

§§ 24-171. MORPHOLOGY AND SYNTAX

§§ 24-29. STEMS

§ 24. INTRODUCTORY

Stems may be divided in two large groups, accented stems and unaccented particles which in most cases may be considered as enclitics. In many cases they are so intimately connected with the preceding accented word that they may be called suffixes. There is no sharp line of division between the group which is treated here as enclitics and those treated as suffixes. The intimacy of relation between the two groups may be gauged by their mutual phonetic influence.

Prefixes are so closely connected with the stem that they cannot be considered as proclitics.

In accented words we may distinguish between nouns, neutral verbs, active verbs and unchangeable elements, such as adverbs, conjunctions, expletives.

The distinction between nouns and neutral verbs is not quite definite. Certain nouns like *Lak'o'ta* Dakota, *wic'a'sa* man, and others may be treated as verbs and take pronominal forms, such as *La(ma')k'ota'* (I am) a Dakota. On the whole, however, such forms are avoided and we rather have forms like *'Og.la'la he(ma')c'a'* an Ogalala (I am) that kind. Nevertheless nouns are verbalized when they take the terminal self-experienced declarative glottal stop: *pte'* buffalo cow, *pte'* it is a buffalo cow.

A distinction is also made between noun and nominalized verb. We can say *wic'a'sa ki' leye'* the man said this, or *wic'a'sa ki' he' leye'* that particular man said this; while *waste' ki' leye'* the good one said this, is not admissible. It must be *waste' ki' he' leye'* the one who is good, that one said this.

A further difference between nouns and verbs is found in the rules of contraction. Nouns tend to contract two adjoining vowels while verbs keep them separate. (See pp. 6 et seq.)

Reduplication is very prominent in verbs, exceedingly rare in nouns which occur in reduplicated form in a few phrases only. (See p. 38.)

The differentiation between neutral and active verbs is pronounced. They are differentiated by distinct pronouns. The rules of accentuation are different. Neutral verbs when reduplicated are accented on the second syllable, even when the singular stem has the accent on the first syllable, while active verbs reduplicated retain the accent on the first syllable. Furthermore the initial *k* of neutral and active intransitive verbs is stable, that of active, transitive verbs changes to *c* after *i* or *e*.

Demonstratives combine in numerous ways with verbs and must be treated as a class by themselves.

By far the majority of verbal stems are neutral. The concept of a condition extends over almost all inanimate objects that may be brought into a condition. "To scratch" is not primarily an activity; the active verb is derived from the condition of a scratched surface. These stems can be made active only by adding instrumental prefixes which express the means by which the condition is brought about, or by locative elements which apply the condition to a certain object.

Active verbs are almost exclusively those referring to bodily or mental activities, actions that can be performed by or on living beings only. The only verbs that do not conform to this rule are, so far as I have been able to find, (-) *koza* to swing, **k'a-p'a'* to surpass (*'i'yak'ap'eya* surpassing it), (-) *peha'* to fold, **t'u'* to have, to put on (*c'a' ki' iyu' ha' ape't'u'* all the trees bear leaves), **'u'* to be in existence somewhere (for inanimate objects only when they are sometimes present, sometimes absent: *mahe'l 'i'ya k'eya' 'u'* inside are some stones, as in a rattle; *mahe'l m.ni' 'u' sni'* there is no water in it).

It is characteristic that only those among these verbs can take instrumental prefixes which refer to bodily activities that can be produced by pulling, pushing, striking, a sawing motion, with the mouth, the feet, like (-)psi'ca to jump, (-)sloha' to crawl, (-)wa-c'i' to dance.

Active verbs **

- *i' to wear about the shoulders
- *g.lo'wi to wear one's own shawl
- *o' to hit by shooting
- *u-t'a' to shoot
- *u' to be (when neutral, to use)
- *u'ya to lose
- *u'pa to lay down animate things
- *u'-c'a to mock
- *u'-kce to break wind
- *yu'ta to eat
- (-)wa-c'i' to dance
- *howa'ya to moan, groan
- (-)sica'-howa'ya to groan with misery
- (*ho' to howl, only 3d person)
- *hu' to commit sodomy
- *ba' to blame
- *ha-b.le' to quest for a vision
- *pa' to shout
- (-)peha' to fold
- *po'ga to blow
- (-)psi'ca to jump
- (-)psa' to sneeze
- *p'a-hita' to tie in a bundle
- *ma'-ni to walk
- *ma-nu' to steal
- *la' to ask for
- la to consider (always final after other verb)
- *le' to search (only in c'q-le' to get fire wood; o-le' to search; (-) ile' to burn, (neutral)
- (-)le'za to urinate
- *lowa' to sing
- *tywa' to look, open eyes
- *tka' to flesh a hide
- *t'i' to dwell
- c'e-t'i' to build a fire
- *t'u' to have, put on, give birth
- (-)ho-t'u' to utter cry, only 3d person for cries of animals
- *su' to braid, plait
- (-)c'e-sli' to defecate
- *sli'pa to lick
- (-)sloha' to creep, crawl
- *so'so to cut meat in strips
- si to order (always final verb after other verb) wa-si' to employ
- (-)p'o'-si to wrinkle nose
- *su-t'a' to miss aim
- (-)ska' to be active
- (-)zo' to whistle; ka'zo' to have diarrhea
- (-)c'e'ya to weep
- *c'i' to desire
- (-)na'-zi to stand (from zi erect)
- (-)ni' to be alive
- (-)niya' to breathe
- *nu'ni to lose one's way
- g.nu'ni to lose one's own
- *nuwa' to swim

** For explanation of symbols see p. 16. The - within the word indicates the position of the pronoun. Where there is no such indication the pronoun is prefixed.

- **g.mu'ka* to trap
 **g.la'* to feel, loathe
 (-)*si-g.la'* to resent
 **g.le'* to have on hand, standing
 (-)*g.lo* to snort
 **g.na'ya* to trick, deceive, persuade
 -*g.naya* to miss aim, hold
 **g.na'ka* to lay by, have on hand
 **hi-g.nu'* to singe hair before cooking
 **ka'ga* to make
 (-)*ka'ga* to choke on something
kapi to be disinclined (always final after other verb)
b.lo-ka'ska to hiccough
 **kagi'* to respect, avoid out of respect
 **kahni'ga* to choose
 **ka'* to relate a myth
 **kiya'* to fly
 (-)*ko'za* to swing, *oka'koza* it is swinging, swaying due to a force
 **ku'* to covet; *c'o-ku'* to wish death of
 **ku'za* to decree, ordain
 **kia'* to defer, expect (S); *wa-ka'* (T)
 **kie'* to kill
 (-)*ksa'pa* to be wise (Y S, neutral in T)
 **kshu'* to pile on, do beadwork
 **k'a'* to mean
 **k'i'* to take away from
k'o to doom (always final after other verb)
 **k'awa'* to treat, pursue
 **k'ute'* to shoot at
 **k'a'* to dig
 **k'i'* to carry on back
c'o-k'i' to roast
 **go'pa* to snore
 **ha'* to bury
 (-)*ho-hpa'* to cough
 **hpa'ya* to lie (animate being, river)
 **hmu'ga* to bewitch, poison
 (-)*hlo'* to growl
 **hia-ni'* to toil; *wa-hia-ni* to transgress a law, taboo

Also all verbs of going and coming (pp. 92 et seq.), and all verbs ending in *-p'a*, except locatives (p. 83).

§§ 25-28. VERBAL STEMS

§ 25. INTRODUCTORY

Verbal stems may be divided in two main groups; those in *-a* with accent on the first syllable when appearing without prefix; and those with varying vocalic ending, monosyllabic or bisyllabic generally with accent on the second syllable.

The former have the type *cvc* (consonant, vowel, consonant) or *ccvc*, rarely *vc*, all followed by the suffix *a*. Only single, medial stops (*p*, *t*, *c*, *k*), or single voiced spirants (*z*, *z'*, *g*) appear at the close of stems of this class^{23b}. When reduplicated the whole stem *vc*, *cvc* or *ccvc* is repeated with the phonetic changes required in forms losing their terminal vowel, or in consonantic clusters originating through contact of terminal and initial consonants. For short the whole class will be designated as *cvc*.

^{23b} A few verbs ending in *ya* or *wa* do not belong to this class.

The second class has the forms *v*, *cv*, or *ccv* when monosyllabic. In bisyllabic stems the first syllable has the same form, the second syllable of almost all those ending in *a* has the type *ccv*, provided we interpret the aspirates *p' t'*, *c' k'* and the glottalized *p', t', c', k'* as double consonants. (See p. 5.) The whole class will be designated as *cv* and *cvccv*. When reduplicated the monosyllabic stem is repeated. In bisyllabic stems the second syllable is repeated. The terminal *a* of the stems with terminal vowel is treated differently from the *a* of the *cvc* verbs. All this suggests that these bisyllabic stems must be considered as consisting of two parts, each ending in a vowel, while all the *cvc* stems end in a single consonant.

§ 26. STEMS WITH TERMINAL CONSONANT, *cvc*

The verbs of the type *cvc* may be divided into two groups. The former contains verbs expressing states or qualities. These take the neutral pronouns *ma-* I, *ni-* thou as subjects; the latter contains active verbs which have for their subjects *wa-* I, *ya-* you. Some of these never take instrumental prefixes. These are marked with an asterisk (*). Others may take an instrumental prefix; these are marked (-). Still others require an instrumental prefix when used as verbs, these are marked -. Some may be used with or without a locative prefix. In this case the locative prefix is placed in parentheses (*o*), (*a*), (*i*). When the locative prefix is required it has no parentheses. Most of these have the accent on the vowel of the *cvc* stem.

Examples of neutral verbs:

(-) *b.le'za* to be sane; -**c'e'pa* to be fat; -(*o*) *k'a'ta* to be warm; -(*i*) *t'a'ga* to be hard and rough; -(*i*) *t'q'ka* to be large

There are large numbers of these. A small number have the accent on the second syllable.

(-) *sula'* hard, firm; -**yaka'* to sit; -**yuka'* to recline (-) *waka'* Yankton; -*yka* to be in horizontal position; -**t'eca'* to be lukewarm; -(*o*) *smaka'* deep (as a valley); -**p'ica'* to be fairly good; -**zica'* to be rich; -**hpeca'sni* to be full of life, action (*sni* not)

Examples of active verbs:

go'pa* to snore; -g.mu'ka* to set traps; -**ku'za* to pretend; -**ka'ga* to make; -(*o*) *psi'ca* to jump

§ 27. VERBS OF THE TYPE *cv*

A considerable number of monosyllabic verbs both static and active end in a vowel. Examples are:

Neutral:

**sa'* red; - *kša* to be coiled; to be collapsed; -(*o*) *šma'* deep (as snow, water); -(*o*) *šli'* to be oozing out of an opening; -(*o*) *kša'* to be severed

Active:

u'* to come; -i'* to arrive there; -**k'u'* to give; -**la'* to demand

§ 28. VERBS OF THE TYPE *cvcv*

Most bisyllabic stems the second syllable of which begins with a consonantic cluster as well as those having a single consonant beginning the second syllable have their accent on the second syllable, unless the first syllable is formed by a contraction of two syllables.

Although words of more than two syllables cannot always be analyzed it seems all but certain that they are by origin compounds.

Analysis is often made difficult by the tendency of Dakota to modify stems by dropping consonants and by metathesis. Considering the ease with which words for objects of European manufacture have been coined, it seems remarkable that the consciousness of their derivation should disappear so quickly. Instances are the transformation of *mas-* iron, into *naz-* in the word *nazy'spe* ax, or in older words *nakp'a'* wrist for *napk'a'*, etc. (See p. 20.)

Bisyllabic verbs with accent on first syllable (see also p. 37).

Active verbs (prefixing pronoun):

hpa'ya* to lie;—nu'ni* to stray;—(-)*c'e'ya* to cry;—(-)*šks'hq* (<*škq-hq* ?) to be obstreperous

Neutral verbs (prefixing pronoun):

wq'k'a to be fragile, delicate;—*hq'ska* to be long, tall;—*ci'k'a* to be small (see p. 37);—*co'nala* to be few;—*šo't'a* to be slippery with grease;—*sa'k'a* to be raw (vegetables);—*ya'm.ni* three;—*za'ptq* five;—*ša'kpe* six

Active verbs (infixing pronoun):

ma'-ni to walk;—*na'-zi* to stand (animate);—*'u'-kce* to break wind

Neutral verbs (infixing pronouns):

wi'-yq she is a woman;—*le'-c'a*; *he'-c'a*, *ka'-k'eca*; *to'-k'eca* it is this; that kind; some kind;—*le'-c'ecait* is like this;—*h'u'-t'a* (<*h'q-o-t'a*) to be exhausted, tired out by action;—*wa'-p'i* (<*wa-a-p'i*) to be lucky

List of some bisyllabic verbs accented on the second syllable.

Active verbs:

c'ap'a* to stab;—op'a* to wade (transitive);—(-)*šig.la'* to resent, mourn (*g.la* to abhor);—**sut'a* to miss aim in shooting (no object);—**nahma'* to hide;—**nap'a* to run off, flee;—**p'ahita'* to tie into a package;—**k'ap'a* to beat in a race;—**k'ayq'* to suffer in the extreme; to be dying;—**ap'e'* to wait for ²⁴;—(-)*c'esli'* to defecate;—**et'i'* to build a fire;—(-)*wac'i'* to dance;—**htani'* to labor, work, toil;—**ok'i'* to roast in ashes;—**hig.nu'* to singe hair, feathers off hide;—**oksu'* to take from one place to another in loads ²⁵;—**okuy'* to plan to kill someone;—**manu'* to steal;—**k'uwa'* to pursue;—**lowq'* to sing;—**kiyq'* to fly;—**k'ule'* to shoot at;—**kagi'* to respect authority, to be in awe

Neutral verbs:

(-)*c'aze'* to be angry;—(-)*ile'* to burn;—(-)*u'pe'* to learn to do;—(-)*g.leška'* to be spotted;—(-)*b.laska* to be flat, level;—(-)*k'uk'a'* to rot, disintegrate;—(-)*wak'q'* holy;—(-)*wašte'* good, beautiful;—(-)*šihit'* imperfect;—(-)*pem.ni'* twisted out of its proper shape;—(-)*t'qi'* to show, to be manifest;—(-)*h'qhi'* to be slow, inactive, late;—**sut'u'* ripe, to bear fruit

A large number of stems of this class can be shown to be compounds and it does not seem improbable that all may have been compounds by origin.

Examples of compounds are:

c'okuy' to plan to kill someone (*c'o* core, flesh; *ky'* to covet);—*h'u't'a* to be exhausted (*h'q-o-t'a* by action in to be dead);—*h'u'hiya* to be able to do something (*h'q-ohi-ya* to act- to be able to attain- to cause);—*su'u'* to bear fruit (*su* seed; *t'u* to bring forth)

In many cases only one part of the bisyllabic is known.

t'oksu' to load and take loads to a distant place (*t'o* perhaps from *t'ok* different, *ksu* to pile up);—*c'esli'* to defecate (*šli* squeezed out of a small opening);—*c'eu'pa* to roast over or by a fire (*'u'pa* to lay down);—*c'ok'i'* to roast in ashes (*c'o* flesh);—*wat'a'kpa* ²⁶ to go to attack (*'okpe*, adv., welcoming);—*p'aka'huka* to nod in assent (*p'a* head, *ka-* prefix);—*c'aze'* to be angry (*c'at-* heart);—*b.laska'* to be flat, level (*b.la* level);—*g.leška'* to be spotted (*g.le* contrasting colors?);—*wašte'* good, beautiful (*šte* peculiar, *mašte'* sunny, bright weather);—*p'ahita'* to tie a bundle (*p'a* head[?]); *p'a'-p'ahitapi* doll (head tied in bundle);—*winu'hca* ²⁷ old woman (*wi-* woman, *hca* very, real);—*t'ag.lu'* ²⁸ weak from fright (*t'q* body?)

Others cannot be analyzed at all, e. g.

t'ehi' difficult;—*witko'* foolish (metathesis from *'ikto'* the trickster);—*htani'* to toil (*htaya'ni* you toil; *waya'htani* you sin);—*haki'kta* to look back ²⁹;—*yazq'* to feel pain

A number of these must be very old bisyllabics because they appear in many remote dialects; p. e., *ma'ni* to walk, *manu'* to steal, in Dakota, Mandan, Winnebago, Ponca.

²⁴ Probably with locative prefix.

²⁵ *ksu* to pile on, apply, embroider with beads.

²⁶ For *wa* see p. 52.

²⁷ For *hca* see p. 57.

²⁸ *g.lu-* from *yu-* see p. 87; *sa* (unknown stem, duplicated).

²⁹ For *ki* see p. 88.

For a further discussion of this subject see p. 78 et seq.

Although the distinction between *cvc* and *cv* stems is fundamental, there are a number of cases in which verbs of the type *cvcv* are misinterpreted as *cvc* verbs. (See p. 37.) There are a number of *cv* stems which are clearly related to *cvc* stems ending in *a*, but there is no indication of a definite meaning of the second syllable.

- ka, (-ca)*
-g.mi ground is clear of vegetation, trees; *-g.mica* hair is being pulled
-g.mu to be twisted; *g.mu'ka* to trap in a sling
 (-) *štastā'* to be slimy wet; *štā'ka* to be jellylike
-g.na (adv.) in, on, among (with locative prefix); *g.nā'ka* to have something placed, laid by
- ta*
-ga to stick out (*a'ga-ihpa'ya* to fall sprawling (in diving); *yuga'ga* sticking out in many directions); *-gata* to have branches, limbs extended
-ski to be gathered in ruffles, ground is rough with hills and gullies; (-) *škita* to be ridged, *škiškī'ta* to be corrugated
gī' brown, rust; *ho'gita* to have a hoarse voice (?)
po' to swell, *-po'ta* to float, to wear out (?)
- pa*
'oya'he water has evaporated, is absorbed in ground; *yahe'pa* to exhaust water by drinking
ga to stick out; *-gapa* to flay (?)
 **lo'* to be fresh (meat, hide); (-) *lo'pa* to be soft (*lolo'pa* like meat overcooked)
-ska to adhere in a wad or clump; *iya'skapa* to cling to
'u' (active) to be; (neutral) to use; *'u'pa* (active) to lay down; (neutral) to smoke
- za*
 (c'*q*) *ksi'* to feel ill-tempered; *-ksi'za* to be hot-headed
-g.mu to be twisted; *-g.mu'za* to be twisted together
kalu' to fan (-*lu* perhaps: air is moving); *kalu'za* to flow as a stream or current of air
 (-) *sni'* to cool off, to die down (as a fire); *sni'za* to collapse
-t'o to press; *t'o'syela* (adv.) with the sound of a sudden impact of two hard, unelastic bodies
ku' to covet; *ku'za* to decree
kpa' to be gauged out; *kpa'za* it is dark (?)
- ga*
po' to swell; *naka'po* to get full of air; *napo'ga* to rise, expand (like dough)
-hmu' to buzz; *hmu'ga* to bewitch (by sending missile through the air)
- gaq*
po'gaq to inflate by blowing

§ 29. NOMINAL STEMS

A number of nominal stems are of the type *cvc*, analogous to verbal stems. Those with accent on the first syllable end in medial stops or voiced fricatives like the corresponding class of verbs, while among those with accent on the second syllable there are a few ending in *p'a*. Some nouns of the type *cvc* with accent on the second syllable have the ending *e* instead of *a*. Examples of these groups are:

c'a'pa beaver; *-ma'ga* field; *-maka'* skunk; *-naca'* war chief; *-nape'* hand; *-c'ate'* name

For a further discussion of these nouns see pages 35 et seq.

There are many monosyllabic nouns of the type *cv*. Examples are:

p'a' head; *-p'e'* elm; *-pte'* buffalo; *-hi'* tooth; *-wi'* sun, moon; *-c'o'* kernel, core; *-ho'* voice; *-hu'* leg; *-šu'* feathers, wing; *-štī'* suet

Bisyllabic and polysyllabic nominal stems are numerous. Although many of these can be shown to be compounds many others defy analysis. Obvious compounds are:

c'qp'a' choke cherry (*c'q* tree, *p'a* bitter); *-wip'a'* tipi flaps (*wi* tipi, *p'a* head); *-t'ak'q'* sinews (*t'a* ruminant, *k'q* sinew, vein)

In other cases the uniformity of the second syllable in certain nouns suggests a composition. Examples are nouns in *ška*.

'*iška*' ankle;—*c'ėška*' front of chest;—*c'įška*', *k'įška*' spoon;—*k'oška*' young man (see *k'oya'nu* vigorous, '*oŕk'a*'-*k'o* quick of action);—*c'aška*' woodpecker;—*g.nug.nuška* grasshopper;—*wab.luška* beetle (see Santee *wamdu'da* maggots);—*pa'k'oška* whippoorwill;—*t'azuška* ant;—*matuška* crawfish (also *matu'*);—*gnaska*' frog;—*t'oška*' brother's son, woman speaking;—*t'ųška*' sister's son, man speaking

Comparatively few bisyllabic verbs have this ending.

skiška' tortuous (stem, *ški-*, *skit-* rough, in many small folds);—*g.leška*' spotted (*'ag.leška* lizard);—*b.laška*' flat, wide and flabby (said of face or hips; *b.la* level)

§§ 30-35. CHANGE OF TERMINAL *a* TO *e* OR *į*

§ 30. CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH *a* CHANGES TO *e* OR *į*

Terminal *a* and *ą* of verbs change to *e* when followed by—

ya adverbial ending (itself changes to *ye*)

šni not

s'a regularly (itself does not change)

s'e as though

ca (doubtful meaning, itself does not change) §56

kį,³⁰ *cį* the

k'ų,³⁰ *c'ų* the past, the aforesaid

kįha,³⁰ *cįha* the — then (when, future)

k'ųha,³⁰ *c'ųha*' the past — then (when, past)

k'ehą,³⁰ *c'ehą*' Yankton and Santee

k'ės,³¹ *c'ės* I wish that!

k'e'yaš,³¹ *c'e'yaš*, '*e'yaš* but

hca (itself changing to *hce*), *hci* very

ka,³¹ *ca* a kind of, rather (itself changes)

la diminutive (itself does not change)

lak'a evidently —, for (itself does not change)

se'ca probably (itself changes to *se'ce*)

' closing the sentence; in Y terminal *a* does not change before terminal '

so conversational interrogative

Sentences may also close with *ye*, *ye lo*, *ye le*. (See pp. 109 et seq.) The *ye* contracts with changeable *a* to *e*. The same happens with *ye šą*' but, nevertheless, which after changeable *a* becomes *e šą*'. The terminal *ą* of *šą* does not change (see p. 145).

The particles enumerated above never take an accent except *k'e'yaš*, *k'ųha*', *k'ehą*', *šą*', *se'ca* and the particles closing declarative statement and imperatives.

The future *kta* and the conjunction *ną* and, change the preceding terminal *a* when changeable to *į*.

Verbs that end in unchangeable *a* or in other vowels retain *ye* before the declarative endings *lo*, *le*, also when *le* is omitted; before *šą* but, and *lak'a* evidently . . . for. Following stems in *u*, *ų*, *o* the *y* changes to *w*.

hi'ye lo' he has arrived here (man speaking)

'ap'e'ye le' he is waiting (woman soliloquy)

'ap'e'yešą' he waited for him, but—(*'ap'e'šą* he struck him, but—, the former from *'ap'e'* to wait, the latter from *'ap'a'* to strike)

waste'ye lak'a he must be good, for

30, 31 Initial *k* sounds change to *c* sounds after change of *a* to *e*.

After *u*:

maja' zuwe lo' it is raining (man speaking)

maja' zuwe' (woman speaking)

p'o'welak'a it must have been foggy, for

'u'we lo' he is coming (man speaking)

k'u'wesaq' akta' šni' he gave it to her but she refused it

The plural *pi* is contracted with *ye* to *pe'*.

wana' hi'pe' now they have arrived (woman speaking)

§ 31. VERBS THAT DO NOT CHANGE TERMINAL *a*

Not all stems change terminal *a*, but no generally valid rules can be given that would allow a classification of stems according to definite principles. The number of cvc verbs that do not change is small.

A generally valid rule is that reduplicated verbs of the cv or cvcv type do not change their terminal *a*. Reduplicated forms insert *ye* after *a* where required (see §149, 2, p. 109).

ha'skalo, ha'skaskayelo' it is long, they are long

A few verbs in *q* also change *q* to *e* under the same conditions that govern the change in verbs in *a*.

Where necessary for the sake of clarity verbs with variable *a* are designated by the letter *v*, those invariable by *iv*.

Following is a list of verbs that do not change terminal *a* or *q*:

Verbs of the type cvc

(Arranged according to terminal consonant)

Accent on first syllable.

'a'pa it is daytime;—*to'pa* four;—*nu'pa* two;—*'o'ta* many;—*pi'ta* to be deliberate;—*lu'ta* scarlet, red used ceremonially, *'olu'luta* or *'oli'lita* warm (weather);—*'oso'ta* to become full of smoke inside;—*(-)'t'e'ca* new;—**še'ca* to be weathered, blanched, as old wood, bone, grass;—*-kšeca* to double up, as in a spasm;—*(-)'t'a'ka* large;—*c'a'ga* to form ice, to congeal *'ac'a'hc'a'ga* there is ice on it here and there;—*gu'ga* (adv.) eyes half-closed, proudly (*omq'gu'ga* I awaken [neutral] changes; *'ista'gu'ga* to be blind, does not change)

Accent doubtful on account of inseparable prefixes.

