or vowel. The instrumental prefix *ĩ-* is not nasalized by some speakers, and the word *wĩc^há* ‘human’ alternates freely with *wic^há*. A similar phenomenon in Lakota is identified by Rood and Taylor as “doublets” (1996:44), which seems a reasonable label for these alternations also, as both pronunciations are correct.

11. Vowel hiatus

Adjacent vowels are avoided. There are three strategies for adjusting the phonology when two vowels become adjacent through inflection or derivation: the insertion of a glide or glottal stop (11.1), vowel coalescence (11.2), and vowel deletion (11.3).

11.1 Glide or glottal epenthesis

A very common strategy for separating adjacent vowels in surface forms consists in the insertion of *y*, *w*, or *ʔ*.

A low level phonetic rule, formalized as rule 4, inserts a glottal stop before a vowel that follows a word boundary, as in /*ǵp*/ > *ʔǵpa* ‘day’ and /*osni*/ > *ʔosní* ‘be cold’, which form the syntactically derived compound [*ʔǵmʔosní*] ‘to be a cold day’ (**ʔǵmosní*). (See 12.1 for a discussion of syntactic and lexical derivation.) A glottal stop is also inserted phonetically to separate two vowels that are juxtaposed by derivation when those vowels do not meet the criteria for vowel deletion or coalescence, as in *kaʔĩña* ‘hit and make laugh; trip and laugh’ (*ĩñá* ‘laugh’).

RULE 4 Glottal Insertion Rule:

$$\emptyset \rightarrow ʔ / \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \#\# \\ V \end{array} \right\} _ _ V$$

In fast speech, word internal glottal stops are frequently omitted, but both vowels are pronounced as separate syllables, that is, they do not contract or coalesce as a result of the omission of the glottal stop.²¹

The glide *y* is inserted when a high front vowel immediately precedes a mid or low vowel. This is very common due to a large number of words formed by the locative prefix *i ~ ĭ* followed by the locative prefix *o*, as in (57b)-(57c).

(57a) /ni+até/
ni-y-áte
2.POSS-*y*-father
'your father'

(57b) /i + o + hí/
i-yó-hi
LOC-*y*-LOC-arrive.there
'reach by extending'

(57c) /i + o + ki + sica/
i-yó-ki-sica
LOC-*y*-LOC-INCEPTIVE-be.bad
'feel unwell'

Epenthetic *y* and *ʔ* are found to alternate in some forms.

(58) *iʔÁ ~ iyÁ* 'speak, talk'
tʰiʔópa ~ tʰiyópa 'door'
iyókʰipʰa ~ iʔókʰipʰa 'cradleboard' (of *kʰĭ* 'carry on the back')

In general, *w* is not as commonly used for this purpose, but a few examples may be the following.

²¹ In the case of the modality enclitic *otʰiʔika* 'I think', the glottal stop seems never to be pronounced, even in slow, careful speech. The word clearly has two high vowels, though, and the stress shifts in some environments to produce *ótʰiʔika*.

- (59a) /i-wa-ohA/
 i-w-óhe
 LOC-*w*-boil.ABLAUT
 ‘cooking pot’ (lit. ‘place in which things are boiled’)
- (59b) /i-wa-o-paska/
 i-w-ó-paska
 LOC-*w*-LOC-press
 ‘bread pan’ lit. ‘place in which things are pressed’, in which bread dough is implied by *paská* ‘knead, as bread dough’)

In some instances, intervocalic *w* seems clearly to be epenthetic, as suggested by forms with *w* that compete with forms employing epenthetic *y* or *ʔ*.

- (60) t^hiwópa ~ t^hiyópa ~ t^hiʔópa ‘door’
 iwúǵa ~ iyúǵa ~ iʔúǵa ‘ask’

The variants in (60) appear to be regional, with the glottal stop more common among Canadian speakers. Individual speakers do not vary the form they use; for example, a speaker who says *t^hiʔópa* does so consistently and does not use either of the other variant forms.

11.2 Vowel coalescence

Two vowels in hiatus often coalesce as a single vowel. Vowel coalescence differs from vowel deletion in two ways: when the resulting single vowel is in the first syllable of a word, it is stressed, and the resulting vowel may differ from either of the original vowels, for example, where [-high] *a* coalesces with [+high] *í* as the mid vowel *é* (61c).

(62)	az ík ^h iya	‘nurse a child’	(azé ‘breast’, í LOC, k ^h iya CAUS)
	c ^h at óñpaya	‘be sad’	(c ^h até ‘heart’, oñpáya ‘be sad’)
	it ókšə	‘around the face’	(íté ‘face’, ókšə ‘around’)
	mak ^h ót ^h i	‘earth lodge’	(mak ^h á ‘earth’, o LOC, t ^h i ‘live’)
	nəp íkpa	‘gloves, mittens’	(nəpé ‘hand’, íkpa ‘tip’)
	nəp ícáške	‘bracelet’	(nápé ‘hand’, ícáška ‘tie’)
	wakp ókija	‘kingfisher’	(wakpá ‘river’, o LOC, kija ‘fly’)
	wakt óknaka	‘tell one’s war deeds’	(wa INDEF, kté ‘kill’, oknáka ‘tell one’s own’)
	wat óʔinaži	‘train station’	(wáta ‘conveyance’, ²² o LOC, í LOC, nəži ‘stand’)
	wíc ^h íte	‘human face’	(wíc ^h á ‘man, human’, ité ‘face’)
	wíc ^h óta	‘crowd’	(wíc ^h á ‘man, human’, óta ‘many’)

12. Morphophonemic processes

For the purpose of discussion, morphophonemic processes are divided into two groups, those that interact with stress and those that do not. Many of the operations described in this section are identical or very similar to those described for Dakota by Shaw (1980). When her analysis accounts for the Assiniboine case as well, the rule is reproduced here with Assiniboine examples but motivations are not reiterated, although reference to that work is given as appropriate.

Because a number of morphophonemic processes have been shown to be

²² *wáta* ‘boat’ has been extended semantically to refer to any conveyance, e.g., *wáta* ‘train’ and *wátakiye* ‘airplane’ (*kíyA* ‘fly’).

sensitive to a uniquely fine set of distinctions among boundary types, this section begins with a discussion of boundaries. It is followed by a discussion of several stress-assigning principles and rules that either influence them or are influenced by them.

12.1 Boundaries

In order to account for some seemingly arbitrary and conflicting stress patterns, Shaw (1980:35, following Chambers 1978) divides the broader categories of ‘word boundary’ and ‘morpheme boundary’ into the four categories listed in table 2.5. These finer boundary distinctions delimit the domain of certain phonological rules in ways that parallel phenomena also found in Assiniboine. They are ranked hierarchically from weak to strong, where their relative strength is determined by whether stress can move across the boundary by the Dakota Accent Rule (DAR), described in the following section. The DAR passes freely across morpheme and lexical derivation boundaries, but does not cross an enclitic or word boundary. To facilitate comparison, in this section I will adopt Shaw’s symbols for these boundaries.

Table 2.5 Boundaries

<u>Boundary type</u>	<u>Symbol</u>
morpheme boundary	+
lexical derivation boundary ²³	
enclitic boundary	=
[internal] word boundary	#
[external] word boundary	##

Shaw's evidence for the existence of these boundaries (1980: 35-50) may be summarized as follows, using Assiniboine examples. The DAR (primary stress assignment rule that places primary stress on the second syllable, described in the following section) passes freely over morpheme boundaries (+) and lexical derivation boundaries (|). These are exemplified in (62) and (63) respectively. Observe that the DAR is free to assign stress to the right of such boundaries, and can also move to the left as necessary under the rule.

(63) Morpheme boundary examples:

- (63a) pronominal affix: wa + kte > wakté 'I kill'
- (63b) instrumental prefix: ka + ksA > kaksÁ 'chop'
- (63c) pronominal + instr. wa + ka + ksA > wakákxa 'I chop'
- (63d) locative prefix: ĭ + ka + ksA > ĭcákse 'cutting tool'

(An Assiniboine parallel for the Dakota "adverbial suffix *-ya*," which she exemplifies by the Dakota word *pt̩syá* could not be found.)

²³ "|" is used in Chambers and Shaw 1980; Shaw (1980) uses "%".

evidence it provides of a crucial distinction between the two boundaries in Assiniboine suggests that a principled basis for the distinction may exist in Sioux as well.

12.2 Dakota Accent Rule (DAR)

Primary stress is assigned by the Dakota Accent Rule (DAR), as described and motivated in Shaw (1980:31-44). The rule was first formalized by Chambers (1978:19) and later by Shaw (1980:31). Shaw's formalization of the rule is reproduced as rule 5.

RULE 5 Dakota Accent Rule (DAR)

$$V \rightarrow V' / \#(C_0V)C_0___$$

The rule states that primary stress is assigned to the second syllable of a word unless there is only one syllable, in which case primary stress is assigned to that syllable. As a consequence of this rule, primary stress never falls beyond the second syllable. Primary stress moves leftwards as prefixes are added to a word. Shaw's paradigmatic example (1980:31) is found in Assiniboine as well:

- (66) c^h i-kté 'I kill you'
 ma-yá-kte 'you kill me'
 wic^há-ya-kte 'you kill them'

Phonological processes that can cause the primary stress to move up to the first syllable are described in section 11, above.

12.3 Compound Accent Rule (CAR)

In the formation of compounds, the primary stress of the second member is

reduced to secondary stress by the Compound Accent Rule (CAR), formalized by Shaw (1980:38) and reproduced here as rule 6.

RULE 6 Compound Accent Rule (CAR):

$$\acute{V} \rightarrow \grave{V} / \#\# \dots \acute{V} \dots \# \dots _ \dots \#\#$$

Examples of the CAR, with derivations, include the following.

- (67) /kiyâ#iyáyA/ (kiyâ ‘fly’, iyáyA ‘depart’)
 DAR kiyâ#iyáyA
 CAR kiyâ#iyâyA
 ? Insertion kiyâ?iyâyA
 [kiyâ?iyâyA] ‘fly away’
- (68) /mini#o+t’A/ (miní ‘water’, LOC, t’Á ‘die’)
 DAR miní ot’á
 CAR miní ot’â
 ? Insertion miní?ot’â
 [miní?ot’â] ‘drown’
- (69) /ináh̃mA | k^hiyA/ (ináh̃mA ‘hide’, k^hiyá CAUS.RFL)
 DAR ináh̃mA k^híya
 CAR ináh̃mA k^hîya
 ABLAUT ináh̃mek^híya
 [ináh̃mek^hîya] ‘hide from someone’
- (70) /kamnaž- # mani/ (kamnážA ‘spread one’s legs apart’, máni ‘walk’)
 REDUP kamnažmnaž mani
 3-C Simpl. kamnamnaž mani
 Fric devoic kamnamnaš mani
 DAR kamnámnaš máni
 CAR kamnámnaš màni
 [kamnámnaš màni] ‘walk with legs apart, waddle’

12.4 Lexical stress

For historical reasons, some stems may be considered to have underlying first syllable stress. Examples are:

- (71) hâska ‘be long, tall’
 cónana ‘a few; a little bit’

cúsina	‘be small’
étuwa	‘look’
éknąka	‘put’
káya	‘say, tell; “hearsay”’
húte	‘base’ (noun)
kítąna	‘barely, slightly’
máni	‘walk’
náži	‘stand’

12.5 Rhythmic Stress Patterning (RSP)

As we have seen, the DAR assigns one accent to a lexical word, and that primary stress is reduced by the CAR to secondary stress on the second member of a compound. Significantly, then, an accent resulting from the CAR is simply modified DAR stress, subject to all the same rules of placement that affect the DAR and occupying the position assigned originally by the DAR. Together, these two rules constitute what may be considered a single stress rule complex.

There are additional stress patterns in Assiniboine words and phrases that are not accounted for by the DAR/CAR complex and that impart a characteristic rhythmic contour to Assiniboine. At the present stage of analysis, these appear to result from a set of rules that apply after the DAR and CAR have applied, although further research may contradict this view. All stress resulting from these additional rules is secondary, and usually – but not always – falls on alternate syllables. Since the effect is to impart a prominent rhythm to the language overall, I will provisionally refer to these patterns collectively as rhythmic stress patterning (RSP) and regard RSP as a separate rule complex from the DAR/CAR complex.

There are at least two domains, and hence at least two rules, in the RSP complex. One domain is the word (with any enclitics that may be attached to it),

and another that is larger than the word; sometimes this larger domain can be identified as a phrase or clause, but in other instances it seems not to fit an identifiable syntactic unit. Although this assessment is quite indefinite, a few pattern types can be identified that occur with greater than chance frequency so that it seems certain that these patterns in fact result from rules by which RSP will eventually be found to be predictable.

12.5.1 Word level RSP

At the word level, pairs of examples like the following suggest that RSP is assigned from right to left beginning with the penult and to every second syllable thereafter, creating a stress clash when it encounters primary stress assigned (from left to right) by the DAR, as described for Stoney (Shaw 1985, Rhyasen Erdman 1997). In this analysis, in (72), the stem *okíne* is assigned primary stress on the second syllable by the DAR and secondary stress is assigned to the penultimate syllable by RSP.

(72a) o- \emptyset - \emptyset -kíni-pì-ken
 ST-P3-A3-get-PL-NEG
 'they don't get it' (NR T4.53)

(72b) o- \emptyset - \emptyset -kínè-pi
 ST-P3-A3-get-PL
 'they get it'

In (73), we see two four-syllable words, one with underlying first syllable stress (73a), and one with DAR-assigned primary stress (73b). The fact that a stress clash occurs in (73b) but not in (73a) can be accounted for by positing right to left assignment of RSP.

- (73a) é-ma-∅-yàku
ST-P1s-A3-take
'he took me'
- (73b) i-ní-tùk^ha
ST-P2-be.hungry
'you are hungry'

Examples like the following suggest that in words with final closed syllables, RSP assignment is initiated on the final syllable. Right to left-assigned RSP could also account for these examples.

- (74a) wac^hí-wjç^hà-wa-k^hiyi-ktà-c
dance-P3p-A1s-CAUS-POT-DECL
'I will make them dance' (NR T5.12)
- (74b) yušná-pi-šì-m
drop-PL-NEG-IMPER
'don't drop it!' (NR T3.29)

However, this suggestion is countered by examples like (75)-(76), in which stress does not fall on a final closed syllable, and (77), in which neither the ultimate nor penultimate syllable is stressed.

- (75) i-má-stùsta-c
LOC-P1s-be.tired-DECL
'I'm tired of it' (NR T4.9)
- (76) iyúha t^he-míci-yà-pi-c²⁴
all ST-1.BEN-eat.up-PL-DECL
'they ate it all up on me' (app. [ktomi and Fox.39])
- (77) mi-t^hákožà-pi-na
A1s.POSS-grandchild-PL-DIM
'my grandchildren (NR T5.12)

In (78), primary stress on the first syllable is unexpected, since the secondary

²⁴ /t^hem-mici-ya/: first *m* deleted by the rule of degemination

stress is in the position where primary stress would be expected.

- (78) k^í-càška
 INCEPTIVE-tie
 ‘to come loose, come untied’ (SB.116)

An alternative analysis is that RSP assigns stress to alternate syllables beginning to the right of the primary stress and moving from left to right, regardless of whether the primary stress is assigned to the first or second syllable.

- (79) RSP in words with second syllable primary stress

- (79a) yušná-pi-šì-m
 drop-PL-NEG-IMPER
 ‘don’t drop it!’ (NR T3.29)

- (79b) o-∅-∅-kíni-pì-ken
 ST-P3-A3-get-PL-NEG
 ‘they don’t get it’ (NR T4.53)

- (79c) ∅-akínìcà-pi
 A3-argue-PL
 ‘they argued’ (NR T4.43)

- (79d) o-míci-pàħpu
 LOC-on.me-scrape.off
 ‘he scraped it off on me’ (SB.9)

- (80) RSP in words with first syllable primary stress

- (80a) tákunì-šìj (cf. táku ‘thing; something’)
 nothing-NEG
 ‘it’s nothing’

- (80b) núta-pì-kta (cf. yúta ‘eat’)
 A2.eat-PL-POT
 ‘you will eat it’ (SB:71)

- (80) é-ma-yàku (cf. éyaku ‘take’)
 ST-P1s-take
 ‘he took me’ (SB:54)

Secondary stress is avoided on a final syllable if the final syllable is open, as

in (81), but allowed if the final syllable is closed, as in (82).

- (81) mi-t^hákožâ-pi-na
 A1s.POSS-grandchild-PL-DIM
 ‘my grandchildren (NR T5.12)
- (82) wac^hí-wiç^hâ-wa-k^hiyi-ktâ-c
 dance-P3p- A1s-CAUS-POT-DECL
 ‘I will make them dance’ (NR T5.12)

The case in which a declarative glottal stop with incomplete closure surfaces as a neutral vowel (see 3.2.1) is interesting. Underlyingly, ʔ creates a closed syllable, and in its surface form as schwa it adds a syllable so that, in the following example, šǐ is no longer the final syllable. Either way, šǐ receives stress by RSP due to the presence of ʔ (> ə).

- (83) [tuwéni-šǐ ə]
 /tuwéni-šǐ ʔ/
 nobody-NEG DECL
 ‘there is nobody’ (NR T3.14)

Not explained in an analysis of left-to-right RSP is stress clash, in which primary stress in one syllable is followed by secondary stress on the next adjacent syllable, such as those in (72b) and (73b) above, and those in (84)-(85).

(84) Stress clash in words with second syllable primary stress:

- (84a) wahíhèya
 mole (animal)
 ‘mole’ (SB.74 and SB.80)
- (84b) mi-súkâ-pi
 A1s.POSS-younger.brother-PL
 ‘my younger brothers’ (NR T3.25)
- (84c) ɯ-yá-pi-hta
 1du-go-PL-POT
 ‘we will go’ (NR T3.28)

(85) Stress clash in word with first syllable primary stress:

t^hápà-na
 ball-DIM
 ‘little ball’ (NR T3.22 and T3.41)

More research is needed to determine the principles governing RSP. While RSP is similar in many respects to the secondary stress patterns described for Stoney, Assiniboine does not exhibit clear patterns of penultimate stress as described for Stoney, and neither simple right-to-left nor left-to-right assignment appears to account for all the non-CAR secondary stress observed in the data.

12.5.2 RSP and modality particles

It may be observed in many of the above examples that enclitics are subject to RSP. Modality particles, however, are not subject to RSP. As the examples in (86) show, modality particles may receive stress, but it is primary stress.

(86a) ni-t’á-pì-kte nó
 P2-be.dead-PL-POT DECL
 ‘you all will be dead’ (SB.90)

(86b) a-chí-pāñpu chá-c
 LOC-I/you-scrape.off maybe-DECL
 ‘I might scrape it off on you’ (SB.99)

(86c) é-ma-yàku pó
 ST-P2-take PL.IMPER-m
 ‘take me [out of here]!’ (SB.54)

(86d) i-ní-tùka hé
 ST-P2-be.hungry Q
 ‘are you hungry?’ (NR T7.114)

Monosyllabic modality particles do not always take stress, and although the reason that they do bear stress in the above examples is as yet unexplained, it seems clear that it is by some process other than the DAR or RSP. If they were

subject to the DAR they would consistently bear primary stress and if they were subject to RSP, any stress they received would be secondary stress. Whatever the source, when modality particles receive stress, it is always primary stress, unlike the enclitics, which may only receive secondary stress. In other words, enclitics and modality particles are in separate stress domains. Enclitics modify a verb and are associated with the host by an enclitic boundary (=), which blocks DAR but not RSP. In fact, this is one of the criteria by which enclitics are distinguished from modality particles. (See chapter 9.)

12.5.3 Phrase level RSP

RSP is sometimes seen to extend through entire phrases. In such instances, RSP re-assigns primary stress of a word within the phrase that would otherwise a phrase level pattern of alternate syllable stress. In the example in (87), the lexical stress of *nína* is shifted to the second syllable, thus preserving the regular alternating syllable rhythm of the entire phrase.

(87) tók^hen né t^haháke né naháñ níná ni-yáza he
 how this knee this still very P2-hurt Q
 'Is your knee still hurting you?' (NR T6.20)

The example in (88) provides a minimum pair in which the speaker repeats a phrase, but the second time without the independent pronoun *né*. The primary stress on *éyaku* is shifted when the pronoun is present but remains in its lexically assigned position in the repetition, where it is not preceded by *né*. Also, *c^hen* receives no stress in its first occurrence but receives primary stress in its second occurrence, thereby creating a pattern of alternating stress that persists across

both phrases.

- (88) né emáyakù c^hen, é-ma-yàku c^hén, . . .
 this.one ST-P1s-take thus, ST-P1s-take thus
 ‘so this one picked me up, so she picked me up’ (LgC1.273)

These phrase level stress displacements (if that is what they are) are the exception rather than the rule, but they occur often enough to suggest that they are not merely slips of the tongue. Such “displacement” has also been noted at the word level, as in (89), where the expected *wɪc^hákipà* (cf. *pÁ* ‘call’) surfaces instead with a stress clash similar to that seen in the examples in (84) above.

- (89) wɪc^há-kì-pà
 P3p-DAT-call
 ‘he called them’ (SB.61)

Finally, at the phrase level, two additional phenomena have been noted. In one, the primary stress assigned by the DAR is sometimes shifted to create even, alternating syllable stress throughout part or all of a phrase. In the bracketed portion of (90), the expected *nútíkta* ‘you will eat’ becomes *nutíkta* in context. The RSP effect may be independent of syntactic structure: *hàta* forms a constituent with *wéc^huni* but agrees with the alternate syllable stress patterning of the matrix clause, although this may be coincidental, since *hàta* has underlying first syllable stress.

- (90) wéc^huni {hàta níš žehá nutíkta }
 A1s.finish when you then A2-eat-POT
 ‘when I finish eating, then you will eat’ (NR T7.111)

In (91), *naháñ* and *c^hén* are stressed as expected, but the first syllable stress of *wéksuya* (see chapter 9 regarding the derivation of this form) is shifted to the

second syllable, creating a pattern of regular alternate syllable within the dependent clause.

- (91) $\check{\text{na}}\check{\text{h}}\check{\text{á}}\check{\text{h}}\check{\text{w}}\check{\text{e}}\check{\text{k}}\check{\text{s}}\check{\text{ú}}\check{\text{y}}\check{\text{a}}\quad\check{\text{c}}\check{\text{h}}\check{\text{é}}\check{\text{n}}$
 still A1s-remember since
 ‘since I still remember it . . .’ (NR T1.4)

Another pattern has been noted that does not alternate syllables but which by some other rule seems to function in place of alternate syllable stress assignment. The pattern of the bracketed phrase in (92) is dactylic, i.e., long-short-short, represented in the example as ‘ $_ \cup \cup$ ’. The rhythm in the first part, *tók^hen šiyáka*, is in a sense “naturally” dactylic by the effect of lexical first syllable stress on the first word and the DAR on the second. If RSP only assigned alternate syllable stress, we should expect *ewíc^hakiyàpi*. But here the secondary stress in *ewíc^hakiyàpi* does not conform to the more common pattern of alternate syllable stress assignment, seeming instead to result from the pattern established in the earlier part of the phrase.

- (92) $\check{\text{n}}\check{\text{a}}\check{\text{k}}\check{\text{á}}\check{\text{h}}\check{\text{a}}\check{\text{n}}\check{\text{é}}\quad\check{\text{i}}\check{\text{s}}\quad\{ \check{\text{t}}\check{\text{o}}\check{\text{k}}\check{\text{h}}\check{\text{e}}\check{\text{n}}\quad\check{\text{s}}\check{\text{i}}\check{\text{y}}\check{\text{á}}\check{\text{k}}\check{\text{a}}\quad\check{\text{e}}\check{\text{w}}\check{\text{i}}\check{\text{c}}\check{\text{h}}\check{\text{a}}\check{\text{k}}\check{\text{i}}\check{\text{y}}\check{\text{à}}\check{\text{p}}\check{\text{i}} \}$
 now this SPC how mudhen they.call.them
 ‘these are the ones they call “mudhen” today’ (NR T5.28)

13. Other morphophonological processes

13.1 Degemination

Assiniboine does not have true (tautosyllabic) geminate consonants but when like consonants abut across a morpheme boundary as a result of morphological processes, creating what are termed “false” geminates, the first, or leftmost,

consonant is deleted.²⁵ Aspirated and unaspirated consonants are treated as like consonants, so that a combination of C_i and C_i^h will also trigger deletion. Shaw's (1980:340) rule of degemination is reproduced as rule 7, modified to reflect the restriction of identity to nonlaryngeal features.

RULE 7 Degemination

$C_i \rightarrow \emptyset / ___ C_i$ (i = identity of nonlaryngeal features))

Examples include:

- (93) /p^hop/ /na+p^hop+p^hop|ya=pi/ > nap^hóp^homyapi 'popcorn'
 /k^hok/ /ka+k^hok+k^hok-a/ > kak^hók^hoka 'to knock'
 /tit/ /pa+tit+tit-a/ > patítita 'to push around'
 /t^hemya/ -> [t^hemáyayabiktešj]
 /t^hem+ma+ya+ya=pi=kte=šj/
 ST-P1s-A2-eat.up-PL-POT-NEG
 'you will not eat me up'

Degemination does not occur across a lexical derivation boundary (|), as shown in (93) (see also Boas and Deloria 1941:13). k is the only obstruent that does not undergo dissimilating phonological changes in a coda and is therefore the only obstruent for which such combinations occur. There is no release between the two segments comprising the geminate; kk is [k:] and kk^h is [k:h].

- (94) /aktak|k^hiya/ aktákk^hiya 'to cause to run'
 /c^honak|kit^hu/ c^honákkit^hu 'to wear a breechcloth'

²⁵ A number of recent studies provide evidence that it is, in fact, the first of two intervocalic biconsonantal obstruents that is deleted in a deletion process. See, for example, Wilson (2001). The first two examples in (93), in which the unaspirated stop of the coda is deleted and the aspirated stop of the following onset is retained, support this claim.

/snok kiya/	snokkíya	‘to know one’s own’
/šɥk kaŋ/	šɥkkâna	‘an old dog’
/šɥk kneǵ/	šɥkknékneǵa	‘a pinto horse’

13.2 Triconsonantal simplification

When a sequence of three consonants occurs across a morpheme boundary (+), the leftmost consonant is deleted. Shaw’s (1980:332) formalization of this rule is reproduced as rule 8.

RULE 8 Triconsonantal simplification (CCC-SIMPL):

$C \rightarrow \emptyset / _ _ CC$

- (95) /škop/ > škop+škóp-a > škó-škópa ‘to be crooked, warped’
 /-mnec/ > kamné_ɥmnec-a > kamné-mneca ‘to smash with an instrument’
 /šnut/ > šnu_ɥšnú_ɥ-a > šnu-šnúta ‘to be slippery, slick’
 /ħnok/ > oħnók+ħnok-a > oħnó-ħnoka ‘to be full of holes’

The root /mnuz/ appears to be an exception to this rule for some speakers.

(96a) [namnú+mnùza] ‘to cause to creak by walking on,’

(96b) [ičámnus+mnùzana] ‘little gusts of wind’

In (96a), the final z of /mnuz/ is deleted in its reduplicated form but in (96b), attested by a different speaker (from the same generation and geographic region) the reduplicated form retains the CCC sequence, with the z undergoing fricative devoicing, as described below.

13.3 Fricative devoicing

The fricatives *z ž ģ* are devoiced in codas. This is formalized as rule 9, following Shaw (1980:334), modified here to express the environment in terms of syllable structure.

RULE 9 Fricative devoicing
 [-son, +cont] → [-voice] / ___]_σ

Examples are given in (97), with syllable boundaries marked.

(97) Fricative devoicing:

/ch ^h oz/	‘to be warm’	ch ^h os.yÁ	‘to make warm’
/-mnaz/	‘to break open’	ka.mnás-.kni.ĥpá.yA	‘his fell and broke open’
/wiğ/	‘to glide in circles’	ka.wíĥ-.ú	‘be gliding in circles, as a hawk’
/poğ/	‘to blow on’	poĥ.pó.ğA	‘to blow on’
/yeğ/	‘glitter’	yeĥ.yÁ	‘be illuminated, shining’
/ktuž/	‘drunk’	ktuš.yÁ	‘to make drunk’
/wiž/	‘bend’	wiš.wí.že.na	‘be pliable, flexible’

13.4 Coda nasalization

A stop in coda position nasalizes at the place of articulation before sonorants and word finally. This is formalized as rule 10. The rule is subject to structure preservation; *k* does not nasalize because the homorganic nasal *ŋ* is not a member of the phoneme inventory in Assiniboine

velar-initial stative verb stems do not (cf. Legendre and Rood 1992:382; Shaw 1980:194; Carter 1974; Boas and Deloria 1941:14).

(103) Active stems:

- | | | | | |
|--------|--------------------|---------------|--------------------------|----------------|
| (103a) | wakátoto | ‘I sweep’ | t ^h iʔícatoto | ‘a broom’ |
| (103b) | mak ^h á | ‘he means me’ | nic ^h á | ‘he means you’ |
| (103c) | mak’ú | ‘he gives me’ | nic’ú | ‘he gives you’ |

(104) Stative stems:

- | | | | | |
|--------|----------------------|-----------------|----------------------|--------------------|
| (104a) | mak ^h áta | ‘I am feverish’ | nik ^h áta | ‘you are feverish’ |
| (104b) | makâna | ‘I am old’ | nikâna | ‘you are old’ |

The active verb stem *kú* ‘covet, desire’ is an exception. It does not palatalize when the conditions of VEL PALAT are met (cf. Shaw 1980:194; Boas and Deloria 1941:14).

- | | | | |
|-------|-----------|--------|-----------------|
| (105) | /wa+kú/ > | [wagú] | ‘I covet it’ |
| | /ni+kú/ > | [nigú] | ‘he covets you’ |

Initial velars of dependent verb stems do not palatalize, as shown in (106).²⁷

(cf. Shaw 1980:193; Boas and Deloria:14).

- | | | | | |
|-------|-----------------------------|----|---------------------------|---------------------------|
| (106) | /iʔa kap̩/ | -> | [iʔégab̩] | ‘he is reluctant to talk’ |
| | /i+naž̩ k ^h iya/ | -> | [ináž̩k ^h iya] | ‘to stop something’ |
| | /ihúni k ^h iya/ | -> | [ihúnik ^h iya] | ‘to cause to finish’ |

²⁷ Shaw gives Sioux examples in which *k^ho* means ‘portend, foretell’ but I find no such examples for Assiniboine, nor have I been able to elicit the word with that meaning. Although *k^ho* is common in Assiniboine as a conjunction and as a modality particle, it appears not to exist as a dependent verb.

13.5.1.1 Instrumental prefix *ka* ‘by a blow; by external pressure’

The *k* of instrumental prefix *ka-* is palatalized following a high front vowel.

- (107) kahómni ‘to knock or spin around’
 ɟcáhomni ‘a crank’ (INSTR + by striking+spin)
- (108) kaksá ‘to chop’
 ɟcákse ‘cutting tool’ (INSTR + by striking+sever (with nominal ablaut))
- (109) kamú ‘to beat a drum’
 ɟcámu ‘drumstick’ (LOC+ INSTR. ‘by a blow’ + ‘make deep sound’)

13.5.1.2 *k^{hi}* ‘mutual contact, effect’

The morpheme-initial velar of *k^{hi}* ‘mutual contact’ palatalizes following a high front vowel (cf. Shaw 1980:194).

- (110) wa+k^{hi}?i ‘I throw it at him’
 ni+c^{hi}?i ‘he throws it at you’
- (111) /wa+k^{hi}+pažǐ/ → [wak^{hi}bažǐ] ‘I’m jealous of him’
 /nɪ+k^{hi}+pažǐ/ → [nɪc^{hi}bažǐ] ‘he’s jealous of you’

13.5.1.3 Kinship suffix *-ku* (3rd person possessive)

In example (112), the suffix-initial velar is palatalized across a morpheme boundary following a high front vowel, but not after other vowels, as seen in (113) (cf. Shaw 1980:195).

- (112) /t^ha+wɪ+ku/ > t^hawɪcu ‘his wife’
 /t^hɥwɪ+ku=na/ > t^hɥwɪcuna ‘his/her aunt (cross relationship)’
- (113) /hɥ+ku/ > hɥku ‘his mother’

- /^himno+ku/ > ^himnóku 'her older brother'
 /sɥka+ku/ > sɥkáku 'his/her younger brother'

13.5.1.4 Suffix *-ka* 'rather, kind of'

The enclitic-initial velar palatalizes across an enclitic boundary following derived *e*, that is, an *e* that results from ablaut (114). It does not palatalize after an underlying *e* (115a), nor after a high front vowel (115b). (cf. Shaw 1980:195; Boas and Deloria 1941:77)

- (114) /a+k^hát=ka/ > ak^háteca 'be kind of warm'
 /a+sap=ka/ > asápeca 'be kind of black'
 (115a) /a+wašte=ka/ > awášteka 'be kind of good'
 (115b) /a+šj̥=ka/ (redup) > ašj̥šj̥ka 'be kind of fat'

13.5.1.5 Enclitic *ken* NEG

The negative enclitic *ken* (which does not occur in Sioux) conforms precisely to the rule of VEL PALAT as described by Shaw. The velar does not palatalize following a high front vowel across the enclitic boundary (116), but does palatalize following a derived *e* (117).

- (116) /okini=pi=ken/ > okínipiken 'they didn't get any'
 /éyaku=pi=ken/ > éyakupiken 'they may not take any'
 (117) /kiksu(+y)A+A1s=ken/ > wéksuyecen 'I don't remember'
 /snokyA+A1s=ken/ > snokwáyecen 'I don't know'

13.5.2 Adverbs and velar palatalization

It appears that there is variation in the application of VEL PALAT to adverbs.²⁸ The examples in (118-119) conform to the rule, but among the variant forms in (120-122), those in (120-121) were given by the same speaker, in one instance on the same day, and these variations have been attested both at FB and CTK.

- | | | |
|-------|--|-----------------------|
| (118) | /j+k ^h okam/ | LOC + 'front' |
| | jk ^h ógam] | 'in front of' |
| (119) | /j+k ^h ayena/ | LOC + 'near' |
| | jk ^h áyena | 'near, close to' |
| (120) | /mi+kakna/ | 'me' + 'beside' |
| | mǰkakna ~ mǰcakna | 'beside me' |
| (121) | /mni#kakna/ | 'water beside' |
| | mní#càkna | 'beside the water' |
| (122) | /t ^h i kakna/ | 'dwelling beside' |
| | t ^h icákna | 'beside the dwelling' |
| (123) | [awódabi gakná
/a+wa+yut=pi # kakna/
at-NOM-eat-NOM # beside
'at the table' | |

13.5.3 Coronal dissimilation

Non-continuant coronal segments *t n c* dissimilate to [k] when followed by another coronal segment across a morpheme boundary, as described by Shaw (1980:337-8)

²⁸ In this, Assiniboine differs from Sioux, as Shaw provides evidence that in Sioux adverbs never palatalize.

for Dakota. Shaw's (1980:338) formalization of this rule is reproduced as rule 12.

RULE 12 Coronal dissimilation

$$\left[\begin{array}{c} -\text{cont} \\ +\text{coron} \end{array} \right] \rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{c} -\text{coron} \\ -\text{ant} \\ -\text{sonor} \end{array} \right] / \text{---} +[\text{+coron}]$$

Examples are:

(124) nína > nínína 'very' (also, níknína 'quickly')

síca > siksíca 'be bad'

sutá > suksúta 'be firm'

yuzíca > yuzíkzicapi 'rubber' (cf. yuzíca 'to stretch out by pulling')

žáta > žakžáta 'be forked'

There is one attested example in which coronal dissimilation occurs across a lexical derivation boundary:

(125) ^haté|sícA → ^haksíce 'be morose' (^haté 'heart', sícA 'bad')

14. Phrase-level phonology

Several phenomena operate across word boundaries. These include the rules of Vowel Devoicing, Vowel Syncope, Intervocalic Voicing, and Rhythmic Stress Patterning.

14.1 Vowel devoicing

An unstressed word-final vowel is devoiced, or "whispered," when it is phrase final and is not preceded by a glide. The whispered vowel retains all of its features except voice. This is formalized as rule 13.

RULE 13 Vowel devoicing

$$V \rightarrow [-\text{voice}] / C \text{ ____ } \#\#$$

[-stress] [+cons]

Voiceless vowels will still trigger intervocalic voicing so that, even when the vowel is virtually inaudible, evidence of its presence may be seen in a preceding obstruent that would otherwise be devoiced or nasalized due to coda effects.

Monosyllabic enclitics are affected by this rule due to their close phonetic bond to their hosts but modality particles have greater independence and therefore monosyllabic modality particles are not affected.

(126) After a stop:

- (126a) /oñ'ǵk^ho/ 'be fast'
 [oñ'ǵk^ho] 'be fast'
 [oñ'ǵk^ho=š̌i] 'he/she was not fast'

- (126b) /k^hat-/ 'be hot'
 [k^hád^a] 'it is hot'
 [k^háde=š̌i] 'it is not hot' (*e* is not whispered, but *ɨ* is)²⁹

(127) After a fricative:

- /wǵž-/ 'bend'
 [yuwǵž^a] 'bend with the hands'
 [yuwǵže=š̌i] 'he/she did not bend it'

²⁹ A few FB speakers have been heard to pronounce *k^háta* without the final *a*, yet retaining a final *t*, as in [nína k^hátʔ] 'it's very hot'. It is also noteworthy that the final *t* does not nasalize, as would be expected by the coda nasalization rule. This phenomenon could signal a phonological shift in progress, but because it is exceptional, it is not explored here.

(128) After a nasal:

/ahíya/ ‘sing (transitive)’

[awáhimn^a] ‘I sing it’

(129) Modality particle (phrase final vowel is not devoiced):

wac^hí po ‘dance! (said to more than one)’

imátuk^ha no ‘I’m hungry (male speaking)’

Compare ‘I sing it’ in (128) to A3 [ahíya] ‘he sings’, in which the final vowel is preceded by a glide and therefore is not devoiced. This is seen also in the examples in (130).

(130) After a glide (phrase final vowel is not devoiced):

[iyáya] ‘he left, he set out from here’

[kúwa] ‘come here!’

14.2 Vowel syncope

In continuous discourse, an alternative to the glottal insertion rule across word boundaries is syncope of the first of the two juxtaposed vowels. This is not due to “fast” speech; the speakers in (131)-(132) were actually speaking quite slowly. The rule is formalized as rule 14. It is in free variation with the glottal insertion rule in this environment.

RULE 14 Phrase level vowel syncope

V → ∅ / C__#V

(131) *nəpcúwaka* [nəpcúwaga] ‘nine’ becomes *nəpcúwag*

[nəgáħə wikcémna šaknóğə sám nəpcúwag ehá-wa-ʔi]

/nəkáħə wikcémna šaknóğə sám nəpcúwaka ehá-wa-í]

now ten eight more nine ST-A1s-reach(a point)

‘now I am eighty-nine years old’ (NR T1.9)

- (132) [Mary, niyé dá**g** ehé-jen]
 /Mary niyé táku ehé-ken/
 Mary, you.EMPH thing A2.say-NEG
 ‘Mary, *you* haven’t said anything’ (LgC1.339)

In (133) the *p* of *pi* remains in an intervocalic environment despite the deletion of *i* and is still subject to the intervocalic voicing rule, becoming *b*, rather than *m* by the coda nasalization rule. In other words, the intervocalic voicing rule applies prior to vowel syncope. (If the speaker of (133) had paused after *k^hoškápi*, the *i* would have been present, but whispered.)

- (133) *k^hoškápi* [k^hoškábi] ‘young men’ becomes *k^hošká**b***

[k^hóškə-**b** agéwəži Ø-t^hi-bi ə]
 young.man-PL eleven A3-live-PL DECL
 ‘there lived eleven young men’ (NR T3.1)

- (134) /aktáka # ʊ+hí=pi/
 [aktág ʊ-hí-bⁱ]
 run 1du-arrive.here-PL
 ‘we ran here’ [es, kt 11.155]

In (135), the only example of this type in the corpus, a stressed final vowel is deleted, and while the vowel is deleted, the stress is retained and transferred to the previously unstressed vowel.³⁰

- (135) /ektá # ʊ+knA=ktA/
 [ekt-ú-**kn̄**-kt^a]
 there 1du-go.back.there-POT
 ‘we will go back there’ (NR T7.125)

³⁰ This form of contraction is more common in Lakota. See Boas and Deloria (1941:77).

14.3 Phrase level stress patterning

As discussed in 12.5.2, rhythmic stress patterning (RSP) occurs at the phrase level as well as at the word level. It seems likely that phrase level RSP results from one or more rules that are independent of word level rules.

14.4 Intervocalic voicing

As discussed in 2.2, intervocalic voicing of stops and the affricate is a phonetic rule that is not sensitive to boundaries of any kind. At the phrase level, intervocalic voicing interacts with vowel syncope, described in 14.2.

Chapter 3

Nouns and Pronouns

1. Introduction

Nouns are of two basic types, derived and non-derived. Although there are a significant number of inherent nouns, the great majority of nouns are derived, primarily from verbs, and any noun may also function as a predicate.

Consequently, nouns are most reliably identified by distributional criteria. Nouns are not marked for case although certain nouns may be marked to indicate inalienable possession, including a number of kinship terms that carry a possessive pronominal clitic. Number marking reveals an animacy hierarchy in which human reference is distinguished from non-human reference and animate reference is collectively distinguished from inanimate reference. Number marking is common for human-reference nouns by the addition of the enclitic *pi*, occasional for inanimate nouns by reduplication, and with one exception (*púzana* ‘kitten > *púza-pi-na* ‘kittens’), absent on non-human-reference animate nouns.

2. Inherent nouns

Inherent nouns are synchronically non-derived and tend to refer to concrete, time-stable concepts such as body parts, objects in nature, clothing, and kinship terms.

There is a degree of arbitrariness in distinguishing between nouns that are productively derived and those that are not. Many nouns can be analyzed into morphemes with identifiable meanings and thus are clearly derived in some sense,

but the meaning of the whole may be idiosyncratic, making debatable whether the noun is derived by productive processes or is a lexicalized relic of diachronic derivation and therefore synchronically classifiable as an inherent noun. The latter circumstance is analogous to English words like *windshield*, which is not perceived as consisting of *wind* and *shield* unless one thinks about it, though when one does, the logic of the compound is obvious. The phenomenon is much more common in an agglutinating language like Assiniboine. An example is the following:

- (1) a-ǵú-ya-pi
 LOC-brown-CAUS-PSV
 ‘bread’ (lit. ‘it is browned’, implying ‘baked’)

The literal meaning of *aǵúyapi* could refer to any number of things but its conventional meaning is ‘bread’. Furthermore, it behaves as an inherent noun in that it can be synchronically derived by compounding it, seemingly redundantly, with *ǵú* ‘to brown’ to produce *aǵúyapiǵù* ‘toast’.

Another example is *oʔinaži* ‘town’. As with many nouns derived from verbs by use of locatives (see section 3.1.1 below), the derived form is lexicalized as a noun; although the constituent morphemes are transparent, such lexicalized forms do not occur as verbs.

These examples provide evidence that Assiniboine does have a class of nouns that is distinct from the class of verbs, despite the mobility of some forms between the two classes. They also offer a caution against the temptation to over-analyze nouns. Lexicalized forms abound, some of which are only partially analyzable and others of which appear to be fully analyzable but often have different etymologies than suggested by one or more morphemes in their surface

forms. I consider forms that exhibit any of the following characteristics as synchronically “non-derived”:

- one or more elements is unanalyzable, for example, *honáǵina* ‘a fly’ (hona- ʔ, ǵí ʔ ‘yellow’, -na NOM). (Boas and Deloria (1941:28) comment that such forms “defy analysis”);
- the head is a dependent root with nominal reference, for example, /-c^hǵku/ > oc^hǵku ‘road’, even though it may itself be diachronically derived;
- the stem is fully analyzable but consistently occurs independently or in grammatical operations as a nominal unit and the form as a whole is not perceived by native speakers as a sum of the literal elements, that is, if the stem has been lexicalized, as in the case of *aǵúyapi* and *oǵnaǵi*;
- the form can be analyzed into identifiable morphemes but the semantics of the components clearly bear no relationship to the meaning of the full form. For example, *wǵhí* (~ *wahí*) ‘flint; arrowhead’ is surely a lexicalized compound, but of what? Consider, for example, the possibility ʔwǵ ‘bullsnake’ + ʔhí ‘tooth’, or any number of other possible interpretations based on logical or absurd combinations of *wǵ* ~ *wa* and *hi* ~ *hí*, each of which has several meanings. All efforts to analyze the word as a product of synchronic compounding fail on semantic grounds. (Disregard for this principle is particularly prone to produce folk etymologies of the type discussed in note 31).

Monosyllabic roots with nominal reference are the surest examples of

inherent nouns since any word of two or more syllables (other than CVC roots with epenthetic *a*) is very possibly the product of historical processes. With these cautions in mind, examples of fairly unambiguously inherent nouns include the following.

(2)	até	‘father’	ištá	‘eye’	šŭka	‘dog’
	châ	‘wood’	jté	‘face’	t ^h á	‘ruminant; moose’
	ch ^h icá	‘child’	íyâ	‘rock’	t ^h ahâ	‘brother-in-law of a man’
	hâpa	‘moccasin’	mağážu	‘rain’	wá	‘snow’
	í	‘mouth’	mak ^h á	‘earth’	wamní	‘eagle’
	iná	‘mother’	ņapé	‘hand’	wí	‘sun, moon’
	istó	‘arm’	šiná	‘shawl’	wiç ^h á	‘man, human’

Virtually all inherent nouns can be used as stative verbs, e.g., *né šŭka* (pronoun + ‘dog’) ‘this is a dog’. However, only personal nouns, when used as stative verbs, may be inflected. Examples are:

(3)	nak ^h óta	‘Nakota; Indian’	namáç ^h ota	‘I am Nakota/an Indian’
	wíyâ	‘woman’	mawíyâ ¹	‘I am a woman’
	wiç ^h á	‘man’	wimáç ^h a	‘I am a man’
	tušké	‘dwarf, midget, runt’	matúške	‘I am a dwarf, midget, runt’

2.1 Nominal roots

Inherently nominal roots may be divided into several types: 1) monosyllabic forms of CV and CVC, analogous to verbs of these types and having first syllable stress

¹ This form is attested both at FB and CTK. Compare to Lak. *wimáya* (Buechel 1970:587) with infixed pronoun.

(see Phonology 4.1); 2) truncated roots; 3) disyllabic roots that behave like CVC roots despite underlying final vowels; 4) disyllabic roots that are synchronically unanalyzable; and 5) bound roots that require a prefix.

2.1.1 CV roots

Vowel final roots, referred to collectively as CV roots, may take the form V, CV, or CCV. As a class, they are conventionally referred to as CV roots and may occur independently or in compounds. Examples are:

- (4) V í ‘mouth’ (the only occurrence of a V form)
 CV chǎ ‘wood’
 CCV pté ‘buffalo cow’

2.1.2 Truncated roots

A number of nominal CV roots only occur in combination with other elements. Some of these are truncated forms of disyllabic roots (suggestive of diachronic derivation), and some are of obscure origin and occur only in compounds, such as *che-*, *cha-*, and *cha-* in body part terms. Boas and Deloria (1941:70-71) refer to such forms as “classifiers”; de Reuse (1994:202) refers to them as “bound nominal lexical morphemes.”

The truncated nominal roots identified in Assiniboine are given in (5)-(14).²

² There is a particle *wó-* that signifies food, but it differs from the truncated nouns in that it is derived from a verb *wótA* ‘eat (intransitive)’, which is itself derived from indefinite *wa-* and *yútA* ‘eat (transitive)’, and words formed with this particle are verbs rather than nouns. Unlike the truncated nouns, which derive their meaning from the full forms of which they are a reductions, *wó-* does not inherently mean ‘food’.

wók’u	‘to feed, give food to’ (k’ú ‘give’)
wókȳka	‘be appealing, as food’ (kȳ ‘desire, covet’)
wóna	‘ask for food’ (ná ‘ask for’)

For *mína* ‘knife’ (9), the truncated root takes two forms, *min-* or *mĩ*. The reduction to *mĩ-* occurs in compounds in which the following element begins with *p*, in which case *n* deletes and the feature [nasal] is preserved in a change of *i* to *ĩ*.³ Generally, the truncated root precedes the base, but as seen in (14), *wĩ-* ‘woman’ sometimes follows the base.

(5) ha- < hayápi ‘clothes’

(5a) ha-t^hók^hǎ-kic’ũ
clothes-different-wear; put on clothing
‘to change one’s clothes’

(5b) ha-t^héca
clothes-new
‘new clothes; new covering’

(6) hǎ- < hǎhépi ‘night’⁴

(6a) hǎ-wí
night-sun/moon
‘sun; moon; month’

(6b) hǎ-nówǎ-pi
night-sing-NOM
‘night song’

³ This might be a general phonological rule, but there are too few data to be certain. Only one other example of *-in* → *ĩ* occurs in the corpus (from an Ocean Man speaker of the older generation): *wašĩʔiʔapi* ‘English language’, from *wašícu* ‘white person’, where the *u* is dropped, *c* becomes *n* by coda nasalization, and finally, *n* is dropped but the feature [nasal] is assimilated by *i*. The more common pronunciation of this word (at least among speakers at CTK and FB) is *wašínʔiʔapi*.

⁴ *hǎ* seems in general to reference time, whether as in the present case where it references nighttime, or in adverbs, e.g. *tóhǎ* ‘when’ (indefinite *to* + *hǎ*) or *žéhǎ* ‘at that time’ (demonstrative *žě* + *hǎ*), or the durative enclitic *hǎ* (considered to be derived from the verb ‘stand’ but with a logical semantic connection to temporal reference).

- (6c) h̄a-máni
night-walk
'to walk at night'
- (7) ho- < hoǵá 'fish'⁵
- (7a) ho-phéphe
fish-sharp.REDUP
'pike, perch'
- (7b) ho-kmúke
fish-snare
'fishnet'
- (7c) ho-k^húwa⁶
fish-chase
'to fish'
- (8) ħt̄á < ħt̄ayétu 'evening'

ħt̄aʔósni 'a cold evening'
- (9) min ~ m̄i- < mína 'knife'
- (9a) min-káš'̄i
knife-convex
'boning knife, with curved blade'
- (9b) m̄i-pš̄úpa-pi-na
knife-jointed-NOM- DIM
'pocketknife'
- (9c) m̄i-phé-sto
knife-sharp-long.and.narrow
'a knife with a sharp point'

⁵ There is also a prefix *ho-* 'camp circle' that occurs in certain adverbs, e.g., *hókakna* 'along the camp circle' and *hóc^hapkiya* 'toward the middle of the camp', but it does not appear to create nouns like the truncated nouns in the class described here, nor does it seem to be a truncation of some longer form. Boas and Deloria (1941:53) give this prefix as meaning 'round enclosure'.

⁶ Some CTK speakers do not accept this form, preferring *hoǵák^huwa*; they claim that *hok^húwa* is Sioux.

- (10) mnok-
- (10a) mnokétu ‘summer’
- (10b) mnokéc^hokatu ‘July’ (mid-summer)
- (11) si- < sihá ‘foot’
- (11a) si-hú
foot-lower.part
‘sole of the foot’
- (11b) si-c^hókəŋ
foot-middle
‘instep’
- (11c) si-c^hóna⁷
foot-without.something
‘be barefooted’
- (13) wɨ- < wɨya ‘woman’
- (13a) wɨ-kú-nowə
woman-covet-sing
‘love song’
- (13b) wɨʔɨ-nowə
woman- INSTR.about-sing
‘song about women’
- (13c) wɨ-wáyaka⁸
woman-slave; captive
‘female captive’
- (13d) witkó-wɨ
crazy-woman
‘a foolish woman, loose woman’

⁷ CTK variant: *sic^hócho*

⁸ A CTK speaker rejects this form, giving instead *wayákyuza* for both male and female slaves.

- (13e) t^ha-w_i-
 3.POSS-woman
 ‘wife’
 (This is the stem for wife terms: *mit^háw_i* ‘my wife’, *nit^háw_i* ‘your wife’,
t^haw_icu ‘his wife’.)

w_i is common in women’s personal names, for example:⁹

- (14) p^hežú^ha-ska-w_i
 medicine-white-woman
 ‘White Medicine Woman [a woman’s name]’
- zitkána-t^hò-w_i(yǽ)
 bird-blue-woman
 ‘Bluebird Woman’ (name of Bertha O’Watch, Carry The Kettle)

2.1.3 CVC roots

There is a small set of CVC roots the members of which, analogous to verbs, receive a final *a* by the rule of STEM FORMATION in their independent forms and carry first syllable stress (cf. Boas and Deloria 1941: 72-73). (See chapter 2: 4 for a discussion of stem formation.) The list in (15) includes all that have been identified in the corpus.

- (15) Consonant-final noun roots and simplex surface forms

/ǽp/	ǽpa	‘day’
/cháp/	chápa	‘beaver’
/cheǵ/	chéǵa	‘kettle, pot’
/hǽp/ ~ /hap/	hápa	‘moccasin’
/maz/	máza	‘metal, iron’

⁹It is becoming more common to use the full noun *w_iyǽ* in women’s personal names, and it is often the case that both forms are acceptable for the same given name, for example, *mat^hów_i* ~ *mat^hów_iyǽ* ‘Bear Woman’. (Note also that *mat^hó* is only used in names. The generic term for ‘bear’ is *wañ[?]ǵksica*.)

/šuk/	šúka	‘dog’; also ‘horse (compound form)’
/wat/	wáta	‘boat, canoe’ also, ‘train’

The roots in (15) may occur in compounds with or without the stem final *a*, as illustrated in (16)-(22). Variant forms are neither regional nor generational and often both forms have been attested by a single speaker. The difference is explained phonologically by the type of boundary that occurs between the constituent members, and although data are insufficient to be certain, it may therefore be that the lexically derived forms have a more idiosyncratic meaning than the syntactically derived compounds. The variant forms in (16), for example, seem to have identical meanings, although with further research some fine semantic distinctions might be discerned.

(16)	/ch ^h ap/	ch ^h ápa	‘beaver’
(16a)	ch ^h amhí	~ ch ^h ápa hì	‘beaver tooth’
(16b)	ch ^h amsíte	~ ch ^h ápa sítè	‘beaver tail’
(16c)	ch ^h amkâna	~ ch ^h ápa kâna	‘an old beaver’
(17)	/cheġ/	ch ^h éġa	‘kettle, pot’
(17a)	<u>without -a:</u>		
	cheñ-šá		‘copper kettle’ (šá ‘red’)
	cheñʔí-k ^h a		‘bucket handle’ (k ^h á ‘vein’)
(17b)	<u>with -a:</u>		
	ch ^h éġa-nùġe	yuk ^h â-k ^h â-na	
	pot	ears there.exist-REDUP-NOM	
	‘pot with grips’		

chéǵa k'ì-na oyàte
 kettle carry.on.the.back-NOM people
 'Carry The Kettle Band (Assiniboine)'¹⁰

(18) /həp/ ~ /hap/ hâpa 'moccasin'

(18a) without -a:

hamʔásichù 'moccasin soles'

həmʔécʰúpina (~ hămʔécʰúna¹¹) 'handgame'

həp-ícaške 'shoelace' (from a speaker who does not nasalize stops
 in codas)

(18b) with -a:

hâpa oʔópʰetʰú (~ owópʰetʰú) 'shoe store'

hâpa óska-pi 'quilled moccasins' (cf. wóska 'do quillwork')

hâpa kšú-pi 'decorated moccasins'

(19) /maz/ máza 'metal, iron'

¹⁰ I have heard two explanations for the origin of the name "Carry The Kettle." The one suggested in the example, in which *-na* is glossed as a nominalizer, tells of a man who was hunting with two male relatives when they were attacked by Whites. The man's relatives were killed but he was saved because the bullet hit the small Hudson's Bay kettle he was carrying strung over his back, as was the fashion. The second explanation interprets *-na* as a diminutive. In this version, a small boy, too young to speak, was found wandering with no family. He was adopted into the band and because he was wearing a tiny replica of a pot or kettle on a string around his neck, was named "He carries the kettle". In general, however, few members of Carry The Kettle Band claim to know the origin of the name.

¹¹ *echúpina* is attested at both FB and CTK but a significant number of Canadian speakers at CTK and Ocean Man reject prefer *ecʰúna*. An Ocean Man speaker further contracts 'handgame' to *həmcʰúna*.

(19a) without -a:¹²

masʔáp ^h e	‘blacksmith’ (ap ^h á ‘hit’)
masʔĩnaĥtake	‘spurs’ (naĥtáka ‘kick’)
mas-p ^h ép ^h e	‘barbed wire’ (p ^h é ‘be sharp’)
maz-ó-t ^h i	‘iron lodge’ [from a folktale] (ot ^h í ‘lodge, dwelling’)
maz-iyumǝ	‘a file (tool)’

(19b) with -a:

máza-skà	‘silver, money’ (ská ‘white’)
máza ĩnaĥtake	‘spurs’ (ĩ LOC, naĥtáka ‘kick’)
máza o-c ^h ǝku	‘railroad’ (oc ^h ǝku ‘path, road’)

(20) /šʊk/ šʊka ‘dog’; also ‘horse, compound form’

(20a) without -a:

šʊk-hĩ-ĥca	‘shaggy dog’ (hĩ ‘fur’, ĥca INTNS)
šʊk-p ^h á-t ^h ǝka	‘bulldog’ (p ^h á ‘head’, t ^h ǝka ‘be big’)
šʊk-hĩ-ša	‘bay horse’ (hĩ ‘fur’, šá ‘be red’)
šʊk-šáke	‘hoof of a horse’ (šaké ‘nail, as a fingernail’)

(20b) with -a:

šʊka ĩté pšʊká	‘bulldog’ (ĩté ‘face’, pšʊká ‘spherical’)
šʊka-t ^h ǝka	‘horse’ (šʊka ‘dog’, t ^h ǝka ‘big’) ¹³

¹² It is not clear why /maz/ is resyllabified in some compounds, as in [ma.zo.thi] and [ma.zi.yumǝ], but not others, as in [mas.a.p^he] and [mas.ĩ.na.ĥta.ke].

¹³ šʊkat^hǝka, literally ‘big dog’, is a lexicalized form meaning ‘horse’. The term reflects the relationship between the functions of the dog and horse as pack animals.

(22b) with -a:

p^haǵŭta-t^hâka ‘wild goose’ (t^hâka ‘big’) (*p^haǵŭnt^hâka)

2.1.4 Multisyllabic roots with final -e

Some multisyllabic roots ending in *e* behave as if they were CVC roots in that, like true CVC roots, these roots may occur in compounds without the final vowel. The loss of the final vowel cannot be accounted for by the rule of vowel deletion, and stops that come to stand in codas due to the loss of the final vowel undergo coda effects, as expected for true CVC roots. Examples are:

(23) /ch^hate/

ch^haté ‘heart’ [regarded as the seat of emotions]

ch^hankásni ‘bring s.o. out of anger’

ch^hanníya ‘pout’

ch^hanšíca ‘have bad feelings’

(24) /ch^haže/

ch^hažé ‘name’

wéšnek ch^hašt^hŭpi ‘a name based on an act of bravery’ (wéšnekapi
‘wearing of the symbols of honor’)

(25) /nape/

napé ‘hand’

n^hamk^hâ ‘the sinews of the wrist’ (k^hâ ‘vein’)

n^hapch^hó ‘outer area of the upper arm; tenderloin’

n^hapch^hóka ‘palm of the hand’ (ch^hóka ‘middle’)

nəpsíhu 'finger' (sihú 'bones of the lower leg, foot')

3. Noun derivation

Nouns may be derived from a noun or verb (either active or stative), or a combination of both. Adverbs are found in derived nouns but do not serve as heads. Derivational processes include affixation, the addition of an enclitic, ablaut, compounding, reduplication, and zero derivation. These processes are also used in combination, and then derived forms may themselves be further derived by the same processes, so that it is often not possible to say for certain if one device alone is responsible for the nominalization. Which nominalization processes are employed in any instance tends to be unpredictable (Comrie and Thompson 1985:357), but some general principles can be observed and are described where they emerge.

Because noun derivation employs many of the same processes as verb derivation and draws on the same set of prefixes and enclitics, surface forms are, in themselves, frequently indistinguishable from verbs. For example, in (26) *-s'A* and *-pi* function both as nominalizing suffixes and verbal enclitics.

(26)	<u>Noun</u>	<u>Verb</u>
	anís'a ¹⁶ 'climber'	'he always climbs, used to climb'
	ohíyes'a 'winner'	'he always wins, used to win'
	t ^h ípi 'lodge, dwelling'	'they live'
	hoňpápi 'a cold'	'they cough'

¹⁶ A CTK speaker does not recognize this form, giving instead *iyáni*

an inflectable counterpart meaning approximately, ‘he stopped at a place’ (A1s *oʔi*nawaz̥i*), although it is theoretically possible; instead one would say either *tukám ináži* ‘he stopped someplace’ or *ektá ináži* ‘he stopped there’. Thus the majority of nouns derived by locatives are identified solely as nouns.

a- is a locative with the general meaning ‘on, at, to.’ Examples of nouns derived by *a-* include:

- (28) kʔi ‘to pack on the back’ > akʔi ‘a saddle’
 tʰó ‘be blue’ > akítʰo ‘tattoo’ (ki- DAT)
 wóšma ‘be thick, dense’ > awóšma ‘thick growth’

i-i is classified as a locative based on its grammatical distribution but it is semantically instrumental, meaning ‘by means of, instrument for.’ Examples of nouns derived by *i* include:

- (29) kasná ‘ring by striking’ > i*časna* ‘cymbal’
 kašná ‘cut with an instrument’ > i*časna* ‘tool for cutting; scissors’
 k^huwá ‘chase’ > i*hók^huwa* ‘fishing pole; fishhook’ (ho- ‘fish’)

o- is a locative with the general meaning ‘place where’. Examples of nouns derived by *o-* include:

- (30) kʔÁ ‘dig’ > masʔókʔe ‘a mine for metal’ (máza ‘metal’)
 ka*čiči* ‘cut fringes’ > oká*čiči* ‘fringes’
 kʔú ‘give’ > oš*ukmnik*ʔu ‘watering trough’ (šuk- ‘horse, mní ‘water’)
 tʰi ‘live’ > otʰi ‘dwelling, lodge’

chóza ‘be warm’ > tʰiʔócʰoza ‘a warm room’

The three nominalizing prefixes may be used in all logical combinations except *a-a-, as illustrated in table 3.1.

Table 3.1 Combinations of locative prefixes in nouns

	a-	ĩ-	o-
a-	-	aʔíkpoğǵa ‘cedar’ (cf. ki.REFL, poğǵ ‘blow’)	aʔóžǵǵa ‘daybreak’ (cf. -žǵǵa ‘be a light’)
ĩ-	ĩʔákʰite ‘telescope, binoculars’ (cf. kʰítA ‘look’)	ĩʔícazo ‘ruler, yardstick’ (cf. kazó ‘make a mark’)	ĩʔósnoħǵa ‘sled’ (cf. snoħǵ ‘crawl’)
o-	oʔáħe ‘a step, stair’ (cf. ħǵ ‘stand’; ħhǵ ‘take a step, a single pace’)	oʔínažǵi ‘town’ (cf. nážǵi ‘stand’; ħnážǵi ‘stop’)	oʔók’e ‘a mine’ (cf. k’Á ‘dig’)

The order of the prefixes affects the meaning of the whole. The general principle stated by Boas and Deloria for Dakota applies in Assiniboine as well, namely, that “the first prefix modifies the whole content of the following complex (1941:39). Taking an example from table 3.1, *kʰítA* ‘look’ becomes *akʰítA* look *at*’, and finally, *ĩʔákʰite* ‘telescope; binoculars’, literally, “instrument for looking at.”

3.1.2 Indefinite *wa-*

The indefinite objects prefix *wa-* may form nouns by attaching to existing nouns and transitive verbs.

(31) *wa-* + Noun (identical to Lakota forms given in Buechel 1939:176):

wahǵpi	‘clear soup, broth; juice’ (ħǵpí ‘sap’)
wapʰáħa	‘war bonnet’ (pʰá ‘head’, há ‘skin’; pʰahá ‘hair’)
wasú	‘hailstones’ (sú ‘seed’)

(32) *wa-* + Verb

wak'ǫ́	'pack, burden' (k'ǫ́ 'carry on the back')
wasnókya	'one who has sacred knowledge' (snokýá 'know')
wayác ^h o	'a judge; a lawyer' (yac ^h ó 'put on trial')
waʔǫ́spek ^h iya	'teacher' (ǫ́spék ^h iya 'teach')

It may also co-occur with other nominalizers:

(33) wakáph ^h api	'pemmican, pounded dry meat' (kap ^h á 'pound', pi NOM)
wak ^h útepi	'hunting, shooting' (k ^h uté 'shoot', pi NOM)
wamnáyas'a	'collector' (mnayâ 'collect, round up', s'A NOM)
wamánȳs'a	'thief' (manȳ 'steal', s'A NOM)

3.2 Ablaut

Nouns may be derived from verbs ending in changeable-*a* by changing the final vowel to *e*. Although nominalization by ablaut is productive, it is not predictable, since all A-words do not change their final vowel to *e* in nominal forms (34) and both ablauted and unablauted forms of the same noun are attested in some cases (35). Also, words nominalized by final ablaut may have competing forms nominalized by other means (36). Variation occurs within both generations and in all geographic regions studied, so it does not appear that the practice is falling into disuse, but rather that the question of which words may nominalize by ablaut is uncertain among speakers. Speakers are consistent in the form they use for individual words but may use different nominalizing processes from word to word as, for example, where one speaker gives *ǫ́pákca* 'comb' (of *pakcÁ* 'to comb') but

owóte ‘café’ (of *wóta* ‘to eat’). Judging from the corpus, nominalization by ablaut appears to be more common among Fort Belknap speakers.

(34) Nouns with unablauted changeable-*a*:

(34a) *amátapa* ‘a ledge’ (*matápA* ‘to slice’)

(34b) *ch^añínisapa* ‘gunpowder’ (*ch^añní* ‘powder, ashes’, *sápA* ‘black’)

(34c) *íšakiya* ‘lipstick’ (*í* ‘mouth, *šá* ‘red’, *-ki-yA* SUUS-CAUS)

(34d) *š^ukp^hútehaska* ‘hound’ (*š^uka* ‘dog’, *p^huté* ‘nose, snout’, *h^askA* ‘long’)

(35) Nouns with both ablauted and unablauted forms:

(35a) *akáhpa ~ akáhpe* ‘a cover’ (*akáhpa* ‘to cover’) [unablauted: FB younger generation and CTK older generation; ablauted: FB older generation.]

(35b) [From the same FB speaker on different occasions:]

ch^hh^ap^ha h^aska ~ ch^hh^ap^ha h^aske ‘boots, cowboy boots’ (*ch^há* ‘wood’, *h^askA* ‘long, tall’)¹⁸

(35c) *iyókaptá ~ iyókapte* ‘plate, dishes’ (1st: CTK; 2nd: FB, both generations)

(35d) *iyúsnoka ~ iyúšnoke* ‘pliers, wrench’ (*s/š* are as attested, sound symbolic variants)

(35e) *ipákca ~ ipákce* ‘comb’ [1st: older generation; 2nd: younger generation]

¹⁸ The combination *ch^hh^ap^ha* refers to Western (i.e., non-Indian) shoes. Its literal meaning is ‘wooden shoes’ and refers not to the material from which they were made but rather to the fact that they were stiff (like wood) in comparison to moccasins.

- (35f) owóta ~ owóte 'a feast' (o- LOC, wóta 'to eat')
- (36) Examples of ablauted nouns with competing forms:
- (36a) akáħpe ~ akáħpapi 'a cover' [both forms from members of the older generation: 1st from FB, 2nd from CTK]
- (36b) omásʔap^he ~ masʔáp^hapi 'telephone' (o LOC, máza 'metal', ap^hÁ 'strike')
- (36c) ĵwác^hoʔupe ~ owác^hoʔupi 'frying pan' (ĵ, o LOC, wa INDEF, c^hoʔúpA 'cook')
- (36e) FB: o-c^hǵ-yu-kse
LOC-wood-by.hand/by.pulling -sever (ablauted)
'sawmill'
- ~ CTK: o-c^hǵ-na-ksé-ya-pi
LOC-wood-by.foot/by.internal.pressure-sever-CAUS-NOM
'sawmill'
- (37) Examples with ablauted forms only (found at both FB and CTK with no competing forms):
- (37a) ĵnát^hake 'a fastener: latch, bolt, lock...' (LOC, nat^háka 'lock')
- (37b) ĵyút'ize 'a tool for tightening' (ĵ- LOC, yut'ízA 'tighten')
- (37c) ĵwápaħite 'string, anything used for tying' (LOC, DETRANS paħtÁ 'tie')
- (37d) owáp^hiye 'cemetery' (LOC, DETRANS, p^hiyÁ 'bury')
- (37e) wóyute 'food' (wa- DETRANS, o- LOC, yútA 'eat')

3.2 Nominalizing enclitics

Nominalizing enclitics include *sʔA*, *pi*, and *na*, the latter two of which may also be used in combination with each other. The enclitic may have scope over a single word, a lexical compound, or a syntactic compound (see chapter 9).

3.2.1 -s'A

The enclitic *s'A* creates animate nouns with the meaning, “one who does X.” The activity or condition referred to is habitual. In most cases the host is an active verb, although occasionally a stative verb may serve as host, as for ‘drunkard’. *s'A* triggers ablaut of A-words to *e*.

(38)	anís'a	‘a climber’ (aní ‘to climb’)
	ec ^h únas'a	‘a player, participant in a contest; gambler’ (ec ^h ú ‘to do’; o'éc ^h una ‘game, competition’)
	hokíyes'a	‘a camp crier’ (hokíyA ‘announce’)
	įžós'a	‘groundhog, woodchuck’ (žó ‘whistle’)
	p ^h eží miknâk wach ^h ís'a	‘grass dancer’ (p ^h eží ‘grass’, miknâka ‘have around one’s waist, under one’s belt’, wach ^h í ‘dance’)
	šukwáyahtakes'a	‘a biting horse’ (šúk- ‘horse’ wayáhtaka ‘bite things’)
	ktúžes'a	‘a drunkard’ (ktúža ‘be drunk’)

3.2.2 -pi

As a nominalizer, *pi* derives nouns from transitive verbs. The resulting nouns refer to products of animate agency (i.e., some anonymous person did X to make it) and consequently always have inanimate reference. *pi* in this case is semantically passive. Throughout this work, in deverbal noun forms with no other nominalizing element, *pi* is glossed as NOM.

- (39) aǵúyapi ‘bread’ (ǵuyá ‘to brown’) [lit. ‘it is browned’]
 kamúpi ‘a drum’ (ka- ‘with an instrument’, mú ‘make a booming sound’) [lit. ‘it is struck to make a booming sound’]
 okmápi ‘a picture; writing’ (okmá ‘draw’)
 wí yašpàpi ‘last quarter of the moon’ (wí ‘moon’, yašpá ‘take a bite of’)¹⁹
 masʔáp^hapi ‘a telephone’ (masʔáp^ha ‘make a telephone call’) [lit. ‘metal is struck’, a reference to the bells on some early telephones that were struck when there was an incoming call.]

The nouns in (40) have animate reference and are derived by zero derivation rather than by *pi*, so the *pi* in this case is the plural enclitic. They are denominal verbs that are used in an argument position. For example, *atéyapi* derives from *até* ‘father’.

- (40) ak^hínɨcapi ‘candidate’ (ak^hínɨca ‘vie for’)
 tukášinayapi ‘President of the United States’ [lit., ‘they consider him a grandfather’]
 atéyapi ‘Indian agent’ [lit., ‘they consider him a father’]
 wakpá t^hɥwápi ‘a (particular) band of Assiniboines’ (wakpá ‘creek, river’, t^hɥwá ‘village’)

The nominalizing enclitics *pi* and *sʔA* are not interchangeable, as illustrated in (41). Although all of the forms in (41) are acceptable verbs, only one form in each pair is an acceptable noun.

¹⁹ This also refers to tiny mice, from a story in which mice nibble at the moon, accounting for the phases of the moon.

- (41) anís'a *anípi 'climber' (aní 'climb') [but see note 15]
 hoňpápi *hoňpás'a 'a cold' (hoňpá 'cough')
 awótapi *awótas'a 'table' (a- LOC, wóta 'eat')

3.2.3 -na

The nominalizer *-na* may attach to active or stative verbs. *-na* triggers ablaut of a preceding changeable *a/q* to *e*. Nouns in *-na* function to classify a group of things by some characteristic, of which the referent is a token. For example, a *ch^hakátotona* 'woodpecker' is a token of a type of thing that pounds lightly on wood; *ğğána* 'gauze' is a type of thing (in this case, cloth) that is thin.

- (42) *ch^hakátotona* 'woodpecker' (*ch^há* 'wood', *kató* 'to pound lightly')
 pízena 'gopher' (*píza* 'make a high pitched sound')
 ğğána 'gauze' (*ğğan-* 'thin')
 ňoškíškina 'sandy, hilly terrain' (*ňoškí* 'be hilly, rough')
 šnášnana 'dancing bells' (*šná* 'ring, jingle')
 snohéna 'snake' (*snoh^h* 'crawl')

The examples in (43) are somewhat more obscure in meaning but still seem to fit the criterion of denoting a token of a type.

- (43) *k^hiškána* 'spoon' (*k^hišká* 'with ref. to sheep, goat')
 štušténa 'salt' (*štuštÁ* 'have a salty taste, as of an animal that was run too hard')

3.2.4 Combination of locatives and enclitic

Each of the nominalizing prefixes *a-*, *i-ĩ-*, *o-*, may occur in combination with each of

the nominalizing enclitics, each element contributing to the meaning of the whole noun. Examples are given in table 3.2.

Table 3.2 Co-occurrence of nominalizing locatives and enclitics

Enclitic ->	s'A	pi	na
Prefix ↓			
a-	<i>awá?i?es'a</i> ²⁰ 'a gossip, a critic' (i?Á 'to speak')	<i>awótapi</i> 'table' (wóta 'eat')	<i>a?ómnina</i> 'an area sheltered from wind' (-omni- 'be whirling')
ĭ-	<i>ipás'a</i> 'a camp crier; a dance announcer' (pĕ 'call out')	<i>ĭ?ák^hite iwáyakapi</i> 'gun sight' (wáyákA 'to look')	<i>ĭc^háp^hena</i> 'fork' (c ^h ap ^h Á 'stab')
o-	<i>hihĕ oñnóka ot^his'a</i> 'a burrowing owl' (t ^h i 'to dwell')	<i>owókšupi</i> 'a planted area; field' (wókšu 'to plant')	<i>omnáyena</i> 'a small flat area' (mnáyA 'be level')

3.2.5 Combination of enclitics

The combination of *pi* and *na* in noun derivation is productive. In each such combination the combined notions of *-na* 'token of a type' and *pi* 'is X-ed' (i.e., passive) produces a noun with the meaning 'a token of a type that is X-ed'. This is made explicit for the examples in (44). The order conforms to the enclitic template (see chapter 9), occurring only as *-pi-na*, never as **-na-pi*, and no other element may intervene between *pi* and *na*. Examples are:²¹

²⁰ Some speakers reverse the order of the *wa* and *a*, producing *wa?á?i?es'a*. Phonetically, the glottal stops are not pronounced and the glottal stop between *i* and *a* may be replaced by *y*, producing [waáiyes^a].

²¹ Some CTK speakers do not add *-pina* in the examples given here, nominalizing by zero derivation, giving *mak^há snípa*, *núĝe us wa?ánaĝupta*, and *owánya* (where the *t* of /owat/ is nasalized before the sonorant). *mĭšúpina* is given for 'pocketknife', where the base differs from the FB form but includes *-pina*.