'ayu'ta to look at;—*(ma)c'uwita* (I) feel the cold;—*'oya'za* (*'ob.la'za* 1st person) to string beads, fish;—*t'a(wa')goša* (I) spit (*t'age'* saliva), or *t'a(wa')šoša* which has variable *a*;—*'owa'za* to be near to, *'yo'waža* to have a right to (property, privileges), *'owa'žani* it is not the proper time yet, to have no relation to;—*'u'(ma)c'unica* (I am) hesitant (*ni'ca* to lack, neutral verb);—*'užiča* bob tailed;—*(-)waša'ka* cheap, *yuwa'saka* to undervalue, minimize, *waša'kala* it is cheap

Accent on second syllable.

hepa'* to meet in a struggle, to lock horns? (*he'* horn);—*(-)suta'* to be hard, firm, solid;—hpeca'šni* to be full of life and action;—*t'eca'* lukewarm;—*p'ica'* to be fairly good;—*(-)šica'* rich;—*kic'i'ca* he is with him (*we'c'ica* I am with him, *kic'i'* with many);—*(-)smaka'* deep (as a hollow, valley), *'o'smaka* it dips in, *ta'kuni ica'smakašni* nothing penetrates him, he is thick skinned;—**b.loka'* male

haka' (reduplicated *haka'ka*) to have branches, many angles, and *(-)swaka'* (reduplicated *swaka'ka*) to be fringed, frayed (see *swa* fringed, frayed) are not cvc verbs.

Verbs in YA change terminal A

An exception is *niya'* to breathe, which does not change (*wani'ya* I breathe); *niwa'ya* I cause him to live, changes.

§ 32. VERBS OF THE TYPES *CV* AND *CVCV*

So far as our material shows, verbs in which the consonant preceding the terminal *a* is voiced (except *m*), never change *a* to *e*.

ba'* to blame, criticise;—*-b.la* to be smooth, flat, level;—g.la'* to dislike, abhor (*-g.la* to stretch out long narrow looped object) (*g.la'* to go homeward, changes);—(-)*hla'* to rattle (as a gourd, tail of rattle snake);—**la'* to ask for, demand, to consider as, regard as;—*-kala'* to spill, pour granular material;—**sla'* to be greasy, oily;—(-)*sla'* bare of growth;—*-za* to stand erect (plants, trees); *paza'* to push upward (used in sacred language of Sun Dance); *kaza'* to separate sinew fibers for sewing; *yuza'za* to slash into broad strips, as meat stripped from ribs;—*-za* to cook (porridge, etc.)—*-zaia* to wash;—*-ga* to husk (corn);—*-wa'owa'* to write, *yawa'* to read;—(-)*hwa'* to be sleepy;—*-swa* fringed, frayed, as goods (*kaswa'* to slash fringes, to be fringed);—*-kawa* to open up (from at least two sides, as a folding door, the mouth, a bud);—**k'uwa'* to pursue;—*-g.na* to take off small things in rows, like peas;—*ki.g.na'* (*we'g.na* 1st person) to comfort, soothe, *'aki'g.na* a bird broods on its eggs, young ones;—**hna'* to groan, snort (as an expression of emotional excitement);—*-m.na'* to smell of ('*o'm.na* to use the sense of smell);—*-m.na* to rip (varied meanings);—**ona'* fire spreads over an extensive area, prairie fire;—(-)*sna'* to tinkle;—*-sna* missed, dropped; *wo'sna'* to miss shooting, *yu'sna'* to drop, to make a mistake, *ya'sna'* to miss with the mouth, etc.

For other sounds no fixed rules have been found. Not changeable:

yuha' to have, hold, carry, own (changes in Santee);—**'o'(ma)ha* it adheres, clings to (me) (as mud);—*'o(wa')-ha* ²² (I) put into; *'oyu'ha* to pull into; *'opa'ha* to push into, etc.;—*wi'(ma)haha* ²³ (I) am cheerful (contracted from *wa-i'haha*);—*nagi'haha* to be scared, as by a ghost (*nagi'* ghost);—**hpa'* he is untidy; with instrumental prefixes *a* changes, **hpa'* it is down, changes;—**p'a'* bitter (*-p'a*; *yap'a'* to hold in mouth; *kap'a'*, *wop'a'* to pound; *nap'a'* to run from danger, all change);—(*p'a*) to bark; *šyguwa'p'a* the barking of dogs;—**'o'p'a* to join, except '*o'p'eya* including (adv.), he causes him to join, (**'op'a'* to go by way of, changes except '*op'a'ya* along the course of a river);—*(*wa)ki'g.ma* (I) resemble (my parents);—*wa(wa')kta* (I) anticipate, expect, look for;—*-s'a* to hiss (like a snake), *kas'a'* to soar;—*ša'a'* red;—(-)*psa'* he sneezes;—*š'a'* it is full of confused sound, din, **as'a'* to jeer, shout at someone;—(-)*kca'* to hang loose (like hair); to comb;—(*na)hca'* to blossom, to grow layer on layer (like proud flesh) (*hca* indeed, adverb, changes like verbs);—*yuka'* (*b.luka'* 1st person) to trim a feather so as to leave only the quill;—(-)*ska'* white;—*-ha* to be curly; *na'ha'* to be curly by nature; *yu'ha'ha* ²⁴ to curl—(*ha'* to bury, changes in Teton, used in Yankton by E. D.'s father as unchangeable);—*yu'ha'*, *iya'yu'ha* to stay constantly with a person to whom one is attached;—(-)*i'ha'* to smile, laugh gently, (-)*i'ha'i'a* to laugh aloud;—**'i'ha* to make fun of someone;—*(*h'a*) to sound like small objects falling; to be scattered

CVCV stems

**apa'* (always with a verb of existence or motion) attached, *wah'i'kpe wa'apa'-g.li'* he returned with an arrow (in him);—*wi'ya'kpa* to shine brightly, to sparkle (*wi* sun, *a* on, *kpa*);—*škokpa'* concave, hollow (as a pit);—*'oh'o'kpa* (eyes, cheeks) are hollow, sunken;—*'iya'p'a* to strike (a clock), to beat (heart), to hit against ('*ap'a'* to hit, changes);—*'ak'i'p'a* to meet by chance, *wa'a'k'i'p'a* or *wa'k'i'p'a* to suffer a bereavement;—*'iha'(wa)kta* (I) feel loath to leave a person, place;—*'i(ma')wikta* (I am) justly proud of it;—*kikta'* (*we'kta* 1st person) to sit up from reclining;—*haki'kta* to look back when going along;—*hok'i'lwikta* to act babyish (*wi'kte* to act womanish);—*-c'i'kta* to whine, be fretful, as a child;—*-c'atka'* to be left handed;—*šlitka'* to taper to a point;—*'u'(wa)c'a* (I) mock, imitate;—*-k'ec'a'* shaggy;—*-sa'k'a* raw (as uncooked plants) (Santee);—*wa'k'a*, *wa'k'ala* weak, fragile;—*-štak'a* to moisten;—(-)*ci'ka*, *ci'k'ala* small;—*wa(ma')tuk'a* (I) am tired

In a number of cases simple forms change terminal *a* while forms with prefixes or in compounds are invariable.

Variable
'ap'a' to strike
ni'ca to lack

Invariable
'iya'p'a to strike against
'ani'ca to withhold; *'ig.lo'nica*; *'ak'i'nica* to dispute;
'u'c'ynica (<*'o-ec'u-nica*) to be hesitant; *wahpa'nica*
to be poverty-stricken

²² The dash indicates that one of the instrumentals *ya*, *pa*, etc., is required.

²³ Contracted from *wai'haha*.

²⁴ Does not change because reduplicated. (See p. 30.)

The following also behave irregularly

Variable	Invariable
<i>yu'ta</i> to eat	<i>'ayu'ta</i> to look at
<i>'aya'ta</i> to bring about by saying	
<i>'op'a</i> to go by way of	<i>'o'p'a</i> to take part in, to join a group

§ 33. STEMS OF THE TYPES *ca* AND *cvcq*

Verbs of the type *ca* are unchangeable, except *hq* to stand, its derivatives, and a few others.

**g.lihq'* to land on one's feet; to stand where one belongs (a cliff, rainbow);—*g.lihe'ya*, reduplicated *g.lihe'heya* (adv.) perpendicular;—*'og.li'heya 'u'* he wears it (a garment) straight and loose (without a belt)

**h'ihq'* rain falls;—*wa' h'ihq'* it snows;—*h'ihq'hq* it is raining, also adverb;—*'ama'yuh'heca* he rather upsets (makes fall) things for me (the only case with *yu-*; an idiom)

**h'nahq'* to hang down loose;—*'i' h'nahq'* a lip hangs down loosely;—*h'nah'e'ya* adverb

(-)*pehq'* to fold flexible objects; *yu'i'yapehq* he wraps it around; *yupe'heya yaka'* it is there folded;

(-)*pehq'hq* to writhe as a snake; a person in pain (iv because reduplicated)

yupe'ha, *kape'ha*, *nape'ha* used only as adverbs; *nape'heya yaka'* folded in a looped condition from having been kicked

(-)*ške'ha* to be obstreperous, reduplicated *ške'hahq* (iv)

'a(wa)'sheq (I) neglect, *'aske'hesni* he does not neglect it

(*wa*)*ki'nihq* to be cordial to, *yu'o'nihq* to honor, *'ini'ha* to be excited by something; do not belong to this series and are unchangeable. *'ini'hq'sni* headlong (adv.)

hq following demonstratives does not change its *q* to *e*, *he'ha'sni* it was not then (see pp. 60, 117)

Other verbs in *q* changing to *e*:

hi'htq' to be porous (stem *htq* rough and absorbent) changeable in *hi'hte'ya*, (adv.); *'oka'htq* to soak through, does not change. This is contracted from *-huta* to soften hide by rubbing, *htqha'* it is finely roughened; therefore by origin stem in *a*)

yatkq' to drink

yuk'q' there is

lowq' to sing, changes in Sisseton, not in Teton

Many verbs ending in *ya* and *wq* preceded by *n* or a nazalized vowel are changeable. Evidently the terminal nasalization is due to contamination and the stems should be classed as *a* stems. Here belong:

iywq'* to look, to open eyes;—nuwq'* to swim, *nuwq'wq* adverb;—**kiyq'* to fly, also adverb *-ptayq* to overturn on its side, *'ikpa'ptq* to turn over in bed (iv); *'optq'ya*, *'optq'ptayq*, adverb, like a rider hiding alternately on one side of horse than on the other, dodging arrows, *ptqptq's'e*, *ptqptq'(ye)la* unsteady; wobbly, *'optq'ye-ic'i'ya* he caused himself to fall sideways, *'apta'ya* to be prostrated, euphemistically, to die;—(-)*g.naski'ya* to be frenzied, crazy, *g.naski'ya*, *g.naski'yayq* (adv.);—**g.na'ya* to deceive, fool;—*'ina'piskayq* to toy with, to act with the hands (stem *nep* hand; *i*; *skq* to move);—*'ohi'ya* to sulk on account of a slight, see *c'ah'i'ya* he worries him (<*c'at-hi-ya*)

All causatives in *-ya* belong to this group.

wi'yuskiya to make happy (*'iyu'ski* to be pleased on account of);—*'ou'ya* to have for a habitation

tayq' to be better (after sickness), verb and adverb reduplicated *tatq'ya*, adverb does not belong to this group. It is derived from the unchangeable *tq* and is itself unchangeable except in *taye'hi'ci* subordinate form, thoroughly, actually, in every detail; *taye'la* to a nicety

§ 34. NOUNS CHANGING *a* TO *e* IN POSSESSIVE FORM

Most nouns ending in *a* do not change their terminal *a*.

Only two have been found that change and that are not verbal derivatives.

ha'pa moccasin *t'ahq'pe*;—*su'ka* dog *t'asu'ke* his horse;—(*t'a'ka-suka* sheep)

The others, not numerous, are verbal derivatives.

'*owq'ka* bed (Yankton), '*o'wqke* his bed (Yankton);—'*ow'za* bedding, '*o'wize* his bedding;—(*haka'* long things standing apart), '*ac'q'ha'ake* spine cut of animal;—'*uwi'g.naka* woman's dress, '*ac'u'wig.nake*;—'*ip'i'yaka* belt, sash ('*ip't'b.laka* I wear as a belt), '*ai'p'iyake* his belt, sash, '*oi'p'iyake* waist line;—'*wo'ka* cache, '*awo'he* his cache

Irregular is:

'*ita'zipa* bow, '*ai'tazipa* (Teton), '*itazipe* ([Riggs] Santee), '*i'nazipe* or '*ai'nazipe* (Santee)

§ 35. NOMINALIZED VERBS

Nominalized verbs ending in *a* change the *a* to *e* provided the verbal *a* is changeable.

Changing:

nap'a to run away, '*ona'p'e* refuge;—*c'ap'a* to stab, '*oc'a'p'e* wound;—*na'ima* to hide, '*oi'na'ime* place to hide oneself;—'*ona'hme* place to hide something;—'*ap'a* to strike, '*oa'p'e* place or time of striking (hour);—*ya* to go, '*oye'* way, track;—*ka'hi'ta* to sweep, '*ica'hite* brush, broom;—*nu'waq'* to swim, '*on'u'we* swimming hole;—*waste'laka* to like, *wo'wastelake* love, kindness;—'*aka'hpa* to cover with a sheet, *wa'ka'ipe* cover;—'*alo'-'aka'hpe* meat cover (used in jerking meat);—*tes'la'ka* to cover around head like a fillet, *wate'lake* kerchief worn around head;—*k'a* to dig, '*ic'e* an instrument for digging;—*haq* to stand, '*ohe'* niche, proper place for a person

Not changing:

yuga' to husk corn, '*oyu'ga* husking place;—*yu'za'* to cook porridge, *c'ap'a'-'oyu'za* vessel for cooking chokecherries;—*lowaq'* to sing, '*olo'wq* song;—*ba* to blame, *wo'ba* blame;—'*iyu'kcq* to think about, *wo'wiyukcq* thought;—'*i'ha'* to smile, *wo'i'ha* a joke

Probable exceptions are:

—*b.la* to spread out, *b.le* lake;—*yuga'* to husk corn, '*o'ge* outer covering

A number of compound nouns derived from verbs that change *a* to *e* do not change in nominal form.

wab.le'nica orphan (*nica* to lack; but *wo'ak'nicca* a dispute);—*k'eg.le'za* striped turtle (*g.le'za* striped);—*k'enu'nu'za* soft-shelled turtle (*nu'za* to be yielding to pressure);—'*ypsi'za* sticky mud that lies layer on layer ('*aka'psi'za* to flop down flat over something);—*m.nipi'ga* soda water (*pi'ga* to be boiling);—*wah'p'o'pa* a large kind of willow (?) (*wa'gac'q* cotton wood; *p'o'pa* to be soft and fibrous like cotton);—'*agu'yap-saka* crackers ('*agu'yapi* bread; *sa'ka* dry, stiff);—*p'esni'za* live coals, sparks (*sni'za* to wilt, fade);—*p'e'na'ga* whitehot coals (*ku'na'ga* or *ku'na'ga* to burn up, '*y'na'ga* fireplace);—*waya'hota* oats (*yaho'ta* to choke on food swallowed hurriedly);—*m.niwa't'ico'ga* green algae ('*i'co'ga* to drift against);—*c'aka'ga* drift log, log ('*o'kaga* to drift on water);—*waki'c'yzza* magistrate (*ku'za* to decree; but *wo'kic'yzze* kingdom, state);—*wo'p'ah'a* package (*p'ah'a'* to tie together; but *sina'* '*op'a'h'e* a bundle of blankets);—*weyo't'a* a clot of blood (—*t'a* to bunch together);—*p'ez'i'hota* (*hota* grey) sage;—*ha'sapa* Negro (*ha* skin, *sa'pa* black);—*howa'sapa* catfish (*ho* fish, '*asa'pa* black on surface);—*ha'ku'ya* hemp rope, thread (*ha* outer surface, *ku'ya* rough);—*hi'u'kala* mouse (*hi* tooth, '*u'ka* to have, *ka* kind of, *la* diminutive);—*p'ezu'ta* medicine (*p'ez'i'* grass, *hu'te* base)

When used as verbs the terminal *a* of some of these remains changeable.

waki'c'uzala a little magistrate, and *waki'c'uzela* he domineers in a small way

We have also:

m.nipi'ga sodawater, and *m.ni' ki'pi'gela* water boils a little;—*ha'sapala* little Negro *ha'-sape'la* the little one's skin is black

According to this the two forms—

k'enu'nu'zela little soft-shelled turtle and *k'eg.le'zela* little striped turtle

appear formally like verbs.

None of these nouns are ordinarily contracted, although the forms—

p'esni's-kasni' to put out embers;—*p'e'na'h(wa)ya* (I) make it white hot, broil it;—*p'ezu'l-wic'asa* physician (i. e., White physician), more commonly *p'ezu'ta-wic'a'za*

are occasionally used in modern speech.

One word has been found that does not change normally, but transforms *a* into *e* in nominalized form.

hahé' waterfalls ('*iyó'haha* to trickle down into), (note *-ha* variable, to tie a knot)

§ 36. NOUNS IN *e* CHANGING TO *a*

A number of nouns change terminal *e* to *a* in composition with *t'a* ruminant, *c'q* wood, and in a few other compounds.

'aze' breast, *t'a'za* ruminant's udder;—*hu'te* base, bottom, *wihu'ta* bottom of tent, *'o'huta* bank of river, shore of lake, *c'qhu'ta* tree stump; but *nazu'te* nape of neck (*nasu'la* brain), *supu'te* lower intestines (*supé'* intestines);—*leže'* urine, *le'za* to urinate, *t'alé'za*²⁵ bladder of ruminant, *wic'a'leza* human urine;—*síle'* tail, *t'así'ta* tail of ruminant; but *t'así'te* his tail, *súk-sí'te* horse tail, *ho-sí'te* fish tail, *c'ap-sí'te* beaver tail, even *ptewa'niyapi-sí'te* cow's tail; without nasalization *situ'psapsq* (< *sí'te-yupsq'psq*) to wag tail;—*sake'* finger or toe nail, *t'asa'k'a* rattle of deer hoof and foot bones, with animal names *sake*; i. e., *súkša'ke* hoof of horse;—*supé'* intestines, *t'asu'pa* intestines of ruminant;—*c'qle'* heart, *t'ac'q'ta* heart of ruminant, but *t'ac'q'te* his heart;—*c'upe'* marrow, *t'ac'u'pa* marrow of ruminant;—*nite'* rump, *t'ani'ta hu* rump bone of ruminant, but *súkni'te* a horse's rump;—*nige'* paunch, stomach, *t'ani'ga* paunch of ruminant;—*t'ezí'kzice* or *c'ezí'kzice* fat surrounding stomach, *t'ac'e'zikzica* same of ruminant;—*wí'kte* hermaphrodite, *wí'kta* (S)

An analogous change occurs in the verbal derivative.

'op'a'hite a number of strands tied together, *wo'p'ahita* a bundle

Nouns in *e*, not changing to *a*:

'ate' father;—*'ite'* face;—*'oya'te* tribe, people;—*'oyu't'e* flanks (only of man);—*'olu'te* (modern term for *c'ute'*) side of body;—*'ot'u'we* (Yankton *ot'u'wahe*) town;—*'ukce'* dung (*'u'kce* verb);—*'uze'* anus;—*wase'* face paint;—*wase'* my (a woman's) woman chum;—*wahpe'* leaves, tea;—*wi'p'e* weapons (*wa'ip'e*);—*wí'kte* hermaphrodite;—*hake'* youngest born boy;—*hake'* a piece of anything;—*he* horn;—*hiye'te* shoulder;—*hiske'* canine teeth;—*hu'p'e* digging stick (*p'e* sharp);—*ble* lake;—*pte* buffalo;—*p'age'* waist;—*p'ahite'* glabella;—*p'ahla'te* sinus, ethmoid (?);—*p'e* head;—*p'esle'te* crown of head;—*p'o'ge* nostril;—*p'ute'* snout;—*p'e* elm;—*mat'e'te* rim (as of a cup);—*lote'* throat, (*walo'te-teka* gourmand);—*lohe'* jowl;—*t'ate'* wind, also verb;—*t'age'* saliva;—*t'ic'e'* top of tent, roof, ceiling;—*siye'te* heel;—*sikp'e'* muskrat;—*saste'* little finger;—*siyu'te* lap;—*c'aze'* name;—*c'akpe'* knee;—*c'e'* penis;—*c'uwe'* woman's elder sister;—*c'ute'* side of body;—*c'ui'u'ste* floating ribs;—*nawate* scalp area;—*nape'* hand;—*nu'ge* ear;—*k'eze'* barb of fishhook (S);—*hate'* cedar;—*he'* butte, mountain ridge²⁶

§ 37. LOSS OF TERMINAL *a* OR *e*

Most *cvc* verbs when compounded or when used in subordinate form lose their terminal *a* and the terminal consonant undergoes the changes described on page 12. It is not necessary to give additional examples of verbs following this rule.

There are, however, a number of verbs of this type that never contract. Examples are:

t'q'ka large;—*'o'ta* many, plentiful;—*ku'za* to decree²⁷

'oka'ga to have many (arrows, thorns) sticking in it, is derived from a stem *ga* and does not belong here. (See *yuga'ga s'e* as though sticking out in all directions)

A number of verbs in *ta* have this probably as a stem, although those that can form reduplications behave as though the stem were *cvc*:

'ayu'ta to look at, reduplicated *'ayu'lyuta*;—*'aya'ta* to prophecy (*ya* with the mouth);—*c'uwi'ta* to feel cold (*c'uwi'* body). None of these lose terminal *a*; *c'aze'yata*, to name, mention, evidently cognate of *'aya'ta*, loses terminal *a* and forms *c'oze'yal*.

A few verbs ending in *e* lose their terminal *e* and undergo changes of the terminal consonant.

*'ayu'hete'*²⁸ to hang around waiting, *'ayu'hel* reduplicated *'ayu'helhel*;—*'owq'ke'*²⁹ to resemble, *'owq'k*;—*k'ute'* to shoot, *wak'u'l*

²⁵ *wale'ga* dried bladder, intestines, probably from *le'ga* to shine.

²⁶ *t'a't'e* hunting ruminants (followed by verb "to go", is an adverb <*t'a* ruminant, *t'e* <*kte* to kill?).

²⁷ *-kuza* to pretend loses terminal *a*.

²⁸ First person *'ab.tu'hete*.

²⁹ *wo'wqke* a monstrosity.

Nouns derived from verbs:

'*owa'ka* room, altar space, '*owa'k*;—'*oyu'ke* bed, '*oyu'k*

Other verbs in *e* of which there are not many, do not lose terminal *e*.

k'iyu'se to be mean to someone;—'*ik'u'se* to block, obstruct;—*ste* peculiar and its compounds *wa'ste'* good, *ma'ste'* good weather; *hu'ste'* lame; *o'ste'ka* peculiar;—'*ap'e'* to await;—'*t'ate'* wind, it blows a wind;—'*uspe'* to learn, be versed in;—'*y'kce* to break wind;—'*ole'* to seek;—'*ile'* to burn;—'*k'use'* to be leaky (Santee)

All nouns of the type *cvc* with terminal *a* and accent on first syllable lose their terminal *a* in composition and undergo the usual change of terminal consonant.

Compounds belonging to this group are:

'*u'kina'ga*, '*u'kina'h* fireplace;—'*ups'i'za*, '*ups'i's* mud;—'*c'eya'ka*, '*c'eya'k* beaver dam;—'*c'ap'u'ka*, '*c'ap'u'k* mosquito;—'*i'ihmu'ga*, '*i'ihmu'h* fly;—'*wak'si'ca*, '*wak'si'l* dish;—'*hi'u'ka*, '*hi'u'k* rodent;—'*ohlo'ka*, '*ohlo'k* hole;—'*p'esni'za*, '*p'esni's* embers, sparks;—'*ip'i'yaka*, '*ip'i'yak* belt

t'a'ka which as a neutral verb retains its *a* loses it in the noun *t'at'a'ka*—*t'at'a'k* buffalo bull (lit. large ruminant).

'*u'ta* acorn, is rarely heard as '*ul*

sa'ta pole; the form *sal* is doubtful

m.na'za wolverine;—'*i'ta* open land;—'*wi'ta* island;—'*p'a'ta* wooded district; do not seem to lose their terminal *a*

wa'ga occurs in both forms, *wa'ga-c'a* cottonwood, *wa'h-c'i'ca* poplar

waq.me'za (*wakma'heza*, Yankton; *wam.na'heza* Santee) does not lose its terminal *a*

Among *cvc* nouns ending in *a* with accent on second syllable, only *ma'ga'* duck, loses its terminal *a*, *ma'h*.

From *b.loketu* we have *b.lok-yq'ka* to remain settled in summer.

A number of nouns ending in *e* contract in the same way.

'*aze'* breast (in '*asa'pi* milk < '*aze'-hapi'* fluid);—'*uze'* anus;—'*p'o'ge* nostril;—'*p'ute'* snout²⁹;—'*leze'* urine;—'*lote'* throat, food;—'*i'age'* saliva;—'*sake'* finger or toe nail (only in *sak-i'u' s'e* like one with claws);—'*supe'* intestines, '*asu'p*;—'*c'ate'* heart;—'*c'aze'* name;—'*c'upe'* marrow bone, '*ac'u'p*;—'*nape'* hand;—'*nige'* stomach;—'*nu'ge* ear;—'*keze'* barb of fish hook (Santee, doubtful whether *k*, *k'*, or *k'*)

hake' part, piece, does not contract. As verb '*ihq'ke* end, contracts, '*ihq'kt'u'wa* living at ends; '*ihq'kya* to cause to end; *haky'a'* to ruin

Outside of the *cvc* group contraction of verbs ending in *a* occurs in the groups *-p'a* and *k'a*. All the contracted forms are adverbial.

c'ap'a' to stab, '*ic'a'p*, '*ac'a'p* sticking in, on it;—'*c'op'a'* to wade, *m.nic'o'p* wading in water;—'*o'p'a'* to join, '*op* in company with several;—'*nap'a'* to flee; '*ina'p* hiding behind, '*ai'nap* on the farther side of (hidden by); with the verbs of arrival '*i*, '*hi*, '*gli*, '*k'i*, *-nap'a* does not contract: *hina'p'a* to come out from; '*ot'a'p'a* to follow in the tracks of someone, '*oye'ot'ap* following tracks, '*at'a'p* following on (the heels of someone), '*i'ap* soon after, already;—'*itkok'ip'a* to go to meet face to face, '*itko'p* going out to meet someone who is coming;—'*k'ap'a'* to beat in a contest, to have a superabundance ('*ak'a'p* exceedingly)

Others do not contract, p. e.:

'*ak'i'p'a* to happen to meet face to face;—'*op'a'* to go by a certain way, but *wato'p'a* to row a boat (*wa'ta'-op'a'*), forms *wato'p*;—'*ap'a'* to strike;—'*ii'u'p'a* to admire, be careful with;—'*ik'o'p'a* to fear lest;—'*k'oki'p'a* to be afraid;—'*aho'p'a* to honor, to observe a law

In the group *k'a* we find:

'*any'k'a* (*tahq*) '*any'k*³⁰ on both sides;—'*io'k'a*, *to'k* it is some way, how is it

²⁹ Often not contracted.

³⁰ '*any'k'a sa* bald-headed eagle (on both sides white).

§ 38. REDUPLICATION

Reduplication expresses distributive ideas in time and space. It is almost entirely confined to verbs and adverbs derived from verbs. *cvc* verbs are duplicated, the last syllable retaining the ending *a*. The terminal consonant of the stem undergoes in most cases those changes that are required when the terminal *a* drops off. (See p. 12.) Whenever phonetically inadmissible combinations occur the terminal consonant is omitted in the first syllable. For this reason the terminal consonant is always omitted in the first syllable when the stem has the form *ccvc*, because otherwise three-consonantic clusters would result. Aspirate and glottal stops do not count as two consonants.

Examples are:

(-) *hā'pa* to have a rustling quality, (-) *hapha'pa*;—(-) *(o)k'a'ta* to be warm, (-) *(o)k'a'lk'ata*;—**sa'ka* to be hard, stiff and dry, **saksa'ka*;—(-) *pu'za* to be dry, (-) *puspu'za*;—(-) *pi'za* wrinkled, (-) *pišpi'za*;—(-) *t'a'ga* to be rough, (-) *t'ah't'a'ga*

Examples of *ccvc* verbs:

(-) *ksa'pa* to be wise, (-) *ksaksa'pa*;—*slu'ta* to slide through a narrow opening, *slu'sluta*;—(-) *hlo'ka* to have holes, (-) *hlohlo'ka*;—(-) *ptu'za* to be bent over, (-) *ptu'ptu'za*;—**šni'za* to be wilted, *šnišni'za*;—*m.nu'ga* to be in a condition of producing crackling sounds, *m.num.nu'ga*

cvc verbs ending in *c* in stems beginning with a dental or alveolar consonant (see p. 5) end the first syllable in *k*, perhaps an indication that the *c* which is always preceded by *e* or *i*, originated from a *k*. (See p. 13.)

**še'ca* to be dry and dead (hay, wood), *šeksē'ca*;—(-) *šiča* to be bad, (-) *šikšiča*;—(-) *t'e'ca* to be new, (-) *t'ekt'e'ca*;—(-) *žiča* to sniffle, (-) *žičkžiča*;—*ceka* to stagger, *cekceka*;—*ni'ca* to lack, *wani'knica*;—*he'ceca* it is like that, *he'cekc'eca*⁴¹

In stems beginning with other consonants the reduplicated syllable ends in *l*.

gī'ca* to snort, *gī'lgīca*;—*k'ica* to scrape off top layer, *k'ilk'ica*;—*hica* to awaken someone, *hilhica*;—hica'hq* to trip and fall, *hilhī'cahq*;—**p'ica* to be rather good, *p'ilp'i'ca*;—*wq'ca* once (adv.), *wq'lwqca*;—**ka'k'eca* it is like that yonder, *ka'k'elk'eca*⁴²

While the reduplicated forms given up to this point may form their subordinate forms by dropping terminal *a* in the same way as the unreduplicated forms, there are a few that reduplicate like all others but do not lose terminal *a*.

'*a'taya* (adv.) entirely, wholly, '*a'Pataya*;—'*o'ta* many, '*o'Pota*;—*t'o'keca*⁴³ different, *t'okt'o'keca*;—*li'la* (adv.) very, *li'g.lila* or *li'lala*

Several others, although not of *cvc* type are treated in the same way.

*he'ceca*⁴⁴ it is like that, *he'cekc'eca*;—*he'cel* thus, *he'cekc'e*;—*ka'kel* thus, *ka'k'eske* (Teton);—*ka'ken* (Yankton), *ka'k'atke*⁴⁵ (Yankton);—*ec'ala* (adverb and verb) soon, *ec'ake'ala* adverb only;—*c'uwi'ta*⁴⁶ to feel cold, *c'uwi'lwita*;—'*yžiča* bobtailed, with short skirt, *ka'žičkžiča* (neutral verb)

(-)'*a'ka* large is quite irregular. It has the reduplicated forms *t'akt'a'ka* and *t'akčič'kiya* in Teton and Yankton; *t'akčič'yayq* in Yankton.

On page 26 a number of apparent *cvc* verbs have been enumerated which have the accent on the second syllable. Most of these reduplicate in the same way as *cvc* verbs with accent on the first syllable.

(-)'*suta'* hard, firm, (-)'*suksu'ta*⁴⁷—'*yqka'* to sit, '*yq'kyqka* (only 1st dual-plural '*yq'kyqka*);—'*yqka'* to recline, ('*yqkyqka*);—*co'nala* few, *cokco'nala*;—*'*p'ica'* to be fairly good, *'*p'ilp'i'ca*;—*žica'* to be rich, *'*žičkžiča*;—*'*hpeca'šni* to be full of life, action (*šni* not), *'*hpehpe'cašni*.⁴⁸

⁴¹ See below *ka'k'elk'eca*.

⁴² See above *he'cekc'eca*.

⁴³ *ca* is a suffix.

⁴⁴ *t* in Yankton corresponds to terminal *n*; Teton *š* is irregular; it occurs also in *to'k'eske* from *to'kel*, *to'keca*.

⁴⁵ See *c'uwi'* part of body enclosed by ribs and sternum.

⁴⁶ The combination *ls* which would result from normal reduplication does not occur.

⁴⁷ The reduplicated form *hpeca'šnišni* is used more frequently.

The last three of these are compounds, *p'i* good, *hpa* to be down, clumsy. *zi* alone does not occur. These are treated by analogy as though they were cvc stems, although they are actually cv stems with the suffix *ka*.

A number of verbs ending in *a* are reduplicated like cvc verbs.

-*iitq* to have force exerted, -*tikitq*;—**kitq* to be stubborn, *waki' lkitqka*⁴⁸;—**po' gq* to blow on, *po' hpoqa*
cvc verbs are doubled without any change.
cvcv verbs duplicate the second syllable.

c'ap'a* to stab, *c'ap'a p'a*;—manu'* to steal, *manu' nu*;—(-)*ile'* to burn, (-)*ile'le*;—(-)*uspe'* to learn to do, (-)*uspe' spe*;—(-)*waste'* to be good, (-)*waste' ste*

Here belong also distributive demonstrative pronouns: *hena'na* those, *tona'na* which ones, *to'nana* how many.

The verb *smaka'* deep (as a valley) (cf. *sma* deep [as snow, water]) reduplicates *smaka'ka*, but with prefix 'o, 'o'*smasmaka*, like a cvc verb.

A number of other verbs are treated as cvc verbs, although they are evidently compounds of cv verbs.

yu' za* to take hold of, is reduplicated in Teton *yu'syuz*, in Yankton *yu' zaza*;—yazq'* to hurt, *yazq' za* and *yasya' za*⁴⁹;—**'e'pazo* to point at, '*e'pazo* and '*e'paspazo*;—(-)*p'e'sto* sharp pointed, *p'es p'e'sto*, *p'esto'sto*;—*c'aze'* angry, '*ac'q'ac'aze*, '*c'aze'ze*;—**putq'* to be short, flat and ugly, *pulpu'tq* and *putq' ta*;—*ohla' gqala* loose fitting, '*ohla' hlagqala* and '*ohla' gqgqala*;—*na' zi* to stand, *na' zizi* and *na' snazi*, the latter only adverb; *na' snazi' iya' ya yaka'* he sits getting up all the time (repeatedly)

This verb reduplicates the first person entirely irregularly by including the first person in the reduplication *na(wa')s(wa)ziki' na (wa)hi'yu* (I) just stood about and came on

Here belongs also (-)*ci'ka* small, *cikci'ka*

Some verbs in *ya* are treated as cv (or cvc) verbs, others like cvcv verbs.

(-)*spa'ya* to be wet, (-)*spaspa'ya*;—(-)*sku'ya* to be sweet, (-)*skusku'ya*;—**hihpa'ya* to fall down, *hihpa' hpa'ya*;—(-)*optq'ya* to fall over prostrate, '*optq' pta'ya*;—*b.laya* to open out level, *-b.la-b.laya*;—*kiksu'ya* to remember, *kiksu'ksuya*;—*ta'ya'* well, *tatq' ya*;—*g.na'ya* to deceive, *g.na'g.naya*;—*-hlaya* to peel, *-hlahlaya*;—*'ina' piskqya* to toy with, *ina' piskqskqya*;—*ze'zeya* (adv.) suspended (colloquial *ze'zezeya*);—*ge'geya* gathered in a baglike retainer;—*su'ka'ya* (adv.), *su'ka'kqya* in a surprisingly easy manner⁵⁰

The following are treated like cvcv verbs:

(-)*c'e'ya* to cry, *c'e'yaya*;—**c'e'kiya* to pray to, *c'e'kiyaya*;—**aspu'ya* to itch on (Santee), *yaspu'yaya* (Teton and Yankton) or '*aya' spuyaya*;—(-)*g.naski'ya* to be crazy, *g.naski'yaya*;—(-)*g.mig.ma'*, *g.mig.ma'g.ma* spherical, Y *g.miya'ya*;—'*asni'yaya* to tickle (like fine grass, fuzzy material); '*yaya'la* yielding, fuzzy (?);—**kiya'* to fly, *kiya'ya*;—(')*ina'hni* to hurry), '*hniya'ya* to be trembling (as in palsy);—'*aka' speyaya* to lose control (*spa* to be broken off)
-hlaya to be peeled;—**h'ya'* to be dying, suffering extremely;—**niya'* to breathe;—(-)*howa'ya* to howl (*ka*)*p'owa'ya*⁵¹ to have a nap, rough surface, do not occur reduplicated.

Reduplication of neutral and active verbs

Unless preceded by prefixes neutral verbs when reduplicated throw the accent upon the second syllable; active verbs retain it on the first syllable.

Neutral:

**sa'pa* to be black, **sapsa'pa*;—(-)*pu'za* to be dry, (-)*puspu'za*

Active:

go'pa* to snore, **go'pgo'pa*;—p'a'ia* to butcher, **p'a'lp'ata*;—(-)*psi'ca* to jump, (-)*psi'psica*

⁴⁸ Compare *patq'* to brace, to hold in place by pushing.

⁴⁹ *kazq'* (neutral) to be hurt by striking.

⁵⁰ *su'ka'k'uwa* he is handling him with perfect ease, ridiculously easily (in a wrestling match or the like).

⁵¹ Remains neutral with instrumental *ka*.

(-) *hə' ska* reduplicates like other cvcv verbs: (-) *hə' skaska* although neutral has the accent on the first syllable.

A number of reduplicated neutral verbs are used as active verbs without taking instrumental particles. In these the neutral forms have the accent on the second syllable, the active forms on the first syllable. Most of them are used as independent verbs for the third person only. Examples are:

həp'hə' pa to be good-looking, *hə' p'həpa* to pose, to consciously try to appear at one's best, *hə' p'həpya*—adv. used with first and second persons;—*b. le. le' caħq* to be shattered to pieces, scattered about; *b. le' b. leca* to shake the body, as a horse after rolling or dog after swimming;—*snisni' za* to be in a collapsed state, to be flat, as a tire; *snisni' za* (adv.) gradually collapsing (as air goes out);—*snisni' za* to be in a faded, wilted condition, *snisni' a' yapi* they are getting faded;—*b. le. le' za* to be in a sane state of mind, *b. le' b. leze sni* to be crazily or frantically active (i. e., the not being in a sane state of mind affects him);—*həhə' gəħq* to be in the condition of being crushed or battered up, *hə' həhə' hīg. la'* to sound forth (thunder), as if banging things up;—*həp'hə' pa* to be in a condition that produces a rustling sound, *hə' p'həp hīg. la'* to suddenly give out a rustling sound;—*m. num. nu' gəħq* to be in a condition that produces a crackling sound, *m. nu' m. nuh hīg. la'* such a sound coming forth;—*pispi' za* possessing the ability to whistle or squeal (a prairie dog), *pi' spiza* he makes that kind of noise;—*ptu' ptu' za* to be in the posture of sticking out the lower back of the body, *ptu' ptusya ma' ni* he walks sticking it out in the back, *ptu' ptus mawa' ni* (I walk in such) position;—*k' ok' o' ka* to possess the quality of producing sound on wood, *k' o' k' ok hīg. la'* to give out such a sound suddenly;—*k' ak' a' ka* to have the quality of rattling, as heavy metal, dishes, etc., *k' a' k' ak hīg. la'* to give out the sound suddenly;—*psipsi' cala* to have the quality of jumping (= grasshopper), *psi' psica* he jumps;—*bubu'* to be in a solid state, *bu' bu hīg. la'* to suddenly sound as though a solid mass were banged on;—*kəqkəq'* to be crooked, *kəq' kəq* he nervously wriggles the whole body about (as an awkward boy or girl);—*həmu' hmu'* to have a humming sound, *həmu' hmu hīg. la'* giving off that sound (as in cutting the air with a ball; the whizzing sound);—*šlošlo' la* to be miry; to have a sound as stepping into mire, *šlo' šlola* the name of a ground bird that whistles like that;—*snasna'* to possess a metallic tinkling quality, *sna' sna* it gives off that sound;—*snisni'* cold things, to be cold to touch, *snisni' iya' ya* he turns cold, as when scared

Some verbs appear only in reduplicated form:

'oa' a to be mouldy;—*kata' ta, nata' ta* to shake off by striking, with foot; **so' so* to cut into thin strips (as skin for thongs);—*-šlošlo'* to be soft and slimy;—(-) *štašta'* to be soaked and slimy (like chamois);—(-) *coco'* to be sticky, like gumbo mud;—*'ocq' cə* to be full of mucus (as nose in a cold) to feel thick in (the head);—**yaya' la* to be yielding like jelly, a springy layer of twigs;—*həhə' za* to rock, shake, tremble;—*'oh' lita, 'olu' lita*⁵³ to be warm (temperature);—*'ima' gəgə*⁵³ to be amused by;—*'ikti' ca*⁵³ to be viscous;—*'ot' o' pa* to be soaked and slimy (like wet chamois skin⁵⁴);—(-) *tuptu' pa* viscous and slimy;—*kat' a' t'apa*⁵⁵ (neutral verb) to be partially dried out

Reduplication of nouns

Very few true nouns can be reduplicated and then they are used mainly, perhaps only, in set phrases. In many cases it is doubtful whether the reduplicated part is really a noun.

šy' kšyka-waa' yuta to look abjectly (like a dog) for a favor;—*was' kp' ekp' eka* he is tricky (*šikp' e'* muskrat);—*wawi' k' qh' k' qhika* he is over-enthusiastic (*k' qh' i'* crow);—*wai' ktomimika* he is an insincere, plausible talker (*ikto' mi* the mythological trickster), *oh' a' -'ikto' mimika* he acts like the trickster;—*wawi' c' ašašaka* a woman who runs after men;—*wawi' yqyaka* a man who runs after women;—*k' et' a' gəgəka* a rowdy (*k' e* turtle, *t' a' gə* saliva; this probably refers to the supposed qualities of the turtle. The turtle's heart eaten in small bits makes a child hardy);—*wai' t' q' c' q' aka* one who is domineering (*i' t' q' c' q'* chief, leader; *t' q' c' q'* body);—*walo' teteke* a gourmand, fond of eating (*loté* throat);—*ykce' kecla* cactus (*ykce'* manure);—*yz' i' žitka* wild rose fruits (*yz' i' tka* musk bag, from *yz' e' -itka* anus, egglike thing; with change from *z* to *ž*; probably bunches of *yz' i' tka*);—*wa(ma') lak' olk' otaka* (I) incline toward Dakota ways;—*wawa' mašikšicuka*—toward White ways;—*taku' ya* he has kin, *ta' kuya* he makes some use of—*wata' kukuka* he cares much about kinship;—*wawa' niheyayəšni* you are aggressive;—*wawo' kip' ap' aka* a co-operative person⁵⁶ (*' o' kip' a* to join one's own);—*c' asmu' smu* sands;—*t' ate' teka* a nickname (*t' ate'* wind);—*pazo' zola* a place with many conical hills (*pazo' ya* a rounded, tapering pro-

⁵³ Contracts.

⁵⁴ Does not contract.

⁵⁵ For other materials *štata'*.

⁵⁶ Does not contract.

⁵⁷ Used generally contemptuously for a person who joins impulsively in whatever is suggested.

tubercance);—*paha' hayela* in great piles, amounts (*paha'* hill, *paha'yela* in a fairly large amount);—*nac' i' skaskaya* (adv.) hollowed and curved at edges (*nac' i' ska*) is derived from the noun *c' i' ska'* (*k' i' ska'* Yankton);—*wama' za ska' skaka* one greedy for money. Here the verb *ska* white is duplicated;—similar in form is *wi' s' o' oka* to be over-enthusiastic over new things

§§ 39-70. STRUCTURE OF THE THEME

The stem may be expanded by two types of prefixes, locatives and instrumentals. The general principle is that the first prefix modifies the whole content of the following complex. In the same way an enclitic or suffix holds together the whole preceding complex. (See pp. 52, 153.)

The usual order is locative prefix or prefixes, instrumental prefix, stem.

Compounding plays an important role and certain compounds are combined into firm units, into words that have a single accent.

§§ 39-44. LOCATIVE PREFIXES

§ 39. INTRODUCTORY

There are three locative prefixes, 'a, 'o and 'i. The most general meaning of 'a is "on"; of 'o "in." That of 'i is more difficult to define. It is used to express the local relation "against, in contact with," and derived from this "by means of" and "in relation to." There is furthermore a prefix *k' i*, meaning apart and together. It will be discussed later (pp. 79 et seq.).

While according to Riggs' Santee data the use of the locatives seems to be quite free, the Teton evidence shows that many of them are idiomatically restricted in usage. In fact the feeling for their original meaning and for the compound character of the verbal stem to which they are attached has often so completely disappeared that the compounds are treated like verbal stems.

§ 40. 'a ON, ADDED, MORE

When followed by certain stems or by the instrumentals *wo*, *pa*, *pu*, *na* and sometimes by *ka* this meaning stands out clearly.

'*ali'* to step on;—'*ahq'* to land on;—'*awo' wega* he broke it by shooting (and it fell) on something;—'*ay'* to put wood on fire;—'*ag. le'* set up on (adv.);—'*aktu'* to pile on;—'*mak' a' 'ama' ni* to walk on ground (i. e., to walk on foot);—'*apa' hpa* he pushes it over on something;—'*apu' t' aka* he presses the hands on it;—'*ana' t' a* he piled it (dust) on him with the feet;—'*aka' wega* to break on something

With verbs expressing removal of parts, or separation and with the prefixes *yu-*, *ya-*, *wa-* and sometimes *pa-* and *ka-* the prefix *a* rather expresses the idea of "off," or "more and more taken off," perhaps from the viewpoint that by removing the removed parts are added on to others removed. The forms give the idea that more and more is removed from a whole. The same forms with *pa-* and *ka-* may express that the action is done on something. The forms *yu-*, *ya-*, *wa-*, almost always express removal.

'*aka' zipa* to shave off; to shave something on something else;—'*apa' ksa* to break off by pushing piece by piece; to break something on something;—'*aya' ksa* to bite off more and more⁵⁶;—'*ayu' wega* to break off more and more;—'*ayu' ksa* to cut off with shears piece by piece;—'*awa' k' oga* to scrape off more and more

In some cases 'a before verbs with *ya-* and *yu-* means "on."

'*ayu' g. na* to pull off (berries, peas, etc.) (so as to fall) on;—'*ayu' ktiza* to clamp on

⁵⁶ See also p. 40.

In many cases the use of 'a is purely idiomatic and it is not always certain whether it is the locative prefix or part of the stem.

'a'c'aga to grow up on a certain diet ('i'c'aga to grow up);—'aya'ta to predict, foredoom by speaking;—'ayu'ha to keep for future use (as fine moccasins kept by women for burial), also 'ai'g.luha to keep for oneself;—'ayu'ta to look at;—'ayu'sta to desist (yustq' to finish);—'awa'hi'ani to sin against a precept;—'ab.le'za to notice;—'ap'e' to wait;—'ap'i'ya to mend (p'i good; ya to cause);—'at'w'a to look for something (tuwq' to look);—'ana'hma to keep secret, not to speak about a secret;—'aslo'hq to crawl towards a goal;—'aka'hpa to cover;—'akta'sni to reject;—'aksi'za to refuse to surrender something;—'ak'i'p'a to meet;—'ak'i'ta to search for, to scan about

In a number of verbs the prefix 'a- is inseparable or, if the stem exists alone, it has with 'a a very specific meaning. Examples are:

'a'slaya bare over the surface; stem *sla* bare; it occurs without 'a with one instrumental *pasla'ya* to hull by cooking in ashes; there are also *yasla'* to graze, *yusla'* to make bare by pulling;—'ab.la'ya to be level on the surface; stem *bla*; without 'a, *pab.la'ya* to flatten by pushing; *kab.la'* to jerk meat;—'at'q'i to show itself, become plain; stem *t'q'i'* to be perceptible to the eye or ear; also *yat'q'i'* to mention, *yut'q'i'* to show;—'as'a'ka to adhere to in layers (like crusts of soot); stem *s'a'ka* strong;—'ata'kuni'sni to vanish into thin air, to become nothing (*ta'kuni* nothing, *sni* not);—'alo'sloza to have a sensation of hot flushes (*lo'za*)

Riggs gives the prefix 'a (in Santee) for "on" in verbs with *yu*, *ya*, *wa*. In Teton separate words must be used.

le'l'aka'l yuksa' yo' cut it out on this (male speaking);—*wa'g.nawotapi ki'aka'l waksa' yo'* cut it on the table

For some verbs for which Riggs gives the prefix 'a, Teton does not use it.

Instead of 'ag.lo'nica to hold on to one's own, *g.lo'nica*

Instead of 'asi'ca to become bad on, or for, 'isi'ca to become bad for, ('asi'ca means, it [meat, etc.] becomes spoiled being kept too long "on one's hands")

Instead of 'aski'pa to lick on, *ski'pa*

Instead of 'ac'u'wila to be cold on, *le' 'u' c'uwi'ta* on account of this he is cold

Instead of 'ac'e'pa to grow fat for a purpose, *le' 'u' c'e'pa*

With adverbs *a* has a comparative, meaning "more."

'awa'k'ayq in a more holy manner⁸⁷;—'ah'e'c'elya a little more in that manner;—'apa'haya a little more hill-like, slightly hill-like;—'at'e'hatuka rather farther;—'ak'i'yelaka rather nearer

In a few cases 'a forms verbs from nouns.

'am.ni'm.ni to sprinkle (water on);—'ac'u' to be covered with dew (dew on);—'ac'a'ga to form ice on

§ 41. 'O- WITHIN A RESTRICTED AREA, IN

Examples:

'oa'a it is mouldy (in its container);—'o'm.na to smell into (active); 'om.na' it smells in a place;—'oi'le, to burn inside of something;—'ona'p'a to flee into;—'owa't'a by blowing (wind) it packs it into;—'ohq' it stands in, to cook by boiling (= to stand in kettle);—'oh'a' it is mottled in something;—'oci'sciyela it is small in extent, also adverb;—'ot'q'haya it is extensive, also adverb;—'ot'e'hayq it is far between two points (*t'e'hayq* it is far), also adverb;—'ok'q' there is room;—'oc'a'st'uka to be famous (*c'ast'uk'* to name)

It is also used with adverbs.

'ok'i'yela near in a given area, between two points;—'ohq'skeya lengthwise, in length

In many cases the locative meaning of *o* is not obvious.

'oju'ga to waken from sleep (*ju'ga* with eyes half closed, adverb; *ista'guqa* to be blind);—'olo'ta to borrow;—'oc'i' to beg for a small gift (*c'i* to want);—'oki'ni to acquire as a small gift (not an exchange);—'owa'zila quiet, yielding ('o'wazila behaving as a unit, to be unanimous);—'owa'ste it is good for (a sickness, as a remedy);—'osi'ca it is bad for (health);—'ot'e'hika it is a difficult situation, expensive (*t'e'hi'ka* hard, difficult, generally adjective);—'ole' to hunt;—'oh'i'q' to act

⁸⁷ See also p. 6.