- (44a) mak^há-ska snípa-pi-na
 earth-white lick-*pi-na*
 ‘alkali flat’
 “token of a type of thing that is licked”
- (44b) mī-pšupa-pi-na
 knife-jointed-*pi-na*
 ‘a pocketknife’
 “token of a type of thing that is jointed”
- (44c) núḡe ʊs waʔánaḡupta-pi-na
 ear because.of DTRNS-listen-*pi-na*
 ‘hearing aid’
 “token of a type of thing required by the ear for listening”
- (44d) owáta-ya-pi-na
 lit.up.area-CAUS-*pi-na*
 ‘electric light’
 “token of a type of thing (by which) an area is lit up”
- (44e) šuk-hī-sa a-p^hè-hī-skaska-pi-na
 horse-fur-pale LOC-crown(of the head)-fur-white-REDUP-*pi-na*
 ‘palomino’
 “token of a type of horse with [this particular coloring]”

Note that a *pi-na* combination also occurs when a noun ending in *na* is pluralized, as for example *hokšína* ‘boy’ > *hokšípina* ‘boys’. Since the root *hokši-* ‘boy’ is already nominal, *pi* functions in this case as a pluralizer rather than a nominalizer, and obligatorily precedes *na* in accordance with the enclitic template.

s’A does not combine productively with the other enclitics on semantic grounds. Exceptions are forms in *ec^húna* ‘compete, gamble’, where *ec^húna* has been lexicalized as a verb, and *išná ʊpìs’a* [sic stress] ‘Lone Campers, a band of Assiniboine’.

3.3 Suffixes

There are a few suffixes, described in the following sections, that are associated

exclusively with nouns.

3.3.1 Specificity

Specificity implies that the referent can be uniquely determined in some mentally projected world (Frawley 1992:69). It does not exclude existence; it simply does not make a claim of existence.

3.3.1.1 -c specific (SPC)

Assiniboine overtly marks specific reference on lexical NPs and definite pronouns by means of a suffix *-c*, which is homophonous with, but distinct from, the declarative marker *-c* (see chapter 9:2.2.21). In the following examples, ‘horse’ is nonspecific in (45a), but is specific with the addition of *-c* in (45b).

(45a) šŭkat^hâka o-wá-ne
 horse ST-1s-look.for
 ‘I’m looking for a horse (no particular horse in mind)’

(45b) šŭkat^hâka-c o-wá-ne
 horse-SPC ST-A1s-look.for
 ‘I’m looking for a particular horse’

Definite pronouns may also be made specific by the addition of *-c*, as in the following exchange:

(46) Speaker 1: [indistinct] tók^hi iyâya he
 [indistinct] where.to go Q
 ‘where is the [indistinct]?’

Speaker 2: táku-c
 what-SPC
 what (specifically)?

By using the specific form of *táku*, speaker 2 is requesting only a repetition of the indistinct noun. If she had said *táku*, without the specific marker, she would have

been requesting a repetition of the entire question.

In another example, the ladies in the first language circle recalled that in a game of tag, one called out, “Niyé-c!” ‘you’re it!’. While it could be argued that -c in this instance is the declarative marker, the ladies assert that -c is obligatory in this usage, and since declarative -c is optional and non-exclamatory, it seems probable that -c in this instance is the specific marker.

An interesting minimal pair demonstrates that even the expression *nɥ*, essentially, ‘um, uh’, used when a speaker is searching for a noun, can be made specific. In (47a) the speaker is searching for a kinship term and uses the hesitancy interjection without the specific marker. (She actually means her mother’s first husband, a term for which there is no specific kinship term, which is why she misspeaks herself.) In (47b), the speaker has said ‘man’ but realizes that she wishes to be more specific, hesitates briefly, then adds the specific suffix to the hesitancy interjection, indicating that it is the modifier that she is seeking, the term that will more narrowly restrict the referential field of ‘man’.

(47a) *žén, ne, nɥ, kic^hi-wa-ɥ žé* (cf. *kic^hiʔɥ* ‘husband’)
 there this um with-A1s-stay that
 ‘there, the, um, my husband. . .’ (app.1: Big Snake.4)

(47b) *∅-oyáka-pi kɔya, wɨc^hášta nɥ-c, wɨc^hášta wak^há-pi ʃyañèna*
 3-tell-PL QUOT man um-SPC man holy-NOM Mountain Man

ecíyapi
 be.called

‘they told him about it, they say, the man, um, the holy man called Mountain Man’ (app.1: Big Snake.15)

An indefinite NP can be made specific, as in (48):

- (48) **wąží** **sápa-c** né^hen c^hamnáska \emptyset - \emptyset -ec^hákici^ʔu-pi
 one.of be. black-SPC this.way yoke/muzzle P3-A3-put.on-PL
 ‘they put a muzzle on one of them, the black one,’ (LgCir1.97)
 Generics, which are formed with the verb *ec^há* ‘be that kind’, including its

derivatives *néc^ha* and *žéc^ha* (see chapter 6:6.4), denote a type rather than token.

When used in an NP, these verbs can take the specific marker to refer to a specific type.

- (49) Generic verb:

onówa žé wac^hékiyapi onówa **žéc^ha**
 song that prayer song be.that.kind
 ‘this song is a prayer song’ (NR:T1.5)

- (50) Generic verb in NP:

- (50a) pté **žé- \emptyset -c^ha-c** ših’á huštá
 buffalo ST-P3-be.that.kind-SPC monster it.is.said
 ‘it was a buffalo monster [a monster of the buffalo type], it is said’ (NR:T6.38)

- (50b) wanákaš o’óknaka **éc^ha-c** o-mnákj-kta
 long.ago story be.a.kind-SPC ST-A1s.tell-POT
 ‘I will tell an “old story”[a story of they type called “old story”]’ (SB.2)

A generic verb within an NP can also be indefinite:

- (51b) žéc^ha-c **wąží** né ahíyaye ma- \emptyset -ší-pi
 be.that.kind-SPC one(indef) this sing P1s-A3-tell.to-PL
 ‘they told me to sing one of that kind’ (NR:T1.26)

3.3.1.2 -*ň* specific (SPC)

ň attaches to interrogative pronouns and adverbs to make the meaning specific.

The first syllable stress of *táku* moves to the second syllable when *-ň* is suffixed.²²

²² The specific form *takúň* is used when asking someone if they take anything in their coffee, presumably because the conventional possibilities are specifically milk or sugar: *takúň yac^hika* ‘do you want anything (in your coffee)?’. Colloquially, some speakers ask, *takúň yatká* ‘do you drink anything?’, since, logically, the milk or sugar are consumed by drinking.

The following examples illustrate the contrast created between non-specific and specific meaning by use of *-ñ*.

- (52a) táku o-yá-ne he
 thing ST-A2-look.for Q
 ‘what are you looking for?’ also, ‘are you looking for anything?’
- (52b) takú-ñ o-yá-ne he
 thing-SPC ST-A2-look.for Q
 ‘what is it that you are looking for?’ also, ‘are you looking for something in particular?’
- (53a) tukté ∅-yáká he
 where A3-sit Q
 ‘where is he/she/it?’
- (53b) tukté-ñ ∅-yáká he
 where-SPC A3-sit Q
 ‘where in particular is he/she/it?’
- (54a) tuwé kichí ya-hí he
 who/someone with A2-arrive.here Q
 ‘who did you come with?’ also, ‘did you come with someone?’
- (54b) tuwé-ñ kichí ya-hí he
 who/someone-SPC with A2-arrive.here Q
 ‘who is it that you came with?’ also, ‘did you come with someone in particular?’

3.3.2 *-tu* ‘at a particular point (time or place)’

Forms in *-tu* often occur as stative verbs as well, so that they could arguably be classified as verbs rather than nouns.²³

- (55) am-c^hókātu ‘noon, midday’ (cf. *ápa* ‘day’) (compare to adv. *c^hokán*)
 mahétu ‘on the inside’ (cp. adverb *mahén*)

²³ Boas and Deloria (1941:58) observe the same ambiguous status of these words in Dakota: “A number of verbs expressing spatial and temporal concepts are used both as verbs and nouns and it is not certain which is the primary concept.”

tóh̄atu ‘at what time?’ (cp. adverb *tóh̄a*)

nétu ‘here, this place’ (cp. adverb *nén*)

A few additional suffixes overlap in function and meaning with adverbial suffixes with regard to forms with temporal reference. The names for the seasons end in *-etu*, as given in (46); their roots are evident in forms suggesting modest productivity with a few other (adverbial) suffixes, as seen (56)-(61). The greater productivity of the roots for ‘summer’ and ‘winter’ suggest that a year was viewed primarily in terms of two major seasons with spring and fall having less definable boundaries and functioning only as transitional periods.

(56) mnok-étu ‘summer’

pt̄a-y-étu ‘fall’

waní-y-etu ‘winter’

w-étu ‘spring’

(57) mnok- ‘summer’

mnok-éh̄a ‘last summer’;

mnok-éyas̄a ‘all summer’

mnoké-c^hok̄a-tu²⁴ ~ mnokétu c^hok̄atu ‘mid-summer’

(58) waní- ‘winter’

waní-h̄a ‘last winter’ (*waní-eh̄a*)

²⁴ In *mnoké-c^hok̄a-tu* the suffix *-etu* appears to be uncharacteristically divided. There seems no phonological explanation for this since the straightforwardly derived **mnok^hók̄atu* should be acceptable despite the loss of *e* (cp. *waní^hók̄atu* in which *e* is also lost). A number of other forms have *k-c^h*, e.g., *šuk-c^hon̄ica* ‘horsemeat’, so avoidance of *k-c^h* does not seem to offer an explanation.

- waní-yas'ǵa 'all winter' (*waní-eyasǵa*)
- waní-c^hokǵa-tu 'December' (cp. *waníyetu c^hokǵana* 'mid-winter')
- waní-ǰ 'spend the winter'
- (59) wé- 'spring'
- wé-hǵa 'last spring' (*we-ehǵa*)
- ?wéyasǵa 'all spring' (speaker prefers *wétu áataya* 'the entire spring')

(60) ptǵa- 'fall'

?ptǵa'é-yas'ǵa 'all fall' (speaker was very uncertain of this form; gave it reluctantly by analogy to other seasonal forms ending in -*éyasǵa*)

The root *ǵp-* 'day' occurs in adverbial compounds such as the following:

- (61) ǵpa nen 'today'
- ǵpa šten 'tomorrow' (i.e., 'when tomorrow comes'; cp. *hǵyák^heci* 'tomorrow')
- ǵpa níyasǵa 'all day'

3.3.3 Suffix *-ka*

Suffix *-ka* functions as a semantically empty nominalizer. It is homophonous with the adverbial suffix *-ka* 'rather' and the durative enclitic *:ka*. Although it is a nominalizing suffix, *-ka* characteristically behaves like an enclitic in that it follows the enclitic template in word formation, as illustrated in (70c).

- (70) Suffix *-ka*:

(70a) wíwaštèka ‘a beautiful woman’ (wí- ‘woman’, wašté ‘good, pretty’)

(70b) omémeka ‘a variety, different ones’ (cf. ?omÁ ‘other’)

(70c) mast^húpika ‘wealthy people’ (máz- ‘metal, money’, -t^hu ‘do’, pi PL)

3.4 Compound nouns

Compound nouns may include nouns (including derived nouns), verbs (active and stative), and adverbs. Compounds of adverb-verb, adverb-number and noun-number are also attested. Noun initial compounds are by far the most common. A compound may itself then be compounded with another word or compound.

Function words and suffixes may also be incorporated into compounds in addition to nominalizing affixes, creating very elaborate compounds, as for ‘hearing aid’ and ‘palomino’ in (44) above, and the following:

(71) šuk-pámni u khíya-pi ak’i chòna
horse-divide by CAUS-PL saddle without
‘bareback bronc riding’

This can be even further derived by the agentive nominalizer s’A as:

(71) šuk-pámni u khíya-pi ak’i chòna-s’a
horse-divide by CAUS-PL saddle without
‘bareback bronc rider’

Examples of the various combinations include:

(72) Noun-Noun

aphéhi ‘mane’ (LOC, phé ‘crown of head’, hí ‘hair, fur’)

chápa sítè ~ chamsíte ‘beaver tail’ (chápa ‘beaver’, síté ‘tail’)

ch^aʔót^hi (CTK:~ch^aʔót^hina²⁵) ‘log house’ (‘wood, tree’ + LOC + ‘house’)

²⁵ ch^aʔót^hina is also the name of the ‘little people’, a race of spirits who live in the woods. There are contemporary accounts of visits from these spirits; children are

hoʔɕ^huwa ‘fishhook; fishing pole and line’ (ho- ‘fish’, LOC,
k^huwá ‘chase’)

(73) Noun-Adverb

hunázam FB: ‘rear wheel’ (hu ‘leg; wheel’, nazám ‘behind’)
CTK: ‘behind the house’ (hu ?; nazám ‘behind’)

(74) Noun-Active Verb

maskáto ‘blacksmith’ (máza ‘metal’, kató ‘pound’)

(75) Noun-Stative Verb

chǎšáša ‘red willow’ (c^hǎ ‘wood, tree’, šá ‘red’ REDUP)

(76) Adverb-Noun

akásam thⁱʔòta Harlem, Montana (akásam ‘across’, [thí ‘house’, óta
‘many’], i.e., ‘town’)

akǎn-wòkmapi ‘desk’ (‘on’, INDEF, ókma ‘draw’ =pi)

mahén h_uskàna ‘undergarments’ (‘in’, h_uská ‘pants, leggings’ =na)

wazíyam įkmù ‘(Canadian) lynx’ (wazíyam ‘in the north’, įkmú ‘wild
cat’)

(77) Adverb-Verb

nahǎñ azì
still nurse
‘a child who is still nursing, a suckling’

said to be especially sensitive to their presence but some elders report seeing them also. I have been given two eyewitness accounts and several second hand accounts, all occurring at CTK. The ‘little people’ are said to appear when a household is particularly troubled, although whether to provide comfort or purely as a reflection of the emotional turmoil is unclear. Hospitality is extended by offering food, which is left on a plate on the floor or on a low table.

Phrasal nouns, in which the stress on the second member is assigned by the DAR and then reduced to secondary stress by the CAR, include:

(78) Stative Verb-Number

osní nùpa (osní ‘cold’ implies ‘winter’, i.e., a year)
 be.cold two
 ‘a two-year old, as a child or an animal’

(79) Noun-Number (cardinal and ordinal)

797a) wahú nùpa
 INDEF-leg two
 ‘a two-legged creature; a human’

(79b) t^haté tòpa
 wind four
 ‘the four winds; the cardinal directions’²⁶

(79c) mak^hóc^he jtòpa
 country fourth
 ‘fourth dimension, fourth (spiritual) realm’

(80) Noun-Adverb-Verb

ch^ha-ʔákān yākà
 wood-on sit
 ‘chair’

(81) Adverb-Verb-Noun

ektá Ø-ù-pi owâyawa
 there A3-stay-PL school
 ‘boarding school’

3.7 Loanwords and coining

Historically, Assiniboine seems to have resisted borrowing. A few loanwords have

²⁶ This is primarily a ceremonial expression. *t^haté* ‘wind’ is considered a Sioux word although it is found at Fort Belknap (and Fort Peck) in the term *t^haté ápa* ‘a windy day’. The generic noun for wind in Assiniboine is *kamnúza*.

entered the lexicon, such as *kukúša* ‘pork, bacon’ from French *cochon* ‘pig’, *púza* ‘domestic cat’ from English *pussy*(*cat*), and the occasional occurrence of Cree *muníya* ‘white man’ (the usual term for ‘white man/person’ in Assiniboine, as well as in Sioux, is *wašícú*). The preference was to coin words using Assiniboine words to describe innovations. Minimal time depth, combined with decreasing use of Assiniboine in daily conversation, has left many of these words with unshortened or competing forms, as the mechanisms for shortening and achieving consensus have been lost. Examples are the following; other forms may also exist:

(82) Modern terms:

‘threshing machine’	aǵúyapi inâk ^h aye (‘thing for threshing bread (grain)’) inâk ^h aye (‘thing that threshes’) wanâk ^h api (‘it threshes things’) wanâk ^h ayapi (‘it causes things to be threshed’)
‘hearing aid’	núǵe ʷs wa’ánaǵuptapina (‘used in the ear for listening’)
‘electricity’	owâhíkne (lit. ‘lightning’) wak ^h âknik‘iyapi [old term] (approx. ‘it brings power’)
‘kerosene lamp, lantern’	p‘etǵǵǵa (‘fire light’) wǵkni p‘etǵǵǵa (‘oil fire light’) itkúyapi p‘etǵǵǵa (‘fire light that one ignites’)
‘electric light’	owáteyapina
‘air conditioner’	t‘i’ósnik‘iyes’a (‘it habitually makes the house cold’)
‘automobile’	amókiya (approx. ‘it has power’) iyéc ^h ǵkayèna (approx. ‘it moves on its own’)
‘headlights’	iyéc‘ǵkayena ǵštá (‘automobile eye’)
‘battery’	wakíyap‘ipi káǵapina (‘made like a thunder being’s lodge’)

‘steering wheel’	iyúhomni (‘thing for turning’)
‘tires’	iyúkmikma (‘thing that goes around’) hú (lit. ‘leg, stem’)
‘gas station’	wǐkni oʔókáštą (‘place to fill it with gas’) wíkni oʔóp ^h et ^h ǔ (‘gas store’) wíkni éyakupi (‘gas is taken’)
‘radio’	iʔápi yuzé (‘turn it on and it speaks’) iʔékʔiyapi (‘it is made to speak’) okná iʔápi yuzápi (‘speech through thing turned on’) okná iʔékʔiyapi (‘it is made to speak through [it]’) wahíkʔiyapi (‘it is conjured’)
‘telephone’	masʔápʔapi (‘metal is struck’) masʔóʔiyapi (‘metal place where they speak’) masʔóʔiʔapi (‘metal place where they speak’) omásʔapʔe (‘metal-striking place’)
‘typewriter’	mohták-okmápi (‘one writes by striking’)
‘movie’	waškâškąyąpi (‘things are made to move’) waškâškąya (‘it makes things move’) wǐcʔíte škâškąk ^h iyapi (human faces are made to move’)

The process of coining seems to have ended in the middle of the twentieth century. There are no attested terms for more modern innovations such as ‘television’ or ‘computer’. Oddly, there also seems to be no term for ‘treaty’ other than as implied in the Canadian term *maswíc^hakʔu* ‘Treaty Day’ (lit. ‘he gives them money’, referring to an annual event still observed today). When wishing to reference a modern item for which there is no coined term, an Assiniboine speaker will simply use the English word. This is more properly to be seen as code switching than borrowing.

4. Pluralization

Nouns are not obligatorily marked for plural number, but human reference nouns

generally are pluralized by *pi* (83). Animate non-human reference nouns are not marked for plural (85), with the exception of the loanword *púza* ‘(domestic) cat’ and its derivative *púzana* ‘kitten’ (86).²⁷ Plural marking on human reference nouns is occasionally omitted (84), but as may be observed in examples (83)-(86), number agreement on the verb is obligatory for all animate referencing arguments, either by *pi* (for plural animate subjects), or *wič^ha* (third person plural animate object). This is discussed further in chapter 11.

(83) Human reference

(83a) wíyǝ-pi tóna ∅-hí-pi he
 woman-PL how.many A3-arrive.here-PL Q
 ‘how many women came?’

(83b) ni-c^hĩca-pi ∅-nañ’ú-pi he
 A2.possj-child-PL A3-hear-PL Q
 ‘do your children understand?’ (LgC1:L238)

(83c) wíč^hášta-pi žé ∅-hâska-pi
 man-PL that P3-be.tall-PL
 ‘the men are tall’

Human reference plural nouns are also acceptable without *pi*, although much less common.

(83) wíč^há(-∅) žená ∅-ptécena-pi-šĩ
 man DEM(PL) P3-be.short-PL-NEG
 ‘those men are not short’ (NLL 3.8)

(85) Non-human animate reference:

(85a) šũkat^haka žená ∅-skána-pi
 horse those P3-be.white-PL
 ‘those horses are white’

²⁷ The human/non-human distinction in pluralization occurs in Alexis Stoney as well. See Rhyasen Erdman 1997:23.

- (85b) ziktána²⁸ žé c^há én ø-ú-pi
 bird that tree in A3-stay-PL
 ‘there are birds in the tree’

- (86) Exceptional animal reference noun with *pi*:

púza-pi-na yámni wɨc^há-mnuha
 cat-PL-DIM three P3p-A1s.have
 ‘I have three kittens’ (NLL 10.1)

When nouns with animate reference end in *na*, the templatic order of enclitics (see chapter 9) requires that the plural enclitic precede the diminutive, even if the form in *na* is lexicalized and does not occur independently without *na*, as in the following examples.

- (87a) hokší-pi-na žé iyúha t^hem-ø-ø-yá-pi
 boy-PL-*na* DET all ST-P3-A3-eat.up-PL
 ‘the boys ate it all up’

- (87b) tákuškì-pi-na
 child-PL-*na*
 ‘children’

Inanimate nouns are generally unmarked for number, with plurality interpreted from context, as in (88).

- (88) [c^hǽšmúyapi pšɨkákaka] apá nína skúya
 sugar spherical [candy] some very be.sweet
 ‘some candy is too sweet’

There are examples in which verb reduplication appears to be used to indicate plurality of an inanimate nominal item:

- (89a) t^haspá apá t^hák-t^háka hɨk apá cúsi-si-na
 apple some be.big-REDUP and some be.small-REDUP
 ‘some of the apples are big and some are small’

²⁸ i.e., *zítkána*. Note metathesis of *tk*: data from a CTK speaker (although not all Canadian speakers, nor all speakers at CTK, metathesize *tk* sequences)

- (89b) t^hípi apá t^hak-t^háka
 house some be.big-REDUP
 ‘some of the houses are big’

However, it is unclear whether the function of reduplication in (89) is pluralization, or simply a requirement that stative verbs be reduplicated when modifying any plural noun. The following example shows reduplication of a stative verb that modifies an animate subject. Consultants say reduplication is required in these sentences, as is the animate plural enclitic *pi*.

- (90a) šŭkat^hâka óta ∅-t^hak-t^hâka-pi
 horse many A3-be.big-REDUP-PL
 ‘many horses are big’

- (90b) šŭkat^hâka yámni žé ∅-t^hak-t^hâka-pi
 horse three that A3-be.big-REDUP-PL
 ‘three of the horses are big’

The various functions of *pi* can be confusing since *pi* may appear in a noun phrase either as nominalizer or pluralizer. In (91) *pi* is a nominalizer but it appears to be optional since earlier in the same text the speaker did not use *pi* for this same NP (92):

- (91) onówą žé, wac^hékiyapi onówą-pi žéc^ha
 song that prayer song-NOM be.that.kind
 ‘that song is a prayer song’ (NR T1.5)

- (92) wanąkaš onówą c^ha wac^hékiyapi onówą(∅) c^há mit^húkaši wanąkaš ∅-ahíhayes’a
 long.ago song such prayer song such gr.father long.ago A3-sing-HAB
 ‘long ago, my grandfather used to sing songs of the prayer song type’ (NR T1.1)

It is possible that the *pi* of *onówąpi* is a passive nominalizer within the NP ‘prayer song’, approximately, ‘a sung prayer.’

5. Noun modification

5.1 Possession

A distinction is made between alienable and inalienable possession. Alienable possession refers to perceived transitory ownership of things that can be acquired or given away; inalienable possession marks relationships in which the thing possessed is (a) inherently part of the possessor, such as body parts, (b) inherently related to the possessor, such as kin, or (c) so closely associated with the possessor that the item is considered an attribute of the possessor, such as a warrior's horse or a uniquely ornate tool such as a war club or digging stick. The boundary between alienable and inalienable possession is indistinct in some domains and varies from speaker to speaker for some words.

Both morphological and syntactic methods are used for indicating possession. Morphological processes include possessive pronominal prefixes, lexical forms, *suus* forms (discussed in greater detail in chapter 7:3.1), and stative verbs with zero marking. Syntactic processes include the verb *It^háwa* (discussed in greater detail chapter 6:6.1) and constructions in which the verb is omitted.

5.1.1 Possessive pronominal prefixes

There are two sets of possessive pronominal affixes, the first historically derived from the verb *It^háwa*, given in table 3.3, the second set derived from that stative pronominal affixes and given in table 3.4. These prefixes attach to the possessed item.

Table 3.3 Possessive pronominal affixes derived from *I^háwa*²⁹

Person	Minimal	Augmented
1 st singular	mit ^h a-	-
1 st dual	ʉkit ^h a-	ʉkit ^h a- . . . pi
2 nd	nit ^h a-	nit ^h a . . . pi
3 rd	t ^h a-	t ^h a . . . pi

Examples of pronominal affixes derived from *I^háwa* are:

- (93) **nit^há**?oyàtepi ‘your people’
- mit^háp^hut^hihj** ‘my whiskers’ (some speakers prefer **map^hút^hihj**)
- mit^hánapsi**?ońna?i ‘my ring’
- t^hašína** ‘his/her shawl, blanket, robe’

Table 3.4 Possessive pronominal affixes derived from stative pronominals

Person	Minimal	Augmented
1 st singular	ma- ~ mi-	-
1 st dual	ʉki-	ʉki- . . . pi
2 nd	ni-	ni- . . . pi
3 rd	∅	∅ . . . pi

Examples of possessive pronominal affixes derived from stative verbs are:

- (94) **manápe** ~ **minápe** ‘my hand’
- mi**?išta ‘my eye(s)’
- nic^hıcapı** ‘your children’

²⁹Rood and Taylor (1996:458) suggest that these affixes could be analyzed as “consisting of a stem-derivational element *itha*, prefixed to the noun, to which stative verb affixes are then prefixed.”

- (95) n-išt-ókmu-kmus wach^hi po
 2.POSS-eye-closed-REDUP dance IMPER.PL
 ‘dance with your eyes closed (male speaking)’ (NR:T5.24)
- (96) wík^hóške Ø-ho žé
 young.woman 3.POSS-voice that
 ‘the young woman’s voice’
- (97) hŭku Ø-t^hípi ektá Ø-í
 his.mother 3.POSS-lodge to A3.go
 ‘he went to his mother’s lodge’ (NR:T7.132)

Even though the verb *It^háwa* indicates alienable possession, this is not always the case for the possessive pronominal affixes derived from it. As the examples in (93)- and (97) show, the choice of possession markers does not appear to be constrained by the alienable/inalienable distinction.

5.1.2 Possession of objects in nature

Boas and Deloria (1941:128) observe that “[n]atural objects such as land, water, and animals (including the dog but excepting the horse) cannot take the possessive pronoun because under aboriginal conditions they could not be exclusive property of anyone.” Native speakers of Assiniboine assert that this is the case for Assiniboine as well, but recent data indicate that the distinction that Boas and Deloria note between dog and horse is not consistently maintained. Compare the examples in (98), in which both methods of marking possession are used.

- (98a) mit^há-šŭka wéc^ho
 1.POSS-dog A1s.call
 ‘I called my dog’
- (98b) šŭka mit^háwa žé Ø-hŭńka
 dog P1s.be.one’s that P3-be.mean
 ‘my dog is mean’

The third person form *t^hašúka~e* is always understood to mean ‘his horse’, not ‘his dog’, e.g., *t^hašúke kneknéĝa* ‘Spotted Horse (a name)’, not ‘Spotted Dog’. The horse is perceived as an inalienable possession, whereas the dog is (usually) perceived as alienable, as indicated by the examples in (98) above.

5.1.3 Body parts

Body parts comprise a unique domain in which the first person singular possessive pronominal alternates between *ma-* and *mi-*. For Sioux, Boas and Deloria (1941:128) attribute the contrasting forms to a distinction between control through willpower, expressed by *mi-*, and non-control (that is, all other relationships) expressed by *ma-*. Rood and Taylor (1996:458) describe a tangible/intangible distinction in Oglala speech (a dialect of Lakota). While there is some correspondence between these explanations and the Assiniboine data, neither explanation fully accounts for the variation in Assiniboine, where the choice of pronominals appears to be unpredictable and idiosyncratic. Some comparisons between Assiniboine and Sioux forms (as given in Boas and Deloria 1941:128) are presented in table 3.5.

Table 3.5 Comparison of Assiniboine and Sioux possessive forms of body part terms

Contemporary Assiniboine	Sioux	Gloss
<i>Forms agree:</i>		
miʔí	míí	‘my mouth’
miʔísto	míisto	‘my arm’
micâte	mic ^h âte	‘my heart’
map ^h á	map ^h á	‘my head’
maʔûze	maûze	‘my buttocks’
<i>Forms disagree:</i>		
miwé	mawé	‘my blood’
manúġe	minúġe	‘my ear’
mišúpe	mašúpe	‘my intestines’

Boas and Deloria (1941:129) note that “[w]hen a body part is personified or addressed, the possessive pronouns are always *mi*, *ni*, *ŭki*.” Judging from the single attested Assiniboine example, which serendipitously corresponds to the Sioux example, this appears to be the case for Assiniboine as well.

(99a) Assiniboine:

miʔûs, t^hanó né awâ-mîci-yâka pó³⁰
 1.POSS-buttocks meat this ST-1.BEN-watch IMPER-PL
 ‘my buttocks, watch this meat for me’ (App.2: [k^tómi and Fox.26)

(99b) Sioux:

miûze, lená awâ-mici-yaka yó
 1.POSS-buttocks these ST-1.BEN-watch IMPER
 ‘my buttocks, watch these for me’ (Boas and Deloria 1941:129)

³⁰ The narrator has used the respect form (third person plural). See chapter 4.5 for a discussion of this example.

5.1.4 Possession by means of stative verbs

A stative verb clause containing a full noun in addition to the verb's pronominal argument identifies the referent as the possessor of subject noun.

(100a) *ištá né ni-šá-ša-pi kta*
 eye this P2-be.red-REDUP POT
 'your eyes will be red' (NR:T5.19)

(100b) *hí ma-yáza*
 tooth P1s-hurt
 'my tooth hurts; I have a toothache'

The grammatical role of the possessed noun in stative verb clauses such as these is not clear, although it could be viewed as loosely incorporated in the verb, as suggested by the following example. Usually, adverbs of degree immediately precede the verb they modify, but in (101a), the noun intervenes between the adverb and the verb. By this analysis, the noun incorporated verb is intransitive and the semantic possessor is the subject of the clause.

(101a) *nína hí ma-yáza*
 very tooth P1s-hurt
 'my tooth really hurts; I have a really bad toothache'

(101b) **hí nína ma-yáza*

Additional evidence that the pronominal argument on the verb is the subject is seen in plural forms, such as that in (102), where *pi* can only refer to an animate plural, i.e., the pronominal argument and not the inanimate noun. This further supports the suggestion that the noun is at least loosely incorporated in the verb.

(102) *hí ũ-yáza-pi*
 tooth 1du-buth-PL
 'our teeth hurt; we have toothaches'

Usually, nouns that are subjects of stative verbs are not marked with a possessive

prefix, although some exceptions have been noted, as in (103). There is no clear reason why such exceptions occur.

- (103) ma-p^háha sap-sapa
 P1s-hair be.black-REDUP
 ‘my hair is black; I have black hair’

5.1.5 Possession by means of context only

With active verbs, when the owner of an inalienable possession is obvious from context, there is usually no direct marker of possession on either the noun or on the verb of which the possessed noun is an argument.

- (104a) istó ŷs iyóhi-wa-ya-c
 arm with reach-A1s-CAUS-DECL
 ‘I reached it with [my] arm’
- (104b) wówašina chén tákuškIna žé ĭħpéħpeya waʔŷ
 job thus child that leave.behind.REDUP A1s-CONT
 ‘I’m dropping off [my] child while on a business trip’

5.1.6 Reflexive possession (suus)

When an active verb carries the *suus* marker *ki*, which identifies the object of the verb as possessed by the subject of the verb, the object noun is not marked for possession. (See chapter 7:3.1 for a discussion of *suus* forms.)

- (105a) p^há ya-k-pákca he
 head A2-SUUS-comb Q
 ‘did you comb your hair?’
- (105b) í Ø-ki-snípa
 mouth A3-SUUS-lick
 ‘s/he licked his/her lips’

5.2 Noun modification other than possession

There is no grammatical class of adjectives.³¹ Noun modification is accomplished through stative verbs and is discussed in chapters 6, 10, and 11.

6. Independent pronouns

6.1 Independent personal pronouns

There are two sets of independent personal pronouns, the *ǐš* paradigm and the *iyé* paradigm. These paradigms do not have plural forms, although first person singular and dual forms exist. They are used in addition to pronominal affixes within a clause and are syntactically external to the clause.

6.1.1 The *ǐš* paradigm

Pronouns in the *ǐš* paradigm indicate contrast or comparison to previous information.³² When used for contrast they have the approximate meaning, ‘as for me’ or ‘I, on the other hand’ or to contradict, as in “I did so!” (107e below) and are syntactically external to the clause. When used for comparison, they function as adverbs. In positive comparison, they have the meaning ‘also’ and in negative comparison, they have the meaning ‘but’. Context is often required to determine

³¹ A very few examples have been found in which forms from other grammatical classes are used in adjective-like ways, as in this example where the conjunction *nakú* ‘and also’ is used to modify ‘tea’.

nakú wáǐpé ya-chǐka (he)
and.also tea A2-want (Q)
‘do you want more tea?’

³² Boas and Deloria (1941:78) give the etymology of these forms as consisting of the patient pronominal affixes contracted with *ʔi* “perhaps an old third person,” with the addition of the adversative suffix *-š*.

which of these interpretations is appropriate. In (107a-c), either interpretation is possible. In informal speech members of this paradigm may follow the clause, as in (107c-d).

(106) The *ĩš* paradigm

<i>mĩš</i>	‘me’
<i>nĩš</i>	‘you’
<i>ĩš</i>	‘he, she; they’
<i>ũkĩš</i>	‘we (Du and Pl)’

Examples include:

(107a) *nĩš tók^hen ya-ũ*
 you how A2-be
 ‘and you, how are you?’ or, ‘but how are you?’

(107b) *Bob ĩš istó sǵní Ø-paksá*
 Bob also arm one.side P3-by.pressure-break
 ‘Bob has a broken arm, too’ or ‘as for Bob, he has a broken arm’ or ‘Bob, on the other hand, has a broken arm’

(107c) *chěǵa k’ĩna oyáte že-mǵ-tahǵ mĩš*
 kettle carry people STEM-P1s-from me
 ‘I’m from CTK band, too’ or ‘I, on the other hand, am from CTK’

(107d) *osnĩsni nakũ ĩš ~ nakũ ĩš osnĩ-sni*
 cold-REDUP in.addition ~ in.addition be.cold-REDUP
 ‘and it was cold, too’ (as perhaps in addition to there being a lot of snow)

(107e) *mĩš mná-kta (~mnĩ-kta)*
 me 1s.go-POT
 ‘I am *too* going!; I *am so* going!’ (contradicting)

6.1.2 The *iyé* paradigm

The *iyé* paradigm, which is reflexive, is analogous to the English “-self,” is also emphatic, as ‘the one who’ (109a-b). Members of this paradigm may function as the predicate of a clause (109c-d), and can be negated in elliptical responses (109e).

They are also used in comparative constructions, implying ‘than you/he/she’ (109f).

(108) the *iyé* paradigm

miyé	‘myself’
niyé	‘yourself’
iyé	‘him/herself’
ukíye	‘ourselves’

Examples include:

(109a) miyé ec^hámũ
 myself 1s.do
 ‘I did it myself’

(109b) miye má-∅-k^há
 me P1s-A3-mean’
 ‘she means me; I’m the one she means’ (NR T3.27)

(109c) niyé-c!
 yourself-SPC
 ‘you’re it! (said in a game of tag)’ (LgCir1.3109)

(109d) žé né miyé-c ∅-eyá (miyé as predicate)³³
 that.one this.one myself-DCL A3-say
 ‘‘I am that one,’’ he said’ (SB.26)

(109e) t^hanó žé tuwé ∅-éyaku? Miyé-šj.
 meat the who A3.take me-NEG
 ‘Who took the meat?’ ‘Not I.’

(109f) miyé cónana mnuhá
 myself little.bit A1s.have
 ‘I have less (than someone else)’

The definiteness of members of the *iyé* paradigm can be intensified by a suffix *-keñ* (110a-c), which also creates quantifiers from certain adverbs (110d). This

³³ The phrase final *-c* could also be interpreted as the specific-marking suffix (see 3.3.1.1 above). The grammaticality of the clause is not affected by choosing one interpretation over the other, and the semantics is only slightly affected. The independent pronoun is predicative by zero derivation. If the *c* is interpreted as the specific-marking suffix, the meaning has a greater degree of definiteness.

suffix is a compound of *-kA* ‘rather’ and augmentative *-ĥ*.

- (110a) *miyékeĥ* ‘myself, really myself, my very self’
 (110b) *niyékeĥ* ‘yourself, really yourself, your very self’
 (110c) *iyékeĥ* ‘him/herself, really him/herself, his/her very self’
 (110d) *nehákeĥ* ‘this precise amount, as when indicating size or distance with the hands’

In example (111) members of both paradigms are present. The first pronoun, *níš* establishes a contrast and the second pronoun *iyé* places emphasis on the subject of the second clause.

- (111) *žé níš waníc’ic^háġa-pi-šj; iyé*
 that you (contrast) P2.be.one’s.fault-pi-NEG themselves (emphatic)

wa’íc’ic^háġa-pi
 P3.be.one’s.fault-PL

 ‘it wasn’t your fault; it was *their* fault’
 (‘as for you, it wasn’t your fault; they are the ones who were at fault’)

6.2 Demonstrative pronouns

The demonstratives *né* ‘this’, *žé* ‘that’, and *ká* ‘that yonder’ and their plurals *nená*, *žená*, and *kan*, respectively, may function as syntactic pronouns and have the same distribution as nouns. The “singular” forms are unmarked and may be used with plural nouns. A plural demonstrative is used only when a speaker wishes to emphasize plurality or to disambiguate participants. When the plural forms have animate antecedents the verb will have the plural enclitic *pi*. (For explanation of animate vs. inanimate plurals, see section 5 above and chapter 6:8.) The demonstrative pronouns are optional and are generally used for emphasis, contrast,

or rhythm. The demonstratives *žé* and *né* trigger ablaut to *e*.

(112)	<i>né</i>	‘this one’	<i>nená</i>	‘these’
	<i>žé</i>	‘that one’	<i>žená</i>	‘those’
	<i>ká</i>	‘that one yonder’	<i>kaná</i> ³⁴	‘those yonder’

In (113a-b) the full nouns in the first column are replaced by the demonstrative pronouns in the second column.

	<u>Full noun</u>	<u>Demonstrative pronoun</u>
(113a)	<i>wíya žé ∅-háska</i> woman that P3-be.tall ‘that woman is tall’	<i>žé ∅-háska</i> that.one P3-be.tall ‘she is tall; that one is tall’
(113b)	<i>šúkat^haka kaná ∅-kneknéǵapi</i> horse those P3-be.spotted-PL ‘those horses are spotted; those horses are pintos’	<i>kaná ∅-kneknéǵapi</i> those P3-be.spotted-PL ‘those are spotted; those are pintos’

6.3 Indefinite pronouns

The indefinite pronouns, listed and exemplified in (114), are among the “*t*-words,” so called because they all begin with the letter *t*. As pronouns, they function as arguments of the verb. These words may function as verbs, also, as exemplified in Syntax 2.3.

(114)	<i>táku</i>	‘something’	<i>táku iyéya</i>	‘he found something’
		‘what?’	<i>táku iyéya he</i>	‘what did he find?’
	<i>tóna</i>	‘how many’	<i>tóna iyéya he</i>	‘how many did he find?’
		‘some’	<i>tóna mak’ú</i>	‘he/she gave me some’

³⁴ CTK speakers do not use the plural form *kaná*, using the adverb *kák^{hi}* instead, e.g., *šúkat^haka kák^{hi}* ‘those horses yonder’.

tukté umá	‘which one (of two)’	tukté umá yac ^h ȷka	‘which one (of two) do you want?’
tukté	‘which’	tukté yac ^h ȷka	‘which one (of several) do you want?’
tuwé	‘who’	tuwé hí he	‘who came?’
	‘someone’	tuwé hí	‘someone came’

7. Naming

Proper nouns exhibit a limited range of structural patterns. Personal names are still being created and given; place names are no longer being created in the language.

Personal naming is a matter of great contemporary interest among Assiniboine adults, even those who do not speak their heritage language. Many have an Assiniboine name and want their children to have them. Indian names are rarely used, usually only for ceremonial purposes, and some people consider personal names to be private, once given. Naming is considered a sacred act that must be undertaken by someone with the authority to do so, but what constitutes such authority is a topic that requires further research. Out of respect for the sacred nature of personal names, it should be emphasized that simply understanding the structure of personal names is not adequate knowledge for creating or assigning names, and the following analysis is not intended to be used for that purpose.

Personal names that appear in this work are either taken from published documents or used by permission.

7.1 *šȷka* ‘horse’

Due to the prominent role of the horse in Assiniboine tradition, there is a range of

possessive forms for ‘horse’ from alienable to inalienable possession, the latter encompassing both literal ownership and reference to literal or imagined ownership of a particular horse as an attribute of the owner. The full term for ‘horse’ is *šúkat^hàka*, literally ‘big dog’. In possessed forms the full form is reduced to *šúka*. The final *a* of *šúka* may change to *e* in inalienably possessed forms, but the practice appears to vary regionally in proper nouns (cf. Boas and Deloria 1941:32):

(115) Proper nouns with *šúka*:

t^hašúke sápa ‘His Black Horse’ (FB)

t^hašúka ópi ‘Wounded Horse’ (CTK)

7.2 Proper Names in *na*³⁵

Proper names may be derived from any major class word, alone or in compounds, either by the addition of nominalizing *-na* or by zero marking. Proper names do not take a determiner. Examples of individual personal names are:

(116) *hákíktana* ‘Early Riser (a woman’s name)’ (*hâ-* ‘night’ + *kiktá* ‘to get up’)

hepíyana ‘Half Way (a man’s name)’ (*hepíya* ‘half way, midway’)

³⁵ One hypothesis would include *nak^hóta* in this list, as **nak^hóna* (esp. Ryan 1999 *Nakona Language*). In fact, the latter is a re-analysis of the historical term *nak^hóta* based upon the compound form, *nak^hón-*, in which the *t* becomes *n* in coda position, for example, *nak^hón[?]i[?]a(pi)* ‘Assiniboine language.’ (See chapter 1:13.5). Another argument put forth to justify **nak^hóna* is based on an analysis of *Dak^hóta* as stemming from *k^hodá* ‘friend,’ by which logic the Assiniboine *k^honá* ‘friend’ must produce **nak^hóna*, (although this ignores the logical extension to Lakota *k^holá*, which is not argued to produce **lak^hóla*). While all three terms, *dak^hóta*, *lak^hóta*, *nak^hóta* are “generally interpreted as meaning ‘feeling affection, friendly,’” (Riggs 1890:160 in DeMallie 2001:750), the synchronic terms, *k^hodá*, *k^holá*, and *k^honá*, respectively, cannot be analyzed, despite their probable diachronic derivation.

osóna ‘Slitter (a man’s name)’ (osó ‘to slit’; compare to osós’a ‘a
 slitter, one who slits’)

Examples of place names are:

(117a) íya-ĥe witá-na
 rock-mountain island-DIM/NOM
 ‘Little Rocky Mountains, Montana’

(117b) thá-c^hehûpa-na
 ruminant-jaw-NOM
 ‘Moose Jaw, Saskatchewan’

(117c) huhú-žu-pi-na
 bones-full (ožú)-NOM-NOM
 ‘Regina, Saskatchewan’ (lit. ‘pile of bones’)

Names of peoples are derived by the same means, but they can be pluralized
 and can take determiners. Examples are:

(118) hútešàna ‘Red Bottom People, band of Assiniboines’ (húte ‘base’, šá ‘red’)
 kisúna ‘a Chinese person’ (ki SUUS + sŭ ‘to braid’)
 kisúpina ‘Chinese people’
 osnípina ‘Northern People, Cold People, band of Assiniboines’ (osní
 ‘cold’, pi PL)

Chapter 4

Kinship

1. Kinship system

Assiniboine kinship terminology is a variant of the Dakota type, as shown in fig. 1.

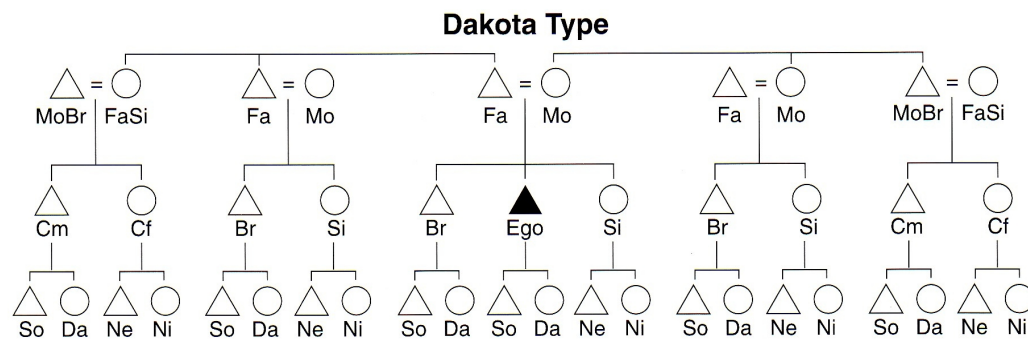


Fig. 4.1 Dakota Type kinship system (Eggan and Maxwell 2001:976, used by permission)

Whereas the classic Dakota type exhibits a bifurcate merging pattern

(terminological merging of father with father's brothers and mother with mother's

sisters), Assiniboine exhibits a bifurcate collateral pattern (differentiation of father

from father's brothers and mother from mother's sisters). The two patterns are

illustrated in fig. 4.2.

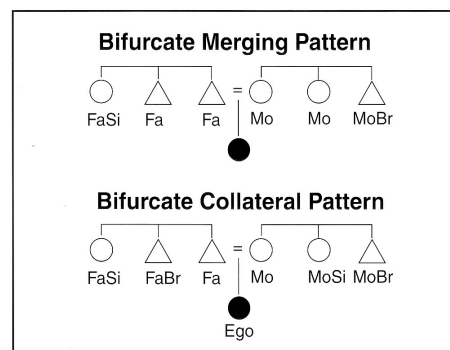


Fig. 4.2 Bifurcate merging and bifurcate collateral patterns of kin terminology (Eggan 1968 in Eggan and Maxwell 2001:978, used by permission)

Kinship terminology encompasses five generations, encompassing two ascending and two descending from ego. Terminology for ego's generation is the most highly elaborated, and differs for male and female ego. Sibling terms entail age and sex relative to ego. With the exception of one variation noted below, cousin terms refer only to cross cousins; parallel cousins are designated with sibling terms.

Father's brothers are designated *até-na* ('father' with a diminutive suffix) and the mother's sisters are designated *iná-na* ('mother' with a diminutive suffix). The parents' opposite sex siblings are cross-related and designated with aunt and uncle terms that derive from roots that are different from the father and mother terms. In ego's generation, the children of ego's father's brothers and mother's sisters are termed siblings and the children of ego's father's sisters and mother's brothers are termed cousins. In the first descending generation, the children of ego's same-sex siblings and cousins are designated sons and daughters whereas the children of ego's opposite sex siblings and cousins are designated nieces and nephews.

Affinal relatives in the first ascending generation are referred to by the term that corresponds to that of the spouse. Thus, for example, the wife of *aténa* is *inána* and the wife of *nekší* is *mit^húwina*.

In the second ascending generation there is one male and one female grandparent stem /th^hukaš/ and /k^hu/ respectively, with no matrilineal or patrilineal distinction made, although this distinction can be expressed analytically:

- (1) mi-k^húši até hŭ-ku žé
 1s.POSS-grandmother father mother-3.POSS DET
 ‘my grandmother on my father’s side; my paternal grandmother’ (LgC1.131)

The grandparent terms are also used to address grandparents-in-law. Also, any elder of the grandparent generation may be addressed as ‘grandmother’ or ‘grandfather’ as a term of respect. Generations beyond the grandparent generation may be identified paraphrastically by linking a relational reference upward from a grandparent term. An example that approximates this strategy is the following:¹

- (2) mi-t^húkaši . . . iyé t^hukaši-tku c^ha
 1s.POSS-grandfather . . . his.own grandfather-3.POSS that.kind
 ‘my grandfather . . .’s grandfather’ (NR T1.12)

In the second descending generation, there is a single grandchild stem /t^hakož/, with no distinction made for sex or line of descent. In practice, any child in the grandchild generation who is felt to be a member of the community may also be addressed as *mit^hákoža* ‘my grandchild’. By contrast, when such, in effect, honorific grandchildren are referenced (but not addressed), *na* is used, as in (3)-(4). The speaker in (3) is a holy man who refers to two young men as *mit^hákožana* (‘grandchild’ with diminutive *-na*). The example in (4) *Īktómi* (the trickster) is

¹ I have taken some liberty in extracting this example from the full sentence. I believe that I have isolated the appropriate elements, but it may be that *iyé*, which I included in (2), is not an obligatory part of the expression. Here is the full sentence:

Né onówa a-wá-himne žé mi-t^húkaši Šŭk-ʔúza wanákaš žená iyé
 this song ST-A1s-sing that 1.POSS-grandfather Dog-Rump long.ago those himself
 hékta iyé t^húkaši-tku c^ha žená žéc^hen ∅-nowá-s’a ∅-káya.
 back.then his.own grandfather-3.POSS that.kind those then A3-sing-HAB A3-say

‘This song I sang, my grandfather, Dog Rump, said he learned from his own grandfather, who always sang them back then.’

referring to ducks, whom he characterizes as grandchildren. Recall that plural marking on human-reference nouns is optional.

- (3) “A! mi-t^htákoža-na yus^ʔíye-wich^hà-ya-ye no,” eyá.
 ah 1s.POSS-grandchild-DIM frighten-P3p A3-AUX DECL A3.say
 ‘“Ah! you frightened my grandchildren,” he said.’ (App1: Big Snake.20)
- (4) mi-t^hákožâ-pi-na k^hówa wach^hí-wič^hà-wa-khìyì-ktà-c
 1s.POSS-grandchild-PL-DIM all.those dance-P3p-A1s-CAUS-POT-DECL
 ‘I will make all my grandchildren dance’ (NR: T5.12)

Kinship terms, to the extent that they could be elicited, are given in table 4.2 at the end of this chapter. This list reflects current usage, or usage within living memory. A comparison with historical sources is discussed in section 4, below. Many of the terms, especially in their possessed forms, are no longer commonly used and have receded from easy recall. Disagreements among speakers are noted where they occur.

The uncertainty and disagreement among contemporary speakers on terminology for less frequently used terms, especially cousin terms and first person plural possessive forms, is not surprising considering that these terms are no longer in general use. The social implications of the relationships as entailing various responsibilities and privileges are, on the whole, no longer observed so that preservation of kinship terms has little purpose beyond the immediate family (although the relationships themselves are still regarded as very important). Furthermore, the few elderly speakers who remember these terms are dispersed over a large geographic area in various isolated communities, so that they rarely have occasion to use these terms in conversation, and many of those to whom the terms would apply do not speak the language.

At Fort Belknap leveling of some forms appears to have occurred by analogy. For some speakers, the term *nekšícú* ‘his uncle’ has become *nekšítku* (compare to other forms ending in *i* that acquire the suffix *-tku*), and *mit^hákoža* ‘grandchild’ has become *mit^hákoši* (compare to *mit^húkaši* ‘my grandfather’, *mic^húkši* ‘my son’, and *mic^húkši* ‘my daughter’).

2. Morphology of kinship terms

Kinship terms are based on a set of roots (listed in table 4.2) derived by a small set of affixes: *mi-*, *ni-*, *-(t)ku*, *-na*, *-ši*, *-ya*, and *-ka*.

2.1 *mi-* ‘my’

The first person possessive prefix occurs with all but two roots, the exceptions being /at/ ‘father’ and /ina/ ‘mother’. Kin terms with the first possessive prefix are used for both address and reference and do not occur without the prefix.

2.2 *ni-* ‘your’

The second person possessive prefix is used with all kin terms. The terms for ‘mother’ and ‘mother’s sister’ are derived from the root *hú* rather than the first person form *iná*, thus *nihú* ‘your mother’ and *nihúna* ‘your aunt (mother’s sister)’.

The terms for ‘father’ and ‘father’s brother’ differ from the first person forms in that, while the first person forms are unprefixes, the second person forms receive the possessive prefix, thus, *niyáte* ‘your father’ and *niyátena* ‘your uncle (father’s brother)’.

2.3 *-(t)ku*

This is suffixed to the root and uniformly indicates third person possessor, i.e.,

‘his/her [relative]’ (but see 2.6, below). There is no phonological reason for the variable occurrence of *t* in the suffix and *t* is assumed to be of historical origin. See table 4.2 for examples.

2.4 -*na*

Parallel relationship is marked by the addition of *na* to the corresponding term for immediate relationship, for example, *mit^hímnona* ‘older male parallel cousin of a woman’ from *mit^hímno* ‘older brother of a woman’. In these terms, *na* is similar to nominalizing *na* ‘is a type of’. It has the semantic force of the English suffix *-like*; e.g., *mit^hímnona* is “older brother-like.”²

2.5 -*ši*

With one exception, *-ši* only occurs on terms outside the core of immediate relationships (parents and siblings of ego) and may therefore be interpreted as signaling a kind of social distance. DeMallie (1994:138) states that “*ši* indicates a relationship of conspicuous respect.” The single exception is the term for the younger sister of a male, *mit^hákši*. DeMallie (p.c.) suggests, the suffix in this instance might be something other than the *-ši* in other kin terms, perhaps *-kši*

² Deloria gives the following account of *na*:

“*na* – diminutive, meaning it is temporary or not real. This use of *na* (or *la*) is indicated in the Dakota and Assiniboine terms for mother, and father, when not the true parent but a distant mother or father is meant. In Dakota – well, in both languages – this *na* suffixed to the father and mother terms is not used much, though the people will always give it when you are recording kinship.”[1936:14]

Her aside, “– well, in both languages – ” is misleading because the use of *na* is optional in Lakota, but it is lexicalized in Assiniboine terms for father’s brother and mother’s sister and therefore is used any time someone in this relationship is addressed or referenced.

(which may be related to the *-kš̥i* found in ‘son’ and ‘daughter’ terms, in which case the root for those terms would be *c^hĩ-* and *c^hũ-*, respectively).

2.6 *-ka*

-ka is a formative with no discernable meaning, although in the case of ‘younger brother’ and ‘younger sister of a woman’, it creates a distinction between vocative and singular reference forms; reference forms have *-ka* while vocative forms do not.

Compare the examples of *misũ* and *misũka* ‘my younger brother’ in (5).

(5) Singular vocative, without *-ka*

(5a) *hã, misũ, tók^hiyata ya-ú he*
 hey younger.brother from.where A2-come Q
 ‘hey, younger brother! where have you come from?’ (NR: T4.41)

(5b) Plural vocative, with *-ka*:

mithãkš̥i misũkapi k^ho nén wa-yá-c^hi-pi-cta
 1s.POSS-younger.sis 1.poss-younger.bro-*ka* also here ST-A2-dance-PL-POT
 ‘my younger sisters and brothers, you will dance here’ (NR T5.15)

(5c) Singular reference, with *-ka*:

mi-sũka Akékena
 1s.POSS-younger.brother Akékena
 ‘my younger brother, Akékena’ (NR: T3.20)

(5d) Plural reference, with *-ka*:

misũka-pi mi-t^hákoža-pi-na k^hówa wac^hĩ-wjç^hã-wa-k^hiyĩ-cta-c
 1s.POSS-yo.bro 1s.POSS-gr.child-PL-*na* all.those dance-P3p-A1s-CAUS-POT-DCL
 ‘I will make all my younger brothers and grandchildren dance’ (NR: T5.11)

2.6 *-ya*

The suffix *-ya* ‘to have as a relative’, which productively derives first and second person kinship terms in Sioux, is not systematic in Assiniboine kin terms,

occurring only in a few first person plural possessive forms. Where *-ya* does occur productively in Assiniboine is with reference to one considered a relative who is not related by birth or marriage. This is seen in terms like *até-ya-pi* ‘Indian agent, Indian superintendent’ (lit. ‘considered to be as a father’), *t^hɥkášina-ya-pi* ‘president of the United States’ (lit. ‘considered to be a grandfather’), and *atkúku-wič^ha-ye né* ‘these whom she had taken as fathers’ (NR: T6.29; cf. *atkúku* ‘her fathers’). Other examples are those in (6) and (7).

(6) *chihí-tku-wa-yì-kta-c*
 son-3.POSS-1s-*ya*-POT-DECL
 ‘I will consider him a son’ (SB.72)

(7) *chĩcá-ɥ-yâ-pì-kte nó*
 child-1du-*ya*-PL-POT DECL
 ‘we will consider her our own child’ (NR: T6.23)

chĩcá does not appear to have a third person possessive form (**chĩcáku*) as seen in (8):

(8) *chĩcá-pi ĩš nũpa-pi né i-húni-pi*
 child-PL his.own two-PL DET arrive.there-COMPLETIVE-PL
 ‘also his own two children got there’ (SB:74)

Relationship to a specific person is indicated by using the person’s name immediately before the kinship term:

(9) Mary *chũwítkunàna né*
 Mary daughter
 ‘Mary’s youngest daughter’ (*chũwítku* ‘daughter’, *né* DET) (LgC1.174)

2.8 Unexplained morphemes

Four morphemes occur in a few forms that cannot be accounted for.

- A morpheme *ki* unaccountably occurs in the plural and third person

possessor grandparent terms, for example, *t^hukq-ki-ši-tku* ‘our grandfather’. (The nasalization of the *a* of the root is also unexplained.)

- A morpheme *hɨ* appears in the third person forms *c^hihɨtku* ‘son’ and *c^hihɨtkuna* ‘man’s brother’s son’.
- A morpheme *kpa* unaccountably occurs in the plural and third person forms for ‘grandchild’, for example, *t^hakóža-kpa-ku* ‘their grandchild’.
- A morpheme *ku* occurs in the first and second person possessor forms for ‘child-in-law, for example, *mit^hákoš-ku* ‘my child-in-law’, and a morpheme *tku* occurs in the first person plural possessor grandparent terms, which also have the unidentified *ki* morpheme, for example, *ukít^hukq-ki-ši-tku* ‘our grandfather’. It seems beyond coincidence that the *ku* and *tku* morphemes in these non-third person forms should be something other than the third person possessive suffix *(t)ku* but their appearance in non-third person forms is unexpected and unexplainable, especially since the third person possessive suffix is otherwise so consistent in its meaning.

3. Respect/avoidance speech

Certain relationships entail the reciprocal use of specialized speech, specifically third person plural forms. Although commonly referred to as “respect” speech, usage suggests that “avoidance” is also significantly implied in relationships characterized by such speech. Two environments are attested in contemporary Assiniboine speech, one with regard to certain in-laws and the other, more questionable, with regard to a personified body part.

The first set of relationships requiring avoidance speech is between parent/child in-laws. The only published reference to specialized speech between parent/child in-laws is found in Kennedy (1961 [1939]) where James Larpenteur Long (First Boy) states:

Speech between father-in-law and daughter-in-law and between mother-in-law and son-in-law was strictly prohibited. Conversation was allowed between the two men and between the two women, but *only in the third person plural* and in a soft tone of voice, to show respect. They never spoke directly to each other, but always in a roundabout fashion. [1961(1939):17, emphasis added]

The behavior required by avoidance relationships is not strictly maintained in contemporary society, but when speaking in Assiniboine of relatives in one of the historically avoidance relationships, native speakers still consistently use the third person plural. Evidence from texts and elicited data confirms and extends Long's statement: even reference to one's parents- or children-in-law requires the respect form. Elicited examples are as follows, in which the third person plural object pronominal *wič^ha* is used (11), and the plural enclitic *pi* is used (12), both in reference to a single individual:

- (11) mi-k^hŭ o-wič^ha-kici-yaka oʔinaži ektá mní-ka
 1s.POSS-mo-in-law ST-P3p-tell town to A1s.go-POT
 'tell my mother-in-law I'm going to town (female speaking)'
- (12) mik^hŭ oʔinaži Ø-yá-pi-kta Ø-káya-pi
 my.mother-in-law town A3-go-PL-POT A3-.say-PL
 'my mother-in-law said she is going to town'

Compare (11)-(12) to (13), where reference is to an in-law other than a parent- or child-in-law; the plural enclitic *pi* is absent:

- (13) mišíc'e oʔínažǐ ektá Ø-yǐ-ktá Ø-káya
 my.brother-in-law town to A3-go-POT A3-say
 'my brother-in-law said he is going to town'

Textual evidence of the prohibition against directly addressing an in-law of the opposite sex is found in “Man Who Married a Ghost,” a text narrated in the 1980s by George Shields of Fort Belknap Reservation (DeMallie 2000). In this story, a young woman (the eponymous ghost) can be seen and heard only by her (living) husband. She wishes to tell her mother something and asks her husband to tell her. In the next sentence of the text, the man goes, not to her mother, but to his own mother and tells *her*. This “roundabout fashion,” to use Long’s words, is not explained in the text because the narrator takes for granted that his audience understands the necessity of this sequence of events, due to the avoidance relationship between the young man and his mother-in-law.

When the man’s mother learns that the young woman’s ghost is there with him, she addresses the young woman directly, crying, *E! mit^hákoškupina!* ‘Oh, Daughter-in-law!’ (using the third person plural form). This confirms Long’s assertion that “conversation was allowed between . . . the two women.” The man’s mother then goes to the young woman’s family. When the woman’s parents hear of their daughter’s request, as conveyed by their son-in-law, they respond using the avoidance form to refer to their son-in-law:

- (14) Hâ, mit^hákoš ṭayâ Ø-eyá-pi-c
 yes son-in-law well A3-say-*pi*-DECL
 ‘yes, my son-in-law has spoken well’ [NR:T7.38]

The second environment in which avoidance speech is attested is in an Iktómi story in which Iktómi addresses his rump, given in (15). (Recall that *po* is a

contraction of plural *pi* and the male imperative particle *wo*.)

- (15) miʔús, t^hanó né awâ-mici-yâka pó
 1s.POSS-rump meat this STEM-BEN-watch 3PL.IMPER (respect/avoidance form)
 ‘my rump, watch this meat for me’ (App.2: Jktómi and Fox.25)

When the narrator of the story was asked about her use of the third person plural form in this instance, she said it was a mistake, asking that the transcription be changed to the singular form. This is the only example of a case in which a body part is personified, and it happens to be a body part that would reasonably be treated with avoidance. Furthermore, the narrator was slightly embarrassed at telling the story (although she clearly enjoys the joke), so it is possible that her use of avoidance speech in the original telling of the story reflects her own intuitive avoidance behavior in mentioning the rump.

Table 4.2 Kinship terminology

	<u>1s vocative/ref.</u>	<u>2s possessive</u>	<u>1pl possessive</u>	<u>3s possessive</u>
Ego +2				
grandfather	mit ^h úkaši	nit ^h úkaši	ʉkít ^h ukəkišitku	t ^h ukákišitku ¹ ~ t ^h ukákšicu
grandmother	mik ^h úši	nik ^h úši	ʉkík ^h ʉšitku	k ^h úkišitku ~ k ^h úšitku
Ego +1				
father	até	niyáte	até ^ʉ ʉyapi	atkúku
mother	iná	nihú	iná ^ʉ ʉyapi	húku
father's brother	aténa	niyátena	até ^ʉ ʉyapi	atkúkuna
father's sister <i>and</i> mother's brother's wife	mit ^h úwina	nit ^h úwina	²	t ^h ʉwícuna
mother's brother <i>and</i> father's sister's husband	minékši	ninékši	ʉkíšitku (FB) ³ nekšícú ^ʉ ʉyapi (CTK)	nekšícú
mother's sister <i>and</i> father's brother's wife	inána	nihúna	iná ^ʉ ʉyapina	húkuna
mother's sister's husband <i>and</i> and father's sister's husband	aténa	miyátena	até ^ʉ ʉyapina	atkúkuna

¹t^hukášitku is attested by FB speakers and by some CTK speakers. Those Canadian speakers who metathesize the *tk* cluster pronounce this as t^hukášiktú. The form t^hukášicu is attested by a single CTK speaker.

²I did not get a separate form for this: a CTK speaker says that mit^húwina would be used here, also.

³This form seems questionable; one would expect ʉkínekšitku. Lowie (1909:36) found nekšícú (his “nekcídju”).

	<u>1s vocative /ref.</u>	<u>2s possessive</u>	<u>1pl possessive</u>	<u>3s possessive</u>
father-in-law	mit ^h ŭka	nit ^h ŭka		t ^h ŭkákū
mother-in-law	mik ^h ŭ	nik ^h ŭ		k ^h ŭku
Ego				
<u>Ego is male</u>				
older brother <i>and</i>				
older male parallel cousin	mic ^h ína	nic ^h ína	ŭkíc ^h ina	ch ^h ĭcuna
older sister <i>and</i>				
older female parallel cousin	mit ^h ákēna	nit ^h ákēna	ŭkít ^h ákupina	t ^h ákšítku
younger brother <i>and</i>				
younger male parallel cousin	misŭka (ref) misŭ (voc)	nisŭka	ŭkísŭka	sŭkákū
younger sister <i>and</i>				
younger female parallel cousin	mit ^h ákšĭ	nit ^h ákšĭ	ŭkít ^h ákšĭtkupina	t ^h ákšítku
female cross cousin	mihákāšĭ	nihákāšĭ		hákāšítku
male cross cousin, younger, older	mit ^h áhāšĭ (ref) t ^h ahāšĭ (voc)	nit ^h áhāšĭ		t ^h áhāšítku
wife	mit ^h āwĭ	nit ^h āwĭ		t ^h āwĭcu
brother-in-law (sis hu; wi bro)	mit ^h áhā (ref) t ^h ahā (voc)	nit ^h áhā		t ^h áhāku
sister-in-law (bro wi, wi sis)	mihákā	nihákā	?hákákū?ŭye žé	hákákū
<u>Ego is female</u>				
older brother	mit ^h ímno	nit ^h ímno	ŭkít ^h ímno	t ^h ímnóku
older male parallel cousin ⁴	mit ^h ímnona	nit ^h ímnona	ŭkít ^h ímnona	t ^h ímnókuna

⁴Younger speakers differentiate between older brother and older male parallel cousin, adding *-na* to the cousin terms; older speakers do not make this distinction. The third person possessed form is attested with and without *-na* in both generations.

	<u>1s vocative /ref.</u>	<u>2s possessive</u>	<u>1pl possessive</u>	<u>3s possessive</u>
older sister <i>and</i>				
older female parallel cousin	mic ^h úna	nic ^h úna	ɯkíc ^h una	c ^h úkuna
younger brother <i>and</i>				
younger male parallel cousin ⁵	misɯka (ref) misú (voc)	nisúka	ɯkísɯka	sɯkákua
younger sister <i>and</i>				
younger female cousin	mit ^h ǵ ⁶	nit ^h ǵ	ɯkít ^h ǵakakupi	t ^h ǵákáku
male cross cousin, younger, older	mišíc'eši	nišíc'eši	šic'ésitku'ɯyɯpi	šic'ésitku
female cross cousin, younger, older	mišícɛp ^h ǵáši	nišícɛp ^h ǵáši	šic'ép ^h ǵášitku'ɯyɯpi	šic'ép ^h ǵášitku
husband	mihǵkna	nihǵkna		hǵknáku
co-wife (obsolete)	mit ^h éya	nit ^h éya		t ^h éyaku
brother-in-law (hu bro; sis hu)	mišíc'e	nišíc'e	šic'étku'ɯyɯpi	šic'étku
sister-in-law (bro wi; hu sis)	mišícɛp ^h ǵa	nišícɛp ^h ǵa	šicɛp ^h ǵaku'ɯyɯpi	šícip ^h ǵáku
co-parent-in-law	omówahǵt ^h ǵa	nit ^h ómowahǵt ^h ǵu		t ^h ómowahǵt ^h ǵu
Ego -1				
son	mic ^h ǵkši	nic ^h ǵkši	ɯkíc ^h ǵkši	c ^h ǵhǵtku
daughter	mic ^h úkši	nic ^h úkši	ɯkíc ^h úkši	c ^h ɯwítku
man's brother's son <i>and</i>				
woman's sister's son	mic ^h ǵkšina	nic ^h ǵkšina	ɯkíc ^h ǵkšina	c ^h ǵhǵtkuna
man's brother's daughter <i>and</i>				
woman's sister's daughter	mic ^h úkšina	nic ^h úkšina	ɯkíc ^h úkšina	c ^h ɯkšítkuna

⁵A few CTK speakers differentiate between younger brother and younger male parallel cousin, adding *-na* to the cousin forms: *misúkana*, *nisúkana*, *ɯkísúkana*, *súkákuna*.

⁶A FB speaker gives a reference form *mit^hǵka*, also giving *nit^hǵka* for the second person possessed form, but the forms without *-na* are more widely attested.

	<u>1s vocative /ref.</u>	<u>2s possessive</u>	<u>1pl possessive</u>	<u>3s possessive</u>
man's sister's son	mit ^h ŭška	nit ^h ŭška		t ^h ŭškáku
man's sister's daughter	mit ^h ŭža ⁷	nit ^h ŭža		t ^h ŭžâku
woman's brother's son	mit ^h óška ⁸	mit ^h óška		t ^h oškáku
woman's brother's daughter	mit ^h óžana	nit ^h óžana		t ^h ožâku
child-in-law	mit ^h ákošku (ref) mit ^h ákoš (voc) mit ^h ákoškupina (voc) ⁹	nit ^h ákošku		t ^h akóšku
Ego -2				
grandchild	mit ^h ákoža	nit ^h ákoža	ŭkít ^h akòžakpàku	t ^h akòžakpàku
Other terms:				
child	mic ^h ĭca			
male friend of a man	mit ^h ák ^h ona	nit ^h ák ^h ona		t ^h ak ^h ónaku
female friend of a female	mĭší	nĭší		šĭtkúya
collateral or distal relative	anétka (<i>anétka takúki^hiyapi</i> 'a family branch or line') ¹⁰			

⁷A CTK speaker rejects forms with *u*, giving forms with *o*, instead: *mit^hóža*, *nit^hóža*, *t^hožáku*. The difference between *u* and *o* in this case is fully realized, unlike the widespread phenomenon of slight phonetic lowering of *u*.

⁸Some CTK speakers add *na* to the first and second person forms: *mit^hóškana*, *nit^hóškana*

⁹This vocative form includes the plural enclitic *pi*, required for respect speech.

¹⁰*anétka* can also refer to a branch on a tree, or to any kind of branch.

Chapter 5

Adverbs

1. Introduction

There are no exclusively morphological or syntactic criteria for defining adverbs.¹ Many of the suffixes that occur with adverbs also occur with other parts of speech; other parts of speech can occupy adverbial positions in a clause; and adverbs themselves can appear in the verb position as predicates. Therefore, in classifying adverbs, the appeal is to a combination of morphology, syntax, and semantics. Independent adverbs (those other than verb stems functioning as adverbs, as discussed in chapter 11) have somewhat free distribution, occurring at the beginning of a clause, immediately before the verb, or postposed after the verb. There is a great deal of overlap between adverbs and postpositions, so much so that words in the corpus that function exclusively as postpositions number fewer than a dozen. The following examples illustrate these dual roles.

(1) *k^hiyána* 'close to'

(1a) Adverb, preceding the verb:

k^hiyána hǐǐpé-ma-k^hiya
 close.to throw- P1s-CAUS
 'throw it over here by me!'

¹Buechel (1939:183-95) provides a detailed analysis of Lakota adverb morphology but enough semantic discrepancies exist between Lakota and Assiniboine that Buechel's explanations cannot be assumed to account for the meaning or use of phonetically identical Assiniboine forms in every case. Nonetheless, they do provide useful insights for those suffixes that agree semantically.

(1b) Postposition, following a noun:

sihá k^hiyána Ø-yaká
 foot close.to A3-sit
 ‘it is near the feet (of something)’

The morphology and semantics of adverbs are described in this chapter; the syntactic role of adverbs is described in chapter 11.

2. Morphology of adverbs

Single-word adverbs occur as basic (inherent) adverbs, compounds, or verbal stems compounded with a head verb. Adverbs may be derived from nouns, verbs, or other adverbs.

2.1 Basic adverbs

Semantically, adverbs encompass a wide range of concepts, including time, manner, place (including location and direction), and degree. Some common basic adverbs are given in (2). Some have the appearance of derived forms—and are surely historically so—but are now lexicalized, rather than the result of productive processes, especially those forms based on the demonstratives *né*, *žé*, *ká* (‘this’, ‘that’, ‘that yonder’, respectively). While the demonstratives are recognizable in such forms, the remainder of the word in each case is often not analyzable into independent morphemes.

(2) Lexical adverbs:

(2a) Time:

aškán	‘recently; lately’
éstena	‘soon; early’
hayák ^{heci}	‘tomorrow’
hayák ^{hena}	‘early in the morning’

hékta	‘back then’
h̄tāniḡa	‘yesterday’
iknúhḡana(h̄)	‘suddenly, all at once’
nah̄ḡh̄	‘still, yet’
ḡakáḡa	‘now’ (present and future)
t ^h éḡa	‘a long time’ (also refers to distance, i.e., ‘far’)
waná	‘now; already’ (punctual; present and past)
wanḡakaš	‘long ago’

(2b) Place:

akḡn	‘on’
ch ^h atkám	‘on the left side’
ch ^h okḡn	‘in the middle’
ektá	‘to; at’
én	‘at’
héktaḡ	‘behind’
hok ^h ún	‘down; below’
kakná	‘beside; near’
mahén	‘in, inside’
manín	‘off somewhere, away from home/camp’
nén	‘here’
ókšḡ	‘around’
t ^h akán	‘outside; outdoors’
tók ^h i	‘to somewhere; away’
žén	‘there’

(2c) Manner:

awánḡka	‘accidentally, unintentionally’
ch ^h ḡka ~ tók ^h enc ^h ḡka	‘hard, strenuously, with energy’
ektášḡ	‘wrong, improperly, inappropriately, strangely’
inína	‘quietly’
ḡšnána	‘alone’
ḡtú	‘just, only, simply’
iyéc ^h ḡka	‘by itself, of its own accord’
k ^h ayéna	‘quickly, promptly’ also, ‘close to camp’
néc ^h en	‘this way, in this manner, like this’
nóya	‘rarely, as meat that is not fully cooked’
sak ^h ím	‘together; double’
tayá	‘well, nicely, properly’

(2d) Degree:

eháš	‘too much’
------	------------

iyák ^h am	‘beyond, more, surpassing’
k ^h ap ^h éya	‘more, a greater amount’
kahákeĥ	‘so far off; not too far off’
kaháyeĥ	‘only so far’
kíta	‘barely, scarcely’
nína	‘very’
nísko	‘about this much’
sám/ísam	‘beyond, farther on’
žecéš	‘just that, only that, that’s all’
žéhakeĥ	‘that far, as a certain distance away’

2.2 Demonstrative adverbs

A subset of basic adverbs consists of the demonstrative adverbs, contractions of the demonstrative articles/pronouns and the adverb *én* ‘place, at a place’. The demonstrative adverbs distinguish three degrees of distance in relation to the speaker: *nén* ‘here’, *žén* ‘there’, and *kán* ‘yonder’. In contemporary speech, *kán* is often eschewed in favor of *kák^{hi}*, perhaps because it is difficult to be certain of the precise location of something in the distance, so that *kák^{hi}*, which means ‘in the general area yonder’ is for most speakers preferable to *kán*, which implies a more precise location.

In describing the demonstrative adverbs of Sioux, Boas and Deloria state, “Demonstratives express three positions: here, there and there visible so that it can be pointed at” (1940:2). These distinctions seem to hold for some Assiniboine speakers as well, but considering the extremely rare occurrence of *kán* in contemporary Assiniboine speech, it may be that for most speakers, *žén* now covers both ‘there’ and ‘there visible so that it can be pointed at’, while *kák^{hi}* is ‘there, not visible’; that is, the demonstrative system is altered for these speakers. *ká* appears in the Nakoda Language Lessons (1999) developed at Fort Belknap, but

there are no attested examples from the Carry The Kettle data. Nakoda Language Lesson 3.8 states, “Of the two demonstratives [žé and ká], žé is used more commonly, sometimes even when gá [i.e., ká] might be used.” This suggests that, possibly due to English influence, the *visible* distance divisions have been reduced to a primarily two-way distinction of *nén* and *žén*, with *kán* seldom used. The following examples from the Nakoda Language Lessons exemplify the historical use of *ká/kán*, illustrating also that the demonstrative articles (which also function as pronouns when the lexical noun is not present) frequently co-occur with the demonstrative adverbs.