The locative 'o is used in the formation of nouns. Verbs ending in variable *a* change it in nominal form to *e*. (See p. 33.)

'ona'p'e place to hide;—'oc'a'p'e stabbing place;—'owa'p'ate slaughtering place;—'op'i'ye container;—'og.na'ke holder;—'oka'kse a cut;—'ope'he folded material

Exceptions: 'ohlo'ka hole;—'owi'za bedding;—'ok'o'za a smooth, open spot of ground;—'o'kpaza darkness;—'o'smaka ravine

1. Place of an action.

'oi'i' dwelling (t'i to dwell);—'owe't'i camping place (<'o-e't'i);—'oska'te playground (ska'ta to play);—'ona'zi shelter (standing place na'zi to stand);—'oe'c'yla gambling place ('ec'y' to do);—'owa'c'i dancing place (wac'i to dance);—'ple'o'nase a buffalo surround (nasa' [to go on] a communal hunt);—'oye' way, track (ya to go);—'oh'e' proper place for a person (ha to stand);—'ona'p'e refuge (nap'a' to flee);—'oyu'ke bed (yuka' to lie);—'ok'a' space;—'wase'-'oyu'ze place for getting red paint, (yuze' to dip out of water, mud);—'ok'i'yake or ok'i'iyake race track (k'i'yaka to race, run against each other);—'ospu'la a fragment, piece (-spu to be chipped off);—'ohci' the loose end of a piece cut out of an edge, fringe

2. Result of an action.

'oh'e'yu bundle for travel;—'op'a'hte a skein, bundle of threads, bundle;—'oka'ge the make, style of a manufactured thing;—'owa'slece a slice (wa- by cutting)

3. In a few cases 'o is prefixed to nouns.

'oc'a'ze character, species of natural objects (from c'a'ze' name; compare 'oka'ge character, style of manufactured objects); zika'la'oc'a'ze'iyu'ha all kinds of birds;—'oc'a'ku or c'aku' road; he'l'og.na'c'aku' or he'l'oc'a'ku the road passes through there;—'ob.lo' corner (meeting of two planes) (b.lo' protuberance);—'o'ikpa head of stream ('i'kpa tip);—'oi'hake end, conclusion (hake' part, ih'ke end);—'o'huta bank of river, shore (hu'te base);—'o'mak'a season (mak'a' ground);—'owe'tu in the spring-time, we'tu spring;—'ob.lo'ketu in the summer, b.loke'tu summer;—'opta'yetu in the autumn, piye'tu autumn;—'owa'niyetu in the winter time, wani'yetu winter;—'oq'petu in the daytime, 'ape'tu day;—'ohq'hepi, ohq'yetu, in the night time, hah'e'pi, haye'tu night;—'ohia'yetu in the evening, hiaye'tu evening.

In the last six terms the 'o- expresses extent of time as shown in the following examples:

hiaye'tu ki le' 'ab.la'kela this is a calm evening;—to'huywel-'ohia'yetuka wa—once during an evening;—he'-'ohia'yetu ki wai' I went there during that evening

A number of verbs form compounds in which the first verb is transformed into a noun by the prefix 'o-.

'oe'c'y-waste' it is easy to do (the doing is good);—'oi'stime-waste' it is easy to go to sleep (p. e., when all is quiet) (the sleeping is good);—'oi'hqb.le-si'ca it is hard to dream, it is a bad dream;—'oe'ye-si'ca it is difficult to say it (the saying is bad);—'ok'a'sni c'ake' 'owa'c'i-si'ca there is no room, and so the dancing is bad;—'oa'ye-t'ehi'ka it is hard to take it there;—'oc'e'ye-wak'a'la he cries easily (the crying is weak);—'oi'cu-wasa'kala it is simple to take it, accessible;—'oi'cu-'oski' skeya⁵⁸ it is difficult, complicated to take it;—'oe'c'y-t'e'ha it takes long to do it;—'oi'ha-suta' to laughing he is hard (he controls desire to laugh)

For words with accented 'o see page 44.

§42. 'i AGAINST, IN REFERENCE TO, BY MEANS OF

1. Locative: against an object.

'ipo'ga to blow against, po'ga to blow;—'ipsi'ca to jump to a place, psi'ca to jump;—'ic'o'p'a to wade across, c'op'a' to wade;—'iyu'ka to go to bed, yuka' to lie;—'ica'k'oka to clang by beating against, kak'o'ka to clang by beating;—'ipa'weja to break by pushing against something, pawe'ga to break by pushing;—'ik'o'yaka to be fastened to, k'oya'ka to wear as ornaments attached to dress;—'ina'p'a to hide behind, to guard, nap'a' to hide;—'ig.le'g.lega to be striped against (a background), g.leg.le'ga to be striped;—'ic'a'p'a to stab by chance against, c'ap'a' to stab;—'iu' to apply (to use against); 'u' to use;—'ica'sapa to be blackened by striking against, kasa'pa to blacken by striking;—'ipa'ta yu'za he holds it braced against;—'iyu'ta to eat as a side dish with something else, as a flavoring, yu'ta he eats it

⁵⁸ *ikiika* twisted in many ways, *ikiiki'ta* corrugated.

means, to eat sweets ('isku'yeya he sweetens it with something)

⁵⁹ But c'i'coza I wave to you. (See p. 92.)

⁶¹ See above.

Often 'i indicates that an action is done indirectly by an object serving as instrument.

'ipa'slohq he pushes by means of an instrument against it and pushes it along;—'iyu'l'q to bring something in touch with something else with the hand;—t'ahí'spa wq 'ic'a p'e' he was stuck by an awl (t'a-hu-i'spa deer elbow bone, t'ahí'spa wq c'ap'e' would mean "the awl actively stuck him")

2. In reference to.

'wq'yaka to consider, to see one thing in reference to another;—'ilo'wq to sing about (love song about a woman)

3. On account of.

'ic'q'ze to be angry on account of, c'qze' to be angry;—'ic'e'pa to be fat on account of, c'e'pa to be fat;—'isi'ca to suffer bad effects from, si'ca bad;—'ig.le'pa to vomit on account of, g.le'pa to vomit;—'ic'e'sli to defecate on account of, c'esli' to defecate;—'iwa'ste to benefit by (be good on account of), wast'e' to be good;—'isi'ca to be harmed by (be bad on account of), si'ca to be bad

4. Expressing a condition resulting from an action or condition.

'islo'lya to know by means of;—'iwi'tkotkoka to be made foolish by something;—'iy'sika ** to be made poor by something, to be poor on account of;—'iwa'tuk'a to be made tired by, to be tired on account of;—'i'tok'asni he is not affected by it

In Teton the prefix 'i is used almost exclusively with the meaning on account of; by means of, only when an abstract idea is involved. In other cases 'u to use, expresses instrumentality.

ta'kehe c'u he' li'la 'i'matq what you said (past) that on account of I am proud; wo'yuha 'o'ta 'u' wi'tapi property much using, they are proud of something
yahi' ki 'iyu'ski your coming on account of he is made happy; taku'ku 'u' wi'yuskiyapi things using they make him happy
'o'mayakiyikta 'ic'e'c'iciya that you will aid me I pray of you; le' 'u' c'e'c'iciya with this (offering) I pray to you
wana' ta'ku t'ehi'ka 'o'ta 'awa'k'ip'a ki 'ic'q'lemat'ize' now things hard many I met, they harden my heart (I am now hardened by many hardships); le' 'u' c'ate' mat'ize' with that (a gun, etc.) my heart is brave
c'ap'a' yuza'pi 'i'i'yole-wahi' choke-cherry porridge for seeking a house (visiting) I come; su'kak'q' ki le' 'u' t'iyole'oma'wani the horse, this with seeking a home (visiting) I travel about

Riggs gives for Santee a somewhat wider use for 'i, p. e. 'ipa'sq he whitens it with it. Teton would say le' 'u' pasq'.

5. With adverbs:

'i'okap, 'i'okap in front of it;—'ihu'k'uya below it;—'ik'i'yela near it;—'iwq'kap, i'wakap above it;—'i'e'hayq, i'tehayq far from it;—'i'lehayq this far from it;—'iyo'hlat'e, i'yo'hlat'e underneath it;—'iya'kal, i'yakal on top of it;—'iwq'kal above it

6. In a number of verbs 'i is inseparable and its meaning is obscure.

'ic'a'ya to grow;—'it'u'p'a to beware of (active);—'ile' it burns;—'izi'ta smoke rises;—'ica'haka to touch;—'i'tq to be proud of;—'i'manini hiya'ya he goes by, sometimes walking sometimes running;—'i'wac'ic'i na'zi he stands dancing from time to time

7. Many adverbs and a few verbs appear with accent either on the second or on the first syllable. The difference in meaning is that the former follows a preceding noun, while the latter are independent (see 5, above), probably contracted from 'ii. The first 'i may be an old pronominal element 'i which is contained in the independent pronoun 'iye'. In some cases the contracted i seems to have originated from two instrumentals i against, i by means of. It signifies that something is done by means of something against something.

** sika' poor thing;—'u'si'e'ya he makes himself pitiable, humbles himself.

'i'ya wa 'ica'sus 'ihpe'ya a stone smashed against he left it (he left it smashed against a stone); 'i'casus 'iye'ya he sent it smashing against something
mak'a' ki 'ica'htak yuslo'ha 'au' the ground touching dragging it he brought it; 'i'cahtak ko's 'iye'ya so that it touched against it swinging he sent it
nahta'ka to kick (touch with foot), 'ina'htaka to kick with an instrument, indirectly, as a horse, with spurs; 'i'nahtak 'ece'-'ihq' 'u' with a kick each time stepping he comes (i. e., accompanying each step forward with a light dancing step backward)
t'alo' ki wasi' 'iya'ksaksa yu'ta biting fat with meat he eats it; 'i'yaksaksa wo'ta biting to pieces he eats
gna'ye-k'uwapi 'ima'ksape I become wise by being teased, 'iksa'pa to be wise on account of, by experience; 'i'ksapa to take pains (no object)
t'i'pi ki 'iyo'kakiyq ma'ke' the tipi in sight of I sat; 'i'yokakiyq 'u'i'pi we live in sight of it
hiye'te ki 'ica'k'ap 'iya'ya (against) his shoulder flying by having been struck it goes; 'i'cak'ap 'iye'ya against it by striking flying he sent it
wat'i' ki 'iwa'ziyata to the north of my living; 'i'wazyata to the north of it
p'ezu'ta ki 'ito'k'asni the medicine does not affect him; 'i'tok'asni it does not affect him
t'i'pi ki 'ica'k'ok 'iwo'to against the house with a bang he bumped; 'i'cak'ok-'iya'ya it went with a hollow clanging sound against it

8. Instrumental nouns are formed with the prefix 'i'. Terminal *a* when changeable, changes to *e* but does not influence a following changeable *k* (see pp. 14, 15).

'ica'ge instrument (from *ka'ga* to make);—'ica'bu drumstick; (from *kabu'* to make low sound by striking);—'ica'psite whip (from *kapsi'ta* to whip);—'iyu'hu'te rope over which skin is pulled to and fro in preparing it (from *yuhu'ta* to pull skins to soften them);—*wahi'tkupa* grainer, for working flesh side of skins);—*t'i'iyutq* guy ropes for steadying tipi in gale;—*wahi'pahpe* (*wa-hi'-ipa'hp*) instrument for pushing off hair from skin (from *pahpa'*);—'ipa'ste instrument for squeezing moisture out of wet skin (from *sta'ta'* soaked (skin));—*huka'-iko'ze*⁹⁰ implement for waving over the *huka'* initiate (from *ko'za* to wave, 'ako'za to wave over someone)

9. In some cases 'i' is prefixed to a noun.

'iha'ke end (*hake'* piece);—'ihu'pa handle (*hupa'* pole, *travois* pole);—'ik'a' strings for tying, reins (*k'a'* ligament);—'ip'a' "head" of a ridge (*p'a'* head);—'it'a'c'a' leader, chief (*t'a'c'a'* body);—'i'hoka' Badger Society (*hoka'* badger)

§ 43. COMBINATIONS OF LOCATIVES

Combinations of two or even three locatives are common but the cases are not numerous in which the locative meaning appears clearly.

'ina'zi to stop, to stand against, 'oi'na'zi stopping place;—'ok'a'ta to be warm (within a space), 'iyo'k'ata to be warm on account of;—'oki'p'i to fit into (*kip'i'* to fit), *le' iyo'makip'i* I am pleased with this (it fits into me on account of it)

In the following many examples will be found in which the relation is not clear.

i-a, i-o

When 'i' is followed by 'a' or 'o' a glide is introduced.

'ag.le' set on (adv.), 'iya'g.le it reaches to, 'iya'mag.le (misfortune) reaches me, 'ai'yag.leya reaching on to;—'iya'li, 'iyali⁹¹ to climb, lit. to step on against;—'iya'nuga to be gnarled on the surface against a body (*nu'ga* to be gnarled);—'iya'upa to blame, lit. to lay on against;—'iya'peha to wrap around, lit. to wind on against;—'iya'yuskita to bind on to it;—'iya'hpayya to fall upon, i. e., on against; 'iya'hpeya to throw the tent cover on against the frame;—*c'qnu'pa iya'hpeya* he offers the pipe ceremonially;—'ite' 'iyo'sni(*wa*)kiya (I) cool (my) face by its means ('osni' it is cold, within a space, but generally "it is cold");—*c'uwi' iyo'skuye(wa)kiya* (I) make (my) body sweet inside by its means, to eat sweets ('isku'yeya he sweetens it with something)

⁹⁰ But *c'i'coza* I wave to you. (See p. 92.)

⁹¹ See above.

In most cases it is difficult to determine the fundamental meaning.

'*iya'kaška* to tie a rope to something, to imprison (*kaška'* to tie fast so as to hold);—'*iya'pehą* to wrap around;—'*iya'yuha* to trail after someone (like a young after its mother);—'*iyowī(wa)ya* (I) am willing;—'*iyowā* (*wa*)*k'isni* (I) forbid him;—'*iyoya* to yawn (no 1st and 2d persons);—'*iyowā* (*ma*)*yaka* (I) am disturbed about it;—'*iyota* superlative, '*iyotāla* he puts it in first place, '*iyotawaste*' best, '*iyotā-t'e(wa)hīla* (I) like it best, '*iyotīye(wa)kiya* (I) suffer great afflictions (contracted from '*iyota*, '*iyekiya* to find one's own extreme; modern form '*iyotīye'kiya*)

Only one case has come to our notice in which there is no glide between 'i and 'o, '*i'olele 'u'* he comes seeking it here and there.

a-i

It would seem that 'a and 'o can precede only forms with 'i that are firm units. Apparently forms that contain locative 'a in '*iya* may take a second 'a with the distinctive meaning "on." The 'a of '*iya* can hardly be explained in any other way than as a locative.

'*ica'pa*²³ to open mouth, '*ai'capa* to open mouth towards someone;—'*ik'o'yaka* to be attached to the person or dress, '*ai'k'oyaka* to be attached in addition to (as an extra horse to a wagon);—'*ihq'b.la* to dream, '*ai'hqb.la* to dream about;—*hoksi'cekpa 'ai'cam.na* twin flower, lit. twins (or child's navel) it snows on;—'*ai'cazo 'icu'* he bought paying but owing a small amount (*kazo'* to draw a line, *pazo'* to show);—'*ihpe'ya* to throw away, '*ai'hpeya* to throw away on, to shift responsibility on someone;—'*iya'hpeya* to throw tent over on to frame, '*ai'ya'hpeya* to infect, give a contagion (sickness, vermin);—'*iya'kaška* to tie a knot, '*ai'yakaška* to tie on to something;—'*iya'pehą* to wrap around, '*ai'yapehą* to wrap around, to splice on something that is wrapped;—'*iyaskapa* to stick to,²⁴ '*ai'yaskapa* to stick on to

In all the preceding forms 'i is probably the locative, also in the reflexives beginning with '*ig.la-*, '*ig.lu-*. (See p. 103.) In other cases 'a is prefixed to stems beginning with *i*.

'*ile'* to burn, '*ai'leya* to put on the fire;—'*isti'ma* to sleep, '*ai'stima* to go to sleep on something

a-o

The combinations of the two locatives *a* and *o* result in contraction.

'*o'k'o* to adhere to many, small things loosely adhere; '*o'ha* to be besmeared with;—'*o'kaga* to float with the current (in and on the water);—'*o'p'eya* or '*ao'p'eya* including;—'*o'tkapa* (mud, etc.) sticks on to (*tka'pa* mudlike);—'*o'skapa* to climb a pole (*ska'pa* plane clings to plane); '*o'skap 'y'* to cling to a person (like a child);—'*o'wāca* continuous ('*o* in, on) adverb, '*ka'o'wāca* it is unanimous (neutral);—'*o'wāziū:* all together, '*sina' ki he 'o'wāzila-i'pi* they are wearing the blanket jointly, they use the blanket together or by turns;—'*o'psipsica* to jump about trying to attract attention;—'*o'gezya* a sheet and what it contains, adverb; cover and contents;—'*o'hini* always;—'*o'kpe* going to meet (a returning hunter or warrior; compare '*t'akpa'* to go to meet in fight);—'*o'kaške* to be large and rounded at one end ('*oka'ske* place to tie);—'*o'pta* through, across;—'*o'wec'ihą* in single file ('*oye'* track, '*ic'i-* mutually, '*ohą'* to stand in);—'*o'sota*, '*o'kisota* they are all gone one after another (—*sota* to use up);—'*o'nat'aka* and '*ao'nat'aka* to lock in, are both used

In nouns:

'*o'zq* curtain in tipi, '*o'spe* part of a whole

In adverbs:

'*o'tohqyq*²⁵ for a while, within some time, '*tohq'yq* some length of time; how long?

o-o

In a number of cases there appear two prefixes *o*, the first being nominal. (See p. 41.)

'*owa'* to paint, write, '*oo'wa* a painting, figure;—'*oya'ka* to tell, relate, '*oo'yak-si'ca* it is hard to tell

²³ Compare '*kapa* to scold, to move the mouth vigorously, from *i* mouth.

²⁴ '*aya'skapt'y* to place a patch on; perhaps by analogy with '*iyaskapa* to stick to.

²⁵ Compare nouns expressing time (p. 118).

o-i

Locative verbal forms:

'*oi'yokpaza* it is dark (all around), '*kpa'za* it is dark; '*okpa'za* it is dark in an opening, '*ai'yokpas-ya* he causes it to be dark for him, i. e., he stands in the way of the light;—'*oi'yokip'i* it is pleasant (time, place)

Nouns.

'*oi'cazo* a mark ('*i-kazo'* to show by striking);—'*oi'yahe* a step;—'*oi'yakaške* a knot;—'*oi'yob.lula* a calm;—'*oi'nap'e* place of coming out

o-a

Verbs.

'*oa's'aka* it is crusted inside;—'*oa'ye-waste* it is easy to take there

Nouns.

'*oa'g.le* foundation, place to set on ('*owa'g.le* place to set something on, *o-wa-a-g.le*);—'*oa'li* step;—'*oa'p'e* stroke;—'*oa'yaštq* end of a song

§ 44. LOCATIVES TRANSFORMING NEUTRAL INTO ACTIVE VERBS

A number of neutral stems when used with locatives assume an active meaning, the locative expressing reference to an object. The locatives '*a*', less frequently '*o*', are used in this manner.

With '*a*'.

(*ma*)*b.le'za* (I am) clear minded, '*a(wa')b.leza* (I) notice, observe;—(*ma*)*scu'* (I behave) self-conscious in regard to sex, '*a(wa')scu* (I am) in love with someone;—(—)*s'i* (neck) is craned forward (*kas'i'* to crane neck, '*p'a-ka's'i* to raise head when lying down, '*s'i' s'e* as though craning the neck), '*a(wa')s'i* (I) covet it (crane my neck for it);—(*ma*)*ške'hq* (I am) nervously active, obstreperous, '*a(wa')škehq* (I) act upon it negligently;—(*ma*)*l'a'* (I am) dead; '*a(wa')l'a'a* (I) relax so as to fall on someone, like a child wanting to be petted;—*c'q(ma')ze* or (*ma*)*c'q'ze* (I am) angry, '*a(wa')c'qze* (I am) angry at him;—(*ma*)*c'q'c'q* (I am) atremble (*kac'q'* to sift, all other forms duplicated), '*a(wa')c'qc'q* (I) busy myself with it;—'*a(wa')kšiza* (I) withhold, by locking up, holding, refuse to surrender something;—(*ma*)*hi'cahq* (I) trip and fall, '*a(wa')hicahq* (I) trip and fall on something;—(*ma*)*hni'yqyq* (I am) atremble, '*a(wa')hni'yqyq* (I am) furious against him;—(—)*ni'ca* (I) lack (German: es fehlt mir), '*a(wa')nica* (I) withhold, refuse to give up, '*a(wa')k'inica* (I) refuse him possession of it;—*wa(ma')* *iqtaqa* (I am) particular in regard to food, etc., '*a(wa')iqšni* (I am) disrespectful against it;—(*ma*) *i'o'* (I am) blue, '*a(wa')kit'o* I am tattooed;—*ks'i* arched, '*ac'a'(wa)ks'i* (I) step over him; also '*a(wa')* *m.nim.ni* (I) sprinkle on (*m.ni* water)

With '*o*':

(*ma*)*b.li'heca* (I am) industrious, '*o(wa')kib.liheca* (I am) energetic in regard to it;—*wi'za* to be flexible '*o(wa')wiža* I spread out (matting, etc.);—(*ma*)*m.na'* it smells on (me), i. e. (my) body has an odor, '*o'(wa)m.na* (I) smell it;—(*ma*)*pe'm.ni* (I am) twisted, '*o(wa')pem.ni* (I) wrap it up in it;—*zi* very fine, almost unnoticeable, '*o(wa')zi* to suggest secret schemes (*wawo'zi s'a* a schemer, one who makes secret arrangements with people to attain his purposes)

§§ 45-53. INSTRUMENTAL PREFIXES

§ 45. LIST OF PREFIXES

Dakota has nine instrumental prefixes:

- ya*—with the mouth
- wa*—by a sawing motion, with a knife
- wo*—action from a distance
- yu*—by pulling
- pa*—by pushing along
- ka*—by a sudden impact
- na*—with the foot or leg
- na*—by an inner force
- pu*—(obsolete, not free) by pressure

While the meanings of *ya-*, *wa-*, *na-* (with the foot), *pu-* are clear, the remaining prefixes vary so much in their specific meaning, that the fundamental significance is often obscure.

The differences between *pa-*, *ka-*, *wo-*, *yu-* appear clearly in the following examples:

wog.mi'g.ma 'iye'ya he sends it rolling by an indirect impact
pahlo'ka to make a hole in a skin with an awl by sustained pressure
kahlo'ka—by a sudden punch
wohlo'ka—by throwing the awl from a distance
kah'i'ta to sweep away with sudden strokes
yuh'i'ta to rake, i. e., to sweep off by pulling
pah'i'ta to sweep away as by pushing along a mop
woh'i'ta to sweep away by blowing

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 manner of action is prominently implied.

yuza'za to wash by rubbing, handling;—*yuho'm.ni* to turn like a screw;—*yuc'e'ya* to make cry;—*yuwa'ste* to make good;—*yuši'ca* to spoil

ka- which implies rapidity of action may be translated very often as "by striking," sometimes also as action "by the wind, current or other natural forces."

wo- which 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.

wohita'ka to bump against from a distance;—*wohpa'* to bring down by shooting;—*woh'i'ta* to sweep away by blowing;—*woza'za* to wash by a current of water, by rain

The prefix *pu-* by pressure, corresponds to Ponca *pi-*. It is not free in Dakota. The following have been found:

'opu'tka to dip into liquid (see *yatka'* to drink);—*pu'ta'ka* to press down with hand, *t'a'ka* to parch (corn, etc.), *nat'a'ka* to lock, *pat'a'ka* to stop short;—*'apu't'iza* to press down on;—*puspa'* to glue, seal down, *kao'spa* to make a dent in something;—*'ipu'sli* to crush against;—*pusta'ka* to bend down, to sit with head bent down, *sta'ka* to be listless, *kasta'ka* to throw out jellylike substances;—*'ipu'sta* to touch fire to something, to force a hot object against something;—*puske'pa* to strain, filter, *yuske'pa* to make (liquid) run out entirely, *kaske'pa* to ladle out entirely;—*'i'puskica* to push against a wall, etc., by means of an implement, *paski'ca* to squeeze by pushing; *puski'ca* to press together loose material (hay, etc.);—*yuski'ca* to wring out clothes; *puski' s'e* as though pressed into a heap, gathered together and pressed together;—*'ipu'zita* to force upon one (Santee, Riggs);—*kpukpa'* boiled up, mixed;—*'opu'za* to be infested with vermin, insects;—*'opu'gi* to stuff soft material into an opening;—*'opu'hli* to stuff hard material into an opening (as a cork into a bottle);—*puta'* flattened out, misshapen;—*'ipuš' i* convex side of a curve

The feeling for *pu* as a prefix has disappeared, as illustrated by the Santee form *bopu'skica* to ram in, literally: by indirect impact by pressure to squeeze.

na- by inner force, cannot appear with active subjective pronouns, because the inner force never acts upon one. Its forms are analogous to those of the other instrumentals which appear in certain verbs in forms corresponding to our impersonal verbs. As in this case inner force is implied as subject, so are other general ideas implied as subjects in the forms to be discussed later (pp. 47 et seq.). Example of forms with *na-* are:

nama'hom.ni I turn of my own accord (my inner force turns me); but *nawa'hom.ni* I turn it with the foot;—*'osu' nama'g.la* my braid becomes unbraided (its inner force unbraids me the braid);—*našlo'ka* to pop off, come off suddenly;—*šlo'ka* something that fits snugly (a ring, shoe, garment is off);—*'išta' nama'šlokikte s'e le'c'eca* as though my eye would come out (as in a severe head ache);—*nab.le'b.leca* blossoms burst forth all over, suddenly;—*b.le'ca* to be shattered, broken into particles;—*našle'ca* to crack (a plate) with the foot; it breaks, cracks; *c'ehu'pa* (1) *nama'šlec'i* (2) *kte* (3) *s'e* (4) *maya'za'* (5) the jaw (1) it cracks on me (2) will (3) as though (4) it aches me (5) (it aches me as though my jaw would crack, i. e., a toothache);—*našle'ca* to tear with the foot; it tears, *mahpi'ya nahlce'cehce'* the sky tears veritably (i. e., a cloudburst);—*našli'* a rash breaks out;—*šli* to squeeze out viscous matter;—*nap'o'pa* to burst with explosive force from within, *wana'p'opyapi* fireworks, things they cause to explode from within;—*'ona'piğa* to ferment (to boil inside from within), *'ona'mapiğa* it ferments in me, i. e., food does not agree with me;—*nam.ni'ğa* to

shrink, *-m.nija* to be curled up permanently; *-nat'i'pa* to be or become cramped, *huna'-mai'ipa* I have a cramp in my leg; *-mašte'naptapta* heat waves on the horizon (*mašte'* hot, sunny weather, *-pia* to break); *-ona'soka* to become watertight by being soaked (as a barrel, skiff), *so'ka* thick; *-nazi'ca* to be stretched, to expand in length, to grow quickly, to stretch of itself, *nama'zica* I am expanding in length; *-nasko'pa* to warp, become bent, *p'asu'nama'skopa* my nose has grown hooked

§ 46. IMPERSONAL VERBS WITH INSTRUMENTAL PREFIXES

Verbs with instrumental prefixes are often used in such a way that an indefinite actor is understood, for instance *-swa* to be unraveled; *kaswa'* to unravel by striking, but also: (long use) made it unravelled, i. e., it is ragged. (*-suta'* to be hard; (*ma*)*ka'suta* he made (me) hard (callous) by striking, but also: (circumstances) have hardened me. Some of these verbs never appear with active pronouns, for instance *-kšeca* to be cramped by spasms; (*ma*)*yu'kšeca* (I) am bent by cramps (cramps bend me). The implied subject is always of a most general character and the forms correspond to our impersonal verbs.

1. Forms that never appear in active form (so far as known):

'ayu'gi to be drowsy, *'a(ma')yugi* (I) fall asleep for a moment; *-b.lu* powdery (*mak'a'-b.lu* dust, lit. powdery ground); *'a(ma')pab.lu* (I) belch (cf. *pab.lu'* to burrow; *yub.lu'* to plough; *wob.lu'* wind blows sand or dust; *wob.lu'b.lu hiyu'* smoke, steam blows out in puffs); *-paki'* to be inclined forward at an angle, like a person leaning forward, a branch of a tree bending out, (*ma*)*pa'ki* (I) stand bent forward; *(-)'t'ak'i'* to be lopsided, to lean over on top (adv.), (*ma*)*ka't'ak'ik'i* (I) stagger (as I walk); *(-)'t'apa* half-dry (like mud, jerked beef when gradually getting dry) *kat'a't'apa* it is somewhat dry; *-žžq'* glass; *'ožq'žq* daylight, transparency, *wana' kažq'žq* it is now daybreak; *-c'ehu'* it is too short (said of a garment), (*ma*)*ka'c'ehu* (I) have on a too short garment; *-kaom.ni* to swirl around a fixed point, to eddy, (*ma*)*ka'om.ni* (I) am caught in a whirlwind, in an eddy; *-kap'o'žela* to be of light weight, (*ma*)*ka'p'ožela* (I) am of light weight, I am a quick traveler without encumbrances; *-kalu'za* to flow along (a stream), *p'a we (ma)ka'luzza* (nose blood flows [me] along) (I) have a nosebleed; *-katka'* to choke on a piece of solid food, (*ma*)*ka'itka* (I) choke on it; *-kazu'kzuka* slimy material hangs down, *'i'm.ništq (ma)ka'zukzuka* (my) mucus hangs down from mouth; *-kahwo'ka* to be blown away, carried by the wind, (*ma*)*ka'hwoka* (I) was blown by the wind; I am fleet footed; *-kšeca* to be cramped, *yukšeca*, *nakšeca*, (*na*)*kšeca* *'a(ma')ya* (I) get cramped; *(-)'kšikša'* to be limp; *kakšikša* he is fatigued, *kšikša'* *'a'ya* it is getting limp; *-wog.li'cu* it rebounds, *wog.li'cu ki 'ap'e'* a rebound struck him; *(-)'gi* brown, *loté 'o(ma')yagi* (I) am hoarse, *loté 'oya'gi a(ma')ya* I am getting hoarse; *-t'i'pa* to be contracted, shrunk, (*ma*)*yu't'ipa* or (*ma*)*yu't'ipt'ipa* (I) have cramps; *-iyu'kpq* it is all broken up

2. Most of the verbs that appear both in active and impersonal forms have the prefix *ka-* which expresses in these cases an indeterminate outer force.

(-)'išt'i'ma to be asleep, (*ma*)*ka'išt'ime* he puts me to sleep; (I) have fallen asleep; *(-)'h̄q* it is a sore; (*ma*)*ka'h̄q* (I) have a sore (from working with a tool), *'i(ma')yuñq* (I) have a sore (as from the rubbing of a strap); also (*wa*)*ka'h̄q* (I) cause it to be sore by striking; *-h̄ita* to be swept clear, *wana' kah̄ita* he has now swept it, (the clouds) have been swept away; *(-)'hom.ni* to turn on an arc, (*ma*)*ka'hom.ni* he turned (me) around; (I) have changed; *(-)'c'qte't'i'za* to be stout hearted (*c'qte'* heart, *t'i'za* stiff), *c'qte' (ma)ka't'i'za* he makes (me) fearless; (I am) fearless; *(-)'t'a* to be dead, (*ma*)*ka't'a* he killed (me) by striking; (I) was stunned; *-špu* to unfasten, *kašpu'* he knocked it loose, it became loose; *(-)'c'e'ya* to cry. (*ma*)*ka'c'eya* he made me cry by striking, I am crying (on account of cold, etc.)

Also with *ka-*:

*kau'spe*⁶⁵ to be world-wise (time has taught); *-kahy'* to have a gash; *-kahy'h̄yza* to be shaken up, he swings it to and fro; *-kab.la'za* to be ripped; *-ica't'q* to be in touch; *-kat'e'pa* to be worn down; *-kasu'ta* to be hardened; *-kaswa'* to be ragged at the edge⁶⁶; *-kaslu'ta* (the tongue) lolls; *-kasna'* (leaves) drop off; *-oma'kasni* I feel a cold draft; *-kasku'sku* it is peeling off; *-kaša'pa* to be dirtied; *-o'kašipa* to be weighted down; *-kašica* it is spoiled; *-kašica'ahowaya* to cry out in distress; *-p'a we kašu'za* his nose bleeds; *-kašle'ca* it is split; *-išt'a-kašlo'ka* his eye is out; *-oka'skq* to be forced to move; *-i'-kaza'ta* the mouth hangs open; *'i' kaza'l ap'e'* he

⁶⁵ See also *wau'spe* to be learned; *wau'spespeini* clumsy.

⁶⁶ *swaka'*, redupl. *swaka'ka* it unravels

struck causing the mouth to open;—*p'ehi' kažu'* hair falls out;—*kace'keka* to stagger;—*p'ehi' kala'la* hair dangles all over (*kala'* to spill dry materials);—*kaksa'* to be cut off;—*kaksi'ksiža* to be collapsed, bent in all directions (*-ksiža* to be bent at a joint);—*kak'u'k'a* to be worn out;—*kağq'* to be unkempt;—*kağq'* it opens;—*kaħwa'* to be sleepy after a long ride;—*kaħi'ca* to be aroused out of sleep;—*kaħle'ca* to have a cut in the scalp;—*kaħli'* to be mired (*-ħli* to touch slimy material);—*kaħci'* it is torn off

wo is used often in resultative forms when moving water is understood as actor:

woža'za to get clean (in a river, by rain);—*'iwo'p'ayq* (adv.) grass is beaten down by rain, hail (*'ika'p'ayq* by wind).

In other cases it is rather action from a distance:

woi'tom.ni he gets dizzy by being bumped about; (*kai'tom.ni* he gets dizzy by being turned);—*'iwo'to* to bump oneself;—*woħta'ka* to be bumped into (*ica'ħtak-p'icaħni* to be touchy)

pa- is used rarely expressing a resultative:

paWi'za to be bent by pushing;—*'ipa'sli* to be squeezed against by pushing;—*pağ.lo'ka* it is dislocated (a joint)

yu:

'iyu'titq it fits tightly (*-titq* to exert force on);—*yuš'i'si* to be wrinkled;—*yuški'* to be wrinkled, gathered in folds;—*yug.mu'za* to be shrivelled up (skin in old age), active only as adverb;—*'iyu'ğipa* to be caught in a viselike grip;—*yuħ'i'* it is warty, irregularly rough;—*yuħa'ħa* to be curly (*kaħa' 'iya'ya* it gets knotted);—*c'q'e'-kaza'* to have heart-burn; *yaza'* it hurts

From these verbs adverbs are formed (see pp. 107, 137 et seq.):

kab.la'ge s'e wide and bulging (*b.la'ga* to be opened out like an umbrella);—*'ica'g.la* alongside of;—*kac'a'kaika s'e* like left-handed, awkward (*c'atka'* left-handed);—*yup'i'ya* nicely, well, beautifully (*p'i* good);—*'ayu'c'oya* carefully (*c'o* core?);—*'ayu'g.miyayapi s'e* neatly, tidily (*yug.mi'yayq* he rolls it);—*yuga'ga s'e* tall and clumsy with long limbs, awkward (*yuga'ga* to be large-branched);—*yuš'i's'i'pi s'e* like being tickled, having a wiggling walk, overenthusiastic (*yuš'i's'i* to tickle);—*yuħni'yayapi s'e* atremble, hurriedly (*ħniyq'ya* to tremble);—*'iyu'pseya* off the trail, off the subject;—*'ipa'weħ* awry (*pawe'ga* to snap by pushing)

Nouns are formed by composition.

hoka'sku fish scales (*ho* fish, *kaħku'* to knock off);—*t'iyu'ktq* dome shaped tipi (*ktq* to be bent);—*hoju'ħ'i* tree rings (*ho* circle, *yuħ'i'* warty, rough);—*c'apa'ki* stick set in ground obliquely to indicate direction of travel (*paki'* to be pushed over forward);—*'ipu's'i* convex side of a curve (*s'i* convex; *kaš'i'* it is a concave line)

§ 47. ADVERBS WITH INSTRUMENTAL PREFIXES

There are also a number of adverbs that cannot be associated with verbal stems and which take instrumental prefixes.

yul'e'ħq to delay (from *t'e'ħq* a long time), *pat'e'ħayq 'e'g.naka* he pushed it putting it far away;—*yae'c'ala* to make it soon by talking, i. e., to say it will be soon;—*yu'e'c'ala* to make it seem recent, i. e., as though it had been recently;—*yule'c'ala* as though it had been yesterday;—*yule'na* to make it be right here, *yule'na s'e* as though it were right here;—*pak'a'ye 'iye'ya* he pushed it in front of him

§ 48. INSTRUMENTALS WITH VERBS IN *tu*

A number of such forms are derived from locative or temporal verbs in *tu*, contracted to *l*. (See pp. 58, 137.)

ħuk'u'l downward (*yu, wo, pa, na, ka*)

yuhu'k'ul 'icu' he pulls it down; *pahu'k'ul 'iħpe'ya* he left him after having pushed him down; *kahu'k'ulya 'otka'* it hangs downward;—*yuhu'kutu'* pull it down lower!

'akq'l on top, into view (*ya, yu, wo, pa, na, ka*)

pa'a'kq'l 'au' he pushes it to the top; *yua'kq'l 'aħi'g.naka* he pulled it up and laid it down here, *yaa'kq'l 'icu'* he brought it to light by talking;—*yua'kaħtu, paa'kaħtu* to pull, push up

waka'l in upper regions

nawa'kal hiyu' it came upward 54.19

t'aka'l outside (*ya, yu, wo, pa, na, ka*)

pat'a'kal yu'za he held him pushed outdoors; *yut'a'kal 'icu'* he pulled it out, *yat'a'kal 'iye'ya* by talking he sent him out

mahe'l inside

yuma'hel 'icu' he pulls it in

mak'o'skaq away from everybody, in the wilds

yama'k'oskaq 'iye'ya he talks as though an important matter were a mere trifle

wosla'l in upright position

pawo'sal 'iye'ya he put it upright, raising a standard, etc.

'a'optel less than

yaa'optel 'iye'ya he lessens it, minimizes it speaking

pae'l 'iye'ya he forced it there (not with demonstrative *le, he, ka, tok*)

pae'c'el 'iye'ya push it the way it ought to be

t'e'haq, mani'l, hewo'skaq are not commonly used with instrumentals

'iye'haq is not used, but *yui'yehqyq* held at the same length as something else

§ 49. INSTRUMENTALS WITH VERBS IN *p'a, k'a*

Some adverbs are formed from instrumental prefixes attached to locative verbs in *p'a* (see pp. 58, 143) that do not exist independently.

he'ktap back, retarded (*yu, wo, pa, na, ka, ya*)

pahe'ktap yu'za he holds it back pushing; *yuhe'ktap 'icu'* he jerked it back; *kahe'ktapya 'u'* it stays forced back

Also compounded *'u'zihakta* (*'uze'* buttocks) backwards, reversed

paq'zihakta 'au'pi they bring it backing it up; *kaq'zihaktakia g.ni' na g.lihpa'ya* he goes forced back repeatedly and falls (like a wounded warrior); see also *he'ktap'atqha* at or from the rear

'itu'kap face upward (*ya, yu, wo, pa, na, ka*) (*'ite'* face, *waka'p* upward)

'itu'kap yuka' he lay face up; *'itu'kap 'e'tuwaq 'oma'ni* he walks looking up; *pai'tukap 'ihpe'ya* he pushed him down so that he lay face up; *yui'tukap yu'za* he held him face upward; *kai'tukap g.lihpe'ya* he caused him to fall face up

t'oka'p ahead; *t'oka'pya 'ece' 'u'* or *t'oka'p'ata 'ece' 'u'* he is always at the head (*ya, yu, wo, pa, na*); the former means manner, the latter place

pat'o'kap 'iye'ya he pushed him ahead; *yut'o'kap yu'za* he held it forward

heya'p towards the hills, out of the way 51.12, 179.14; also *heya'ta*

yuhe'yap 'icu' he removed it; *pahe'yap 'iye'ya* he pushed it aside; *kahe'yap 'ihpe'ya* he struck it aside

c'oka'p inside a bounded area

pac'o'kap 'iye'ya he pushed it out into the middle

'iha'kap following

kai'hakapya 'iya'ya forced into an immediately following position he goes

From terminal *k'a* we find

any'k apart

yua'nyk yu'za he held it parted

§ 50. LOCATIVES WITH INSTRUMENTAL *ka-*

A number of these adverbs can take only the prefix *ka*. These are:

hu'tawapya towards downstream, southward

kahu'tawapkiyake s'e t'iyopya he makes the door of the tipi face approximately (*ke s'e*) south

'i'yok'ihya next in order (from *'i'yok'ihq* to stand next)

kai'yok'ihya forced into second place

he'ktakiya towards the rear (see pp. 58; 121, no. 27; 143 *he'ktap*)

kahé'ktakiya g.lícu' he turned and came back

hepi'ya uphill, on the road to a place

c'aku' kí he'l kahé'piya 'iya'ya the road there goes uphill. Also used as noun (without *ka*) and as verb: *hepi'ya kí 'a'taya c'q'* the hill side is all (covered with) wood

'ai'yohpeya downhill

he kaa'iyohpeya kí he'l c'el'i' there the downhill there he built a fire. Also as verb or noun: *hata', he'l kaa'iyohpeya ye'* look out! there is a downhill slope, or *he'l 'ai'yohpeya ye'* (woman speaking)

'a'beya in various directions (*yu-* and *wo-* rarely used)

kaa'beya k'ig.la'pi they have gone in different directions

§ 51. LOCATIVES WITH VARIED INSTRUMENTALS

Others occur with various instrumental prefixes.

'eha'kela last (in space or time) (*yu, wo, pa, na*) verb and adverb; *'ema'hakela* I am the last. With instrumentals always adverbial

yu'e'hakela (ma)yu'za he held (me) in the last position; *pa'e'hakela iye'ya* he sent him by pushing into the last position

'ohla't'e underneath (*ya, yu, wo, pa, na, ka*)

pa'o'hlat'e 'iye'ya he pushes it underneath; *na'o'hlat'e 'ihpe'ya* he left it kicked underneath

'ic'i'c'uya in the wrong way, in opposite direction to each other (*ya, yu, wo, na, pa, ka*)

'ic'i'c'uya expresses also a mistake in address; mistakenly, opposed to the normal way; *'ic'i'c'uya 'iye'(wa)ya* (I) put it in the wrong end first; *yu'i'c'ic'uya b.lu'za* I hold them in opposite directions (this refers to a personal ceremony of a holy man, two firebrands being held with burning ends in opposite directions); *yu'i'c'ic'uya 'iye'ye se'ce'* perhaps he put it, held in the wrong position

pa'i'c'icawí 'iye'ya he sends it back by pushing it; *yu'i'c'icawí 'i(wa)cu* (I) take it back holding it back from the direction it was going

'ekta'sniya (lit. not at the [right] place). The same meaning as the preceding

pa'e'ktasniya 'iye'ya he pushed it into a wrong position

*'ikce'ya*⁸⁷ ordinarily, commonly (*'ikce'ka* it is ordinary, of the regular kind; *'ikce'-wic'a'sa* Indian) (*ya, yu, pa, ka*)

yu'i'kceya and *ya'i'kceya* are both verbs, to make secular, available for every day use

t'ahé'na towards the speaker (*'i'a'hena* this side, nearer than) (*yu, wo, pa, na, ka*)

yu't'a'hena 'icu' he pulled it towards himself; *pa't'a'hena hiyu'ya* he sent it pushing it this way

k'aye' in front (*yu, wo, pa, ka*)

yuk'a'ye 'i(wa)cu (I) brought it out, forth, forward; *pak'a'ye hiyu'ya* he pushed it out

'ini'la silent, speechless 52.8 (*ya, yu, wo, pa, na, ka*)

(*'ini'la 'u'* he is speechless; also name of a snake that looks like a rattlesnake but makes no noise) *yu'i'nila 'ihpe'ya* he left him made quiet, silent; *ya'i'nila 'ihpe'ya* (the same, but effected by talking); *kai'nila 'ihpe'ya* (the same, effected by striking)

⁸⁷ *'ikce'ya* means also "unceremoniously, without reference to anything." *'ikce'ya taku'waya* I am related to him in an ordinary way, i. e., he is one who does not require avoidance; also, he is an affinal relative.

k'inu'k'a in two, in two ways; with instrumentals: apart separated (*yu, wo, pa, na, ka*)
pak'i'nyk'a wic'a yuza he held them apart;—*yuk'i'nyk'a 'iwi'c'acupi* they took them apart (*k'inu'k'a*
'iwi'c'acupi each of two took one);—*kak'i'nyk'a 'iya'yapi* they went each his own way;—
kak'i'nyk'ayq 'uk'u'kle lo' we'll separate (a married couple);—*yua'nyk yu'za* he holds it apart (like
two curtains)

'ak'o' yonder, behind you

pa'a'k'o 'iye'ya he shoves it away;—*yua'k'o 'icu'* he takes it away

tayq' well

tayq' 'i'yaka it is running nicely;—*yuta'yakel yu'za* he holds it rather steadily;—*yuta'yakel 'oya'ka* he
tells it rather well

'isna singly

yui'snala 'icu' he took it away by itself, alone

Colloquially we find also the adverbial expressions *yuli'la s'e* with more speed (by some means, very, as though); and *yua'taya, kaa'taya, pa'a'taya* together; p. e., *yua'taya yu'za* he held it together (*a'taya* entire).

§ 52. INSTRUMENTALS WITH NOUNS

Instrumentals may also be used with nouns with the meaning "to make someone like, to treat like."

yuma't'o to make someone like a bear (angry) 276.16

'ig.lu'mat'o (a name) he makes himself like a bear (angry)

yuwic'asa to make into a man, i. e. to honor a person

yuwiyq to make into a woman, i. e. to honor a woman; *le'l he' wiko'wi-'u'he c'u, to'k'esk'e wic'a'sa*

wq wai'sila c'a yu'zi na yuwiyake hereabouts that one a foolish woman (harlot) continually was, in some manner a man regarded her compassionately and married her and made something like a woman of her!

yuhok'sicala to treat like a baby; *'eha's 'iya'kiye s'a na luhok'sicala ye', wana' he' t'q'kaye sa',* too much you always take his part and you treat him like a baby, although that one is big now

kahu'te to cut down to a stump

c'uwii-nac'e'hiya to buck (as a horse) (*c'uwii' body; c'e'ja kettle*) body makes itself by inner force a kettle

yasu' to judge, decide (*su seed*) Teton

yac'o' to judge, decide (*c'o kernel*) Yankton

yuo'ko to pull apart; *pa'o'ko* to push apart (*oko' space between*)

Nouns with the prefix *ya-* with the mouth, express "to call someone so and so," ascribing a certain character to him.

yak'o'skalaka he calls him a youth;—*yawi'k'oskalaka* he calls her a young woman;—*yawic'icala s'a lahl wana's c'ica' o'taye sa'* he is always calling her girl, although now she has many children;—*yai'te* to flatter (*i'e' face*);—*kab.lo'b.lo* (to make ridges by striking) to flog (*b.lo prominence*)

We find also with indefinite pronouns:

yuta'kunisni (to make by means of—nothing—not)

yata'kusni to belittle by talking (by means of mouth nothing)

§ 53. INSTRUMENTALS WITH LOST MEANING

In a number of verbs containing instrumental prefixes the feeling for the meaning of the prefix has so completely disappeared that they are given an additional instrumental prefix.