(3) Examples of *ká* and *kán* from the Nakoda Language Lessons (1999)

(3a) Unit 3:8 - ká táku he ‘what is that over yonder?’

(3b) Unit 3:9 - žé kán yǫká ‘it’s (sitting) over there’ [referring to an item within view]

(3c) Unit 3:11 - Šúkat^hǫka žé kán náži ‘the horse is (standing) over yonder’

2.3 Interrogative adverbs

Another subset of basic adverbs consists of the interrogatives, informally referred to in the literature as “*t*-words,” the majority of which are based on the stem *tó*- which expresses indefiniteness. The basic adverbial *t*-words, from which many other adverbs are derived, are given in (4). These correspond approximately to the so-called *wh*-words of English. (The pronouns *táku* ‘what’ and *tuwé* ‘who’ also belong to the set of *t*-words but, as nominals, they are described in chapter 3: 7.3). It should be noted that, unlike English *wh*-words, the *t*-words do not function as relative pronouns (for which, see chapter 11: 2.4).

(4) Interrogative adverbs

tákuc ^h en	‘why’ (<i>táku</i> ‘what’ + <i>c^hén</i> ‘because of’)
tóhə	‘when (potential)’
tóhəc’ehə	‘when (in the past, i.e., realized)’
tók ^h en	‘how’
tók ^h iya	‘where to’
tóna	‘how many’ (also ‘some’)
tuktám	‘to what place; to some place’
tuktén	‘where, at what place; at some place, somewhere’

2.4 Logical connectives²

Three adverbs, *íš*, *k^hó*, and *nakú*, all meaning ‘also, too’, are similar in function to coordinating conjunctions in that they connote connections between noun phrases or between clauses. *nakú* may also function as a coordinating conjunction and *k^hó* may function in place of a coordinating conjunction, and all three may co-occur with a coordinating conjunction, as in (5). (See 11: 6.2 for further discussion of coordination.)

(5a) John aǵúyapi yúta hík asápi íš Ø-yatká
 John bread A3.eat and milk also A3.drink
 ‘John ate bread and drank milk’

(5b) aǵúyapi op^hé-wa-t^hú nakú asápi íš
 bread ST- A1s-buy and milk also
 ‘I bought bread and milk’

3. Derived adverbs**3.1 Prefixation**

Two types of prefixes may be added to adverbs to alter their meaning, adverbial (stressed) *í* and the locative prefixes *a-* and *o-*.

² This useful term is used in Greenbaum 1996:383 to refer to a number of semantic connectives, of which there are several. The type described here is what he terms “listing.”

3.1.1 Adverbial *ĩ-*³

The prefix *ĩ-* added to an adverb of place makes the locational reference more specific. Rood and Taylor (1996:452) note a similar prefix in Lakota but in Lakota, the *ĩ-*prefixed forms are postpositions, whereas in Assiniboine the *ĩ-*prefixed forms remain adverbs.

(6) *t^hakán* ‘outside’

(6a) *t^hakán ȳ-škáta-pi-s’a*
outside 1du-play-PL-HAB
‘we used to play outside’

(6b) *t^hakán ĵĥpéya*
outside throw
‘throw it out!’ (i.e., from indoors to outdoors)

(7) *ĩ^hakán* ‘specifically outside’

ĩ^hakán ĵĥpéya
outside throw
‘throw it outside (not inside)’

(8a) *k^hi[?]úm* ‘beside; to a position beside something’

iyé^hikayena žé k^hi[?]um ĵnážĵk^hiya
car that beside stop-CAUS
‘park the car beside it (e.g., the house)!’

³ This is not to be confused with the locative prefix *ĩ-* (unstressed) which usually has instrumental meaning (see 9.1 below). The traditional Siouanist terminology is unfortunate because of the potential confusion of semantic and grammatical terminology. “Locative” is a grammatical term and refers to a class of prefixes that predominantly—but not exclusively—have locative meaning, whereas the adverb prefix *ĩ-* specifically has locative meaning when prefixed to adverbs of place, but is not grammatically locative. (Nor, indeed, is the locative prefix *i-* semantically locative, with its instrumental meaning, albeit a member of the grammatical class of locative prefixes.)

(8b) *ík^hiʔum* ‘right beside; in a position immediately beside’

eyáš *ík^hiʔum* *íyotâka* *k^hó* \emptyset - *škâ*
 then right.beside sit even A3-try
 ‘then she even tried to sit right next to him’ (ScB.29)
 (stress on *ík^hiʔum* is displaced by RSP)

In two instances adverbial *í-* occurs affixed to a stative verb stem (8)-(9), although whether that stem is *šic-* ‘be bad’ or a truncated form of *šikná* ‘be angry’ is not clear. The latter is more likely semantically, while the former is more plausible phonologically (by coda nasalization, recalling that *k* does not nasalize under this rule, so that *ʔšik(ná)* would be ruled out). The data are insufficient to determine whether this is a productive process.

(9) *jšin* ‘angrily, meanly’

(10) *jšintuň* ‘sharply, brusquely, curtly; meanly, angrily’

3.1.2 Locative prefixes

A small number of adverbs are derived by adding the locative prefixes *a-* or *o-* (see 9.1 below). The data are insufficient to determine whether this is a productive process.

Locative a-: The locative prefix *a-* when prefixed to adverbs increases the valence:

(11) *ókšq* ‘around’

ókšq *miméya* *kní*
 around in.a.circle return
 ‘to go around in a circle’

(12) *aʔókšq* ‘around something’

aʔókšq *ma-wá-ni*
 LOC-around ST-A1s-walk
 ‘I walked around it’ (*máni* ‘walk’)

Locative o-: Only one example of an adverb with locative *o-* occurs in the corpus, affixed to the noun *k^honá* ‘friend’, creating an adverb of manner, *ok^hóna* ‘friendly, in a friendly manner’.

3.2 Suffixation

A large number of adverbial suffixes are employed to derive adverbs from verbs, nouns, or other adverbs. These suffixes are used singly or in combination to create highly nuanced distinctions of manner, direction, or degree, the precise meanings of which are in some cases as yet poorly understood. Some suffixes can create more than one type. For example, the adverbial suffix *-ya* commonly creates adverbs of manner:

(13) *skópa* ‘be crooked’ > *skomyá* ‘crookedly, windingly, as a road or stream’

but can also create an adverb of time when affixed to an adverb of time:

(14) *aháke* ‘be last(verb); last (adv)’ > *hákéya* ‘finally, in the end’

Also, for many adverbs, the notions of both time and place inhere to a single word:

(15) *t^héhə* ‘far, a great distance’ or ‘a long time’

3.2.1 Suffix descriptions

Adverbial suffixes that have fairly transparent meaning are discussed below in alphabetical order. Thereafter, some examples of adverbial affixes used in combination are illustrated. Many of the following suffixes are morphophonologically inconsistent. A general phonological pattern can be discerned in most cases, but there are a significant number of exceptions. These

idiosyncracies are noted in the descriptions where they occur.

3.2.1.1 -c'ehq 'ago; in the past'

The suffix -c'ehq places the entire following discourse in the past; once it is used by one speaker, for example with an adverb like *žéhac'ehq* 'at that time in the past', -c'ehq is not repeated by anyone for the topic under discussion. It attaches to adverbs and nouns although the choice appears to be idiosyncratic. This suffix also functions as a subordinating conjunction (see chapter 11.7).

(16a) ómak^ha yámni-c'ehq
 year three-ago
 'three years ago'

(16b) tópa c^há-c'ehq
 four day-ago
 'four days ago'

(16c) hékta wétu-c'ehq
 back.then spring-ago
 'last spring'

In the following example, the speaker uses *žéhac'ehq* in place of a predicate, omitting both subject and verb, yet all speakers understand this expression to include the meaning 'I was born'. It may be that this understanding may derive from context since the speaker had previously commented that she had been raised at CTK.

(17) Ómaq'a wíkcémna nąpcúwąka sám wíkcémna yámni aké šákpe
 year ten nine beyond ten three beyond six
 žéhac'ehq.
 back.then-past

'[I was born] in nineteen-thirty-six.' (LgC1.322)

3.2.1.2 *-eyasq* ‘throughout’

Creates adverbs of time. Unlike many adverbs that have both time and place reference, *-eyas’a* refers only to periods of time.

- (18) *mnokéyasq* ‘throughout the summer, all summer’ (cf. *mnokétu*)
wéyasq ‘throughout the spring, all spring’ (cf. *wétu*)
wanéyasq ‘throughout the winter, all winter’ (cf. *waníyetu*)
?ptəʔéyasq ‘throughout the fall’ (cf. *ptəyétu*; consultant was uncertain of this form, preferring *ptəyétu áataya* ‘all fall’)⁴
həʔéyasq ‘throughout the night, all night’

3.1.1.3 *-hq:* ‘at a particular time’

This is a contraction of the adverb *ehq̄* ‘at that time’, as evident in the variants of *néhq* and *žéhq*.

- (19) *ech̄ŷhq* ‘while, done at the same moment’ (*ech̄ŷ* ‘do’)
néhq ‘now, at this moment’ (also *néʔehq*)
žéhq ‘then, at that moment’ (also *žéʔehq*)
tóhq ‘when? at what moment?’

3.2.1.4 *-ñ*

As with pronouns, the suffix *-ñ* has two functions, one as an intensifier and one that marks specificity. It triggers ablaut to *e* on a preceding A-word, e.g., *žéc^hA* ‘be that kind’ > *žéc^heñ* ‘very much so’.

⁴ Even this alternative is marginal since *áataya* ‘all’ is probably a loanword from Sioux, and rarely used in Assiniboine.

(20) Intensifier (augmentation AUG):

(20a) kítana ‘a little bit’ > kítanaĥ ‘barely; finally’

Nak^hóniʔa i-yá-a [ʔ] Kítana-ĥ.
 Nakoda ST-A2 speak [Q] little.bit-INTNS
 “Do you speak Nakoda?” “Barely, hardly at all”

(20b) nəkáhə ‘now’ > nəkáhəĥ ‘just now’

nihú nəkáhə-ĥ ∅-hí
 your.mother now-INTNS A3-arrive
 ‘your mother just got here’

(20c) tákuni ‘nothing’ > tákuniĥ ‘nothing at all, really nothing’

žéc^hen tákuni-ĥ éyaku-pi-šj
 then nothing- INTNS A3.take-PL-NEG
 ‘then they took nothing at all’ (NR:T6.84)

(20d) tópa ‘four’ > tópaĥ ‘even four, as much as four, four whole times’

tópa-ĥ ∅-kní⁵
 four-AUG A3-arrive
 ‘he (went and) came back four times, i.e., made four trips’ (NR T4.28)

(20e) t^hokáhe ‘first’ > t^hokáhe-ĥ ‘very first’

[form is attested but without an example]

(21) Specific

(21a) niyé ‘you’ > niyéĥ ‘you, in particular’ (pronoun)

niyé-ĥ c^hic’ú
 you-SPC
 ‘I gave it to you (specifically)’

(21b) tukté ‘where?’ > tuktéĥ ‘where, precisely?’
 ‘somewhere’ ‘somewhere in particular; anywhere’

⁵ As uttered in context, this is [tóóopaĥ kní], with especially heavy emphasis on kní: ‘he made that trip four whole times!’

tukté-*h̃* íyotąka \emptyset
 where-SPC sit IMPER-f
 ‘sit anywhere [i.e., whichever place you choose]’ (female speaking)

When *nína* ‘very’ occurs with a negative verb, it almost always acquires *-h̃*.

(22) *nína-h̃* + verb + *šj*

(22a) *nína-h̃ osní-šj* ‘it’s not very cold’

(22b) *nína-h̃ h̃aske-šj* ‘she/he’s not very tall’

(22c) *nína-h̃ ót-ašj* ‘it’s not very much’

(22d) *nína-h̃ wa-ch̃jke-šj* ‘I don’t want it very much’

(22e) *nína-h̃ óta \emptyset -wa-ch̃jke-šj*
 very-*h̃* many P3-A1s-want-NEG
 ‘I don’t want very many/much’

(22f) *šjkat^hąka nína-h̃ \emptyset -óta kák^hi \emptyset -ų-pi-šj*
 horse very-*h̃* P3-be.many over.there A3-be-PL-NEG
 ‘there aren’t very many horses over there’

(22g) *iná nená nína-h̃ \emptyset .wayáwa-pi-šj*
 mother these very-*h̃* A3.go.to.school-PL-NEG
 ‘our mothers didn’t go to school much, didn’t have much schooling’
 (LgC1.302)

3.2.1.5 *-ka* ‘rather, somewhat’

Attenuating; approximating. The forms in (23) appear to be lexicalized, and in most cases the base morphemes do not occur independently. An exception in this list is *žehátuka*, derived from the independently occurring *žehátu* ‘at that time’.

(23) *tók^hecaka* ‘what kind?’

wanéhátuka ‘about this time’

watóhąka ‘an indefinite length of time, after a while’

žehátuka ‘about what time, about that time’

When *-ka* attaches to stative verb,s the verb also takes a prefix *a-*. However, the prefix does not increase the valence of the adverb and is therefore different from locative *a-*, but the source of the prefix that co-occurs with *-ka* is as yet unidentified.

(24)	šít ^h ŭ	‘be fat’	>	ašít ^h ŭka	‘rather fat’,
	wítkó	‘be crazy’	>	awítkoka	‘rather crazy’,
	stustá	‘be tired’	>	astústaka	‘rather tired’,
	ŭšika	‘be pitiful’	>	a ^ʔ ŭšika	‘kind of pitiful’

a^ʔŭšika ‘kind pitiful’, is derived from the stative verb *ŭšika* ‘be pitiful’, itself derived from a root *ŭši-* and a formative *-ka*, but the addition of the adverbial suffix *-ka* causes one of the two suffixes to be deleted by haplology, an instance of the language’s resistance to identical syllables in sequence other than in reduplicated forms.

3.2.1.6 *-ken* ‘in the manner of’

The suffix *-ken* generally derives adverbs of manner from verbs. Instances of *-ken* as the sole adverbial suffix are rare; it usually co-occurs with adverbial *-ya* as *-yaken* (see below).

(25)	ec ^h áken	‘always’ (ec ^h á ‘be thus’)
	įšnánaken	‘alone’ (įšnána ‘be alone’)
	iyázaken	‘browsing, casually looking around’ (iyáza ‘meander’)
	šiknáken	‘angrily, in a cranky manner’ (šikná ‘be angry’)
	wąžínaken	‘only one; by itself/himself/herself’ (wąží ‘one’)

3.2.1.7 *-kiya* ~ *-kiya*, *-kiya*: ‘in that direction, towards’

Attaches to adverbs. (English analogs are the suffixes *-wards* and *-wise*). It is not clear why there are variants with nasalized vowels but it does seem clear that these are all instances of the same morpheme. As evident from (28a)-(28b), nasalization is not due to nasal spread. The basic form is homophonic with the causative auxiliary *kiya*.

(26) Adverbs in *-kiya*

(26a) *aknákiya* ‘at an oblique angle’

(26b) *ec^hákiya* ‘lengthwise’

(26c) *wazíyakiya* ‘northwards, towards the north’

(26d) *t^hi-ó-c^hokam-kiya*
house- LOC-center-towards
‘towards the center of a room or lodge’

When suffixed to a number, the meaning of *-kiya* is ‘in x places; in x directions; in x ways’:

(27) *záptakiya* ‘in five directions, e.g., a group of people that separates’
‘in five places, e.g., when cutting string’
‘in five ways, e.g., when dividing portions’

However, despite apparently being based on *yámni* ‘three’, the word *iyámni^hkiya* does not mean ‘in three directions’ but ‘in all (or many, unspecified) directions’:

(28) *iyúha iyámni^hkiya* \emptyset -*iyáya-pi*
all in.all.directions A3-depart-PL
‘they all dashed off in all directions; they all scattered’ (app.2: *Íktómi* and Fox.34)

Similarly contrary to expectation, *mahétkiya* means ‘downwards’, despite the base adverb *mahén* or *mahéta* ‘in, inside’.

3.2.1.8 -*k^hetu* ‘be thus’

-*k^hetu* attaches to the demonstratives and indefinite *tó-*; *k^h* palatalizes after front vowels. These forms function as sentence modifiers or predicates.

- (29) *néc^hetu* ‘in this way; it being this way...’
žéc^hetu ‘in that way; thus; it being that way...’
tók^hetu ‘in some way; it being some indefinite way’, as in the following phrases:

tók^hetu he ‘how is it?’
tók^hetùšj ‘it doesn’t matter’
to-ní-k^hetu he ‘how are you?’

3.2.1.9 -*k^hi* ‘in a general location’ (English analog ‘-abouts’)

-*k^hi* ~ -*c^hi* attaches to demonstrative pronouns, indefinite *tó-* and a few other adverbs. *k^h* palatalizes after front vowels.

- (30) *kák^hi* ‘in a general, distant area’
néc^hi ‘hereabouts, around here, in this neighborhood or town’
omáyec^hi ‘to the other side, to the area on the other side’
tók^hi ‘to where? to what general location?’
žéc^hi ‘thereabout, around there, over in that general area’

3.2.1.10 -*k^htya* ‘in a general direction’

Adverbs in -*k^hi* can be combined with -*ya* ‘in a direction’ resulting in forms that are

semantically similar to forms in *-kiya* (see above) and even appear to be morphologically similar, but have different etymologies. It seems that *-kiya* suggests a definite direction, in contrast to the indefinite direction suggested by *k^hiya*. The combination of *-k^hi* and *-ya* results in a form that is homophonous with the causative auxiliary *-k^hiyá*. *k^h* palatalizes after front vowels.

- (31) tók^hiya ‘in what general direction?’
 kák^hiya ‘way over that way somewhere’
 néc^hiya ‘somewhere around here’
 žéc^hiya ‘over that way; toward that general area’

3.2.1.11 *-m, -n*

These suffixes are very common but also problematic. In many cases, they are semantically similar to one another, meaning ‘at a particular point or location’ and often appear to be variants of each other (32). The data in (33) suggest that sometimes there is the following subtle distinction: both forms indicate a stationary location, but adverbs in *-n* are contractions of the base adverb and *-en* and indicate a location without any claim as to how the person or object came to be in that location, whereas adverbs in *-m* suggest that a person or object in a particular location *moved* to that location, or otherwise involves movement at the location. In the following examples it is proposed that the surface forms are based on bound roots.

- (32) c^hoka- ‘middle, center’
 (32a) c^hokám ‘in the center; in the middle’ (~ c^hokám)

c^hokám ∅-náži
 middle-*m* A3-stand
 'he/she is standing in the middle' (animate)

(32b) *c^hokán* (~ *c^hokân*)

c^hokân há
 middle-*n* be.standing (inanimate)
 'it's (standing) in the middle'

c^hokán hiyáya ma-k'ú
 middle AUX(propulsion) P1s-give
 'give me half' i.e., 'pour to the middle' (as when tea is being poured)

(33) *wąka-* 'above; up high'

(33a) *wąkám*⁶

wąkám ∅-iyáya-c
 up A3-depart-DECL
 'he/she has already gone up (a mountain, tree, stairway, etc.)'

wąkám ak^hita
 up look
 'look up!, look upwards!'

(33b) *wąkán*

wąkán ∅-yąké né
 above A3-sit DET
 'the one who sits above' (a reference to the Christian God)

The adverb *ektá* 'at, to' does not have an attested *-n* form, understandable under this hypothesis because an *-n* form would be redundant with *én*, since *ektá* also means 'at or to a place over there'. *ektá* serves both of the hypothesized connotations, and the *-m* form is marked, emphasizing directionality.

⁶It is surprising that *wąkám* and *wąkán* do not have alternants in which the second *a* is nasalized, as do *c^hokán* and *c^hokám*. This may provide a clue to the mechanisms of nasal spread, but must remain unexplored for now.

- (34) ektá ‘to, at, there’
- (34a) t^hiyópa ektá
 door to
 ‘to the door’
 (cf. ‘at the door’ *t^hiyópa kakná*, lit. ‘beside the door’)
- (34b) miní ektá yá h̥k yuzáža
 water to go and wash
 ‘go to the water and wash it’ (app.2: Iktómi and Fox L.8)
- (34c) ektá ∅-û-pi owáyawa
 there A3-stay-PL school
 ‘boarding school’
- (35) ektám ‘toward there’
- (35a) wíhinap^he ektám ∅-û-pi
 east at A3-stay/be-PL
 ‘they are to the east (of a point of reference)’
- (35b) húte ektám paksá
 base toward break
 ‘break it toward the base!’

The proposed contrast only seems to exist when both *m* and *n* forms of an adverb exist. Many adverbs that end in *m* do not have corresponding forms in *n* and vice versa. Some of these are verbal stem adverbs (see chapter 11: 4.3.3), in which the stem final nasal is the result of coda nasalization. Other, inherent, adverbs in *m* or *n* do not appear to be the product of suffixation and do not appear to carry the connotations hypothesized above, for example, *nazám* ‘behind, at the back’ (**nazán*).

- (36) nazám ∅-û
 behind A3-stay/be
 ‘he/she is at the back, behind it’

- (37) nazám Ø-aktáka
 behind A3-run
 ‘he/she ran to the back, ran behind it’

An additional contrast between *-m* and *-n* forms is syntactic, as in the following examples, in which the *-m* form is a subordinating conjunction and the *-n* form is an adverb:

- (38) wašícu-pi Ø-hí-pi ĭhakam wašícut^{hi} o-wá-t^{hi} (*ĭhakan)
 White-PL A3-arrive-PL thereafter frame.house LOC-A1s-reside
 ‘after the White man came I lived in a house’
- (39) ĭhakan Ø-hi-pi (*ĭhakam)
 afterwards A3-arrive-PL
 ‘they came afterwards’

3.2.1.12 *-na*

-na frequently also occurs as *-yena* with a semantically empty formative *-yA*. The suffix *-na* (and *-yena*) generally creates adverbs of manner, but there is no clearly consistent meaning.⁷ It occasionally also carries the diminutive notion found in the homophonous nominal suffix. It attaches to verbs or adverbs.

- | | | | | | |
|------|---------------------|-----------------|---|--------------------------|------------------------------|
| (40) | hayák ^{he} | ‘this morning’ | > | hayák ^{he} -na | ‘early in the morning’ |
| | sap ^{há} | ‘more’ | > | ísap ^{há} -na | ‘a bit further’ |
| | k ^{hó} ka | ‘clatter’ | > | k ^{hó} k-yéna | ‘clattering-ly’ |
| | mú | ‘be a drumbeat’ | > | mu-yéna | ‘like drumbeats’ |
| | nañmá | ‘hide’ | > | nañmá-na | ‘stealthily, furtively’ |
| | p ^h estó | ‘be pointed’ | > | p ^h estó-yena | ‘in a sharp, pointed manner’ |
| | zizípa | ‘be thin cloth’ | > | zizím-yena | ‘thin-ish’ |

⁷ This lack of consistent meaning for *-na* apparently differs from Lakota, in which there is a consistent meaning of ‘place of action’ (Buechel 1939:187).

3.2.1.13 *-p^hatahə* ‘moving from’

-p^hatahə attaches to adverbs of place. This suffix is further analyzable into two bound morphemes, *-tahə* ‘from’, which also occurs with what Buechel refers to as “prepositional *e*” to form the quantifier *etáhə* ‘from, some of’, and *-p^ha-*, which adds a notion of movement to *-tahə*. *p^ha* also occurs infrequently in a few other forms such as *sáp^ha* ‘beyond’ (more commonly occurring as *sám*), and in combination with *kiya* as in *netáp^hakiya* ‘in this direction’ and *nazáp^hakiya* ‘towards the back’. Unlike *sap^ha*, **netáp^ha-* and **netáp^ha-* apparently do not occur as independent forms, but *netám* and *nazám* are common, suggesting by analogy to *sáp^ha/sám*, that the *-m* final forms are phonological reductions of forms in *p^ha*.

(41)	wákám	‘above’	>	wákámp ^h atahə	‘from above’
	ch ^h atkám	‘left side’	>	ch ^h atkámp ^h atahə	‘from the left side’
	t ^h imáhen	‘indoors’	>	t ^h imáhenp ^h atahə	‘from indoors’
	t ^h éhə	‘far’	>	t ^h éhəp ^h atahə	‘from far away’
	tók ^h iya	‘in what direction?’	>	tók ^h iyap ^h atahə	‘from what direction?’

If a word already ends in *p^ha*, one of the *p^ha* sequences is dropped by haplology.

(42)	t ^h isáp ^h a	‘far side of the dwelling’ (t ^h í ‘dwelling’, sáp ^h a ‘beyond’)
	<	t ^h isáp ^h atahə ‘from the far side of the dwelling’ (*t ^h isáp ^h ap ^h atahə)

3.2.1.14 Adversative *-š*

Adversative *-š* expresses a negative contrast between what is expected and what

actually occurs. It may be suffixed to verbs, adverbs, and pronouns. Similarly, there is a host of adverbs ending in *-š*, all signifying, in some degree, ‘instead, instead of, in place of, rather than’, as an equal, inadequate, or superior substitute, including *eháš*, *eyaš*, *k^hoš*, *kaš*, *k^heš*, *k^ʔeš*, *košta*. Whether these words carry stress appears to affect their precise meanings but this dynamic is not well understood.⁸

(43) *tók^ha-š* *ec^hám̩-*cta**
 what (obs.)-š A1s.do-POT
 ‘I’ll do it later (at some indefinite time)’

(44) *tóna eyáš* ‘somewhat, a little’

3.2.1.15 *-steñ* ‘in the manner of; like unto’

The suffix *-steñ* attaches to nouns. It appears to be related to the postverbal particle *steya* ‘seems like’.

(45) *híh̩a* ‘owl’ > *híh̩asteñ* ‘owl-like’
h̩k̩á ‘chief’ > *h̩k̩ásteñ* ‘chiefly, in a chief-like manner’

There is one example in the corpus, given in (46), in which *-steñ* is affixed to a stative verb; *-ken* is by far more commonly used for the meaning ‘in that manner’.

(46) *knašk̩j̩ya* ‘be crazed, frantic’ > *knašk̩j̩yasteñ* ‘frantically’

3.2.1.16 *-tah̩q* ‘from that point on; after that’

The suffix *-tah̩q* refers either to time (47)-(48) or direction (49)-50).

(47) *ináne* *zeh̩á-tah̩q* *ič^hó-wa-mni*
 A2-depart past-from.then.on ST-A1s-be.lonely
 ‘I was lonely ever since you left’ (NR T7.104)

⁸ Detailed discussions of the adversative in Lakota may be found in Boas and Deloria (1941:108-9 and 158-9).

- (48) žéc^hen həkéya-taḡa né wɪk^hóške né tuktám ∅- iyáya
 so at.last-after.that this young.woman this somewhere A3-depart
 ‘so finally (after all that) this young woman went off somewhere’ (ScB.32)
- (49) néciya-taḡa ‘in this direction; towards here’
- (50) t^himáhe-taḡa ‘from inside the house’ (t^hi ‘dwelling’, mahé(n) ‘inside’)

3.2.1.17 -tu: ‘at a particular point (time or place)’

The suffix *-tu* attaches to adverbs, making the meaning of the base form specific.

- (51a) ḡm-c^hókḡtu ‘noon, midday’ (cf. ḡpa ‘day’)
- (51b) ḡhok^hutu ‘underneath’
- (51c) tóḡtu ‘at what time?’
- (51d) mahétu ‘on the inside’

There seems to be a clear relationship between *-tu* and a suffix *-etu* by which the names of the seasons are derived, although it does not seem to be a case of a single suffix **(e)tu*, first, because *-etu* derives nouns and also because the loss of *e* has no obvious explanation. The rule of vowel deletion deletes the first of two vowels, but in forms in (51a)-(51c) *e* would be the second vowel and should appear in the forms. The behavior of the *e* of *-etu* is the same as that of the adverbial suffix *-eyasḡ*, above, which suggests that *-etu* and *-eyasḡ*, are related and that both of these are restricted to stretches of time.

- (52) mnokétu ‘summer’
- ptḡyétu ‘fall’
- waníyetu ‘winter’
- wétu ‘spring’

also: apétu ‘day’ (thought by some speakers to be a Sioux word)
 ñtayétu ‘evening’

3.2.1.18 *-ya*

-ya creates adverbs of manner (English analog is *-ly*); probably triggers ablaut to *e*, but the single example of *miméya* is insufficient evidence for a generalization. The form *sicáya* ‘badly’ appears to be lexicalized as an independent adverb. Although clearly derived from *sícA* + *ya*, the epenthetic *A* of *sícA* would not take stress and would undergo (the proposed) ablaut before *-ya*, yet the *a* of “*sica*” in *sicáya* violates both expectations. *-ya* attaches primarily to stative verbs (53) but there is one example in which it attaches to an adverb (54).

(53) Stative verb stems:

kĩnĩḡa-ya ‘fearfully’ (kĩnĩḡa ~ kinĩḡa ‘be afraid’)
 mimé-ya ‘around in a circle, circularly’ (mimá ‘be a circle’)
 sicáya ‘badly’ (sícA ‘be bad’)
 c^haté-sicaya ‘sadly; broken-heartedly’ (c^haté ‘heart; sicáya ‘badly’)

(54) Adverb stem:

k^ho-yá ‘with, additionally, accompanying’

3.2.1.19 *-yaken*

This is undoubtedly a compound of *-ya* and *-ken* but as a compound form it occurs considerably more frequently than *-ken*. It attaches primarily to stative verbs, but occasionally to active verbs as well, to create adverbs of manner, some that are simply so (55), and some that attenuate the manner (56).

(55) Manner:

t ^h eñí	‘be difficult’	t ^h eñíyaken	‘with difficulty’
wóštēna	‘be shamed’	wóštēnyaken	‘shamefully’
yap ^h í	‘speak well’	yap ^h íyaken	‘with verbal skill, knowledge’

(56) Attenuated manner:

síca	‘be bad’	sicáyaken	‘in a slightly bad manner’
stustá	‘be tired’	stustáyaken	‘tiredly, in a tired manner’
t ^h éhātu	‘be far’	t ^h éhātuyaken	‘not too far away’
waktá	‘expect’	waktáyaken	‘rather expectantly’

3.2.1.20 Ablaut

One adverb, given in (57), appears to be derived by ablaut (cf. *hiníka* ‘be mean, ornery, cranky’) but data are insufficient to determine if this is a productive process. (One would suspect not, since ablaut is commonly used to derive nouns from verbs.)

(57) *hiníke i-∅-ʔá*
 meanly ST-A3-speak
 ‘he speaks meanly, harshly’

3.2.2 Suffix combinations

Two or more of the adverbial suffixes may be combined.

(58) t^héhā-p^ha-tahā ‘from far away’
 že-tá-p^ha-kiya ‘in that direction; that way’ (žé DEM)
 žé-c^hiya-tahā ‘from over in that general area’

- (65) t^hi-kákna ~ t^hí-cakna (palatalization is in free variation for *kakná*)
lodge/house-beside
'close to the house'
- (66) wa-máhe-tu
snow-inside-specific.point
'under the snow'
- (67) c^hañ-máhen 'under the ice' (c^háğga 'ice')
- (68) h̄a-t^héh̄an 'late into the night; midnight' (h̄a- 'night' (compound form))

h̄at^heh̄an-h̄an nah̄ğñ ∅-wací-pi
late.into.night-REDUP still A3-dance-PL
'late at night they were still dancing'
- (69) uzihektam 'backwards' (uzé 'rump, buttocks')

uzihektam máni
backwards walk
'walk backwards'
- (70) ho-c^hókap-kiya
camp-middle-toward
'toward the middle of camp'
- (71) hó-kakna 'along the camp circle, either inside or outside it'
- (72) ho-ákawĩñ 'flying above a camp, as a bird' (cf. kawĩğA 'glide, soar')

4. Semantic distinctions in words for 'now' and 'when'

4.1 *nqkáhq* vs. *waná* 'now'

The difference is primarily aspectual. *nqkáhq* is related to the durative enclitic *hÁ* and suggests a period of time surrounding the present with a view to the future (now, unlike then). It can be made more specific by collocation with *né* 'this' to mean 'nowadays' but still implies a contrast of the present to the past.

- (73) *nəkáhə osní-šj*
 now be.cold-NEG
 ‘it’s not cold now (as opposed to before)’ (LgC1.26)
- (74) *né nəkáhə owáč^hekiya kikhúka, wáč^hekiya žèn, žén wic^hóthi*
 this now church dive (“Mormon”) church there there village
 Where the Mormon church is now, there was a village.
 (app.1: Big Snake.13)

In contrast, *waná* tends to be punctual, in the present with a view to the past (‘now, as a result of then’) and may often appropriately be glossed as ‘already’.

- (75) *Waná wéksuyèšj k’ó tók’en ep’i-kte žé Ø-eyá*
 now Als.remember-NEG (exasp) how Als.say-POT that A3-say
 ‘Now I forget what she said I should say’ or
 ‘I already forgot what she said I should say.’ (LgC1.6)
- (76) *Waná žé wašín-ʔi-ʔa k’ó.*
 now that.one English-ST-A3-speak (exasp)
 ‘she’s already speaking English!’ (LgC1.2)⁹

As a predicate, *waná!* means ‘ready! I’m ready! or ‘are you ready?’, and may even take enclitics in this position. (In example (78), the enclitic *he* is optional.)

- (77) *waná no, mic^hikš!*
 now DECL my.son
 ‘(I’m) ready, my son! (I’m coming) now, my son!’ (ScB.103)
- (78) “Waná he?” “Há, waná.”
 now Q yes now
 ‘(are you) ready?’ ‘yes, (I’m) ready’

4.2 *štén* vs. *húta* ‘when’

The difference is aspectual: *štén* is punctual and potential, indicating a specific event, either in the future ‘when X occurs’, or in the unknown present, ‘if such is the case’. When *štén* has future reference, the following verb takes potential

⁹ They had been asked to speak only Nakoda, without mixing with English.

marking as in (79)-(80); for present reference, the following verb is unmarked as in (81). *hâta* references a regular occurrence, ‘whenever, when such is the case’ as in (82)-(83).

- (79) žé mit^hákoš kní-pi štén žehâ sak^hím ya-û-pi-kta
 DET son.in.law return-RESPECT when then two.together A2-stay-PL-POT
 ‘when my son-in-law returns, you two will be together’ (NR T7.38)
- (80) wikcémna ∅-ehâ’i štén wâ-c^hí-mnakj-kta (of *wayâka* ‘see’)
 ten A3-reach when ST-I.you-A1s.see-POT
 ‘I’ll see you at ten o’clock’
- (81) šûka ∅-sâpa štén wa-c^hîke-šj
 dog A3-be.black if A1s-want-NEG
 ‘if the dog is black, I don’t want it’
- (82) ∅-zuyéyapi hâta tóhâni iyúha ektâ wj^châ-kte-pi-šj
 A3-go.to.war-PL whenever never all there P3p-A3-kill-PSV-NEG
 ‘when (men) go to war, it is never the case that all of them are killed’ (NR T7.36)
- (83) tóhâni wa-c^hîka hâta o-mâ-wa-ni
 when A1s-want whenever LOC-ST-A1s-walk
 ‘I travel whenever I want’

5. Adverbial phrases

Adverbial phrases are constructed of combinations of nouns and adverbs to express a single, complex adverbial concept. Such combinations are not equally transparent, as illustrated in the following examples.

- (84) ak^hé âpa nétu štén
 again day to.this when
 ‘a year from now’ (T4.72)
- (85) âpa wak^hâ iyák^ham
 day holy beyond
 ‘after this coming Sunday’ (LgC1.60)

- (86) ápa nén
day this
'today'
- (87) waníyetu hékta kák^{hi}
winter back.then yonder.direction
'last winter'

6. Clause modifiers

Adverbs that modify an entire clause include all of the adverbs of time. *waná* 'now' in its less strictly temporal sense of 'already', as seen in examples (77)-(78) above, also modifies a clause. A more clearly non-temporal clause-modifying adverb is

ítúh̃:

- (89) *ítúh̃* 'instead, as the opposite of what is expected or desired'
- ítúh̃ tágu snok-wá-ye žec^{ha}-šj*
instead thing ST-1s-know be.that.kind-NEG
'in spite of (their intentions), I don't know any of that stuff' (LgC1.110)
(speaker is referring to her residential school experience)

Chapter 6

Verbs

1. Introduction

There are three classes of verbs: active, stative, and impersonal. The inflectional system is split-intransitive, in which subject pronominal affixes of stative verbs are identical to object pronominal affixes of active verbs, as illustrated in table 6.1.

Table 6.1: The active/stative pronominal system (split intransitive)

		Active		Stative
		Transitive	Intransitive	
			(Unergative)	(Unaccusative)
Subj.	regular	wa-/ya-/∅	wa-/ya-/∅	ma-/ni-/∅
	y-stem	mn-/n-/∅	mn-/n-/∅	-
	nasal	m-/n-/∅	m-/n-/∅	-
Obj.		ma-/ni-/∅	-	-

Note: Only 1st / 2nd / 3rd person singular pronominals are shown. Impersonal verbs are stative, but do not accept the 1st and 2nd person pronominals.

Verbs are not marked for tense; rather, a distinction is made between *realized* (that which has occurred or is occurring) and *potential* (that which could occur but has not, also referred to “hypothetical” or “unrealized”, e.g., Taylor and Rood 1976; Boas and Deloria 1941). Temporal distinctions, if needed, are made by means of adverbs (chapter 5) and enclitics (chapter 9). Realized forms are unmarked; potentiality is marked by the enclitic *ktA*.

Semantically, active verbs denote actions and processes. The class is

subdivided into active-intransitive verbs, which may have animate or inanimate subjects, and active-transitive verbs, which are restricted to animate subjects.

Stative verbs typically predicate a state or condition of their subjects, which may be animate or inanimate. Impersonal verbs, which are notionally stative, occur only in the third person singular with zero expletive (thus inanimate) subjects and consist largely of weather terms and landscape features.

With few exceptions, the general semantic notion of a verb coincides with its grammatical classification as active or stative.¹ Exceptions include the semantically active *wówaši* ‘work’, which inflects as a stative verb (p1s *wómawaši* ‘I work’) and is therefore classified as stative, and the semantically stative *šikná* ‘be angry’, which inflects as an active verb (a1s *šiwákna* ‘I am angry’) and is therefore classified as active. Impersonal verbs take only a zero expletive pronominal, interpretable as ‘it’, e.g., *maǵážu* ‘it is raining’.

2. Canonical structure of verbs

Morphologically, verbs are constructed from bound or free roots that may be inflected for person, number, and aspect. They may be derived by processes of affixation, noun incorporation, compounding, and reduplication. A somewhat idealized template of verb structure is given in (1). The set of morphemes identified in this study as KI is peculiar to Siouan languages; they are discussed in chapter 7.

¹ Mithun (1991) argues that a semantic notion of “agency,” carefully defined and distinguished from a notion of volition, can fully account for the active/stative distinction; Legendre and Rood (1992:383) argue against any semantic basis, including Mithun’s “agency” notion, and further conclude that “there is no consistent semantic criterion which characterizes the meanings of the stems of either class of intransitives” (1992:384).

The KI, suffix, enclitic, and particle positions may be multiply filled.

- (1) (LOC) (INDEF) (INSTR) (ST) (SUBJ) (OBJ) (KI(s)) **Root** (suffix(es)) (encl(s)) (PART(s))

Variations in the template in (1) occur due to several factors. First, particles labeled ST (small caps, based on the word “stem”) occur only as the first part of a discontinuous root, as in the example in (2). No single syllable of these roots has independent meaning, so the gloss notation “ST” is employed in this work to indicate the connection between the initial particle and the remainder of the root.²

Pronominal affix insertion points throughout this work are marked with “ ^ ” when relevant to the discussion.³

- (2) ná[^]žĭ ‘stand’
na-wá-žĭ
ST-A1s-stand
‘I stand’

Another variation to the template in (1) arises from the structural

² The kind of element identified in this work as STEM or ST is identified by some Siouan linguists as *preverb* (e.g., Quintero 2004, although she gives it wider application to include all preverbal material). *Preverb* is not used in the present work because, on the analysis presented here, these elements in Assiniboine (as well as Sioux, and probably most, if not all, other members of the Siouan language family, but I am not in a position to make such a broad claim) are not “preverbal” but rather, parts of irreducible verb roots; therefore, they do not fit the more general meaning that *preverb* has within linguistics, i.e., elements that have an identifiable meaning and a degree of syntactic independence but do not exactly fit the definition of *prefix* (cf. Matthews 1997:294). Admittedly, arguments could be raised against putting the term STEM to this use but it has been used in this restricted context elsewhere and seems to this author to be less confusing than *preverb*. In fact – and somewhat surprisingly – there does not seem to be an established convention for glossing discontinuous roots.

³ Discontinuous roots consist of two morphemes for which meaning or function of one or more parts is undeterminable. Such roots allow or require that pronominal affixes be inserted between morphemes. This is referred to by convention in the literature on Siouan languages as “infixing”, although it is not infixing in the strictest sense. While acknowledging this difference, in this work, the term “infix” is used according to the conventions of Siouan linguistic practices.

requirements of certain instrumental prefixes, some of which necessarily precede the pronominal affixes and some of which necessarily follow them (see 9.2 below). Finally, certain members of the KI set are fused with the root rather than occupying separate slots (see chapter 7).

To illustrate the model in (1), one possible derivation for the word *awáč^hewič^hawakiyĩktešĩ* ‘I will not pray over them’ is broken out by stages in (3a).⁴ A full morpheme gloss with base morphemes is provided in (3b).

- (3a) *c^héyA* ‘cry’
c^hé-ki-yA⁵ ‘pray to’ (*ki-* DAT ‘to s.o.’)
wa-c^hé-ki-yA ‘pray’ (*wa-* INDEF)
a-wá-c^he-ki-yA ‘pray over’ (*a-* LOC. ‘over’)
a-wá-c^he-wič^ha-wa-ki-ya ‘I pray over them’ (*wič^ha* P3P, *wa* A1s)
a-wá-c^he-wič^ha-wa-ki-yi-kte-šĩ ‘I will not pray for them’ (*-ktA* POT, *-šĩ* NEG)
- (3b) *awáč^hewič^hawakiyĩktešĩ*
 a -wa -c^he -wíč^ha -wa -ki -yA -ktA -šĩ
 LOC-INDEF -ST -P3p -A1s -DAT -cry -POT-NEG
 over-things-(Stem)-them-I-to.s.o.-cry-“future”-not
 ‘I will not pray over them’

⁴ The concept of prayer derives from crying to the spirits on behalf of oneself or someone else. Prayer is conducted within the context of a kinship structure in which “the use of kin terms – ‘father,’ ‘grandfather,’ ‘mother,’ ‘grandmother’ – placed the petitioner in the role of the pitiful child, begging for help from nurturing older relatives. The quality of pitifulness was equally applicable to interactions among humans” (DeMallie 1998:330-31). DeMallie’s explanation is in reference to Lakota but applies as well to Assiniboine, although it should be noted that not all Lakota cultural traditions can be assumed for Assiniboine.

⁵ *c^héya* is not a discontinuous root; pronominal affixes are prefixed (e.g., A1s *wa-c^héya*). The derivation of *c^hékiya* from *c^héya* is diachronic, but the historical root is given here for illustrative purposes.

3. Verb roots

The term “verb root” or “root” refers to the smallest constituent of a verb, whether free or dependent, that still has lexical meaning. The root forms the semantic and structural core of a full, non-compounded verbal form. As the basis for derived forms, verb roots are naturally also stems, and are referred to as such throughout this work, except where the specific irreducible quality of a root is pertinent to the discussion. Verb roots are mono- or disyllabic, and in rare instances trisyllabic (e.g., *éyaku* ‘take’, *įštíma* ‘sleep’, and *wikcémna* ‘ten’).

3.1 Monosyllabic roots

The great majority of verb roots are monosyllabic and may be either free or bound.

Examples of free monosyllabic verb roots include:

(4)	í	‘arrive there’	ħmá	‘be sleepy’
	k’ú	‘give’	k ^h á	‘mean, signify’
	pâ	‘yell’	yÁ	‘go, be underway’

Bound monosyllabic roots include the following (where a preceding hyphen indicates that a prefix is required):

(5)	-c ^h á	‘shake’
	-c ^h o	‘honest; true’
	-ğe	‘in a pile; assembled in one place’
	-ħmų	‘with a humming sound’
	-kpá	‘shatter, crumble into fine pieces’
	-ksa	‘sever’ ⁶

⁶ Boas and Deloria comment that some verb roots that are intuitively active to English speakers (and are commonly glossed as such) are inherently stative in Sioux, “[t]hus a stem like ‘to sever’ is not active but expresses the concept of ‘to be in a severed condition,’ the active verb being derived from this stem” (1941:1). I accept the validity of this distinction but will treat these roots as active, since their derived forms are

-p ^{hi}	‘well, good’
-t ^h u	‘do, have done; acquire; put on, as clothing’

3.2 Multisyllabic roots

It is likely that all multisyllabic roots are products of diachronic derivational processes, but because one or more of the syllables is not synchronically analyzable they are treated as roots. For example, *náži* contains the archaic root *ži* ‘be upright’ and possibly the instrumental prefix *na* ‘by means of the foot or leg’; *máni* ‘walk’ may derive from the archaic root *ní* ‘live’, but is otherwise unanalyzable. The word *háska* ‘be tall’ presents a different kind of problem. It cannot be analyzed as a CVC root with epenthetic *a* because complex codas may not occur, yet on the other hand, it has first syllable stress where one would expect second syllable stress by the DAR. *háska* is therefore analyzed as a disyllabic root with lexical first syllable stress.

Some disyllabic roots are structurally unitary elements that take prefixed pronominal affixes, for example, *háska* ‘be tall’, *maháska* ‘I am tall’, while others are structurally complex, taking infixes, e.g., *op^hét^hu* ‘buy’, *op^hé-wa-t^hu* ‘I buy’. There are no circumstances under which a root would be divided into more than two parts. Discontinuous roots carry only one insertion point, regardless of the number of syllables of the root, and regardless of the number of affixes to be inserted: *op^hé[^]t^hu* ‘buy’ > *op^hé-wa-t^hu* ‘I buy it’ > *op^hé-wi^{ch}à-wa-t^hu* ‘I buy them (animate)’.

Other examples of free disyllabic roots include the following (where ‘^’ indicates the affix insertion point in discontinuous roots).

consistently active.

(6)	a [^] ní	‘climb’	ná [^] žǵ	‘stand’
	ǵ [^] cú	‘smoke’	nowá	‘sing’
	kitá	‘be stubborn’	o [^] né	‘seek, look for’
	k ^h uté	‘shoot’	ǵspé	‘learn’
	má [^] ni	‘walk’	wašté	‘be good’

3.3 CVC roots

Consonant final roots are conventionally referred to as CVC roots, although roots with other shapes ending in a single consonant are also included (see chapter 2: 4.2.1). They may be mono- or disyllabic. Technically, no CVC roots are free in that they all require a stem-forming *-a* by the rule of stem formation when they are not in compounds (see chapter 2: 4.2 for stem formation; chapter 11: 4.3 for a discussion of compounding). In this work, however, CVC roots that may form independent words with only the stem forming *a* are treated as free roots. Bound CVC roots require at least an instrumental prefix, indicated in (7c)-(7d) by a preceding hyphen, in addition to stem-*a*.

(7a) Free monosyllabic CVC roots:

/sap/	‘be black’	sápA
/kǵz/	‘squeak’	kǵza
/k ^h at/	‘be hot’	k ^h átA
/wǵž/	‘be flexible’	wǵža

(7b) Free disyllabic CVC roots:

/aktak/	‘run’	aktákA
/wǵyak/	‘see’	wǵyákA (with nasal assimilation)

(7c) Bound monosyllabic CVC roots:

/-h̥tak/	‘with forceful impact’	yaḥtáka	‘bite’
/-mnaz/	‘tear or burst open’	momnáza	‘wind to tear open’
/-mnec/	‘shatter; scatter’	namnéca	‘scatter by kicking’
/-ptuǵ/	‘break, crack a hard object’	yaptúǵa	‘crack with the teeth’

(7d) Bound disyllabic CVC root:

/-hok ^h ut/	‘to lower’	pahók ^h utA	‘lower by pushing on’
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4. Inflection

All verbs other than impersonal verbs are inflected for number and person; all verbs, including impersonal verbs, may be inflected for aspect. This section will address person, number, and animacy; aspect is discussed in chapter 9.

4.1 Pronominal affixes

The terms “pronominal affix” or “pronominals” as used in this work refer to the set of bound morphemes that specify person, and in some cases, number. Pronominal affixes are obligatory on the verb; that is, they are present even when they have lexical NP antecedents in the clause. Within the Siouan literature some analysts have argued or implied that the pronominal affixes are syntactic arguments. This view has been labeled elsewhere the “pronominal argument hypothesis”.⁷ Graczyk (1991:99), writing in reference to Crow, has argued that the pronominal affixes, including null, are grammatical arguments, with one exception, “If . . . lexical NPs are present that satisfy the subcategorization requirements of the verb, those lexical NPs are the syntactic arguments, with the zeros functioning merely as null

⁷ See West 2003:14-17 for a summary of the various approaches to the pronominal argument hypothesis.

agreement markers.” Legendre and Rood (1992:380) do not address the question, referring to the function of the pronominal affixes in Lakota as “cross-referencing” the syntactic arguments. West (2003) argues that the pronominal affixes are exclusively agreement markers, specifically rejecting the pronominal argument hypothesis for Assiniboine. The position taken in this study is that every verb invariantly contains a full set of positions for pronominal markers, whether overt or null, that reflects its argument structure, but no position is taken on whether the pronominal affixes themselves function as syntactic arguments.

The pronominal affixes do not distinguish gender. The third person null pronominal can mean ‘he’, ‘she’, or ‘it’, depending on context.

As discussed in section 5 below, the first person singular pronominal affixes *wa* (agent) and *ma* (patient) never occur with *pi* and are always interpreted as meaning one person and therefore glossed throughout this work as *A1s* and *P1s*, respectively, where *s* means ‘singular’. The first person dual pronominal (which is both agent and patient) may be pluralized and is glossed simply as *Idu*, with plurality glossed as *Idu . . . PL* when it co-occurs with the plural enclitic *pi* (see chapter 9:2.1.3). Similarly, the second person pronominal affixes *ya* (agent) and *ni* (patient) may be pluralized and are glossed as *A2* and *P2*, respectively, whether singular or plural, with indicated by the presence of *pi*, and glossed as *A2 . . . PL* and *P2 . . . PL*, respectively. The third person is grammatically more complex: the subject pronominal is zero (\emptyset) in the singular for animate or inanimate subjects and inanimate objects, and for plural inanimate objects, but has a third person plural

animate object pronominal $wi^c^ha-wic^ha$. Thus, to gloss \emptyset as P3 would be accurate for any third person singular subject, whether animate or inanimate, and for plural animate subjects, but would be inaccurate for plural inanimate arguments, where \emptyset should technically be glossed as P3p. Nonetheless, for the sake of simplicity, I gloss \emptyset as P3 everywhere, including plural inanimate arguments, and only indicate plural for the third person animate plural object, using the label *P3p*.

In terms of number, the pronominal affixes are seen to fall into two categories. Those that cannot be reduced in number are labeled *minimal*, which groups the dual with the singular pronominals. Those that are increased by one or more are labeled *augmented*, which excludes the exclusively singular first person pronominals *ya* and *ma*, but includes third person inanimate zero, despite its lack of overt plural marking. The pronominal affixes are given in table 6.2.

Table 6.2 Pronominal affixes

I. Agent pronominals

Number →	Minimal	Augmented
Person ↓		
1 st singular (animate)	A1s: <i>wa-</i> , <i>mn-</i> , <i>m-</i>	-
1 st dual	1du: $\mu(k)$ -	1du . . . PL: $\mu(k)$ - . . . <i>pi</i>
2 nd (animate)	A2: <i>ya-</i> <i>n-</i> <i>n-</i>	A2 . . . PL: <i>ya</i> - . . . <i>pi</i> <i>n</i> - . . . <i>pi</i> <i>n</i> - . . . <i>pi</i>
3 rd animate	A3: \emptyset -	A3 . . . PL: \emptyset - . . . <i>pi</i>
inanimate	A3: \emptyset -	A3: \emptyset -

II. Patient pronominals

Number →	Minimal	Augmented
Person ↓		
1 st sg. (animate)	P1s: <i>ma-</i>	-
1 st dual	1du: <i>u(k)-</i>	1du . . . PL: <i>u(k) . . . pi</i>
2 nd (animate)	P2: <i>ni-</i>	P2 . . . PL: <i>ni . . . pi</i>
3 rd animate	P3: \emptyset -	P3P: <i>wic^ha</i>
inanimate	P3: \emptyset -	P3: \emptyset -

Inanimate reference occurs only in the third person. Without pragmatic or syntactic context, the third person null pronominal is ambiguous, both in terms of animacy and number.

4.2 Animacy and number

Animacy is a salient feature of the language and pervades the pronominal system.

As indicated in table 6.2, all pronominal agreement morphology with overt phonetic form has animate reference. This includes all first and second person pronominals, the third person plural animate object morpheme *wic^ha*, and the plural enclitic *pi*, which may only occur with subjects and objects that have animate reference.

The situation for third person pronominals is more complex, since the third person may include animate or inanimate arguments. The third person pronominal affix, with the exception of *wic^ha*, is zero, indicated in the examples throughout this work as \emptyset .

The grammatical subject of an active-intransitive verb may be animate or inanimate, marked in either case by zero:

- (8a) John nén \emptyset -yǎká
 John here A3-sit
 ‘John is sitting here’
- (8b) iyókapte žé nén \emptyset -yǎká
 plate DET here A3-sit
 ‘the plate is sitting here’

If the subject is plural and has animate reference, the enclitic *pi* will appear on the verb (9a), but *pi* will not be present if the verb has plural inanimate reference

- (9b).
- (9a) wɨc^hášta-pi nén \emptyset -yǎká-pi
 man-PL here A3-sit-PL
 ‘the men are sitting here’
- (9b) iyókapte yámni nén \emptyset -yáká
 plate three here A3-sit
 ‘three plates are sitting here’

In the object position, the null pronominal may have either animate or inanimate reference only if the object is singular:

- (10a) John Mary a- \emptyset - \emptyset -p^ha
 John Mary ST-P3-A3-hit
 ‘John hit Mary’
- (10b) John t^hápa a- \emptyset - \emptyset -p^ha
 John ball ST-P3-A3-hit
 ‘John hit (the) ball’

For third person plural objects, however, the null pronominal can only have inanimate reference, since plural animate objects are referenced by *wɨc^ha*.

Compare (11) to (12). In (11) the object pronominal *wɨc^ha* cross-references ‘buffaloes’. (Recall that only nouns with human reference may be overtly marked for plural; *t^hat^hǎka* is plural in this example because of the presence of *wɨc^ha*.) In (12),

with an inanimate plural object, the object position is filled by zero. Since neither *wič^ha* nor inanimate objects take *pi*, third person plural objects never cause *pi* to appear on the verb, regardless of animacy.⁸

(11a) John t^hat^háka wič^há- \emptyset -o
 John buffalo P3P-A3-shoot.and.kill
 ‘John shot the buffaloes’

(11b) wič^há- \emptyset -o
 P3P-A3-shoot.and.kill
 ‘he shot them’

(12a) John t^haspá žená \emptyset - \emptyset -wóta
 John apple DET.PL P3-A3-eat
 ‘John ate the/those apples’

(12b) žená \emptyset - \emptyset -wóta
 those P3-A3-eat
 ‘he ate them’

The point to be observed is that all overt pronominals are animate. Animacy is assumed in the first and second person pronominals on semantic grounds, becoming grammatically identified as animate in the plural with the addition of the (animate) plural enclitic *pi*. Plural animate objects are specifically marked by the pronominal affix *wič^ha* which, because it is inherently plural, does not take *pi*. These dynamics are discussed in more detail in section 8.2 below. Animacy is

⁸ This is not to say that verbs with plural objects never co-occur with *pi*. If the *subject* of such a verb is both animate and plural, *pi* must be present:

object is animate: wič^hášta-**pi** t^hat^háka wič^há- \emptyset -**ó-pi**
 man-PL buffalo P3P-A3-shoot.and.kill-PL
 ‘the men shot the buffaloes’

object is inanimate: wič^hášta-**pi** t^haspá yúta-**pi**
 man- PL apple eat-PL
 ‘the men ate the apple(s)’

determined by the inherent nature of the item referenced, regardless of whether it is living or dead, as illustrated in (13a)-(13b).

(13a) p^hağŭta kiyâ-iyâyapi žé wə-wɨc^ha-wa-yaka
 duck fly-depart-PL DET STEM-P3p-A1s-see
 ‘I saw the ducks fly away’

(13b) pağŭta špa-wɨc^ha-wa-ya
 duck cook-P3p-A1s-CAUS
 ‘I cooked the ducks’

5. Active verbs

Active verbs fall into three categories: regular, *y*-stem, and nasal, which are determined morphologically by the set of subject pronominal affixes they select. These morphological categories are independent of the structural categories of ditransitive, transitive, and intransitive that indicate the number of arguments a verb may have. In the case of *y*-stem and nasal verbs, the term “affix” is not precisely accurate because there is a change of phonological shape in first and second person forms, rather than a straightforward affixation of a pronominal marker. The distinction between *y*-stem verbs and verbs with initial *y* that inflect as regular active or stative verbs lies in whether the stem-initial *y* is historically epenthetic or historically “organic,” i.e., inherently part of the root. Only verbs with organic *y* are *y*-stem verbs. Although there are some patterns that assist, synchronically, in identifying which type of inflection may be called for on a verb root in *y* (see section 8.4 below), there are few consistent phonological rules and the form of inflection for a given verb often must be memorized by the speaker.

While second and third person forms provide a two-way distinction between

singular and plural, first person forms provide a three-way distinction, i.e., singular, dual, and plural. The first person singular pronominals cannot be pluralized by *pi*. Instead, a first person dual pronominal *u(k)* (which surfaces as *u* before a consonant and as *uk* before a vowel), is the pronominal that is augmented by *pi* to form first person plurals. *u(k)* indicates dual inclusive ('you and I') when *pi* is not present on the verb, as in (14), and, when *pi* is present on the verb, dual exclusive ('s/he and I'), as in (15), and first person plural elsewhere. The dual inclusive has fallen into disuse among Canadian speakers. They recognize it when they hear it, as in recordings made in 1986 by Fort Belknap speakers (DeMallie 2002), but assert that they do not use it themselves.

(14) Dual inclusive:

(14a) aħémno-c én nén **u**-yáki-kta-c
 ridge-SPC at here 1du-sit-POT-DECL
 'we (you and I) will sit here on this ridge' (NR T4.48)

(14b) "Tohán niyá-**uk**-ú-š sak^{hím} **uk**-ʔú-kta-c," e-∅-cí-ya.
 as.long live-1du-be-INTNS together 1du-be-POT-DECL ST-A3-DAT-say
 "We (two) will be together as long as we (two) live," he told her.' (NR T7.30)

In (15), the speaker is addressing a group, telling of being at a gathering with her sister and seeing someone across the room whom the two of them thought they recognized.

(15) Dual exclusive:

John e-∅-cí-ya-pi žé ∅-kikmâ **u**-kná-**pi**
 John ST-P3-be.called that A3-resemble 1du-find-PL
 'We (she and I) thought he looked like that one called John.' (LgC1.261)

The third person plural is marked for animate participants only (see section

8.2 below), and where a pronominal affix serves for singular and plural forms, ambiguities may arise (see section 8.1.3 below). Third person singular objects are zero marked; third person plural objects are marked by *wic^ha* ~ *wic^ha* if animate and unmarked if inanimate.

The active verb pronominal affixes for each subclass are given within their respective sections. Note that the differences among them are evident only in the first and second person forms.

5.1 Regular active verbs

The great majority of active verbs are regular. The active pronominal subject affixes are given in table 6.3.

Table 6.3 Regular active verb subject pronominal affixes

Person	Minimal	Augmented
1 st singular	wa-	
1 st dual	ɥ(k)	ɥ(k) . . . pi
2 nd	ya-	ya- . . . pi
3 rd	∅	∅ . . . pi

The verb *pá* ‘shout’ (16) is an example of a regular active verb with an initial consonant; the verb *í* ‘arrive there’ (17) is an example of a regular active verb with an initial vowel. These two examples illustrate the variant forms of the first person dual morpheme *ɥ(k)*. When the first and second person affixes *wa-* and *ya-* are followed by a vowel, a glottal stop is inserted between the vowels by phonological rule, as in the paradigm in (17).

(16) pâ ‘shout’

wapâ	‘I shout’		
ɣpâ	‘you and I shout’	ɣpâpi	‘we shout’
yapâ	‘you shout’	yapâpi	‘you (pl) shout’
pâ	‘he/she shouts’	pâpi	‘they shout’

(17) í ‘arrive there’

waʔí	‘I arrive there’		
ɣkí	‘you and I arrive there’	ɣkípi	‘we arrive there’
yaʔí	‘you arrive there’	yaʔípi	‘you (pl) arrive there’
í	‘he/she arrives there’	ípi	‘they arrive there’

In addition to the affixes in table 6.3 (and in table 6.2), there is a single combined form, *chí-*, for a first person agent with a second person patient, ‘I/you’.

Examples are:

(18) **chí-**pámneza ‘I poked you awake’ (pamnéza ‘to waken by pushing or poking’)

e-**chí-**ciya ‘I tell you, I told you’ (ecíyA ‘tell’, of *eyÁ* ‘say’ and dative *ki*)

Unlike Sioux, no systematic distinction is made between distributive and collective plurals. There are two attested collective verbs, *ahí* ‘they arrive here (coll.)’ and *aʔú* ‘they come here (coll.)’, suggesting a once-productive process of deriving collective verbs by prefixing *a*. In general, animate collective nouns are inflected as plural. Compare (19), with a semantically distributive subject, and (20), with a semantically collective subject.

(19) wɨchá-pi apá Ø-iyáya-pi
man-PL some.of A3-set.out-PL
‘some of the men left’

(20) oyáte wazíñe ektá Ø-iyáya-pi
people Cypress Hills to A3-set.out-PL
‘the people set out for Cypress Hills’

A textual example of a collective verb form: *aʔi* ‘they (collectively) arrived there’, is given in (21).

- (21) iyúhana én aʔi c^{hen}
 all(coll.) there arrive.there(coll.) thus
 ‘all of them having arrived there . . .’ (NR: T5.16)

5.2 Y-stem active verbs

The y-stem verbs are so called because the root-initial *y-* is *replaced* in the first and second person by the pronominal affixes given in table 6.4. Third person singular is \emptyset , as in all other verb classes, with the initial *y* of the stem retained. Y-stem verbs are relatively common because of the high frequency of the instrumental prefixes *ya-* ‘by mouth’ and *yu-* ‘by hand’, which have organic *y*. (Instrumental prefixes are described in section 9.2 below.)

Table 6.4 Y-stem active verb subject pronominal affixes

Person	Minimal	Augmented
1 st singular	mn-	-
1 st dual	ɥ(k)-	ɥ(k) . . . pi
2 nd	n-	n . . . pi
3 rd	\emptyset	\emptyset . . . pi

The paradigm in (22) illustrates a y-stem root and the paradigm in (23) illustrates a y-initial instrumental prefix.

- (22) y-stem root: *éyaku* ‘take’

<i>émnaku</i>	‘I take’		
<i>éʔɥyaku</i>	‘you and I take’	<i>éʔɥyakupi</i>	‘we take’
<i>énaku</i>	‘you take’	<i>énakupi</i>	‘you (pl) take’
<i>éyaku</i>	‘he/she takes’	<i>éyakupi</i>	‘they take’

- (23) y-stem forming instrumental prefix: *yuhóمني* ‘turn with the hand’ (*yu-* ‘by

hand', -homni 'turn something around')

m nuhómni	'I turn it by hand'		
uyú homni	'you and I turn it by hand'	uyú homn ipi	'we turn it by hand'
n uhómni	'you turn it by hand'	n uhómn ipi	'you (pl) turn it by hand'
			hand'
yuhómni	'he/she turns it by hand'	yuhómn ipi	'they turn it by hand'

5.3 Nasal active verbs

There are ten nasal verbs attested, which are identified by their first and second person pronominal affixes *m-* and *n-*.⁹ There is no predictable pattern to the occurrence of these affixes; in some cases they are inserted, in other cases they replace a glide in the stem, but in every case, the nasal verbs are characterized by the *m-*, *n-* affixes. The pronominal subject affixes for nasal active verbs are given in table 6.5.

⁹ Boas and Deloria (1941:99) suggest that these verbs are formed by contracting the personal pronouns (their term for the pronominal affixes) with the following vowel, but since the agreement affixes do not systematically contract with following vowels, and since the verbs in this class have the shared characteristic of a nasal vowel after the pronominal, they have been grouped here and elsewhere (e.g. Taylor and Rood 1976, Rood and Taylor 1996) as a class. The verb *ypá* 'to smoke; to lay down' (Boas and Deloria 1941:99) is not attested in Assiniboine and apparently only survives in such forms as *c^hanúpa* 'pipe' (*c^haní* 'tobacco', *úpa* 'smoke') and *c^ho[?]úpa* 'cook' (*c^hó* 'flesh', *ypá* 'to lay down', cf. Boas and Deloria 1941:27). The verb *í* 'to wear around the shoulders' (Dak. A1s *himí*, 2s *híní* in Boas and Deloria 1941:99) might belong to this class as well, but at present there are insufficient data from which to make that determination. The verb *heyú* 'to tie a bundle', which is a nasal verb in Dakota (A1s *hemú*, 2s *henú*, Boas and Deloria 1941:100) is a regular active verb in Assiniboine: A1s *hewáyu* 'I tied a bundle'.

Table 6.5. Nasal active verb subject pronominal affixes

Person	Minimal	Augmented
1 st singular	m-	-
1 st dual	ɥ(k)-	ɥ(k)- . . . pi
2 nd	n-	n- . . . pi
3 rd	∅	∅ . . . pi

Because it is a small set of verbs with considerable irregularity, the complete set of nasal verbs is given in table 6.6 with their singular and dual inclusive forms.

Augmented forms are regular, by the addition of *pi*, and are not included in the table. Three of the nasal verbs have historical roots that no longer surface, all of which derive from *ec^há* ‘to be thus, be that kind’ (cf. Boas and Deloria 1941:98).

Table 6.6. Nasal verbs (starred roots do not occur as surface forms)

Root	Gloss	A1s	A2	1dual	A3
* <i>echáʔi</i> ¹⁰	'think about s.t.'	<i>echám̩i</i>	<i>echán̩i</i>	<i>ɯkéc^hi</i>	<i>ech̩i</i>
* <i>echáʔɯ</i>	'do'	<i>echám̩ɯ</i>	<i>echán̩ɯ</i>	<i>ech̩ɯku</i>	<i>ech̩ɯ</i>
<i>ɪwúǵa</i> ~ <i>ɪyúǵa</i>	'ask s.o.'	<i>ɪmúǵa</i>	<i>ɪnúǵa</i>	<i>ɯkíwɯǵa</i> ~ <i>ɯkíyɯǵa</i>	<i>ɪwúǵa</i> ~ <i>ɪyúǵa</i>
<i>t^hawúk^haš̩i</i> ~ <i>t^hayúk^haš̩i</i>	'hate to do; not feel like doing'	<i>t^hamúk^haš̩i</i>	<i>t^hanúk^haš̩i</i>	?	<i>t^hawúk^haš̩i</i> ~ <i>t^hayúk^haš̩i</i>
<i>tók^haʔɯ</i>	'do what?'	<i>tók^ham̩ɯ</i>	<i>tók^han̩ɯ</i>	<i>tók^haʔɯku</i>	<i>tók^haʔɯ</i>
<i>ú</i>	'use; wear'	<i>mú</i>	<i>nú</i>	<i>ɯkú</i> ~ <i>ɯʔú</i> ~ <i>ɯkʔú</i> ¹¹	<i>ú</i>
* <i>wacháʔi</i>	'feel like doing' ¹²	<i>wachám̩i</i>	<i>wachán̩i</i>	<i>waʔúch̩i</i>	<i>wach̩i</i>
<i>wáka</i>	CONT auxiliary	<i>máka</i>	<i>náka</i>	<i>ɯwáka</i>	<i>wáka</i>
<i>wúká</i>	'be lying down'	<i>múká</i>	<i>núká</i>	<i>ɯwúká</i>	<i>wúká</i>
<i>yáká</i>	'be sitting'	<i>máká</i>	<i>náká</i>	<i>ɯyáká</i>	<i>yáká</i>

5.4 Irregular active verbs *eyÁ*, *káyA*, *žeyÁ*

The paradigms for the irregular verbs *eyÁ* 'say', *káyA* 'say' and *žeyÁ* 'say that' are

¹⁰ When inflected as a regular-active verb (*ewáč^hi*, *eyáč^hi*, *ɯkéc^hi*), this is an intransitive verb meaning 'to think'. There is also the form *kéc^hi* 'to think that'.

¹¹ The variants reflect the merging by some speakers of *ú* 'wear' with the regular active verb *ʔú* 'be; stay', which does have a glottal stop in the first person inclusive and plural forms.

¹² *wach̩i* is always preceded by *ech̩ú*, i.e., *ech̩ú wach̩i* 'he feels like doing it'; A1s *ech̩ú wachám̩i* 'I feel like doing it'. In effect, this is a compound verb and as such, it belongs to the set of verbs that requires *pi* on their verbal complements (see chapter 11:4.2.1), as in *nowápi ech̩ú wachám̩i* 'I feel like singing'.

given in (25) - (27).¹³ Both *eyá* and *žeyÁ* are used with direct quotes; *káyA* is used with indirect quotes. *žeyÁ* is a contraction of *žé* ‘that’ and *eyÁ* ‘say’. Usually, contractions of *é* and *e*-initial verbs have first syllable stress by the rule of vowel coalescence, as illustrated in (24), but *žeyÁ* uncharacteristically has second syllable stress. The *žeyÁ* paradigm is given in (27a).

- (24) *žé* + *echŭ* > *žécŭ* ‘do that’
žé + *echá* > *žéc^ha* ‘be that kind’

A few speakers do not ablaut these verbs, for example, *ep^hášŭ* ‘I did not say’ and *eyás’a* ‘he always said, he used to say’, where both the enclitic *šŭ* NEG and *s’A* HAB trigger ablaut to *e* on a preceding A-word (both examples from FB).

- (25a) *eyÁ* ‘say’ (direct quote)

<i>ep^há</i>	‘I say’		
<i>ŭkéya</i>	‘you and I say’	<i>ŭkéyapi</i>	‘we say’
<i>ehá</i>	‘you say’	<i>ehápi</i>	‘you say’
<i>eyá</i>	‘he/she says’	<i>eyápi</i>	‘they say’

- (25b) “né yušnâ-pi-šŭ-m!” \emptyset -*eyá*
 this drop-PL-NEG-IMPER A3-say
 “don’t drop it!” he said’ (NR T3.33)

- (26a) *káyA* ‘say’ (indirect quote)

<i>káp^ha</i>	‘I say’		
<i>ŭkáya</i>	‘you and I say’	<i>ŭkáyapi</i>	‘we say’
<i>káha</i>	‘you say’	<i>káhapi</i>	‘you say’
<i>káya</i>	‘he/she says’	<i>káyapi</i>	‘they say’

¹³ Boas and Deloria’s ‘irregular verbs’ include verbs in *ki* which vary in their inflection between *wé/yé* and *wakí/yakí* (1941:89). In the present work these are not treated as irregular *verbs* but as regularly derived verbs with irregular inflection.

(26b) mnĭ-kta káph^a
 A1s.go-POT A1s.say
 ‘I said I would go’

(27a) žeyÁ ‘say that/this’ (reference to something said; also, direct quote)

žep ^h á	‘I say that’		
žeʔŭkeya	‘you and I say that’	žeʔŭkeyapi	‘we say that’
žehá	‘you say that’	žehápi	‘you say that’
žeyá	‘he/she says that’	žeyápi	‘they say that’

(27b) t^hak^hónaku žé ∅-žeyá, “K^hona! . . .”
 his.friend that A3s-say.that friend
 ‘his friend said this, “Friend! . . .” (app1: Big Snake.6)

6. Stative verbs

The subject pronominal affixes for stative verbs are identical to the active verb object pronominal affixes (see table 6.1). Inflection of stative verbs is completely regular; there are no y-stem or nasal stative verbs. Personal pronominal affixes are given in table 6.7 and a stative verb paradigm is given in (28). Note that, although *yazá* in the example is y-initial, it is not a y-stem verb; as with all stative verbs, the paradigm is regular.

Table 6.7. Stative pronominal affixes

Person	Minimal	Augmented
1 st singular	ma-	-
1 st dual	ŭ(k)-	ŭ(k) . . . pi
2 nd	ni	ni . . . pi
3 rd	∅	∅ . . . pi

(28) yazâ ‘hurt, be hurting, have pain’

mayáza	‘I hurt’		
uyáza	‘you and I hurt’	uyázapi	‘we hurt’
niyáza	‘you hurt’	niyázapi	‘you (pl) hurt’
yazâ	‘he/she hurts’	uyázapi	‘they hurt’

6.1 Irregular verb *It^háwa* ‘be one’s’

Alienable possession is generally marked by means of the stative verb *It^háwa*.

(29) *It^háwa* ‘be one’s’

mit ^h áwa	‘be mine’	ukít ^h awapi	‘be ours’
nit ^h áwa	‘be yours’	nit ^h awapi	‘be yours (pl)’
t ^h áwa	‘be his/hers’	t ^h awapi	‘be theirs’

The presence of an *i* in the root is indicated by the *i* of the P1s, 1du, and P2 forms. The initial *I* of the root is represented here by a capital letter because the *i* of the citation form atypically does not occur with the third person forms. The P1s and P2 forms are analyzed here as contractions of the root with the stative affixes *ma/ni*, whereby the vowels of the affixes are dropped. This analysis is consistent with the behavior of the patient pronominals in the inflection of *i*-initial stative verbs such as *ĩštíma* ‘sleep’ (*mĩštíma*, *nĩštíma*), of the independent pronoun *iyé* (*miyé*, *niyé*), and of verbs derived with the reflexive morpheme *ĩc’i* (*mĩc’i*, *nĩc’i*). However, this analysis is problematic with regard to kin terms, some of which occur with a first person singular prefix *mi-* that is not accounted for by contraction. For example, *mic^hĩkši* cannot be a contraction of *ma-* and some morpheme *i*, as there is no source for *i*. Thus, the etymology of the prefix *mi-* in kin terms is not obvious. An alternative to the contraction analysis is to posit a unique set of possessive prefixes *mi-* and *ni-* for first person singular and second person, respectively.

6.2 *It^háwa* “to be for”

It^háwa also has the specialized meaning ‘to be for’, as in the following examples.

- (30a) *né wówapi né Dean ∅-t^háwa*
 DET letter DET Dean P3-be.one’s
 ‘this letter is for Dean’
- (30b) *tákuškina-káĝa-pi né wıchıca-pi-na ∅-t^háwa-pi*
 child-make-PSV [dolls] DET (indef) ST-PL-girl P3-be.one’s-PL
 ‘dolls are for girls’

Compare the previous example to the following, in which *It^háwa* has its standard meaning. The difference lies in the indefinite or definite marking of the subject. (See chapter 10 for a discussion of definiteness.)

- (31) *tákuškina káĝa-pi nená wıchıca-pi-na ∅-t^háwa-pi*
 child-make-PSV [dolls] DET-PL(def) ST-PL-girl P3-be.one’s-PL
 ‘these dolls are (belong to) the girls’

6.3 Generic verbs *éc^ha*, *žéc^ha*, *néc^ha*

The stative verb *éc^ha* ‘be that kind’ and its derivatives *žéc^ha* and *néc^ha* are generic verbs that express proper inclusion; that is, they specify the grammatical subject as being included within in a type. The subject nominal is definite and the predicate nominal is indefinite (not followed by a determiner). The stem *éc^ha* is rare, as is *néc^ha*; *žéc^ha* is by far the most common form.

- (32) *onówa žé wachékiyapi onówapi **žéc^ha***
 song that prayer song be.that.kind
 ‘that song is a prayer song’ [lit. ‘that song is a sung prayer’] (NR T1.5)
- (33) *ıyañe **néc^ha** amátapa néchen akán . . . akhı*
 mountain this.kind ledge this.way on P3-A3-take.back.there
 ‘he [an eagle] took him back up to this ledge on a mountain’ (NR:T2.22)

The predicate nominal is indefinite, whether or not the grammatical subject is

expressed as an overt nominal.