'ipa'weh, 'ipa'wehya off the straight line, off the subject (with prefixes *ya, yu, wo, ka*; see *we'ga* to be snapped off)

yui'paweh yu'za he holds it out of the straight course, *yai'paweh 'eya'* he says it so as to mislead;—
woi'paweh 'iye'ya he knocked it from a distance out of alignment

'iyu'pseya, 'iyu'psepseya off the straight line, same meaning as the preceding (with prefixes *ya, wo, ka*; the stem *pse* does not occur alone)

(wa)pa'ptuza (I) bend from the hips forward

yupa'ptustukel 'icu' he held him sort of bent forward

The instrumental *pu* by pressure, is no longer recognized as a prefix and verbs containing it take readily other prefixes.

kapu'ski s'e 'ihpe'ya he left him thrown in a heap;—*kapu'stak* forced into a bent, stooping condition

§ 54. ORDER OF LOCATIVE AND INSTRUMENTAL PREFIXES

As stated before (p. 39) the first prefix modifies the whole content of the following complex. Therefore locative prefixes may either follow or precede instrumentals. The following examples will illustrate this: *naa'b.laya* to smooth the top of a pile with the foot; *'ana'b.laya* to smooth something with the foot over something else; *nao'hmi* to kick something so that it is crooked; *'ona'hmi* to kick something crooked inside a place; *ksa* to be severed, *'oksa'* it is severed inside a whole (p. e., a tooth is out, a roof is caved in). With the instrumental prefix *ka* by striking, is formed *kao'ksa* to cause by striking something to be severed inside a hole (p. e., to knock a tooth out, to break in a roof by striking). On the other hand *kaksa'* means to sever by striking, *'oka'ksa* to sever by striking, the action occurring within or into a certain area.

pao'g.muza to cause it by pushing to be closed in (p. e., to shut a pliable tent-door), *'opa'g.muza* to close by pushing within, or into an area

pao'g.migma he pushes it into a rolling state, *'opa'g.migma* he pushes it so that it rolls down a given way

woa's'aka to make adhere by shooting, *'awo's'aka* to make stick by shooting on

kaa't'qi he strikes it into a state of being visible to the eye, or mind, *'aka't'qi* (rare, but possible) he makes it visible on top, by striking

kao't'iza, he strikes it, making it fit tight in its place, *'oka't'iza* he strikes it into a hard, firm thing, in a place, as a room; or into a hole, *'ol'i'za* to fit tight; *t'i'za*, hard, firm, compact, solid

nao'piyela (adv.) appearing to be wrinkled, as the skirts of a slender woman, that whip about her legs; *'opi'za* it is in a wrinkled state, *'ona'piza* by walking, she makes it wrinkled in, or about (herself)

naa'takunišni by kicking, he makes it become annihilated; vanish into nothing, *'ana'takunišni* by kicking on, as a rock, he crushes the thing to pieces.

yao'g.mi by eating the grass, he (horse) leaves a bare place, *'oya'g.mi* all over the place he grazes it bare

kao'tayq (adv.) by striking causing a jarring effect on or in, *'oka'tq* to hammer in, as a nail

Sometimes the two forms mean quite different things, one figurative.

yuo'si to make it get into a knot, by tying carelessly (where a bow was intended), *'oyu'si* to have a hidden grudge against someone; to be at enmity with

The instrumental must always precede the locative (or nominal) when the verb, finite or subordinate, requires a fixed locative or nominal prefix. Examples are:

'ile' to burn;—(—)'*iyowaza* to echo;—'*ica'pa* to open mouth;—'*i'coja* to gather in folds, to drift to;—'*ic'i'cawi*, '*ic'i'cuya* in reverse direction (adv.);—'*itu'kap* (<'ite'-*wakap*) face up (adv.);—'*ini'la* silent (adv.);—'*ize(la)* disorderly arranged;—(—)'*a'šlaya* to expose, '*a'šlayela* plainly (from *šla* bare);—'*i'yašlalya* to show up a person (—*šlata* ?);—'*ata'kunišni* to vanish (—*ta'ku-ni-šni* to vanish (on nothing—not));—'*owo't'qala* straight;—'*o'p'o* warped

§ 55. INDEFINITE OBJECT *wa-*

The prefix *wa-* designates an indefinite object and is used with transitive verbs, corresponding to the English intransitive forms of verbs that are ordinarily transitive.

waka'kpq to pound things fine;—*wak'u'te* to shoot things;—*wap'a'ta* to butcher;—*waya'wa* to read;—*wac'e't'ug.la* to doubt;—*wac'a'š'u* to confer a name on someone

When the verb begins with a vowel idiomatic use requires sometimes contracted, sometimes uncontracted forms. Verbs with initial *a* or *i* contract only when they have a special meaning. Verbs with initial *o* behave much more irregularly. The contracted forms are in meaning firmer units than those not contracted. They express a habitual occupation and are for this reason often more specific than the uncontracted forms. This general principle reappears in contractions of the possessive (p. 132) where contracted forms express the more intimate degrees of

possession. Examples for initial *a* and *i* have been given before (pp. 6 et seq.). Characteristic forms for verbs with initial *o* are:

wao'c'i to beg for various things, *wo'c'i* to be a beggar
wao'kastaka to throw mudlike things into; *wo'kastaka* he is daubing mud (in building);—(*wao'ha* to cook things, not idiomatic, but understood), *wo'ha* to cook

The same contraction with the same meaning occurs when *wa-* stands before the instrumental *yu-*. (See p. 9.)

wayu'zaza she is washing things; *wo'zaza* she is washing;—*wayu'sta* to finish things, *wo'sta* to take a final vote (*wao'sta* to fit things into, from *'o'sta* to fit in)

Examples of uncontracted forms are:

wao' to hit things;—*wao'hola* to be respectful to persons, things (*la* to consider);—*wao'kihi* to be able to achieve things;—*wao'kiya* to help people;—*wao'steg.la* to call people names (*oste'g.la* he considers him odd);—*wao'yuspa* to catch hold of; *k'e-wo'yuspa* snapping turtle

Others are contracted:

wo'yaka to recount (*oya'ka* he tells it);—*wo'le* to search for things;—*wo'm.na* to smell something;—*wo'lota* to borrow something;—*wo'c'i* to beg for something

With neutral verbs *wa-* forms nouns:

wat'o' something green (blue), i. e., green leaves, grass;—*wasna'* pemmican (*sna* greasy, Assiniboine); *wam.ni'yom.ni* whirlwind;—*wagu'geca* something scaly, i. e., dandruff;—*wapa'm.na* something arranged in a clump (*pam.na'* adv.) a clump of trees, bushes;—*wale'ga* something transparent, i. e., dried bladder, intestines;—*waspa'sni* something not cooked, i. e., those entrails that were eaten raw;—*waho'hipi* something round drooping (*ho* round enclosure; *hipi* to droop), a nest;—*wag.mu'* something curled, twisted, i. e., pumpkin;—*wag.me'za* corn (*gwe'za* to have small ridges [?]);—*wat'e'ca* something new, i. e., food taken home from feast;—*walu'ta* something scarlet, i. e., a sacrifice of red material; *wahpa'ye* things lying about, i. e., chattels, household goods

There are a few verbal terms of this type:

waste' good;—*wahle'sni* ugly;—*wak'a'*⁶⁸ wonderful, sacred;—*wa'hwala* to be gentle (*hwa* to be sleepy);—*wao'ta* things are plentiful;—*wai'c'aga* things grow

A neutral with indirect object is *wi'steca* to be bashful, ashamed of things (*'iste'ca* to be ashamed of —).

We have found only one active verb without object which forms nouns with *wa-*: *waki'yqa* something flying, i. e., thunder; *waki'yela* dove.

Transitive verbs with *wa-* forming nouns. Most of these have a passive meaning.

wa'paha something held aloft, i. e., war standard;—*wana'p'i* something worn around neck, i. e., necklace;—*waya'hota* something choked on, i. e., oats (*yaho'ta* he chokes on it);—*wae'ktuza* forgotten things, i. e., poor ears of corn not garnered;—*wat'a'* (something touched (?), i. e., bait, *-t'a'* to come in contact with);—*wa'nuni* things on something out of place, i. e., dark spots on face (*'anu'ni* to be out of place on something, *nu'ni* to lose one's way);—*wak'i'* baggage

The indefinite *wa-* appears also with nouns.

wap'a'ha something head skin, i. e., war bonnet;—*wac'o'ka* something centre, i. e., opening in the woods;—*waha'pi* soup (*hapi'* juice);—*wahu'nupa* something two legs, i. e., man with bear spirit;—*wahu'pa* something wings, i. e., supernatural flying being

Nouns with initial vowel contract with *wa-*. (See pp. 6 et seq.)

wo'ha cache;—*wa'kahpe* sheet covering;—*wi'k'a'* rope;—*wa'kpat'aka* something lying on, big, i. e., black bird (also called *pteya'hpaya* falling on buffalo);—*wa'kpa'hota* grey buffalo bird

A number of these forms are derived from stems not otherwise known.

wac'a'ga sweet grass;—*wa'c'ih'e* a long soft feather standing on head (*ha* to stand);—*wag.le'ksu* wild turkey;—*wah'i'heya* mole;—*wam.nu'h'a* snail shells;—*wasu'* den, lair;—*wak'si'ca* dish

⁶⁸ According to Walker the priests of old used the term *k'a'* for the specific sacred. Not known to E. D.

In a number of cases the noun requires the ending *-ka*. With neutral verb it expresses an object, with active verbs an actor. Examples of neutral verbs are:

wasku'yeca something sweet, i. e., fruit;—*wat'o'keca* something different, i. e., a delicacy;—*waqu'geca* something scaly, i. e., dandruff

With active verbs words are formed which are still felt as verbs, but which function very commonly as nouns when followed by the article.

wakte'ka one who kills animals easily;—*wao'ka* a marksman;—*wao'kihika* one who is efficient;—*wi'yeyeca* one who is good at finding things;—*wi'steštececa* one who has fits of bashfulness;—*wawi'haḥayeca* an amusing person

Without *-ka* we find:

way'c'ala little imitator, i. e., monkey;—*wae'pazo* the one who points thither, i. e., index finger;—*waki'c'uza* the one who decrees his own, a leader

Transitive verbs may employ a double *wa*, one being direct, the other indirect object:

waho'kuḥ'iya he advises him, *wawa'hokuḥ'iya* he advises people about things;—*'ig.nu'* he mentions it to him; *wi'g.nu* he mentions (unkind) things to him, *wawi'g.nu* he mentions (unkind) things to people;—*'iyu'ski*⁶⁹ he is pleased with it, *wi'yuski* he is pleased with things, i. e., he is happy, *wawi'yuski* he is pleased with things towards people, i. e., he is cordial to people;—*'ihq'kya* to destroy ('*ihq'ke* end), *wai'haḥ'kya* to destroy something, *wawi'haḥ'kya* to destroy things for people;—*'iyo'p'eya* he scolds him; *wawi'yop'eya* to scold people;—*'iḥa'ya* he makes him laugh, *wawi'haya* to be entertaining, *wawi'haḥayeca* an amusing person;—*wawi'stelya* to cause embarrassment (*wi'steca* to be bashful);—*wai'c'ahya* to cause things to grow, *wawi'c'ahya* creator

It appears from these examples that the double *wa* is the most generalized term. It is not always possible to trace the exact meaning of the two objects.

'iyu'ta he is tempted by it, *wai'yuta* he is tempted by something, *wawi'yutayya* to cause people to be tempted by things, i. e., to be a temptor;—*'ina'wizi* he is jealous of it, *wai'nawizi* or *wi'nawizi* he is jealous of something; *wawi'nawiswizika* a person of jealous disposition;—*yut'a* he touches it; *wayu't'a* to touch things, *wawa'yut'a* one whose work it is to touch things, i. e., an attendant in a ceremony;—*wayu'p'ika* one who is skilled at something, *wawa'yup'ip'ika* one who is generally talented;—*'i'waḥtelaḥni* he dislikes something about him, *wawi'waḥtelaḥni* he is disagreeable, he dislikes everything about everybody;—*'iyu't'a* he tries it; *wai'yut'a* he tries something, *wi'yut'a* he uses sign language, he measures, *wawi'yut'a* to be one who tries to expose people by tricky questions;—*'i'k'uwa* to deal with someone, excite him, *wawi'k'uwa* he is a schemer who excites people about things;—*wawi'nakiḥniḥnika* one who is always in a hurry ('*ina'ḥni* he is in a hurry);—*wawa'p'laya* to be obliging

The prefix *wo-* contracted from *wao-* forms nouns, particularly abstract nouns.

wo'wasi work (*wasi'* to employ);—*wo'waste* goodness;—*wo'wistece* shame;—*wo'ptecaḥni* infinity (*ptecela* short);—*wo'winiḥa* something awe-inspiring ('*ini'ḥa* to be in awe of, *yu'niḥa* to honor, *niḥa'ḥni* unawed);—*wo'p'ahṭe* a package (*wo'p'ahṭa* to tie things in a bundle);—*wo'iyokiḥice* sorrow ('*iyok'ḥice* to be unhappy, '*oi'yokiḥice* it is a sad occasion, place; to behave unbecomingly, to be improper);—*wo'nap'e* a defense ('*oi'nap'a* to take shelter in);—*wo'g.naka* a container, also, to store things

§§ 56-64. SUFFIXES

§ 56. *-ca*

The suffix *ca* changes preceding changeable *a*. It is not free but occurs in many verbs. It might be mistaken for *-ka* rather, but differs from it insofar as its own terminal *a* does not change. It is probably not derived from *ka*, although it occurs only after *e* and *i*. The suffix *-ka* may follow all verbs that have the ending *ca*. *-ka* itself changes to *-ca* only after *e* changed from *a*, not when it follows verbs ending in *e* or *i*, while *ca* always retains the same form.

wāzi', *wāzi'ca* one; *wani'yetu* (*ma*) *wā'zi* or *wani'yetu* (*ma*) *wā'zica* (I am) one year old (*wāzi'* is also adjective, not *wāzi'ca*); *t'owa'zica* (the sky) is one blue (cloudless);—*sani'* one side, one of a pair, one half; *sani'ca* it is one-sided; *sani'ca-kaḥla'* he wears hair cut on one side; *ḥap-sa'ni g.nu'ni* he lost

⁶⁹ *ib.lu'ski* 1st person.

one of his moccasins (*sani'* is also adjective);—*'ohlo'geca* it is hollow (tree, tooth); see *c'qhlo'gu* pithy weed (<*c'q-hlog-hu*; *hlo'ga* alone is not in use);—*hpeca'sni*, *hpeca'ka*, *hpeca'kesni* energetic (see *hpeca'* to be inactive, Santee; *hpe-yu'ka* to lie inactive, refers to a dog with pups);—*kic'i'* with him, it (not with plural), *kic'i'ca* they two are partners, as man and wife;—*se'ca* it is blanched (hay, wood) (see *se'na* a Yankton nickname for a certain very blonde half blood);—*wahpa'niya* to make poor (by desertion, death), *wa(ma)hpa'nica* (I am) poor;—*'osi'ceca* it is bad weather (*si'ca* bad);—*waki'g.leca* to have a feeling of something that is to happen, to presage from one's feelings (see *g.la* to sense, which is, however invariable), *'osi'ceca-waki'g.leca* to sense by bodily feelings the approach of bad weather;—*'o(wa)h'q'-shykeca* to do something irremedial; fatal (*'oh'q'* to act, *shyka'yq* surprisingly, contrary to what seems probable), *'owe'-shykeca* he said something irremedial;—*t'o'keca* reduplicated *t'okl'o'keca* different (*t'o'ka* alien, enemy);—*'i'shokeca* reduplicated *'i'shoskokeca* of the same size as it;—*p'ica'* reduplicated *p'ilp'i'ca* fairly good (*p'iya'* to make better, to repair);—*wase'ca* to be well supplied (with food);—*'owa'steca* it is pleasant (cf. *waste'ka* rather good);—*le'ceca*, *he'ceca*, *ka'keca*, *to'keca* it is like this, that, *'oa'hec'eca* to moderate, improve;—*'uzi'ca* reduplicated *'uzi'kzi'ca* bob-tailed, with short skirt or jacket;—*'u'c'unica* to be dumbfounded, unable to act on account of excitement (cf. *kic'u'ni* to fail, Santee; probably from *'o'e'c'u* to do, *-ni* negative);—*yusti'ca* to underestimate difficulties (cf. *masti'[ca]* rabbit);—*t'eca'* to be lukewarm (*t'a* dead?);—*nawi'cak'seca* they were doubled up (in an epidemic) (*k'sa* to be coiled up);—*wasku'yeca* berries, fruits (*sku'ya* sweet;—*waga'geca* lattice work (*-ga* opened out);—*'izu'za* fine grained whetstone; *zuz'e'ca* snake;—*'igu'ga* sandstone, *wagu'geca* porous bone, dandruff; *guje'ca* it is porous, rough grained

Evidently there is no feeling for *ca* as a suffix. This is indicated by the reduplicated forms *p'ica' p'ilp'i'ca*, *'uzi'ca 'uzi'kzi'ca*. On the other hand it is not easy to tell whether some of these stems may not be CVC, for instance *se'ca* blanched; *guje'ca*; while *t'eca'* is abnormal for CVC verbs, because it has the accent on the second syllable.

A fairly large number of nouns end in *ca* and it is doubtful if they belong here.

naca' ⁶⁶ war chief;—*wqye'ca* firefly;—*t'q'sna'yeca* or *t'q'sna'heca* gopher (*t'q* body);—*heca'* buzzard;—*ptego'p'eca* hawk;—*k'u'sle'ca* kingfisher(?);—*ma'yasle(ca)* coyote;—*p'isle'ca* spleen;—*c'eca'* leg;—*shkeca'* fisher;—*wazi'sheca*; *wazu'steca* strawberry;—*k'ak'e'ca* large woodpecker;—*zica'* squirrel;—*hoksi'(ca)* child;—*t'i'canica* curlew;—*'om.ni'ca* beans ⁷⁰;—*'uhna'gicala* the screech owl (mythical);—*t'ak'q'yeca* blackberry;—*ptehi'ca* calf;—*c'ica'* child

§ 57. -ka RATHER

-ka, somewhat, changes changeable *a* to *e* and takes itself after such change the form *ca*. (See p. 29.) The terminal *a* of *ka* is changeable.

cv and cvcv verbs, both active and static add *-ka* to the stem.

he'ba'ka he rather blames that one (*ba* to blame);—*'ole'ka* he searches for it casually (*'ole'* to hunt, search);—*c'i'kesni* he is rather disinclined to do it (*c'i'* to want);—*wag.la'g.laka* he is rather squeamish (*g.la* to abhor);—*'ig.ni'ka* he asks for him casually (*'ig.ni'* to look up something);—*'ap'e'ka* he rather expects him (*'ap'e'* to wait);—*bubu'ka* he is clumsy, heavily built (*bu* deep sound);—*'ob.la'yeka* it is quite level (*-b.laya* level);—*ga'ka* his hair is rather untidy (*ga* hair is untidy);—*yugo'ka* he is played out [colloquial] *-go* to have deep scratches);—*wakte'kteka* to be of the kind that kills, to be a successful hunter (*kte* to kill);—*waki'g.mag.maka* he is rather like his forebears (*kiq.ma'* he takes after his forebears);—*g.leška'ka* it is somewhat spotted (*g.leška'* spotted);—*'ao't'ehatu* it is rather far (*'ao't'ehatu* it is far);—*c'agu'ka* a fool (*c'agu'* lungs), and *c'agu'guka*;—*'okpa'ka* bits, crumbs;—*'o'smaka* a depression in the ground (*sma* dented);—*wayu'haka* one rather well-to-do

Not all active verbs take the ending *-ka*; it occurs, however, in phrases like the following with all verbs:

wo'(wa)heca kes'pi' na (I) call that cooking and (it is done very badly) (*'ohq'* to cook in a kettle; literally (I) kind of cook I said and);—*g.le'ca kes'y'i' na* he calls that coming home and (he loiters) (*g.la'* to return home)

CVC verbs, also with instrumentals, with changeable *a* change terminal vowel to *e*; others retain *a*.

sa'peca it is blackish (*sa'pa* black);—*se'caka* it is somewhat blanched (*se'ca* blanched, as old hay, wood);—*'ac'e'peca* it is rather fat (*c'e'pa* to be fat);—*hpeca'kesni* he is rather energetic;—*'ayu'takesni* he rather ignores him (*'ayu'ta* to look at);—also *'eye'ca* he says in a way (*'eya'* he says), *'eye'ca yu'k'q'* by the way;—*c'e'yeca* he cries as it were (*c'e'ya* to cry)

⁶⁶ There are only two words with an *a* followed by *ca*.

⁷⁰ Mandan *o'minit* suggests an older ending *ka*.

When the verb is nominalized by the prefix 'o the *ka* is not changed to *ca* after terminal *e*.

le'l 'ob.la'yeka it is level land here (*le'l* from *letu*);—*'oa'ake s'e le'l* it seems to be somewhat mouldy (*le'l* from *le'c'eca*)

With the suffix *la* (see p. 57) it intensifies:

wo'helaka wau' only as a cook I exist;—*ska'telaka wau'* only as a player I exist;—*wa'p'ilaka* an incredibly lucky person, (*wa'p'ika* a lucky person);—*c'qle'laka mayu'hapi* they kept me mostly as a fuel gatherer (*c'qle'* to gather wood for fuel);—*yu'hl'o'kelake* that is some hole he makes!—*'o'hl'o'kalake'* that is some hole! (*ohl'oka* a noun, does not change terminal *a* to *e*)—*ye'laka* he is really going along (although you think he can not move)

§ 58. *-kel* SOMEWHAT, RATHER, SUBORDINATE FORM

It seems likely that this is the subordinate form of a verbal suffix *-keca* which does not change a preceding changeable *a*. It may be related to the *-ca* previously discussed. The suffix *-kel* is attached to active verb stems terminating in a vowel. This includes *cv* and *cvcv* stems and those *cvc* stems that do not lose their terminal *a*. A few exceptions will be noted. Neutral verbs ending in a vowel are first transformed into subordinate form by the suffix *ya*. Active *cvc* verbs including the neutral stems made active by means of instrumental prefixes take the suffix *-tukel*. It may be that the *tu* of this form is identical with the *tu* discussed on page 58.

Active verbs with terminal vowel taking the ending *-kel*:

'ap'e'kel 'u' he stays kind of waiting (*'ap'e'* to wait);—*hig.nu'kel 'iye'ya* she singed it slovenly, *hig.nu'* to singe;—*'ig.ni'kel 'u'* he kind of looks for him (*'ig.ni'* to look up something);—*c'i'ktaktakel* whining like a fretful child (*c'i'kita* to whine);—*c'e'kiyakel* addressing by kinship term (*c'e'kiya* to address by kinship term);—*na'hma'kel* hiding in a way (*na'hme'ca ke'y'i' na* he called it hiding and);—*c'op'a'kel hiyu'* he crossed half wading, half stepping on stones (*c'op'a'* to wade);—*slohq'kel* crawling (*slohq'*);—*peha'kel* folding (*peha'* to fold);—*puspa'kel* glueing carelessly (*puspe'ca* he glued it some way)

Active verbs with causative *-ya* and *k'iya* (See p. 100):

sku'yeyakel making it sweet (*sku'ya* sweet);—*sapye'k'iyakel* kind of causing him to make it black

When a neutral *cv* or *cvcv* verb is made transitive by means of an instrumental prefix, the suffix *-kel* is attached to the stem.

kab.la'kel 'iye'ya she jerks the meat slovenly, hurriedly;—*kab.lu'kel* making it somewhat powdery by striking;—*kac'a'kel 'iye'ya* he hurriedly sifted it (*c'a* to be trembling, shaking);—*yasu'kel* passing judgment hastily (*yasu'* to judge, determine);—*yuga'kel 'icu'* he opened the door by chance (*-ga* to be open);—*kago'kel 'iye'ya* he just scratched (vaccinated) him;—*yug.la'kel 'icu'* by pulling he just unravelled it (*g.la* to be unwound, unravelled);—*yuwa'c'ikel* making him dance in a way;—*yug.mu'kel* twisting somewhat;—*yug.lo'kel* making it grunt by pulling;—*kag.mi'kel* clearing off weeds or bushes to some extent;—*yub.la'skakel* making it flat (*b.laska'* to be flat and hard)

Neutral verbs, *cv*, *cvcv* and *cvc* types, add *-ya* to the stem:

buya'kel lowa' he sings rather deep in the throat (*bu* it is a deep sound);—*b.luya'kel* rather powdery (*b.lu* it is powdery);—*coco'yakel* in a rather muddy state (*coco'* muddy, consistency of dough);—*c'oya'kel* quite satisfactorily (colloquial) (*c'o* satisfactory);—*c'oya'kel* with a rather splashing sound (*c'o* it is a splashing sound);—*ga'ya'kel* rather untidy of hair (*ga'* to have untidy hair);—*b.laska'yakel* fairly flat (*b.laska'* to be flat);—*c'epya'kel 'u'* he is pretty fat (*c'e'pa* to be fat);—*ksapya'kel 'u'* he lives rather wisely (*ksa'pa* to be wise) but *ksa'piu'kel oh'a'* he acts wisely; (*ksa'pa* is sometimes used as an active verb; always in Yankton and Assiniboine);—*k'alya'kel 'ec'e'ca* he is a little hot, feverish (*k'a'ta* to be hot);—*sapya'kel* rather blackish;—*si'lya'kel* (followed by neutral verb), *sica'yakel* (followed by active verb) badly (*si'ca* bad);—*t'elya'kel* rather new (*t'e'ca* new);—*b.lihe'lyakel* rather energetic (*b.lihe'ca* industrious, energetic);—*'ot'a'kayakel* in a fairly large area

Active *cvc* verbs, active verbs in *p'a* losing their terminal vowel, and neutral *cvc* verbs losing terminal vowel, when made active by instrumental prefixes take the ending *-tukel*.

ska'ltukel playing in a way;—*'ic'a'ptukel* stabbing in a way;—*c'yya'ktukel hpa'yaha* he is lying there groaning somewhat;—*yu'hl'o'ktukel 'iye'ya* hurriedly he made a hole in it (*hl'o'ka* to have a hole, to be open through);—*ka'ha'ptukel 'iye'wic'aya* he tried to drive them (*wic'a*) away without carrying through his attempt (*(-)hapa* to have a rustling sound);—*kazu'ltukel 'e'g.nakapi* they laid (the logs) in a kind of parallel arrangement (*zu'ta* straight, parallel, upright in behavior, balanced);—*papu'stukel* being made dry by pushing to and fro (rubbing)

A number of verbs, active in form, are conceived as neutral and take accordingly the neutral form. The finite verb combined with it expresses a permanent state.

(*wa*)*pa'ptuza* (I) bend over the trunk sharply forward; *paptu'syakel 'u' s'a* he always is in a somewhat bent over posture; with a second instrumental *yupa'ptustukel 'icu'* he took him in a somewhat bent posture

c'o(wa)'p'a (I) wade; *m.nic'o'ptukel 'iya'ya* some way wading in the water he went; *c'op'a'kel hiyu'* he crossed wading now and then (action); *c'op'a'yakel t'a hpa'ya* like wading (condition) (i. e., feet in water) dead he lay

—*ce'ka* to be staggering (active with instrumentals except *ka*); *yuce'kcektukel 'e'yaya* in a way he pulled him staggering along; *kace'kcekyakel 'u'* he is in a staggering condition

(*wa*)*g.la'* (I) abhor; *g.laya'kel* squeamishly (correct in form, but not idiomatic)

yut'a'kayakel made into a larger size

yuo'cik'ayakel made in a way a small space

—*b.la'za* to tear open; *yub.la'stukel 'iye'ya* he tore it open hastily; *'i'yub.lasyakel 'u'* he wore it spread open
c'et'u'g.la to doubt the truth of; *c'et'u'g.lakel 'ayu'pta* doubting him he replied; *c'et'u'g.layakel 'ece' 'u'* he is a skeptic, he always doubts it, him

Conversely some verbs that are in form neutral are conceived as active and take the form in *kel* if ending in a vowel, *tukel* when ending in a consonant.

'a(ma'yugi (I) take a snooze, contracted *'o'gigi* half asleep; *'o'gigikel ma'ka'* I am sitting half asleep

(*m*)*isti'ma*¹¹ (I) am asleep; *'isti'makel mu'ka'* I lie somewhat asleep

'iyu'ka to go to bed, *'imu'ka* I go to bed; *'iyu'ktukel oma'ni* he goes about lounging anywhere

'ab.le'za; *'ab.le'stukel ma'ka'* I sat observing casually

t'ezi' 'oka'c'oc'ayakel 'uku'pi we come, the belly making a splashing noise (referring to the horses) *ka* is here neutral (see p. 47)

waka'gi I am restrained by a taboo or shyness; *wo'kagiyakel 'ece'-'u'* he always lives in a condition of causing restraint (*-ya* to cause)

§ 59. *-la* DIMINUTIVE

Changes changeable *a* to *e*; itself not changeable.

k'oska'la a youth;—*k'a'zela* shallow (*la* fixed);—*ci'kala* it is small *ci'scila* (*la* separable);—*pe'cela* short (*la* fixed);—*oci'k'ayela* it is a small place (fixed);—*oci'k'ayelaka* it is a rather small place;—*c'e'yela s'a* the little one, or remarkable one, always cries; *wa(ma')tuk'ala* (I) the poor, little one (am) tired

With the plural of demonstratives *la* means "only," *hena'la* only those, *to'nala* only some.

With *hici* and *la* (see p. 56) emphatic:

he'tulañci wat'i' just there I live

iye'ha'tulañci g.li' exactly at that time he arrived coming back

§ 60. *-hca* PREDICATIVE, *hici* SUBORDINATE

With indefinite pronouns it appears in adverbial form, both change preceding changeable *a* to *e*; *hca* itself changes to *e*.

'u-wa'c'i'hca he wanted very much to come;—*'iyu'skihca g.li'* he was delighted with it when he came back;—*'iyu'skiyehci g.li'* he returned, the return being delightful for him;—*'o'p'akta c'i'hca* to join (future) he really wanted; *'o'p'añci'cta c'i'* really to join he wanted;—*'i't'ehañca yu'k'a' ley e'* it was a long while, then he said this; *t'e'hahci hi'sni* for a long while he did not come;—*loc'i'hca waya'ke na'zi* he was very hungry he stood watching (here *c'a* it being so, referring to the subject, is omitted after *loc'i'hca*);—*miye'hca* (*c'a*) *wqb.la'ke* I (and no other) (it being so) saw him;—*le' e'hca c'a* it is this very one, being that one

'owo't'qlañci 'e'upapi very straightly they laid it down;—*tuwe'hci 'o'makiya 'oki'hi huwo'* anyone being helping me is able to? (can anyone help me?);—*tuwe'niñci 'u'si(ma)la'sni* nobody pities (me);—*tuwe'niñci b.luha'sni* I have no one at all;—*ta'kuniñci b.luha'sni* I have not anything at all;—*ta'kuke c'e'yas 'oya's'iñci b.luha'* indeed I have everything

¹¹ *'isti'ma* does not take *ya* in subordinate form.

With the future *-kteh̄ci*, *h̄ci* is predicative and signifies "to want badly, to be strongly inclined to." The terminal *i* does not change; *c'e'yikteh̄ci* he is always inclined to cry.

§ 61. *-tu**Verbs or nouns expressing spatial and temporal concepts in -TU*

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. A very few others have the same form. In adverbial forms the terminal *u* drops off and *t* changes according to the general rule to *l*.⁷²

Spatial concepts.

'akq'tu it is on top, the place on top	'akq'l
wakq'tu the upper regions, heaven	wakq'al
'i'huk'utu the place region below	huk'u'l, k'u'l
t'akq'tu the place out doors	t'akq'al
mahē'tu the place inside	mahē'l
mani'tu, the uninhabited regions	mani'l
mak'o'skqtu the wild regions	mak'o'skq'l
hewo'skqtu the wild mountains	hewo'skq'l
t'e'hqtu the region far away	t'e'hq'l
('i)k'qye'tu the place in front	k'qye'l
'owo'slatu the upright position	'owo'slal
'a'optetu what is less than it	'a'optel (stem ptec-)

t'ape'tu and t'ape' the shoulder region (noun) does not seem to belong to this series

A number of locative terms derived from verbs in *-p'a*, many of which are not in use in finite form, have their subordinate forms in *p*. (See p. 143, no. 8.)

'ihē'yaptu place at a distance from it	'ihē'yap'aya	'ihē'yap
('i)sa'k'iptu the place beside (it)		sak'i'p
c'oka'ptu, 'i'c'okaptu the middle		c'oka'p
'iha'kaptu the position following another one ('o'hakaptu the	'iha'kap, 'o'hakap	
time later)		
'ihē'ktaptu the position behind		'ihē'ktap
'i'hutaptu the region to the south, downstream		'i'hutap
ho'c'okaptu the middle of the camp circle		ho'c'okap
'ik'o'kaptu and i't'okaptu place in front of it		'ik'o'kap, 'i'o'kap

From verbs in *k'a* we have:

'anu'ktu place on either side	'anu'k
to'k'a, to'ktu it is in some kind of condition	tok

From finite verbs we have:

howo'kawih̄tu the track around the camp circle (<ho'oka'wiga to go around the camp circle)

Temporal terms:

'ape'tu daytime	'ape'l
haye'tu night time (modern form hahē'pi)	haye'l
hitaye'tu evening	hitaye'l; hita'l eha' 222.15 yesterday
b.loke'tu summer	b.lok, b.loke' ⁷³
wani'yetu winter	wani'- (wani't'i to live in winter quarters)
we'tu spring	we- (we'hq last spring)
ptaye'tu fall	pti'hq last fall
to'hywetuka wq once upon a time (a some time)	tu'wel (<to'hywel)

The following belong to different categories:

nup'i'tu both together	nup'i' or nup'i'l
'i'hqtu it is in fun	'i'hq'l-eya' to joke

⁷² See also pp. 48, 137, for derived adverbial forms.

⁷³ b.lok-gq'ka to stay in camp in summer; b.loke'-c'okaya midsummer; b.loke'hq last summer.

The same ending occurs with demonstratives

'e'tu, le'tu, he'tu, ka'tu, tukte'tu it is here, there, somewhere
'e'l, le'l, he'l, ka'l, tukte'l subordinate forms

Modal

'ec'e'tu, 'iye'c'etu, le'c'etu, he'c'etu, ka'k'etu, to'k'etu it happens thus
'ec'e'l, le'c'el, he'c'el, ka'k'el, to'k'el subordinate forms

Temporal

'iye'hatu, lehq'tu, hehq'tu, kahq'tu, tohq'tu it is at that time
'iye'hq'l, lehq'l, hehq'l, kahq'l, tohq'l subordinate forms

'ec'q'tulañci just then (a very unwelcome interruption), 'ec'q'l subordinate form.

The demonstrative forms with *ka* that one visible, express manner rather than place or time.

NOTE:—A number of these forms may be combined with nouns

t'ima'hetu, t'ima'hel indoors
c'qma'hetu, c'qma'hel in the woods
t'qma'hetu, t'qma'hel in the body, in one's thoughts
ho'c'okaptu, ho'c'okap the area inside the camp circle (ho' camp circle)
mak'o'skqtu, mak'o'skql the wild regions (mak'a' earth)
ñewo'skqtu, ñewo'skql the wild mountains (ñe' mountain)

§ 62. -ya WITH NEUTRAL VERBS

Neutral verbs when subordinated to other verbs take the suffix *-ya*; *cvc* verbs add it directly to the stem; *cv* and *cvcv* verbs add it to the terminal vowel. *cvc* verbs that cannot lose terminal *a* add *-ya* at the end. All those ending in changeable *a* change *a* to *e*. Monosyllabic stems throw the accent on the second syllable. Bisyllabic stems including *cvc* stems that do not lose terminal *a*, in other words all bisyllabic forms ending in a vowel, that have the accent on the first syllable retain it there.

Neutral verbs of the *cvc* type with accent on the first syllable add *ya* to the contracted stem and throw the accent on the second syllable.

*nu'ga to be gnarled nuñya';—(-)ptu'za to be bent over ptusya';—(-)sa'pa to be soiled sapya';—*še'ca to be dry šelya';—*ca'ga to be porous cañya';—*ye'ga to be shiny yeñya';—(-)pte'cela to be short ptele'la or ptele'la; *a'optelya shorter

When combined with instrumentals and used as neutrals (see p. 47) they retain the same forms; *kaša'pya* being blackened by striking;—*yuhlo'kya* being perforated;—*yuot'aya* multiplying.

Neutral verbs of the *cvc* type that do not lose terminal, unchangeable *a* are t'q'kaya large;—'a'taya entirely; *suta'ya* firmly; *sica'ya* badly (with shift of accent).

Contractions are not used absolutely regularly. We have:

(-)t'e'ca it is new, t'elya' and t'e'caya;—(-)šiča it is bad, šilya', šilye'la and šica'yela⁷³

Neutral verbs of the type *cvc* with accent on the second syllable do not lose the terminal *a*. (See p. 30.)

(-)suta' it is firm, suta'ya;—*p'ica' it is fair, p'ica'ya;—(-)žica' he is rich,⁷⁴ žica'ya;—*haka' it has branches, haka'ya;—(-)swaka' it is fringed, frayed swaka'ya;—*t'eca' it is lukewarm t'eca'ya

yqka' and *yuka'* do not take the ending *ya*.

šyk'a'ka-yak 'u' he is coming on horseback;—iyu'k-'ina'ñni he is in a hurry to go to bed
yuka' with continuative *hq* forms the adverb *yuka'heya* prone, fallen.

⁷³ See p. 60.

⁷⁴ Sometimes in slovenly speech *wi'ñlyya* being rich in property, instead of *wi'žicaya*.

Neutral cvc verbs ending in *ya* do not contract. They change terminal *a* to *e* whenever it is changeable.

sku'ya it is sweet, *sku'yeyela*;—*spa'ya* it is wet, *spa'yeyela*

Neutral verbs of the type cv or cvcv add *ya*.

skaya' white;—*buya'* with a deep thud;—*paya'* with a shout, shouting;—*'ile'ya ha'* it stands lighted;—*c'aze'ya 'u'* he stays in an angry mood;—*pem.ni'ya* slantingly;—*kagi'ya ho't'qi* his voice appears respectful;—*was'i'g.laya 'ece' 'u'* in a resentful mood he stays;—*ha'ska* it is tall, long, *ha'skeya* in a tall way

The following do not form adverbs in *ya*, but remain unchanged:

t'a' to be dead; ⁷⁵*'isti'ma* to sleep;—*c'uw'ta* to feel cold;—*'uspe'* to know;—*'u't'u'* to be injured;—*yaza'* to feel a pain;—*watu'k'a* to be tired out;—*hica'ha'* ⁷⁶to trip and fall;—*g.naski'ya* to be crazy;—*'isna'la* to be alone;—*t'ani'* it is old (inanimate objects);—*sani'* to be one-sided (adv. *sani'caya* one-sidedly);—*kalka'* to choke swallowing;—*ka'* to be old (animate beings);—*skq'* to melt (ice, salt, etc., not fat);—*'u'* to use, to wear;—*hwa'* to be sleepy, has an adverb *hwaye'la* gently, quietly

Numerals form adverbs with the ending *kiya*:

nu'pakiya by twos, *ya'm.nikiya* by threes; *co'nalakiya* in a few ways; *'o'takiya* in many ways; *to'nakiya* in several, how many ways, *hena'kiya*, *kana'kiya* in these ways (see *ena'kiya* to quit).

Bisyllabic stems that retain the accent on the first syllable:

ma'niya walking (in a nervous state);—*ha'skeya* in a tall way, at great length

The suffix *-ya* may be expanded by the limiting suffix *-la* and takes the form *-yela* (*-la* requiring change of *a* to *e*). When both forms occur the simple form in *-ya* refers to a temporary, that in *-yela* to a permanent condition.

sapya' 'ahi' he brought it in a soiled condition;—*sapye'la 'ec'e'ca* it is dirty by nature;—also *sica'ya yaka'* he sits in a bad position; *silye'la yaka'* he badly (i. e., he a bad one) sits there

Often the ending *-yela* is used instead of *-ya*, because the latter form is identical with the causative in *-ya*. (See p. 100.)

c'e'pa* fat, *c'epyela*;—sa'ka* to be hard and stiff and dry, *sakye'la*;—**se'ca* to be dry and dead (wood) *selye'la*;—**sku'ya* to be sweet, *sku'yeyela*

In other cases the difference in meaning rules out the form in *-ya*, p. e., speaking of a person *sapya'* as an adverb means that the person appears black at the time, perhaps as silhouetted against a bright sky; *sapye'la* that he is black by nature.

In still other cases both forms are used and the general setting decides what is meant; *k'alya'* hotly, to cause to be hot; *k'alye'la* more emphatic adverb.

A number of neutral verbs can be used as adverbs only in reduplicated form.

—*ga'ta* it is branched, *galga'lya*;—*lo'pa* it is miry, *lolo'pyela* tender (meat);—*ski'ta* it has a groove, *skiskil'ya*;—*ga* to be open, with holes, *gaga'yela*;—*slu'ta* it is smooth and shiny, slippery, *slu'slu'l'yela*;—*ha* it is unsteady, *haha'yela*;—*ge* to be gathered in a bundle and held suspended, *ge'geya*

In a number of cases both verb and adverb appear only in reduplicated form.

(—)*sloslo* it is mellow, *sloslo'yela*;—(—)*stasta* it is slimy wet, *stasta'yela*;—(—)*hoho* it is loose at its base, *'oho' hoyela* loosely held (a tooth, pole);—(—)*t'ot'opa* it is slimy like wet skin, *t'ot'o'pyela*;—(—)*tiktica* it is sticky, *tikti'lya*;—also *hi-hpa'hpaya* to stumble along, used both as verb and adverb

§ 63. *-ha*

ha' to stand (inanimate objects), is at the same time the continuative enclitic. (See p. 104.) It is used without accent and forms adverbs with demonstratives which, with *'e*, *le*, *he*, to express continued time; with *ka* which always refers to something within sight, that can be pointed out, generally space. When used in adverbs *ha* does not change to *he*. (See p. 32.)

⁷⁵ *'eya'* to cause to die; *'at'a'ya* in a relaxed condition; *cuwi'ta-t'eyela* to feel frozen stiff; *watu'k'a it'e'yela* wearied to death; *k'u't'eya* worn out by work.

⁷⁶ *hili'caha yuka' 'u'* falling down now and again he came; cf. *yulhi'ca* to arouse from sleep.

lehq'-hyniyq kazu' zupisni all this time they have not paid;—*tohq'-hyniyq ki he' kic'i' taya' wau'* from some indefinite time on (always) with that one well (on good terms) I am (with final *tk'a'* it would be past time) (*ihu'ni* he arrives there; *-yq* adverbial after *n*)

A number of neutral verbs form a secondary adverb with *hq* which expresses a temporary condition.⁷⁷

ksapya' (always) wisely; *ksapya'hq* wisely in regard to a special matter;—*t'isya'* and *t'isya'hq* firmly placed, reliably, seriously;—*b.lesya'* and *b.lesya'hq* sanely;—*pusya'* in a dry state; *pusya'hq* while still dry;—*c'epya'hq* while being fat (*c'epya'* to cause to become fat);⁷⁸—*t'elya'* in a new condition *t'elya'hq* while still new;—*zulya'* in a virtuous condition (permanent), *zulya'hq* while being virtuous;—*t'elya'* lukewarm; *t'elya'hq* while still lukewarm;—*loya'* fresh; *loya'hq* (also *loya'k'e*) while in a fresh state (hide, meat);—*'isto'g.musyahq wac'i'pi'* in an eye-closed condition they danced (compare *'isto'g.mus wac'i'hapi* 21.5)

A few active verbs are used in a similar way in pleonastic phrases.

na'zihq na'zi standing he stands;—*'i'yotakehq* ⁷⁹ *yaka'* sitting he sits;—*yuka'heya yuka'* tree is in a fallen position (*yuka'hq* to topple over)

After the negative it means "before."

k'a'te-sni-hq heya'p' iwa'cu not being hot (before it began to boil) away I took it;—*wau'-sni-hq he'c'amy* not I having come (before I came) I did that.

After the article *ki* it signifies "while."

maja' zu kihq wau'ktešni', while it is raining I shall not come, also *maja'zunkte cihq wau'ktešni'* if it is going to rain I shall not come (when it rains I won't come);—(*maja' zu he' ci[hq] oma'kiyaka yo'* ⁸⁰ it rains when [if] it is so tell me!)

After the article *k'u* it signifies "while" in the past.

maja' zu k'u'hq' to'kiyani b.le'sni' the rain continuing in the past nowhere I go (when it was raining I did not go anywhere)

'ic'u'hq concurrently with it, past:

lowa'pi c'a' 'ic'u'hq wac'i' when they sang at the same time he danced

k'ohq' meanwhile:

tohq'l lowa'pi c'a' k'ohq' wac'i' whenever they sing meanwhile he dances, *lowa'pi ki k'ohq' wawa'c'ikte* I'll dance while they sing, *wac'i' c'a' k'ohq' p'aka'hukhuke s'a* when he dances meanwhile he keeps his head habitually nodding

Many neutral verbs are used as verbs only with instrumental prefixes or in reduplicated form. A considerable number have a neutral meaning when used without instrumental prefixes, but with the continuative suffix *hq*. All of these seem to express a state which is the permanent result of some action, although not all that may be so interpreted can take the suffix *hq*. All those that express the effect of an action that has no permanent result cannot take the suffix *hq*.

—CVC verbs

—*'yka*, without prefix *yuka'* (—*waka*, *waka'* Yankton) it is in a reclining position; *yukyuk'kahq* (verb and adverb) *yuka'hahq* (verb); (*waka'hq* Yankton) to be down having fallen (*mayu'kahq* I am down having fallen)

—*weja*; *weja'hq* it is broken (a pole); *wehwe'gahq*

—*wiza*; *wiza'hq* a supple rod or twig is bent; *wi'wi'zahaq* it is supple, limber

—*wiga*; *wiga'hq* it is bent sharply and permanently

—*huhuzza*; *huhuz'zahaq* it is unsteady, liable to tremble, or rock; *huhuz'zaheya* adverb (also *hushuz'zahaq*)

—*b.laza*; *b.laza'hq* it is rent, torn open; *b.lab.la'zahaq*; *b.laza'he s'e* adverb

—*b.laza*; *b.laza'hq* it is pulled apart (as legs, mouth); *yuka'b.lašya* adverb

⁷⁷ Compare static verbs in -*hq*, p. 62.

⁷⁸ *c'epye'la!* how very fat it is!

⁷⁹ The change of *ka* to *ke* before *hq* is exceptional.

⁸⁰ Colloquially *hq* may be omitted.

- b.laga*; *b.laga'ha* it is spread out in all directions; no reduplication; *b.laga'he s'e* blatantly (adv.), reduplicated *b.laga'he se'kse*
- (-)*b.le'za* to be clear-minded; *b.lesya'ha* and *b.lesya'*
- b.leca*; *b.leca'ha* it is shattered (brittle material); *b.leb.le'cahq*; *b.leca'heya* adverb
- pota*; *pota'ha* it is worn out; *polpo'tahq*; *pota'heya* adverb
- ptuga*; *ptuga'ha* it is chipped off; *ptu'ptu'gahq*; *ptuga'heya* adverb
- psaka*; *psaka'ha* it is snapped (rope, thong); *psapsa'kahq*; *psaka'heya* adverb
- m.nim.niza*; (*m.nim.ni'zahq* it is wrinkled (hide); no adverb in *heya*; *yum.ni'm.niza* curly, kinky [hair])
- m.niga*; *m.ni'gahq* it is shrunken (more often *nam.ni'ga*)
- m.nuza*; *m.num.nu'zahq* it is of such consistency as to give the sound of being crushed (hard snow, etc.); *m.nu.m.nu'zaha s'e* adverb
- m.nuza*; *m.num.nu'zahq* (the same for coarser material like cartilage); *m.num.nu'zaha s'e* adverb
- m.nuga*; *m.num.nu'gahq* (the same for hard material); *m.num.nugahe s'e* adverb
- luza*, a current of water, air flows; *lu'zahq*⁸¹ it is fleet; *luslu'zahq*; *luslu'zaha* adverb (see p. 63)
- suza*; *suza'ha* it has a slight crack; *susu'zahq*; *suza'he s'e* adverb
- zapa*; *zapa'ha* it is torn off in strips; no adverb in *-heya*
- sleca*; *sleca'ha* it is torn in strips; *slesle'cahq*; *sleca'heya* adverb
- šleca*; *šleca'ha* it is cracked (large cracks in logs, stone, bone); *šlesle'cahq*; *šleca'heya* adverb
- šuzā*; *šuzā'ha* it is crushed (meat, flesh); *šusu'zahq*; *šusu'zaha* adv.
- šloka*; *šloka'ha* something that fits on or into something is off; *ošlo'šlokahq* it is loose in all its parts; *ošlo'kahq* (skin) is chafed; *ošlo'šlokaheya* adverb
- g.loka*; (*g.loka'ha* not used) it has a joint loose; *og.lo'g.lokahq* it is loose in all parts; *og.lo'g.lokaheya* adverb
- kšiza*; *kšiza'ha* it is bent on a joint or fold; *kšikš'i'zahq* it is limp, falling into folds or bents; *kšikš'i'zaha* adverb
- k'ica*; *k'ica'ha* the outside is scraped off; *k'ilk'i'cahq*; *k'ica'heya*, *k'ilk'i'caheya* adverbs
- gapa*; *gapa'ha* it is flayed; no reduplication; *gapa'heya* adverb
- guka* it is stretched out long so that it remains long (*zikzi'ca* if elastic); *guka'ha*; *guka'heya* adverb
- (-*hica* he is aroused from sleep); *hica'ha* he trips and falls; *hilih'i'cahq* (adv.); *hica'hahq* (verb); no adverb in *-heya*
- huga*; *huga'ha* (a shell, skull) is broken; *huhu'gahq*; *huga'heya*, *huhu'gaheya*
- hleca*; *hleca'ha* it is torn (fabric, skin); *hlehle'cahq* it is ragged; *hleca'heya* adverb

cv verbs

Verbs of the type cv duplicate the second syllable, *ha*, to express repetition of the condition, the stem syllable if the condition occurs at many places. Those ending in *u* introduce *wa* before *ha*. In Santee the *wa* is often introduced also after other vowels.

- i'ize* it is out of order, disarranged; *i'zehq* and *i'ze'ha* always being out of order; (idiomatically used for "always")
- pta* it is falling to pieces (meat, hide); *ptahq'ha* it is falling to pieces entirely; *napta'ptahq*; *napta'ptaya* adverb
- psu*; *psuwa'ha* it is broken at a joint; *psuwa'hahq*, *psu'psu'wahq*; *psuwa'heya* adverb
- m.na*; ⁸²*m.nahq'* it is ripped; *m.nahq'ha* (no *m.nam.na'ha*)
- swa*; *swahq'* it is unravelled, unevenly fringed; *swahq'ha*; *oswa'swahq*; *oswa'swaheya* adverb
- sna*; *snahq'* to fall off (leaves, beads)
- za*; *zaha'ha* it is shredded (frail material); *zaza'hahq*
- špa*; *špahq'* to have small bits falling off (flesh); *špahq'ha*; *špašpa'ha*; *špašpa'heya* adverb
- špu*; *špuwa'ha* it is unfastened; *špušpu'wahq*, *špuwa'hahq*; *špuwa'heya* adverb
- šta*; *štaq'ha* a sore continues open; *ošta'qhahq*; *ošta'štaq'ha* river ice has holes
- ška*; *škahq'* it is untied; *škahq'ha*, no adverb in *-heya*; no reduplication of stem with *ha*
- ža*; *žahé'ya* confused sound; *žahé' s'e* as though a discordant sound were permanent
- žuzu*; *žuzu'wahq* it is all apart; no duplication of *ha*; *ožu'žuwaheya*
- žu*; *žuwa'ha* it is uprooted (a tooth has come out of its socket, a post out of the ground); *žuwa'hahq* (-*gwa* disintegrated); *ogwa'ha* it is spoiled (meat, egg), *ogwa'gwahq*; *ogwa'heya*, *ogwa'gwaheya* adverbs
- g.la*; *g.lahq'* it is unbraided; *g.lahq'ha*; *g.lahé'ya iya'* he speaks fluently; no reduplication of stem
- g.na*; *g.nahq'ha* small things in a row come off (peas, corn, berries that grow in rows); no adverb; no reduplication of stem
- ksa*; ⁸³*ksahq'* to be severed (also *ksa*); *ksahq'ha*; *ksahé'ya ksahe'heya* adverb

⁸¹ *lu's'itya'ya* go quickly⁸² **m.na* to give off an odor.⁸³ Rarely without prefix: *si'maksa'* my foot is severed (is off).

- ga* to husk corn, to open out something that is folded together like a bud; only *gahe' s'e* adverb, harsh and loud (*gahe' s'e p'a'* he shouted wildly)
- k'a*; *k'qha'* they are shed (leaves, berries); *ok'a'k'qheya*, *ok'a'heya* adverb
- hpu*; *hpuwa'ha* (mud or other easily removable material) has come off *hpuhpu'wa'a*; *hpuhpu'ya*, *hpuhpu'yela* adverb
- hiq*; *hiqha'* it is porous, absorbent; *hiqha'ha*; *hiqhe'ya* adverb
- hlaya*; *hlahq'* it is peeled off; *hlahq'ha*; no adverb

In adverbial forms in *ya* reduplicated forms in *hahq* change to *heheya*.

ksahe'heya broken often;—*zaha'heya* with repeated confused sounds;—*zuwa'heheya* uprooted frequently

The verb (-)*psica* takes prefixes which give it the sense "to make jump." Nevertheless it forms a static verb with the suffix *ha*.

psica'ha to be missing; *psipsi'caha* to be missing in places (to have jumped out, like grains of corn from a cob, teeth, etc.); *psi'caha* he is jumping along, continuative); *hi'opsi'caheya* with teeth missing, adverb

The following verbs with obligatory instrumental prefix cannot form neutrals with *ha*, losing at the same time their prefix. In most cases the adverbial forms retain the prefix and lose terminal *a*. Stems which occur also without prefixes either as verbs or adverbs or both are marked with an asterisk. Those marked with a double asterisk have a distinctive meaning when occurring without prefix. The particular prefix used with the stem, unless illustrated by examples is given in parenthesis.