(34a) Rob wóhena žé-∅-c^ha
 Rob cook ST-P3-be.that.kind
 ‘Rob is a cook’

(34b) wóhena žé-∅-c^ha
 cook ST-P3-be.that.kind
 ‘he is a cook’

As is the case for all stative verbs, these verbs inflect regularly; however, despite first syllable stress in the citation form, stress moves to the second syllable in first and second person forms. Pronominals are infixes, pointing to a historical derivation of *é* ‘be’ + *c^ha* ‘such’, with the demonstrative articles prefixed and contracted.

(35)	že-má-c ^h a	‘I am that kind’	že-ŭ-c ^h a-pi	‘we are that kind’
	že-ní-c ^h a	‘you are that kind’	že-ní-c ^h a-pi	‘you are that kind’
	žé-∅-c ^h a	‘he/she/it is that kind’	žé-∅-c ^h a-pi	‘they are that kind’

The root verb *é* ‘be’ is copular and, therefore, so are its derivatives. Despite the presence of two overt nominals in the clause, the underlying structure of *žéc^ha* in the following examples cannot be **žé-∅-∅-c^ha*.

(36a) [_{NP} žé] [_{NP} šúka zí] žé-∅-c^ha
 that.one dog brown ST-P3-be.that.kind
 ‘that is a brown dog’

(36b) [_{NP} né wj^hóške né t^haká-ku c^hén] [_{NP} ši^h’ǵ] žé-∅-c^ha
 this young.woman this older.sis-3POSS thus monster ST-P3-be.that.kind
 ‘the older sister of the young woman was a monster’ (SB.6)

7. Impersonal verbs

Impersonal verbs have no syntactic arguments (reflected throughout this work by the absence of a zero pronominal in the gloss). Weather terms, landscape features,

and natural phenomena (such as sounds or degrees of daylight) comprise the majority of impersonal verbs. Included in this class are inanimate nouns functioning as predicates, as *awótapi* in (37c), and intransitive verbs restricted to inanimate subjects, as *yéġa* in (37d). Virtually any inanimate noun may function as an impersonal verb by zero derivation. The nominal root *wá* ‘snow’ differs from other nouns in this class in that it often requires compounding with another verb (**wá* ‘it is snowing’, cf. (37e-f)).

- (37a) *maġážu* ‘it is raining’ (\emptyset + ‘rain’)
- (37b) *ħošķišķi* ‘it is rough, sandy terrain’ (\emptyset + *ħošķi* ‘be rough, sandy terrain’)
- (37c) *né awótapi* ‘this is a table’ (DET \emptyset -‘table’)
- (37d) *oʔĩ yéġA* ‘the beads glitter’ (*oʔĩ* ‘beads’, *yéġA* ‘glitter’)
- (37e) *wáħihâ* ‘it is snowing’ (*ħihâ* ‘to fall, precipitate, as rain or snow’)
- (37f) *wašmá* ‘the snow is deep’ (*šmá* ‘be deep’)

8. Number agreement

As stated above, there are no plural subject pronominal affixes, although there is a dual affix. Number agreement on verbs differs for animate and inanimate participants: all and only verbs with animate plural subjects carry the enclitic *pi*, whereas verbs with inanimate plural subjects may show agreement by means of reduplication but more often are unmarked, relying either on determiners or context for plural meaning.

8.1 Animate participants

8.1.1 Animate subjects

For animate subjects, number agreement is obligatorily marked on the verb by the enclitic *pi*. Because other forms of number marking are optional elsewhere in the clause, the presence or absence of the plural enclitic on the verb is the only consistent indication of number for animate subjects. Determiners are not required to agree in number with nouns they modify (see chapter 10) and only nouns with human referents may be pluralized by *pi* (see chapter 4: 4). In (38)-(40), postverbal *pi* is the only consistent plural marker.

- (38) Formally marked (human) plural subject, non-plural determiner:

wiç^hášta-pi žé ∅-háska-pi
 man-PL DET P3-be.tall-PL
 ‘those men are tall’

- (39) Unmarked (non-human) plural subject, non-plural determiner:

ziktána¹⁴ žé chá én ∅-ʔú-pi
 bird DET tree in A3-stay-PL
 ‘there are birds in the tree’

- (40) Unmarked plural subject, plural determiner, subject agreement on verb:

šúka žená mi-∅-t^háwa-pi
 dog DET.PL P1S-A3-be.one’s-PL
 ‘those dogs are mine; those dogs belong to me’

8.1.2 Animate objects

Animate object affixes are given in table 6.8.

¹⁴ i.e., *zítkána*. Note metathesis of *tk*: data from a Canadian speaker (although not all Canadian speakers metathesize *tk* sequences).

Table 6.8. Animate object affixes

Person	Minimal	Augmented
1 st singular	ma-	
1 st dual	ɥ(k)-	ɥ(k) . . . pi
2 nd	ni	ni . . . pi
3 rd	∅	wɪc ^h a

For third person plural animate objects, both human and non-human, the plural object agreement marker *wɪc^ha* (~ *wic^ha*) is affixed to the verb. It is inherently plural and does not take the animate plural enclitic *pi*. As with all pronominal affixes, *wɪc^ha* is present on the verb whether or not its lexical antecedent is present in the clause. We will assume that the examples in (41a)-(41c) refer to a single event. Even without the information in (41a) we know from the form in (41c) that a single person (no *pi* on the verb) shot more than one animate being (*wɪc^ha* on the verb).¹⁵

(41a) k^hošká t^háñca núm wɪc^há-∅-o
 young.man deer two P3p-A3-shoot.and.kill
 ‘the/a man shot two deer’

(41b) k^hošká wɪc^há-∅-o
 young.man P3p-A3-shoot.and.kill
 ‘the/a man shot them’

(41c) wɪc^há-∅-o
 P3p-A3-shoot.and.kill
 ‘he shot them’

Similarly in (42d), again assuming a single event for all examples in (42), we

¹⁵ Recall that active-transitive verbs may only have animate grammatical subjects.

know from the form of the verb that more than one person shot more than one animate being. In (42a)-(42d) both plural markers are present on the verb, one referencing the grammatical subject and one referencing the grammatical object.

(42a) k^hošká-pi t^háħca núm wɨc^há-∅-o-pi
 young.man-PL deer two P3p-A3-shoot.and.kill-PL
 ‘the young men shot two deer’

(42b) k^hošká-pi wɨc^há-∅-o-pi
 young.man-PL deer two P3p-A3-shoot.and.kill-PL
 ‘the young men shot them (animate)’

(42c) t^háħca núm wɨc^há-∅-o-pi
 deer two P3p-A3-shoot.and.kill-PL
 ‘they shot two deer’

(42d) wɨc^há-∅-o-pi
 P3p-A3-shoot.and.kill-PL
 ‘they shot them (animate)’

In the previous examples, *wɨc^ha* references the direct object but *wɨc^ha-* may also reference indirect objects. In (43) *wɨc^há* references the recipients of the action, rather than the entity acted upon, and “dative” *ki* (in the contraction *wa + ki > we*; see chapter 7) references the entity acted upon.

(43) nak^hón wóyuta wɨc^há-we-caġa
 Indian food P3P-A1s.DAT-make
 ‘I made some Indian food for them’

In informal speech, *wɨc^ha* may be omitted. In (44)-(45), the speaker in each case first gave a response without *wɨc^ha* (44a) and (45a) but when asked about it, amended the response to include *wɨc^ha* (44b) and (45b).

(44a) wɨc^hášta žé [∅-]u-yúza-pi
 man that [P3p-]1du-hold-PL
 ‘we arrested the men’

- (44b) wɨc^hášta žé wɨc^há-ɥ-yuza-pi
 may that P3p-1du.hold-PL
 ‘we arrested the men’
- (45a) tuwéna ksú-[∅]-∅-ya-pi-šɨ
 nobody ST-[P3p]-A3-hurt- PL-NEG
 ‘no one was hurt’
- (45b) tuwéna ksú-wic^ha-ya-pi -šɨ
 nobody ST-P3p-A3-hurt-PL-NEG
 ‘no one was hurt’

No alternative was given for (46); *wic^háyuza* would be predicted in this sentence.

- (46) John šúkat^hàka žé yúza o-∅-kíhi-šɨ
 John horse that catch ST-A3-be.able-NEG
 [elicited as plural:] ‘John couldn’t catch the horses’

8.1.3 Ambiguity in animate plural forms

Ambiguities arise in transitive verbs with plural arguments in part because of the various grammatical functions of the pronominal affixes and in part because the enclitic *pi* may occur only once on a verb, even if two of the arguments are plural.

Examples are:

- (47a) ɥ-k^húwa-pi ‘we chased him’ (∅-ɥ-k^huwa-pi)
 ‘he chased us’ (ɥ-∅-k^huwa-pi)
 ‘they chased us’ (ɥ-∅-k^huwa-pi) [*ɥ-∅-k^húwa-pi-pi]
- (47b) ɥ-yá-k^huwa-pi ‘you (sg) chased us’ (ɥ-yá-k^huwa-pi)
 ‘you (pl) chased us’ (ɥ-yá-k^huwa-pi) [*ɥ-yá-k^huwa-pi-pi]

Compare the ambiguous expression *ɥ-k^huwa-pi* in (45a) with the expression *wɨc^há-ɥ-k^huwa-pi* ‘we chased them’ in which ambiguity does not occur because the two arguments are morphologically distinct.

8.2 Inanimate participants

8.2.1 Inanimate subjects

There are two formal strategies for indicating plurality of an inanimate subject, i.e., by plural determiner (demonstratives and quantifiers) within the NP, or by verb reduplication. Either strategy, or both, or neither may occur in a clause; where neither strategy is employed, plurality must be determined by context. For example, (48) may be interpreted as referring to one or several knives. Note that, typical of inanimate subjects, neither the subject noun nor the verb carries number agreement for a plural subject.

(48) Plurality determined by context: neither formal strategy employed:

mína mi-∅-tháwa
 knife P1s-A3-be.one's
 'the knife is mine' / 'the knives are mine'

Compare (48) to (49), which has a non-human animate subject, a determiner, and plural *-pi*. In (50), which has a human animate subject, both the noun and the verb carry *-pi*, and a quantifying determiner is also present.

(49) šŭka apá mitháwa-pi
 dog some.of P1s-A3-be.one's-PL
 'some of the dogs are mine'

(50) wɨchá-pi apá ∅-iyáya-pi
 man-PL some.of A3-depart-PL
 'some of the men left'

Other examples of inanimate plural constructions included the following:

- (51) Demonstrative only:

t^haspá žená wa-∅-c^hika
 apple those A1s-P3-want
 ‘I want those apples’

- (52) Quantifier only:

íyā nówa tuktékte yáká
 rock all.these here.and.there sit
 ‘all of the rocks are lying here and there’

- (53) Reduplication only:

oʔí šašá
 bead(s) be.red-REDUP
 ‘the beads are red’

- (54) Reduplication plus quantifier (unmarked demonstrative: see chapter 10):

iyéc^hikayèna né owá ∅-šašá
 car this all P3-be.red-REDUP
 ‘all the cars are red’

- (55) Reduplication plus demonstrative:

c^hamnáska žená ∅-hǎskaska
 board (wood-flat) those P3-be.long-REDUP
 ‘the boards are long’

- (56) Plural demonstrative plus reduplication:

waǎpé žená zizí ∅-áya
 leaves those yellow-REDUP P3-become
 ‘the leaves are turning yellow’

8.2.2 Inanimate objects

Inanimate objects are identified solely by syntactic position; there is no number agreement marker for inanimate objects. The distinction between a singular or plural inanimate object, if indicated at all, is achieved by means of determiners (see chapter 10).

- (57) John *t^haspá* \emptyset - \emptyset -*éyaku*
 John apple P3-A3-take
 ‘John took the/an apple’ or ‘John took the apples’
- (58) *t^haspá* \emptyset - \emptyset -*éyaku*
 apple P3-A3-take
 ‘he took the/an apple’ or ‘he took the apples’¹⁶
- (59) *t^haspá* *že* \emptyset - \emptyset -*éyaku*
 apple that P3-A3-take
 ‘he took the apple’ or ‘he took that apple’
- (60) *t^haspá* *žená* \emptyset - \emptyset -*éyaku*
 apple those P3-A3-take
 ‘he took the/those apples’

8.3 Placement of pronominal affixes

On the whole, placement of pronominal affixes is governed by several factors including underlying insertion points in verb roots, types of derivation, and the relationship between subject and object pronominals. Pronominal affixes attach to the verb root; in compounds the pronominal affixes attach to the rightmost verb in the compound. There are three prominent patterns of placement for the regular subject affixes in relation to the stem which, although they do not account for all cases, provide a significant degree of predictability: Pattern (1): all pronominals are prefixed; Pattern (2): all pronominals are infixes; Pattern (3): *u(k)-* is prefixed and all other pronominals are infixes.¹⁷ The fourth logical possibility, i.e., *u(k)-* is infixes

¹⁶ This clause is not quite as ambiguous as it appears from the multiple possible glosses. For the meaning, ‘he took the apple’, the stress on *éyaku* would be reduced or eliminated. More precisely transcribed, the clause is *t^haspá èyaku* or *t^haspá eyaku*, i.e., ‘he took the *apple*’ (as opposed to, say, the banana).

¹⁷ This is as for Lakota and Dakota (cf. Rood and Taylor 1996:465; Boas and Deloria 1941:77).

and all other pronominals are prefixed, does not occur. The descriptions below are summarized and exemplified in table 6.9. (Instrumental and locative prefixes are discussed in the following sections; inflection of KI forms is discussed in chapter 7.)

8.3.1 Pattern 1: prefixed

All pronominals are prefixed with:

- free monosyllabic roots when not further derived;
- verbs with the instrumental prefixes *ka-* and *pa-* when not further derived;
- verbs with the instrumental prefixes *ya-* and *yu-* are *y*-stem verbs; *ɥ(k)-* immediately precedes the *y* of the stem.

8.3.2 Pattern 2: infix

All pronominals are infix with:

- verbs with the instrumental prefixes *mo-* and *na-*, when not further derived;
- verbs with the dependent causative auxiliaries *-ya*, *-kiya*, and *-k^hiyā* are, in effect, compounds; all pronominals (except those representing objects of the lower verb) are prefixed to the causative auxiliary and are therefore effectively infix;
- verbs with two locative prefixes, even when the prefixes are lexicalized and separated by (historically) epenthetic *y*;

8.3.3 Pattern 3: mixed

ɥ(k)- is prefixed and all other pronominals are infix with:

- the great majority of verbs beginning with *é* or *o*, when not further derived (an exception is *op^hét^hɥ* ‘to buy’, which is diachronically analyzable as a

compound in *-t^hu* ‘to do’):

- verbs with a single locative prefix, even when the locative prefix has been lexicalized.

Table 6.9 Pronominal affixation patterns

Pattern 1: All Pronominals Prefixed

TYPE	EXAMPLE	A1S	1DUAL	GLOSS
Monosyllabic Roots:				
CV	kté	wa-kté	ɥ-kté	‘kill’
CVC(a)	k ^h áta	ma-k ^h áta	ɥ-k ^h áta	‘be hot’
Instrumental Prefixes <i>ka-</i>, <i>pa-</i>:				
<i>ka-</i>	<i>ka-ksÁ</i>	wa-káksa	ɥ-káksa	‘chop’
<i>pa-</i>	<i>pa-ksÁ</i>	wa-páksa	ɥ-páksa	‘break by pressure’
Y-stem:				
<i>ya-</i>	<i>ya-ñtáka</i>	mnañtáka	ɥ-yáñtaka	‘bite’
<i>yu-</i>	<i>yu-húkšu</i>	mnuhúkšu	ɥ-yúhukšu	‘wreck’

Pattern 2: All Pronominals Infixed

TYPE	EXAMPLE	1S	1PLURAL	GLOSS
Instrumental Prefixes <i>mo-</i>, <i>na-</i>:				
<i>mo-</i>	<i>mo-ħcí</i>	<i>mo-wá-ħci</i>	<i>mo-ŭ-ħci</i>	'trip and make fall'
<i>na-</i>	<i>na-ħtáka</i>	<i>na-wá-ħtaka</i>	<i>na-ŭ-ħtaka</i>	'kick'
CAUS (AUX):				
<i>-yA</i>	<i>špaŷÁ</i>	<i>špa-wá-ya</i>	<i>špa-ŭ-ya</i>	'cook'
<i>-kiyA</i>	<i>tasákkiyA</i>	<i>tasák-wa-kiya</i>	<i>tasák-ŭ-kiya</i>	'one's own to freeze'
<i>-k^hiyA</i>	<i>ŷspék^hiyA</i>	<i>ŷspé-wa-k^hiya</i>	<i>ŷspé-ŭ-k^hiya</i>	'teach'
Two Locatives:				
<i>a-o-</i>	<i>aʔókatA</i>	<i>aʔó-wa-kata</i>	<i>aʔó-ʔ-ŭ-kata</i>	'nail'
<i>i(y)o-</i>	<i>iyótaya</i>	<i>iyó-wa-taya</i>	<i>iyó-ʔ-ŭ-taya</i>	'honor'

Pattern 3: Mixed

TYPE	EXAMPLE	1S	1PLURAL	GLOSS
<i>é-</i>	<i>ét^hi</i>	<i>é-wa-t^hi</i>	<i>ŷk-ét^hi</i>	'camp'
<i>ĭ-</i> (non-LOC)	<i>ĩštíma</i>	<i>ĭ-má-štima</i>	<i>ŷk-ĩštima</i>	'be asleep'
<i>o-</i> (non-LOC)	<i>okíni</i>	<i>o-wá-kini</i>	<i>ŷk-ókini</i>	'get'
Single Locative:				
<i>a-</i>	<i>apóğa</i>	<i>a-wá-poğa</i>	<i>ŷk-ápoğa</i>	'blow on'
<i>ĭ-</i>	<i>ípâ</i>	<i>ĭ-wá-pa</i>	<i>ŷk-ípa</i>	'announce'
<i>o-</i>	<i>ok'Á</i>	<i>o-wá-k'a</i>	<i>ŷk-ók'a</i>	'dig for'

While there is a tendency for vowel-initial stems to exhibit pattern 3 (mixed) affixation, presumably to avoid glottal insertion in first person dual (and therefore also plural) forms, exceptions occur in which verbs with a single locative exhibit

pattern 2 behavior, as the examples in (61) illustrate.

(61)	ok ^h óp ^h A	o- <u>w</u> a-k ^h op ^h a	oʔ ^h ú-k ^h op ^h a	‘be fearful’
	ahóp ^h a	ahó- <u>w</u> a-p ^h a	ahóʔ ^h ú-p ^h a	‘obey’

In multisyllabic roots pronominal affix positioning is unpredictable; some follow pattern 1, as in the examples in (62), while others are divisible with some following pattern 2, as in the examples in (63), and others following pattern 3, as in the examples (64).

	<u>Root</u>	<u>1s</u>	<u>1pl</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
(62)	Pattern 1:			
	hâska	m ahâska	ʔhâskapi	‘be tall’
	nowÁ	w anówa	ʔnówapi	‘sing’
(63)	Pattern 2:			
	máni	m awáni	ʔmánipi	‘walk’
	náži	n awáži	ʔnážipi	‘stand’
(64)	Pattern 3:			
	op ^h é ^h u	op ^h é ^h w a ^h u	op ^h éʔ ^h u t ^h u ^h pi	‘buy’
	p ^h iná	p ^h i w ána	p ^h iʔ ^h u napi	‘thank’
	wac ^h i	wawá c ^h i	waʔ ^h u c ^h i ^h pi	‘dance’

Pronominal affix placement for the root /úši/ ‘pity’ differs for the active form *úšina* (pattern 2) and the stative form *úšika* (pattern 3). (^ marks affix insertion point.)

(65)	úši [^] na	‘to pity, have mercy on, have compassion for; to care deeply for, as s.o. loved’
	úšiwana	‘I pitied him’
	úšiʔ ^h napi	‘we pitied him’
	úšimana (wo)	‘pity me!’ (wo IMPER(male speaker); ∅ IMPER (female speaker))
	úšiwic ^h u ^h napi	‘we pitied them’
(66)	ú [^] šika	‘to be poor, pitiful’
	ú m ašika	‘I am poor, pitiful’
	ú k úšikapi	‘we are poor, pitiful’

8.4 Multiple inflection of subject pronominals

Multiple inflection of first and second person singular and second person plural occurs in certain y-stem verbs. It consists of a regular active pronominal affix plus the y-stem pronominals at each occurrence of a stem-y within the word. The set comprises *iyáyaA* ‘to set out from here’ and its derivatives, and verbs in *kici*.

Examples are:

(67) *iyáyaA* ‘to set out going (from home)’

imná mna	‘I set out going’	ukí yaya	‘we set out going’
iná na	‘you set out going’	iná napi	‘you-all set out going’
iyá ya	‘he/she set out going’	iyá yapi	‘they set out going’

(68) *ahíyayaA* ‘to sing a song’

awá himnamna	‘I sang a song’	uká hiyaya	‘we sang a song’
ayá hinana	‘you sang a song’	ayá hinanapi	‘you (pl) sang a song’
ahí yaya	‘he/she sang a song’	ahí yayapi	‘they sang a song’

(69) *okíciyakaA* ‘to tell s.o. s.t.’ (see chapter 7 for a description of inflection of verbs in KI).

owé cinmna	‘I told him/her’	ukó kiciyakapi	‘we told him/her’
oyé cinaka	‘you told him/her’	oyé cinakapi	‘you told him/her’
okí ciyaka	‘he/she told him/her’	okí ciyakape	‘they told him/her’

Double inflection also occurs in y-stem verbs that have both second person agent and either a singular or plural first person object.

(70a) *yúzaA* ‘arrest’

ma-**yá**-nuzì-kta he
 P1s-A2-A2.arrest-POT Q
 ‘are you going to arrest me?’ (c6.29)

(70b) wayáka ‘see’

wā-ū-yā-naka-pi he
 ST-P1du-A2-A2.see-PL Q
 ‘did you see us?’

Although the verb *íyaka* ‘to run’ has double inflection in Lakota (**wa**[?]*ímnake* ‘I run’), it is a regular y-stem verb in Assiniboine: *ímnaka* ‘I run’, *úkíyákapi* ‘we run’.¹⁸

8.5 Order of subject and object pronominal affixes

When two pronominal affixes are present on a transitive verb the object pronominal precedes the subject pronominal. This is the opposite of the order of full nominals in a subject/object relationship. An exception to this rule is the dual/first person affix *u(k)*, which precedes all affixes except the plural animate object affix *wíc^ha-*.

Examples are given in (71). (71c) illustrates the unique pronominal affix *c^hi* for a first person singular subject with a second person singular object.

(71a) ma-yá-k’u
 P1s-A2-give
 ‘you gave it to me’

(71b) wíc^há-wa-k’u
 P3P-A1s-give
 ‘I gave it to them’

(71c) c^hi-c’ú
 I/you-give
 ‘I gave it to you’

¹⁸ The more common word for ‘run’ in Assiniboine is *aktáka*; some speakers reject *íyaka* altogether, identifying it as a Sioux word, while others suggest that *aktáka* is ‘run (in general)’ while *iyáka* is ‘run, as a race’. Nominalized forms exist for both verbs: *aktákes’a* and *iyákes’a* ‘a runner, one who runs’.

(71d) ʉ-ní-cʰu-pi [~ ʉníkʰupi, where kʰ does not palatalize]
 1du-P2-give-PL
 ‘we give it to you’

(71e) opʰé-wɨcʰa-wa-tʰú
 ST-P3P-A1s-buy
 ‘I bought them (animate)’

(71f) iyé-ʉ-ni-yə-pi
 ST-1du-P2-find-PL
 ‘we found you’

When the animate plural object *wɨcʰa* is, in the course of normal affixation, followed by the first person dual or plural subject *ʉ(k)* (e.g., *éyaku* > *éʰʉ-yaku* > *é-wɨcʰaʰʉyaku*), it is often contracted to *wɨcʰʉ(k)*. Contracted and non-contracted forms are in free variation; the examples in (72a)-(72b) were given by a single speaker (at CTK).

(72a) púza žé é-wɨcʰaʰʉ-yaku-pi (not contracted)

(72b) púza žé é-wɨcʰ-ʉ-yaku-pi (contracted)
 cats DET ST-P3P-1.PLS-take-PL
 ‘we took the cats’

9. Prefixes

There are two highly productive sets of verbal prefixes, grammatically classified as *locatives* (5.1) and *instrumentals* (5.2). Locatives are positioned before instrumental prefixes and may be used in combination with each other in a single verb form.¹⁹

¹⁹ Boas and Deloria note that in Sioux, the instrumentals may, less commonly, precede the locative prefixes, thereby altering the meaning of the derived form. They provide examples such as *naáb.laya* ‘to smooth the top of a pile with the foot’, and *ʰaná.b.laya* ‘to smooth something with the foot over something else’ (1941:52) explaining that “the first prefix modifies the whole content of the following complex” (1941:39). I have found no examples of instrumental prefixes preceding locative prefixes in the Assiniboine data, although it seems that such forms should be possible.

Instrumental prefixes are positioned immediately before the root and only one instrumental prefix may occur in a single verb form. Locative prefixes also may function as nominalizers whereas instrumental prefixes typically do not.

9.1 Locative prefixes

The term *locative* is traditionally applied to a set of three prefixes, *a-*, *i~i-*, and *o-*, given in table 6.10. The locatives increase the valence of the verb root, adding an oblique argument.

(73)	iʔá	‘talk’	>	aʔíʔA	‘talk about someone’
	moħtáka	‘crash’	>	imóħtakA	‘crash into something’
	kʔá	‘dig’	>	okʔÁ	‘dig for something’

Table 6.10 Locative prefixes

a-	‘at, on’	acháġa apápsu aħnó	‘to be ice on, be frozen on’ (cháġa ‘be icy’) ‘pour a liquid on’ (papsu ‘pour out’) ‘growl at’ (ħnó ‘growl’)
i- ~ i-	‘by means of, with’; ‘against’, ‘in ref. to’	istústA iʔŭ iyéġa	‘be bored with, tired of’ (stústÁ ‘be tired’) ‘wear around the shoulders’ (ŭ ‘wear’) ‘glow from, as from a fire’ (yéġa ‘glitter’)
o-	‘in, within’	ocháġa okʔÁ	‘be frozen inside a container’ (cháġa ‘be icy’) ‘dig for, dig into’ (kʔÁ ‘dig’)

Locative prefixes may co-occur on a single verb stem. Many verbs with *iyó-* or *iya-* are derived by two locatives with an epenthetic *y*, as in (74a), others are formed with an inserted glottal stop, as in (74b). (74c) is an example of a form derived by three locatives.

(74a)	iyóhi	‘reach a point, be enough’ (i + o + hí ‘arrive there’)
	iyákip ^h e	‘await someone’s coming’ (i + a + ki DAT + ap ^h e ‘wait’)

- (74b) aʔókata ‘nail s.t. to a surface’ (a + o + katá ‘pound’)
 aʔónat^hákA ‘lock s.o. in/out’ (a + o + nat^hákA ‘shut, lock’)
- (74c) oʔíyasakA ‘be dried up in’ (o + i + a + sákA ‘be dry’)

The locative prefixes *a-* and *o-*, when they co-occur in that order, may coalesce as *ó-*. Examples are:

- (75) ópaksA ‘break an object by pressing it into an orifice’, e.g., break a key
 in a lock (pa- by pressure, -ksA ‘sever’)
- óšna ‘have paint daubed on one’
- óšta ‘to cap, put a cap on’
- ówaca (adv.) ‘all over’

The locative prefixes, although highly productive, are not simply mechanical. For example, *a-* and *o-* can be affixed productively to *c^háġa* ‘be icy’, as seen in table 6.10, but **ĩ+c^háġa* does not occur because there is another word *ĩc^háġa* ‘to grow’.²⁰ Conversely, although the generalized meanings of the locatives often are transparent, they can also create idiosyncratic meanings, as in these examples:

- (76) ahínap^hA ‘to sprout, come up’ (hináp^hA ‘come into view’)
- akáĥnokA ‘get wet’ (ka- INSTR, -ĥnókA ‘have a hole in’)
- okáĥnokA ‘be wet, get wet from rain’; also, ‘to chop a hole in’
- ĩcánuza ‘to gust’ (kanúza ‘be windy’)
- ĩnũwĀ ‘to swim to the other side’ (nũwĀ ‘swim’)

²⁰ Boas and Deloria (1941:42) note that the *i* of *ic^háġa* ‘grow’ is inseparable and of obscure meaning.

9.2 Instrumental prefixes

There are seven productive prefixes, traditionally labeled *instrumental*, that specialize or specify the means by which an action occurs.²¹ They may be added to verb roots in any of the three verb classes. They are also occasionally added to adverbs (see chapter 5: 3.1.2). Only one instrumental prefix may be attached to a verb stem. The instrumental prefix determines the insertion point for pronominal affixes, as indicated in table 6.11. The instrumental prefixes *ya-* and *yu-* create y-stem verbs, in which subject pronominals are fused with the stem (see section 5.2, below), but object pronominals precede the fused forms. The *po-* variant of *mo-* is the less common and is only attested among a few CTK speakers. Some linguists analyze *na-* as two separate morphemes, e.g., Van Valin (1977:19). Van Valin's argument is semantic, although it has syntactic implications: when *na-* means 'by internal force', it expresses an indefinite instrument and may not take a semantic role of "Actor" as its subject (1977:38-39).

²¹ It will be noted that the prefixes *ka-*, *mo-*, *na-*, and *yu-* each have more than one meaning and that these meanings in each case are to varying degrees independent of each other. It could be argued that they are separate, homophonic morphemes rather than single morphemes with several meanings. However, this observation contributes nothing to an understanding of their grammatical behavior since the semantic differences do not alter the morpheme order associated with these prefixes, nor do they alter the phonological behavior of the constituent segments in various environments. Therefore, they are treated here as single morphemes.

Table 6.11 Instrumental prefixes

Prefix	Gloss	Pronominal affix
ka- ²²	'by striking with an instrument (implies a sharp blow)'; 'by force of wind'	precedes <i>ka-</i>
ma-	'with a knife; with a sawing motion'	follows <i>ma-</i>
mo- ~po-	'by action from a distance; by shooting; by a pointed object; by force of wind or water; by accidental collision'	follows <i>mo-</i>
na- ^{**}	'by action of the foot or leg'; 'by internal force, of itself; by heat'	follows <i>na-</i>
pa-	'by pushing; by poking'	precedes <i>pa-</i>
ya-	'by mouth; by means of the teeth; by speaking'	obj. precedes <i>y-</i> stem
yu-	'by pulling; by action of the hand' also, generalized, causative meaning	obj. precedes <i>y-</i> stem

An additional instrumental prefix, *pu-* 'by generalized pressure', is not productive and only occurs in a few frozen forms, e.g., *puspÁ* 'to glue, stick onto'. Assiniboine speakers reject forms such as **puhómní* ('to turn by pressure'), offering *pahómní* or *yuhómní* instead (see examples at (80)).

ka- may have causative meaning other than 'by force of wind', as in *kastústa*

²² The example in (a) suggests that *ka-* can also mark perfective aspect, although these examples are from a single FB speaker of the older generation, James Earthboy, and no other such examples have been found. Compare (a) with perfective aspect in the translation to (b), which lacks it:

- (a) iyá-pi wa-**ka**-ǔspe-k^hiya-c
go-*pi* 1s-already.learn-CAUS-DECL
'I (already) taught him to walk'
- (b) iyá-pi ǔspé-wa-k^hiya-c
go-*pi* learn-1s-CAUS-DECL
'I'm teaching him to walk'

‘to tire one out’ (A1s *makástusta* ‘it tired me out’) and *kaʔúspe* ‘to train, as a horse or child’, as illustrated in (81).

- (81) wókma-pi wa-ká-ʔspe-c
 write-COMP A1s-CAUS-learn-DECL
 ‘I taught him to write’

An instrumental prefix is obligatory on a bound verb root.²³ Primarily on semantic grounds, it is rarely the case that every prefix can be used with a particular verb root, but a complete paradigm exists for the bound root /-ksA/ ‘sever’, which is given in (82), with each form followed by the first person singular form to demonstrate pronominal position. The examples in (78-82) collectively give an indication of the range of meanings that may be achieved through these prefixes. (Note that (79) *cʰéyA* is a free morpheme.)

- (78) -ksA ‘sever’
- kaksÁ ‘to cut a string, cord, thong with an instrument; to chop, striking a single blow’; *wakáksa* ‘I chop’
- maksÁ ‘to cut with a knife or sharp blade, refers to cutting hair, grass, paper, wood; cut or slice off with a sawing motion’ *mawáksa* ‘I slice’
- moksÁ ‘to break off by shooting or by using a weapon; to break by colliding with or accidentally hitting; wind to break’; *mowáksa* ‘I shot it off’
- naksÁ ‘to break or break off with the foot’ *nawáksa* ‘I broke it by kicking it’
- paksÁ ‘to break with the hands, or by sitting upon or putting one’s weight upon; to break off by prying, as with a crowbar’

²³ There are a few exceptions, e.g., *ksahÁ* ‘be broken’, in which the bound root -ksA is the first member of a compound (*hÁ* ‘be; stand (inanimate)’).

- wapáksa* ‘I broke it’
- yaksÁ ‘to bite off, break off with the teeth, chew off’ *mnaksá* ‘I bit it off’
- yuksÁ ‘to cut off, as with scissors or a saw; to break, cut off, as a single twig’ (cf. *yuksáksa* ‘to break several things, as breaking twigs to make kindling’) *mnuksá* ‘I cut it off’
- (79) chéya ‘cry’
- kac^héyA ‘cause to cry by striking with an instrument’
- nac^héyA ‘cause to cry by kicking or stepping on’
- yac^héyA ‘cause to cry by telling s.t. sad’
- (80) -homni ‘turning around, going around, spinning’
- kahómni ‘to knock or spin around’ (cf. *ičáhomni* ‘a crank’)
- mohómni ‘to turn around by hitting; wind to turn s.t. around’
- nahómni ‘to turn with the feet, as pedaling a bicycle; to run (turn by internal force), as an engine’
- Example: iyéc^hīkamàni žé tók^hen nahómni he
 car that how run Q
 ‘how does the car run?’
- pahómni ‘to turn around by pushing (refers only to inanimate objects)’
- yahómni ‘to change s.o.’s mind by talking to them; to convert’
- yuhómni ‘to turn with the hand; to make a turn, as when driving a car; to turn on or off, as a light’
- (81) -hokšu ~ hukšu ‘come apart, wreck,’
- kahókšu ‘wind to blow down, wind to take apart’
- kahúkšu ‘break apart with an instrument’
- mohókšu ‘wind or storm to take apart; to shoot apart’

nahókšu	‘to kick down, kick apart’ (also <i>nahúkšu</i>)
pahókšu	‘to push down, as with the hands or with a machine; to demolish; to break or cause to collapse by sitting or lying on’
yahókšu	‘to break up a plan by talking’
yuhókšu	‘to tear down, tear apart, dismantle by hand’
(82) <u>-p^hopA</u>	‘burst’
kap ^h ópA	‘to burst by striking a blow; to explode, as a cartridge’ e.g., <i>įštá wakáp^hopa</i> ‘I put his eye out by striking it’ (<i>įštá</i> ‘eye’)
map ^h ópA	‘to puncture or burst with a knife’
mop ^h ópA	‘to burst or puncture with an instrument; to burst or put out by shooting; to burst by overinflating, as a tire; to burst by accidentally colliding with’
nap ^h ópA	‘to cause to burst by stepping on; to explode from some inner force, as a baking potato or a can of soda, or a sack when contents are too heavy’
pap ^h ópA	‘to burst by squishing with the fingers or by sitting on abruptly; to burst by poking with an instrument; to poke out, as an eye’ (<i>įštá pap^hópa</i> ‘poke an eye out’); to puncture by poking with a sharp instrument, as pricking a balloon with a needle’
yap ^h ópA	‘to puncture, pop, or burst with the mouth’
yup ^h ópA	‘to burst by pinching, with the hand’

A word of caution: because the use of instrumental prefixes involves intuition to some degree, even impeccable speakers of Assiniboine do not always agree on the nuance imparted by a particular prefix. For example, a FB speaker gives *pahúšte* ‘to make lame by tripping’ (*pa-* ‘by pushing or poking’, *hušté* ‘be lame’), but a CTK speaker found this very amusing, saying that it suggests that the rider was too heavy for the horse (and note that, for this speaker, the word implies a lame *horse*).

This speaker supplied *nahúšteya* ‘to make lame by tripping’ (*na-* ‘by foot’, *hušté* ‘be lame’, *-ya* CAUS). Both speakers are unimpeachable first language speakers of Assiniboine, yet they employ morphemes differently to construct the complex notion of causing lameness in this specific manner.²⁴

9.2.1 Instrumental prefix *yu-* and adverbs

The instrumental prefix *yu-*, functioning as a causative, may be prefixed to an adverb that is compounded with a verb. While this is reported to be fairly common in Lakota (Rood and Taylor 1996), only two examples are found in the Assiniboine corpus.

(83a) *yu-máhen* ʔǔ
 CAUS-in AUX
 ‘to pull or tuck under (specifically, under the arm), as to put out of sight’

(83b) *yu-wákam* a-∅-∅-kná-pi
 CAUS-upwards ST-P3-A3-take-PL
 ‘they took it out, pulling upwards’ (app1: Big Snake.29)

9.2.2 Instrumental prefixes compared to those in Lakota

The set of instrumental prefixes closely parallels that found in Sioux, both in meaning and in form, with the difference that the Assiniboine instrumental prefixes *mo-*(~ *po-*) and *ma-* occur in Sioux as *wo-* and *wa-*, respectively. (Note that the Assiniboine indefinite prefix *wa-* is also *wa-* in Sioux.) Certain nuances in the use of

²⁴ A similar example is cited in Deloria (1936:13): “*Gašná* ‘from *šna*, to miss’. *Yušná*, to drop by accident; *yašná*, to say the wrong thing; *našná*, to miss one’s footing, *pašná*, to miss, as in trying to thread a needle. *I should think wošná (or mošná, in Assiniboine) would be the form for To miss aim in shooting, but my informant insisted that gašná was the word” (emphasis added).*

For an extensive discussion of the semantics of instrumental prefixes in Lakota, which largely describes the Assiniboine case as well, see Van Valin (1977:34-42).

the prefixes have been variously recorded in the literature for Sioux that have not been verified for Assiniboine but which offer potential insight for future study of Assiniboine. For comparative purposes, appendix 4 gives the glosses for each prefix as recorded by Boas and Deloria (1941), Deloria (1936), Rood and Taylor (1996), and Riggs (1992 [1890]).

9.3 Other prefixes

9.3.1 *wa-* ‘things, indefinite objects’

Prefixed to transitive verbs, *wa* fills the patient role and thus detransitivizes the verb. Examples are given in (84). (Recall that *wa-* may contract with a vowel-initial stem, as in (86b), below; see also chapter 2:11.2 for other examples.)

- (84) *ch^oʔúpA* ‘roast’ > *wach^hóʔúpA* ‘roast things’
kaǵéǵe ‘sew’ > *wakáǵéǵe* ‘sew things’
manŭ ‘steal’ > *wamánŭ* ‘steal things’
p^hátA ‘butcher’ > *wap^hátA* ‘butcher things’
špǵyÁ ‘cook’ > *wašpǵyA* ‘cook things’

While this is a straightforward derivational process, the semantic results can be idiosyncratic, as for the examples in (85).

- (85a) *t^heñína* ‘to value’ > *wat^heñína* ‘be stingy’
(85b) *kní* ‘come back here’ > *wakní* ‘return home bringing game, meat’
(85c) *ec^hŭ* ‘do’ > *waʔéc^hŭ* ‘wrong someone, cast evil on someone’;
‘work; do many things, make preparations’

In rare instances, *wa-* occurs twice on a single root, as in (86).

(86a) *yup^{hi}* ‘do skillfully’ > *wayúp^{hi}* ‘be skilled at’ > *wawáyup^{hi}* ‘be skillful’

(86b) *įwųǵa* ‘ask’ > *wíwųǵa* (*wa* + *įwųǵa*) ‘interrogate’ > *wawíwųǵa* ‘inquire’

9.3.2 Vertitive *ki*²⁵ ‘back, as to an original state or place’

Vertitive *ki* shares the phonological and morphological properties of *ki* (see chapter 7) but differs semantically and syntactically. Its phonological shape meets the description of *ki*, it fuses with the *y* of *y*-stem verbs as *kn*, it is subject to velar palatalization, and, as with some *ki* forms, A1s and A2 pronominals may be either *wé/yé* or *waki/yaki*. It is also affixed immediately before the verb stem, as are the *ki* morphemes. However, it is adverbial, not pronominal, and does not alter the valence of the base verb. Examples include:

- (87) *éyaku* ‘take’ > *eknaku* ‘take back’ (A1s *éweknaku*)
 ?? > *kichá* ‘ask for something back’ (A1s *wéch^{ha}*)
ní ‘live, be alive’ > *kiní* ‘revive, come back to life’ (A1s *wakní*)
yÁ ‘go’ > *knÁ* ‘go back’ (A1s *wakná*)

Like *SUUS ki*, vertitive *ki* also fuses with words beginning with *i ~ ĭ*-, *hi*- or *hĭ*- as *kni*-. Examples are:

- (88) vertitive *ki* followed by *i ~ ĭ*-, *hi*- or *hĭ*-
ki + *į* + *nuwǵa* > *kninúwǵa* ‘to swim back, as to where one started’
ki + *hiná

h

a* > *knináp^{ha}* ‘to appear again, return’
ki + *í* > *kní* ‘to arrive back here’ (*í* ‘arrive there’)

The example in (89) illustrates velar palatalization of vertitive *ki*.

²⁵ According to Taylor (1976:288), the term *vertitive* was coined by Terrence Kaufman but first used in print in the sense used here by Hollow (1965).

- (89) kní ‘arrive back here’ + kú ‘be coming back here’ > knícú ‘start out to come back here’ (A1s waknícú)

Because of the homophony between vertitive *ki* and dative *ki*, ambiguities may occur. For example, the form *mas’ákip^ha*, derived from *mas’áp^ha* ‘to telephone; to call on the telephone’, means either ‘to call s.o. on the phone’ (dative) or ‘to call s.o. back’ (vertitive). Forms other than A1s and A2 are thus ambiguous out of context.

- (90a) mas’á-wa-ki-p^ha
ST- A1s-DAT-telephone
‘I phoned /him/her’

- (90b) mas’á-we-p^ha
ST- A1s.VERT-telephone
‘I phoned him/her back’

9.3.3 *k^hi* ‘two, in two, in half, through the middle’

Referred to by Boas and Deloria as an “obsolete stem” (1941:79) or “obsolete verb” (1941:138), *k^hi* is not productive in the same way that the locative and instrumental prefixes are; it does not belong to either of those grammatical affix classes, nor (obviously, at least) to the set of KI morphemes described in chapter 7. It can co-occur with locative and instrumental prefixes. The core notion of *k^hi* is ‘two’, either in contact or in opposition to each other. The initial velar undergoes palatalization.

- (91) é^hip^ha ‘to meet together, as two ends of anything’
k^hí^haža ‘fold’
k^hiyúña ‘copulate [refers to animals]’
k^híza ‘fight’

k^hiʔíyəkəna ‘a race’ (íyəkA ‘run’)

k^hiʔóstaka ‘hold two vertically upright, as when holding one’s arms up, or
as a curlew (bird) holding its wings upright’

ok^hínažǐ ‘to defy, go against s.o.’

yuk^híp^haža ‘to fold or bend in such a way that the two ends meet’

9.3.4 íc^hi ‘together’

This rare prefix is clearly related, both semantically and phonetically, to the postposition *kic^hi* and the reciprocal affix *kichi*. It may be added to a stative verb, as in (92), or to an active verb, as in (93).

(92) Nak^hón-nowə-pi umá wašin-nowə-pi žé íc^hi-t^hok^hə
Nakoda-sing- NOM other English-sing-NOM that together-be.different
‘Nakoda songs are different from English songs’

(93) p^hağǔta žé íc^hi-wǐc^ha-wa-kaška
duck that together-P3p-A1s-tie
‘I tied the ducks together’

10. Suffixes

Several suffixes, when affixed to verbs, do not change the grammatical class of the base. These are described below. The much larger set of suffixes that change the grammatical class of a stem from verb to adverb are discussed in chapter 5.

10.1 c^huna ‘to keep doing’ (frequentive)

(94) t^hokšúcc^huna ‘he hauled it over and over’

pamnáskacc^huna ‘he kept flattening it out’

wáhihàcc^huna ‘it keeps snowing’

aʔút^hecc^huna ‘they keep shooting’

10.2 *-ñ* intensifying (INTNS)

Intensifying *-ñ* adds emphasis to the form it modifies.²⁶ It may attach to stative verbs, and is obligatory on the adverb *nína* ‘very’ in negative expressions. (It also attaches to indefinite pronouns as a specific marker; see chapter 3:3.3.1.2.) In (95a) a heteromorphemic cluster *h-ñ* occurs in which both segments are articulated but the continuative particle tends to be articulated as a separate word (signaled by stress) in order to make both segments audible. (95b) contains a redundant, right dislocated grammatical subject, a device commonly employed to create specificity (see chapter 11:8).

(95a) *ánina-ñ há ?*
 be.quiet-INTNS CONT-DECL
 ‘it’s really quiet’

(95b) *etâhâ né hokšína né ∅-cúsina-na-ñ, né hokšína né*
 QUANT this boy this P3-be.small-DIM-INTNS this boy this
 ‘this particular boy was the smallest of them’ (NR T3.3)

Augmentative *-ñ* is obligatorily suffixed to *nína* in negative clauses:

(96a) *nína-ñ osní-šĭ*
 very-INTNS cold-NEG
 ‘it’s not very cold, it’s not all that cold’

(96b) *iná nená nína-ñ wa-∅-yáwa-bi-šĭ*
 mother these very-INTNS ST-A3-go.to.school-PL-NEG
 ‘our mother’s didn’t go to school much, didn’t have much education’
 (LgCir1.302)

²⁶ Intensive *-ñ* appears to be cognate with Lakota *ñici* or *ñica*.

(96c) miyé-š nína-ñ ec^háken wa-mn-áwa-šj
 myself-INTNS very-INTNS always ST-A1s-go.to.school-NEG
 ‘me, I hardly ever went to school’ (LgCir1.14)

(96d) niná-ñ wa-∅-yáp^{hi}-pi-šj
 very-INTNS ST-P3-speak.well-PL-NEG
 ‘they don’t speak very well’ (LgCir1.194)

10.3 *-ñtiya* intensifying (INTNS)

(97a) wayáwa t^háka-ñtiya
 school big-INTNS
 ‘university’ (LgCir3.14)

(97b) t^hó-ñtiya
 blue/green-INTNS
 ‘royal blue’

10.4 *-ka*, *-keca* attenuating, ‘be kind of, rather, sort of’

Both of these suffixes, like adverbial *-ka*, often add a locative *a-* to their stative verb hosts. From the available data, *-ka* induces ablaut to *e* and the *k* of *-ka* palatalizes. The data are insufficient to determine whether either of these facts are true of *-keca* as well.

(98)	šj ^t h ^u	‘be fat’	a-šj ^t h ^u -keca	‘be kind of fat, chubby’
	šá	‘be red’	šá-keca	‘be kind of red’
(99)	háskA	‘be long tall’	a-háske-ca	‘be kind of long, tall’
	t ^h ákA	‘be big’	a-t ^h áke-ca	‘be kind of big’
	šj ^u ka + t ^h ó	‘dog’ + ‘blue’	šj ^u kt ^h ó-keca	‘wolf’ (“blue-ish canine”)

In most instances, there appears to be no difference in meaning between attenuating *-ka* and attenuating *-keca*. One minimal pair has been found in which a difference in meaning results from the addition of *-ka* or *-keca*.

- (103) *it^hó i-mn-ótaka-s*
 I.think. ST-A1s-sit.down-EXHORT
 ‘I think I’ll sit down’

Also as an indirect imperative:

- (104a) *nén ú-s okíciyaka* ‘tell him to come here’
 (104b) *okíciyaka nén ú-s ep^há* ‘tell him I said to come here’
 (104c) *okíciyaka žen ʔú-s ep^há* ‘tell him I said to stay there’

10.7 Adversative -š

Verbs with the suffix -š reflect a speaker’s uncertainty of the truth of the statement.

Often, these forms occur with *othíʔika ~othíyika* (but possibly not with *otháʔika*,

although this is said to be a variant of the former). This suffix may also attach to

adverbs, as in example (105e), but in that example, it is the uncertainty of another

that is referenced, rather than the speaker’s uncertainty.

- (105a) *šúka žé wɨc^há žé wɨc^há-yahtàka-š othíʔika*
 dog that man that P3P-bite-UNCERTAIN I.think
 ‘I think the dog bit the man (but I’m not sure)’
- (105b) *mağázu-kta-š othíʔika*
 rain-POT-UNCERTAIN I.think
 ‘I think it might rain’
- (105c) *wanúh̄ ʔ-šá-š othíʔika*
 maybe P3-be.red-UNCERTAIN I.think
 ‘I think it was red’
- (105d) *chícuna tokhíyo ʔ-iyámeyâa-pi-ka-š okná žéc^hen ʔ-aktáka-ha-a-ka*
 his.o.bro that.direction A3-hunt-PL-DUR-UNCERTAIN in then A3-run-CONT-DUR
 ‘so he was running and running towards where he thought his older brothers
 were hunting’ (NR T3.23)
- (105e) *htániha oʔinaži ektá yí-kta kéc^hi tuk^há na-káha-š yí-kte-ši*
 yesterday town to A3.go-POT A3-think but now-UNCERTAIN A3-go-POT-NEG
 ‘yesterday he thought he would go to town, but now he doesn’t think so’

10.8 Suffixes with no definite meaning

A number of verbs end in particles that appear to have no definite meaning but which, by their presence on a verb root, alter the meaning of the root (cf. Boas and Deloria 1941:28). These suffixes are not productive. For example:

(106) *kanú* ‘to fan’ < *kanúza* ‘be windy, breezy’

Boas and Deloria cite the cognate stems (*kalú* ‘to fan’ < *kalúza* ‘to flow as a stream or current of air’) as an example of what they describe as “verbs of the type CVCV that are misinterpreted as CVC verbs” (Boas and Deloria 1941:28). The examples in (107) provide evidence that stems with these “suffixes of indefinite meaning” are often lexicalized and reanalyzed as true CVC stems.²⁷ In the cognate form *kanú* with *-za* suffixed, the reanalyzed stem /*kanuz*/ retains the C of the suffix, which then undergoes the phonological changes expected of a CVC root, i.e., devoicing of the final fricative in a compound.

(107) /*kanu*/+ *-za* reanalyzed as /*kanuz*/

(107a) *kanús-nuz-A* ‘be breezy’ (reduplicated)

(107b) *kanús-iyáyA* ‘gust of wind to come up’ (*iyáyA* AUX ‘initiate movement’)

Suffixes in this category are given in table 6.12. In the column labeled ‘reanalyzed as CVC’, the first C of the suffix is bolded in its reanalyzed position as the final C of a CVC stem.

²⁷ In fact, one of Boas and Deloria’s examples, *t’o* ‘press’ [+ *-za*] < *t’ósyela* ‘with the sound of a sudden impact of two hard, unelastic bodies’ exhibits the same process of reanalysis in Lakota. It may be that by “misinterpreted” Boas and Deloria in fact mean “reanalyzed,” a term that was probably not used in this context in their day.

Table 6.12 Verb suffixes of no definite meaning

Suffix	Root	Root + Suffix	Reanalyzed as CVC
-ǵA ~ǵA	pó 'swell'	pó-ǵA 'blow' opó-ǵA 'inflate'	poñ-póǵa 'cool by blowing on' inǵatapoñ-ye 'baking powder'
-kA	(yu)kmi 'to pull up, as weeds'	yukmǐ-cA 'to pull on, as hair'	yukmǐn yúZA 'to grab by the hair'
-pA	-ska 'to adhere in a clump'	ayáska-pA 'stick to, adhere to a surface'	ayáskam-yA 'to stick on, paste on' ²⁸
-tA	pó 'swell'	ókapo-tA 'float'	ókapon ũ 'be floating around'
-zA	-kmu 'be twisted, bunched up'	íkmu-zA 'close the mouth, have a closed mouth'	íkmus yaǵÁ 'sit with the mouth closed'

An additional suffix, *-na* (which triggers *e*-ablaut), also has indefinite meaning, but does not appear to be reanalyzed, probably because the initial *n* is not a permissible coda in underlying forms. In the following examples, the *na* form is given with the verb stem in parentheses. The first person form is given for active verbs in the derived forms in those cases where the pronominal insertion point is not predictable.

(108a) *imnéza* -> *imnézena* 'transparent' (*mnéza* 'clear, esp. of mind')

mnézena 'be clear, as a liquid or the sky'

(108b) *kaǵcína* 'fray in the wind' (*kaǵcí* 'wind or rain to wear out')

(108c) *kanána* 'to scatter with the hand or a container, as seed' (*kaná* 'pour')

(108d) *p^héna* 'be sharp, as a knife' (*p^hé* 'be sharp')

²⁸ The reanalysis of *ska* + *-pa* as *skap-* neutralizes the distinction between *-ska* 'to adhere' and *skap-* 'to slap' in some forms. Compare *ayáskamya* 'to paste on' and *skamyá* 'with a slap'

kap^héna ‘to sharpen a knife’

p^hestóna ‘be pointed, come to a sharp point’, (-sto ‘long and slender’)

(108e) kténa ‘be victorious over’ (kté ‘kill’)

(108f) k^hoškáʔic’ina ‘to think of oneself as still a young man (said of a man)’,

(k^hošká ‘young man’, ic^hi REFL)

(108g) ožúna ‘be filled with, as a container; be covered in, coated in’ (ožú ‘be full’)

(108h) sákéna ‘dried up’ (sákA ‘be dry’)

(108i) wašténa ‘like to do’ (wašté ‘be good’)

11. Reduplication

11.1 Morphology of reduplication

Verb reduplication is a productive morphological process in which the final full syllable of a verb root is copied and suffixed to the root.²⁹ The majority of roots in Assiniboine are monosyllabic and so it is frequently the entire root that is copied. However, since some roots are disyllabic, the process in Assiniboine is classified overall as partial reduplication. It is important to note that it is specifically the *root*, and not any derived stem, that serves as the base and further, that the copied material is suffixed directly to the root. No other morphemes may intervene between the base and the reduplicant. This straightforward, invariant process is often obscured in surface forms by phonological processes (see chapter 2). Examples (109)-(113) illustrate several of these effects. Reduplicated forms derived from A-words do not ablaut.

²⁹ See Patterson 1990: 89-99 for an extended analysis of Lakota reduplication, which follows the same pattern.

(109) Triconsonantal simplification

/-ħnok/	‘have a hole’	oħnó-ħnoka	‘be full of holes’
/-mnec/	‘shatter’	kamné-mneca	‘smash with an instrument’
/škop/	‘bend’	ško-škópa	‘be crooked, warped’

(110) Coda nasalization

/wıt/	‘crawl’	wın-wıta	‘creep, as a child does’
/hot/	‘clean’	pahón-hota	‘clean a pipestem’

(111) Fricative devoicing

/poğ/	‘blow’	poħ-póğǵa	‘blow on to cool’
/wiž/	‘bend’	wıš-wıža	‘be flexible’

(112) Degemination

/p ^h op/	‘burst’	nap ^h ó-p ^h opa	‘burst from internal force’
/k ^h ok/	‘clacking’	kak ^h ó-k ^h oka	‘knock’
/tit/	‘with pressure’	patí-tita	‘push around’

(113) Coronal dissimilation

/sic/	‘be bad’	sik-síca	‘be bad’
/t ^h ec/	‘be new’	t ^h ek-t ^h éca	‘be new’
/žic/	‘sniffle’	žik-žíca	‘sniffing’

11.2 Semantic effects of reduplication

Verb reduplication serves to indicate inanimate plurality, augmentation and diminution, and iterativity. When the grammatical subject is animate, reduplication never indicates plurality; animate plurality is always marked on the verb by the enclitic *pi*. Therefore, when reduplication occurs with an animate subject, some

effect other than plurality is intended. Examples are:

(114) Pluralization (subject is inanimate):

č^há žé háska-ska
 wood DET be.tall-REDUP
 ‘the trees are tall’

(115) Augmentation (subject is animate):

wič^hášta žé háska-ska-pi
 man DET P3p-be.tall-REDUP-PL
 ‘the men are very tall’

(116) Diminution (subject is animate):

máni	‘walk’ ->	mánini	‘take small steps, as a baby does’
aktáka	‘run’ ->	aktáktak-yà	‘be jogging along’
apápsu	‘pour’ ->	apápsupsu	‘sprinkle’

(117) Iterativity (subject is animate):

/-ksA/ ‘sever’
 kaksÁ ‘sever with a blow using an instrument’
 -> kaksá-ksa ‘to chop, as chopping wood’

A reduplicated form may have more than one meaning, and may have any or all of the listed semantic functions, depending on context, as demonstrated by the uses of *háska* ‘be tall’ in examples (114) and (115) above.

In some instances, a reduplicated verb that primarily refers to a repetitive action implies that multiple inanimate objects are acted upon and is interpreted as such. For example, *yuksÁ*, ‘to cut off, as with scissors or a saw; to break, cut off, as a single twig’, when reduplicated, is understood to mean that several items have been broken: *yuksáksa* ‘to break several things, as breaking twigs to make

kindling'. Similarly, *kaksÁ* 'to sever by striking a single blow with an instrument', when reduplicated in the phrase *c^hǵ kaksáksa*, means 'to chop wood' (*c^hǵ* 'wood; tree'). Literally, the verb refers to a repetitive action, but the meaning may refer as well to action on several logs rather than multiple blows on a single log. The referent of the object is understood as plural only by implication.

12. Specialized semantic categories

Many verb roots contain semantic information about manner or texture. Major semantic categories include the verbs of position and verbs of motion, especially verbs of coming and going. Verbs of position are discussed in 12.2 below; verbs of motion are discussed in chapter 8. Other, less systematic verbs of this type are too extensive to list, but are exemplified here by the verbs of texture and, further, how the choice of verb for filling a container is influenced by the texture of the substance.

12.1 Verbs of texture

A great deal of nuance regarding the texture of an object is encoded in verb roots. Roots that indicate texture often combine with instrumental prefixes to create very specific verbs that indicate both the nature of the substance acted upon and the manner of the action upon it. Recall Boas and Deloria's argument that verb roots that take instrumental prefixes are underlyingly stative and become active by the addition of the instrumental prefix (see 9.2 above). By this reasoning, the glosses of many of the roots listed below are more precisely, 'an object of x texture to be in y condition'. Sound symbolism (see chapter 2:7) is also employed to create subtle

distinctions, for example, *sno* ‘soft like butter’ and *šno* ‘soft and watery’. A non-exhaustive list of texture roots is given in 12.1.1-5, with examples.

12.1.1 Brittle

- (118) /-ħuk/ ‘crack or crush a brittle object’
- kaħúka ‘to crack with a blow, as a nut or egg’
 moħúħuka ‘dent or crumple a brittle object’
 paħúka ‘crush a brittle object by putting one’s weight on it’
- (119) /-mnec/ ‘shatter a brittle object’
- kamnéca ‘break a brittle object by striking’
 namnéca ‘shatter of its own accord, as a hot cup put in cold water’
- (120) /-tku/(-ǵa) ‘crack, break a brittle object’
- katkúǵa ‘break, crack, or chip a brittle object such as glass’
 natkú ‘brittle object to burst spontaneously’

12.1.2 Soft

- (121) /ánina/ ‘soft sound’
 hó’anina ‘have a soft voice’
- (122) /o+INSTR+ħpA/ ‘cave in a soft, crumbly surface’
- ókaħpA ‘cave in a soft surface with a blow’
 ónaħpA ‘cave in or press down a soft surface with the foot, as walking on snow’
 ópaħpA ‘cave in a soft object or surface with (pressure of) the hands or an instrument’
- (123) /k^ha/ ‘tender’
- wak^hána ‘be soft, tender, as meat’
 wǵak^hayA ‘cook to a soft texture’
- (124) /(-)p^hǵa/ ‘soft and fluffy’
- kap^hǵa ‘pound to a soft, fluffy texture, as dried meat’
 kap^hǵǵšp^hǵǵža ‘to fluff up, as a pillow’
 wakáphǵapi ‘pemmican’

- yup^háp^ha ‘soften by pulling or rubbing’
- (125) /p^haž/ ‘be soft, as down or a pillow’
- p^hašp^hažena ‘be soft and little’
 p^hažena ‘be soft, as a down pillow’
 oʔákān-yake-haska-p^hažena ‘sofa’
 (o- LOC, akān ‘on’, yaká ‘sit’, haska ‘long’, p^haž- ‘soft’, -na NOM)
- (126) /snosno/ ‘soft, as grease or lard’
- iyúsnosno ‘mix with lard’
 snosnóna ‘be soft, as butter or ice cream; ref. s.t. from lard or grease’
- (127) /šnošno/ ‘soft and watery, slushy’
- čhešnóšno ‘have diarrhea’
 šnošnóna ‘watery, soupy mud’
- (128) /stak/ ‘soft and spongy or springy; mud-like’
- stastá³⁰ ‘be soft, spongy, as wet ground’
 stastákēna ‘be soft, springy; springs’
- (129) /šniž/ ‘soft and withered’
- kašnížA ‘air or heat to render soft and withered’
 šnížA ‘be withered, shriveled, dried up’
- (130) /wi/ ‘soft and mushy’
- p^hawíwina ‘the fontanelle’ (p^há ‘head’, wi-REDUP ‘mushy’, -na NOM)
 sewí ‘be sour, clabbered, as old milk’
 wiwí ‘swamp; quicksand’

12.1.3 Fine particles

- (131) /-mnu/ ‘crumbled fine; granular’
- kamnú ‘to pulverize’
 mnúna ‘be fine, as dirt, flour, sugar’

³⁰ *stak-* reduplicated, with loss of *k* through triconsonantal simplification. See Phonology.

- yumnú 'to plow'
- (132) /smun/ 'be fine, smooth'
- pasmúna 'rub smooth'
- smúna 'be fine, smooth, as a rash on the skin'
- wasú-smusmuna 'small hail stones' (wasú 'hail')
- 12.1.4 Hard; firm**
- (133) /suta/ 'hard, solid, as s.t. packed, tough, strong, tight'
- asápi sutá 'cheese' (asápi 'milk')
- chásúta 'a hardwood tree, such as elm or oak' (châ 'tree, wood')
- sutáya 'firmly, solidly' (sutáya châga 'be frozen solid')
- t^hac^hâ sutá 'be strong, muscled' (t^hac^hâ 'body')
- (134) /sak/ 'hard, dry and stiff'
- ağúyapisàka 'cracker' (ağúyapi 'bread')
- iyásakA 'be dried and hardened onto, as s.t. burned in a pot'
- sákA 'be hard, stiff, dry'
- t^hahásaka 'rawhide' (t^há 'ruminant', há 'skin, hide')
- 12.1.5 Smooth**
- (135) /-kcA/ 'smooth down; smooth by unraveling'
- kakcá 'uncoil, unwind'
- pakcá 'comb hair; smooth hair with the hand'
- (136) /-mna+yA/ 'smooth out' ('flat' + CAUS)
- kamnáyA 'smooth with an instrument, as sandpaper'
- pamnáyA 'iron (smooth by pressing); smooth out with the hand'
- yamnáyA 'smooth out with the teeth, as a wrinkled piece of rawhide'
- (137) /smi/ 'surface to be made smooth, bare, polished'
- pasmíyÁ 'wipe a surface clean'
- smismí 'be clean, smooth, as a surface; be bare, as a bone of meat'
- (138) /-sto/ 'smooth by straightening'
- kastó 'to stroke a pet'

nastó	‘straighten with the foot, smooth with the foot’
(139) /šnut/	‘smooth and slick’
kašnúta	‘be a smooth, slick surface’
pašnúta	‘rub smooth’
šúšnutA	‘be slick, slippery, as ice, polished floor, or fabric such as silk’

12.1.6 Verbs of filling

Verbs for filling encode the texture or consistency of the substance:

(140) kaštá	‘pour a liquid’ (also wíkni okáštá ‘to pump gas’) (CTK)
papsû	‘pour a liquid’ (FB)
(141) kána	‘pour a granular substance, such a sugar, flour, or beans’ <i>kaná yeyà</i> ‘dump a granular substance out of a container’
(142) oknâkA	‘place solids, such as wood or clothes, into a container’

12.2 Positional verbs

Positional verbs denote the location of people, animals, and objects, essentially answering the question, “Where is X?” A distinction is made between animate and inanimate referents and within these two categories finer distinctions may be made according to physical disposition of the referent. There are four basic positional verbs:

Table 6.13. Positional verbs

ʔû	‘stay’
yakÁ	‘sit, be sitting’
náži	‘stand, be standing (animate)’
hÁ	‘stand, be standing (inanimate)’

The function of these verbs as positionals is an extension of their literal

meanings. This semantic distinction is based on the observation that the verb *wykÁ* ‘lie’ does not function as a positional verb, and that notions of sitting or standing with reference to position are used according to typical physical attitude rather than specific knowledge of whether the referent is actually sitting or standing or, even though not provided for in the positional system, lying down. In actual examples, buffaloes were said to be “standing” in a field, when in fact some were lying down, and a cat was said to be “sitting” when in fact in one instance it was lying down and in another it was standing. The distinction between positional and literal usage is not always clear, but when the distinction is clear, it is significant in that free translations of positionals into English are forms of the verb ‘be’, rather than ‘stay’, ‘sit’, or ‘stand’. Compare the following examples:

(143a) wɨcháʃta žé žén Ø-náži
 man DET there A3-stand
 ‘the man is over there (standing)’

(143b) wɨcháʃta žé žén Ø-yaká
 man DET there A3-sit
 ‘the man is over there (sitting, or neutral)’

(143c) wɨcháʃta žé t^hi-máhen Ø-ʔú
 man DET house-inside A3-stay
 ‘the man is in the house (neutral)’

12.2.1 Animate Reference

All of the positional verbs except *hÁ* ‘stand (inanimate)’ may refer to animate beings.

ú is the unmarked positional, used when physical attitude is unimportant (see examples in (144a-d)). The verbs *náži* ‘stand’ (examples (145a-c)) and *yakÁ* ‘sit’ (examples 146a-c) are used when physical disposition is of interest or, when

speaking of an animal, reflects its logical position.

(144) ʔú ‘stay’

(144a) wíyǵa žé t^{hi}-máhen ∅-ʔú
 woman DET house-in A3-stay
 ‘the woman is in the house’

(144b) tákuškina žená owáyawa žéc^{hi} ∅-ʔú-pi
 child those school there A3-stay-PL
 ‘the children are at school’

(144c) néc^{hi} c^hǵwóhǵa wa-ʔú
 here woods A1s-stay
 ‘I’m over here by the trees’

(144d) šúkat^hǵaka yámni šúkt^{hi} žén ∅-ʔú-pi
 horse three barn there A3-stay-PL
 ‘three horses are in the barn’

(145) nážǵi ‘stand’

(145a) šúkat^hǵaka žé kán ∅-nážǵi
 horse DET yonder A3-stand
 ‘the horse is (standing) yonder’

(145b) mi-t^hókam ∅-nážǵi
 P1s-in.front.of A3-stand
 ‘he’s (standing) in front of me’

(146) yǵakÁ ‘sit’

(146a) kák^{hi} ∅-yǵaká
 yonder A3-sit
 ‘he/she’s (sitting) over there’

(146b) púza awótapi oľnát^{hi} ∅-yǵaká
 cat table under A3-sit
 ‘the cat is (sitting) under the table’

(146c) wíyǵa awótapi kakná ∅-yǵaká
 woman table beside A3-sit
 ‘the woman is sitting at the table’

12.2.2 Inanimate Reference³¹

All of the positional verbs except *náži* ‘stand (animate)’ may reference inanimate objects. Positional reference for inanimate objects is more complex than for animate beings because the dimensions and distribution of the objects are also frequently indicated, either by the positional verb or by modifying the positional verb with an adverb. A distinction between mass nouns and count nouns is also made. The unmarked positional verb for inanimate objects is *yqkÁ* ‘sit’ for count nouns and *ʔú* for mass nouns.

Objects that are taller than they are wide are referenced by *hÁ*, whereas objects that are wider than they are tall are referenced by *yqkÁ*. This is illustrated in (143), where the choice of positional verb also clarifies the meaning of an otherwise ambiguous noun.

(143a) *chġ žé kák^{hi} ∅-hġ*
 wood DET yonder A3-stand
 ‘the tree is over there’

(143b) *chġ žé kák^{hi} ∅-yqká*
 wood DET yonder A3-sit
 ‘the log is over there’

Other examples of positional verbs are given in (143) and (144). A potable liquid, such as juice, milk, or water, is assumed to be in a tall container and is therefore said to be ‘standing’ (145a). Liquids one would eat, such as soup or sauces, are assumed to be in a bowl and are therefore said to be ‘sitting’ (146b). There is no verb that suggests that a very thin, flat item is ‘lying’ somewhere; in this

³¹ Throughout this section, recall that inanimate plurals do not take the animate plural marker *-pi*.

instance, *yakÁ* ‘sit’ is also used (cf. 152f).

(144) *hĀ* ‘stand (inanimate)’

(144a) *miní žě awótapi akĀn ∅-hĀ*
 water DET table on A3-stand
 ‘the water (in a glass) is on the table’

(144b) *nén o-wóte thĭpi wāží-ĥ ∅-hĀ he*
 here LOC-eat house one-DEF A3-stand Q
 ‘is there a café here?’

(144c) *thĭpi pahá akĀn ∅-hĀ*
 house hill on A3-stand
 ‘the house is on a hill’

(145) *yakÁ* ‘sit’ (alone and with modifiers)

(145a) *iyókapta žená awótapi akĀn ∅-yaká*
 plate DET-PL table on A3-sit
 ‘the dishes are on the table’

(145b) *wahĕpi awótapi akĀn ∅-yaká*
 soup table on A3-sit
 ‘the soup is on the table’

(145c) *omáĥkaže žen íya nówa tuktékte ∅-yaká*
 field DET rock all here.and.there A3 -sit
 ‘the rocks are (scattered around) here and there in the field’

(145d) *ŭkšukšuna awótapi žen iyúha akánaya ∅-yaká*
 beans table DET all loose/spilled.out A3-sit
 ‘the beans are loose/spilled out on the table’

(145e) *thaspá žená awótapi akĀn ∅-yaká*
 apples DET table on A3-sit
 ‘the apples are (loose) on the table’

(145f) *wa’óyapi žě awótapi akĀn ∅-yaká*
 paper DET table on A3-sit
 ‘the paper is on the table’

In the previous examples, note that the size of the object is also a factor in determining which verb is used. Beans (146d) are small and perceived as a mass

noun (although it is possible to refer to a single bean, *úkšuna*) and would not logically be sitting loose without a container so the marked condition is expressed by a modifier (*akánaya* ‘loose, spilled out’, implies an agent), but apples (146e), which are larger and individuated, may logically sit on a table without being in a container and the unmarked verb *yqkÁ* is used.³²

When the dimensions of an object are uncertain, either verb may be used, but will reflect the speaker’s intuition. For example, one speaker easily supplied the sentences in (144a) regarding a glass of water (*hâ*) and (145a) regarding plates (*yaká*) but hesitated where cups were concerned (146), first giving *hâ*, then changing her mind and giving *yqkÁ*. Either form is acceptable, but the choice of verb supplies information about the perceived dimensions of a specific item that generically may take various dimensions.

(146) *ĩ'ícuna iyókapte-owóp^{hiye} žén ∅-hâ /∅-yaká*
 cup plate-cabinet there A3-stand/A3-sit
 ‘the cups are in the cupboard’

For objects that are in a non-typical location, a more explanatory verb of placing is preferred to neutral verbs of location. In (147a) raw fish on a table is non-typical so they are described as having been placed there (*éknqkapi*), but in (147b) cooked fish on a table is expected, so may (neutrally) be on the table (*yqkÁ*), although *éknqkapi* ‘put, placed’ may also be used. Cherries in a bowl (147c) and water that is not in a container (147d) are also more likely to be located by verbs of

³² Note that ‘scattered about’ in the case of rocks is expressed by *tuktékte* ‘here and there’, which does not imply an agent since they would not logically be in a container, hence, not ‘spilled out’.

placing rather than verbs of position.

(147a) hoǵǵá žená awótapi akǵan Ø-éknǵaka-pi (*yǵaká)
 fish DET.pl table on P3-put-PSV
 ‘the (raw) fish are on the table’

(147b) hoǵǵá špa-wá-ya awótapi akǵan Ø-yǵaká/Ø-éknǵaka-pi
 fish ST-A1s.cook table on A3-sit / P3-put-PSV
 ‘the fish [that] I cooked is on the table’ (implies that it is on a plate)

(147c) chǵaphá žená oškókpa én Ø-oknǵaka-pi (*yǵaká)
 cherries DET.pl bowl in P3-put.in-PSV
 ‘the cherries are in a bowl’

(147d) miní awótapi én Ø-apápsu-pi
 water table on P3-spill-PSV
 ‘there’s water on the table (not in a container)’ [lit. ‘water was spilled . . .’]

Large, flat objects present a special situation. If the object is topographic, frequently no positional verb is used, and an adverb functions as predicate.

(148a) ptéǵa žé Ø-kák^hiya
 slough DET A3-yonder
 ‘the slough is over there’

(148b) ochǵǵku žé Ø-kák^hiya
 road DET A3-yonder
 ‘the road is over there’

(148c) šiyó-nidè oyáte t^ha-mák^hoch^e Ø-tók^hiya he
 Pheasant Rump people POSS.reserve A3-what.direction Q
 ‘where is Pheasant Rump reserve?’

If the large, flat object is something that can be manipulated, such as a hide, tablecloth, or blanket, the unmarked positional verb ‘sit’ implies that the object is folded up (149a) and a more specific verb is required to indicate that it is spread out (149b).

(149a) šiná žé oǵštime akǵan Ø-yǵaká
 blanket DET bed on A3-sit
 ‘the blanket is on the bed (folded up)’

- (149b) šiná žé oʒštime akân ∅-ayúmnaya-pi
 blanket DET bed on P3-spread.out-PSV
 ‘the blanket is on the bed (spread out)’

However, there is a preference for stating *how* something got there, as in examples

(147a)-(147c) above, and in the following:

- (150) okánapi:
 aǵúyapi mnúna žé wahíyokṇaka žén o-kána-pi
 flour that jar there LOC-pour-PSV
 ‘the flour is in the jar (lit: poured into)’

The verbs *yakÁ* or *hÁ* were rejected for the example in (150), although *ú* was judged acceptable.

12.3 Existential verb *yuk^{hâ}*

Neutral reference to existence without commitment to location or position is expressed by *yuk^{hâ}* ‘for there to exist; to have such that exists; for there to be such’. *yuk^{hâ}* has third person reference only and is not inflected for number. It may have animate or inanimate reference.

- (151a) tákuškina at-kúku yuk^{hâ}
 child father-3POSS there.exists
 ‘the child has a father’
- (151b) mi-^húkš*i* yuk^{hâ}
 1s.POSS-daughter there.exists
 ‘I have a daughter’ (only one)
- (151c) nak^hón-nowa-pi apá wó^hažeyata yuk^{hâ}
 Nakoda-song-NOM some.of words there.exist
 ‘some Nakota songs have words’
- (151d) ^hap^há yuk^{hâ}-kta he
 cherries there.are-POT Q
 ‘are there going to be any cherries (e.g., this year)?’

- (151e) i'ɨcuna yuk^há he
 cup be Q
 'are there any cups?'

When a quantifier or partitive is used to express existence, *yuk^há* is not used.

- (152a) m-ich^húkši Ø-núpa-pi (*mic^húkši núpa yuk^há)
 1POSS-daughter P3-be.two-PL
 'I have two daughters'

- (152b) ch^hašmúyapi tóna há he (*ch^hašmúyapi tóna yuk^há he)
 sugar how.much stand Q
 'how much sugar is left?'

Chapter 7

The KI Morphemes

1. Introduction

A family of morphemes are treated here as members of a set because they have related meanings, share phonological characteristics, and have similar phonetic shapes that are likely due to a common historical source. Their shared phonetic shape consists of at least one velar stop (or one of its historic variants) followed by /i/, and moreover, that the velar stop is subject to velar palatalization. For convenience they are referred to collectively in the following discussion as the KI morphemes, or simply KI.

The following sections describe the more consistent aspects of the phonology and usage of the KI morphemes and discuss some of the less predictable phenomena.

The KI morphemes are listed in (1) with approximate glosses; the section under which each will be described is given in parentheses.

- | | | | | |
|-----|--------------------|-------------|---------------|-------|
| (1) | ki | suus | ‘one’s own’ | (3.1) |
| | ki | dative | ‘to another’ | (3.2) |
| | kíci | benefactive | ‘for another’ | (3.3) |
| | ɟc’i | reflexive | ‘oneself’ | (3.4) |
| | kic ^h i | reciprocal | ‘each other’ | (3.5) |

The disyllabic members of KI are monomorphemic; no other material may be inserted between their syllables.

Suus is alternately referred to in the literature as *reflexive possessive*. The term *suus* is borrowed from Latin, where it is a third person possessive pronoun that refers reflexively to the grammatical subject, distinct from the third person genitive form *eius* (for example, ‘he killed his (own) father [*suus*]’, versus ‘he killed his (someone else’s) father’ [*eius*]). In Siouan languages, the morpheme labeled *suus* differs from the Latin in that it is not a lexical pronoun, nor is it restricted to third person, as, for instance, in the first person form *o-wá-ki-ne* ‘I looked for my own’ (from *oné* ‘to look for’). Nonetheless, Siouan *suus* forms serve a function that is semantically similar to the Latin pronoun, and the compact term *suus* is viewed here not only as appropriate, but as preferable on purely practical grounds to the rather unwieldy term *reflexive possessive*.

2. Structural properties of the KI morphemes

Before describing the KI morphemes individually, some generalizations may be made. Syntactically, as analyzed here, all but the *suus* form alter the valence of their host verb.¹ Morphologically, the KI morphemes occur immediately after the pronominal affixes and before the verb root [. . . pro + KI + Root . . .]. (See chapter 5, example (1) for the full verb schema.) In all but the reflexive forms, the subject pronominal affixes are the active (agent) set. Phonologically, the subject pronominals interact with KI in various ways, producing a variety of surface realizations, which are listed in table 7.1. In fact, these variations are not strictly phonological because the form type (*suus*, dative, etc.) also affects which patterns

¹ See Legendre and Rood (1992) for an analysis in which reciprocal verbs are transitive.

a verb derived by KI will follow.

3. Description of the KI morphemes

3.1 Suus

The suus morpheme *ki* indicates that the object of the verb is possessed by the subject, commonly translated ‘to X one’s own’.

When suus *ki* is followed by an instrumental prefix (see chapter 6:9.2), it is reduced to *k* (i.e., it loses *i*).² The A1s and A2 pronominals are then prefixed in a straightforward manner (e.g., *wa-knúžáža* ‘I wash my own’, *ya-knúžáža* ‘you wash your own’). The *k* interacts with the various instrumental prefixes as follows:

- When the following instrumental prefix is *ya-* or *yu-* (both of which form *y-* stems), *k + y* is replaced by *kn*:

(2)	<i>yañépa</i>	‘drink up’	<i>knañépa</i>	‘drink up one’s own’
	<i>yužáža</i>	‘wash’	<i>knužáža</i>	‘wash one’s own’

- When the following instrumental prefix is *ka-*, the resulting velar geminate *k+k* dissimilates as *kn*. The more general rule of degemination is not applied in this case because the suus morpheme would then be lost entirely.

(3)	<i>kažúžu</i>	‘pay off debt’	<i>knažúžu</i>	‘pay off one’s own debt’
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- When the following instrumental prefix is *pa*, *ki* is simply reduced to *k*:

(4)	<i>papéḡa</i>	‘roll up’	<i>kpapéḡa</i>	‘roll up one’s own’
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Elsewhere, suus *ki* is reduced to *i* (i.e., loses *k*) after the A1s and A2 pronominals, after which the sequences *wa + i* and *ya + i* coalesce as *wé* and *yé*,

² Notice that the instrumental prefixes *na-*, *ma-* and *mo-* ~ *po* are excluded from these interactions because they systematically *precede* the pronominal affixes.

respectively. Recall that primary stress is assigned to a vowel resulting from coalescence if it occurs in either the first or second syllable of a word (see chapter 2:11.1.2).

- (5) sŭ ‘braid’
 + ki kisŭ ‘braid one’s own’
 + A1s wésŭ ‘I braid my own’

Lexically assigned stress takes precedence over assignment of stress to a vowel resulting from coalescence. Thus, *suus* verbs with initial *é* take stress on *é*, not *wé*.

- (6) éyaku ‘take’³
 + vertitive *ki* éknaku ‘take back’
 + *suus ki* é-ki-knaku ‘take one’s own back’
 + A1s é-**we**-knaku ‘I take my own back’

The nasal verb *ec^hŭ* ‘do’ does not have a pronominal insertion point, so *suus ki* is prefixed and *e* is deleted: *ec^hŭ* > *kic^hŭ* ‘put on or wear clothes’ (A1s *wéc^hŭ*).

Finally, the *suus* forms of the verb *wayákA* ‘to see’ are irregular in the A1s and A2 forms: *wawéknaka* ‘I saw mine’ (**wawáknaka*) and *wayéknaka* ‘you saw

³ Lakota scholars may look for an Assiniboine parallel to the phenomenon in which Lakota *icú* ‘take’ receives an extra *k* after *suus ki*, i.e., *i-kí-k-cu* ‘he took his own’. However, Assiniboine has *éyaku* ‘take’ rather than *icú*, so the comparison is vacuous.

Table 7.1. Subject pronominal affixes with KI

Affix form → KI morpheme ↓	A1s	A2	dual	P1s	P2	A3 (citation form)	P3 (citation form)
suus	wé wa-k wa-kn	yé ya-k ya-kn	ɥ-kɪ	-	-	ki k kn	-
dative	wé wa-ki	yé ya-ki	ɥ-kɪ	-	-	ki	-
benefactive	wéci	yéci	ɥ-kíci	-	-	kici	-
reciprocal	-	yé ^{hi} . . . pi	ɥ-kí ^{hi} (. . . pi)	-	-	ki ^{hi} . . . pi	-
reflexive	-	-	ɥk-ɷc'i ɥk-ɷk ɥk-ɷkn	m-ɷc'i m-ɷk-p m-ɷkn	n-ɷc'i n-ɷk n-ɷkn	-	ɷc'i ɷk ɷkn

Plurals are regular, formed by the addition of the animate plural enclitic *pi*. *pi* is shown as optional in reciprocal dual because only some speakers distinguish between dual and >2.

wé/yé are contractions of *wa/ya* and KI; sequences ending in *k* precede the instrumental prefix *pa*; *kn* sequences replace the *y* of a *y*-stem verb.

yours' (**wąyáknaka*). The third person is as expected, i.e., *wąknáka* 'he saw his own'. (The same phenomenon is found in Lakota. See Boas and Deloria 1941:92.)

3.2 Dative

Derivation of verbs by dative *ki* is straightforward: *ki* affixes transparently to verb stems, including *y*-stem verbs and those with other instrumental prefixes.

(7)	į^cú	'smoke'	į^kí-cu	'smoke for s.o.'
	ná	'ask for'	ki-ná	'ask s.o. for s.t.'
	kté	'kill'	ki-kté	'kill for someone'
	ma^nú	'steal'	ma^kí-nų	'steal from s.o.'
	pazó	'show s.t.'	ki-pá-zo	'show s.t. to s.o.'
	wíyut ^{ha}	'talk in sign language'	wí-ki-yut ^{ha}	'talk to s.o. in sign lang.'
	yuk ^{hâ} (<i>y</i> -stem)	'give room'	ki-yúk ^{hâ}	'make room for s.o.'

The A1s and A2 forms with dative *ki* are sometimes straightforward: *ki* loses neither *k* nor *i*, and the pronominal affixes immediately precede *ki* with no phonological changes.

(8)	wa -kína	'I ask him/her for it'
	wa -kík ^{te}	'I kill mine (for him)'
	wa -kípazo	'I show it to him'
	wa -kíyuk ^{hâ}	'I make room for him (e.g., by moving over on a bench)'
	wí- wa -kiyut ^{ha}	'I speak to him in sign language'

With some verbs in this class, however, dative *ki* is reduced to *i*, as described above for *suus* forms, and with the same result: the A1s and A2 forms

become *wé/yé*.⁴

- | | | | | |
|-----|--------------|------------------|--------------|-----------------------|
| (9) | <i>ɨkícu</i> | ‘smoke for s.o.’ | <i>ɨwécu</i> | ‘I smoke for him’ |
| | <i>kikté</i> | ‘kill for s.o.’ | <i>wékte</i> | ‘I killed it for him’ |

It may be observed in certain of the previous examples that the *k* of dative *ki* is not palatalized following *i* (*wíkiyut^ha* in (7), *ɨkícu* in (9)). This is because palatalization of the *k* of dative *ki* is morphologically conditioned (see chapter 2:13.6). In the examples in (10), *k* is not palatalized following the *i* of a verb stem but is palatalized following the *i* of the inflectional pronominal affix *c^hi* ‘I/you’.

- | | | |
|------|--|-----------------------------------|
| (10) | <i>wí-ki-yut^ha</i> | ‘speak to s.o. in sign language’ |
| | <i>wí-c^hi-ci-yut^ha</i> | ‘I speak to you in sign language’ |

The pronominal pairs (*waki/yaki*, *wé/yé*) always occur as sets; there are no verbs that take A1s *wé* and A2 *yaki* or vice versa. Which set a dative verb takes has generally been considered unpredictable, but it seems that the choice tends to divide along semantic lines.⁵ Dative verbs in which the object is indirect, with a meaning ‘to someone’ or ‘for someone’, tend to be inflected with the *waki/yaki* pair, whereas those verbs with direct objects or those with *ki* lexicalized in the stem and resembling a middle voice (see section 6 below) tend to be inflected with the *wé/yé* pair. With this distinction in mind, it becomes intuitively clear why *kipá*

⁴ *wékte* (in (9)) co-exists with *wakíkte* (in (8)). Speakers disagree on whether there is a difference in meaning between the two forms; all speakers agree that it is one’s own that is killed in each case, but that the more important concept is that the referent of the object is killed *for* someone. In other words, it carries a *suus* connotation, has dative form, and has benefactive meaning.

⁵ See Van Valin (1977) for an extended discussion of the semantics of the KI morphemes and their influence on syntax.

‘shout to s.o.’ has the A1s form *wakípa* ‘I shouted to him’ and not **wépa*, which would seem to imply a direct object relationship, **‘I shouted him’*.⁶

3.3 Benefactive

The benefactive morpheme *kíci* is lexically marked for first syllable stress.

Derivation of verbs by benefactive *kíci* is phonologically straightforward: *kíci* affixes transparently to verb stems, including y-stem verbs and those with other instrumental prefixes. Syntactically, the benefactive increases the valence of the host verb by one participant: intransitive verbs (both active and stative) become transitive; transitive verbs become ditransitive.

(11)	<i>iyúškĭ</i> (y-stem)	‘admire’	<i>ikíciyuškĭ</i>	‘admire for someone’
	<i>iyé^ska</i>	‘intepret’	<i>iyékiciska</i>	‘translate for someone’
	<i>nowÁ</i>	‘sing’	<i>kícinowÁ</i>	‘sing for someone’
	<i>ši^kná</i>	‘be angry’	<i>šikícična</i>	‘take up for s.o. in anger’
	<i>wac^héh^yA</i>	‘pray’	<i>wac^hékiciyA</i>	‘pray for someone’

Benefactive verbs derived from y-stem verbs carry double inflection: *kíci* becomes *wéci/yéci* and the y-stem also inflects with *mn/n* (12). Otherwise, A1s and A2 forms are uniformly *wéci/yéci* (13).

(12) y-stem verb with *kíci*

ĭ-wéci-mn-uškĭ ‘I admire it for him.

⁶ Iconically, the phonologically longer form *waki* tends to refer to the more distanced, i.e., indirect, object, while the shorter form *wé* refers to the more tightly bound, i.e., direct, object. This is in line with Joan Bybee’s (1985:16) suggestion regarding “relevance,” which she defines as “a semantic criterion that makes predictions concerning the *degree of fusion* of formal elements” (emphasis in the original).

į-yéci-n-uškį ‘you admire it for him’

į-kíci-yuški ‘he admires it for him’

(13) Non-y-stem verbs with *kíci* (A1s forms only)

iyé-weci-ska ‘I interpret for him’

wéci-nową ‘I sing for him’

ši-wéci-kna ‘I take up for him in anger’

wac^hé-weci-ya ‘I pray for him’

The portmanteau pronominal *c^hi* causes the benefactive morpheme to lose its first syllable: the *k* deletes after a vowel and the resulting *i-i* sequence contracts:

(14) wañpé c^hi-cí-cağa (*c^hi-cí-ci-cağa)
 tea I/you.BEN-make
 ‘I made tea for you’

3.3.1 Benefactive and *káġA* ‘make’

The verb *káġa* ‘make’ uniquely allows two forms for benefactive: full (15a) and idiosyncratically contracted (15b). No semantic difference could be determined, although there may, in fact, be a distinction that is finer than English allows, such as ‘I made it to give to you’ vs. ‘I made it on your behalf’. The primary stress of *kícaġa* results from the fact that it is the second syllable of *kíci* that is deleted.

(15a) kícicaġa ‘make for s.o.’

wécicaġa ‘I made it for him’

(15b) kícaġa ‘make for s.o.’

wécaġa ‘I made it for him’

On separate occasions, the same speaker (from CTK) spontaneously uttered different forms for the expression, ‘she made tea for me’, although when asked

about them, became uncertain of which form would be “correct.” It would seem that either form is acceptable and that the two forms are in free variation.

(16a) waĥpé míci-caġa
 tea 1s.BEN-make
 ‘she made tea for me; she made me tea’

(16b) waĥpé mí-∅-caġa
 tea P1s-A2-*ki*-make
 ‘she made tea for me’

3.3.2 Benefactive and verbs of motion

Whereas *KI* morphemes normally occur immediately before a verb root, within the semantically coherent class of motion verbs (see chapter 8), benefactive *kíci* systematically precedes the derivational morpheme *a-* and the final vowel of *kíci* deletes by rule: *kní* ‘come back here’ > *akní* ‘bring back here’ > *kíca**kni* ‘bring back here for someone’.

(17a) míci + akní:

míc-akni
 for.me-A3-bring.back.here (arrive bringing)
 ‘he/she brought it back here to me’

(17b) wɪc^há-ɥkic-akni-pi
 P3p-1du.BEN-bring-PL
 ‘we brought it here for them’

(17c) míci + akú:

míc-∅-aku
 1s.BEN-A3-bring (in progress)
 ‘he/she is bringing it for me’

When *ɨc'i* is followed by a y-stem verb, it loses its final *i* and becomes *ɨk*, where the *k* reflects its historical (non-palatalized) source.

(21) -žáža 'wash'

+ *yu* → *yužáža* 'wash'⁷

+ *ɨc'i* → *ɨknú-žáža* 'wash oneself'

mɨknúžáža 'I wash myself'

nɨknúžáža 'you wash yourself'

ɨknúžáža 'he washes himself/she washes herself'

Contraction to *ɨk* also occurs before instrumental prefix *pa*:⁸

(22a) *k'éğa* 'scratch'

+ *pa-* *pak'éğa* 'scratch by rubbing against s.t.'

+ *ɨc'i* *ɨkpák'éğa* 'scratch oneself by rubbing against s.t.'

(22b) *ɨkpák'éğa* 'scratch oneself by rubbing against s.t.'

mɨkpák'éğa 'I scratched myself . . .'

nɨkpák'éğa 'you scratched yourself . . .'

ɨkpák'éğa 'he scratched himself . . ./she scratched herself . . .'

Suus *ki* can co-occur with other KI morphemes. When this occurs, suus is always the second of the two KI morphemes.

⁷ The instrumental prefix *yu* can either mean 'by hand' or 'with a pushing motion', or it can be a general causative. *yužáža* might or might not reflect the fact that washing was historically done by hand, but its contemporary use is general. For example, *ɨwáyužáža* (LOC-INDEF-INSTR-wash) means both 'washboard' and 'washing machine'.

⁸ There is a puzzling noun *a-ɨc'i-pa-psu-psu* 'spray cologne'. The *ɨc'i* morpheme does not contract to *ɨk* before the *pa* instrumental prefix, so it is not a deverbal noun in the normal sense, yet it is clearly based on the verb *apápsu* 'pour'.

- (25) pažípa ‘to poke’ (instrumental prefix *pa*)
 u-kíc^hi-pa-žípa-pi ‘we poke each other’
 yéc^hi-pa-žípa-pi ‘you poke each other’
 kic^hi-pa-žípa-pi ‘they poke each other’

- (26) yaʔiškata ‘tease’ (y-stem)
 u-kíc^hi-yaʔiškata-(pi) ‘we tease each other’
 yéc^hi-yaʔiškata-pi ‘you tease each other’
 kic^hi-yaʔiškata-pi ‘they tease each other’

3.5.1 Noun phrases as evidence of intransitivity in reciprocal verbs

The intransitivity of reciprocal verbs is best illustrated with lexical subjects. In (27) a simple NP subject is cross-referenced by the null pronominal. There may only be one subject, and that subject must be plural.

- (27) [wíyǝ-pi] ∅-kic^hi-yaʔiškata-pi
 woman-PL A3-tease-PL
 ‘(the) women are teasing each other’
 *wíyǝ wǝží ∅-kic^hi-yaʔiškata-pi

In (28), which superficially looks like it might have a separate subject and object, the null pronominal cross-references a conjoined, complex subject *hokšína wíc^hícana*, which comprises a single constituent. The complex subject can be right-displaced but individual elements of the subject cannot. (Conjoined NPs do not require a conjunction; see chapter 11:6.1.) Right displaced arguments require a determiner, which is added in (28c)-(28d) as required by the grammar (see chapter 11:8).

- (28a) [hokšína wíc^hícana] ∅-kic^hi-yaʔiškata-pi

boy girl A3-each.other-tease-PL
 ‘the boy and girl are teasing each other’

(28b) \emptyset -kic^hi-yaʔiškata-pi hokšína wic^hícana žé
 A3-each.other-tease-PL boy girl DET
 ‘the boy and girl are teasing each other’

(28c) *hokšína \emptyset -kic^hi-yaʔiškata-pi wic^hícana žé

(28d) *wic^hícana \emptyset -kic^hi-yaʔiškata-pi hokšína žé

Compare the examples in (29) to the transitive form of the verb ‘tease’, in which the ‘boy girl’ sequence represents separate syntactic arguments. (Although determiners are not obligatory, the speaker in this instance strongly preferred to use them.)

(29a) hokšína žé wic^hícana žé \emptyset - \emptyset -yaʔiškata
 boy the girl the P3-A3-tease
 ‘the boy is teasing the girl’

(29b) wic^hícana žé yaʔiškata hokšína žé (right-displaced subject)
 girl the tease boy the
 ‘the boy is teasing the girl’

3.5.2 Non-third person reciprocal constructions

Noun phrases in first and second person reciprocal constructions present an interesting problem because there are no independent pronouns that can fill the second slot in a complex subject. (Recall that the independent pronouns function either as adjuncts or predicates.) In a statement like ‘Mary and I are teasing each other,’ the independent pronoun is ungrammatical: **Mary miyé* (or *miš*) *u-kic^hi-yaʔiškata-pi*. The solution in this case is to use the postposition *kic^hi* ‘with one (and only one) other person’ in the second slot. When used with a reciprocal verb, the postpositional phrase forms part of the group that is referred to by the non-

singular pronominal affix μ .¹⁰ (The plural enclitic is marked as optional because speakers who do not use the dual will use the plural enclitic even where only two people are referenced.)

- (30) [Mary kic^{h_1}] μ - kic^{h_1} - $ya?$ $i\check{s}kata$ (- π)
 Mary with.one.other A1du-RECIP-tease(-PL)
 ‘Mary and I are teasing each other’

The second person employs the same solution; here the plural enclitic is obligatory:

- (31) [Mary kic^{h_1}] $y\acute{e}c^{h_1}$ - $ya?$ $i\check{s}kata$ - π
 Mary with.one.other A2.RECIP-tease-PL
 ‘you (sg) and Mary are teasing each other’

Where more than two are included in a non-specific first person subject of a reciprocal construction (i.e., without a lexical noun phrase), a quantifier may be used:

- (32) $iy\acute{u}hana$ μ - kic^{h_1} - $ya?$ $i\check{s}kata$ - π μk^{h_1}
 all (collective) A1du-each.other-tease-PL though
 ‘we were all just teasing each other’ (LgC1.051)

3.5.3 Phonological obfuscation of KI morphemes

As the phonological descriptions have shown, the complex interactions of KI and subject pronominals are more regular than immediately apparent. While there is no synchronic explanation for the varying loss of k or i in certain forms in KI, those losses are systematic within their restricted domains and, once identified, the

¹⁰ With a non-reciprocal verbs, kic^{h_1} postpositional phrase can occur as an adjunct with a singular pronominal affix, as illustrated in the following example:

Mary kic^{h_1} wa - \acute{u} - kta
 Mary with A1s-come-POT
 ‘I will come with Mary’

subsequent morphophonological effects are fairly straightforward. The unpredictable variation between *wé/yé* and *waki/yaki* pronominals is restricted to the dative, and even that has been shown to have moderate predictability due to semantic regularities that appear to account for most of the data.

Nonetheless, recognizing members of the KI family can be complicated by several phonetic and phonological dynamics such as the following. Some members of KI have homophones or near homophones outside the set, including verbitive *ki* ‘return, go back’, the causative auxiliaries *-k^{hi}ya* and *-kiya* (which are clearly related to KI but which are syntactically different); and the archaic root *k^{hi}-* ‘two, in two; through the middle’ (described at chapter 6:9.3.3). The verb *wa^hc^{hi}* ‘dance’ is interesting because dative *ki* is inserted immediately before the second syllable and coincidentally creates a string identical to the reciprocal *kic^{hi}*.

(33a) *j-wá-ki-c^{hi}*
 LOC-ST-DAT-dance
 ‘dance over or on account of’

(33b) *j-wá-ya-ki-c^{hi}*
 LOC-ST-A2-DAT-dance
 ‘you danced over or on account of him/her/it’

Finally, as described earlier, the portmanteau pronominal *c^{hi}* ‘I/you’, when followed by dative *ki*, will trigger velar palatalization to create a string *c^{hi}-ci* ‘I do it to you’. Depending on where it occurs in the word, this string may surface as *c^{hi}ci*, which is phonologically identical to the contraction of I/you and the benefactive forms: *c^{hi} + kⁱci > c^{hi}ci* ‘I do it for you’. Compare the following:

4. The semantics of KI

The semantics of the reciprocal and reflexive are essentially the same as in English and need no further discussion.

4.1 Suus

Suus forms specifically mark the object of the verb as belonging to the subject of the verb. In (37a) John has a dog with him, but the dog is not necessarily his. In (37b) the dog that John has, whether it is with him or not, is his own.

(37a) John šŭka yuhá ‘John has a dog’ (not necessarily his)

(37b) John šŭka knuhá ‘John has (owns) a dog’

Grammatical objects referenced by a suus form are alienably possessed.

Relatives, body parts, and other inalienably possessed items are not referenced by suus forms:¹¹

(38) mi-chŭca-pi iyúšna-pi . . . žená wŭčhá-mn-uhà (*wŭčhá-wa-knuha)
 POSS-child-PL seven-PL those them-A1s-have
 ‘I have seven children . . . those are the ones I have’ (LgC1.106)
 [Between the two clauses, the speaker elaborates on her children.]

4.2 Dative and benefactive

¹¹ A possible exception occurs in a folktale of a woman who intends to kill her younger brother, the narrator says:

t^hákh^huna žé^ʔe waná sŭká-ku ki-kté-hta c^hen ot^háph^ha
 their.older.sister it.is now younger.brother-poss A3.ki-kill-POT thus A3-follow
 ‘it was their older sister, intending to kill her younger brother, she followed his trail’ (NR:T3.39)

The entire sentence needs to be considered because it is possible that the *ki* is dative, referring back to the subjects of *ak^hítapi* and *t^hákh^huna*, with a meaning ‘she intended to kill him “on them” rather than ‘she intended to kill her own’. In view of examples like (38), I analyze the example cited here as an example of dative *ki* because, although both translations are syntactically possible, the pattern of not using suus for kinship terms rules out the suus interpretation.

Because there is so much overlap in meaning between dative and benefactive, it is impractical to attempt to describe them separately, or even less, exhaustively.

Although the terms “dative” and “benefactive” distinguish two morphologically distinct forms they are not reliable terms for distinguishing meanings. Here we will survey some of the clear and not so clear semantic ranges of the two morphological categories.

Rood and Taylor describe the dative in Lakota as follows:

The dative has one form but, from an English speaker’s point of view, two meanings: the form can mean that the action was done to an object possessed by someone else (‘I took his’, ‘he ate mine’) or that it was done to or for someone else by accident or without his knowledge or permission. This second meaning is sometimes expressed by ‘on’ in colloquial English (‘He ate it up on me’; or ‘His wife emptied the bank account on him.’) Boas and Deloria (1941[:86]) and Carter (1974) refer to this as the ‘first dative.’ [1996:471]

While this is generally true of Assiniboine, the “permission” aspect is reported by Assiniboine speakers to be less salient, or by some speakers, even non-existent. For example, the expression in (39) has dative meaning, according to Rood and Taylor’s definition, but it is morphologically benefactive, and “permission” (or lack of it) is not implied by the statement.

- (39) hápa o-wéci-ha
 shoe ST-A1s.BEN-put.on
 ‘I put on s.o. else’s shoes’

In most cases, however, the benefactive unambiguously reflects the performing of an activity for another, either on their behalf or in their place:

- (40) ná^žĭ ‘stand’ nakícížĭ ‘stand up for s.o., stand in s.o.’s place’
 o^né ‘look for’ okícine ‘look for s.t. that belongs to s.o. else’

- (41) waĥpé ů-kíci-caġa-pi
 tea 1du.BEN-make-PL
 ‘she made tea for us’
- (42) a-míci-p^{ha} ʔh (ap‘Á ‘hit’)
 ST-1S.BEN-hit JOKE
 ‘smack him for me!’ (said jokingly)

Some morphological distinctions may be associated with idiosyncratic differences in meaning, as in (43). Part of the reason for the different meanings lies in the semantic opacity of the root *ktŭža*, which is contemporarily glossed only as ‘be drunk’ but which prior to the introduction of alcohol referred in general to mental confusion, as seen in related terms such as *ktŭšyá ů* ‘be insane; be retarded; be senile’.

- | | | | | |
|------|------------|-----------|--------------|-------------|
| (43) | akíktŭža | ‘forget’ | a-wé-ktŭža | ‘I forget’ |
| | akícíktŭža | ‘forgive’ | a-wéci-ktŭža | ‘I forgive’ |

5. Animacy

KI morphemes always imply animate participants. Reviewing the arguments referenced by the KI morphemes in terms of animacy we find the following:

- the grammatical subjects of *suus* forms are animate (as for all transitive verbs);
- reflexive and reciprocal forms (derived from transitive verbs and specifying the object as part of the subject) have only one argument and that argument is animate in each case;
- dative and benefactive add an object that has an animacy restriction on it: for the benefactive it is a beneficiary, and for dative it is a goal or a malefactive object.

The animacy restriction is illustrated below, using dative *ki* examples in which the distinction is particularly transparent. In (44a)-(44b), the referents are animate and *ki* is present; in (45a)-(45b), the referents are inanimate and *ki* is absent.

- (44a) Mary **e-mǎ-ki-yapi**
 Mary ST-P1S-DAT-be.called
 ‘my name is Mary; I’m called Mary’
- (44b) p^haǵŭta mnoká-pi t^hahú^ho **e-wǐc^ha-ki-yapi**
 duck male-PL neck-green ST-P3P-DAT-be.called
 ‘the male ducks are called “green-necks”’ (Lg.C1:404)
- (45a) c^hayúsnoḥa **∅-eyápi** ∅-žéc^ha
 sled P3-be.called P3-be.that.kind
 ‘that thing called a “sled”’ (Lg.C1:346)
- (45b) né tók^hen **∅-eyápi** a-kíc^hi-p^ha-iyeya škáta-pi-na žé
 this how P3-be.called ST-RECIP-strike-AUX play-PL-NOM that
 ‘for example, the game called “tag”’ (Lg.C1:348)

Furthermore, if the referent is inanimate but *represents* an animate being, *ki* will be present. In (46) the speaker is referring to one of a male-female pair of duck figurines.¹²

- (46) mnóka žé t^hahú-t^ho **e-∅-cí-yapi**
 male that neck-green ST-P3-DAT-be.called
 ‘the male is called a “green neck”’ (LgC1:407)

¹² It could be argued that the mental process involved here abstracts from the figurine to a statement about live ducks, but the effect on the grammar is the same and only further reinforces the *ki* = animate analysis. Tom Shawl, Assiniboine language instructor at Fort Belknap College (p.c.), notes that fluent speakers do not perceive this as a rigid distinction and, in fact, exceptions occur. My analysis is based on consistencies in spontaneous dialogue at CTK. Perhaps the phenomenon is regional.

6. Lexicalized *ki*

There is another set of verbs, traditionally classified as dative, but differing from the more typically dative verbs described above. In these verbs, *ki* is lexicalized as part of the verb stem; that is, *ki* ceases to have its usual semantics but still has its morphological behavior. For instance, *kiksúyA* ‘remember’ is not derived from *ki* + *ksuyÁ* ‘hurt, harm’. This is illustrated by the homophonic forms in (47) where the form in (47a) has lexicalized *ki* and the form in (47b) has *suus ki*. The A1s form for both verbs is *hokšúweksuya*.

(47a) *hokšúkiksúya*
 hokšú + /ki-ksuyA/
 child-remember
 ‘to think of one’s child, be lonesome for one’s child’

(47b) *hokšúkiksúya*
 hokšú + /ki/ + /ksuyA/
 child-suus-cause.to.hurt
 ‘be in labor, as in childbirth’

Other verb roots with lexicalized *ki* include those in (48), given with their A1s, A2, and A1p forms. Most verbs of this type are intransitive verbs that can be understood reflexively; in other words, they approximate a middle voice.

(48)	<i>kič^hó</i>	‘invite’	<i>wéč^ho, yéč^ho, ʉkíč^hopi</i>
	<i>kič^húni</i>	‘quit an activity’	<i>wéč^huni, yéč^huni, ʉkíč^hunipi</i>
	<i>kiknɣka</i>	‘dive’	<i>wéknɣka, yéknɣka, ʉkíkɣkapi</i>
	<i>kiktá</i>	‘get up from a reclining position’	<i>wékta, yékta, ʉkíktapi</i>
	<i>kisní</i>	‘recover from illness’	<i>wésni, yésni, ʉkísni</i>

7. A paradigm of *ki* morphemes: the verb *oyákA* + *ki*

The verb *oyákA* ‘tell; talk about; announce; relate’ is an active-transitive y-stem verb that is attested with each of the KI morphemes. The meanings of some of the forms are idiosyncratic but the morphological formation of each form is as described above.

(49)	<i>o^yákA</i>	‘tell; talk about; announce; relate’	
	<i>o^kn-ákA</i>	‘tell one’s own; tell s.t. about oneself’	suus
	<i>o^kí-yakA</i>	‘tell s.t. to s.o.’	dative
	<i>o^kíci-yakA</i>	‘tell s.o. about s.t.’	benefactive
	<i>o^kíc^hi-yakA</i>	‘tell each other’	reciprocal (of the dative)
	<i>o^ĭknakA</i>	‘tell on oneself’	reflexive

Chapter 8

Motion Verbs

1. Introduction¹

Motion verbs are those verbs that refer to physical movement through space. I

identify two subcategories for Assiniboine: verbs that form a closed semantic

system of coming and going, and motion verbs that are outside the closed system.

The closed system is here referred to notionally as COME-GO to encompass all of the system's component verbs.²

Verbs outside the system are context independent and tend to describe manner or to be motion auxiliaries (see chapter 11.4.3.2); for example:

(1) Manner of locomotion:

aktákA	'run'
asnóhA	'creep on the belly'
kíyÁ	'fly'
k ^h uwÁ	'chase'
máni	'walk'
nap ^h Á ~ n̄ap ^h Á	'escape, run away'
op ^h Á	'follow'
pasí	'drive'

(2) Motion auxiliaries:

hiyéyA	'send sailing, as a frisbee' (A1s hiyé <u>w</u> aya)
--------	--

¹ An earlier version of this chapter was presented at the Siouan-Caddoan Conference in Spearfish, N. Dak., June 1, 2002.

² Wilkins and Hill (1995) argue convincingly that "come" and "go" are not universal notions, claiming that they entail unexamined assumptions in the literature on verbs of motion. Nonetheless, they use capitalized COME and GO as "one means for bringing items into comparison" (1995:253), and I shall do the same.

hiḥpáyA	‘fall, falling’ (A1s <u>ma</u> hiḥpaya)
iyáyA	‘gradual movement’ (A1s iyá <u>wa</u> ya; homophonous with the y-stem verb of departure: A1s <u>imnámna</u>)
yeyÁ	‘send’ (A1s yew <u>á</u> ya)

2. The COME-GO system

There are twelve verbs of coming and going. Diachronic processes of derivation and compounding peculiar to a small set of roots produces all the verbs in the system. The focus of this section will be on what Fillmore (1997:79) refers to as “bounded motion”, motion that can be characterized as having a starting point and an ending point,” which encompasses intervening states he characterizes as “Path” (a term taken in turn from David C. Bennett (1975), as Fillmore acknowledges).

The structure of the Assiniboine system of verbs that refer to bounded motion is presented first as an idealized model to provide a clear picture of its organization according to the morphological and semantic relationships that hold among the components. This is followed by discussion of several examples from conversations and narratives to illustrate how the model applies to usage. Assiniboine “come/go” does not exactly match English “come/go,” nor do the terms “here” and “there” used in reference to motion verbs adequately convey the concepts involved. For reasons that accumulate throughout this chapter, it is virtually impossible to provide concise English glosses for the Assiniboine COME-GO verbs. It is nonetheless expedient to use the terms “come,” “go,” “here,” and “there” wherever a COME-GO verb is glossed, but always with the understanding that more complex notions are entailed.

Bounded motion verbs in Assiniboine are lexicalized derivations of four

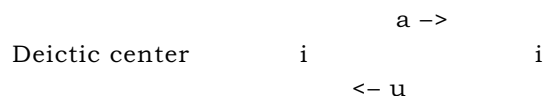
roots, two that pertain to the *Path*, which I will refer to as “progress” verbs, and two that refer to arrival at a destination, or simply, “arrival” verbs. These roots are listed in table 8.1.

Table 8.1. Verbal roots of the COME-GO system³

yÁ	movement away from deictic center (GO)
ú	movement toward the deictic center (COME)
í	arrival “there,” i.e., at a point removed from the deictic center
hí	arrival “here,” i.e., at the deictic center

Together with one additional morpheme, vertitive *ki* ‘return; back’,⁴ these

³ Whether *hí* is historically derived from *í* or is a separate root is uncertain. See Taylor (1976) for a discussion. Both verbs encode the same semantic feature for *stage of completion*, namely arrival, so that it is possible to note non-theoretically that the vowels of the roots constitute a consistent index for the semantic feature *motion toward the deictic center*, where *a* marks movement away from the deictic center, *u* marks movement toward the deictic center, and *i* represents a terminal:



A similarly useful observation is that all verbs with the vertitive morpheme *ki* mark movement toward the base, and verbs lacking that morpheme mark movement away from the base.

⁴ In the motion verb system found in Osage, Carolyn Quintero (2004) analyzes the morpheme that carries the notion ‘return’ as *suus*: “The vertitive forms, indicating return, are made up of the *suus* prefix *kik* plus verb root. . . . Since *suus kik* means ‘subject’s own’, the original meaning of vertitive verbs would have been ‘go to subject’s own [place/home]’, extended to mean also ‘go back [to any location]’” (2004:179). Elsewhere she terms a morpheme *ki* as “inceptive”: “Inceptive *ki* adds the sense of ‘back; in return; in turn’, as in ‘pay back; repay’” (2004:209). Her analysis in each case rests on differing morphophonological effects for the two morphemes. Rood and Taylor (1996) reference an “inceptive” *ki* as in, e.g., *kisní* ‘recover, return to health’, independent of vertitive *ki*, which Rood (p.c.) believes to occur only in the verbs of coming and going. Taylor explains this particular use of the term “vertitive” as follows:

four roots yield the underlying twelve-verb system.

The root *yÁ*, glossed lexemically as ‘GO’, while not inherently deictic (see section 3 below), behaves deictically within the system, where it is invariably associated with the root *í*; the root *ú* ‘COME’ is similarly linked to the root *hí*. This gives the following sets:

- (3) *yÁ* → *í* ‘go’ → ‘arrive “there”’
 ú → *hí* ‘come’ → ‘arrive “here”’

yÁ and *ú* are directional opposites but they are not the direct inverse of each other. Assiniboine formally encodes the notion ‘return’ by vertitive *ki*, (surfacing variously as *k* and *kn* in lexicalized forms⁵) so that the direct inverse of

“a prefix to the motion verbs that is found in most (or all) of the [Siouan] languages, [and] has the underlying shape *k*. Stems derived by this prefix relate the motion to one’s home or to an earlier location. I shall call stems of this kind *vertitive*, using the term introduced by Hollow in his unpublished Mandan dictionary (Robert Hollow 1965)” [1979:288].

In Assiniboine there is no morphological difference between *suus ki* and the *ki* that means ‘go back’, which Quintero labels “inceptive” and I label “vertitive.” Thus, both Quintero and Taylor label full stems as “vertitive,” whereas on morphological and semantic grounds I label both the morpheme itself and forms derived from it as “vertitive.” I analyze this single morpheme as deriving both motion verbs of return travel and verbs such as ‘pay back’ and ‘give back’, providing a unified analysis and avoiding the semantic extension of the *suus* morpheme that Quintero proposes. In fact, evidence such as that in (8e), where arrival at a site *on the way* home but not *at* home, supports an interpretation of ‘back’ rather than *suus*, since the intermediate location is not the speaker’s own home. Nonetheless, the Osage data are suggestive, and cross-linguistic comparison of synchronic and diachronic forms may eventually prove the Assiniboine motion verbs of return travel to derive from *suus ki* rather than from what is here termed vertitive *ki*.

⁵ The historical derivations have not been fully determined so neither they nor the phonology that produced the contemporary forms will be addressed here. There is no question, however, that the *k* ~ *kn* of the verbs of returning are reflexes of *ki*.

‘go’ is not ‘come’ but ‘come back’ and the direct inverse of ‘come’ is not ‘go’ but ‘go back’. This gives two sets of complementary pairs, shown in table 8.2, in which an outbound set is paired with its appropriate (directionally inverse) return set.

Table 8.2. Progress and arrival verbs

	Progress ->	Arrival
a.	yÁ ->	í go -> arrive “there”
	kú ->	kní come back “here” -> arrive back “here”

b.	ú ->	hí come -> arrive “here”
	knÁ ->	k ^h í go back “there” -> arrive back “there”

The remaining four verbs to be described are those referred to in this discussion as the “departure” verbs, to identify their place in the idealized model, although this label is too restrictive, as discussed in 2.2, below.

The departure verbs are lexicalized compounds that combine the pairs of progress and arrival verbs shown in table 8.2, above, to produce the following:

(4) Departure verbs:

- iyáyA ‘leave “here” to go “there”’ (í + yÁ, reduplicated)
- knícú ‘leave “there” to come back “here”’ (kní + kú, with palatalization)
- hiyú ‘leave “there” to come “here”’ (hí + ú, with epenthetic y)
- k^hiknÁ ‘leave “here” to go back “there”’ (k^hí + knÁ)

We have now introduced all twelve verbs in the system. A complete list is given in table 8.3 with paradigms and approximate glosses.

Table 8.3. The COME-GO verbs

Inflection of all verbs in the system is regular; *iyáyA* and *yÁ* are *y*-stem verbs; both *ys* of *iyáyA* are inflected.

I.

<u>Citation form</u>	<u>Notion</u>	<u>A1s</u>	<u>1 du</u>	<u>A2</u>	<u>A3</u>
<i>iyáyA</i>	leave here to go there	<i>imnámna</i>	<i>ɯkíyaya</i>	<i>inána</i>	<i>iyáya</i>
<i>yÁ</i>	going there	<i>mná</i>	<i>ɯkíya</i>	<i>ná</i>	<i>yá</i>
<i>í</i>	arrive there	<i>waʔí</i>	<i>ɯkí</i>	<i>yaʔí</i>	<i>í</i>
<i>knicú</i>	leave there to come back here	<i>waknícu</i>	<i>ɯknícu</i>	<i>yaknícu</i>	<i>knicú</i>
<i>kú</i>	coming back here	<i>wakú</i>	<i>ɯkú</i>	<i>yakú</i>	<i>kú</i>
<i>kní</i>	arrive back here	<i>wakní</i>	<i>ɯkní</i>	<i>yakní</i>	<i>kní</i>

II.

<u>Citation form</u>	<u>Notion</u>	<u>A1s</u>	<u>1 du</u>	<u>A2</u>	<u>A3</u>
<i>hiyú⁶</i>	leave there to come here	<i>wahíyu</i>	<i>ɯhíyu</i>	<i>yahíyu</i>	<i>hiyú</i>
<i>ú</i>	coming here	<i>waʔú</i>	<i>ɯkú</i>	<i>yaʔú</i>	<i>ú</i>
<i>hí</i>	arrive here	<i>wahí</i>	<i>ɯhí</i>	<i>yahí</i>	<i>hí</i>
<i>k^hiknÁ</i>	leave here to go back there	<i>wak^híkna</i>	<i>ɯk^híkna</i>	<i>yak^híkna</i>	<i>k^hiknÁ</i>
<i>knÁ</i>	going back there	<i>waknÁ</i>	<i>ɯknÁ</i>	<i>yaknÁ</i>	<i>knÁ</i>
<i>k^hí</i>	arrive back there	<i>wak^hí</i>	<i>ɯk^hí</i>	<i>yak^hí</i>	<i>k^hí</i>

Before continuing, several concepts that are crucial to an understanding of the system need to be defined:

- *Traveler* - The traveler is the moving entity, the grammatical subject of the clause.
- *Base* - The base is the location to which the traveler belongs, i.e., is

⁶ Although the *y* of *hiyú* is epenthetic, for at least one White Bear speaker, this is a *y*-stem verb, presumably by analogy: *himnú*, *hinú*, *hiyú*

habitually associated with. A base may be relatively permanent, such as the traveler's place of residence or place of employment, or it may be of short duration, such as a meeting place or social gathering. The traveler's base may be at the deictic center or it may be a point away from the deictic center. A traveler's base is known to discourse participants by common knowledge, declaration, or inference.

- *Deictic center* (DC) - The term deictic center, as used here, is the reference point of perspective from which the motion verbs are interpreted. It is either where the *speaker* (not necessarily the traveler) is at coding time, i.e., when the sentence is uttered, or it is the location of the main character in a narrative. The deictic center shifts frequently during discourse.
- *Stage of completion* has three possibilities: depart, progress, arrive. These three stages may be viewed as constituting a discrete set, which I will refer to as a *triad*. The twelve verbs of the COME-GO system fall semantically into four unique triads, as seen in the horizontal rows of table 8.4, below.

The notions *base* and *deictic center* cross-cut each other:

- The triads *hiyú, ú, hí* and *knicú, kú, kní* describe motion of a traveler toward the deictic center. The triads *iyáyA, yÁ, í* and *k^hiknÁ, knÁ, k^hí* describe motion of a traveler away from the deictic center.
- The triads *knicú, kú, kní* and *k^hiknÁ, knÁ, k^hí* describe motion of a traveler toward his/her base. The triads *hiyú, ú, hí* and *iyáyA, yÁ, í* describe motion of a traveler away from his/her base.

These relationships are summarized in table 8.4.

Table 8.4. Semantic features of Assiniboine motion verbs

		Stage of Completion		
		Depart	Progress	Arrive
- motion toward DC	- motion toward base	iyáyA	yÁ	í
	+ motion toward base	k ^h iknÁ	knÁ	k ^h í
+ motion toward DC	- motion toward base	hiyú	ú	hí
	+ motion toward base	knicú	kú	kní

One additional term needs to be defined, namely, *apogee*. “Motion toward the base,” as used above does not always mean that the movement is literally in the direction of the traveler’s base, as on a map. Rather, it depends on whether the traveler *conceives* him/herself as moving toward the base. After the point in a journey at which the traveler conceives him/herself to start moving back toward the base — I will call that point the *apogee* — verbs from the “return” sets will be used to describe the traveler’s movement. Using English examples, in the statement, “He went to the store, then went to the post office, and then came home,” “post office” is the apogee; in the statement, “He went to the store, and on the way home he went to the post office,” “store” is the apogee. The location of each point in the journey does not change, rather, the traveler’s conception of his/her movement relative to the base (“home,” in the English examples) changes.

It is important to note that the apogee is not necessarily the point in the journey that is objectively most distant from the base. This is illustrated in fig. 8.1, in which a point on the return journey is more distant from the base than the

apogee, and in fig. 8.2, in which a point on the outbound journey is more distant from the base than the apogee.⁷ If the base is at the deictic center, verbs from the triad *iyáyA, yÁ, í* would be used for the outbound portion of the journey and the triad verbs from the triad *knícú, kú, kní* would be used for the return portion of the journey. If the base is not at the deictic center, verbs from the *hiyú, ú hí* triad would be used for the outbound portion and verbs from the *k^hiknÁ, knÁ, k^hí* triad would be used for the return.

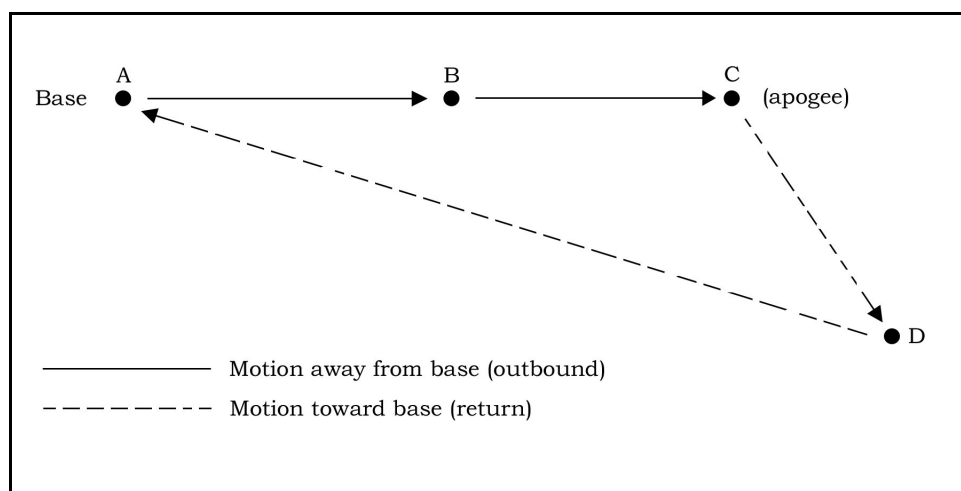


Fig. 8.1 Illustration of a journey in which a point (D) on the return portion of a journey is more distant from the base (A) than the apogee (C)

⁷Concrete examples for figs. 8.1 and 8.2 could be the following. Let A = the traveler's home (base), B = a coffee shop, C = the workplace, and D = a restaurant. Travelers in both figures leave home (A), stop to buy coffee (B), and then go to work (C). After work, each stops at a restaurant (D) for a take-out dinner on the way home. For the traveler in 8.1, the coffee shop lies between his home and his workplace and the restaurant lies further from his home than his workplace. For the traveler in 8.2, the coffee shop lies further from his home than his workplace, and the restaurant lies between his workplace and his home. Point C is the apogee for both travelers, so each traveler would shift from outbound to return verbs at point C in describing their respective round-trips.

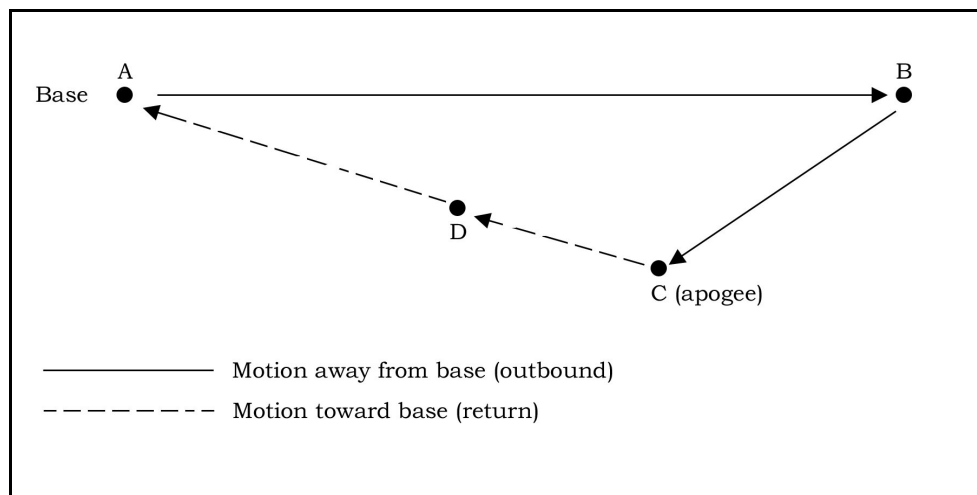


Fig. 8.2 Illustration of a journey in which a point (B) on the outbound portion of a journey is more distant from the base (A) than the apogee (C)

Note that each segment of the journey (A → B, B → C, C → D, D → A) conceptually encompasses a full triad, regardless of whether arrival in each case is at the base, the apogee, or some intermediate point. Each triad (or portion of it) is repeated for each leg of the journey. Thus, if the traveler's base is located at the deictic center, A → B will be described by members of the triad *iyáyÁ, yÁ, í*, and B → C will also be described by *iyáyÁ, yÁ, í*; arrival at both B and C will use *í*. Travel beyond the apogee, C → D and D → A, will both be described with verbs from the triad *knicú, kú, kní*; arrival at both D and A will use *kní*. If the traveler's base is not located at the deictic center, A → B and B → C will be described by members of the triad *hiyú, ú, hí*, while C → D and D → A will be described by members of the triad *k^hiknÁ, knÁ, k^hí*.

These facts are seen in the following excerpts from a narrative that describes an actual round-trip. Only the relevant sentences are given, in the order

they occur in the narrative. The narrator was at her home at CTK at coding time, making CTK both base and DC, so the triads *iyáyA*, *yÁ*, *í* and *knícú*, *kú*, *kní* are used. Travel originated at the narrator's home, proceeded to Indian Head and Pilot Butte and then to Regina, which is the apogee in this narrative, and returned to Carry The Kettle by way of White City. This narrative is illustrated in fig. 8.3.

- (5a) Indian Head *ektá yk-í-pi*
 Indian Head to 1du-arrive.there-PL
 'we went to Indian Head'
- (5b) *žetáhə* Pilot Butte *ecíyapi o'ínažǐ žéc^{hi} yk-í-pi*
 from.there Pilot Butte be.called town over.there 1du-arrive.there-PL
 'from there we went over to the town called Pilot Butte'
- (5c) *žetáhə* *huhúžupina* *ektá yk-í-pi*
 from there Regina [pile of bones] to 1du-arrive.there-PL
 'from there we went to Regina'
- (5d) *žetáhə^s* *y-kú-pi*
 from.there 1du-come.here-PL
 'from there we were coming back'
- (5e) *hǐk ak^{hé}* White City *ecíyapi žén y-kní-pi*
 and again White City be.called there 1du-arrive.here-PL
 'and we arrived [stopped] again at [the town] called White City'
- (5f) *hǐk y-kní-pi*
 and 1du-arrive.here-PL
 'and we came home'

^s*a* and *a* are in free variation as the first vowel in *žetáhə*. This suggests the possibility of anticipatory nasal assimilation across *h* but data are insufficient to state this as a general phonetic phenomenon.

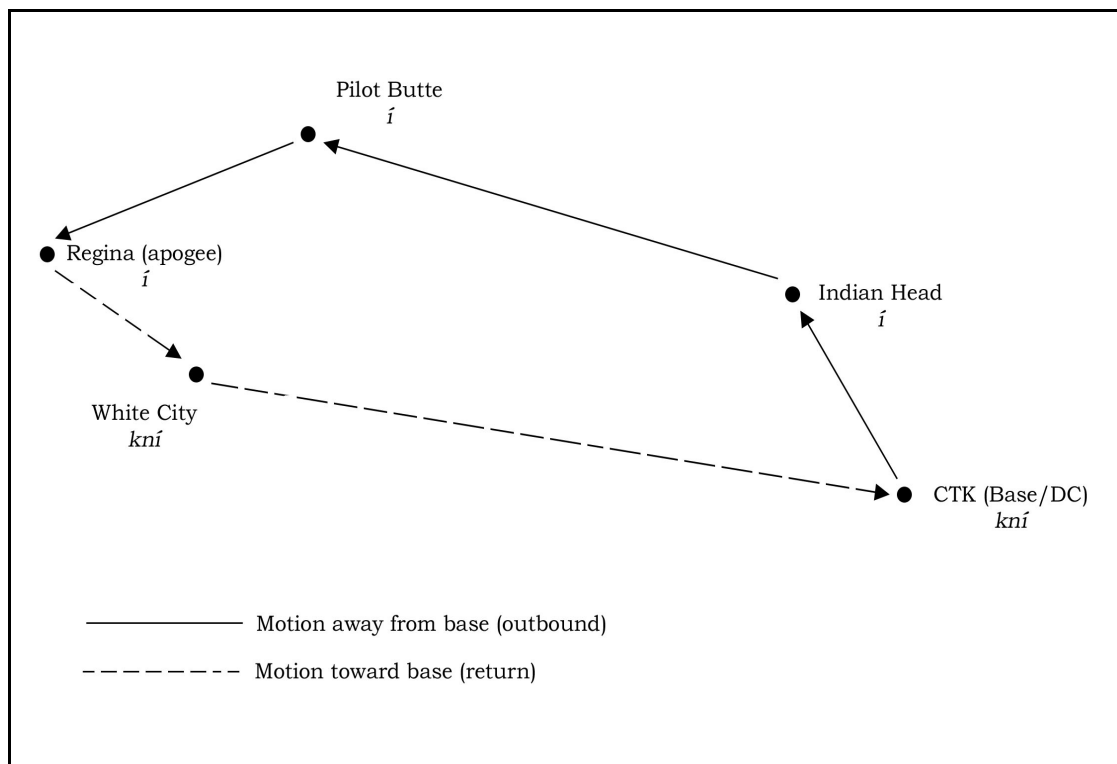


Fig. 8.3 Diagram of narrative in example (5), with arrival verbs used in reference to each location

Sentences (5a-5c) describe the outbound portion of the trip. Arrival at each point is indicated by *í* ‘arrive there’ or, more precisely, ‘arrive at a point following movement away from the DC/base’. At sentence (5d) the narrator shifts to return forms and, as predicted, they are of the *kú* triad. Sentence (5f) references arrival back at the base with *kní* ‘arrive back here’, also as predicted. Note especially that arrival at White City in sentence (5e) — a point on the return trajectory — is also referenced with the arrival verb *kní*, although clearly the event is not arrival back at the base. Yet, the use of *kní* is predictable in the given circumstances because it is the appropriate verb for arrival at a point in the course of movement toward the base-at-DC. The verb *í*, with the shorthand gloss ‘arrive there’, cannot be used in (5e),

even though White City is in one sense “there” rather than “here,” because *í* indicates movement *away from* the base (when the base is also the DC). The narrator uses the appropriate arrival verb *kní* in (5e) but underscores the fact that the intermediate arrival event is at a point removed from the base by the demonstrative adverb *žén* ‘there’, which, in the shorthand glossing, creates the apparently contradictory “arrive back here there,” but which is more accurately “arrive there on the way back to the base.”

The discussion thus far has focused on round-trip travel, but outbound travel does not inherently imply return travel. For example, the statement in (6) does not imply a return to Pilot Butte, which, in reference to the journey in (5), is an intermediate site between the speaker’s base and the apogee.

- (6) akéwāžī ehāʔi štén Pilot Butte ecíyapi ȳk-íyaya-pi
 eleven reach when Pilot Butte be.called 1du-depart-PL
 ‘we left Pilot Butte at 11:00’

In contrast, the return verbs always imply a previous outbound journey, even if the outbound portion is not referenced. In fact, the connection between outbound and return travel can be quite abstract. Consider the two statements in (7) and (8). Both statements imply multiple round-trips, with travel having occurred at various indefinite times in the past. The distinction encoded in the Assiniboine verbs, a distinction that cannot be expressed concisely in English, is that the traveler in (7) is perceived as belonging to the same base as the speaker, so that she is seen as coming back to a place to which she belongs, while the traveler in (8) is perceived as belonging elsewhere, each time moving toward the

deictic center from a foreign base. (It should be noted that “back” is ambiguous in English; although it is used in the shorthand gloss of the return verbs in (7) and (8), both sentences could plausibly be translated as “she comes back every summer,” because “back” in English can be used for any return to a place previously visited, regardless of whether the place visited is one’s perceived place of belonging. Therefore, it must be kept in mind that “back” in return-verb glosses is understood to refer to a *return to base*.)

(7) mnokétu iyúha \emptyset -hí
 summer every A3-arrive.here
 ‘she comes [to DC from a foreign base] every summer’

(8) mnokétu iyúha \emptyset -kní
 summer every A3-arrive.back.here
 ‘she comes [returns to base at DC] every summer’

Now that the fundamental relationships of the motion verbs have been described, we may explore how these relationships convey meaning in various types of discourse.

2.1 COME-GO verbs in conversation

In conversation, interlocutors may or may not share a base. In (11), both speakers are at speaker 2’s home at coding time, which identifies speaker 2’s home as the deictic center, but speaker 1 lives elsewhere, i.e., has a different base. Both speakers refer to speaker 1’s travel with the *hiyú, ú, hí* triad because the conversation concerns speaker 1’s movement toward the DC but away from her base. Stage of completion depends on which aspect of the travel a speaker chooses to foreground. In (9b), speaker 2 emphasizes arrival, while in (9c), speaker 1

emphasizes progress toward the deictic center, even though both statements reference the same event.⁹

- (9a) Speaker 1: né ɲakáɲa wa-**hí**
 here now A1s-arrive.here
 ‘I just got here’ (LgC1.112)
- (9b) Speaker 2: tók^hen ya-**hí**
 how A2-arrive.here
 ‘how did you get here?’ (LgC1.281)
- (9c) Speaker 1: žé kic^hí wa-**ú**
 that.one with A1s-come.here
 ‘I came with her’ (LgC1.284)

2.2 Short-term bases

A traveler’s base can shift in the short term when s/he stays at a location away from his/her base for a bounded period of time, such as when visiting, attending a meeting, or being at work. For example, when attending a meeting, the meeting site becomes the base for all participants, even though all participants have come from other, more permanent bases (assuming that the meeting is not held in the home of one of the participants). This is reflected in the statement in (10). The occasion was a meeting at the Seniors’ Lodge at Carry The Kettle. A man who had arrived left again. When someone asked where he was, another person replied:

- (10) ak^hé \emptyset -**kú** \emptyset -káya
 again A3-come.back.here A3-say (indirect quote)
 ‘he said he’s coming back’

The Seniors’ Lodge is the deictic center because that is where the speaker was at

⁹It may be noted, however, that although speaker 2 could use either the progress or arrival verb in (9b), speaker 1 can only use the progress verb in (9c). The arrival verb would be ambiguous, meaning either “I came with her” or “I (coincidentally) arrived at the same time as she.”

coding time. The fact that the Lodge has become the base, both in the mind of the man and of the speaker, is evident in the verb *kú* ‘return to base-at-DC’. But after the meeting concluded, the participants all perceived a shift of base back to their respective homes, as evidenced by the comment in (11), made by one of the participants.

- (11) *waná wa-k^híkna-hta tuk^há*
 now 1s-depart.to.there-POT but
 ‘I have to leave (to go back there) now’

In this instance, the Lodge is still the deictic center but the speaker no longer perceives the Lodge as his base, having mentally shifted back to a perception of his home as his base.

The discourse relationship of one base to another is diagrammed in fig. 8.4.

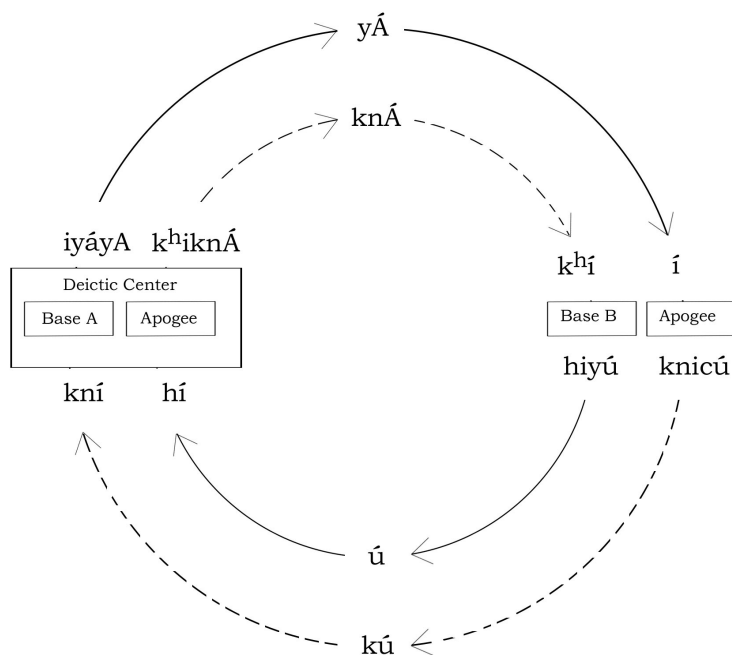


Fig. 8.4 COME-GO verbs in relation to separate bases

The use of one verb in a given circle creates the expectation that, as long as the base remains constant, any outbound and return travel may be described by any other verb from the same set encompassed by the circle associated with the base with which it intersects. To use the previous examples, the participants in the meeting consider any verb in the circle intersecting Base B (away from the DC) as appropriate for describing their initial arrival and ultimate departure from the Lodge, but for the duration of the meeting, they consider verbs from the circle intersecting Base A (at the DC) as appropriate for movement away from or toward the Lodge, as in the example of the man who used *kú* to say he would be back. Thus, the expectation would be that when the man did return to the meeting, his re-arrival would be described by *kní*, not *hí*, since his base has shifted to the verbs associated with Base A.

2.3 COME-GO verbs in narrative

In a third person narrative the deictic center is the location of the central character, which is also that character's base. A base shift occurs for a secondary character who arrives at the deictic center from outside the scene, as in the story of *Įktómi* and Fox (app.2), and a deictic center shift occurs when the central character changes, as in the story of the Big Snake (app.1).

In the story of *Įktómi* and Fox, *Įktómi*, the trickster, is the central character, so *Įktómi*'s location is the deictic center. Fox's arrival in sentence 4 is described with the verb *hí*, indicating movement toward the deictic center but away from his base. However, Fox's subsequent movement toward the deictic center is described

by *kní* (sentences 11, 12, 15, 19), and his movement away from the deictic center, predictably, is described by *yÁ* (sentences 14, 16). This indicates that Fox's base has shifted to the deictic center. Later in the story, a group of animals gather at the site and the story describes their activities. Although no arrival verb is used, the site is shown to have become these animals' base because their departure is described by *iyáyA*, indicating movement away from the base-at-DC.

The narrative "Big Snake" offers an example of a shift of deictic center. There are two scenes of action, Carry The Kettle Reserve and a lake that used to be just beyond the boundary of Carry The Kettle Reserve.¹⁰ The story consists of two episodes, each with a different deictic center, one at CTK and one at the lake. In the first episode, two men from CTK (the base) are swimming in the lake (away from the base) when they are startled by a horned serpent, flee to the shore (sentence 12), and run to a village on the reserve (sentence 14). Movement in each of these sentences is described by *kní* 'motion toward base-at-DC', marking CTK as the deictic center and also identifying CTK as the men's base. The second episode involves the demise of the serpent at the lake, and the deictic center shifts to the lake. All COME-GO verbs from sentence 21 to the end of the story refer to movement of village residents to and from the lake and have the semantic features [+motion toward DC] and [-motion toward base]. By changing the verbs, the narrator shifts the deictic center from the village to the lake.

¹⁰The lake is no longer there, but the narrator attests its former existence by saying that she had seen it herself (sentence 3).

2.4 Metonymy of ‘progress’ and ‘arrive’

Both ‘progress’ and ‘arrive’ can be used to encompass or imply the other notions of the triad. In (12a-12b) the speaker is at home (base is at DC) and the combination of context and the “arrival there” verb implies both the outbound and return triads:

(12a) ĩtániĥa oʔinažĭ ektá wa-ĭ
 yesterday town to A1s-arrive.there
 ‘I went to town yesterday’

(12b) oʔóp^het^hu ektá waná wa-ĭ
 store to already A1s-arrive.there
 ‘I already went to the store’

In (13) the use of *yÁ* entails the entire outbound triad (*yĭ* is an ablauted form of *yÁ*):

(13) oʔinažĭ ektá Ø-yĭ-*ktá*
 town to A3-go-POT
 ‘he’s going to go to town’

In (12a-12b), arrival is emphasized rather than progress because the result of travel, the referent’s being (or having been) *at* a place, is of greater relevance than the process of getting there. In (13), progress is emphasized rather than arrival.

Interestingly, when a specific departure time is referenced, the progress verb is still used, rather than the departure verb. This may be due to restrictions on the use of verbs of departure, discussed in the next section.

(14) naꝑcúwaka eháʔi šten Ø-yĭ-*ktá*
 nine reach when A3-go-POT
 ‘he’s leaving/going at 9:00’

2.5 Markedness of the departure verbs

The departure verbs have rather narrow domains of usage that may be

- (17) John kná-pi Ø-c^hĩka
 John return.there-COMP A3-want
 ‘John wants to leave’

There are two readings for the following example, partly due to the various connotations of *waná* as ‘now’, ‘ready’, or ‘already’, and partly due to the two uses of departure verbs, either to abstractly reference an act of departure or as perfect aspect.

- (18) waná Ø-**knícú**-pi
 now A3-depart.for.here-PL
 ‘they’re ready to come, ready to set out for here’ or
 ‘they already left to come here; they already left for here’

The second reading is not the same as saying, ‘they’re on their way’; for that reading a progress verb is used:

- (19) waná Ø-**kú**-pi
 now A3-come.back.here-PL
 ‘they’re on their way here now; they’re already on their way here’

2.6 Short distance and departure verbs

In instances in which travel involves an exceedingly short distance, a departure verb is often used, as if the act of departure is sufficient movement to attain the goal of the travel. Strictly speaking, these still reflect departure and should be glossed as “depart,” but any variation of “depart” in a free translation would be inappropriate in English. In example (20), the speaker is addressing a group of individuals who are standing a short distance from him.

- (23) Logan oc^háku akásam iyáya
 Logan road across A3.depart
 ‘Logan crossed the road’

The distance across a road is typically a relatively short distance, but unlike the previous examples, the distance involved in this case is great enough that the progress verb *yÁ* might also be appropriate. This suggests some elasticity to the notion “short,” and also supports the claim that these verbs are semantically, as well as morphologically, departure verbs.

2.7 Special uses of *iyáya*

The verb *iyáya* (but none of the other departure verbs) is used idiomatically in the phrase *tók^{hi} iyáya* (*he*) ‘where is it?’. The grammatical subject of this phrase may be animate or, exceptionally, inanimate. (Recall that active verbs only have animate subjects.) The fact that inanimate subjects are allowed is evidence of the non-literal meaning of *iyáya* in this phrase. One might say that the phrase is, in effect, a compound stative verb meaning ‘to be where’, by which reasoning the acceptability of inanimate subjects is more understandable. When animate, two readings are possible; when inanimate, only one reading is possible.

- (24) ni-c^híca-pi tók^{hi} iyáya-pi he
 P2-child-PL where.to A3-leave.here-PL Q
 ‘where are your children? where have your children gone?’

- (25) j̥ʔícuna tók^{hi} iyáya he
 cup where.to A3-leave.here Q
 ‘where are the cups?’

The idiom also permits derivation by dative *ki* (chapter 7), with malefactive meaning.

- (26) tók^hi i-ní-ci-yaya he, hokšína žé
 where.to ST- P3-DAT-leave.here Q boy that
 ‘where is your boy (husband)? where has your boy gone on you?’ (SB.22)

A very few examples have been found of a short form of *iyáyA*, namely *iyÁ*, which appears to reference progress away from the DC’s base but toward some unknown or indefinite destination, unlike *iyáyA*, which implies a goal. In (27)-(28), the point of departure is known, but the destination is not. The status of this form in relation to the COME-GO system will require further research.

- (27a) iyá wo . . . nit^há-k^hona o-kí-ne-ya wo
 go IMPER . . . your-friend ST-SUUS-look.for-go IMPER
 ‘go! . . . go look for your friend!’ (NR:T2.11, 15)

- (27b) žéc^hen iyáa-ka
 so.then A3-go-DUR
 ‘so then he was going, he was on his way (for a long time)’ (NR:T7.17)

- (28) t^hakán iyá škáta ŷk-Ø-é-ki-ya-pi
 outside go play 1du-ST-A3-DAT-tell-PL
 ‘they told us to go play outside’ (LgC1.153)

3. Non-point-to-point travel (unanchored travel)

Unanchored travel, movement that is anchored neither at a source nor at a goal, falls outside the COME-GO system. That is to say, unanchored travel is not deictic. Such travel is most commonly described by *yÁ* ‘go’, although *ú* ‘come’ may also be used. Generic use of *ú* is far less common than generic use of *yÁ* but the fact that *ú* may be used generically at all may justify the claim that it is not inherently deictic. Within the COME-GO system, these are the verbs of “outbound progress” but when used to reference unanchored travel, they do not imply other members of their respective triads, as they do when they occur within the system.

- (29) $ec^h\acute{a}ken \emptyset\text{-}y\acute{a}$
 always A3-go
 ‘s/he’s always on the go, always going places’
- (30) $m\acute{a}ni\text{-}y\acute{a} \sim m\acute{a}ni\text{-}\acute{u}$
 walk-go ~ walk-come
 ‘to go on foot’
- (31) $(\text{[}kt\acute{o}mi) t\acute{o}k^hiye\text{-}c^ha\check{s}$ $min\acute{i}\text{-}t^h\acute{a}ka$ $w\acute{a}\check{z}\acute{i}$ $kakn\acute{a} \emptyset\text{-}\acute{u}$ $ka^?eca$
 $\text{[}kt\acute{o}mi$ somewhere-indefinite lake one beside A3-come then
 ‘($\text{[}kt\acute{o}mi$) was going around somewhere and then came to a lake’ (NR:T5.8)
- (32) $am\acute{o}kiya$ $okn\acute{a}$ $\text{[}k\text{-}\acute{u}\text{-}pi$ $h\acute{i}k$ $wan\acute{a}ka\check{s}$ $h\acute{e}kta$
 car in 1du-come-PL and long.ago back.then
- $\check{s}\acute{u}kat^h\acute{a}ka$ $c^h\acute{a}^?iy\acute{u}snoh\grave{a}$ $okn\acute{a}$ $\text{[}k\text{-}\acute{u}\text{-}pi$
 horse sleigh in 1du-come-PL
- ‘we go around in a car but back then we went around in a horse-drawn sleigh’ (LgC1.68)

4. The BRING-TAKE system

Verbs of bringing and taking are derived from the verbs in the COME-GO system by prefixation of a morpheme *a* that increases the valence of the verb by one, that is, converts the intransitive come-go verbs to transitive verbs. The departure verbs of return acquire the *a* before each member of the compound, with an epenthetic *y* between the medial vowels. The outbound departure verbs acquire the prefix only once, at the beginning of the compound, but in the case of *a-iy\acute{a}yA*, the initial vowels coalesce, producing *\acute{e}yayA*. The outbound form for progress away from base-at-DC (*\acute{a}yA*) has lexical stress on the stem-initial *a*. A complete list of the BRING-TAKE verbs is given in table 8.5, with partial paradigms and approximate glosses.

Table 8.5 The BRING-TAKE verbs

I.					
<u>Citation form</u>	<u>Notion</u>	<u>A1s</u>	<u>1 du</u>	<u>A2</u>	<u>A3</u>
éyayA	leave here to take there	émnamna	ɯkáyaya	énana	éyaya
áyA	taking there	ámna	ɯkáya	ána	áya
aʔí	arrive there taking	awáʔi	ɯkáʔi	ayáʔi	aʔí
akníyacu	leave there to bring back here	wakníyacu	ɯkníyacu	yakníyacu	akníyacu
akú	bringing back here	awáku	ɯkáku	ayáku	akú
akní	arrive back here bringing	awákni	ɯkáni	ayákni a	kní
II.					
<u>Citation form</u>	<u>Notion</u>	<u>A1s</u>	<u>1 du</u>	<u>A2</u>	<u>A3</u>
ahiyú	leave there to bring here	awáhiyu	ɯkáhiyu	ayáhiyu	ahíyu
aʔú	bringing here	awáʔu	ɯkáʔu	ayáʔu	aʔú
ahí	arrive here bringing	awáhi	ɯkáhi	ayáhi	ahí
ak ^{hí} kyanA	leave here to take back there	awák ^{hí} yakna	ɯkák ^{hí} yakna	ayák ^{hí} yakna	ak ^{hí} yakna
aknÁ	taking back there	awákna	ɯkákna	ayákna	akná
ak ^{hí}	arrive back there taking	awák ^{hí}	ɯkák ^{hí}	ayák ^{hí}	ak ^{hí}

The BRING-TAKE verbs thus derived exhibit the same semantic features as those of the COME-GO verbs shown in table 8.4. They occur in the same triads and hold the same relationship to each other within the triads, as do the triads with respect to each other. Examples include:

- (33a) Cypress Hills ektá ɯk-á-i-pi (cf. aʔí ‘arrive there, taking’)
 Cypress Hills to 1du-ST-take-PL
 ‘they took us to Cypress Hills’ (LgC1.213)

(33b) ʉk-á-ni-ya-pi-kta (cf. áyA ‘taking there’)
 1du-ST-P2-take-PL-POT
 ‘we’ll take you (sg.) there’
 ‘we’ll take you (pl) there’

(34a) tʰíta a-∅-∅-kʰí
 home ST-P3-A3-arrive.back.there.taking
 ‘he took it home (over there)’

(34b) tʰíta a-∅-∅-kní
 home ST- A3-P3-arrive.back.here.bringing
 ‘he brought it home’

The example in (35) implies that the grandmother lives where the speaker lives and that the speaker is at home at the time of utterance (motion toward base-at-DC):

(35) mik^húši mic^híkš **a-∅-∅-kú**
 Grandma my.son ST-P3-A3-bring.back
 ‘Grandma brought my son home’

This example implies that the grandmother does not live where the speaker lives (motion toward DC, base not at DC):

(36) mik^húši mic^híkš **a-∅-∅-ú**
 grandmother my.son ST-P3-A3-bring
 ‘Grandma brought my son home’

The following example has two interpretations: (a) the speaker and the grandmother live at the same place and the speaker is not at home at the time of utterance and (b) the grandmother does not live at the same place as the speaker, in which case the location of the speaker at the time of utterance is irrelevant.

(37) mik^húši mic^híkš **a-∅-∅-kná**
 Grandma my.son ST-P3-A3-bring
 ‘Grandma took my son home’

Chapter 9

Enclitics and Postverbal Particles

1. Introduction

A system of post verbal particles, given in table 9.1, conveys notions of number, aspect, temporality, and modality. The system can be divided into two sets on grammatical as well as semantic grounds; one that can be classified as enclitics and another as modality particles. The enclitics differ from the modality particles in morphological boundaries, stress patterning, and vowel devoicing behavior.

The enclitics are underlyingly stressless; they never receive primary stress but frequently receive secondary stress by rhythmic stress patterning (RSP; see chapter 2:12.4). Thus, they form an accentual unit with their hosts and are bound to the host by an enclitic boundary (see chapter 2:12.1). With the exception of *ktA*, as described in 2.1.5 below, they modify only the verb to which they are attached. Furthermore, all of the enclitics are monosyllabic and, with one exception, vowel final. The vowel of an enclitic may be devoiced when it is in phrase final position.

Unlike the enclitics, which have shared phonological behavior, modality particles seem to be a collection of forms that have emerged by various means over time, sometimes retaining traces of their origins in other grammatical classes, and therefore exhibit less unified phonological behavior. They are analyzed here as forming a single class for several reasons. They are always ordered after any enclitics, they are preceded by an external word boundary and modify an entire

Table 9.1. Order of postverbal elements

Aspect (enclitics)							Modality (particles)			
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
hǻ	:kA	pi	na	ktA	s'A	šj	céʔe	c ^h a	he	c
						ken		c ^h éyakA	káya	c ^h e
								c ^h owána	m	(hín)
								epcá	no	hún(na)
								k ^h ó	ok ^h á	hǻštá
								k ^h oš	po	tuk ^h á
								kos	(sten)	ʔ
								ot ^h íʔika	ǻk ^h á	ʔh
								štéh	wo	ʔc ^h en
								stéya*		
								ǻk ^h aš		

Also: c^húna, kác^ha, kiníca, and wác^hi – position in template uncertain

**steya* has an adverbial form *steh* and is itself somewhat adverbial, e.g. *ipíga stéya* ‘to ferment’, literally, ‘as if boiling’

clause, and, whereas the final vowels of enclitics have been found to devoice before a modality particle, they never devoice before another enclitic.¹ Further, when a modality particle bears stress, it is always primary stress, presumably assigned by the DAR (see chapter 2:12.2), although this assumption is problematic.

Multisyllabic modality particles bear primary stress as expected by the DAR; however, monosyllabic modality particles sometimes bear primary stress and at other times are unstressed. If the DAR applied uniformly to all modality particles, monosyllabic particles would be expected to be stressed in every occurrence, yet they are not.

Finally, while the enclitics undergo vowel devoicing in phrase final position, monosyllabic modality particles do not, providing further evidence that enclitics form a phonological unit with the host verb but modality particles, like other monosyllabic phonological words, do not. For this reason, enclitics are generally represented throughout this work, (as in all of the materials of the Fort Belknap language materials produced through the Hoteja project described in chapter 1), as a unit with the host verb, for example, *mánipiktešĭ* ‘they will not walk’, not **máni pi kte šĭ*. Syllabic modality particles are represented as independent words; for example, *yušná wo* ‘drop it! (male speaking)’. Exceptions to this orthographic practice are made in the case of non-syllabic modality particles, which are written

¹ An example is the following, in which the habitual enclitic is devoiced before the declarative modality particle.

aknâ wa-ŭ-s’^a stén
 follow 1s-CONT-HAB DECL
 ‘I used to follow him around’ (LgC1.178)

as a unit with the preceding verb (and any enclitics); for example, *yušnápišim* ‘don’t drop it (PL)!’, not **yušnápišĩ m*. The particle *po*, a contraction of the enclitic *pi* and the modality particle *wo*, behaves like a modality particle (often taking primary stress), and is therefore written as an independent word.

It is very likely that there are more members of the postverbal system than the ones that are identified here. This is in part because some may simply not occur in the corpus, but also because some may have ceased to be used in contemporary speech, and a degree of nuance, particularly in the realm of modality, has been lost in the language in the course of its decline.

The members of the postverbal system exhibit positional faithfulness. I have assigned numbered positions according to present analysis based on available data, but these assignments must be regarded as provisional. Elements listed in the same column may not co-occur on a single verb. Enclitics occupy positions 1 - 7, and modality particles occupy positions 8-11. The modality particle *cé?e* has arbitrarily been assigned a separate position among the modality particles because, while it meets the criteria of a modality particle and is known to precede particles in positions 10 and 11, it is not clear whether it can co-occur with particles in position 9. The enclitic *pi* exhibits positional variation; it is shown in the template in its most common position, but on rare occasions it may precede the enclitics in positions 1 and 2, as exemplified at (4a-b) below. The positions of five other modality particles, *káč^ha*, *kinĩca*, *úk^haš* ~ *uk^háš*, and *wáč^hi*, have not yet been determined since in all attested occurrences they are the sole particle in the clause.

These are discussed at the conclusion of this chapter.

Postverbal enclitics and particles are optional; verbs may carry none or several of each type. While they need not be from contiguous positions in the template, they do not deviate from the given order. The enclitics *sten* and *hín* are listed in parentheses because they are used only by a small group of speakers at Carry The Kettle and do not seem to be recognized outside of CTK.

As noted in the descriptions below, some postverbal elements interact phonologically with contiguous elements by triggering ablaut, undergoing ablaut, or both. Many of the examples below contain more than one enclitic and comprise much of the evidence used to determine particle positions in the template.

2. Descriptions

The postverbal elements are described below in the order they occur in the template. The abbreviation for each is given in parentheses. Note that these abbreviations are not necessarily unique. Terms may be assigned to more than one element in the grammar if they share that semantic property; for example, the notion “continuative” is conveyed by an enclitic (*hA*) and at least two auxiliary verbs (*ú* and *yqkÁ*), and the notion “habitual” is conveyed by both an enclitic (*s'A*) and a modality particle (*cé'e*).

2.1 Enclitics

2.1.1 *hA* Continuative/progressive (CONT)

hA describes a continuous, uninterrupted action or condition with no implied time limitation. *hA* derives from the positional verb *hA* ‘be standing’, following an

historically common pattern in languages whereby progressives develop from locational forms. Active verbs modified by *hA* suggest an action currently in progress and may be glossed in English with progressive forms, i.e., ‘be X-ing’, as in (1a)-(1b). Stative verbs modified with *hA* describe a temporary or alterable condition, as in (1c)-(1d). In (1d) only one of the modifiers in the expression ‘a big, mean dog’, namely ‘mean’, carries the continuative marker, suggesting that meanness can be altered but inherent size cannot.

- (1a) *én* \emptyset -kní-h_A
 here A3-arrive.back.here-CONT
 ‘he was coming back here’
- (1b) *wá*-hihèya-h_A
 snow-fall-CONT
 ‘it’s snowing’
- (1c) *ìtkú*-ya-h_A
 be.lit-CAUS-CONT
 ‘he left the light on’
- (1d) *šŭka žé* \emptyset -t^háka \emptyset -hinĵka-h_A \emptyset -žéc^ha
 dog that A3-be.big A3-be.mean-CONT A3-be.that.kind
 ‘it’s a big, mean dog’

2.1.2 :kA Durative (DUR)

Describes action over an extended, indefinite period of time and may indicate both repetitive actions and continuous actions with implied boundedness. The colon (:) preceding the phonological form indicates that :kA induces vowel length on an immediately preceding vowel. (The vowel of *pi*, when it precedes :kA, is an exception, as discussed in 2.3 below.)

- (2a) nahâĥ núm ∅-yákáa-ka-pi
 still two A3-sit-DUR-PL
 ‘there were still two (beings) sitting there (for a long time)’ (NR T4.60)
- (2b) “hâ,” ∅-eyáa-ka
 yes A3-say-DUR
 ‘“yes,” he kept saying’ (NR T7.140)
- (2c) né onówą né ∅-ahíyayaa-ke-s’a
 this song this A3-sing-DUR-HAB
 ‘he always used to sing these songs’ (NR T1.3)
- (2e) é^hen ∅-yá-pi-hąą-ka
 so A3-go-PL-CONT-DUR
 ‘so they kept going; they traveled for a long time without stopping’ (NR T6.47)

2.1.3 *pi* Plural (PL)

As a verbal enclitic, *pi* indicates animate plurality. *pi* is obligatory on verbs with plural animate subjects or first or second person plural objects. With the exception of respect speech (see chapter 4:3), occurrences of the enclitic *pi* always indicate plural animate arguments, but all plural animate arguments are not marked by *pi*. Third person plural animate objects are indicated by the pronominal *wiċ^há*, without *pi*, and the dual inclusive is indicated by the first person dual pronominal *u(k)*, also without *pi*.

pi occurs elsewhere in the grammar as a plural marker for human-referencing nouns (chapter 2:4), a nominalizer of transitive verbs (chapter 2:3.2), with third person stems in passive-like constructions (chapter 11:4.1), and on respect forms of verbs (chapter 4:3). It is arguable whether some of these occurrences of *pi* should be considered separate, homophonic morphemes or simply specialized uses of the plural enclitic, but they are all clearly related to (or

perhaps derived from) plural *pi*.

pi has an allomorph, *m*, that occurs when *i* is dropped before a word beginning with a sonorant and, as predicted by the rule of coda nasalization, *p* becomes *m*. Deloria observes, “In conversation, the *bi* [*pi*] is often replaced by the shorter ‘*m*’; *Wic^háša hâskaskam̄ žéc^ha wic^hábahibi c^he* [‘The tall men drove them off’], is about the way it sounds to the ear” (1936:6).² (The full form of the relevant word in Deloria’s example is *hâskaskapi*.) The allomorph is homophonous with the imperative enclitic *m* but due to templatic order, ambiguity does not occur. An example in which both *m*’s occur may be seen in (30), below.

pi behaves differently from other enclitics in several respects. First, it is the only enclitic in the system that is grammatically selected by its host, i.e., for number agreement. Second, it exhibits some positional variation, specifically in relation to the enclitics *hA* and *:kA*. For example, in (3a) *pi* precedes *hA* and *:kA* but in (3b) *pi* follows *:kA*. The examples in (3) are atypical but illustrate that these alternative orders are possible, although there is no immediately obvious explanation for them.

- (3a) *éc^hen Ø-yá-pi-həə-kə*
 so A3-go-PL-CONT-DUR
 ‘so they kept going along’ (NR T6.47)

² Deloria gives the Sioux word *wic^háša* ‘man’ in this example rather than *wic^hášta* (~*wič^hášta*), which has a *t*. One might suppose that she has inadvertently written the Sioux form except that there is one other occurrence of *wic^háša* ‘man’ (1936:31). Nowhere else is ‘man’ attested in Assiniboine as *wic^háša*, and so her consultant may have been exceptional in his use of this form – or she may, in fact, have erred twice.

- (3b) nahâĥ núm ∅-yākáa-ka-pi
 still two A3-sit-DUR-PL
 ‘two continued to be sitting there’ (NR T4.60)

Third, when *pi* precedes :kA its vowel does not lengthen, but the vowel immediately preceding *pi* lengthens, suggesting that :kA is added first, triggering vowel length, and *pi* is added afterwards. This is found at both CTK and FB.

- (4a) owá ∅-wach^hii-pi-ka
 all A3-dance-PL-DUR
 ‘they all kept dancing (for a long time)’ (NR: T5.25) (FB)

- (4b) miní žē mahén ∅-iyáyaa-pi-ka
 lake that in A3-go-PL-DUR
 ‘they kept going into the lake’ (*Seven Horses*) (CTK)

Finally, *pi* differs from other enclitics in its interaction with the male imperative enclitic *wo* (position 10) where the two enclitics contract as *po* and assume the positional requirements of *wo* even when enclitics of intervening positions are present. In (5) *po* follows šĭ, in a position appropriate for *wo* but not for *pi*, which precedes šĭ in the template.

- (5) “tóhḡni Nak^{hot}-ʔiʔé-šĭ po,” é-mḡ-kiya-pi
 never Nakoda speak-NEG PL-IMPER-m ST-P1s-tell-PL
 ‘“Never speak Nakoda!” they told me’ (LgC3.ms)

2.1.4 *na* Diminutive (DIM); *na* triggers e-ablaut.

As an enclitic, *na* indicates diminution but also may indicate affection. Deloria (1936:14) states that *na* may also indicate ridicule but I have found no examples with this meaning. Ridicule is generally indicated by the modality particle *k^ho*, described below. Examples of *na* include:

- (6a) síce-na
be.bad-DIM
'be naughty, be sort of bad'
- (6b) škópe-na
be.curved-DIM
'be slightly crooked, be kind of crooked'
- (6c) tǝyǝ-na
be.well-DIM
'to be well, said in reference to a child or something small'
- (6d) ŭ-na
use-DIM
'to use, as something small; to wear, as a baby wearing booties'
- (6e) wa-ʔó-šte-na
ST-LOC?-good/pretty -DIM
'be cute, as a baby or something small'
- (6f) k^honá-pi-na
friend-PL-DIM
'[my] little friends' (said to someone small, like a child)

na occurs with bound roots in forms such as *cúsina*, 'be small', *ptécena* 'be short', *cuk'ána* 'be little', *hokšína* 'boy', and *wič^hícana*, all with diminutive meaning. In words such as these, the plural enclitic *pi* precedes *na* in plural forms, e.g., *ŭ-cúsi-pi-na* 'we are small', and *hokší-pi-na* 'boys'. Based on this evidence, I conclude that the *na* in these forms is the enclitic rather than the formative suffix *na* described in chapter 6:10.8.

na occurs elsewhere in the grammar as a nominalizer (chapter 3:3.1.3) and as a suffix on some kin terms to mark parallel relationship, e.g., *inána* 'mother's sister' and *aténa* 'father's brother' (see chapter 4).

2.1.5 *ktA* Potential (POT); *ktA* triggers *i*-ablaut.

ktA indicates that an event could, but has not, occurred, effectively creating a temporal distinction between “future” and “non-future.” It does not assert the likelihood of the event occurring and it is not used in imperatives. While semantically modal and modifying an entire clause, as modality particles do, *ktA* otherwise meets the grammatical criteria of an enclitic. When used in reference to a future time, its interpretation is “future.”

- (7a) né ɭktómi owóknaka t^háwa žé ak^hé o-mn-áka-*ktA*
 this ɭktómi story his that again ST-A1s-tell-POT
 ‘I will tell this ɭktómi story again’ (app.2: ɭktómi and Fox.1)
- (7b) hináka, mit^hákoš, wac^hé-wa-kiy_i-*ktA*-c
 wait my.grandchild ST-A1s-pray-POT-DECL
 ‘wait, Grandchild, I will pray’ (app.1: Big Snake.18)
- (7c) tópa c^há šten hiyó-ni-∅-hi-pi-*ktA*-c
 four day when retrieve-P2-A3-arrive.here-POT-DECL
 ‘they will come for you in four days’ (app.1: Big Snake.21)

When used in reference to a time in the past, its interpretation is past conditional, as illustrated in the contrasting pair:

- (8a) h_{ay}ák^heca ∅-nowá-*ktA*
 tomorrow A3-sing-POT
 ‘s/he will sing tomorrow’
- (8b) ħtanih_a ∅-nowá-*ktA*
 yesterday A3-sing-POT
 ‘s/he would have sung yesterday’

ktA combines with the counterfactual *tuk^há* to create irrealis meaning, referring to events that did not, or are unlikely to, occur.

- (9a) ħtániḡa ∅-nowá-kta tuk^{há}
 yesterday A3-sing-POT COUNTERFACT
 ‘s/he should have sung yesterday (but didn’t)’
- (9b) ∅-nowá-kta tuk^{há}
 A3-sing-POT COUNTERFACT
 ‘s/he should/ought to sing’
- (9c) ḡúku ∅-hí ḡkš wa-špá-ḡ-ya-pi-kta tuk^{há}
 his.mother A3-arrive.here if INDEF-cook-A1s -CAUS-PL-POT COUNTERFACT
 ‘if his/her mother had come, we would have cooked’

2.1.6 s’A Habitual (HAB); s’A triggers e-ablaut.

s’A indicates a predictably consistent, habitual occurrence.³ Examples are:

- (10a) ∅-žeyé-s’a
 A3-say.that-HAB
 ‘s/he always says that’
- (10b) tóḡani ∅-pasí-s’e-šḡ
 never A3-drive-HAB-NEG
 ‘s/he never drives’
- (10c) žé ∅-wḡ-kté-s’a
 that.one P3-woman-kill-HAB
 ‘that (man) is a wife-beater’

When referring to events in the past, s’A is often more appropriately glossed as ‘used to’.

- (11) kahómni wac^hípi én ∅-nowá-pi-s’a tuk^{há}
 round dance at A3-sing-PL-HAB COUNTERFACT
 ‘they used to sing at round dances (but they don’t anymore)’

2.1.7 šḡ, ken Negation (NEG)

Both of these enclitics trigger e-ablaut. The *k* of *ken* undergoes velar palatalization

³ The order of s’A and šḡ are reversed in Lakota, where the order is šni-s’a. Note also that s’a does not ablaut in Lakota, possibly due to homonym avoidance with the Lakota enclitic s’e ‘as if’ (Shaw 1980:130), which does not occur in Assiniboine.

when environmental conditions are met (see chapter 2:13.6). There is insufficient evidence for placing *ken* precisely. The example in (13) show that it falls somewhere between *pi* and *ok^há*. Since it is also unstressed, it is analyzed as an enclitic, so I have provisionally placed it in position 7 based on its shared semantics with *šĭ*. *šĭ* is far more commonly used for negation than *ken*, although they appear to be synonymous.

(12) *šĭ*

(12a) wó-ŭ-ta-pi-šĭ
ST-1.du-eat-PL-NEG
'we didn't eat, we haven't eaten'

(12b) Ø-eyé-šĭ
A3-say-NEG
's/he did not say'

(12c) Košká-šĭ ecíyapi
young.man-NEG be.called
'his name was Not A Young Man' (app.1: Big Snake.8)

(12d) žé'ehə c^há nená žéc^hetu-šĭ ó^hi'ŋka-c
back.then wood these that.way-NEG I.think-DECL
'all this brush wasn't here back then, I think' (app.1: Big Snake.23)

(12e) pHá žé žé'jš šnayá-šĭ
head that that-SPC visible-not
'its *head* was not visible' (app.1: Big Snake.31)

(13) *ken* (~*cen*)

(13a) táku wóta o-Ø-kíni-pi-ken
thing eat ST-A3-get-PL-NEG
'they didn't get anything to eat' (NR: T4.53)

(13b) táku sicáya ŭk-éya-pi-ken
thing bad 1du-say-PL-NEG
'we weren't saying anything bad' (LgC1.51)

(13c) Mary, niyé ták-ehè-cen
 Mary, you thing-A2.say-NEG
 ‘Mary, *you* haven’t said anything’ (LgC1.338)

(13d) *ítúň* táku snok-wá-ye-cen ok^{há} ⁴
 instead thing ST-A1s-know-NEG I.mean
 ‘I don’t know anything I was supposed to know’
 speaker’s translation: ‘I didn’t learn a thing!’⁵ (LgC1.162)

Examples (13b)-(13d) were uttered by the same speaker. A moment later, her sister made the statement in (14), echoing (13b) almost verbatim, but using *šĭ* in place of *ken*.

(14) táku sicáya ũk-éya-pi-šĭ ũk^{há}
 thing bad 1du-say-PL-NEG though
 ‘we weren’t saying anything bad, though’ (LgC1.52)

While this confirms that *šĭ* and *ken* are synonyms, *ken* is marked and tends to be used regularly only by a few speakers, though not exclusively even by those few.

The speakers of (13a) and of (13b)-(13d) both use *šĭ* elsewhere. I could not identify a basis for choosing one form over the other. All Assiniboine speakers recognize both forms.

2.2 Modality particles

2.2.1 *cé?e ~ ce ~ cé(?)* Habitual (HAB)

Implies a regular, predictable occurrence. It seems that *e* of the reduced form is

⁴ *ítúň táku ... NEG* (also *táku ĭš ... NEG*) is a construction meaning that something did not turn out as expected, that is, it is not contrary to fact, but contrary to expectation. In this instance, the speaker was talking about her experience in boarding school, claiming that she didn’t learn anything, even though that was the stated purpose in sending her there. Another speaker’s immediate response to the statement in (13d) was, *Míš ĭtúň!* ‘Me, neither!’.

⁵ The speaker is referring to her boarding school experience.

sometimes stressed and sometimes unstressed, although I am not certain of this. Also, the reduced form is sometimes, but not always, followed by a glottal stop, so it is unclear whether the glottal stop is part of the reduced form or the separate, declarative glottal stop.

From available evidence, *céʔe* could be placed in position 9 (thereby eliminating position 8) but its status is ambiguous. It expresses the same aspectual notion as the enclitic *sʔA* but it has primary stress, a characteristic of modality particles. Also, while it can be placed ahead of positions 10 and 11, as seen in (15d), there are insufficient data to determine if it may co-occur with the particles in position 9. I have provisionally assigned it a separate position, as the initial slot in the modality particle portion of the template.

(15a) *i-wá-ʔa h̄gta wa-kíhih̄a céʔe*
 ST-A1s-talk whenever A1s-be.afraid HAB
 ‘when I talk, I’m always afraid’ (LgC3.ms)

(15b) *∅-ǵópa ceʔ* (also attested as *ǵópa céʔe* by the same speaker)
 A3-snore HAB
 ‘s/he always snores’

(15c) *ch̄a-kák̄sa-ksa u-∅-kʰíya-pi céʔe*
 wood-chop-REDUP 1du-A3-CAUS-PL HAB
 ‘they always made us chop wood’ (LgC1.395)

(15d) *t̄aȳá-ken wayáph̄iʃ̄j céʔe okhá ʔ*
 good-NEG A3.speak.well-NEG always I.mean DECL
 ‘she never speaks quite right, y’know?’ (LgC1.208)

2.2.2 *cʰa* ‘probably, it must be the case’

Expresses likelihood of a realized event, one that is expected but unconfirmed.

- (16a) \emptyset -stustá-pi c^ha
A3-be.tired-PL probably
'they must be tired'
- (16b) waná Regina ektá \emptyset -kní c^ha
now Regina there A3-return.home probably
's/he must be back home in Regina [by] now'
- (16c) nehátu-ñ waná špâ c^há
this.way-AUG now cook probably
'it should be done (cooking) by now'
- (16d) Agégena ĭš akní iyáya c^há
Agégena also take set.out probably
'they must have taken Agégena with them, too' (NR T3.12)

When *c^ha* occurs in the same clause with *wanúh* 'maybe', the probability is weakened and refers to an unrealized event that is thought likely to occur. Even though *c^há* combined with *wanúñ* expresses a potential event rather than a realized one, it does not collocate with *ktA*.

- (17a) wanúñ mağážu c^há
maybe rain probably
'it might rain' (NLL)
- (17b) wanúñ wa-kté c^há
maybe A1s-kill probably
'maybe I will kill it' (NLL)

When the probable event referenced is in the present, *wanúñ* is optional.

Parentheses in example (17a)-(17b) indicate that the expressions are attested with and without *wanúñ*.

- (18a) (wanúñ) žen yaká c^há
maybe there A3.sit probably
's/he might be there'
- (18b) (wanúñ) o-máni \emptyset -ŭ c^há
maybe LOC-walk A3-CONT probably
's/he might be walking around'

- (18c) \emptyset -skáta ch^há
 A3-play probably
 ‘s/he might be playing’

2.2.3 *ch^héyaka* Deontic modality, obligation, ‘should, ought to’

- (19a) mné-šj ch^héyaka
 A1s.go-NEG should
 ‘I shouldn’t go’
- (19b) waná mná ch^héyaka
 now A1s.go should
 ‘I should go now’
- (19c) wjch^hášta žé pakápi ch^héyaka
 man that be.respected should
 ‘that man should be respected’
- (19d) žé-ʔjš o-mn-áka ch^héyaka he
 that-SPC ST-A1s-tell/recount should Q
 ‘should I tell that one (i.e., that story)?’ (NR: T4.2)

2.2.4 *ch^hówəna* ‘I wonder; I think so’

This is used when the speaker thinks an event is likely to be so (compare to *hyn*; also to *ot^hiʔjka*).

- (20a) waná \emptyset -kní ch^hówəna
 now A3-come.back.home I.wonder
 ‘I wonder if she’s home (I’m pretty sure she is)’
- (20b) šjka žé wjch^há žé wjch^há- \emptyset -yałtaka ch^hówəna
 dog that man that P3p-A3-bite I.wonder
 ‘I wonder if the dog bit the men (I’m pretty sure it did)’

2.2.5 *epcá* ‘I think, it seems, apparently’

epcá expresses the speaker’s opinion based on observation.

- (21a) táku \emptyset -snokyé-šj epcá
 thing A3-know-NEG I.think
 ‘I don’t think he knows anything’

- (21b) šúkat^haka né nína Ø-wašté epcá
 horse this very P3-be.good I.think
 ‘I think it is a very nice horse’

2.2.6 k^hó Intensifier (INTNS)

Expresses strong emotion of the speaker, indicating emphasis, amazement, ridicule, irony, joking, teasing, surprise. It is homophonous with the adverb k^hó ‘too, also, even’ as in example (22f) and it is frequently difficult to determine which is intended. This may be an example of what Scott DeLancey (1997:33) has labeled *mirativity*, “the grammatical encoding of unexpected information.”

- (22a) uk-á-ya-p^hà-pi k^hó
 (P)1du-ST-A2-hit-PL k^hó
 ‘hey! you (sg or pl) hit us!’
- (22b) é-ma-Ø-yaku-šĭ k^hó
 ST-P1s-A3-take-NEG k^hó
 ‘he didn’t pick me up (as I was expecting)!’
- (22c) óta-šĭ k^hó
 be.much-NEG k^hó
 ‘it’s not very much, it’s not even much’
- (22d) t^hokáhe ec^hámŷ-hta k^hó t^hgʔĭšĭ
 first A1s.do-POT k^hó be.invisible (as from the mind)
 ‘I can’t think what I should do first; I hardly know where to begin’
- (22e) šíca k^hó⁶
 be.bad k^hó
 ‘awful! ugly! yuk!’ (can refer to weather, someone’s outfit, a girl reacting to a boy she doesn’t find appealing, etc.)
- (22f) tóhāni k^hó Ø-hí-šĭ
 never k^hó A3-arrive.here-NEG
 ‘she never comes! she never even comes! (e.g., to visit)’

⁶ The common word for ‘bad’ is *síca*; *šíca* as used here is an example of sound symbolism, in which š is more intense than s.

2.2.7 *k^hoš* ‘anyway, nonetheless’

This might simply be the particle *k^hó* with adversative *-š*, although it is unusual for a suffix to be affixed to a modality particle. The meaning of the form is ‘anyway, despite’; it has the same distribution as *k^hó*.

(23a) *tók^hen ec^hánu k^hóš*
 how A2.do *k^hóš*
 ‘do it any way you can; do it somehow; just do it!’

(23b) *žéc^hetu k^hóš mná-hta*
 be.thus anyway A1s-POT
 ‘I’m going anyway (no matter what)’

(23c) *tók^hetù-šj k^hóš mná-hta*
 be.the.matter-NEG anyway A1s.go-POT
 ‘I’m going anyway’

(23d) *mn-uhé šj k^hóš tók^hetù-šj*
 1s.have-NEG anyway be.the.matter-NEG
 ‘I’m better off without it’ (lit: ‘it doesn’t matter if I have it anyway’)

2.2.8 *kos* ‘as if, pretending

(24) *naḥ^ʔú-šj kos njká*
 hear-NEG as.if A2.CONT
 ‘you’re pretending not to hear’

2.2.9 *ot^hí^ʔika* ~ *ot^híyika* ~ *ot^há^ʔika* ‘I think, it seems to me’

ot^hí^ʔika is by far the most common form, attested at FB, CTK, Ocean Man, and White Bear; *ot^há^ʔika* is attested only at FB as a rare variant. All variants reflect a speaker’s reasonable certainty based on past experience.

(25a) *ómna-pi ya-chíke-šj ot^hí^ʔika*
 smell-NOM A2-want-NEG I.think
 ‘I didn’t think you’d like the smell; I thought you wouldn’t like the smell’

- (25b) wanákaš t^heñíñiya wa-ŭ-yawa-pi o^híʔika
 long.ago hard.REDUP ST-1du-go.to.school-PL it.seems
 ‘it seems going to school was very difficult for us long ago’ (LgC1.95)
- (25c) “Žé mahén duwé-ñ ∅-wukáš o^híʔika-c,” ∅-eyá-pi
 that in someone-SPC A3-be.lying it.seems A3-say-PL
 ‘‘there must be someone (in particular) lying in there,’’ they said’ (NR T7.57)

2.2.10 šteñ ~ steñ ‘as if, like’; triggers e-ablaut

šteñ ~ *steñ* expresses a speaker’s belief based on observation.

- (26a) ∅-ipú^hakŭ-kte steñ žén kák^hiya ∅-ŭc’íyaka
 A3-kiss-POT as.if there that.direction A3-throw.oneself
 ‘she threw herself in that direction, as if to kiss her’ (NR: T7.164)
- (26b) ∅-šŭ^hŭ-pi niyé šteñ
 P3-be.fat-PL you like
 ‘they are fat, like you’
- (26c) nape ěpuĥpú steñ ŭk-ŭ-pi
 hand be.chapped like 1du-stay/be-PL
 ‘our hands were always chapped like that’ (LgC1.42)

2.2.11 stéya ‘to seem, appear to be’; triggers e-ablaut

stéya expresses conjecture based on observation or knowledge of circumstances.

Deloria (1936:19) finds this to be the equivalent of Dakota *s’e*. *stéya* usually occurs in position 7, as in (27a)-(27b), but is attested in one instance before *pi* (27c),

where it functions as predicate.

- (27a) ómna-pi ya-c^hŭke-šŭ stéya
 smell-NOM A2-like-NEG CONJECTURE
 ‘I didn’t think you liked [lit. wanted] the smell’
- (27b) wíya-pi žená ∅-ĥmá-pi stéya
 woman-PL those P3-be.sleepy-PL CONJECTURE
 ‘some of those women look sleepy’

- (27c) apá ĭš wašícu Ø-stéya-pi
 some they white.person 3-seem.CONJECTURE-PL
 ‘some of them seem White’

2.2.12 *he* Interrogative, used by both male and female speakers.⁷

In casual conversation, *he* is usually omitted and the distinction between declarative and interrogative clauses is determined from context.

- (28a) “tók^hen ɥ-ĭ’ǵ-pi-кта he,” Ø-Ø-eyá-ka-pi
 how 1du-act-PL-POT Q P3-A3-say-?-PL
 “‘how should we do/perform that?’ they asked him’ (NR T5.16)

- (28b) “ĭ-ní-tùk^ha hé” Ø-e-cí-ya
 ST-2-be.hungry Q 3-ST-DAT-say
 “‘are you hungry?’ she asked him’ (NR T7.114)

⁷ West (2003:38) reports a male interrogative particle *hwo*, but this particle does not occur in my corpus. In narratives, dialogue in the first person spoken by a male character is always appropriate to a male speaker, even when the narrator is a female. Male command particles and kinship terms are unfailingly consistent with male speakers and when a male character asks a question in these texts, the interrogative enclitic used is *he*. Example (a) was recorded in the mid-1980s. Example (b) is from Lowie (1909:267) (transliterated to my orthography with glides inserted where they would appear today). In both examples the character speaking is male, and in both cases the question is marked by *he*. The narrators of the texts from which the examples are taken happen to be male, although as noted, speech is appropriate to the character, not the narrator.

- (a) “wí zé tók^hecaka he” ĭ-wíc^ha-Ø-wuǵa.
 tent that what.kind Q ST-P3p-A3-ask
 “‘what kind of tent is it?’ he asked them’ (NR T7.58)
- (b) “K^honá tók^hi[y]a he” e[y]á huštá
 comrade where Q A3-say it.is.said
 “‘Where is my comrade?’ he said, it is said’ (Lowie 1909:267)

For at least the past century, *he* has been the only interrogative particle in Assiniboine. Although I have heard (male) partial speakers use *hwo*, I am inclined to think that occurrences of *hwo* in contemporary speech are either recently borrowed from Sioux or, should documents earlier than Lowie show that Assiniboine once had *hwo* (~*huwo*), reintroduced. It should be noted that West’s data in this case are from an Ocean Man speaker so it may be that *hwo* is in regular use there, but if that is the case, I cannot say whether its use there is conservative or innovative.

2.2.13 *káya* ~ *káa* ~ *káyapi* Hearsay, ‘they say’

This undoubtedly derives from the verb used for indirect quotation, which has a complete paradigm (see chapter 6:5.4). When used as an evidential it has the approximate meaning, ‘they say’, regardless of whether it is third person singular (full or reduced form) or plural. The reduced form *káa* results from glide deletion with a resulting long vowel *aa*. It is often difficult to tell if a speaker has said *káya* or *káa*. The antecedent of *káya(pi)* is indefinite, as seen in (29b), where *éyapi* ‘they said’ has a definite antecedent, in contrast to the evidential *káyapi*.

- (29a) $\text{[któmi notít'a-àya e}^h\text{áken } \emptyset\text{-ú káyapi}$
 $\text{[któmi starve-P3-AUX always A3-be they.say}$
 ‘[któmi was always going around starving, they say’
- (29b) “ $\text{c}^h\text{icá-u-yǵ-pi-kte no,}” \text{ eyá-pi káyapi}$
 $\text{child-1du-CAUS-PL POT DECL-m A3.say-PL they.say}$
 “‘we will consider her our child,’ they said, they say’
- (29c) $\text{yuskáska } \emptyset\text{-yuhá-kù káya [or káa]}$
 $\text{clenched.in.a.lump A3-hold-come.back they.say}$
 ‘he returned clutching a lump of it, they say’ (NR T4.13)

2.2.14 *m* Gender neutral imperative, spoken to one or many

No overt pronominal prefix occurs on the host verb with the imperative. As noted in 2.1.3 above, imperative *m* is distinct from the phonologically reduced form of the plural enclitic *pi* that surfaces as *m*, as evidenced by the fact that it may co-occur with *pi* (30a). In this instance, *pi* is not required for plural meaning, since *m* may be used as a plural imperative, but both *pi* and imperative *m* are required when the negative enclitic *šĭ* intervenes.

(30a) Plural addressees, with negation:

“ \emptyset -yušnâ-pî-šî-m,” \emptyset -eyá
 3-drop-PL-NEG-IMPER A3-say
 “Don’t drop it!” he said’ (NR T3.33)

(30b) Singular addressee:

“míš etâhâ o-míci-yapta-m” \emptyset -eyâ- υ
 me some ST-BEN-leave.food-IMPER A3-say-CONT
 “Leave some for me!” he kept saying’ (NR T5.51)

In the following example, *m* occurs twice, in both cases as a reduced form of *pi*, but in the first instance it is the nominalizing *pi* (a simple phonological reduction: *pi* > *p* > *m*), and in the second instance it is the imperative.

(31) “táku azín- \imath c’i-ya-m υ spé-w \imath c^ha-k^hiya-m,” \emptyset -eyá
 thing ST-REFL-smudge-NOM ST-P3p-teach-IMPER A3-say
 ‘teach them to how to smudge themselves, he said’
 (*táku azín’ \imath c’iapi* ‘the act of smudging’)

2.2.15 *ok^há* ~ *uk^há* ‘though; I mean’

It is unclear whether these are variants of a single enclitic or two separate enclitics.

As spoken, the initial vowel is usually neutral or indistinct. Used in casual speech as a tag, the sense is ‘I mean’ (probably derived from *k^há* ‘to mean’) or ‘though’ (probably derived from counterfactual *tuk^há*). It is used by both men and women.

(32a) was said by a man, (32b) was said by a woman.

(32a) nak^hón’i[?]a wo υ k-ékiya-pi ok^há
 Nakoda.language IMPER 1du-tell-PL I.mean
 ‘I mean, say it in Nakoda, as we would say it’ (LgC3.ms)

(32b) nak^hú \imath š eyáya-keca ok^há, tuk^há žéc^hen eštá e^hú-pi-kta ok^há
 some too speak-sort.of I.mean but thus at.least do-PL-POT I.mean
 ‘some of them speak a little bit, though, but, I mean, they should at least be able to do that’ (LgC1.202)

Example (33) uses *tuk^{há}* with essentially the same meaning as *ok^{há} ~ uk^{há}*, suggesting that *ok^{há} ~ uk^{há}* are derived from *tuk^{há}*.

- (33) né ápa wak^{hâ} iyák^{ham} maštá-hta káyapi tuk^{há}
 this day holy beyond clear.up-POT they.say though
 ‘they say it’s supposed to clear up after Sunday, though’ (LgC1.28)

2.2.16 *po* Plural male imperative

po is said by a male when addressing more than one individual, regardless of the sex of the addressees. *po* is a contraction of *pi* and *wo*, from columns 3 and 10, respectively.

- (34a) n-įštó-kmukmus wach^{hí} po
 your-eyes-closed dance PL-IMPER
 ‘dance with your eyes closed!’ (NR T5.24)

- (34b) iyúhana ú po
 all come PL-IMPER
 ‘all of you come here!’ (NR T5.21)

When *pi* and *wo* are not contiguous, contraction does not occur. This can cause confusion among speakers who do not regularly use the language, as seen in (35). The speaker was referring to his experience in boarding school, where students were forbidden to use their native language.

- (35) tóhāni nak^{hót}?i?a po... i?á-po-šj... i?á-pi-šj po Ø-e-mā-kiya-pi
 never speak.Nakoda *po*... speak-*po*-NEG... speak-PL *po* A3-ST-1s.pat-tell-PL
 ‘never speak Nakoda, they told me’ (LgC3.ms)

Like *pi*, *po* is used in respect speech when addressing more than one person with whom the speaker is in a respect relationship.

2.2.17 *wo* Male imperative (IMPER-m)

wo sometimes carries primary stress, but the mechanism by which it acquires

primary stress is uncertain, as discussed in chapter 2:12.4.1. There is no female imperative enclitic. Female speakers occasionally use the male form in very restricted social contexts, usually within the family, as when giving their children an order (*ec^hú wo!* ‘do it, or else!’), or when joking. It does not have the same connotations when used by men. (Interestingly, I have not heard women use the male plural imperative contraction *po.*)

(36a) “Háu, mic^hǰkš, yá wo!” e-∅-∅-cí-ya
 yes my.son go IMPER-m ST-P3-A3-DAT-say
 ‘“Yes, my son, go!” he told him (male speaking)’ (NR T2.14)

(36b) takú-h mnúta chéyaken mí-cağa wó, iná!
 something-SPC 1s.eat could 1s-make IMPER-M mother
 ‘Mother, make something for me to eat! (male speaking)’ (NR T2.7)

(36c) stusténa ma-k’ú wo
 salt 1s-give IMPER-m
 ‘pass me the salt (male speaking)’

2.2.18 *hǰn* ‘isn’t it so?; right?’

This is a sentence tag that assumes the hearer agrees with the statement, effectively, ‘isn’t that so?’ or ‘right?’ It has a slightly lengthened vowel and falling pitch. As example (37b) illustrates, *hǰn* is always sentence final, even following a right displaced subordinate clause (see chapter 11:8). This expression has only been found in use among a few CTK speakers, and appears to be restricted to casual conversation.

(37a) Žéc^hen né, “Ni-túwe he?” e-∅-∅-cí-ye sten, hǰn
 so this.one P2-who Q ST-P3-A3-DAT-say DECL right?
 ‘so this one [indicating another woman in the room] says to him, “Who are you?,” right?’ (LgC1.253)

(37b) John \emptyset -eciya-pi žé \emptyset -kikmâ ʉ-kná-pi c^hén hĭn
 John P3-be.called that A3-resemble 1du-seem-PL thus right?
 ‘so it seemed to us that he looked like the one called John, right?’ (LgC1.265)

(37c) žec^héya hĭn
 that.way right?
 ‘it is like that, isn’t it’ (LgC1.148)

2.2.19 *huštá* Quotative: ‘it is said; so they tell it’.

huštá is an evidential used in narratives. It indicates that the speaker has no firsthand knowledge of the event. It is used primarily in narratives, especially those recounting events in the distant past, in a time before living memory.⁸ It seems to overlap in meaning with *káya* and speakers use both evidentials interchangeably in narratives.

(38a) žéc^hen coyote žé-ʔiš c^hawám \emptyset -iyáya huštá
 so.then coyote that-SPC Canada A3-depart it.is.said
 ‘and so coyote left for Canada, it is said’ (NR T4.73)

(38b) kišní-kici-ya-pi huštá
 ST-RECIP-be.fond.of-PL it.is.said
 ‘they were sweethearts/loved each other, it is said’ (NR T7.2)

2.2.20 *tuk^há* Deontic modality (obligation or duty); counterfactual

This particle is homophonous with the conjunction *tuk^há* ‘but’. When used to express deontic modality, it must co-occur with the potential enclitic *ktA* (39d).

(39a) \emptyset -híi-ke-s’a tuk^há
 A3-come.here-DUR-HAB COUNTERFACTUAL
 ‘he usually comes (but he didn’t this time)’

⁸ I recorded a single example of *huštá* used conversationally to mean ‘I heard (that)’; the example was given in isolation by an Ocean Man speaker:

c^hap^há wāží akní-pi huštá
 beaver one 3-bring.back.here-PL QUOT
 ‘I heard they brought a beaver home’

(39b) kahómni wach^hipi én nowá-pi-s'a tuk^há
 round dance at A3-sing-PL-HAB COUNTERFACT
 'they used to sing at round dances (but they don't anymore)'

(39c) takú-ñ eyá-pi wa-c^hika tuk^há
 thing-SPC say-COMP A1s want COUNTERFACTUAL
 'I wanted to say something (but I didn't)'

(39d) waná mnĭ-hta tuk^há
 now A1s.go-POT OBLIG
 'I ought to/should go now'

The combination of *s'A* and *tuk^há* can also simply attenuate the habitual quality of *s'A*, producing 'usually' rather than 'always'. Example (40a) without *tuk^há* has strictly habitual meaning, whereas (40b) with *tuk^há* has habitual meaning that allows for exceptions.

(40a) ápa nŭpa hâta Ø-hí-s'a
 day two when A3-come-HAB
 'she always comes on Tuesday'

(40b) ápa nŭpa hâta Ø-hí-s'a tuk^há
 day two when A3-come-HAB *tuk^há*
 'she usually comes on Tuesday'

Compare (40b) to (39a) where *s'A* and *tuk^há* co-occur but where the meaning is counterfactual. The difference is determined from context and non-linguistic cues such as tone of voice.

2.2.21 Declarative markers

Declarative markers take several forms, *no* (male speakers only), *sten* (by a small number of female speakers at CTK), and the gender neutral markers: glottal stop [ʔ], and *c*. The latter three forms are in free variation. The glottal stop [ʔ] is clearly different from the joking enclitic [ʔ^h] (glottal stop with strong release) in that [ʔ]

cannot co-occur with other declarative markers, whereas [ʔ^h] can (see 2.2.21.5 below). Nor is the declarative glottal stop simply a phonetic reflex; it may not follow the enclitics *no*, *wo*, or *po*, but may follow other words or enclitics ending in *o*. Declarative markers are optional; when they are absent, an unstressed vowel in sentence final position becomes voiceless (see 2:14.1).

Deloria (1936:23) reports a female declarative particle *ne*, which has the same syntactic distribution as the male declarative particle *no*, but the existence of this particle is questionable because there is no evidence of it today at either CTK or FB, nor have I found it in published texts.

The declarative particles are currently assigned variously to positions 10 and 11, but it is possible that they occur in a single position and position 11 should be split into two separate positions. These particles are particularly difficult to elicit in combination with other postverbal elements and the data on which the (provisional) determinations were made are drawn largely from chance utterances in spontaneous speech recorded in narratives and the language circles.

2.2.21.1 *c* ~ *c^{he}* Gender neutral declarative marker (DECL).

c is a reduction of the obsolete form *c^{he}*⁹ and consequently is frequently articulated with mild aspiration, approximately *c^(h)*. The reduced form *c* is also falling into disuse and tends to occur only with strong assertions or, especially for members of the older generation, with verbs spoken in isolation. In its reduced form, it is

⁹ Significantly, declarative *c^{he}* is unstressed and is not to be confused with the stressed form *c^{hé}* ‘penis’, although the declarative particle may acquire stress as a result of RSP (see 2:12.4.2).

homophonous with the specific-marking suffix *c*.

The late James Earthboy (FB), who himself commonly used *c* as a declarative marker, identifies *c^he* as an obsolete female declarative marker and, in fact, all occurrences of *c^he* in Lowie (1909:266 and 269) are in statements made by a female speaker, yet Deloria (1936) records many examples of *c^he*, by both male and female speakers. This seems to confirm Earthboy's observation and suggests that the restriction of *c^he* to female speakers was lost between 1909 and 1936, with obsolescence occurring more recently. This progression is illustrated in the following examples.

(41a) [“Je´ nixu´x narin`-kta-tce” edjia´-huⁿcta.] (Lowie 1909:266-7, as written)
 “žé ni-ğúñnağĩ-kta c^he,” e-∅-∅-cí-ya huštá
 that P2-burn-POT DECL ST-P3-A3-DAT-say it.is.said
 “It will burn you,” she said.
 (Lowie's translation: “You will get burnt,” she said.)

(41b) [žeyé šten om.nága c^e] (Deloria 1936:20, as written; male speaker)
 žeyé šten o-mn-aka c^he
 A3-say.that when ST-A1s.report DECL
 ‘when he said that, I reported it’

(41c) néci ∅-kní-c
 over.here A3-come.back.here-DECL
 ‘he came back here, returned home’ (contemporary female CTK speaker)

(41d) hó wəkám ye-chĩ-ci-ya-c
 voice above ST-I/you-DAT-send-DECL
 ‘I send my voice up to you’ (said in prayers) (Earthboy, contemporary male FB speaker)

2.2.21.2 *no* Male declarative marker (DECL-m); triggers *e*-ablaut.

no is used to indicate strong assertion. It is almost always omitted on emotionally neutral declarative statements, neutralizing the distinction between male and

female utterances. It may carry primary stress, as in (42c), but this is variable and the principle governing stress assignment on monosyllabic modality particles is as yet not understood.

(42a) wa-ú-kte no
A1s-come-POT DECL-m
'I'm going to come' (male speaking)

(42b) "waná no, mic^hĩkšĩ"
now DECL-m my.son
'now, my son!' (i.e., we're ready, it's time!) (male speaking) (SB.103)

(42c) snok-wá-ye-šj nó
ST-A1s-know-NEG DECL-m
'I don't know!' (male speaking)

2.2.21.3 *sten* Female declarative marker (DECL-f)

This is used only by female members of a single extended family (and at least one close friend) at CTK but recognized by all CTK speakers. For some speakers, *sten* induces *e* ablaut, as in (37a) above, and for others it does not, as in (43b). (37a) and (43b) were uttered by different speakers, but the two speakers are sisters.

(43a) Ø-nañ'ų ok^há, Ø-eyĩ-kte žé Ø-wayáp^hi-šj cé?e sten
A3-hear I.mean A3-say-POT that A3-speak.well-NEG always DECL-f
'he understands alright, but when he tries to speak he can't do it'
(LgC1.203)

(43b) "iná *pie plate* t^háwa žé hiyó-wa-hi-c" e-má-Ø-ki-ya sten
mother pie plate her that ST-A1s-come.after-DECL ST-P1s-DAT-say DECL-f
'I've come to get my mother's plate,' she told me' (LgC1.235)

2.2.21.4 Glottal stop (?) Gender neutral declarative marker (DECL).

Phonetically, ? is often weaker than a full glottal stop, especially following an unstressed vowel. The weak glottal gesture following unstressed high vowels is [ə]; following unstressed low vowels it is simply aspiration, either [h], [ah], [ħ], or [aħ].

Although Deloria states that “[t]he glottal stop is not employed to indicate a statement of fact” (1936:22), there is an abundance of examples dating from at least the 1980s to the present, from all reserves in the United States and Canada, including examples such as the following. It may be that the weaker realizations of the declarative glottal stop described here were not perceived as such by Deloria.

(44a) aǵúʔ ‘it’s scorched, burned on the surface’

(44b) nén a-stústa-ken mǵká ʔ
 here LOC-be.tired-rather A1s.sit DECL
 ‘I’m sitting here kind of tired’

(44c) [k^hošká-b agé-wǵži t^hí-bi ə]
 k^hošká-pi aké-wǵží Ø-t^hí-pi ʔ
 young.man-PL eleven A3-live-PL DECL
 ‘there lived eleven young men’ (NR T3.1)

(44d) [a-ʔíc^ʔi-c^hidaa-ga ĥ]
 a-íc^ʔi-c^hitaa-ka ʔ
 LOC-REFL-look-DUR DECL
 ‘she kept looking at herself’ (NR T3.16)

2.2.21.5 ^{ʔh} Joking marker (JOKE)

This is a glottal stop with strong, audible release. Added to a sentence, it appears to render a statement counterfactual and indicate that the speaker is teasing or joking. More research is needed to confirm the existence of this morpheme since speakers are not conscious of using it, yet a statement without the strong glottal stop is interpreted as non-ironic. All of the examples below, when uttered without ^{ʔh}, were interpreted as declarative statements. To gain a sense of the conversational context in which these examples were recorded, it may be of interest to note that (47a) below, ‘as if she had any money!’, was said in response to (45b).

ʔ^h often collocates with *eyá* ‘say’ or *ehá* ‘I say’; it may be that *eyá/ehá . . . ʔ^h* is a joking construction.

- (45a) ma-wǎ-nɯ-kta epcá ʔ^h
 ST-A1s-steal-POT I.think-JOKE
 ‘I’m thinking of stealing it (said as a joke while admiring something belonging to another)’ (LgC1.400)
- (45b) “mázaskà hažé mí-c’u-∅ ” ehá ʔ^h
 money purse P1s-give-IMPER A2.say JOKE
 “Give me your change purse!” you said (speaker is teasing)’ (LgC1.315)
- (45c) “paǵí ma-ǔ-nɯ-pi-s’a” ehá k^ho no ʔ^h
 potato ST-1du-steal-PL-HAB A2.say EMPH decl-m JOKE
 “you said we always stole [your] potatoes!”
 (female speaker using *no* as a joke) (LgC1.398)

2.3 Enclitics of uncertain position

The two particles described in this section do not receive primary stress and are therefore classified as enclitics, but there are insufficient data to establish their position in relation to the other enclitics.

2.3.1 *chyna~chuna* Repetitive (REP); triggers e-ablaut

Probably derived from *ec^hú* ‘do’, *chyna~chuna* describes repeated action in which each repetition has greater temporal length than the rapid iterativity implied by reduplication. For instance, compare the examples below to the reduplicated forms *kaksáksa* ‘to chop’ or *ap^háp^ha* ‘to knock, rap, as at a door’. Only third person forms are attested. When pluralized, *pi* is inserted between *ch^hu-* and *-na* (46d), suggesting that this is a diachronically derived form. The combination of verb + *chuna* is often repeated, as in (46a)-(46b), but the repetition is not required for repetitive meaning, as seen in (46c)-(46e). It receives secondary stress in some

instances, as in (46c), and possibly in (46a), although the vowel is rhetorically lengthened by the speaker in these instances so it is difficult to tell if stress is present also.

(46a) žéc^hen Ø-patĩ-iyèye-c^huna, Ø-patĩ-iyèye-c^huna
 so A3-spread.out-AUX-REP A3-spread.out-AUX-REP
 ‘so he kept spreading it out and spreading it out’ (NR T4.26)

(46b) Ø-tokšú-c^huna, Øtokšú-c^huna
 A3-haul-REP
 ‘he kept hauling it and hauling it’

(46c) Ø-pamnăska-c^hùna
 A3-flatten-REP
 ‘he kept flattening it out’

(46d) a-Ø-ʔúte-c^hu-pi-na
 LOC-A3-shoot-ST-PL-REP
 ‘they kept shooting’

(46e) wá-hihâ-c^huna
 snow-fall-REP
 ‘it keeps snowing (day after day); it snows and snows’

2.3.2 *kac^ha* ‘as if; ‘bad’; triggers *e* ablaut; *k* palatalizes¹⁰

Implies something is unlikely, not true, or not correct; carries a connotation of ridicule or joking. (The example in (47a) was said in response to (45b) above.)

(47a) mázaskà yuhé cac^ha
 money A3.have as.if
 ‘as if she had any money!’ (LgC1.317)

¹⁰ As the example in (47a) shows, ablaut precedes palatalization: yuhÁ + kác^ha
 -> yuhé + kác^ha -> yuhé-cac^ha

(47b) *wašícú* *įš* *wayáp^{hi}-pi* *káč^ha*¹¹
 white itself A3.speak.well-PL as.if
 ‘as if they could speak good English!’ (LgC1.319)

(47c) *wašín-waħté-káč^ha* (*wašícú* > *wašíc-* > *wašín-*)¹²
 White-bad-as.if
 ‘bad English’ (LgC1.320)

2.4 Modality particles of uncertain position

The three particles described in this section bear primary stress and are classified as modality particles, although they have not been found with other enclitics or particles so their position in the template cannot be established. Boas and Deloria (1941:75) classify two of them, *kiníca* and *wáč^{hi}* as dependent verbs. However, in their examples, *kiníca* is inflected whereas in Assiniboine the preceding verb is inflected. Their examples, for *wáč^{hi}*, as well as those in the present corpus, are exclusively third person so it is not possible to determine where inflection would occur. It may be that these two particles may eventually be found to be dependent verbs.

2.4.1 *kiníca* ‘just about, almost’

There are no attested examples in which *kiníca* co-occurs with any other enclitic.

¹¹ This might be followed by the joking morpheme *ʔ^h*, but it is not clear on the tape, where several people are speaking at once.

¹² The term *wašícú* designates white people, but has no reference to color. The origin and meaning of the term are issues of debate – even of some controversy, when folk etymologies are taken into account. A plausible explanation is found in Buechel (1970:551). The entry for *wašícú* indicates that the word refers to “any person or thing that is *wak^há* [having sacred or incomprehensible powers]” and that “the white man seemed to be *wak^há* so they [the Lakota] called this new comer among Indians, coming from across the ocean *mni-wašícú*” (*mni* ‘water’). In Assiniboine, the term generally refers only to Anglo-whites; there is no specific term for ‘French’. When combined with *iʔá* ‘speak’ as *wašínʔiʔa* it means ‘English language’.

In (48c) *kiníca* functions as an adverb.

- (48a) \emptyset -tasáka kiníca
A3-freeze almost
'he almost froze (to death)'
- (48b) ma-híh̄paya kiníca
P1s-slip.and.fall almost
'I almost slipped and fell'
- (48c) wikcémna yámni kiníca mitúkaši \emptyset -t'á žé
ten three almost grandfather A3-die that
'it has been almost thirty years since my grandfather died' (LgC3.ms)
(lit. 'my grandfather died almost thirty years ago')

2.4.2 *úk^haš* ~ *uk^háš* Optative: 'I wish; if only' (also a conjunction)

Known to follow *pi*, there is no further evidence regarding template position; it is included in 9 by analogy to semantically similar evidentials with which it cannot co-occur. Inherently unrealized, it does not induce overt potential marking on the host verb.

- (49a) mağážu *úk^haš*
rain if.only
'if only/I wish it would rain!'
- (49b) kanúza né kichúni *uk^háš*
wind this quit if.only
'if only/I wish the wind would stop blowing!'
- (49c) nākáhə Regina ektá mná *uk^háš*
now Regina to A1s.go if.only
'I wish I could go to Regina today'

2.4.3 *wác^hı̄* Prospective, intentive (triggers e-ablaut)

Despite referencing a potential event, *wác^hı̄* does not co-occur with the potential marker *ktA*, probably due to semantic incompatibility.

- (50a) šǰkna wáč^hǰ
 be.angry PROSP
 ‘it looks like he’s about to be angry’
- (50b) wáhihè wáč^hǰ
 snow PROSP
 ‘it’s about to snow, it looks like snow’
- (50c) ku-wáč^hǰ
 come.back.here PROSP
 ‘to wish to return home, to be thinking about returning home’

2.5 Degree of certainty

Several of the modality particles reflect the speaker’s relative certainty of an event, although there is not enough evidence to propose a hierarchy of certainty. *hún* ‘I wonder’ appears to reflect the least certainty, while declarative particles indicate certainty. In between, the particles *c^ha*, *c^howána*, and *ot^hi?ǰka* may all be glossed ‘I think’; it may be that they vary in degree of certainty, but it might, instead, reflect the basis on which one asserts something, for example, observation or hearsay. Further research is needed to determine the criteria for use of these particles. From observation, *ot^hi?ǰka* is the most commonly used of the three.

Chapter 10

Determiners, Quantifiers, and Partitives

1. Introduction

Assiniboine determiners include demonstratives, quantifiers, partitives, and the cardinal and ordinal numbers. There are no determiners specific to definite, indefinite, or possessive marking. The demonstratives may function as definite articles; the number ‘one’ and the particle *c^ha* serve as indefinite articles. Several strategies exist for marking possessed nominals.

2. Definite and indefinite marking

Assiniboine has neither a definite nor an indefinite article. Sentences with no determiners, like the following, are very common.

(1a) t^haspə awótapi akān Ø-yəká
 apple table on A3.sit
 ‘the apple is on the table’

(1b) hokšína t^hápa a-Ø-Ø-p^há
 boy ball ST-P3-A3-hit
 ‘the boy hit the ball’

In addition to the definite readings given for the examples in (1), indefinite or mixed definite/indefinite readings are also possible. For example, (1b) also means ‘a boy hit a ball’, ‘a boy hit the ball’, or ‘the boy hit a ball’. Technically, generic readings are also possible, since inanimate nouns are not marked for plurality; thus, ?‘a boy hit balls’ or ?‘the boy hit balls’, although for those meanings ‘balls’ would probably be modified by a partitive. The appropriate interpretation is usually

easily determined from context but when more clarity is desired for the speaker's purpose, a demonstrative (see §3 below), usually *žé* 'that' but also *né* 'this, serves as a definite article and the number 'one' (for singular reference) or the particle *c^ha* 'such' (for singular or plural reference) may serve as indefinite articles. These ersatz articles may be glossed in English either as demonstratives or as articles, but it is usually more appropriate to gloss them as articles, since the literal translation is highly marked, as shown in (2). English does not have a plural reference indefinite article so *c^ha* is omitted in free translation, as in (3).

(2) [hokšína žé] [thápa wáží] a-∅-∅-p^há
 boy that ball one ST-P3-A3-hit
 'the boy hit a ball'
 ?'that boy hit one ball'

(3) [wanákaš onówa c^ha] [wac^hékiyapi onówa c^ha] mit^húkaši
 long.ago song that.kind prayer song such 1.POSS-grandfather

 wanákaš ahíyaye-s'a
 long.ago A3.sing- HAB

'long ago, my grandfather used to sing old songs, prayer songs' (NR T1.1)

c^ha is used as an indefinite article when an indefinite token of a specific type is referenced, as in the previous example, where *c^ha* modifies a plural noun, and in the following examples, where it modifies singular nouns.¹

¹ Rood and Taylor (1996:456) describe nouns modified by *c^ha* as emphatic, "translated into English as 'It was a/the NOUN who/which VERB'." This analysis is possible in Assiniboine for the examples in (4)-(5), i.e., 'it was an Indian who helped me' and 'it was a white man who helped me', respectively, but is less felicitous for the example in (3): ?'long ago it was old songs, it was prayer songs that my grandfather sang'.

- (4) Nak^hóta c^ha ó-ma-kiya
 Indian such.a.one ST- P1s-help
 ‘an Indian helped me’
- (5) wašícu c^ha ó-ma-kiya
 white.man such.a.one ST-P1s-help
 ‘a white man helped me’

Of the demonstratives, *žé* is the preferred, and therefore unmarked, choice for use as a definite article, but the availability of two different demonstratives as articles allows a distinction between proximal and distal reference:

- (6) wíyǵa žé Ø-hǵaska
 woman that A3-be.tall
 ‘the woman (over there) is tall’ or ‘that woman is tall’
- (7) wíyǵa né Ø-hǵaska
 woman this A3-be.tall
 ‘the woman (close by) is tall’ or ‘this woman is tall’

Apparently, the demonstrative, *ká* ‘yonder’, is not used as a definite article; I have not been able to elicit it as such, nor have I found it in any texts.

3. Demonstratives

Assiniboine demonstratives function in various ways. Their use as determiners is considered here; the other uses, as pronouns and relative and complement clause markers, are discussed in chapter 11.

There are six demonstratives (table 10.1) that express three degrees of distance with respect to the speaker and morphologically distinguish singular from plural.

Table 10.1. Demonstrative articles

né	'this'	nená	'these'
žé	'that'	žená	'those'
ká	'that yonder'	kaná	'those yonder'

Plural demonstratives may only modify plural nominals, but the morphologically singular demonstratives may modify both singular nominals, as in the examples in (6)-(7) above, and plural nominals, as in the following examples. The nouns modified by morphologically singular *né* in (8) and *žé* in (9) are overtly marked as plural by means of number agreement on the verb. When such disjuncture occurs in number agreement between demonstratives and the nouns they modify, the more likely interpretation is 'the' rather than 'this' or 'that'.

(8) ě'ok'â-pi né etâhâ Ø-hí-pi-ši
 singer-PL this some A3-arrive.here-PL-NEG
 'some of the singers haven't arrived'

(9) it^hâchâ-pi žé wicâna-pi-ši
 leader-PL that agree-PL-NEG
 'the leaders did not agree to it' (NR T7.76)

When plural demonstratives modify animate beings, the verb has the plural enclitic *pi* with subject NPs (10) and *wic^ha* with object NPs (11)-(12); when they modify inanimate things, the verb is unmarked for number (13).

(10) žená táku-pi he
 those be.what-PL Q
 'what are those (animate)?'

- (11) šukcúk'ana žeʔiś² wahíheya echáʔiś o'íkonusena echá
 coyote such-SPC mole such-SPC badger such

žená wíchá-kico chén

those P3p-A3-called thus

'so he called a coyote, a mole, and a badger' (NR T6.45)³

- (12) tuktám ináne žehâ pağŭta žená špa-wícha-wa-ya
 somewhere A2.depart while duck those be.cooked-P3p-A1s-CAUS
 'while you were gone, I cooked those ducks'

² The particle *iś* ~ *ĩś* is often translated as 'also' but one consultant reports instead that it "just makes it stronger," that is, in this example, *ch^haʔiś* has essentially the same indefinite meaning as *ch^ha* but is slightly more specific. She gives the sequence *apá* < *apáʔiś* < *apáʔiś k^ho*, all meaning 'some, some of', but progressively more emphatic, approximately, 'some of them' < 'some of those' < 'some of them' (with emphasis). I believe that the appropriate gloss for *ĩś* ~ *iś* in phrases like these is SPC 'specific'.

Nakhónʔiʔapi ĩś wayáph^hi k^hó apá ĩś
 Nakoda language SPC A3.speak.well even some SPC

'some of them don't even speak Nakoda very well' (LgC1.206)

This explanation of *iś* also works well for situations where *iś* occurs but there is no element in the discourse that would serve as antecedent to 'also', as in the following example, a grace said before meals. In this example, the demonstrative *né* is a complementizer, augmented by *iś*. A translation of 'this, also' makes no sense in this context.

né wó-wa-tj-kta néʔiś p^hiná-ma-ya
 this ST-A1s-eat-POT this-SPC please-Pls-CAUS
 'thank you for what I am about to eat'

The compound *tákuʔiś* is described by a consultant as "narrowing down *táku* to refer to what the conversation is about." The context for the following example is a conversation about things taught at boarding school; the speaker makes the following comment, in which *ĩś* refers to the current topic of conversation.

tákuʔiś snok-wá-ye žéc'a-šⁱ
 thing-SPC ST-A1s-know be.that.kind-NEG
 'I don't know any of that stuff!' (LgC1.157)

³ This sentence could also mean 'so he called coyotes, moles, and badgers', but in the context of the story from which this example is taken, it is clear that one of each is called.

- (13) *nená táku he*
 these be.what Q
 ‘what are these (inanimate)?’

Choice of definite or indefinite marking is determined from discourse context. First reference to a nominal element in discourse is indefinite and typically has no determiner, while non-first reference will typically be marked as definite, since the referent has been uniquely identified. Second reference is often not only definite, but demonstrative. Since the singular demonstratives have several possible interpretations, a more specifically demonstrative meaning is achieved by using two identical singular demonstratives, one preceding and one following the nominal expression.⁴ In (14), both the speaker and addressee were previously aware that the addressee had an injured knee. The use of two demonstratives gives the question the approximate force of the English colloquial question, ‘does that knee of yours still hurt?’.

- (14) *tók^hen né t^haǰáke né naháǰ nína ni-yáza he*
 how this knee this still very P2-be.painful Q
 ‘does your knee still hurt? (NR T.6.20)

In (15) ‘young woman’ is a second reference in the narrative and is bracketed by *né* . . . *né*, but the older sister is referenced here for the first time and so no article is required in the noun phrase that references her.

⁴ In fact, I have referred elsewhere (Cumberland 2005) to the use of two demonstratives to modify a single noun phrase as instances of a “specific definite,” borrowing a term from Givon (1984).

- (15) né wjkhóške né, thaká-ku chén,⁵ šiř'á žéc^ha-c
 this young.woman this older.sister-3.poss thus monster that.kind-SPC
 'this young woman's older sister was one of those monster-kinds' (SB.6)

The use of two identical determiners to modify a single noun phrase is also a re-focusing device that is used once a character (or characters) has been introduced but unrelated information intervenes between references. Between the first references to a young man and a young woman in (16a) and the second reference in (16b), the narrator gives some explanatory information about the custom of “favored child.” In the second reference, one of the nouns carries the double determiner marking. There are no instances in the corpus of double determiners occurring on two successive noun phrases, so the choice of which noun phrase receives the double marking appears to derive from semantic conditions.

- (16a) wjkhóške k^hošká t^he-∅-∅-hína
 young.woman young.man ST-P3-A3-treasure
 'a young woman loved a young man' (NR T7.1)
- (16b) įknúhahañ [k^hošká žé] [né wjkhóške né] wəyák-∅-í
 all.at.once young.man that this young.woman this see-A3-arrive.there
 'all at once, the young man went to see this young woman' (NR T7.3)

In another example, a narrator introduces characters in a story, eleven brothers, with predictably indefinite reference (17a) and follows with additional information about individual members of the group. When she next references the brothers collectively four sentences later (17b), the reference is bracketed by determiners.

⁵ *chén* is a subordinating conjunction, in this case creating a structure similar to a participle phrase. A more precise translation of this sentence is approximately, 'this young woman, having an older sister, that sister was one of those monster-creatures'.

- (17a) k^hoškáp akéwəži Ø-t^hí-pi
 young.men eleven A3-live-PL
 ‘there lived eleven brothers’ (NR T3.1)
- (17b) ká iyáme-Ø-iyà-pi né k^hoškà-pi né
 over.there A3.go.hunting-PL this young.men-PL this
 ‘these young men had gone off hunting’ (NR T3.5)

The use of dual demonstratives is not required in these circumstances, and exceptions are easily found, but it seems that when dual determiners do occur, it is usually when unrelated information intervenes between references.

4. Quantifiers

Quantifiers give a relative or indefinite indication of quantity. The quantifiers are listed in table 10.2. As indicated in the table, most of these forms may refer to both count nouns (e.g., trees, people, apples) and mass nouns (e.g., sugar, water, sand). *anúk*, *nup^hín* and *wəžíkži* modify only count nouns on semantic grounds.

Quantifiers are positioned after the noun and after any stative verbal modifiers, when present, in the noun phrase.

Table 10.2. Quantifiers

<i>anúk</i>	‘both’ (count)
<i>cónana</i>	‘few, a few’ (count or mass)
<i>iyúha</i>	‘all (distributive)’ (count or mass)
<i>iyúhana</i>	‘all (collective)’ (count or mass)
<i>k^hówa</i>	‘all’ (count; ?mass)
<i>nowá</i>	‘all’ (count or mass)
<i>nup^hín</i>	‘both’ (count)
<i>ótA</i>	‘many’ (count or mass)

4.1 *anúk* ‘both’

Most of the quantifiers and partitives may also function as pronouns and in the case of *anúk*, only a pronominal example is available, given in (18).

- (22b) t^haspâ iyúhana éyuaku
 apple all A3-take
 ‘s/he took all the apples (all at once, as when taking a whole bag of apples)’

The distinction between *iyúha* and *iyúhana* is also seen in the textual examples in (23) and (24). In (23) *iyúhana*, used in this instance as a pronoun, co-occurs with the rare collective verb *aʔi* ‘arrive there, collectively’; in (24) a variety of berries is referenced and, as predicted, the distributive form *iyúha* is found.

- (23) iyúhana én aʔi
 all there come (coll.)
 ‘they all went there (all together)’ (NR T5.16)
- (24) táku waskúyeca ok^hiknək[a] iyúha c^hawâm ɨc^háǵa-ha
 thing sweet all.kinds all Canada grow-?
 ‘all kinds of berries grow in Canada’ (NR T4.75)

Because *iyúha* is distributive, it can also mean ‘every’, as in (25). By comparison, the notion ‘all summer’ is created by the adverbial suffix *-eyasə* ‘all, throughout’, as in (26).

- (25) mnokétu iyúha Ø-hí
 summer all A3-arrive.here
 ‘s/he comes every summer’
- (26) mnok-éyasə Ø-ú-kta
 summer-all A3-stay-POT
 ‘s/he will stay all summer’

iyúhana may form a contraction with *né* as *níyuhana*, as in (27), in which the speaker is referring collectively to all the women in the community.

- (27) wíyə níyuhana wón-a-Ø-í-pi c^hen
 woman all.these(coll.) food-ST-A3-take-PL thus
 ‘all the women would take food [implies for a feast]’ (LgC1.99)

4.4 *nówa*, *k^hówa* ‘all’

nówa is a contraction of *né* and the pronoun *owá* ‘all’.

- (28) táku t^háwa nówa é-∅-knąka c^hén
 thing his all ST-A3-put thus
 ‘so he put all his things on it’ (NR T4.4)
- (29) k^hošká-pi nówa šykʔákanyak-t^hiwókšą wínowa-pi-s’a
 young.man-PL all ride.around.camp sing.love.songs-PL-HAB
 ‘all the young men used to ride around camp singing love songs’ (NR T1.25)

k^hówa ‘all of them’ is also derived from *owá*, probably a contraction of *owá* and *k^hó* ‘even; also’. The initial velar is aspirated so *k^h* cannot be a due to a contraction of *owá* and the demonstrative *ka*.

- (30) mit^hákožapina k^hówa wac^hi-wiç^ha-wa-k^hiyi-kta-c
 1poss-grandchild-PL all dance-P3p-A1s-CAUS-POT-DECL
 ‘I will make all my grandchildren dance’ (NR T5.112)

k^hówa can also mean ‘also’ and refers to plural entities.

- (31) wiç^háp^haha k^hówa éyaku huštá
 scalp also A3-take it.is.said
 ‘he also took (many) scalps, it is said’ (NR T7.50)

4.5 *nup^hín* ‘both’⁷

From the available evidence, this word appears to be synonymous with *anúk*.

- (32) istó nup^hín ∅-paksá
 arm both A3-break
 ‘he broke both his arms’

⁷ There is a pronoun *umáñ* ‘neither’, derived from *umá* ‘other’, but there are no examples in which this word is used as a quantifier.

umáñ tákuni ɥk-ókihi-šj
 neither nothing 1du.get-NEG
 ‘neither of us got anything’

4.6 *óta* ‘many, a lot; much’

This quantifier modifies both animate (33) and inanimate (34) nouns. It also functions as a stative verb meaning ‘be many, be a lot, be much’, which lacks first or second person singular forms for semantic reasons. An example of *óta* as a stative verb is given in (35).

- (33) *šŭka óta wŭc^há-mnuha*
 dog many P3p-A1s.have
 ‘I have many dogs; I have a lot of dogs’
- (34) *ġpa hot^hùna wŭtka óta Ø-t^hŭ*
 chicken egg many A3-lay
 ‘the chicken laid many eggs; the chicken laid a lot of eggs’
- (35) *óte-šŭ k^hó*
 be.much-NEG even
 ‘it’s not very much; there aren’t very many’
- (36) *šŭkat^haka nína-ñ Ø-óta kák^hi Ø-ŭ-pi-šŭ*
 horse very-ñ P3-be.many over.there A3-be-PL-NEG
 ‘there aren’t very many horses over there’

5. Partitives

Partitives (table 10.3) describe a part of a whole. There are affirmative and negative partitives. The negative partitives are formed by adding a suffix *-ni* ~ *-na* to the corresponding affirmative partitive. Like the quantifiers, partitives are not differentiated for count or mass nouns, other than for semantic reasons: *tuwéni* ~ *tuwéna* refers to humans only; *wqžlñ* and *wqžínlñ* derive from the number ‘one’ and have singular (hence “count”) meaning. Partitives are positioned after the noun and any stative verbal modifiers, when present.

Table 10.3. Partitives

apá	‘some, some of’ (count or mass)
c ^h okán	‘half’ (count or mass)
etáhą ~ etáħą	‘some, some of’ (count or mass)
táku	‘any’
tóna	‘some; several; how many; how much’ (count or mass)
tákuna ~ tákuni	‘none’ (animate-non-human, inanimate)(count or mass)
tuwéna ~ tuwéni	‘none (human animate)
wąźiń	‘any’
wąźiniń	‘not one, not any’ (count)

Partitives are often omitted when a definite/indefinite distinction is irrelevant. With mass nouns, omission of the partitive tends to give an indefinite reading, while use of the partitive tends to have more specific meaning, although both readings are possible in either case, as seen in (36a)-(36b). (Recall that the question enclitic is optional.)

(36a) t^haspá ya-c^hįka (he)
 apple A2-want (Q)
 ‘do you want some apples?’
 ‘do you want some of the apples?’

(36b) t^haspá etáhą ya-c^hįka (he)
 apple some A2-want (Q)
 ‘do you want some apples?’
 ‘do you want some of the apples?’

(37a) wańpé mnuhá
 tea A1s.have
 ‘I have some tea’
 ?‘I have some of the tea’

(37b) wańpé etáhą mnuhá
 tea some A1s-have
 ‘I have some tea’
 ?‘I have some of the tea’

5.1 *apá* ‘some, some of’

As shown in the examples, *apá* may be used with count nouns (38)-(39) or mass nouns (40). It appears to be synonymous with *etáhq*, but within the corpus, it occurs more frequently with count nouns.⁸

- (38) t^hípi apá t^hó
house some be.blue/green
‘some of the houses are blue’
- (39) wíç^hášta apá iyáya
man some A3.depart.from.here
‘some of the men have left’
- (40) aǵúyapiskàna apá wa-kána
flour some A1s-empty.by.turning.over
‘I spilled some flour’

5.2 *ç^hokán* ‘half’

ç^hokán is related to the adverb meaning ‘middle’. It may modify both mass and count nouns.

- (41a) ç^hokán hiyáya ma-k’ú
middle pour P3-give
‘give me half (as of a cup of tea)’
- (41b) šǵúka žé ç^hokán Ø-sápa-pi
dog that half P3-be.black
‘half of the dogs are black’ (as of a pack of dogs)

⁸ The *Nakoda Language Lessons* (Parks, Ditmar, and Morgan 1999, Unit 10:8-9) describe *apá* as restricted to count nouns and *etáhq* as restricted to mass nouns. My data suggest that this is a tendency rather than a rigid rule. In fact, *etáhq* is freely used with both types of nouns and only *apá* has a tendency to be restricted, in particular, to count nouns. One CTK speaker perceives *apá* as indicating a larger portion than *etáhq*, giving *apá* when ‘most’ is elicited, as in the following example:

kit^hézi žé apá háska-ska-pi
kids that most be.tall-REDUP-PL
‘most of the children are tall’

- (41c) wówapi žé c^hokán mn-awá
 book that half 1s-read
 ‘I read half the book’

5.3 *etáħa* ~ *etáħa* ‘some, some of’

There seems to be no phonological reason for the variation in the second vowel, so the two forms are considered doublets; both forms are correct, and individual speakers may use either one on different occasions.⁹ *etáħa* may modify count nouns (42) and mass nouns (43) (see note 9). It may also function as a predicate as in (44). As a quantifier, it appears to be synonymous with *apá*, although *etáħa* seems to be more common in general.

- (42) škoškópena etáħa wa-c^hĩka
 banana some 1s-want
 ‘I want some bananas’ (count noun)
- (43a) wahápi etáħa ma-k’ú
 soup some P1s-give
 ‘give me some soup!’ (mass noun)
- (43b) aǵúyapi skúya etáħa yac^hĩka (he)
 bread sweet some A2-want (Q)
 ‘do you want some cake?’ (mass noun)
- (44) c^héǵa k’ína e-má-taha
 kettle carry-NOM ST-P1s-be.from
 ‘I’m from Carry The Kettle’ (LgC1.8)

5.4 *tóna* ‘some; how much, how many’

tóna is used both affirmatively (45) and interrogatively (46) to refer to an unspecified number.

⁹ This might be evidence of anticipatory nasal assimilation but no strong evidence has been found to suggest that this is a regular process. Also, the feature [nasal] has not been found to cross the glide *h*. See chapter 2:10 for a discussion of nasal assimilation.

- (45a) šúkat^hàka tóna op^hé-wič^ha-wa-t^hú
 horse some ST-P3p-A1s-buy
 ‘I bought some horses’
- (45b) šúka tóna Ø-wóta-pi
 dog some A3-eat
 ‘some dogs are eating’
- (46a) aǵúyapi mnúna tóna ya-chíka he
 flour how.much A2-want Q
 ‘how much sugar do you want?’
- (46b) asápi tóna yatká he
 milk how.much A3.drink Q
 ‘how much of the milk did he drink?’

5.5 *tákuni* ~ *tákuna* ‘none’ (inanimate reference)

tákuna occurs only in the CTK data, but it might also occur elsewhere in Canada;

it is not used at FB. *tákuni* ~ *tákuna* must co-occur with a negative verb.

- (47a) t^haspá žé tákuna t^hem-Ø-yá-pi-šǵi
 apple that none ST-A3-eat.up-PL-NEG
 ‘they didn’t eat any of the apples; they ate none of the apples’
- (47b) t^hípi žé tákuna t^háke-šǵi
 house that none be.big-NEG
 ‘none of the houses are big’
- (48a) umá-ni-ñ tákuni ʉk-ókini-pi-šǵi
 both-NEG-AUG nothing 1du-PL-NEG
 neither of us got anything; neither of us got anything’
- (48b) tákuni mnuhé-šǵi
 nothing A1s.have-NEG
 ‘I don’t have anything; I have nothing’

tákuna ~ *tákuni* is also used for reference to non-human animate beings.

- (49) šúka žé *tákuna* wap^há-p^ha-pi-šǵi
 dog that none bark-REDUP-PL-NEG
 ‘none of the dogs are barking’

Another means for indicating ‘none’ is to use *etáhq* ‘some’ with a negative verb. If *etáhq* is intensified and used with a negative verb, the meaning is ‘not a single one’, as shown in the following example.

- (50) Edáhq né, etáhq-ǎ kninápa-pi-šǰ.
 some this some-INTNS come.back.out-PL-NEG
 ‘not a single one of these came back out’ (Seven Horses.11)

5.6 *táku* ‘any’ (negative reference)

The indefinite pronoun *táku* may also occur as a quantifier. When it has the meaning ‘any’, it must occur with a negative verb. Like *tákuni*, it is restricted to inanimate reference but it is unclear whether there are circumstances under which *táku* is preferable to *tákuni* ~ *tákuna* or if these forms are simply in free variation.

- (51) Rob t^haspá táku op^hé-∅-∅-t^hǰ-kte-šǰ
 Rob apple what ST-P3-A3-buy-POT-NEG
 ‘Rob won’t buy any apples’
- (52) tákuškina táku wic^há-mnuhè-šǰ
 child any P3p-A1s.have-NEG
 ‘I don’t have any children’
- (53) wa[?]áhòp^hapi táku snok-∅-ya-pi-šǰ
 respect any ST-A3-know-PL-NEG
 ‘they don’t have (lit. ‘know’) any respect’ (LgC1.200)

The notion ‘none’ is also conveyed by the verbs *níca* and *waníca* ‘to lack’ and the pronoun *tákunišǰ* ‘none’. No partitive is used with the nominal arguments of these verbs. There are very few examples of these verbs in the corpus. It is not clear what determines whether *níca* or *waníca* is used. From the examples, it seems clear that it is not a difference between transitive and intransitive, despite what appears to be the detransitivizing indefinite prefix *wa-* in the form *waníca*.

- (54) mázaska ma-níca
 money P1s-lack
 ‘I have no money’
- (55) wɨc^hášta žé c^hecá ∅-waníca
 man that leg P3-lack
 ‘that man has no legs’
- (56) tákuniši k^hó snok-wa-ye-ši
 nothing even ST- A1s-know
 ‘I don’t know anything!’ (LgC1.156)

5.7 *tuwéni* ~ *tuwéna* ‘no, not any (human reference)’

These modify singular or plural human reference nouns, with plural reference marked on the verb. *tuwéni* ~ *tuwéna* must co-occur with a negative verb. The variant *tuwéna* is attested at CTK but not at FB.

- (57) Nak^hóta tuwéna nén ∅-ú-ši (singular reference)
 Indian no.one here A3-stay-NEG
 ‘no Indian lives here’
- (58) Nak^hóta tuwéna nén ∅-ú-pi-ši (plural reference)
 Indian no.one here A3-stay-PL-NEG
 ‘no Indians live here’

5.8 *wqžĩĩ* ‘any; a single one’

Although derived from *wqžĩ* ‘one’, *wqžĩĩ* somewhat surprisingly occurs with a plural-marked verb in (59), where it modifies a human-reference noun. In (59), *wqžĩĩ* modifies a human-reference object NP and the verb carries the third person animate plural object pronominal *wic^ha* (in this example seen as its non-nasalized variant *wic^ha*). It is not possible to judge from this example, the only one in the corpus with human reference, whether the lack of plural marking on the human-referencing noun is a requirement of *wqžĩĩ* or due to the fact that such plural

marking is optional. In (60) *wąžiń* functions as an indefinite article.

- (59) wɨc^hášta hâska wąžiń wą-wíc^ha-naka he
 man be.tall one-AUG ST-P3p-A3.see Q
 ‘did you see any tall men?’
- (60) oʔinaži én owóte t^hípi wąžiń há he
 town in café one stand Q
 ‘is there a café in this town?’

5.9 *wąžiniń* ‘no, not one’

This is derived from stem *wąžini* (*wąži* ‘one’ and a negative suffix *-ni*), followed by augmentative *ń*. *wąžini* is not attested without *-ń*. It must co-occur with a verb marked with negative *ši*. In contrast to *wąžiń*, where a plural verb occurs with a human-reference argument, *wąžiniń* occurs here with a singular verb.

- (61) wýya wąžiniń iʔé-ši
 woman none A3-speak-NEG
 ‘not a single woman spoke’

6. Numbers

6.1 Cardinal numbers

The cardinal numbers often function as quantifiers. The numbers are given in table 10.4. The numbers 1-10 are identical to those in Sioux with the exception of *iyúšna* ‘seven’. I have heard Sioux *šakówi* ‘seven’ used by some Assiniboine speakers at White Bear and Fort Peck but it does not seem to occur at FB or CTK. Cardinal numbers follow the noun and may either precede or follow any stative verbal modifiers present in the noun phrase.

Table 10.4 Cardinal numbers

wąží	‘one’
núpa	‘two’
yámni	‘three’
tópa	‘four’
záptą	‘five’
šákpe	‘six’
iyúšna	‘seven’
šaknóǵa	‘eight’
nąpcúwąka	‘nine’
wikcémna	‘ten’
akéwąží	‘eleven’
...	
wickémna núpa	‘twenty’
wikcémna núm sām wąží	‘twenty-one’ <u>or</u>
wikcémna núm aké wąží	‘twenty-one’
...	
opáwǵe	‘one hundred’
opáwǵe sām wąží	‘one hundred one’
opáwǵe sām aké wąží	‘one hundred eleven’
...	
opáwǵe sām wikcémna núpa	‘one hundred twenty’
opáwǵe sām wikcémna núm sām wąží	‘one hundred twenty-one’ <u>or</u>
opáwǵe sām wikcémna núm aké wąží	‘one hundred twenty-one’
koktópawǵe	‘thousand’
wówayat ^h ąka	‘million’

The “teens” are formed by prefixing *aké-*, i.e., *akéwąží* ‘eleven’, *akénupa* ‘twelve’, etc. The decades are formed by the word *wikcémna* ‘ten’ followed by the appropriate cardinal number, e.g., *wikcémna núpa* ‘twenty’, *wikcémna yámni* ‘thirty’, etc. Numbers between decades are formed either by adding *sām* ‘more, beyond’ to the decade term, followed by a cardinal number, e.g., *wikcémna núm sām wąží* ‘twenty-one’, or by adding *aké* to the decade term, followed by a cardinal number, e.g., *wikcémna núm aké wąží* ‘twenty-one’. These two methods appear to be in free variation. The numbers ‘two’ and ‘four’ are shortened to *núm* and *tóm*,

respectively, when followed by another element in a numeric compound, and may sometimes be shortened when they occur phrase finally.

Numbers beyond 100 are formed by the word *opáwiġe* followed by *sám* and the unit or decade numbers, as in the examples listed in table 10.4 and glossed below.

- (62) *opáwiġe sám waží*
 hundred beyond one
 ‘one hundred one’
- (63) *opáwiġe šám akéwaži*
 hundred beyond eleven
 ‘one hundred eleven’
- (64) *opáwiġe šám wikcémna*
 hundred beyond ten
 ‘one hundred ten’
- (65) *opáwiġe sám wikcémna ným sám yámni*
 hundred beyond ten two beyond three
 ‘one hundred twenty-three’

When cardinal numbers are used as determiners, they are indefinite unless followed by a demonstrative.

- (66) *šúkat^háka iyúsna wawíc^{ha}-∅-yaka* (indefinite)
 horse seven ST-P3p-A3-see
 ‘he saw seven horses’ (Seven Horses: ms)
- (67) *šúkat^háka iyúšna žé miní žén ∅-iyáyaa-ka* (definite)
 horse seven DET lake there A3.go-DUR
 ‘the seven horses kept going into the lake’ (Seven Horses: ms)

Cardinal numbers can also be used as predicates, as in (68), where the number is inflected for animate plurality.

- (68) *mi-c^hica-pi ∅-iyúšna-pi*
 1poss-child-PL P3-be.seven-PL
 ‘I have seven children’ (lit. ‘my children are seven’) (LgC1.103)

6.2 Ordinal numbers

Other than the word for ‘first’, which has the unique lexical term *t^hokáhe*, the ordinal numbers are formed by adding a prefix *ǫ-* to the cardinal numbers: *ǫnúpa* ‘second’, *ǫyámni* ‘third’, *ǫtópa* ‘fourth’, . . . *ǫʔákewqži* ‘the eleventh’, and so forth to nineteen. I have not found ordinals higher than nineteen. Nominal forms of the ordinal numbers are derived by a similarly productive process. A prefix *ǫcí-* is added to the cardinal numbers: *ǫcínúpa* ‘the second one’, *ǫcíyámni* ‘the third one’, etc. In the following example, both types of ordinals are used.

- (69) *ǫcíyámni* žén žehán \emptyset -ǫštíma huštá; nén hǫhépi *ǫtópa* žén . . .
 third.one there then A3-sleep it.is.said; this night fourth then
 ‘he slept through the third one, it is said; so on the fourth night . . .’
 (NR T7.91)

7. Summary comparison of quantifiers and partitives

There is one pair of corresponding affirmative and negative partitives, *wqžǫlǫ* ‘any (one)/*wqžǫniǫ* (. . . *šǫ*) ‘not a one’. Otherwise, the quantifiers and partitives correspond equally to the negative partitives. A human/non-human distinction is made among the negative partitives such that *tuwéni* (. . . *šǫ*) ‘none’ refers to humans and *tákuni* (. . . *šǫ*) has both non-human animate and inanimate reference. *táku* (. . . *šǫ*) has inanimate reference but there are at present no data indicating whether it may refer to non-human animate beings as well. The question of number agreement for human-reference arguments modified by *wqžǫlǫ* and *wqžǫniǫ* requires further research.

8. Order of demonstratives relative to quantifiers and partitives

A quantifier or partitive may co-occur with a demonstrative in a noun phrase, but

the order in which they occur affects the meaning. The order *noun+quantifier (or number)+demonstrative* specifies the size of the group, as illustrated in (70a) and (71a). The order *noun+demonstrative+quantifier (or number)* designates a portion of a larger group or whole, as illustrated in (71b) and (72b).

(70a) šŭkatâka iyúšna žé
horse seven that
'the seven horses'

(70b) šŭkatâka žé iyúšna
horse that seven
'seven of the horses'

(71a) wówapi iyúha žé mnawá
book all that A1s.read
'I read all of the books'

(71b) wówapi žé iyúha mnawá
book that all A1s.read
'I read all of the book, the whole book'

When used without a demonstrative, partitives may have either definite or indefinite meaning.

(72) t^haspâ etâhâ
apple some
'some apples; some of the apples'

When used with a demonstrative, only a definite reading is possible; the demonstrative precedes the partitive.

(73) t^haspâ žé etâhâ
apple that some
'some of the apples'
(*'some apples')

Also, when a noun is modified by a quantifier or partitive without a demonstrative, the noun phrase may have generic meaning:

- (74) Nak^hóta iyúha Ø-wac^hí-pi
Indian all A3-dance- PL
'all Indians dance' also 'all of the Indians danced'
- (75) Nak^hóta etáħa Ø-wac^hí-pi
Indian some A3-dance-PL
'some Indians dance' also 'some of the Indians danced'

Chapter 11

Syntax

1. Introduction

The basic constituent order in Assiniboine is SOV (subject-object-verb). As discussed in chapter 10, there is neither a definite nor an indefinite article; it is not uncommon for NPs to lack a determiner, with definiteness or indefiniteness determined from context. Other major syntactic features discussed here include negative and interrogative clauses, noun phrases, verb constructions, postpositions, coordination, subordinate clauses (complement, adverbial, and relative), right dislocation of various constituents, ellipsis, and comparative constructions.

Like all the languages in the Sioux-Assiniboine-Stoney dialect continuum, Assiniboine is a head-marking language, as illustrated in (1). For example, in a clause, which is headed by a verb, subject or object number is marked on the verb rather than on the noun phrase.

- (1a) šŭka wap^háp^ha-pi
 dog bark-REDUP-PL
 ‘the dogs are barking’
- (1b) John šŭka wó-wic^ha-∅-k’u
 John dog ST-P3p-A3-feed
 John fed the dogs

Possessive prefixes, when they occur, are affixed to the possessed noun and indicate inalienable possession, as in (2).¹

- (2) mit^ha-nápsíʔoǎnaʔi
 1POSS-ring
 ‘my ring’ (NR T1.24)

There is some disagreement about the configurationality of Dakotan languages. For example, Williamson (1984) argues that Lakota has flat structure while West (2003) argues that Assiniboine has asymmetrical clause structure. The view taken in this study is that Assiniboine is configurational, i.e., the language can be analyzed as having VPs in surface structure, with asymmetry between grammatical subjects and objects. This will be discussed in more detail presently.

By some criteria, Assiniboine might be viewed as what is termed a “pronominal argument” language, that is, a language in which syntactic arguments of the verb are exclusively pronominal, with lexical NPs analyzed (in some versions of the theory) as adjuncts to the clause. Although Assiniboine has not been specifically identified as a pronominal argument language, the closely related Lakota has been (Mark Baker 1996:18). One reason for proposing such an analysis for Assiniboine is that, as in Lakota, NPs are optional elements in a clause and when they are present, they co-occur with (rather than replace) the pronominal affixes on the verb. In the example in (3a), both the object NP ‘three horses’ and the third person plural animate object pronominal affix *wič^ha* ‘them’ are present in the clause and agree with each other for case and number. But (3b) *ophé-wič^ha-wa-thu*

¹ The example in (2) is an example of the type of inalienable possession in which an item is closely associated with an individual (see 3:5.1)

'I bought them' (without the lexical NP) is also a well-formed clause.

(3a) *šúkat^haka yámni* ophé-wj^ha-wa-t^hu
 horse three ST-P3p-A1s-buy
 'I bought three horses'

(3b) ophé-wj^ha-wa-t^hu
 three ST-P3p-A1s-buy
 'I bought them'

West (2003) addresses this question in detail for Assiniboine and concludes that the person affixes are agreement markers rather than syntactic arguments, while Rood (p.c.) is inclined toward a pronominal argument analysis for Lakota, and, by extension, for Assiniboine. The arguments for either position are complex and will not be reviewed because they are not essential to a basic description of Assiniboine syntax.

Returning to the question of configurationality, West argues that Assiniboine has asymmetrical clause structure. To support her claim, she subjects data to an array of syntactic tests including coordination, word order restrictions, and binding conditions. An example from West is given in (4); her orthography is given in italics.²

(4) *Hokšína [ta - kóna -gu apá] hīkná [ceyī] kta*
 Hokšína [t^ha -k^hóna -ku ap^há] hīkna [c^héyī] kta
 boy POSS-friend -3POSS hit CONJ cry POT
 'they boy will hit his friend and then will cry'
 *'the boy will hit his friend and then he (the friend) will cry' (West 2003:34)

She explains,

² Although West marks the second reading in (4) as ungrammatical, it is, in fact, acceptable (see the examples in [110a-110c] below). The crucial point for her argument is that the first reading is acceptable.

The subject is structurally higher than the object, because it is the object of the first verb that is included in the conjunction structure, excluding it from being understood as the subject of the second clause. The subject of the first clause is not included in the conjunction, so it must be structurally higher than the object. [West 2003:34]

Examples like that in (4) are offered as further evidence of a VP in that postverbal enclitics may have scope over multiple conjuncts. The potentiality enclitic *ktA* in (4) occurs only once in the sentence but has scope over both ‘hit’ and ‘cry’. West (2003:39) argues, “If there were no VP, and the structure were flat . . . , the enclitic would not be expected to have scope over all the conjuncts.” I will not attempt to evaluate West’s arguments but I will assume Assiniboine to be configurational, although whether it is or not has little impact on the analysis in the remainder of this chapter.

2. Simple Sentences

2.1 Canonical word order

The basic structure of a simple declarative sentence with a transitive verb is subject-object-verb (SOV):

- (5) John Mary \emptyset - \emptyset -ap^há
 John Mary P3-A3-hit
 ‘John hit Mary’
 * ‘Mary hit John’

Note, however, that Assiniboine allows right dislocation of a grammatical subject or object, creating NP-final clauses (see section 8, below).

For ditransitive verbs, the order of direct and indirect objects does not seem to be rigid. However, the order in (6a), in which the direct object precedes the

indirect object, is more common and is always the order given in elicited sentences.

(6a) John t^haspá Mary \emptyset - \emptyset -k'ú³
 John apple Mary P3-A3-give
 'John gave Mary [an/the] apple'

(6b) John Mary taspá \emptyset - \emptyset -k'ú
 John Mary apple P3-A3-give
 'John gave Mary [an/the] apple'

The order of subject and object NPs may not be varied when both participants are animate nouns, but may be inverted when the subject NP is animate and the object NP is inanimate. Thus, (7b) is ungrammatical for the meaning 'John hit Bob' but (8b) is allowed for the meaning 'John hit the ball'.

(7a) John Bob a- \emptyset - \emptyset -p^há
 John Bob ST-P3-A3-hit
 'John hit Bob'

³ The argument structure of k'ú 'give' is a matter of some debate. It is semantically ditransitive but apparently has the argument structure of a transitive verb; that is, it appears to be only bivalent. It appears to allow only one agent pronominal and one patient pronominal, and when used with k'ú, the animate plural object pronominal wíç^ha may only correspond to the recipient (indirect object) rather than the thing(s) given (direct object). The following sentence is considered ungrammatical because it has two patient pronominals:

*púza-pi-na wíç^há-ma- \emptyset -k'u
 cat-PL -DIM P3p-P1s-A3-give
 ('s/he gave me the kittens')

The accepted expression does not have wíç^ha:

púzapina ma- \emptyset -k'ú
 kittens P1s-A3-give
 's/he gave me the kittens'

However, Regina Pustet (p.c.) offers a Lakota example in which two patient pronominals are attested on k'ú, a reference to a woman's being given to a man's family in marriage:

wíç^há-ma- \emptyset -ku
 P3p-P1s-A3-give
 'they gave me to them'

I was not able to elicit a similar example in Assiniboine. An extended discussion of this problem may be found in the archives of the Siouan List at <http://listserv.linguistlist.org/archives/siouan.html>

- (7b) *Bob John a- \emptyset - \emptyset -p^há
 Bob John ST-P3-A3-hit
 ('John hit Bob')
- (8a) John t^hápa žé a- \emptyset - \emptyset -p^há
 John ball that ST-P3-A3-hit
 'John hit the ball'
- (8b) t^hápa žé John a- \emptyset - \emptyset -p^há
 ball that John ST-P3-A3-hit
 'John hit the ball'

Similarly for ditransitive verbs, the order of animate nouns does not allow movement within the clause but an inanimate noun may be moved. Thus (9c) is ungrammatical for the meaning 'John gave Mary the/an apple' because the indirect object precedes the subject.

- (9a) John Mary t^haspá \emptyset - \emptyset -k'ú
 John Mary apple P3-A3-give
 'John gave Mary [an/the] apple'
- (9b) t^haspá John Mary \emptyset - \emptyset -k'ú
 apple John Mary P3-A3-give
 'John gave Mary [an/the] apple'
- (9c) *t^haspá Mary John \emptyset - \emptyset -k'ú
 apple Mary John P3-A3-give
 ('John gave Mary [an/the] apple')

Variations in the order of full NPs does not affect the order of pronominal affixes (10). Recall that the order of pronominal affixes is fixed (see chapter 6:8.8.6).

- (10a) John Mary púzapìna wìc^há- \emptyset -k'ú
 John Mary kittens P3p-A3 -give
 'John gave Mary [the/some] kittens'
- (10b) púzapìna John Mary wìc^há- \emptyset -k'ú
 kittens John Mary P3p-A3 -give
 'John gave Mary [the/some] kittens'

The maximum structure of the simple sentence is given in (11). Four of the

positions (pre-sentential adjuncts, pre-verbal adverbial phrases, enclitics, and modality particles) may be multiply filled.

(11) (Pre-S(s)) (AP) (Subj. NP) (Obj. NP) (Obj. NP) (PP) (AP(s)) V (ENCL(s)) (PART(s))

“Pre-S” represents a variety of pre-sentential adjuncts, such as interjections, vocatives, sentence launchers, and discourse markers, that do not form a coherent grammatical class but often precede the clause. Discourse markers are typically adverbs or conjunctions that associate a sentence with preceding elements in the discourse, and interjections express emotion. The following is an example of multiple pre-sentential adjuncts.

(12) žéc^hen A! hǎhépi žén Ø-įštíma-šį huštá né.
 so ah! night there A3-sleep-NEG it.is.said this.one
 ‘ah! so that night he did not sleep’ (NR T7.85)

It is unclear if a non-subordinate clause can end in a conjunction. There are two types of clauses that appear to end in conjunctions. First, clauses often end with *c^hén* ‘thus, therefore, because’. Sometimes *c^hén* functions as a subordinating conjunction, as in (13).

(13) žéc^ha c^hén waʔókmapí k^hó o-wa-kihi-šį
 be.that because write even ST-A1s-be.able-NEG
 ‘that’s the reason that I can’t even write’ (LgC1.15)

Sometimes *c^hén* occurs at the end of a simple sentence, functioning as a sentence-final discourse marker, tying a statement to earlier information in the discourse, as in (14), which is a complete sentence. Here, *c^hén* relates the statement to the immediately preceding sentence in the text, which says ‘he knocked him down’. The example in (14) is a series of simple sentences. The first sentence ends in the quotative *káya*. The second sentence, as spoken, is followed by an audible pause

before the third sentence is uttered, indicating that the two statements are separate sentences, and therefore, *c^hén* cannot be a conjunction in this instance.

- (14) Kaptáya-∅-∅-ĩhpéya káya. Kat'á k^hó ĩhpéya c^hén.
strike-P3p-A3-fall they.say P3-A3-knock.dead even fall thus

∅-Kisní-c'ehə.
3.REFL-recover-past

'He (ĭktómi) knocked him down, they say. He even knocked him dead. He (Fox) recovered.' (app.2: ĭktómi and Fox.22)

At other times *c^hén* seems to be adverbial and in still other instances, it seems to be a modality particle, indicating that an action is taken with a particular purpose in mind, as in (15); if a simple sequencing of actions were intended, the narrator would be more likely to have used *žéc^hen* 'then.'

- (15) ∅-kní c^hén hušté-∅-kùza k^hó c^hén
A3-return.here thus be.lame-A3-pretend also thus
'so he came back; so he also pretended to be lame' (app.2.11)

The second occurrence of *c^hén* is adverbial. (*c^hén* is discussed further in 7.2 below.)

The second type of sentence that appears to end in a conjunction is probably a compound sentence in which an interjection follows the conjunction. Several sentences in the corpus are like the example in (16), which appears in the *Nakoda Reader* as two separate sentences (the division is marked in the example by a square bracket), but which I am now inclined to analyze as a compound sentence interrupted by an interjection. There is a noticeable pause after the conjunction *hík*, but this is expected because conjunctions cliticize to the first of two conjuncts.

- (16) . . . nēc^{he} wɨc^{há}-∅-yuzá hɨk,] a! hupáhu koskós eyáš iwášteĥ-ú
 . . . this.way P3p-A3-hold and] ah! wing waving so slowly-come

māk^{hóc}he žén a-∅-∅-kní-pi káyapi
 earth there ST- P3-A3-bring they.say

‘. . . he held them like this and,] oh! then with wings flapping, they slowly brought him down to the earth, they say’ (NR T2.39)

Although more study is needed, at this point it appears that any element that seems to be a sentence-final conjunction can either be analyzed as some other grammatical element or as sentence internal.

2.2 Negation

A finite or non-finite clause is negated by adding one of the negative enclitics, *šĭ* or *ken*, to the verb (see chapter 9 for additional discussion of these enclitics). The word order is the same as for a simple declarative statement. Examples are:

- (17) John t^haspá ∅-yúte-šĭ
 John apple A3-eat-NEG
 ‘John didn’t eat (an/the) apple’
- (18) táku sicáya ũk-éya-pi-ken
 thing bad 1du-say-PL-NEG
 ‘we weren’t saying anything bad’ (LgC1.51)

Negative imperatives are formed by adding *šĭ* to a non-finite verb, as in (19).

There are no examples of negative imperatives with *ken* so it is not clear whether *ken* may be used in imperatives.

- (19) t^haspá žé yúte-šĭ wo
 apple that eat-NEG IMPER-m
 ‘don’t eat the apple! (male speaking)’

2.3 Yes-no questions

Formally, yes/no questions are formed by adding the interrogative particle *he* to a

declarative sentence, although the interrogative particle is frequently omitted in informal speech (see chapter 9:2.2.12). No other syntactic or morphological changes occur.

- (20) t^haspá Ø-yúta he
 apple A3-eat Q
 ‘did he/she eat (an/the) apple?’

The intonation is the same as for declarative sentences, unlike English, in which this type of question typically has rising intonation at the end of the clause. In (20), the peak of the sentence is the first syllable of *yúta*. However, the interrogative particle may be stressed, in which case the sentence has two peaks, as in (21), where *he* is stressed for emphasis.⁴

- (21) i-ní-tùk^ha hé
 ST- P2-be.hungry Q
 ‘are you hungry? (NR T7.114)

2.4 *Wh*-questions (“*t*-questions”)

Assiniboine has a set of interrogative words that begin with the letter *t*—possibly a remnant of a historical indefinite morpheme—that Siouanists refer to as “*t*-words.” The *t*-words are used to construct what in English are referred to as *wh*-questions, similarly identified by their onsets. Unlike English *wh*-words, however, Assiniboine

⁴ This kind of emphatic stress occurs with imperative and declarative particles also:

hiyá, ech^húšj wó
 no do-NEG IMPER-m
 ‘no, do not do it!’ (NR T7.77)

k^honá o-wá-ki-ne-kte nó
 friend ST-A1s-DAT-look.for DECL-m
 ‘I will go look for my friend!’ (NR T2.6)

t-words remain *in situ*, rather than being fronted.

- (22) John tuwé i-∅-yǔǵa he
 John who ST-P3-A3.ask Q
 ‘Whom did John ask?’

In formal speech, *t*-words require that the verb be marked with the interrogative particle *he*, although *he* is often omitted in informal speech.

As indicated in table 11.1, three of the pronominal interrogative pronouns can also function as stative verbs. The fourth pronominal adverb should logically also do so, e.g., *?žé tukté he* ‘which one is that?’, but I have no examples to support this hypothesis. Only the concept ‘when?’ is differentiated for realized and unrealized events, as *tóhq* and *tohán*, respectively. In this, Assiniboine differs from Lakota, which systematically differentiates realized and unrealized forms for the notions ‘what?’, ‘when?’, and ‘where?’. Lakota has the realized/unrealized pairs *táku/takúl* ‘what?’, *tóhq/tohál* ‘when?’ and *tukté/tuktél* ‘where?’, but as may be seen in table 11.1, Assiniboine *tukté* ‘which?’ is not semantically related to *tuktén* ‘where?’. Neither *tuktén* ‘where?’ nor *táku* ‘what?’ have distinct forms for realized and unrealized events (see examples (22) and (34) below).

The list of *t*-words in table 11.1 is not exhaustive but it includes the basic forms, many of which have a variety of derived forms that are not listed here. The list of corresponding non-interrogative forms is also not exhaustive, but is provided for several reasons. First, in the case of the interrogatives that function both as pronouns and verbs, the table shows that non-interrogative correspondences are the same whether the interrogative form is used in a particular instance as a

pronoun or a verb. Second, the correspondence between interrogative and non-interrogative forms is not always obvious from English glosses because the Assiniboine non-interrogative forms often make different distinctions than similar English forms. Finally, some forms are related by their morphology, and a comparison of the interrogative and non-interrogative forms provides some insight into appropriate use of the forms, although the correspondences are not rigid. That is, one need not reply to *tók^{hiya}* 'where to? which way?' with a form in *-k^{hiya}*, e.g., *néc^{hiya}* 'over this way'; *néc^{hi}* 'over here' could also be used. I suspect that there is a subtle difference in meaning depending on which non-interrogative form is used, but further research is needed on this question.

Table 11.1 Interrogative words

<i>t</i> -word	Gloss	Pro.	Vb.	Adv.	Some corresponding non-interrogative forms
táku	what?	x	x		táku 'thing, something' né, žé, ká, nená, kaná, žená (this, these, etc.)
tóna	how much, many?	x	x		tóna 'some'
tukté	which?	x	(x)		néʔiš, 'this one' žéʔiš 'that one'
tuwé	who?	x	x		né 'this one' nená 'these (ones)' žé 'that one' žená 'those (ones)'
tákuc ^h en	why?			x	c ^h én, ūs, žéʔus 'because'
tįsko	how big? what size?			x	nįsko 'this size' žįsko 'that size'
tóhə	when? (in the past)			x	həta 'when, whenever' žéhə 'then (in the past)'
tohən	when? (in the future)			x	šten 'when (in the future)'
tók ^h en	how			x	c ^h én 'that is why' ūs 'because of' žéʔus 'because of that'
tók ^h i	where? (stationary or directional)			x	tuktám 'somewhere' néc ^h i 'over here' žéc ^h i 'over there' kák ^h i 'over yonder'
tók ^h iya	where, which way (directional)?			x	néc ^h iya 'this way' žéc ^h iya 'that way' kák ^h iya, 'that way yonder' tók ^h iyac ^h en 'some direction'
tuktén	where? (stationary)			x	nén 'here' žén 'there' kán 'yonder' tukténa '(at) some place'

- (23) táku ‘what?’
- (23a) táku \emptyset -yúta he
 what A3-eat Q
 ‘what is he/she eating?’
 ‘what did he/she eat?’
- (23b) táku yútj-kta he
 what A3-eat-POT Q
 ‘what will s/he eat?’
- (23c) žé táku he
 that be.what Q
 ‘what is that?’
- (24) tóna ‘how much? how many?’
- (24a) tóna ya-chíka he
 ‘how.much/many A2-want Q
 ‘how much/many do you want?’
- (24b) ni-tóna-pi he
 P2-be.how.many-PL Q
 ‘how many are you? how many of you are there?’
- (25) tukté ‘which?’
 (often occurs as *ymá tukté* or *tukté ymá* ‘which of two’; *ymá* ‘other’)
- (25a) (ymá) tukté ya-chíka he
 (other) which A2-want Q
 ‘which one do you want?’
- (25b) tukté wašté-wjchá-ya-na he
 which ST-P3p-A2-like Q
 ‘which of them (animate) do you like?’
- (26) tuwé ‘who?’
- (26a) tuwé \emptyset -hí-pi he
 who A3-arrive.here-PL Q
 ‘who (pl) came?’
- (26b) ni-hj \emptyset -tuwé he
 2.poss-mother A3-be.who Q
 ‘who is your mother?’

(27) *tákuc^hen* ‘why?’

Q: *tákuc^hen né-šj* he? A: *mağážu c^hén*
 why A2.go-POT-NEG Q rain-POT thus
 ‘Q: why didn’t you go?’ A: ‘because it’s raining/ it rained’

No example is available for the adverb *tísko*, but a derived verb *tískoka* ‘be

how big’, is attested in Parks 1985-1999:12.229:

(28) *žé tísko-ka* he
 that be.how.big Q
 ‘how big is it?’

(29) *tóhą* ‘when (in the past)?’

tóhą \emptyset -hí he
 when A3-arrive.here Q
 ‘when did he/she arrive?’

(30) *tohân* ‘when (in the future)?’

tohân \emptyset -hí-pi-kta he
 when A3-arrive.herePL-POT Q
 ‘when will they arrive?’

(31) *tók^hen* ‘how?’

tók^hen ya-hí he
 how A3-arrive.here Q
 ‘how did you get here?’

(32) *tók^hi* ‘where, where to?’

(32a) *tók^hi* \emptyset -t^hi he
 where A3-live Q
 ‘where does he/she live?’

(32b) *tók^hi ná* he
 where A2.go Q
 ‘where are you going?’

(33) tók^hiyá ‘where, in what direction?’

šiyó nité oyáte t^hamák^hoc^he tók^hiyá he
prairie.chicken lower.back people reserve where Q
‘where is Pheasant Rump Reserve (from here)?’

(34) tuktén ‘where (stationary)?’

(34a) tuktén ya-t^hí he
where A2-live Q
‘where do you live?’

(34b) tuktén ya-ŭ-hta he
where A2-stay-POT Q
‘where will you stay?’

3. Noun Phrases

The NP consists minimally of a simple noun (35a) or noun substitute, such as a pronoun (35b) or quantifier (35c)-(35d).

(35a) wič^hášta ∅-mnihá
man P3-be.strong
‘the man is strong’

(35b) žé ∅-mnihá
that.one P3-be.strong
‘he/she is strong’

(35c) zápta ∅-yuhá
five A3-have
‘he has five (inanimate)’

(35e) zápta wič^há-∅-yuhà
five P3p-A3-have
‘he has five (animate)’

Other elements may be included in positions relative to the head noun as schematized in (36).

(36) (det) noun (stative modifier(s)) (quantifier) (det) (quantifier)

The head noun of an NP determines the number (singular or plural) of the

entire NP. This is illustrated by the examples in (37), where the verb agrees in number with the head noun ‘dog’ rather than with the possessor.

- (37a) šŭka mi-t^háwa žé Ø-sápa
 dog P1S-be.one’s that P3-be.black
 ‘my dog is black’
- (37b) šŭka mi-t^háwa-pi žé Ø-sápa-pi
 dog P1S-be.one’s-PL that P3-be.black-PL
 ‘my dogs are black’

The head noun may be modified by a stative verb.

- (38) šŭka zí
 dog brown
 ‘(a/the) brown dog’

Stative verbs follow the noun and precede demonstrative articles within the noun phrase.

- (39) [šŭka zí žé]
 dog brown that
 ‘the/that brown dog’

Note that if the demonstrative preceded the stative verb in (39), only the demonstrative would modify ‘dog’, placing the stative verb in predicate position, and the expression would be a clause.

- (40) [šŭka žé] Ø-zí
 [dog that] P3-be.brown
 ‘[the/that dog] is brown’

Partitives follow a stative verb modifier.

- (41) [šŭka zí nŭm] wŭč^há-mn-uhá
 [dog brown two] P3p-A1s-have
 ‘I have [two brown dogs]’

Here again, if the order of the partitive and stative verb are reversed, the stative verb is not within the NP and is in the (sentence-final) predicate position.

Compare the subject NP in (41) above to (42).

- (42) [šŭka nŭm] Ø-zí-pi
 dog two P3-be.brown-PL
 ‘two dogs are brown’

Multiple stative verb modifiers in an NP are rare in spontaneous speech. In fact, none occur in the narrative or language circle texts used for this study. All such examples of this type are elicited, and speakers have difficulty producing them, frequently giving conflicting responses. Consequently, I have not been able to find a pattern in the construction of NPs of this type, despite coming back to the question several times over a period of three years. In some examples, it appears that stative verb modifiers may simply be concatenated.

- (43) šŭka sápa-pi tháka-pi wic^há-Ø-yuhá
 dog black-PL big-PL P3p-A3-have
 ‘he has big, black dogs’

In other examples, determiners may occur, albeit inconsistently.

- (44a) šŭka žé tháka hinŭka c^ha yuhá
 dog DET big mean DET A3.have
 ‘he has a big, mean dog’
- (44b) šŭka zí tháka c^ha Ø-yuhá
 dog brown big DET A3.have
 ‘he has a big, brown dog’
- (44c) šŭka žé tháka hinŭka žéc^ha Ø-Ø-yañtáka
 dog DET big mean be.that.kind P3-A3-bite
 ‘a big, mean dog bit him’

Phrases like those in (45) were rejected.

- (45a) *šŭka žé tháka c^ha zí c^ha
 dog (def) big (indef) brown (indef)
 (‘a big, brown dog’)

- (45b) *šŭka zí c^ha t^háka žé
 dog brown (indef) big (def)
 ('the big, brown dog')
- (45c) *šŭka c^ha t^háka zí c^ha
 dog (indef) big brown (indef)
 ('a big, brown dog')

Comparing the example in (43) to those in (45), I draw two conclusions.

First, the head noun in an indefinite NP does not require a determiner, but when a determiner is present, as in (44a) and (44c), the determiner modifying the head noun must be definite, while the determiner that modifies the entire NP is indefinite. Second, a maximum of two determiners may occur in an NP, one definite and one indefinite.

There is one example in the corpus of a spontaneously uttered noun described by two stative verbs. In this instance, however, the stative verbs are not in an NP, but occur in sequence at the end of the sentence, where they provide, instead, an example of two verbs conjoined by juxtaposition (see 6.1, below).

- (46) síté žé pšŭk^há, t^háka
 tail that be.spherical be.big
 'its tail was big [and] round, a big, round ball' (app.1: Big Snake.32)

Number agreement on the stative verb within the noun phrase is also inconsistent. In (43) above ['he has big, black dogs'], the stative verbs in the NP agree in number with the head noun but in (47) the stative verb modifier does not agree in number with the head noun, which can be seen to be plural because of the plural-marked matrix verb.

- (47) šŭka zí že iyúha Ø-šíca-pi
 dog brown that all P3-be.bad (ugly)-PL
 'all brown dogs are ugly'

More consistent is the case of cardinal numbers functioning as partitives in NPs. These appear never to be marked for number.⁵

(48a) šŭka núm sápa-pi t^háka-pi wic^há-∅-yuhá
 dog two black-PL big-PL P3p-A3-have
 ‘he has two big, black dogs’

(48b) šŭka záptǝ ∅-zí-pi
 dog five P3-be.brown-PL
 ‘five dogs are brown’

(48c) šŭkat^haka, iyúšnA, ∅-sap-sápa-pi žén wiñ’ǝ-∅-ŭ-pi
 horse seven P3-be.black-REDUP-PL there graze-A3-CONT-PL
 ‘seven black horses were grazing there’ (Seven Horses.5)

3.1 Possessive modifier

When used in a noun phrase as a noun modifier, *It^háwa* must be followed by a demonstrative.

(49a) šŭka m-it^háwa žé ∅-sápa
 dog P1s-be.one’s that P3-be.black
 ‘my dog is black’

(49b) hokšína žé šŭka ∅-t^háwa žé kic^hí ∅-škáta
 boy that dog P3-be.one’s that together A3-play
 ‘the boy is playing with his dog’

3.2 Stative verbs as nominals

Stative verbs may be nominalized by the addition of a determiner and a shift in syntactic position to one of the argument positions. No other nominal element is present in NPs with nominalized stative verbs. *sápa* in (50a) and *t^hákA* in (51a) are verbs but in (50b) *sápa žé* is the object NP and (51b) *t^hákA né* is the subject NP.

When used as an NP, this construction can be viewed as a headless relative clause,

⁵ The corollary to this fact is that cardinal numbers are only inflected when functioning as predicates.

meaning, ‘the one who/which is V’, as in (50b, 51b).

(50a) *sápa* ‘be black’:

šŭka žé \emptyset -*sápa*
 dog DET P3-be.black
 ‘the/that dog is black’

(50b) *sápa žé* ‘the black one’

[*sápa žé*] *wašté-wa-na*
 [black DET] ST-A1s-like
 ‘I like [the black one]’

(51a) *t^háka* ‘be big’

íyā né t^háka
 stone DET be.big
 ‘this stone is big’

(51b) *t^háka né* ‘the big one’

[*t^háka né*] *tká*
 [big DET] be.heavy
 ‘[the/this big one] is heavy’

4. Verb constructions

Several constructions consist of a verb and at least one other element that bears a particular relationship to the verb to create a specialized meaning. These include passive-like constructions and three types of constructions of verbs with verbal complements.

4.1 Passive-like constructions

There is no distinct passive morpheme, but passive-like meaning is achieved by adding the plural enclitic *pi* to an active transitive verb with an indefinite agent.

This has the effect of deriving a stative verb from an active verb; verbs in passive-

like constructions use the patient pronominals, agent pronominals are absent, and *pi* is glossed as “passive” rather than “plural.”

- (52a) *ma-ó-pi*
 P1s-shoot-and-wound-PSV
 ‘I’ve been shot; I’m wounded’
- (52b) *hoǵǵá žená awótapi akân ∅-éknąka-pi*
 fish those table on P3-put-PSV
 ‘the fish are (i.e., have been put) on the table’
- (52c) *wıç^{há} žé ∅-paká-pi c^héyaka*
 man that P3-respect-PSV ought
 ‘that man should be respected’

There is a large degree of overlap between passive-like constructions and third person plural subject forms, and for some expressions it is debatable whether the appropriate interpretation is passive or plural. In some instances, a plural reading is not possible, e.g., *t^húpi* ‘be born’; in others, a passive reading is as appropriate as a third person plural reading, e.g., *puspápi* ‘plastered, as a house’ or ‘they plastered it’; and in still others, a plural reading is possible but either unlikely, e.g., *šiná ayázapi* ‘a beaded shawl’ (beading is typically done by a single person) or semantically implausible, e.g., *snohéna kakšápi* ‘the snake is coiled’ (*‘they coiled the snake’). Passive-like constructions tend to function like adjectives; where the function of noun modification is generally accomplished with stative verbs, a passivized active verb may also function as a modifier.

- (53) *acháph^hapi* ‘tacked, as in quilting’ (*c^haphá* ‘stab’)
- ayázapi* ‘beaded’ (*ayáza* ‘to bead’)
- echúpi* ‘to be hexed, to have bad medicine put on one’ (*echú* ‘do’)

įk ^h â ^t h ^u -pi	‘be fastened, be tied to something with twine, rope, etc., as a dog tied to a pole or tree’ (įk ^h â ^t h ^u ‘put a handle on’)
kakšâpi	‘be coiled, as a rope or snake’ (kakšâ ‘to coil’)
opúspapi	‘be patched, sealed’ (puspâ ‘to glue’)

It may be noted that it is often difficult to distinguish between passive-like verbs and verbs nominalized with *pi* (see chapter 3:3.2.2). The difference is determined from the syntactic position of the expression.

- (54a) p^{he}ží p^{ha}ñtâ-pi
 grass bind-PL/NOM /PSV
 ‘they baled the hay/a bale of hay/the hay is baled’
- (54b) p^{he}ží p^{ha}ñtâ-pi kâk^{hi} yâkâ
 grass bind-NOM yonder sit
 ‘the bales of hay are over there; the bale of hay is over there’

4.2 Compound verbs

“Compound verbs” as used here will refer to verbs with verbal complements.

Compound verbs form a single constituent; a compound verb is negated by a single occurrence of the negative enclitic following the matrix verb; the complement verb is not negated.

- (55a) mâni-pi ∅-c^hįke-šį
 walk-*pi* A3-want-NEG
 ‘s/he doesn’t want to walk’
- (55b) *mâni-pi-šį c hįka
- (55c) *mâni-pi-šį c^hįke-šį

Three types of complex verb constructions are considered: modality verbs and their verbal complements, auxiliary verbs and their verbal complements, and verbs whose complements are “adverbialized” verb stems. Three criteria are used to

distinguish among the three types of compounds: whether the complement is a full surface form or a root; whether the complement carries an additional morphological marker; and whether the matrix verb is semantically rich or empty, that is, whether the matrix verb contributes to the semantic meaning of the compound or simply modifies the semantic content of the complement verb. The distinction among these types, both semantically and morphologically, is not always sharply drawn, and some of the verbs could arguably be assigned to a class different from the ones to which I assign them here.

4.2.1 Modality verbs

Members of the class identified here as modality verbs are listed in table 11.2. The three verbs below the dashed line are marginally members of the class, for reasons discussed below.

Table 11.2 Modality verbs

Modality verb	Gloss	Complement marking
ch ^h ika	‘want’	<i>pi</i>
ech ^h ŭ	‘do’	<i>pi</i>
ech ^h ŭ wach ^h ĩ	‘feel like doing’	<i>pi</i>
kapĩ	‘hate to do’	<i>pi</i> (~ \emptyset)
snokyÁ	‘know’	<i>pi</i>
t ^h awŭk ^h ašĩ	‘hate to do’	<i>pi</i>
ŭspé-	‘learn’	<i>pi</i>
wahóya	‘promise’	<i>ktA</i>
wašténa	‘like’	<i>pi</i>
wayáp ^h i	‘be skilled at saying’	<i>pi</i>
wayúp ^h i	‘be skilled at doing’	<i>pi</i>
Marginal		
kúza	‘pretend’	\emptyset
okíhi	‘be able’	\emptyset (~ <i>pi</i>)
škâ	‘try’	<i>ktA</i>

Modality verbs share at least two of three characteristics. Semantically, they reflect notions of degree of certainty or probability, obligation, desire, permission, or ability. Morphologically, verbal complements of modality verbs acquire a complement marker *pi* (or *ktA* in the case of verbs that express semantically hypothetical events). Finally, the subject of the complement verb may refer to the same person(s) as the subject of the matrix verb. When the implied subject of the complement verb is identical to the subject of the matrix verb, the complement verb does not carry subject inflection. For example, in *éyaku-pi wa-ch^hike-šĩ* ‘I don’t

want to take it' (56c), the transitive complement *éyaku* does not have subject inflection (**émnaku-pi*). Similarly, the intransitive complement *yÁ* 'go' in *yá-pi wac^hika* 'I want to go' (56a) is not inflected. When they do not receive subject inflection, it seems reasonable to call overtly marked verbal complements "infinitives."

Most speakers mark verbal complements of *kapí* 'hate to, be reluctant to', so it is included in the modality verb class. The examples in (59) for *kapí* present an interesting contrast. When *pi* is present, the complement is not inflected; but when the verbal complement is not marked, the complement is inflected.

Three verbs are marginal members of the modality verb class. *okíhi* and *kúza* typically do not mark their verbal complement with *pi* but otherwise meet the stated criteria; only one example of *okíhi* has a verbal complement in *pi*, and verbal complements of *kúza* appear never to be marked. *šká* and *okíhi* allow subject inflection on the complement verb.

Examples of each of the modality verbs with verbal complements are given in (56)-(70).

(56) c^hika 'want'

(56a) *yá-pi wa-c^hika*
go *pi* A1s-want
'I want to go'

(56b) *k^hiyúka-pi ya-c^hika*
go.to.bed-*pi* A2-want
'do you want to go to bed?'

(56c) *éyaku-pi wa-ch^hke-šj*
 take-*pi* A1s-want.NEG
 'I don't want to take it'

(57) *ec'ú* 'do'

wayá-pi ecé'ena ∅-ech^hú
 read-*pi* only A3-do
 'all she does is read'

ech^hú wach^hí 'feel like doing' is itself a compound verb, only the second member of which is inflected.

(58) *ech^hú wach^hí* 'feel like doing'

nowá-pi ech^hú wach^hámj
 sing-*pi* do A1s -feel.like
 'I feel like singing'

(59) *kapí* 'hate to do'

(59a) *iknúška-ška-pi wa-kápi*
 move.around-REDUP-*pi* A1s-hate.to
 'I hate to move around'

(59b) *m-iknúškaška wa-kapi*
 P1s-move.around A1s-hate.to
 'I hate to move around'

(60) *snokyÁ* 'know'

tók^hen ech^hú-pi snok-wá-ye-šj
 how do-*pi* ST-A1s-know-NEG
 'I don't know how to do it'

(61) *t^hawúk^hašj* 'hate to do'

(61a) *í-∅-knúškaška-pi ∅-t^hawúk^hašj*
 LOC-A3-move.around-*pi* A3-hate
 's/he hates to move around'

(61b) *t'á-pi t^hamúk^hašj*
 die-*pi* A1s-hate
 'I hate to die'

- (62) ɯspé- 'learn'
- (62a) *iyá-pi* \emptyset -*ɯspé-c* (of *iyáyA* 'go; depart from here')
go-pi A3-learn-DECL
 's/he learned to walk (on her/his own)'
- (62b) *máni-pi* *ɯspé-wa-k^hiya-c*
walk-pi ST-A1s-teach-CAUS-DECL
 'I'm training him (child, horse) to walk'
- (63) wahóya 'promise' (verbal complement marked by *ktA*)
žec^hŷ-ktA \emptyset -*wahóya*
 do.that-*ktA* A3.promise
 's/he promised to do that'
- (64) wašténa 'like to do'
wóta-pi *wašté-wa-na*
eat-pi ST-A1s-like.to
 'I like to eat'
- (65) wayáp^hi 'be skilled at, using the mouth (usually a reference to speaking)
- (65a) *iʔá-pi* *wayáp^hi*
speak-pi A3.be.skilled
 's/he is a skilled speaker'
- (65b) *iʔá-pi* *wa-mn-áp^hi*
speak-pi ST-A1s-be.skilled
 'I am a skilled speaker'
- (66) wayúp^hi 'be skilled at' (also *wayáp^hi* 'be verbally skilled')
wá én pasí-pi *wa-mn-úp^hi-šj*
snow in drive-pi ST-1s-skilled.at.NEG
 'I don't know how to drive in snow'
 (lit. 'I'm not good at driving in snow')
- (67) kúza 'pretend' (triggers e-ablaut; verbal complement is unmarked)
- (67a) *chéye* *wa-kúza*
cry A1s-pretend
 'I'm pretending to cry'

- (67b) hušté ∅-kúza
be.lame pretend
'he pretended to be lame'
- (68) okíhi 'be able' (verbal complement is usually unmarked)
- (68a) echám̩y o-wá-kihi
A1s.do ST-A1s-be.able
'I can do that'
- (68b) tuwé-k^{hoš} ech̩y o-∅-kíhi
someone-indef. do ST-3-be.able
'anyone can do that'
- (68c) John šúkat^{hák} žé yúza o-∅-kíhi-š̩j
John horse that catch ST-A3-be.able-NEG
'John can't catch the horse'

A rare example of *okíhi* with a verbal complement marked with *pi* is the following:

- (69) John wašpáya-pi o-∅-kíhi-š̩j
John cook-*pi* ST-A3-be.able-NEG
'John can't cook'
- (70) šká 'try to do' (verbal complement marked by *ktA*)
- (70a) ∅-k^{hízi}-kta ∅-šká
P3-fight-*ktA* A3-try
'she tried to fight him' (SB.18)
- (70b) ch̩i-chízi-kta wa-šká
I-you-fight-*ktA* A1s-try
'I tried to fight with you'
- (70c) ma-yá-k^{hízi}-kta ya-šká
P1s-A2-fight-*ktA* A2-try
'you tried to fight with me'
- (70d) ∅-i^{k^hium} iyótaki-kta k^{hó} ∅-šká
P3-beside sit-*ktA* even A3-try
'she even tried to sit right beside him' (SB.29)

4.2.1.1 Quasi-modality verb *knÁ* ‘find to be; to sense’

knÁ is semantically modal and requires a verbal complement. However, its verbal complement is finite and is often an impersonal verb, and the subject of the matrix verb always differs from the subject of the complement verb.

(71a) *nəkáhə né osní ů-kná-pi*
 now this be.cold 1du-find-PL
 ‘these days we find it cold; it seems cold to us’ (LgC1.36)

(71b) *ya-kná-kte né t^heñike ya-kná he*
 A2-return.there-POT this be.difficult A2-find Q
 ‘will you find it hard to go back?’

(71c) *John Ø-ecíya-pi že Ø-kikmá ů-kná-pi*
 John P3-be.called-PSV that P3-resemble 1incl-find-PL
 ‘we thought (it seemed to us) he looked like that one called John’ (LgC1.265)

4.2.1.2 Quasi-modality verb *ší* ‘to order to do’; triggers e-ablaut

As with the other modality verbs, verbal complements of *ší* do not carry subject inflection but *ší* differs from the modality verbs, first, in that it forms a phonological unit with its verbal complement. Stress is assigned to *ší* and its complement as if the boundary between them were a morpheme boundary. A single primary accent is assigned to the entire compound by the DAR. Secondly, both active and patient inflection that correspond to the subject of *ší* are placed on *ší*. However, its verbal complements are full surface forms (i.e., CVC verbs receive stem-*a*), so it is more like the modality verbs than the auxiliaries, which are separated from their complements by a word boundary, or verbs with “adverbial” verbal complements that have verbal roots (CVC stems do not receive stem-*a*) as their complements.

ší induces ablaut to *e* on a preceding A-word and ablaut precedes affixation.

Recall that pronominal affixes do not induce ablaut, yet in each of the examples (72b-72d) the A-word complement of *šǐ* has undergone ablaut, induced by *šǐ* before the pronominal affix was added.

(72a) *ye-šǐ*

go order
'to order/tell to go'

(72b) *omníciya ektá ye-c^{hǐ}-šǐ*

meeting to go-I/you-order
'I'm ordering you to go the meeting'

(72c) *žéc^{ha}-c wǎžǐ né ahíyaye-ma-∅-šǐ-pi*

that.kind-SPC one this sing P1s-A3-order-PL
'it is one of that kind (of song) that they told me to sing' (NR T1.26)

(72d) *k'é wǐc^{hà}-∅-šǐ*

dig P3p-A3-PL-3AG-order
'he told them to dig'

4.2.2 Auxiliary verbs

There are a number of dependent auxiliary verbs that are semantically modal but that exhibit different morphological behavior from the modality verbs just described. In auxiliary verb constructions, the verbal complement occurs either in the root or citation form and is non-finite, i.e., there is no subject inflection on the verbal complement. The auxiliary verb is the head of the verb phrase and although it is the auxiliary verb that is inflected, the verbal complement is the semantic core of the construction while the auxiliary verb modifies the activity indicated by the complement. These differ from the dependent causative auxiliary verbs *-k^{hiy}A* and *-yA* in that they receive stress independently of their verbal complements, that is, they are separated from their verbal complements by a word boundary, whereas the

dependent auxiliaries are linked to their hosts by a morpheme boundary.

4.2.2.1 ?ú ‘do continuously’

?ú can simply be continuative, as in (73) but often carries a connotation of ‘going around; meandering’, as in (74)

(73a) eyá?ú ‘he kept saying’ (eyá ‘say’)

(73b) tʰəkâpʰata tʰiyópa žé yús- Ø-?ú
 outside.from door that hold- A3-CONT
 ‘she was holding the door from the outside’ (LgC1.118)

(74a) kawĩhwĩh ?ú ‘keep gliding in circles’ (kawĩġa ‘glide in circles, soar, as an eagle or hawk’)

(74b) nŭni wa?ú ‘I’m lost; I’m going around lost’ (nŭni ‘be lost’)

(74c) nŭwâ ?ú-pi ‘they’re swimming around’ (nŭwâ ‘swim’)

4.2.2.2 *kʰiŷa* Causative (CAUS)

The causative *kʰiŷa* can mean either ‘make someone do something’ (75) or ‘let someone do something’ (76).

(75) chă-kákŷa-ksa ŷ-kʰiŷa-pi céʔe
 wood-chop-REDUP 1du-CAUS-PL always
 ‘they always made us chop wood’ (LgC1.410)

(76) miní ektá a-Ø-Ø-í-pi žécʰi ĵknúžăža-Ø-Ø-kʰiŷa-pi
 water to ST-P3-A3-take-PL there wash.REFL-P3-A3-CAUS-PL
 ‘they took him over to the water and let him bathe’ (SB.79)

4.2.2.3 *kʰuŷá* ‘keep doing’

kʰuŷá has several meanings, including ‘chase’, ‘treat, handle, behave towards’, ‘fix’, and ‘busy oneself with something. When used as an auxiliary verb, it indicates frequent repetition of an action over time.

- (77) e- \emptyset - \emptyset -cíya k^huwá
ST-P3-A3-tell REPETITIVE
'she kept telling him' (SB.9)
- (78) p^há kaksá ma- \emptyset -k^húwa-pi c^hén úspe-mə-k^híya-pi
head strike P1s-A3-REPETITIVE-PL thus learn-P1s-CAUS-PL
'they kept hitting me in the head to make me learn' (LgC1.109)⁶

4.2.2.4 wúka ~ wáka Repetitive

Indicates repetition of an action in a more compressed time frame than that indicated by k^huwá. Notice in (79b) and (79e) that wúka can co-occur with the continuative enclitic *hə*.

- (79a) píǵa wáka
cry.out.noisily A3-REPETITIVE
'she kept calling out noisily' (NR T6.49)
- (79b) ħúka-wáka-hə
thunder-clap-CONT
'thunder, one clap after another'
- (79c) owáta wúka
lightning REPETITIVE
'lightning, one flash after another'
- (79d) šužá wáka
clatter REPETITIVE
'be clattering, as wagon wheels or a train'
- (79e) kaĥná wúka-hə
rattle REPETITIVE-CONT
'continuously rattling, as the rattling of a rattlesnake's tail'

4.2.2.5 áyA

There are two auxiliary verbs with the phonetic shape *áyA*. One follows stative verbs and is inflected using patient pronominal affixes; its meaning is 'to become'. The

⁶ The speaker is referring to her teachers at the boarding school she attended at Brandon, Manitoba.

other follows active transitive verbs and is inflected as a y-stem verb; its meaning is ‘to continue doing’. This distribution suggests that the verbs have different etymologies, although the active y-stem auxiliary may be related to the motion verb *áya* ‘take along’, which is also a y-stem verb.

4.2.2.5.1 Stative *áya* ‘become’

Stative *áya* takes stative verbs as its verbal complements. Two methods of inflection are attested for verbal compounds with stative *áya*. An older speaker inflects the verbal complement, as in (80a), while younger speakers inflect the auxiliary, as in (80b). This difference is neutralized in third person forms, as in (80c).

(80a) ma-stústa áya-c
 1s-be.tired become-DECL
 ‘I’m getting tired’

(80b) stustá a-má-ya
 be.tired ST-1s-become
 ‘I’m getting tired’

(80c) wíya žé šj^hú áya
 woman that be.fat become
 ‘that woman is getting fat’

Other examples of stative *áya* are:

(81) ch^ha-wáħpe owá t^hó áya
 tree-leaf all green become
 ‘the leaves are turning green’

(82) h^ha-t^héh^ha áya ?
 evening-far become DECL
 ‘it’s getting late at night’

(83) w^hichá žé p^hahá-s^ha-s^ha áya ?
 man that hair be.off.white-REDUP become DECL
 ‘that man is getting gray-haired’

- (84) *mnihé a-má-ya*
 be.strong ST-P1s-become
 ‘I’m getting strong’

4.2.2.5.2 Active *áyA* ‘continue doing’

Active *áyA* implies a regularly, continuously repeated action. Active *áyA* takes active verbs as its verbal complements. As for stative *áyA*, there is variation in mode of inflection. In (85a)-(85b) both the auxiliary verb and its verbal complement are inflected. In (86a)-(86b), only the auxiliary verb is inflected.

- (85a) *mnukmí ámna*
 A1s.pull.plants A1s.CONT
 ‘I’m weeding; I’m pulling weeds (one by one)’
- (85b) *a-wá-pakmįkma ámna*
 ST- A1s-roll.by.pushing A1s-CONT
 ‘I’m rolling it along’
- (86a) *pasısa ámna*
 sew.by.hand A1s-CONT
 ‘I’m sewing along (by hand)’
- (86b) *į-cáška-ška ámna*
 LOC-tie-REDUP A1s-CONT
 ‘I laced it up; I did macrame; I tied on lots of little ropes’

4.2.2.6 *hįkna* ‘sudden and sharp’

Because this is an impersonal verb, inflection occurs on the verbal complement, as seen in (87a). Stress occurs only on the complement (noted also in Lakota by Boas and Deloria 1941:75). It may be that this is better analyzed as a modality particle.

- (87a) *i-wá-ħa-hįkna* ‘I burst out laughing’ (*iħá* ‘laugh’)
- (87b) *owán-hįkna* ‘be a flash of lightning’ (*owáta* ‘be lit up’)

(87c) k^hók-hìkna ‘be the sound of an object striking surface’ (k^hóka ‘make a clattering or tapping sound’)

4.2.2.7 *iyáya* ‘gradual’

The relationship between the auxiliary *iyáya* and the homophonous verb of departure is very close, and the departure verb also enters into compounds that closely resemble those formed with the auxiliary, but these are, in fact, different verbs. The auxiliary is stative (A1s *imáyaya*, A2 *ináyaya*) and the departure verb is an active y-stem verb (A1s *imnámna*, A2 *inána*).

(88a) ðštíma i-má-yaya
sleep ST- P1s-GRADUAL
‘I fell asleep’

(88b) ðté-ša-yena i-má-yaya
face-be.red-like ST- P1s-GRADUAL
‘I blushed’ also, ‘my face became red, as from working in the sun’

An example of the departure verb used in a compound similar to the auxiliary is the following.

(89) ozǵǵa imnámna
weaving A1s-depart
‘I staggered’

The verb *iyámeʔiyàya* ‘go hunting’ is a lexicalized form for which the meaning of the first member of the compound is unclear, nor does it occur as an independent word.

The full form inflects as a y-stem verb: A1s *iyámeʔimnamna*, A2 *iyámeʔinana*.

4.2.2.8 *yǵká* ~ *yìká* ~ *hìká* ‘continuous’

These three forms appear to be variants of each other. Although the auxiliary verb *yǵká* is homophonous with the positional verb *yǵká* ‘sit’, and speakers will often

translate phrases with this auxiliary as “I’m sitting here doing X”, the example in (90b) illustrates that it is, in fact, a different verb, since it co-occurs with ‘stand’. Nonetheless, the notion of sitting is often compatible with situations described by *yqkÁ* and its (presumed) variants.

(90a) waktá məkác
expect P1s.CONT
‘I’m (sitting) waiting for him’

(90b) žén nážǵi ∅-yqká
there stand A3.CONT
‘he was standing there a long time’

(90c) wóknək ∅-hǵká
recount-CONT
‘he sat telling stories’

(90d) naǵmá-ǵman- wó-∅-kic^hi-knak- yǵká-pi
privately-REDUP- ST-A3-RCP-discuss-AUX-PL
‘they were (sitting) talking together privately’ (LgC1.195)

4.2.2.9 *yeyÁ* ‘propel’

This is the verb ‘throw’, used as an auxiliary verb. It often seems to be redundant with the verb it modifies and probably serves to intensify the action referenced by its verbal complement.

(91a) kaná ye[^]yá ‘dump out, throw out of a container’ (cf. kaná ‘pour a fine substance’; A1s kaná ye-wá-ya)

(91b) kat^hók^ham ye[^]yá ‘separate, drive apart, as one horse from a herd’

(91c) mok^hám ye[^]yá ‘to shoot and hit a target while it is in motion’ (mok^hápa ‘shoot at or strike a flying object’)

(91d) yušnók-ye[^]yá ‘to pull out quickly, to yank out’ (yušnóka ‘extract’)

4.2.3 Adverbial verbal complements

This type of compound is structurally similar to auxiliary verb constructions. Verbal complements are non-finite and CVC stems often do not receive a stem-forming *a*. In these constructions, however, each verb in the compound describes a different action, which combine to describe a single event, unlike modality and auxiliary verbs, which modify the action referenced by their verbal complements. The head verb in an adverbial verb construction is fully inflected, but the complement is marked for patient arguments only.⁷ For example, in (92), the agent pronominal occurs only on the head verb, and the transitive verbal complement is marked only with the patient pronominal.

(92a) wə-ní-yək wa-hí
 ST-P2-see A1s-arrive.here
 ‘I came to see you (sg.)’

(92b) wa-ní-yəka-pi wa-hí
 ST-P2-see-PL A1s-arrive.here
 ‘I came to see you (pl.)’

In informal speech, the patient pronominal is occasionally placed on the intransitive head verb, i.e., *wəyək-níhí* ‘he came to see you’.

Usually, the first member of an adverbial verb compound does not acquire the stem-forming *a*, in which case the final consonant of the verbal complement undergoes the expected phonological changes for consonants in codas (see chapter 2.13).

⁷This occurs in Lakota, as well (Rood and Taylor 1996:461).

(93) p^héta nap^hóm-jtkú
 fire pop-burn
 ‘a crackling fire was burning’ (NR T7.93)

(94) kmúza ‘be squeezed shut’

įštó-kmu-kmus- wac^hí-po
 eye-be.closed-REDUP-dance-PL.IMPER(m)
 ‘dance with your eyes closed!’ (NR T5.24)

When a verb retains its final *a* as first member of an adverbial verb

compound, if the *a* is changeable, it usually ablauts to *e*, although in the example in

(95d), the changeable-*a* of *yuhÁ* has not undergone ablaut.

(95a) wac^hí-pi žé ak^híte-∅-hí
 dance-NOM that look.at-A3-arrive.here
 ‘he came to watch the dancing’

(95b) iyákip^he- ∅-nážj
 wait- A3-stand
 ‘he stood waiting’

(95c) táku wašté níyuhana napsín-yeye- ec^hūna huštá
 thing good all.these burst-propel-do it.is.said
 ‘all kinds of good things popped out, it is said’ (NR T6.81)

(95d) ∅-∅-yuhá -∅-kninâp^ha
 P3-A3-hold -A3-come.out
 ‘he came out holding her’ (NR T6.62)

5. Postpositional phrases

Postpositional phrases minimally contain a postposition and a noun, and may contain other elements. Postpositional phrases follow their complements and typically provide spatial information. The postposition is the final element in a postpositional phrase.

- (96) šiná žé o'jštime akân Ø-yaḱá
 blanket DET bed on A3-sit
 'the blanket is on the bed (folded up)'
- (97) o'jnažj ektá wa-í
 town to A1s-arrive.there
 'I went to town'
- (98) wakpá žé kakná c^hâ yuk^hâ
 creek that beside tree be
 'there are trees along the creek' (c6.21)
- (99) iyá^hikamani žená wá mahén yaḱá
 car those snow inside sit
 'those cars are buried in snow, are snowed under'
- (100) t^hípi t^háwa žé oc^háku sám hâ
 house be.one's that road across stand
 'his house is across the street'

A distinction is made in human reference between 'with one other' (*kic^hí*) and 'with more than one other' (*óm*).

- (101) mi-k^húši kic^hí wa-ʔu-s'a
 1s.POSS-grandmother with A1s-stay-HAB
 'I used to live with my grandmother' (LgC1.180)
- (102) mi-t^húkaši mi-k^húši óm wa-ʔu-s'a
 1s.POSS-grandfather 1s.POSS-grandmother with A1s-stay-HAB
 'I used to live with my grandfather and grandmother' (LgC1.181)

A postposition and the noun it modifies may be contracted as a single term by the phrase level rule of vowel syncope but still constitute a postpositional phrase.

- (103a) [p^hahágasam]
 p^hahá akásam
 hill across
 'over the hill; on the other side of the hill'
- (103b) [wakpágasam]
 wakpá akásam
 river across
 'across the river'

There is also an instrumental postposition *ú* ‘by means of, with’, which has a variant form *ús*.

(104a) *iyúšpe né ú t^hiyópa yušpá*
 key this with door open
 ‘this key opens the door’

(104b) *táku ú hú knuk’éğa*
 something with leg SUUS-scratch
 ‘he scratched his leg on something, e.g., a nail’

(105a) *ókšə íyə ús akníyaskin-ya-pi*
 around stone with weight.down-CAUS-PL
 ‘they weighted it down all around with stones’ (NR T7.47)

(105b) *šiná žé iyékiye-ň, a-∅-∅-kápa-pi ús*
 shawl that A3-recognize-INTNS ST-P3p-A3-cover-PL with
 ‘he recognized that shawl, they had covered her with it’ (NR T7.67)

6. Conjunction, coordination

Coordination, the linking of syntactically equivalent constituents, may be accomplished in two ways, by a coordinating conjunction or by simple juxtaposition.

6.1 Juxtaposition

Examples of coordination by juxtaposition include the following.

(106) Juxtaposed clauses:

(106a) *naňmá-ňman- wó-∅-kic^hi-knak- yiká-pi, [∅] á?inina wó-u-ta-pi sten*
 privately-REDUP- ST-A3-RCP-discuss-AUX-PL quietly ST-1du-eat-PL DECL-f
 ‘they were talking together privately [and] we ate in silence’ (LgC1.195)

(106b) *žéc^hen k^həǵí žé kijá-∅-iyàya éstena ∅-kní*
 so crow that fly-A3-depart soon A3-return.here
 ‘so the crow flew off [and] soon returned’ (NR T4.23)

(106c) *né akíd^a woknát^hi c^ho?úpa špawáya c^hokán t^hə?išj*
 this look.at pie ST-A1s-cook middle disappear
 ‘look at this! I baked a pie [and now] it’s half gone!’

(107) Juxtaposed noun phrases:

(107a) mi-t^húkaši mi-k^húši óm wa-ʔú-s'a
 1s.POSS-grandfather 1s.POSS-grandmother with A1s-stay-HAB
 'I used to live with my grandfather [and] grandmother' (LgC1.181)

(107b) mi-híkna wašícu šahíya
 1.POSS-husband English Cree
 'my husband [speaks] English [and] Cree' (LgC1.252)
 (verb omitted because this is an elliptical reply to a question)

6.2 Coordinating conjunctions

The coordinating conjunctions *hík* ~ *híkna* (in free variation) 'and', *nakú* 'and more, in addition', and *eštá* 'or' may conjoin noun phrases or verb phrases. The conjunction *k^hó* is only found to conjoin noun phrases, although it is possible that instances of verb phrases conjoined by *k^hó* may eventually be found since it is semantically plausible. The conjunctions *káʔeca* 'and then' and *tuk^há* 'but' appear only to conjoin verb phrases. A coordinating conjunction cliticizes to the conjunct that immediately precedes it; that is, an intonational pause follows the conjunction.

6.2.1 *hík* ~ *híkna* 'and'

This is a simple coordinating conjunction. The two forms are in free variation; a White Bear speaker explains that the choice is governed by the rhythm of the sentence or phrase; from this one may conclude that the choice is intuitive. A CTK speaker rejects *híkna* and uses only *hík*.

Noun phrases conjoined by *hík(na)* are frequently followed by a particle *íš*, which in coordinate constructions is adverbial, meaning approximately 'also', and is felt by some speakers to be obligatory after the last noun in coordinate expressions. Although *íš* 'also' is common and idiomatic in Assiniboine noun coordination, it is

not idiomatic in English and so the word ‘also’ is not included in the glosses.

- (108) kukús-wáši hĭk wĭkta ‘bacon and eggs’
 wówapi hĭk iwá’ókma ĭš ‘paper and pencil’
 wĭčhá hĭk wĭya ĭš ‘a man and a woman’
 atkúku hĭk hŭku ĭš ‘his/her father and mother’
 atkúku hĭkna hĭku k^{hó} ‘his/her father and mother’

Compare the examples above to the following equally acceptable constructions, in which *hĭk(na)* is omitted:

- (109) atkúku hŭku k^{hó} ‘his/her father and mother’
 wówapi ĭwá’ókma ĭš ‘paper and pencil’

Clauses conjoined by *hĭk(na)* generally do not include *ĭš* (110), but when *ĭš* is included, it precedes the final verb in the coordinated construction (111).

(110) coordinated verb phrases

- (110a) John \emptyset -iyótaka hĭk tak- \emptyset -éye-ši \emptyset -yaka
 John A3 -sit and thing-A3-say-NEG A3-sit (CONT)
 ‘John sits and says nothing’
- (110b) \emptyset -wóta hĭk \emptyset -k^{hikná}
 A3-eat and A3-depart.to.return.there
 ‘he ate and went home’
- (110c) akták- \mathfrak{u} -hí-pi hĭkna \mathfrak{u} -stústa-pi
 run-1du-arrive.here-PL and 1du-be.tired-PL
 ‘we came running and we are tired’
- (110d) akták- \mathfrak{u} hípi hĭk wa- \mathfrak{u} - \emptyset -yaka-pi
 run-1du-arrive.here-PL and ST-1du-A3-see-PL
 ‘we came running and they saw us’
- (110) wĭč^hĭcana žé i- \emptyset -há hĭk hokšína žé \emptyset -c^héya
 girl that ST-A3-laugh and boy that A3-cry
 ‘the girl laughed and the boy cried’

(111a) John aǵúyapi yúta h́k asápi ǐš ∅-yatká
 John bread A3.eat and milk also A3.drink
 ‘John ate bread and drank milk’

(111b) h̄ahépi-c’eh̄a nína osní h́k naháñ ǐš nína osní
 night-past very be.cold and still also very cold
 ‘it was very cold last night, and it’s still very cold’ (NLL)

6.2.2 *kʰó* ‘also’

The adverb *kʰó* may function in place of a coordinating conjunction in coordinating expressions. *kʰó* always follows the final conjunct in a sequence.

(112a) at-kúku h̄ú-ku kʰó (but not *atkúku kʰó h̄úku)
 father-3.poss mother-3.poss also
 ‘his/her father and mother; his/her parents’ (NR T2.11)

(112b) mi-tʰúkaši mi-tʰúwina kʰó wa-ʔú-s’a
 1.poss-grandfather 1.poss-aunt also A1s-stay-HAB
 ‘I lived with my grandfather and aunt’ (NR T1.2)

The example in (113) suggests that a determiner follows, rather than precedes, *kʰó*.

This is the only example I have found in which *kʰó* co-occurs with determiners.

(113) h̄ú-ku žé at-kúku kʰó žé
 mother-3.poss that father-3.poss also that
 ‘his mother and father’ (NR T2.5)

6.2.3 *nakú* ‘also, and more, in addition’

nakú is a flexible word that may function as both a coordinating conjunction and an adverb; and, as seen in (116), it also functions as an adjective, apparently the only non-derived word in the language to do so (passive-like forms also function as adjectives, as discussed above [4.1]). When used as a conjunction, *nakú* implies a supplemental connection between the conjuncts and occurs between them.

Examples of each function are given in (114)-(116).

(114) As a coordinating conjunction:

(114a) wɨç^há nakú wíyǝ
 man and woman
 ‘a man and a woman’

(114b) kukúš wašj nakú wíkta
 pig fat and egg
 ‘bacon and eggs’

(115) As an adverb:

nakú k^hap^héya wa-c^hǵka
 more surpass Als-want
 ‘I want more (in the sense of adding to what is already there, e.g., tea)’

(116) As an adjective:

nakú waḥpé wa-c^hǵka
 more tea Als-want
 ‘I want more tea’

6.2.4 *eštá* ‘or, either’

Typically, *eštá* follows the last conjunct.

(117a) wíyǝ-pi k^hošká eštá
 woman-PL young.man or
 ‘whether male or female’ (NR T7.44) (generic reading is from context)

(117b) šukt^hókeca šukcúk’ana eštá
 wolf coyote or
 ‘wolves or coyotes’ (NR T7.46)

Less commonly, *eštá* may occur between conjuncts.

(118) wíyǝ eštá wɨç^há hé
 woman or man Q
 ‘was it a woman or a man?’

6.2.5 *ká’eca* ‘and then’

ká’eca implies a temporal sequence to the events referenced by the conjoined

clauses.

(119) žé i-∅-∅-yúǵa káʔeca na-∅-h̃'ũ-šj sten
 that.one ST-P3-A3-ask and.then ST-A3-hear-NEG DECL-f
 'she asked him and he didn't understand' (LgC1.258)

(120) že-c^hámũ káʔeca žéc^hetù-šj
 that-A1s.do and.then be.that.way-NEG
 'I did it, but it wasn't right, it didn't turn out right'

6.2.6 *tuk^há* 'but'

(121) Wa'-ũ-šicù-kta ʷ-škâ-pi tuk^há ʷk-ókihi-pi-šj ʔ^h
 ST-1du-White-POT 1du-try- pl but 1du-be.able-PL-NEG JOKE
 'we're trying to be "White" but we can't (we're making a mess of it)' (LgC1.44)

(122) na-∅-h̃'ũ tuk'á eyĩ-kta žé wayáp^hišⁱ ceʔe
 ST-A3-hear but A3-say-POT that A3-speak.skillfully-NEG always
 'he understands but when he speaks, he never speaks well' (LgC1.203)

(123) iná nená nínañ ∅-wayáwa-pi-šⁱ, tuk^há táku *crochet* ec'ũpi
 mother these very-INTNS A3-go.to.school-PL-NEG but things *crochet* A3-do-PL
 'our mothers didn't go to school much but they crocheted things' (LgC1.302)

A sentence may begin with a *tuk^há* to introduce a statement that contrasts with a previous statement or, as in the case of the example in (124), to contrast with information assumed to be known by the listener. In (124), the speaker contrasts the past, which she has been discussing, to the present day, without directly referencing the present day.

(124) Tuk^há žéh̃ wanâkaš hékta w̃c^hóh̃'ǵake né t^hok^hǵ c^hén
 but at.that.time long.ago back.there customs this be.different thus

 Nak^hóta táku ĩš t^hok^há-m owá ĩš c^hé-w̃c^ha-∅-kiya-pi
 Nakoda thing SPC different-PL all SPC ST-P3p-A3-pray-PL

'But way back then, since customs were different, Indians prayed to all those various ones [i.e., all of the spirits].' (NR T1.16)

7. Subordinate clauses

7.1 Complement clauses

Complement clauses are nominal clauses that fill an argument position of a verb.

The most common marker of complement clauses is the demonstrative determiner

žé ‘that’, but *né* ‘this’ may also be used. The complementizer follows the verb and all inflectional elements in the complement clause.

(125) [wa-níc’i-c^hağa-pi-šj žé] wašté
 [INDEF-2.REFL-make-PL-NEG COMP] be.good
 ‘it’s good you didn’t make it happen; it’s good it wasn’t your fault’

(125) [mnokéyasą kanúza-kte né] tųyá-šj
 [all.summer be.windy- POT COMP] be.well-NEG
 ‘it’s not good [that it will be windy all summer]’
 (free translation: ‘unfortunately, it’s going to be windy all summer’)

Two readings are possible for statements with the verb *c^hika* ‘want’ because this verb also means ‘like (something or someone)’.

(127) [i-wá-cu né] ∅-c^hike-šj
 [ST-A1s-smoke COMP] A3-want-NEG
 ‘he doesn’t want [me to smoke]’
 ‘he doesn’t like [that I smoke]’

When a complement clause is the object of a transitive verb, the complement clause may precede or follow the subject NP.

(128a) John [mнатkĭ-kte-šj žé] snok-∅-yá
 John [∅-A1s-drink-POT-NEG COMP] ST-A3-know
 ‘John knows [that I’m not going to drink it]’

(128b) [mнатkĭ-kte-šj žé] John snok-∅-yá
 [∅-A1s-drink-POT-NEG COMP] John ST-A3-know
 ‘John knows [that I’m not going to drink it]’

(129a) waná [tuwé žé] snok-∅-∅-yá
 now [be.who that] ST-P3-A3-know
 ‘now he knew [who it was]’ (NR T7.60)

(129b) žéc^hen snok-∅-∅-ya [tuwé žé]
 then ST-P3-A3-know [be.who that]
 ‘then he knew [who it was]’ (NR T7.69)

Non-finite complement clauses are not followed by a complementizer.

(130) [t^hakán škáta] ∅-∅-kí-ya-pi
 [outside play] (P)1du-A3-DAT-say-PL
 ‘they told us [to play outside]’ (LgC1.188)

7.2 Adverbial clauses

Adverbial clauses are nominal clauses concluded by an adverb and modifying the full main clause. Adverbial clauses may precede or follow the main clause.

Examples are the following:

(131) [nəp^hápi né^ʔys žé^ʔuza ot^hí^ʔka] tók^hi ye-ma-∅-ya-pi
 [running.away very because.of I.think] away ST- P1s-A3-send-PL
 ‘[I think] they sent me away [because of all the running away]’ (LgC1.167)

(132) [tuktám ináne žéh^ə] p^hag^ʔúta žená špa-wíc^ha-wa-ya
 [somewhere a2.depart while] duck those be.cooked-P3p-A1s-CAUS
 ‘while you were gone I cooked those ducks’

(133) wíy^ə žé yúza, [wašté-∅-ya-na héš]
 woman that marry [ST-P3-A2-like if]
 ‘[if you love that woman], marry her’

(134) [mnúta štén] ma-yáza-kta
 [A1s.eat if] P1s-be.sick-POT
 ‘[if I eat it], I’ll get sick’

(135) [žén wa-í štén]wó-∅-tj-kta
 [there A1s-arrive.there when] ST-1du-eat-POT
 ‘[when I get there], we (two) will eat’ (NLL)

(136) [tohán wa-ch^hika h^gta] o-má-wa-ni
 [when A1s-want whenever] LOC-ST-A1s-walk (= ‘travel’)
 ‘I travel [whenever I want]’

7.3 Relative clauses

Relative clauses are nominal clauses that modify a noun. Relative clauses are usually marked by *žé* but may be marked by *né* or *c^hén*. They are internally headed, as in (137), in which the head noun ‘duck’ is internal to the relative clause, that is, preceded and followed by overt material clearly belonging to the relative clause.

- (137) [Edith p^hağúta špa-∅-∅-yé žé] yúta-pi wašté
 Edith duck ST-P3-A3-cook REL eat-PSV good
 ‘[the duck Edith cooked] tastes good’ (Drummond 1976a:25)

Within the relative clause, the head may take any of the following syntactic roles.

(Heads are underlined.)

- (138) Subject of an intransitive verb:

[wjchášta t^himáni ∅-hí žé] mi-nékši ∅-é
 man visit A3-arrive.here REL 1.POSS-uncle A3-be
 ‘[the man who came to visit] is my uncle’

- (139) Subject of a transitive verb:

[wjchášta šúkat^haka op^hé-wjcha-∅-th_u žé] snok-wá-ya
 man horse ST-P3p-A3-buy REL ST-P3- A1s-know
 ‘I know [the man who bought the horses]

- (140) Object of a transitive verb:

iná [wíya žé John ∅-∅-yúze žé] wahté-∅-∅-našj
 my.mother woman DET John P3-A3-marry REL ST-P3-A3-dislike
 ‘my mother doesn’t like the woman John married’ (Drummond 1976a:25)

- (141) Object of a postpositional phrase:

[_S[_{PP} wichát’a wǫží iyáp^ha] ∅-∅-wúke né] ∅-sní
 human.corpse one against P3- A3-lie REL P3-be.cold
 ‘this corpse that he lay beside was cold’ (NR T7.86)

7.4 Subordinating conjunction *c^hén*

I have not yet found a general meaning or function for *c^hén*. As a subordinating conjunction, it is amazingly versatile, serving as the functional equivalents of four types of English subordinate clauses: participle-like clauses (verb form in *-ing*), adverbial clauses, small clauses (infinitival verb), and relative clauses. In Assiniboine, *c^hén* clauses in Assiniboine always have finite verbs, but *c^hén* itself is often not directly translatable and the most idiomatic English translation is as a non-finite clause. In other instances, *c^hén* can be translated as ‘because’ or ‘therefore’. Sometimes it means ‘for a purpose’, and it also serves as a discourse marker that ties a statement to information occurring earlier in the discourse.

c^hén clauses frequently follow the main clause, as in (142a) but they are mobile. (142b, 142c) are paraphrases of (142a), in which the *c^hén* clause has been moved and ‘meat’ can be analyzed as being outside the clause (142b) or inside the clause (142c). In these examples, glossing *c^hén* as ‘because’ would not accurately represent its meaning in the sentences because here *c^hén* points to a sequence of events rather than a causative relationship between the clauses.⁸

(142a) t^hanó Ø-Ø-yúta [špə-Ø-Ø-yá c^hen]
 meat P3-A3-eat cook-A3-CAUS therefore
 ‘[having cooked it], he ate the meat’

(142b) t^hanó [špə-Ø-Ø-yá c^hen] Ø-Ø-yúta
 meat cook-P3-A3-CAUS P3-A3-eat
 ‘[having cooked it], he ate the meat’

⁸ Note that *c^hen* is not stressed in (144a-144c) due to RSP (12.5).

- (142c) [t^hanó špa-∅-∅-yá c^hen] ∅-∅-yúta
 meat cook-P3-A3-CAUS P3-A3-eat
 ‘[having cooked the meat], he ate it’

In the following examples, both participle-like and ‘because’ translations are plausible.

- (143) [wamnóniċa žemâc^ha c^hén], mit^húkašĭ mit^húwina wa-ʔú-s’a
 orphan P1s-be.that.kind thus grandfather aunt A1s-stay-HAB
 ‘[because I was an orphan], I lived with my grandfather and aunt’
 ‘[being an orphan], I lived with my grandfather and aunt’ (NR T1.2)
- (144) [nína tohâkeca t^he-chĭ-ĥina c^hén] wahĭ-chi-ya-c.
 very long.time ST-I/you-care thus ST-I/you-attached-DECL
 ‘[because I have cared very much for you for a long time], I am very attached to you’
 ‘[having cared for you for a long time] . . .’ (NR T7.16)
- (145) k^hošká né, [okí^hizapi óp^ha c^hén], wĭc^hóĥ’ǵ wašté o-∅-kĭni huštá
 young.man this fight join thus deed good ST-A3 -get it.is.said
 ‘the young man, [having joined the fight], earned good deeds, it is said’
 ‘. . . [because he joined the fight] . . .’ (NR T7.49)
- (146) tukhá ĵtúĥ [žéc^hen ech^húpi ∅-chĭka c^hén] ech^hú.
 but instead this.way do-pi A3-want thus A3-do
 but nevertheless, [wanting to do this], he did it’
 ‘. . . [because he wanted to do this] . . .’ (NR T7.87)
- (147) [pté wǵží ó-pi c^hén] t^hanó owášteke echá ma-∅-ksá
 buffalo one shoot-PSV thus meat best be.such st-A3.slice
 ‘[a buffalo having been shot], he cut the best parts of the meat’ (NR T7.52)

In (148), an infinitival translation is the more idiomatic in English:

- (148) [míš ó-wa-phĭ-ċta žé [o-chĭ-ci-mnakĭ-ċta c^hén]] wa-ú-c
 myself ST-1s-join-POT COMP ST-1s.AG/2.PA-DAT-tell-POT thus A1s-come-DECL
 ‘I came [[to tell you] that I, too, will join it]’ (NR T7.10)

The examples in (149) were elicited as non-restrictive relative clauses, but an adverbial reading is possible in each case as well.

(149a) at-kúku [∅-kní c^hén] hŭ-ku wə-∅-∅-yáka
 father-3.POSS A3-return.here thus mother-3.POSS ST-P3-A3-see
 ‘his mother saw his father, who was returning home’
 (also possible: ‘his mother saw his father [as he was returning home]’)

(149b) hŭ-ku [∅-kní c^hén] at-kúku wə-∅-∅-yáka
 mother-3.POSS A3-return.here thus father ST-P3-A3-see
 ‘his mother, [who was returning home], saw his father’
 (also possible: ‘[as his mother was returning home], his father saw her’)

8. Right dislocation of constituents

Old or non-essential information is often moved rightwards to the end of the sentence. Any major constituent other than verbs, which are already sentence-final in canonical word order, can undergo this form of movement, as illustrated in the following examples.

(150) Of a subject NP:

(150a) cúsinana-ĥ [né hokšína né]
 small- AUG this boy this
 ‘this boy was the smallest’ (NR T3.4)

(150b) iyáme[?]iya-pi, né k^hošká-pi né
 A3-go.hunting-PL this young.man-PL this
 ‘these young men went hunting’ (NR T3.5)

(151) Of an object NP:

(151a) wəmnáka [miní žé]
 ST-A1s.see lake that
 ‘I saw that lake’ (app.1: Big Snake.3)

(151b) ŭs t^hap-kí^h-ŭ-pi huštá, [né wík^hóške né]
 using ball-with-CONT-PL it.is.said, this woman this
 ‘they were playing ball, using this woman for the ball, it is said’ (NR T6.48)

(152) Of an adverbial phrase:

“Aĥémno-c én nén ŭ-yákĭ-kta-c, [ómak^ha tóm],” eyá káya
 ridge-SPC at here 1du-sit-POT-DECL A3.say they.say
 “we will sit here on this ridge for four years,” he said, they say’ (NR T4.48)

(153) Of a relative clause:

wikcémna yámni kinīca, [mit^húkaši ∅-t'á žé]
 ten three almost grandfather A3-die that(REL)
 'it has been almost thirty years since my grandfather died' (LgC 3, ms.)

9. Ellipsis

One or more elements may be omitted from a clause when the omitted information can be recovered from previous discourse. When the original clause contains an auxiliary verb, the response may omit the verbal complement, as in the question and answer in (154a)-(154b), where *echámū* 'I do' is omitted.

(154a) echámū o-yá-kihi he
 A2.do ST- A2-be.able Q
 'can you do it?'

(154b) hiyá, o-wá-kihi-šj
 no ST-A1s-be.able-NEG
 'no, I can't (do it)'

Responses to existential questions may omit the noun phrase. The following elliptical response was given to the question, "Are there cranberries around here?" (asked in English).

(155) yuk^há, tukté-kten
 be where-REDUP
 'there are, here and there'

In the following example, the elicited phrase concluded, ". . . but now he doesn't think so," that is, "now he doesn't think he'll go." The speaker in this instance omitted 'think' in preference to 'go'. There is no Assiniboine equivalent of English pro-verbal 'so' .

- (156) *h̄tāniḡa oʔinaž̄i ektá yī-kta ∅-kéc^hi tuk^há n̄akáḡa-š̄ yī-kte-š̄i*
 yesterday town to go-POT A3.think but now-ADVERSE A3.go-POT-NEG
 ‘yesterday he thought he would go to town, but now he’s not going’

When the requested information is a noun phrase, the verb may be omitted in the response. In (157), the question was about what languages the respondent spoke at home. (Since they were speaking Assiniboine at the time, the response means in addition to Assiniboine.)

- (157) *miyé-š̄ waš̄icu, mi-h̄kna waš̄icu š̄ahíya*
 me-AUG English 1.POSS-husband, English, Cree
 ‘Me, [I speak] English, my husband [speaks] English [and] Cree’ (LgC1.252)

10. Comparison

10.1 More than/less than

There are several means of indicating comparatives. One is to use a postpositional phrase with ‘beyond’ or ‘behind’, as in (158).

- (158) Adverb

wič^há žé [wíȳa žé iyák^ham] ∅-h̄aska
 man that woman that beyond P3-be.tall
 ‘the man is taller than the woman’

Another is to use two contrasting clauses, as in (159).

- (159) Opposing clauses

- (159a) *wíȳa žé ∅-h̄aska, wič^há žé ∅-ptécena*
 woman that P3p-be.tall man that P3-be.short
 The woman is taller than the man.
 (lit: ‘the woman is tall, the man is short’)

- (159b) *n̄aká-ḥ̄ ápa nén osní, h̄tāniḡa žeh̄ake-ḥ̄ osní-š̄i*
 now-SPC day this 3.be.cold yesterday ended-SPC 3.be.cold-NEG
 ‘it’s colder today than yesterday’
 (lit: this very day is cold; yesterday, (the day just) ended, was not cold’)

A third method is an absolute comparative, in which the comparative meaning derives from context, as in (160).

(160) Absolute comparatives

(160a) cónana mnuhá
a.little.bit A1s.have
'I have less/fewer (than x)'

(160b) miyé cónana mnuhá
myself less A1s.have
'I have less/fewer (than x)' (as if complaining)

(160c) miyé óta mnuhá
myself many A1s.have
'I have more (than person x)' (lit. 'I am the one who has many/a lot')

(160d) miyé k^hap^héya mnuhá
myself more A1s.have
'I have more (than person x)'

A fourth method is to use a stative, i.e., intransitive, verb as a ditransitive verb in which the thing being compared is in a sense the object of the thing being compared to.

(161) Stative verb used as transitive

wiçhášta žé wíya žé Ø-t^hokápha
man that woman that P3-be.first-born
'the man is older than the woman'

An adverbial clause may be used in opposition to another clause for comparison, as in (162).

(162) [zitkána hok^hún mak^hóc^he én Ø-ŷ-pi žé] [iyák^ham óta c^hâ én Ø-ŷ-pi]
bird below ground at A3-be-PL that beyond many tree at A3-be-PL
'there are more birds in the tree than on the ground'

10.2 Alike/different

(163) *Alike*

(163a) nená ūs kic^híkma
 these both 3.recip.resemble
 ‘these two are alike; these two are the same’

(163b) né é^hetuñ
 this same.way+specific
 ‘this one is like that one; this one is the same as that one’

(163c) né ĭš žé^heya
 this also (or SPC) be.like.that
 ‘these are like those’ (‘this is like that’)

(164) *Different*

(164a) nená ūs t^hok^hǵ
 these both be.different
 ‘these two are different (from each other)’

(164b) nak^hón-nowǵ-pi umá wašín-nowǵ-pi žé í^hi-t^hok^hǵ
 Nakoda-song-NOM other English-song-NOM that self-different
 ‘Indian songs are different from non-Indian songs’

11. Agency

As stated earlier, active verbs may only take animate subjects so the question arises of how inanimate agency is referenced. The following examples are not exhaustive, but are provided to illustrate how the grammar allows for inanimate agency.

Example (165) has an animate subject. (166) has an implied animate subject in a prepositional phrase, and (167) uses the instrumental prefix *ka-*, one meaning of which is ‘by force of wind’.

(165) Logan t^hiyópa Ø-yušpá
 Logan door A3-open
 ‘Logan opened the door’

- (166) iyúšpe né ũ t^hiyópa Ø-yu-špá
 key DET by.means.of door A3- INSTR(by hand)-open
 ‘this key opens the door’
- (167) kanúza chén t^hiyópa ka-špá-yeya
 wind therefore door INSTR(by force of wind)-open-AUX.send
 ‘the wind opened the door; the door blew open’

Appendix 1
BIG SNAKE (Snohéna Thága)
 Narrated by Bertha O'Watch, Carry The Kettle

- (1) Néʔiš nakú ak^hé owóknakec, žeʔiš mak^hóc^he nétu
 (1) This.SPC and.more another story that.SPC reserve this.place
- wic^háp^hañe¹ oyáte né, Chéğa Kʔina oyáte. (2) Netám miní,
 “Skeleton Hill” people this Carry The Kettle people (2) from.here lake,
- miní thága, wanákaš žén, miní thákas’a. (3) Wąmnáka miní žé.
 lake.big long.ago there lake big.used.to.be (3) ST-A1s.see lake that
- (4) Žén né, nu, kic^hí-waʔu žé,² thakónaku kic^hí žén nuwápi káya.
 (4) there this, um, my.husband that his.friend with there they.swim they.say
- (5) Kák^hi théhą ípi, miní chogám káya. (6) Thak^hónaku
 (5) over.there far A3-arrive.there-PL lake middle they.say (6) his.friend
- žé žeyá “K^honá, miní én hok^hún étuwa wo. Né táku chá
 that A3-said friend water in down look IMPER-m this something such
- ahítuwa yáká,” žeyá káya. (7) Žéchen hok^hún étuwa
 look.this.direction A3-sit that-A3-say they.say (7) then below A3-looked

¹An old name for Carry The Kettle Reserve that literally means ‘scalp hill’. The reserve was, indeed, called “Skeleton Hill” in English (*Tales of the Red Fox*, Sinaluta and District History Book 1985), a history of Sinaluta, SK.

“His [Joe Runns] father, Rattling Eagle, told Joe that when they first arrived here the reserve was called Skeleton Hill because of the many skeletons left from what they called the Black Death. These skeletons were where a Buffalo pound had been made, east of the land owned at one time by the late Maurice Osment and is now farmed by the Grey’s, as they were celebrating their success in the hunt. Peddlers brought flour, tea, etc. to trade to them, but also brought a disease that caused the many deaths. A medicine man was told by the spirit to boil skunks and drink the broth. It gave great relief and the black death eventually ended. [para.] The reserve was later called Hurricane Hill and then Carry The Kettle.” [1985:22]

²The narrator meant to say “my husband’s dad” and his friend (friend of husband’s dad). When she corrects herself in (8) saying, “wait, I misspoke”, she is referring to this error.

kaʔéca,- (8) Hináka, waknášna – žén né, *my husband's dad* žé,
then – (8) wait Als-misspoke - there this *my husband's dad* that

atkúku žé, tʰakʰónaku žé kichí, Kʰoškášj ecíyapi,
his.father that his.friend that together Not-A-Young-Man he.is.called

(9) tʰakʰónaku žé, káʔeca. (10) Táku žé, eyáaaš, “Há, kʰoná,
(9) his friend that then (10) thing that weell, yes friend

hé kʰó yukʰá.” ĭš hokʰún étɥwə (11) Awícʰakʰin-yəká
horns also there.are he.too below A3-look (11) LOC-P3p-A3-look-CONT

mnimáhen (12) žéecʰen eyáaaš ɲəpʰá miní iwákatkan -yeʔícʰiya³
water.in (12) sooo, theen A3-flee lake upwards.from- A3-REFL-throw

miní žé iwákam yeʔícʰiya miní óhutʰe ektá ɲəpʰápi knípi
lake that LOC-over ST-A3.RFL-jump lake shore to A3-flee-PL A3-arrive.here-PL

hík hayápi ká iyákʰiɲpàyapi chén napʰápi. (13) Híjĭk, né ɲakáhə
and clothes yonder A3-grab-PL thus A3-flee-PL (13) aaand this now⁴

owáčekiyà kiknúka, wachékiya žèn, žén wicʰóthi káyapi.
church dive (i.e. Mormon) church there, there village they.say

(14) Žécʰi knípi. (15) Híjĭk, žé owá zécʰa
(14) over.there A3-arrive.back.here-PL (15) and that all (everything) that.kind

oyákapi káya wicʰášta núc, wicʰášta wakʰápi ĭyañèna
ST-A3-tell-PL they.say man um-SPC, man holy Mountain Man

ecíyapi. (16) Žé okíciyakapi. (17) Žécʰen wachékiya. (18) “Hĭnáka,
he.is.called (16) that ST-P3-A3-tell-PL (17) then ST-A3-pray (18) wait,

mitʰákoš, wachéwakiyiktac” eyá káya. (19) Žé wachékiya.
my grandchild, ST-A1s-prayPOT-DECL A3-say they.say (19) that.one ST-A3-pray

(20) “A! mitʰákožana yusʔiyewiʰcà-ya-ye no,” eyá. (21) “Tópa
(20) Ah! my.grandchildren frighten-P3p-A2-CAUS DECL A3-say (21) four

cʰá štén hiyónihípiktac” eyá. (22) Žécʰen iyú:ha
days when retrieve-P2-A3-arrive.there-DECL A3-say (22) then everyone

³The narrator translated this as ‘jumping’; perhaps a reduplication of wəkātu.

⁴ né ɲakáhə ‘these days; nowadays’

waktá-ùpi. (23) Žé[?]ehá chá nená žéc^hetušš
 watchful-they.were (23) back.then trees(“brush”) these be.that.way-NEG-AUG

ót^hí[?]íkac. (24) Įknúhanàñ žé ewíc^hakiya. (25) “Waná
 I.think-DECL (24) all.at.once that.one ST-P3p-A3-tell (25) now

hiyú - ùpi nó” eyá káya. (26) Žéc^hen iyúha ektá
 depart.from.there-they.are DECL A3-say they.say (26) Then everyone there

etúwapi amáñpiya cúsinañ há iwákam, né miní įwákam cé[?]e.
 ST-A3-look cloud be.small-INTNS stay above this lake above always

(27) Žéc^he(n) žén háta įknúhana, owánwan-híkna. (28) Eyáš ká
 (27) then there when suddenly lightning-bolts (28) then there

owánwan-híkne žéc^hen, hok^húnph^hakiya iyúha chén wakíya
 lightning.bolts.repeatedly thus coming.down all thus Thunder being

žé, miní žé t^hasyá a[?]úth^a. (29) Hík yuwákam-aknápi káya.
 that lake that with.a.bang shoot (29) and pull.up-they.take.it they.say

(30) Snohéna t^háka žéc^ha. (31) Phá žé že[?]jš šnayášj.
 (30) snake be.big that.kind (31) head that that.SPC P3-be.visible-NEG

(32) Síté žé pšuk^há t^háka káyapi (33) Phí[?]íc[?]iya háta
 (32) tail that sphere be.big they.say (33) P3-moved.it [his tail] when

ak^hé owán-híkna háta ak^hé owáži, žé wákámp^hakiya
 again lightning when again it.was.still that upwards

ak^hiyaknapi. (34) Že[?]jš žeháka žé owóknaka.
 P3-A3-take.back.there-PL (34) that.SPC be.the.end that story

Free translation:

(1) This is another story about this reserve, the Skeleton Hill people, or Carry The Kettle people. (2) Long ago there used to be a big lake down here [narrator indicates an area some distance behind her house]. (3) I've seen that lake. (4) There, uh, my husband[‘s father] and his friend were swimming, they say. (5) They had gotten way out into the middle of the lake, they say. (6) His friend said, “Friend, look in the

water, there's something there," he said, they say. (7) So then he looked down. (8) Wait, I misspoke – it was my husband's *father* who was swimming with his friend; his name was Not A Young Man. (9) It was his friend who looked in the water, and then. . . (10) So then that thing, well! "Yes, Friend, it has horns, too." (11) It was looking at them, in the water. (12) Then, well! How he ran! He scrambled over the lake! He hurled himself through the water and they fled back to the lake's shore and they grabbed up their clothes and ran away. (13) And, where the Mormon church is nowadays, there was a village there back then, they say. (14) They went back there. (15) And, they told everything, they say, to a man, uh, he was a holy man, called Mountain Man. (16) They told him about it. (17) Then he prayed. (18) "Wait, Grandson, I will pray," he said, they say. (19) That one prayed. (20) "Ah! You frightened my grandchildren!" he said. (21) "Four days from now they will come to get you." (22) Then everyone was waiting expectantly. (23) Back then all this brush wasn't here, I think [indicating the trees behind the house]. (24) All at once he told them. (25) "They are coming now!" he said, they say. (26) Then they all looked to where there was a small cloud hovering over the lake, constantly. (27) So there where it was, there were lightning bolts. (28) Then there were many bolts of lightning like that, all because of the Thunder being smacking the lake with a loud cracking sound, he shot it [the snake]. (29) And they pulled it out, they say. (30) It was a big snake. (31) Its head wasn't visible. (32) Its tail was a big round ball, they say. (33) When it moved its tail again, there was another bolt of lightning and it was still; they lifted it up taking it back. (34) That's the end of this story.

The narrator's telling of the same story in English:

This is shorter than her Assiniboine language version. It is included here because it makes an interesting comparison and is interesting in its own right. This is a verbatim transcription; commas indicate pauses. Note that the narrator, 87 years old at the time this story was recorded, did not learn English until she was in her 20s. Based on the narrator's age and the fact that her husband was 17 years older than she, and assuming that her husband's father was a teenager at the time, the event probably occurred in the late 1870s, shortly after this group of Assiniboine people were moved to the present location of Carry The Kettle Reserve, about sixty miles east of Regina.

“This story is about a big snake, a monster, I guess, something like that.

Here, north of here,⁵ there's a biiig lake that time, long ago. I've seen that lake, too.

My husband's dad and another boy — man — that's his friend, they went to swim in that water there, and that other one said, “Look down, look in the water, there's something, looking at us,” I guess he said. So he look in that water and he see that something looking at them. So they took off, they, jumping . . . They must be that scared, he, jumping over the water coming towards the shore. And he grab all his clothing and they run. And they come back where the Mormon church is. There's a village, I guess. They went there, and that old man, and they told that old man what they see, and all that, and the old man is a holy medicine man. And he said, he told them, “You scared my, scared my grandkid, my grandch-, my grandkids, I guess he said, *mitágožabina* [‘grandchildren’], I guess he said, and they gonna come and get him, get that snake, in four days they gonna come and get him. So they're all expecting, watching, and the fourth day, they said they look, I guess. They come already and there's a little cloud above the lake there. All at once lightning, thunder, and they come down, I guess, I don't know. Anyway. They caught that big snake

⁵For the record, the narrator indicates an area beyond the cemetery to the north of O'Watch road at CTK.

and they take him up. They didn't see the head, but they see the tail, a biiig, round tail, like a ball, and they took him up. That's all.”

Appendix 2
Īktómi and Fox

Narrated by Bertha O'Watch, Carry The Kettle

- (1) Né Īktómi owóknaka t^háwa žé ak^hé omnákàkta.¹
 (1) DET Īktómi story A3-be.one's DET another ST-A1s.tell-POT
- (2) Īktómi né tuwé nówa² kná'ĵk^hùwa. (3) Pté žé
 (2) Īktómi DET who all these A3-deceive-LOC -FREQ (3) buffalo DET
- ó hĵk p^háta hĵk tayáĥ t^hanó né
 P3-A3-shoot.and.hit and P3-A3-butcher and well-AUG meat DET
- owáštèke nówa éyàku c^hén. (4) Ec^hén én šŷukašàna
 be.best all.these P3p-A3-take thus (4) LAUNCH at fox
- ec^hác én hí. (5) "Mic^hín, ĵmátùk^ha nó.
 A3-be.that.kind-SPC at A3-arrive.here (5) older brother ST-P1s-be.hungry DECL-m
- (6) Míš etáĥa mak'ú wo," ecíya. (7) Žéc^hen thiĥáha
 (6) 1s-EMPH some P1s-give IMPER-m P3-A3-tell (7) so omasum
- eyápi³ žé, žéhakà paksá en k^hó. (8) Né, "Miní
 P3-A3-take COMP finally P3-A3-cut at (exasperation) (8) this.one water
- ektá yá hĵk yužáža hĵk yúta wó. (9) "Akú
 to A3-go and P3-A3-wash and P3-A3-eat IMPER-m (9) P3p-bring.back

¹Secondary stress is not phonemic, but is marked in the text where it can be discerned because of its intrinsic interest. The interaction of primary and secondary stress patterns has not been worked out, but it is a word- and clause level phenomenon that can add or displace primary stress. See, for example, sentence (7), in which the postposition *én* has lost its primary stress and (15), in which *hàta* becomes *hátá* to maintain an iambic pattern across two conjoined clauses.

²*tuwé nówa* 'everyone'

³*eyápi*: the narrator confirms this form but I cannot account for it. One would expect *éyaku* 'take'. I find no other instances in which *eyá* means 'take'; *pi* marks plural, so *eyápi* elsewhere means 'they said' (although that does not make sense here), but the narrator insists that it means 'he took it' in this case.

wo," eyá káya. (10) Žéc^hen ektá šúkašàna žé
 IMPER A3-say they.say (10) LAUNCH there fox DET

wakpá žéc^hi áktaka hĭk, žéc^hi t^hemyá ? (11) Kní
 river over.there A3-run and over.there P3-A3-eat DECL (11) A3-return.here

c^hén hušté-kùza k^hó c^hén. (12) Kní hĭk,
 thus be.lame-A3-pretend also thus (12) A3-return-here and

"Mic^hín, hoğá-šàšàna mak^hípi nó," eyá káya.
 older.brother fish-red(REDup)-NOM P3-A3-grab-PL DECL-m A3-say they.say

(13) Žé ak^hé waží k'ú(wa). (14) Ak^hé ektá yá hĭk
 (13) that.one again one P3p-A3 give-(?) (14) again there A3-go and

t^hemyá. (15) Kní hata žeyáakac.
 P3-A3-consume (15) A3-return.here whenever that-A3-say-DUR-SPC

(16) ĭtopa žen akná yá hĭk ak^hé, Á! táyaĥ
 (16) fourth there P3-A3-take A3-go and again INTERJ well-AUG

žéc^hi a'ĩsi'iyàya náži c^hén. (17) T^hiĥáha žé yúta.
 over.there be.out.of.sight A3-stand thus (17) omasum DET P3-A3-eat

(18) ĭktómi ĭtkóm néc^hi kníyotàka. (19) Žé šúkašàna žé
 (18) ĭktómi back.again over.here A3-REFL-sit (19) DET fox DET

kníika. (20) Waná ak^hé, "Mic^hín," eyá, ["né hoğá
 A3-return.here-DUR (20) now again older.brother A3-say DET fish

mak^hípi."]⁴ (21) Kaptáya-ĭĥpéya káya. (22) Kat'á
 P3-A3-grab-PL (21) P3p-A3-strike-fall they.say (22) P3-A3 -strike.dead

k^hó ĭĥpéya c^hén. (23) Kisníc'ehá.
 even A3-fall for.a.reason (23) A3-recover-IN.THE.PAST

(24) ĭtúk^ha káya ? (25) Phiyéšĭ ok'úšĭ
 (24) P3-be.hungry they.say DECL (25) P3-be.proper-NEG LOC-A3-give-NEG

k^hó iyé; tóhac^hina ĭp'ic'iya hĭk, ĭwúka ?
 even 3.EMPH much ST-3.REFL-sate and A3-lie.down DECL

⁴This phrase was added later by the narrator, after listening to the recording.

- (26) "Miʔús, tʰanó né awámìciyàka⁵ pó.
 (26) 1.POSS-buttock meat DET LOC-ST-1.BEN-look PL.IMPER-m (respect form)
- (27) Tuwéna tʰemíciṣ̌c," eyá (28) Eyá ḥk
 (27) someone-NEG ST-BEN-consume-NEG-DECL A3-say (28) A3-say and
- ecʰén iwúka. (29) Waná ištímažehà šúkašàna né
 then A3-lie.down (29) now P3-sleep-IN.THE.PAST fox DET
- tayá táku wanúyapi iyúha wjchákicʰo cʰén. (30) Pispízana
 well things small.animal-PL all P3p-A3-invite thus (30) mouse
- žéʔiṣ̌. (31) Žé táku pté žé ḥ žéʔe iyúha
 that.also (31) that.one something buffalo DET fur that-be all
- yašná uzé opúhni. (32) Žécʰyuka cʰén.
 INSTR-P3-A3-be.bald buttocks P3-A3-stuff (32) that-A3-do-DUR thus
- (33) Tayáaa žécʰen tʰanó žé iyúha tʰemyápi. (34) Žécun
 (33) w-ell thus meat DET they.all P3-A3-consume-PL (34) that-do
- ḥk iyúha iyámnịkiya iyáyapi. (35) Iktómi kiktá
 and they.all in.all.directions A3-depart.from.here-PL (35) Iktómi A3-get.up
- ḥk tʰanó kiknáken akʰíta káya. (36) Iyúha tʰemyápi.
 and meat A3-SUUS-put A3-look they.say (36) they.all P3p-A3-consume-PL
- (37) E! žé ṣ̌kná! (38) "Miʔús, sícapi
 (37) INTERJ that.one A3-be.angry (38) 1.POSS-buttocks P3-be.bad-PL (respect form)
- nó. (39) Né tʰanó awámìciyàka wó epʰá iyúha
 DECL (39) DET meat LOC-ST-1.BEN-see IMPER-m A1s.say all
- tʰemíciyàpic,"⁶ eyá. (40) Žén pté ḥ žécʰi uzé
 ST-1.BEN-consume-PL A3-say (40) there buffalo fur over.there buttocks

⁵a- LOC + *wayáka* 'see' → 'look at; watch'; *mici* 'for me'

⁶*tʰem^yá* + *mici*

opúh̄nipi ch̄én úkce okíhiš̄i. (41) Žénaka⁷
 P3-A3-stuff-PL thus fart A3-be.able-NEG (41) be.the.end

(42) Žéc̄hen t̄ayá: uzé knapé. (43) Né,
 (42) LAUNCH very well buttocks A3.SUUS-beat (43) this.one

"Awámiciyàka wó ep̄há. (44) Ec̄h̄anuš̄i h̄ík iyúha
 LOC-ST-1.BEN-see IMPER-m A1s.say (44) A2.do-NEG and all

them̄iciyapi nó," eyá h̄ík t̄ayáh̄ uzé
 ST-1.BEN-A3-consume-PL DECL-m A3-say and well.AUG buttocks

knapé káya. (45) Nakžéžé⁸ pté h̄í že t̄ayáh̄
 A3.SUUS-beat they.say (45) meanwhile buffalo fur DET well-AUG

opúh̄niha snok-kíyeš̄i. (46) Žénaka^h.
 be.stuffed.with-CONT ST-A3-DAT-know-NEG (46) it.is.the.end

Free Translation

(1) This is one of [któmi's stories that I will tell again. (2) [któmi always fooled everyone. (3) He shot a buffalo and butchered it, and took all the best parts.

(4) So then a fox came along. (5) "Older brother, I'm hungry. (6) Give me some of that," he said. (7) So he took tripe and finally he grudgingly cut some off.

(8) He said, "Take this over to the water and wash it and eat it! (9) Bring it back

⁷In this telling, the narrator ended the story at this point but I had heard (and seen, with accompanying gestures are amusing to the audience) her tell more in an earlier telling. So, at my request, she added sentences (42)-(46), which are appended here. This creates a slightly artificial flow at the conjunction as well as some redundancy, but the last part is, in effect, the punch line and, in my judgement, an important part of the text.

⁸Narrator translates this as 'meanwhile' but I have not confirmed this with other speakers.

here!” he said, they say.⁹ (10) So the fox ran over there to the creek and ate it up there.¹⁰ (11) As he came back, he craftily pretended to be lame.¹¹ (12) He came back and said, “Older Brother, the salmon snatched it away from me,” he said. (13) ([któmi) gave him another piece.¹² (14) Again, he got up and went and ate it up. (15) When he came back, he said the same thing as before. (16) The fourth time, therefore, he took it and again, oh! so over there, ([któmi) went and stood out of sight. (17) (Fox) ate the omasum. (18) [któmi [came] back again over here and sat down. (19) That fox was coming back. (20) Now he said this [same thing], “Older Brother,” he said, “the fish grabbed it away from me.” (21) ([któmi) knocked him down, they say. (22) He even knocked him dead. (23) (Fox) recovered from it.

(24) ([któmi) was hungry, they say. (25) He was not good (i.e., behaved in a manner contrary to proper behavior); he didn’t even share; all by himself, he ate until he was full and he lay down. (26) “My Buttocks, watch over this meat for

⁹The order seems to be inverted here. [któmi is telling Fox to wash the meat and bring it back and eat it, but Fox eats it at the river and then claims that the salmon have snatched it away from him, to explain why he has not brought it back (and, of course, to trick [któmi into giving him another piece).

¹⁰*žéč^hi* ‘over there’ refers to a place that is out of sight.

¹¹*chén* links verb phrases and carries a resultative connotation, approximately ‘therefore’, ‘thus’, or ‘for a purpose’. It does not always directly link one verb phrase with another but often relates the action of the verb it follows to an action in an adjacent clause. It follows the verb and any enclitics. In (11) the first occurrence means ‘as he came back’ or ‘coming back, . . .’; the second occurrence means ‘he pretended to be lame *for a purpose, with something in mind*’. Compare this with (12) in which the conjunction *hík* ‘and’ is used to simply convey a sequence of actions.

¹²Antecedents of the demonstrative pronouns are understood through shifting between *né* ‘this one’ and *žé* ‘that one’, or, as in this case, ‘that one’ is used to shift the focus from the one who was speaking to the one who is about to speak. Lacking such a device in English, the antecedent is given in parentheses.

me. (27) No one is to eat it up on me,” he said. (28) He said it and then he lay down. (29) Now he was sleeping, so the fox called for all the small animals. (30) [He called for] the mouse, too. (31) That one pulled fur from the buffalo hide with his mouth and stuffed it all into (Įktómi’s) rump. (32) So he kept doing that. (33) Oh! so then they all ate up the meat. (34) They did that and they all headed out in different directions. (35) Įktómi got up and kept looking around for where he had put his meat. (36) They had all eaten it up. (37) Oh! he was angry! (38) “My Buttocks, you are bad! (39) I told you to watch over this meat for me; they all ate it up on me,” he said. (40) They had stuffed his rump with buffalo fur so that he couldn’t fart. (41) That is all.¹³ (42) So then he really beat his own rump. (43) He said, “I told you to watch over it for me. (44) You didn’t do it, and they all ate it up on me,” he said, and he really beat his own rump, they say. (45) He didn’t know that they had stuffed it full of buffalo fur meanwhile [while he was sleeping]. (46) That is all.

¹³In this version, the narrator ended the story at this point but I had heard her tell the story once before and realized that she had left out the conclusion, in which Įktómi beats his rump. Rather than ask her to tell the entire story again, I asked her just to tell that part, which I have appended. In requesting the conclusion of the story, I asked about her use of respect speech when Įktómi addresses his rump, which unfortunately appears to have impaired her spontaneity; upon reflection, she decided that respect speech should have been used and carefully did *not* use respect speech in the addendum. However, when telling this story again more than a year later, she used respect speech throughout. It appears that her intuition is to classify the relationship between Įktómi and his rump as being an avoidance relationship. The lack of respect speech in (39) and (43) may be due to the fact that these are indirect speech.

Appendix 3

Ella Deloria's *The Red Fox* (Boas and Deloria 1941:182-83), edited to reflect the grammar presented in this study

There is a paucity of reliable published Assiniboine texts and, of those, Deloria's *The Red Fox* is possibly the best known because of its inclusion in Boas and Deloria's widely read *Dakota Grammar* (1941). It is also the only phonemically transcribed Assiniboine text in print. (See Chapter 1 for a complete list of published Assiniboine texts.) Here, I re-cast Deloria's transcription according to the principles outlined in the present grammar of Assiniboine.

In the re-written version, changes from the original are underlined. Deloria's punctuation and glosses have been retained but capital letters have been added at the beginning of sentences and sentence numbers have been added. Deloria's original text, including her diacritics, is shown in italics. Underlined units in the transliterated text mark changes from the original and are footnoted.

Format:	First line:	Transliterated text
	<i>Second line:</i>	<i>Original text (Deloria)</i>
	Third line:	Translation (Deloria)

The two most frequent changes are the elimination of Deloria's word initial glottal stops and rewriting voiced stops as voiceless. A careful reading of the rewritten text reveals that not all simple stops that appear in my version of the text are marked as having been changed; that is, Deloria records some simple stops as voiced and some as voiceless. All voiced stops are rewritten as voiceless because in contemporary speech they are voiced by rule between vowels. It does seem that in the speech of the older generation, stops were not always voiced intervocalically,

but this is simply evidence that stops are underlyingly voiceless, as is the fact that in running speech, if a simple stop is preceded by a pause it will be voiceless. Since pauses are unpredictable, it is not possible to judge where voicing may have occurred in the narrative as Deloria heard it. If, in fact, Deloria was able to faithfully reproduce stop voicing as she heard it, we may assume phrase breaks where she records voiceless simple stops. This seems unlikely, though, because this would imply strange phrasing in some instances and there are several word-internal voiceless stops in her text, for instance, in (13), where she writes *wúká* rather than the expected *wugá*.

The general lenition of stops in Assiniboine (prominently between vowels and intermittently in clusters) is one of the striking auditory features of the language for anyone familiar with other Siouan dialects, and there has always been a strong tendency to write these stops as voiced in Assiniboine. But because the voiced segments are phonetic variants of underlying voiceless segments, they surface inconsistently. The representation of stops is a perennial challenge for researchers as well as for Assiniboines, and is one of the primary reasons why no consensus has been reached on a single, perspicuous orthography (Cumberland 2004).

The Red Fox

(1) It^hó kán t^hiwíc^hota t^híⁱ.¹ (2) T^hiwíc^hota tuk^há wǵǵina h^uká² c^ha wí^háka
 (1) 'ít'ó kán t'iwíc'ota t'íp'. (2) t'iwíc'ota tuk'á wǵǵina h^uká c'a
 wí^háka

Well yonder families lived. They were but only one . . . it being tent large
 now many many families so

_ ot^hí, h^uštá. (3) C^huwítku núm wí^hóškapi³ h^uštá (4) Žéc^ha šúkašana⁴
 'otí h^uštá. (3) c'uwítku núm wí^hóškebi h^uštá. (4) žéc'a šúga-šana
 he lived it is His daughters two were young it is said That way fox red
 in said. girls

h^uyák^hena h^uyáya h^uštá. (5) Žé tuwé⁵ yúza šten c^huwítku nup^hín k'ú^hka
 hayák'ena h^uyáya h^uštá. (5) žé tuwá yúza šten c'uwítku nup'in k'ú^hka
 early passed it is said. That whoever caught it when his daughters both give will

káya.⁶ h^uštá (6) Žéc^hen h^uyák^hena k^hošká [*]⁷ _iyúhana kiktápi k^huwápi .
 geyá. h^uštá (6) žéc'en h^uyák'ena k'ošká kⁱ 'iyúhana kiktábi k'uwábi
 he said it is said. Thus early morning youth the all arose [and] they chased it
 that

h^uštá (7) K^huwápi k'eš tuwéni yúzešj. (8) Žéc^hi _iháke _ektá wákákana
 h^uštá. (7) k'úwabi k'eš tuwéni yúzeš'. (8) žéc'i 'iháge 'ektá wǵǵáǵana
 it is said. they chased it but never nobody caught it. There end of camp at old woman

¹Deloria precedes all vowel-initial words with a glottal stop, all of which I have omitted.

²*h^uká* (*h^ugá* in Deloria's transcription) is not translated, but I assume it means 'chief', here and in (15). The young women in the story are the chief's daughters.

³I have never found an *e* in this word and my consultants do not recognize it. (I have also changed *b* to *p*.)

⁴Deloria glosses *šúkašana* (her *šúga-šana*) as 'fox red'. In fact, the literal meaning is 'dog-red', and the compound simply means 'fox'.

⁵*tuwá* is not attested in Assiniboine. The accepted form for both the pronoun 'who' and the verb 'to be who' is *tuwé*, unlike Lakota, where a distinction is made between the pronoun (*tuwá*) and the verb (*tuwé*).

⁶Here, Deloria writes *geyá* although in (17) she writes *gáya* (*káya*). *káya* is the accepted form for this quotative. To my knowledge, the Lakota quotative *keyá* is not attested in Assiniboine.

⁷The definite article *ki* does not occur in Assiniboine.

wąží t^hak^hóžakpaku⁸ hokšína kic^hí t^hí. (9) Žé c^hakníyaĥpe-k^huwa. (10) Hokšína
 wąží t'akóžakpagu hokšína kic'í t'í (9) žé c'akníyaĥpe-k'uwá. (10) hokšína
 a her grandchild boy with lived. That with a trap pursued it. Boy
 one

žé⁹ec^hen _ec^hý. (11) Žé k^huwápi hokšína žé kté. (12) T^hanó⁹ žen _ék^haka
 žé 'ec'én 'ec'ý (11) žé k'uwábi hokšína žé kté (12) t'anú žen 'ék^haka
 that according did. That they chased boy that killed Meat there he placed it
 one it one it.

šŭkašana _akná iĥpáya t'á. (13) Ĥayák^hena kiktá ĥik waná šŭkašana
 šŭga-šana 'akná iĥpáya t'a. (13) ĥayák'ena kiktá ĥik waná šŭga-
 šana
 fox red on it fell [and] died. Early he arose and then now fox

t'á wŭká. (14) Žéc^hen¹⁰ t^híta _ak^hí ĥŭštá. (15) Žéc^hen k^hŭšítku yuǵápa c^hen
 t'a wŭká (14) žéc'ed t'íta 'ak'í ĥŭštá. (15) žéc'ed k'ŭšítku yuǵába c'ed
 dead lay. And so to his he took it is said. And so his grand- skinned it then
 tent it mother

⁸Deloria records the *k* of *t^hak^hóžakpaku* as unaspirated. This is probably a typographical error.

⁹The universally attested word for 'meat' is *t^hanó*. The acoustic distinction between *u* and *o* is very fine but the underlying vowel is demonstrably *u*.

¹⁰With one exception (sentence 6), Deloria writes this as *žéc^hed*. This word is derived from *žéc^hetu*, where I assume a derivation in which the *u* is dropped and the *t* undergoes coda nasalization to become *žéc^hen*. There was at one time a widespread phonetic tendency to post-occlude *n* (see chapter 2:3.2.1). Since Deloria alternately records *žéc^hed* as *žéc^hen* in (6), it may be that she was responding to occasional post-occlusion. All examples of *žéc^hed* in her text are rewritten phonemically as *žéc^hen*. My reasons for changing Deloria's *c'ed* in (15) to *c^hen* are the same as those discussed for *žéc^hen*.

hokšína nína ch^hatéšica¹⁵ huštá. (23) _Ūmá hí žé ch^hkešj. (24) _Ūmá
hokšína nína c^haté šica huštá (23) 'umá hí žé c^hgešj (24) 'umá
 boy very heart bad it is said. The one came that he did not want The other
 one

wahténašj žé'éc_ nína ch^hka.¹⁶ (25) Žéc^hen wik^hišneyešj wi'ókicizipam _én
wahténašj žé 'ec' nína c^h. (25) žéc'ed wiki'isneye šj wiókicizipm 'én
 despised him that only very he wanted. And so having intercourse not they erected a there
 tipi for him

yéšj manín _ománi. (26) _Ūšika huštá. (27) (_Inúm-yahí žehán _ak^hé
yéšj manín 'ománi (26) 'ušika huštá (27) 'inúm-yahi žehán 'ak'é
 not going in the he wandered. He was it is said. (A second time then again
 wilds pitiable you come

_oc^hicimnakj^hta.)
 'oc^hicim.nakj^hta.)
 I shall tell you.)

¹⁵Deloria writes and glosses this as two words, each with primary stress. It is more likely a noun-incorporated verb meaning 'be broken-hearted; be sad in an angry way'. I have heard it with secondary stress, *ch^hatéšica*, as well as with primary stress only. Note that in the text Deloria never writes *j*, the voiced counterpart of *c* even though it is subject to the voicing rule. In her *Notes on the Assiniboine* (1936) she shows that she has considered that the affricate might be voiced, often writing *j* and crossing it out and writing *c*. This ambivalence is in evidence throughout that work, with many cross-outs in both directions. It should be kept in mind that the *Notes* were produced after a very brief visit of only a few weeks and without the benefit of audio recording equipment and despite such obvious uncertainties, it is an impressive accomplishment.

¹⁶Deloria writes the Lakota word *ch^hi* but the Assiniboine word is *ch^hika*. Deloria writes the full word in (23) as *ch^higešj* 'he did not want her', so there is no question that she was aware of the Assiniboine form of the word. The *ch^hi* in (24) may reflect the near inaudibility of voiceless final syllables occasioned by devoicing of the final vowel with anticipatory assimilation combined with Deloria's reflex arising from her native Sioux language.

Appendix 4

Instrumental Prefixes - Comparative Table

Assiniboine (Deloria 1936; Parks; Cumberland)	Dakota (Riggs 1890)	Lakota (B&D 1941; Buechel 1983; R&T 1996)	Gloss comparisons
ka-	ka-	ka-	<p>Asb: 'by striking with an instrument; implies a sharp blow'</p> <p>Riggs: "by striking, as with the hand, or with an ax (<i>sic</i>), club or other instrument; or by the action of the wind or water" (1890:245)</p> <p>Buechel: "by striking, as with the hand, or with an ax, club or other instrument; or by the action of the wind or water" (1983:269)</p> <p>B&D: "implies rapidity of action may be translated very often as 'by striking', sometimes also as action 'by the wind, current or other natural forces'." (1941:46)</p> <p>R&T: "by means of a blow' . . . also used in verbs that refer to action of wind or other more or less spontaneous actions" (1996:463)</p>
na-	na-	na-	<p>Asb: 'by action of the foot'</p> <p>Riggs: "commonly indicates that the action is done with th foot; but it is also used to express the effects of frost, heat, etc." (1890:319)</p> <p>Buechel: "with the foot; but less commonly it is also used to express the effects of frost, heat etc., as well as to suggest rapid motions e.g. of machines or spontaneous motions" (1983:341)</p> <p>B&D: "with the foot or leg" (1941:45)</p> <p>R&T: 'by foot action' (1996:463)</p>

na-	na-	na-	<p>Asb: 'of itself; from inside'</p> <p>Riggs: [see previous]</p> <p>Buechel: [see previous]</p> <p>B&D "‘by inner force’ . . . corresponding to our impersonal verbs" (p.46)</p> <p>R&T: "action accomplished by heat. It is also used when the action occurs by spontaneous inner force" (1996:463)</p>
pa-	pa-	pa-	<p>Asb: 'by pushing'</p> <p>Riggs: 'by pushing or drawing, rubbing or pressing with the hands or arms' (1890:402); also 'by striking . . . or punching' as in <i>patkúġa</i> 'to break in two by striking; to break in two by pushing or punching' (1890:416)</p> <p>Buechel: 'by pushing or drawing, rubbing or pressing with the hands or arms' (1983:422)</p> <p>B&D: 'by pushing along' (1941:45)</p> <p>R&T: 'by pushing or by pressure with the hands or the body' (1996:463)</p>
(pu-)	-	(pu-)	<p>Asb: not productive; frozen forms only, e.g., <i>puspá</i> 'to glue by pressing onto a surface'</p> <p>Riggs: not cited as an instrumental prefix, although the form <i>puspá</i> 'to stick on, glue; to seal' (p1890:428) exists, suggesting that <i>pu-</i> has the same status in Dak. as in Lak. and Asb.</p> <p>Buechel: not cited as an instrumental prefix, although the form <i>puspá</i> 'to stick on, glue; to seal' (1983:449) exists</p> <p>B&D '(obsolete, not free) by pressure' <i>puspá</i> 'to glue, seal down' (1941:46); "The feeling for <i>pu</i> as a prefix has disappeared" (1941:46).</p> <p>R&T: 'by generalized pressure'; "rather rare prefix"; <i>puspá</i> 'to glue, to seal' (1996:463)</p>

ma-	wa-/ba-	wa-	<p>Asb: ‘with a knife or saw; by sawing motion’ (although <i>yu-</i> ‘by hand, by pulling’ is also used to convey ‘saw’; compare <i>ɨhâmakse</i> ‘saw’ and <i>ɨhâyukse</i> ‘saw’ [i-LOC, <i>châ</i> ‘wood’, <i>ksA</i> ‘sever, cut’])</p> <p>Riggs: ‘by a sawing motion, as with a knife or saw’ (ba- 1890:65; wa- 1890:488; e.g. <i>baksá</i> ‘saw’; <i>baksáksa</i> ‘slice’)</p> <p>Buechel: ‘by a sawing motion, as with a knife or saw’ (1983:509)</p> <p>B&D: ‘by a sawing motion, with a knife’ (1941:45)</p> <p>R&T: ‘by cutting with a blade’ (1996:463)</p>
mo-/po-	wo-/bo-	wo-	<p>Asb: ‘by shooting, by action from a distance; by a point; by force of wind or water’ [note extension to <i>amókiya</i> ‘car’]</p> <p>Riggs: ‘by shooting, punching, pounding with the end of a stick, or by blowing; also used when the action of rain is expressed’ (bo- 1890:73; wo- 1890:584, i.q.)</p> <p>Buechel: ‘by shooting, punching, pounding with the end of a stick, or by blowing. It is also used when the action of rain is expressed’ (1983:593-94)</p> <p>B&D: ‘action from a distance’ (1941:45); ‘indicates primarily impact from a distance, refers often to actions done with a point, such as arrow, lance, or also with the end of an implement with a long handle. It also expresses action of the wind or a current of water.’ (1941:46)</p> <p>R&T: ‘by piercing with a pointed object. . . also used in verbs that refer to action by blowing’ (1996:463) [note lack of reference to action by water/rain]</p>
ya-	ya-	ya-	<p>Asb: ‘with the mouth, with the teeth; indirectly, by speaking’</p> <p>Riggs: ‘with the mouth, by biting, talking, etc. . . . to speak of as such, or to make so with the mouth’ (p1890:600)</p> <p>Buechel: ‘with the mouth by biting, talking etc. . . . to speak of as such, or to make so with the mouth’ (1983:617)</p> <p>B&D: ‘with the mouth’ (1941:45)</p> <p>R&T: ‘by means of the mouth or the teeth; by speaking’ (1996:463)</p>

yu-

yu-

yu-

Asb: 'by pulling; by hand'

Riggs: 'expresses the idea of causation in some way not conveyed by *ba*, *bo*, *ka*, *na*, *pa*, and *ya*; . . . Sometimes it conveys the idea of pulling. . . to make or cause to be' (1890:620)

Buechel: 'expresses the idea of causation in some way not conveyed by *ka*, *na*, *pa*, *wa*, *wo*, *ya*; . . . Sometimes it conveys the idea of pulling. . . to make or cause to be' (1983:633)

B&D: 'by pulling' (1941:45); "Since almost all pulling has to be done by hand, *yu-* is often best translated 'by hand' or even as a general instrumental when no specific matter of action is prominently implied" (1941:46)

R&T: "by means of the hands' . . . also used in verbs that have a general causative meaning" (1996:463); "change being caused is one of degree, not of kind" (1996:464)

Appendix 5 - Orthographic Equivalencies

Key:	<p>ECD Deloria <i>Notes on the Assiniboine</i> (1936) [essentially as in Boas and Deloria <i>Dakota Grammar</i> (1941), but includes j]</p> <p>EB Buechel <i>Lakota-English Dictionary</i> (1970, 1983)</p> <p>FBO Fort Belknap Orthography (1997)</p> <p>IDD Indiana Dictionary Database (Parks and DeMallie 1996)</p> <p>IPA American usage International Phonetic Alphabet (Pullam and Ladusaw 1996:298 and 301-302)</p> <p>KR Ryan <i>Nakona Language</i> (1998)</p> <p>LC Cumberland (present study)</p> <p>RH Hollow <i>A Note on Assiniboine Phonology</i> (1970)</p> <p>RL Lowie <i>The Assiniboine</i> (1909)</p> <p>SICC Saskatchewan Indian Culture Centre, Saskatoon, SK (c.1999)</p> <p>TR Taylor and Rood <i>Beginning Lakota</i> (1976); Rood and Taylor <i>Sketch of Lakhota</i> (1996)</p> <p>~ indicates two symbols used interchangeably for single phoneme.</p> <p>/ indicates single phoneme interpreted and represented as separate phonemes</p>
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<u>Vowels</u>	LC	IPA	ECD	IDD	TR	EB	RL	SICC	FBO	RH	KR ¹
i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i
ĩ	ĩ	ĩ	ĩ	ĩ	ĩ	iŋ	i ^ŋ ~ iñ	iŋ	ĩ	ĩ	ĩ
e	e	e	e	e	e	e	e	e	e	e	é
ə	ə	-	-	-	-	-	E	-	-	-	-
a	ɑ	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a
ǣ	ã	ǣ	ǣ	ǣ	aŋ	a ^ŋ ~ añ	a ^ŋ ~ añ	a ^ŋ ~am~an	ǣ	ǣ	ã
o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o / u	o	o	o	o
u	u	u	u	u	u	u	u / o	u / o	u	o	u
ɤ	ũ	ɤ	ɤ	ɤ	uŋ/oŋ	u ^ŋ ~ uñ	u ^ŋ ~ uñ	u ^ŋ /o ^ŋ	ɤ	ɤ	ũ
voiceless	v	ṽ	V ~ ^v	V	-	-	v	-	v	-	-
ablauting-[a]	A	-	-	-	A	-	-	-	A	-	-

<u>Consonants</u>	LC	IPA	ECD	IDD	TR	EB	Lowie	SICC ²	FBO	RH	KR
unaspirated	p	p	p	p	p	p̰	b ~ p	p̄ ~ b	b	b	b
	t	t	t	t	t	t̰	t	t̄ ~ d	d	d	d
	c	tʃ	c	c	č	č̰	tc	c̄	j	j	j
ejective	k	k	k	k	k	k̰	g ~ k	k̄ ~ g	g	g	g
	pʼ	pʼ	pʼ	pʼ	pʼ	pʼ	-	pʼ	pʼ	p̰	pʼ?
	tʼ	tʼ	tʼ	tʼ	tʼ	tʼ	tʼ	-	tʼ	t̰	tʼ?
aspirated	cʼ	tʃʼ	cʼ	cʼ	čʼ	cʼ	-	c̄ʼ	cʼ	č̰	-
	kʼ	kʼ	kʼ	kʼ	kʼ	kʼ	-	k̄ʼ	kʼ	k̰	kʼ?
	p ^h	p ^h	p ^ʰ	p ^ʰ	ph	p ~ p ^ʰ	p	p ~	p	p	p
	t ^h	t ^h	t ^ʰ	t ^ʰ	th	t ~ t ^ʰ	t	-	t	t	t
voiced	c ^h	tʃ ^h	c ^ʰ	c ^ʰ	č ^h	c ~ c ^ʰ	tc	c̄	c	č	ch
	k ^h	k ^h	k ^ʰ	k ^ʰ	kh	k ~ k ^ʰ	k	-	k	k	k
	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	-	b	b	b
fricative	d	d	t ³	d	-	-	d	-	d	d	d
	j	dʒ	j	j	-	-	dj	c̄	j	j	j
	g	g	g	g	g	g	g	g	g	g	g
	s	s	s	s	s	s	s	s	s	s	s
	š	ʃ	s-dot	š	š	š	c	š	š	š	sh
	ħ	x	ħ	ħ	ħ	ħ	x	ħ [bk], ġ [front]	ħ	x	x
	sʼ	sʼ	-	sʼ	sʼ	sʼ	- (uses [s])	-	sʼ	š̰	-
	šʼ	ʃʼ	s-dotʼ	šʼ	šʼ	šʼ	-	š̄ʼ	šʼ	š̰	-
	ħʼ	xʼ	ħʼ	ħʼ	ħʼ	ħʼ	-	ħ̄ʼ	ħʼ	x̰	-
	z	z	z	z	z	z	z	z	z	z	z
-	-	-	-	-	zʼ	-	-	-	-	-	
ž	ʒ	ž	ž	ž	j	j	j	ž	ž	zh	
ǰ	ɣ	ǰ	ǰ	ǰ	ǰ	r	ǰ	ǰ	ɣ	g	
-	-	-	-	-	gʼ	-	ḡʼ	-	-	-	

	LC	IPA	ECD	IDD	TR	EB	Lowie	SICC	FBO	RH	KR
nasal	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m
	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n
glide	w	w	w	w	w	w	w	w	w	w	w
	y	j	y	y	y	y	y	y	y	y	y
glottal	h	h	h	h	h	h	h	h	h	h	h
	ʔ	ʔ	ʔ	ʔ	ʔ	ʔ	-	- ⁴	ʔ	-	ʔ

Notes

1. In Ryan's orthography, when a nasalized vowel is followed by a bilabial or alveolar stop, the corresponding homorganic nasal stop is inserted together with the nasalized vowel, e.g. *hāmba* 'moccasins', *chānde* 'heart' (Ryan 1998:2). Sometimes the inserted nasal stop replaces nasalization on the vowel, e.g. *chāhamba* 'shoes' ('wood' + 'moccasins') (Ryan 1998:40).
2. Much of the variation in the SICC orthography derives from its attempt to represent Lakota, Dakota and Assiniboine with a single symbol set, producing ambiguity among the stops and affricates. Voiceless vowels are not represented. SICC's *j* represents *ž* (IPA *ʒ*), for which SICC sometimes also uses *c*-macron (*ĉ*). The variation in the mid and high vowels appears to derive from following Riggs and Buechel, although the distribution of these symbols in SICC publications differs in practice, e.g. Buechel's *ajúyapi* 'bread' is written *ajoyabi* (*Ajoyabi Hokšina* SICC: 1998).
3. Although Deloria frequently writes *b g j* for intervocalic *p k c*, respectively, she does not write *d* for intervocalic *t*. Her only reference to the possibility of an intervocalically voiced *t* is in respect to *k^huté* (Deloria 1936:18): "In this particular word, the *ṭ* seems to be so like a *ḍ* that I was tempted to write it *K'udé*, at first." She then gives the forms as *wak'úte*, *yak'úte* (A1s and A2, respectively), both with *t*.
4. SICC treats hiatus as glottalization of a preceding consonant, e.g. [*g'*, *z'*] creating voiced glottalized segments that are then included in their inventory. One of their examples is *maz'ípame* 'file; metal file' is actually a compound of *máza* 'metal' and *ípame* 'rasp, file, sandpaper'. The older generation gives this word as *mazípama* in which *z* is resyllabified as an onset and remains voiced intervocalically; the younger generation gives *mas'ípame* in which *z* is in coda position and therefore devoiced. Voiced glottalized segments, such as those shown in the SICC inventory, do not occur in Assiniboine.

Appendix 6

Idioms

There are many expressions for which direct translation does not reveal the meaning of the expression. Examples include the following.

aknúšťa	‘to lose through death’ • mic ^h ĩkši awéknušťa ‘my son died’ (*mic ^h ĩkši t’á)
ayáskapa	‘to be “stuck on” someone, infatuated with someone’ (ayáskapa ‘be glued onto’)
kaptáya	‘have a car accident’ (lit. ‘knock over by striking’; ‘car’ is implied)
mask ^h úwa	‘prostitute’ (lit. ‘chases money’)
mastústá mat’á áya	‘I’m so tired I could die’
niǵé t ^h ahèsaka	‘little children’ (lit. ‘rawhide bellies’)
núǵe kpá	‘be unheedful, as a child who doesn’t do as told’ (lit. ‘deaf’)
osní th _i ?ónǵp ^h a	“the cold took shelter in the house” said when it is warmer outside than inside the house
sám iyá	‘shoo! get away!’ (lit. ‘go beyond’)
tók ^h en mit ^h áwac ^h ĩ t ^h ǵ?ĩšĩ	‘I didn’t know what to think’ (lit. ‘my thoughts disappeared to somewhere, were confused’)
tok ^h iyata t ^h ǵ?ĩšĩ c ^h én	‘not know which way to go’ (lit. ‘the direction disappeared somehow’)
waǵpáya o?óp ^h et ^h ũ	‘thrift store’ (lit. ‘hard-up store’)
wóžapi stéya	said of a situation in which no headway is being made, as in a meeting to resolve some issue (lit. ‘like berry pudding’)
yumák ^h utiyemac	‘he made me feel low, little’ (slang) (cf. k ^h utíyena ‘be low, as a doorway’)

Appendix 7

Consultants

Cumberland’s consultants are in bold type¹; all consultants are fully fluent, first-language-Assiniboine speakers except where noted. An asterisk (*) indicates members of the group designated in this work as the “older generation.” Fort Belknap reservation is in Montana, all other reserves are in Saskatchewan.

<u>Consultant</u>	<u>Birth-Death</u>	<u>Source(s)</u> ²	<u>Relationships</u>
<u>Carry The Kettle</u>			
Violet (Walker) Ashdohonk ³	c.1920 - 2003	C, P, DS, RD	sister of Kay Thompson and Herb Walker (descended from Takes the Coat)
Angeline Eashappie ⁴	c.1926 (gave age as 74 in 2000)-	C	sister of Sarah Heywahe and Velma O’Watch; mother of Gary Eashappie
Gary Eashappie	?-	C	son of Angeline Eashappie
Ida Eashappie	?-	C	sister of Sadie Heywahe and Nancy Eashappie (eldest of the Eashappie women)
Nancy Eashappie	1936-	C	sister of Sadie Heywahe and Ida Eashappie
Sarah Eashappie	c.1928 (gave age as 72 in 2000)-	C	sister of Angeline Eashappie and Velma O’Watch
Sadie (Eashappie) Heywahe	1933-	C	sister of Ida and Nancy Eashappie
Wilma (Thomson) Kennedy	c.1928-	C	(daughter-in-law of Chief Dan Kennedy)

¹Signed informed consent forms (Indiana University Human Subjects Committee, study #00-3790) are in Cumberland’s possession.

² Sources: C=Cumberland field notes; D=Drummond; DS=Dialect Survey (Parks and Jones); F=Farnell (1995); NLL=Nakoda Language Lessons (Parks et al.); RD=DeMallie, including Nakoda Reader; P=Parks field notes

³ Said to be from *ašnóhą* ‘to sneak up on, as prey or an enemy’; English pronunciation of Ashdohonk is [ʌšdohɔŋk]

⁴ From *iʔášapi* ‘they cheer for them’; English pronunciation of Eashappie is [iʃæpi], also [iəšæpi]

<u>Consultant</u>	<u>Birth-Death</u>	<u>Source(s)</u> ⁵	<u>Relationships</u>
<u>Carry The Kettle (cont.)</u>			
Bertha (Ryder) O'Watch ⁶	1914-	C	mother of Dean; niece of Charles Ryder
Dean Marlow O'Watch (partial)	1963-	C	grandson of Bertha, but she raised him from infancy; he calls her 'mother'
*Douglas O'Watch	1913-1992	P, RD	husband of Velma O'Watch
Velma (Eashappie) O'Watch	1927-2004	C	sister of Angeline and Sarah Eashappie; wife of Doug O'Watch
Joyce Prettyshield (partial)	?	C	related to Kay Thompson
*Charles Ryder	1889-d.?	DS, D	Bertha's paternal uncle
Kay (Walker) Thompson	1926-2000	C, P, DS, RD	sister of Violet Ashdohonk and Herb Walker (descended from Takes The Coat)
Herb Walker	c.1924-	C	brother of Kay Thompson and Violet Ashdohonk; lives in Regina (descended from Takes the Coat)
<u>Ocean Man</u>			
Peter Bigstone (partial)	?-	C	son of Percy Nahbexie; cousin of Armand McArthur
Leona (Big Eagle) Kroeskamp	?-	C	Assiniboine language instructor at First Nations University of Canada (FNUC; formerly SIFC)

⁵ Sources: C=Cumberland field notes; D=Drummond; DS=Dialect Survey (Parks and Jones); F=Farnell (1995); NLL=Nakoda Language Lessons (Parks et al.); RD=DeMallie, including Nakoda Reader; P=Parks field notes

⁶ From *wówaši* 'worker'. According to Bertha (Birdie) O'Watch, this was a nickname given to her father-in-law's ?father, whose Indian name she does not know. He did not have a family name and when agents were assigning family names, the nickname was misunderstood by the English speaking agent as "O'Watch" (accent is in the first syllable). There are occasional references in local newspapers and in Rodnick (1936) to a name, "Old Watch," a variant of "O'Watch". Bertha O'Watch adopted Cumberland as a daughter in June 2001.

<u>Consultant</u>	<u>Birth-Death</u>	<u>Source(s)</u> ⁷	<u>Relationships</u>
Percy Nahbexie ⁸	?-	C	father of Peter Bigstone
<u>Pheasant Rump</u>			
Armand McArthur (partial)	?-	C	cousin of Peter Bigstone ⁹
<u>White Bear</u>			
Eldon Lone Thunder	?-	C	
Victor Sammy	?-	C	
<u>Fort Belknap</u>			
*Estelle Blackbird	?-?	RD	distant relative of Bertha O'Watch
Selena Ditmar	?-	C, P, NLL, RD	Assiniboine language instructor at Fort Belknap College until 2003
*James Earthboy	1917-?	P, F	
Josephine Mechance	?-	C, P, RD	daughter of Rose Weasel
Thomas Shawl (near-fluent)	?-	C	Assiniboine language instructor at Fort Belknap College 2003-present
*George Shields	1899-?	P, RD	
Evelyn Speakthunder	?-	P	
*Juanita Tucker	189?-1997	P, RD	
*Jim Walking Chief	?-?	RD	
*Rose Weasel	?-d.199?	P, NR, F, RD	mother of Josephine Mechance
*Isabelle Wing	?-?	RD	wife of Leo Wing
*Leo Wing	?-?	RD	husband of Isabelle Wing

⁷ Sources: C=Cumberland field notes; D=Drummond; DS=Dialect Survey (Parks and Jones); F=Farnell (1995); NLL=Nakoda Language Lessons (Parks et al.); RD=DeMallie, including Nakoda Reader; P=Parks field notes

⁸ From *nəpéksa* 'hands cut off'; English pronunciation of Nahbexie is [na'bɛksi], also [nə'bɛksi].

⁹ Although logically Armand is Percy's nephew, this has not been confirmed.

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- 2000 M.A. Anthropology, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN

Field Research:

- Summer 2004 Carry The Kettle Reserve and White Bear Reserves, SK
- Summer 2003 Carry The Kettle Reserve, SK
- Summer 2002 Carry The Kettle Reserve, SK
- 2000-01 Carry The Kettle Reserve, with additional work at Pheasant Rump, Ocean Man and White Bear Reserves, SK and Fort Peck, MT
- Summer 1999 Carry The Kettle Reserve, SK
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Teaching Experience:

- Fall 2005 Instructor, Anthropology Dept., Butler University, Indianapolis, IN
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- 1999-2000 Associate Instructor, Anthropology Dept., Indiana University, Bloomington, IN
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Professional Experience:

- 2004-2005 Language Consultant, New Path Language Project. White Bear First Nation, Carlyle, SK
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Fellowships and Grants:

- 2000-01 Fulbright Student Award
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- 2000 Canadian Embassy Graduate Student Fellowship
- 2000 Yale University Endangered Language Fund Award
- 1997-2000 American Indian Studies Research Institute Fellow, Indiana University

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Publication:

2003 IDD: An Introductory Guide to Using the Indiana Dictionary Database for the Assiniboine (Nakoda) Language Version in the Fort Belknap Orthography. Bloomington: American Indian Studies Research Institute.

Papers and Presentations:

- 2004 *When One Size Doesn't Fit All: The Assiniboine Orthography Debate in Saskatchewan, Canada.* 103rd Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association, Atlanta, GA, November
- 2004 *Specificity and Definiteness in Assiniboine.* 24th Annual Siouan/Caddoan Conference, Wayne, NB, June
- 2003 *Reduplication in Assiniboine.* Annual Meeting of the Society for the Study of the Indigenous Languages of the Americas (joint meeting with the Linguistic Society of America), Atlanta, GA, January
- 2002 *A "Locke" on the Land: The Legacy of the Enlightenment in the Language of Canada's Treaty 4 Negotiations.* 101st Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association (AAA), New Orleans, LA, November
- 2002 *Documenting Assiniboine Language: The Role of the "White Linguist."* Second Annual "No Borders" Gathering of the Nakoda People, Pheasant Rump Reserve, Kisbey, SK, July
- 2002 *Sound Symbolism and Semantic Reference in Assiniboine Verbs of Movement.* 22nd Annual Siouan/Caddoan Conference, Spearfish, SD, May
- 2000 *The Stop Phonemes of Assiniboine: Evidence from Spectrographic Analysis.* 20th Annual Siouan/Caddoan Conference, Anadarko, OK, June
- 2000 *Designing Multi-Media Language Lessons: A Modular Approach.* Poster Session, Stabilizing Indigenous Languages Conference, Toronto, ON, May
- 2000 *"Astride Our Own Mythology": Four Accounts of the 1873 Cypress Hills Massacre.* 77th Annual Meeting of the Central States Anthropological Society, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN, April
- 1999 *Obstruent Alternation in Assiniboine: An Optimality Theoretic Account.* Society for the Study of the Indigenous Languages of the Americas Summer Session, University of Illinois, Champagne-Urbana, IL, July

Professional Workshops:

- 2003 Co-Presenter (with Douglas R. Parks and members of the American Indian Studies Research Institute, Indiana University), Language and Cultural Preservation Conference II: "Journeying Home: Creating Our Future from Our Past." Bureau of Indian Affairs Office of Indian Education Programs. Minneapolis, MN, March
- 2003 Workshop Organizer and Leader, Indiana Dictionary Database, for a delegation of Canadian Nakoda (Assiniboine) Bands. Indiana University, Bloomington, IN, February
- 2002 Co-Leader (with Selena Ditmar, Fort Belknap College), Nakoda Language Workshop of the Pheasant Rump Nakoda Culture/Traditions Committee. Saskatchewan Indian Federated College, University of Regina, Regina, SK, February

Professional Associations:

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