CVC verbs

- yeza* he is annoyed, -*yes* adverb
- waza* it is disturbed, superficially stirred, irritated (p. e., soil by pawing of horses), -*was* adverb
- wita* it is rubbed on, stroked over, -*wil* adverb
- hita* a surface is cleared off, -*hil* adverb
- b.laya* it is leveled out, -*b.laya* adverb
- paza* a thin skin is extended, blistered, -*pas*, -*pasya* adverbs (*na*)
- paza* (variant of *paza*)
- poqa* it is inflated, -*poħ*, *napo'hya* adverbs (*na*, *ka*)
- *-*ptuta* it is sprinkled, generally *yuptu'ptuta*, *yuptu'l* strewing on in tiny bits, adverb; *piyuptu'lya* in small amounts
- ptuza* (S) it is cracked
- psita* it is in the condition of having been struck with a switch, *kapsi'psil* adverb; *kapsi'lapi s'e* fast moving
- *-*p'a'za* it is soft and yielding (hay, cotton); *p'aqšya*, *p'aqšye'la* adverb *p'asp'a'šyela* adverb without instrumental
- p'oza* always with -*la*, *kap'o'zela* it is light in weight, *kap'o'šyela* adverb
- lepa* it is scalloped at edge, -*lep* adverb
- *-*lopa* it is soft, miry -*lop*; *lolo'pa* it is overdone, so as to fall to pieces, without instrumental
- **-*luza* air or fluid is in motion, -*lus*, -*lusya* adverb; *lu'zaha* he is a fast runner (see p. 62) (*ka*, *yu* by suction)
- tepa* it is slanting, sloping, -*tep* adverb, *kai'tepya* adverb
- *(-*tica*), only reduplicated (-)*tikti'ca* it is sticky and soft -*tiktıl*, (-)*tiktilya*, adverb (see *zica*)
- *-*tupa* it is thick and muddy, not sticky, -*tup*, adverb; also *tuptu'pya* adverb without instrumental; *tuptu'pa* verb
- *(-*t'apa*) only reduplicated (-)*t'at'apa* it is partly dry (like mud drying up, partly dried meat), -*t'at'ap*, *t'at'a'pya* (*ka*)
- t'aka* ⁸⁴ it is blocked, held, locked, -*t'ak* adverb
- t'ipa* it is shrunk, contracted (muscles in spasm, leather by heat) -*t'ip*, -*t'ipy* adverb (*yu*, *na*)
- t'ica* it is packed hard (as snow), tucked in, -*t'il* adverb, *opa't'ilya* being tucked in, adverb
- *(-)*t'opa*, (-)*t'ot'opa* it is partly dry, no adverb
- t'uza* he is in stooping position, he has the head bent forward, *pai'u's* adverb, *yupa't'u's* held stooped, adverb (two instrumentals) ⁸⁵
- slata* it is upright, perpendicular, -*slal* adverb; *opa'slata* a sliver goes into the flesh, *nasla'ta* to go about stealthily
- sluta* a long thing protrudes out of a hole, -*slul* adverb

⁸⁴ *t'a'ka* to parch corn.

⁸⁵ cf. *pa't'u'za* to bow; *paptu'za* to bend over so that the back sticks out; (-) *ptu'za*

- ***-staka* it is mud-like, *-stak* adverb (*sta'ka* he is listless, *stakya'* adverb) (*ka*)
- **-skapa* two broad surfaces are in sudden contact, (*-skap*, (*-skapya'* adverb, *ska'skap hig.la'* clapping suddenly heard
- skita* it is bound, *-skil* adverb
- skica* it is compressed; *ag.la'skil* lying on something compressing it; adverb
- ***-zica* it is stretching; (*-zikzica* it is elastic; *-zikzi'lya*; *-zil*, *-zilya* adverbs
- zoka* (only with *ya-*) it is being tasted, licked, *yazo'k* adverb
- zuka*, generally *-zukzuka* it hangs in mucous strings, *kazu'kzukya*, *kazu'kzukyela* adverb
- sipa* it is low above ground, *-sip*; *o'kasi'pyela* branches hanging low towards ground; *pa'si'p* genuflecting
- swoka* it is overflowing; *-swok* adverb
- **-sluta* it is slippery (with prefixes; to slip, slide); *-slul*; *slu'slu'lyela* adverb (*-slu'slu'ta* it is slippery
- **-skap* two broad, wet or yielding surfaces are in sudden contact, (*-skap*, (*-skapya* adverb; *ska'skap hig.la'* the noise of such contact comes
- **-skepa* a fluid is dried (by sweeping); see (*-skepa* to be dried by leaking; *-skkep*
- **-skita* it is grooved, ridged, notched, *-skil*; (*-skiki'si'ta* corrugated
- skica* liquid is squeezed out, *-skil*
- zipa* thin layers are lifted or removed, *-zip*; *yu'zi'pa* to pinch and lift tiny piece of skin, *kazi'pa* to shave off slivers
- zu'ta* it reaches into a cavity, *-zul*
- ceka* it is in a staggering condition, *kace'keek* adverb (neutral), *pace'k* adverb (active); (*ceke'ka*, only a nickname)
- c'apa* to have legs lifted in high steps, *yuc'a'pa* to prance, *yuc'a'p*, *yuc'a'pc'ap* adverb (*na*, *yu*)
- gwoka* it is being churned up, *kagwo'k* adverb
- gmica* it is being pulled (like hair), *-g.mig.mica*, *yugmi'l* adverbs
- gmusa* it is gathered in, pursed, drawn tightly, *-g.mus*; *'o'g.muza* or *yug.mu'zya 'ec'e'ca* it is closed; active with *o-* followed by instrumental
- kiza* he is suffering, in agony, *kaki's*, *kaki'sya* adverb (only with *ka-*)
- kota*, *-kuta* to be probed into, as a tubular object, *pako'l*, *paku'l* adverbs (*-kuta* it is of uneven length in patches [hair, grass] takes *ha*)
- **-ksiza* he is irritable, *yuksi's* adverb (*ksisya'* adverb used colloquially); *ksi'zeca* heartless, brutal
- kseca* he has his joints violently bent, as in spasms, no adverb; see *yuksa'ksala ma'ni* he walks bending the knees high, perhaps from *kša-ka*)
- k'ita* it is in the condition of being wiped off, *-k'it* adverb
- k'eza* (always as *ina'k'eza*) it is near the edge of, *'ina'k'es* adverb; *'i'yak'es'yela*
- **-k'e'ga* a surface is scratched, *-k'e'h* adverb; *k'e'h-hig.la* a scratching sound comes; *k'e'hk'e'ga* it gives off a grating sound
- **-k'o'ga* a surface is scraped, *-k'o'h* adverb; *k'o'h-hig.la* a scraping sound comes; no *k'o'hk'o'ga*, but *k'o'hk'o'h hig.la'* (repetitive)
- **-gata* they are sticking out in many directions, *yuga'l* reaching out with the hand, arm; *kaga'l-hig.la* he is startled throwing out his arms; *galga'ta* it has many branches, arms; *galya'*, *galga'lya* adverb
- gipa* it is in a state of being pinched between two edges, *yugi'p* adverb; *ina'gip*; *ina'gipyahq'* it remains caught
- ***-hapa* it is in a state of being driven (animal), *kaħa'p* adverb; see **ħa'pa* to give off a rustling, muffled sound
- hepa* it is in a state of having been drained, *yaħe'p* drinking up (adv.)
- ***-ħica* he is roused from sleep, *-ħil* adverb; *ħica'hq'* he trips, falls down (verb)
- hu'ta* it is pliable, *yuħu'l* adverb; *haħu'ta* hemp (bark) rope
- hwoka* it is floating in the air, *kaħwo'k* being carried by the wind (adv.)
- ħlaya* it is in a peeled condition, *-ħlaya*, *-ħla'ħlaya* adverb, see *ħlahaq'* it is peeling off, is peeled; see *ħla* to rattle, being loose
- ħlata* it is in a state of being clamped, *yuħla'l* adverb
- ħtata* it is loosened, not taut, *kaħta'l* slowing up (adv.), *ayu'ħtal* slacking reins, *o'ħtal* relaxed, *o'ħtata* to be weakened by sickness (i. e., having the skin hanging loose)
- ħtaka* it is in forcible contact, *naħta'k* kicking (adv.) *ica'ħtak* in touch with, *woħta'k* bumping (adv.) (*yaħtaka* to bite)
- ħni'ga* it is chosen, *kaħni'ħ* adverb, *oka'ħni'ħ* comprehending (only with *ka-*)
- (*-ħ'ota* not used as verb) *kaħ'o'l* hurling

CV verbs

- *-wi it is tied up (wound, broken object), *yuwí'* adverb, *wiwí'la* it is soft and yielding; *p'o'wíwíla* fontanelle, *wiwí'la* spring of water
- *-ha it is unsteady, also *haha'la* verb, *haha'yela* adverb
- hú it is gashed, verb and adverb (*wa, ka*)
- b.la meat is in a jerked condition, verb and adverb (for meat always with *ka-*)
- *-b.laya it is level, *b.la'yeyela* adverb
- **-pe it is chopped into, verb and adverb; see *peh'a'* to fold (*ka*)
- *-psq it is in a state of oscillation, -*psq, kapsq'yq* adverb; *psqpsq'ka* vacillating
- *-p'a, *p'qp'a'la* it is pounded to a pulp (also by rain, hail), *kap'a'yq* yielding (like a cushion) **
- ma it is in continuous moving contact with something, -*ma* adverb; *ica'meya* in continuous contact permitting rubbing (as verb with instrumentals to brush, sharpen, whet, file)
- m.ni [†] it is turning around its own axis, -*m.ni* adverb; *nam.ní'* to turn back before reaching destination; *kam.ní' m.niyela* with garments whipping about wearer in wind 133.10
- la powdery substance is being spilled, *kala'* adverb always with *ka*
- lu it is in fanlike motion, *kalu'* to fan (v., adv.) (cf. *luza* air, *water* in current)
- *-to it gives sound of a sharp, light impact, -*toto* to rap; *t'o'to híg.la'* a rapping noise comes
- t'a it is compressed into a small bulk (v., adv.), *aka't'a* to cover (as with soil); *yat'a'* to chew
- t'q it is in touch with something (v., adv.), *kat'q't'q* to pound (meat) lightly (before cooking)
- tka he is choking on something (v., adv.) (*ka*, neutral)
- tkq, only *yatka'* to drink (v., adv.)
- si he is ahead of someone, *pasi'* to follow, to trace a rumor (v., adv.); *t'pasi'* to insist upon details, cf. -*sisa* always with *pa-* it is sewed with a running stitch; *ipa'sisa* it is pinned; *pasi'sa* to quilt, also adv.
- **-sí, *oyu'sí* to bear a grudge against someone (v., adv.), *wawo'yusiyq* adverb; *yuo'sí* it gets into a knot (v., adv.), *yuo'siyq* adverb, *sí'sí'* it is of such consistency that it contracts in drying (fish skin, glue, white of egg)
- spa, only *oyu'spa* to take hold of (v., adv.); *opa'spa* to duck (v., adv.); *kaos'pa* to dent by striking
- *-smi it is in a state of being trimmed (as leaves from a bush, hair) verb and adverb; *smismí'* it is irregularly deprived of trimmings (hair badly cut, a branch with few leaves left on); *yusmí'* to fleece; *aka'smiyqyq* to trim limbs off a tree
- *-sli it is squeezed out (v.), *sli' s'e*, adverb *sliya'*, *sli'sli híg.la'* sound comes of beating an object that gives a distant report
- **-slo only reduplicated (-) *sloslo'* it is mushy; *kaslo'slo* adverb; see *slohq'* to crawl
- snu it is set up on a stick, on a spit for roasting, always with *pa-*; *pasnu'* adverb.
- *-sku it is peeled, used of objects the skin of which has to be cut off, to be pared (v., adv.); *skusku'* it is scaly (v.), *skusku'ya* adverb
- *-za loose material, such as hair, hay is separated, *pazq'za*, always with *pa-*, adverb; *zazq'la* it is loosely woven, open woods, so that one can look through; *žžžq'* translucent
- *-ze it is dangling (v., adv.); *ze'zeyya* adverb, with instrumentals: to lift out of a liquid; see *ap'a'žžzeyya* on the very edge (adv.)
- zo a line is drawn on a surface, -*zo, ica'zo* adverb; *pazo'* to point out
- še it is obstructed (v., adv.); *k'use'ya* in the way (adv.) (*ka*)
- šj it is wrinkled; *yusšj', yuššj'šj', yuššj'siyq* adverb, (*yu, na*) it is wrinkled *p'o'šj'* he wrinkles up the nose
- šo, only *wošo'* it is protruded, as lips; *wošo'ya* adverb
- *-šwu it is dripping, *šwuyya'* giving out the sound of dripping (adv.)
- špi small objects are removed, *yušpi'* to pick berries (v., adv.)
- (*-šmi) *šmišmi' s'e* like something trimmed
- *-šli it is oozing; *našli'* to have a rash on the face; *šliya'* sounding like water dripping, *šliya' híhq'* it sounds as rain dripping *šlišli'-i'ha't'a* to giggle
- *(-šta not used) (-) *štasta* it is soggy wet, like skin (v., adv.)
- šta?; *yušta'* to finish; *kašta'* to pour; *o'šta'* to fit in, on; *našta'šta' s'e* as if making oneself wobble by steps
- šna it is dropped, missed (v., adv.); *yušna'* it drops out of hand (all prefixes)
- ški it is gathered tightly together; it is rough (land); *yuški'* verb and adverb, *yuški'ya* adverb; *kaški'* to pound cherries with pits, berries with seeds (v., adv.)
- šku it is taken off (scales off fish, kernels off cob, hard small objects) (v., adv.) *škušku'ya* it is scaly (skin, etc.)
- š'j it is touchy, moving at slight touch; *kaš'j'* curved (as a repoussé nose, a curved spine); *kaš'j'yq* adverb; *yuš'j'š'j'* tickling (adv.)

* Compare (-) *p'a'za* it is yielding.† *m.ni* to spread out many small objects, like berries.

- *-*ža* it is agitated, stirred; *yuža'* to cook porridge (v., adv.); (*žahe'ya*), *žahe' s'e* discordantly; -*žaza* it is stirred about in water, it is being washed; *ža žaya* clearly
- g.mi* it is weeded, cleared of vegetation (v., adv.); *yag.mi'* it grazes close to ground (like sheep); '*og.mi'la* a bare ground, an opening in the woods
- g.mų* it is twisted (v., adv.)
- kq* it is hewed, chopped (v., adv.); only with *ka-*
- ki* it is inclined, of arched form; *paki'* (neutral), *paki'yq* adverb
- ko*, only as '*iya'ko* to gag on account of an unpleasant taste (v., adv.)
- kpi* noise or condition of snapping (like burning bark, killing bugs, lice, small seeds); *nakpi'kpiya ha'* (fire) stands making a snapping, crackling, slight popping noise
- kša* it is coiled, bent into a coil or closely knit form (v., adv.); -*kšaya* adverb
- *-*kca* it is unbraided, loose (as hair); *kčaya' 'iya'* he talks without impediment
- *-*ga* it is spread out in all directions, opened out as an ear of corn; *gahe' s'e* blatantly (see p. 63); *gağa'ya* to cause to crackle and curl up (used only for roasting blown up, dried entrails); *yuga'ga s'e* tall and long-limbed, so that arms and legs seem to stand out when moving
- *-*gq* it is open like a door, exposed (v., adv.) *gq s'e* untidy (as if uncombed), *gagq'la* it is open work (like lattice, embroidery)
- *-*ge* it is gathered together (v., adv.), *kağe'* to skim milk, soup; *o' (wa)ge* (I) veil, encase, *kağe'ge* to sew; *ge'geya* (held) suspended in a container
- go* it has a line cut into it, is engraved (v., adv.); '*aka'goya* blood or perspiration runs down in lines; see *guhe'ya* in the manner of long, narrow lines of porcupine quill embroidery 195.8.
- hpa* it is in a low position (i. e., made to fall so that it comes to be in a lower position); (v., adv.), see **hpa'* it is untidy; *hpa' s'e* like one untidy
- h'i'* only *yuhi'i'* it has a rough, chapped surface; *yuhi'i'ya*, *yuhi'i'yela* (adv.)
- h'u* it is peeled off, like bark that does not come off easily (v., adv.)

CVCV verbs

- tiq* ⁸⁸ it is subject to a steady force, -*tiq* adverb reduplicated -*tikitq* (for *kitq?*)
- *-*zamni* it is exposed by removal of a cover; *zam.ni' s'e* said of persons whose garments fly loosely about them

§ 64. -*pi*

The unaccented ending -*pi* expresses the exclusive dual, he and I, and the plural of the animate subject of a sentence. In simple stems its position is terminal. It does not ordinarily pluralize a single word, but rather a phrase and may appear attached to nouns and verbs.

It may either precede or follow the diminutive -*la*: *hoksi'pila* or *hoksi'lapi* boys. When *ka* rather, is a detachable element *pi* precedes; if it is inseparable *pi* follows: *wo'hitikapi* they are greedy.

It precedes the future *kta* and all declarative, interrogative and imperative particles.

It follows -*tu* which is always firmly connected with the stem.

It precedes *šni* not, *s'a* customarily, *hca* very, and the compound -*ktehc'i*.

The third person plural subject expressed by -*pi* indicates also an indefinite subject and often corresponds to our passive.

wana'sapi there was a communal hunt 184.2; -*ki'cak'iyag.lapi* his had been taken away 185.1; *kaza'zapi* it is slashed 36.2; -*t'ahi'špa 'u' hap-ka'gegepi s'a* with an awl moccasins are customarily made

Many nouns are verbal forms with the plural ending -*pi*: Some of these have lost their verbal function and are used as nouns only while others are rather felt as verbal forms.

Nouns.

špaka'gapi preserved sweet corn (*špa* to be parboiled; *ka'ga* to make); -*waki'c'ağapi* a redistribution ceremony (they make their own things); the verbal form *wawe'c'ağa* I make my own things, does not exist); -*wi'hpeyapi* the ceremony of discarding goods at death ('*iñpe'ya* to throw away); -*c'ağa'wac'ipi* a top (*c'a'* wood; *kawa'c'i* to make dance by striking); -*he' c'iška'yapi* mountain goat (*he* horn; *c'iška'* spoon; -*ya* to have for); -*hoksi'c'alkiyapi* a child-beloved (*hoksi'* child; *c'ate'*, *c'ql-* heart; -*ya* to have for; they have a child for their own heart); -*'iya'pi* words, speech ('*iya'* to speak); -*wi'pat'api* a piece of porcupine work ('*ipa't'a* to work in porcupine quills); -*wakšu'pi* a piece of bead work (*akšu'* to pile on; *wakšu'* to do bead work); -*p'a'pahitapi* a doll (*p'a* head; *p'ahita'* to tie in a bundle); -*wo'zapi* chokecherry porridge (for other kinds the name of the plant is

⁸⁸ Compare (*wa*)*hi'tq* to be stubborn; *waki'kitqta* a willful man; *pati'tq* to hold in place by pushing, to brace; reduplicated *pati'kitq*.

stated *t'i'psila yuza'pi* mashed wild turnip porridge; *yuza'* to stir, mix); — *huhu'-wasmi'pi* trimmings of meat, particularly from the spine, used for soup (*huhu'*, *hohu'* bone; *wasmi'* to trim with a knife); — *yañu'gapi* nuts (*ya-* with mouth; — *ñuga* to crack a shell); — *wo'yaptapi* food left in the kettle after a meal (*wat'e'ca* is food left by the guests and taken home; *pta* to cut into something); — *wo'kpapi* corn meal (*wa-yu-kpa* to grind fine); — *p'ehi'-supi* braided hair (*su* to braid); — *waka'p'qpi* pemmican (*kap'a'* to pound to a pulp); — *pasla'yapi* hominy (*sla* bare, the hull being removed by the heat of hot ashes); — *wo'sleslecap* cracked corn (*śle'ca* hard things are cracked); — *c'ati'yohapi* hominy (*c'ata'* ashes; 'i- by; 'ohq' to boil); — *wakce'yapi* broiled rib piece (*kceya'* to broil over coals); *t'i'pi* dwelling, tent (*t'i* to dwell); — *'au'yeyapi* and *'auyeyapi* ground-cherries ('a- on; *uya'* the wind comes from a certain direction; — *ya* to cause; lit. they cause the wind to blow on them; it is believed that if approached with the wind they will become sour, if against the wind they will be sweet)

Names of games are of this type:

pai'yakapi they make it run by pushing; — *paslo'hapi* snow snake (they make it glide by pushing). To play these games is expressed by the noun followed by 'u' to use, *paslo'hapi 'u'pi* they play snow snake.

Terms for a great many modern objects are formed with *-pi*:

'agu'yapi bread (they cause it to be scorched, *gu*); — *šina'-kaswu'pi* a fringed shawl (they make the blanket fringed); — *wak'a'lyapi* tea, coffee (something they make hot); — *wic'a'hapi* grave (they bury men); — *'oza'zq.lepi* window ('oza'zq daylight, *zazq'* glass; *g.le* to set up); — *wapa'zopi* a show (*pazo'* to hold up to view, expose), etc.

§§ 65-70. COMPOUNDING

§ 65. INTRODUCTORY

Compounds are formed of nouns and nouns, nouns and adjectives, nouns and verbs, verbs and verbs, adverbs and verbs, and adverbs and adverbs. Each compound has only one primary accent. When the first part is monosyllabic and the accent of the compound is on the second syllable that of the second part will be shifted; p. e, *skal-'o'mani* he goes about to play. The accent of the independent word would be *oma'ni*; *ñe-'a'katu ki* the top of the mountain ('akq'tu). If the accent is on the first syllable or when the first word has more than one syllable the original accent of the second part of the compound is retained as a weak, secondary accent.

Compounding always expresses that the compound is a unit concept. There are, however, two degrees of such unity. An example may illustrate this.

c'e'ga wa t'a'ka ki he' mak'u' a kettle a certain one that is large, that give me!
c'e'ga-t'qka ki he' mak'u' the large kettle, that give me
c'eñ-t'a'ka wo'he' she cooked a big-kettle-full (i. e., she cooked for a feast)

In the first case the words kettle and large are independent; in the second *t'a'ka*, large is subordinate to *c'e'ga*, kettle; in the third case they form a single concept. The same point is illustrated by the two forms *c'e'ga-zi* a yellow kettle and *c'eñ-zi'* brass kettle. In the former *zi'* yellow is subordinated to *c'e'ga*; in the latter the two form a unit. Another example is *m.ni'-wahca'hca* water flower, any flower growing in water, and *m.ni-hca'hca* water lily. We have also by contrast:

ñu'kak'a' ki si'e' 'e'l'oyu'spe' he clung to the horse's tail, and *ñuks'i'te wa k'oya'ke'* he wore as ornament a horse tail
c'a'pa si'e' ki 'owa'kakse' I cut short the beaver's tail, and *'ehq'ni c'aps'i'te 'u' g.lakca'pi'* formerly with beaver tails they combed (their hair)
ha'pa 'ipa't'api wa mak'u'' she gave me a pair of embroidered moccasins, and *hap-'i'pai'a* general term for embroidered moccasin²⁹

²⁹ These two stages of more or less intimate relationship appear also in the possessive pronoun. It will be shown that in nouns beginning with *o* the possessive prefix *t'a* is not contracted with *o* if possession is not permanent, while the two are contracted, if possession is permanent: *t'uo'wif* his earrings, those he made or happened to wear; *t'o'wif* his earrings that are characteristic of him and of no one else (p. 132).

§ 66. NOUN AND NOUN

When the first noun expresses the material of which the second consists the second noun is subordinated; that is, the stem expressing material retains its accent. The stem *ma'za*, metal, when contracted, forms an exception. (See pp. 72, 73.)

c'a'-c'ega drum (lit. wooden kettle);—*c'a'-hapa* shoe (wooden moccasin);—*c'u'-m.ni* dew (dew water);—*he'-c'iska* horn spoon
but *mas-c'iska* or *ma'za-c'iska* metal spoon;—*mas-wa'ksica* metal bowl;—*ma'za-t'ipi* iron house 57.4;—*ma'za-napo'ktq* or *mas-na'poktq* metal bracelet

Sometimes the second part of the compound retains its verbal character. In these cases the accent is on the second syllable.

c'a'-wog.nake wooden box; *c'a'-wo'g.naka* coffin (see p. 33); *c'a'-wo'sloha* sledge;—*c'a'-wa'ksica* wooden bowl

With stems of more than one syllable:

mak'a-t'ipi earth lodge;—*p'ez'i'-wok'e'ya* grass house;—*t'aha'-sina'* deerskin blanket;—*wizi'-p'a* bag made of old tent cover (*wi-* tent; *zi* yellow);—*psii'o'-hapa* beaded moccasins;—*'i'ya-hoksi'la* Stone-boy 91.16;—*'i'ya-mila* stone knife;—*p'atka'sa-hapa* turtle moccasins;—*t'ahu'ka-wata* bull boat (raw hide boat)

When the second noun is considered as a qualifier of the first one, the second noun loses its accent.

pte'-'oya'te buffalo-people 208.3;—*pte'-wi'ya* buffalo-woman 184.12;—*wag.me'za-wi'ya* corn-woman 184.12;—*hit'u'kala-oya'te* mouse-people 143.12;—*hoga'-'oy'c'age* fish-shape (lit. fish in way of growing);—*wic'a'sa-'il'a'c'a* man-leader 145.8;—*wi'ya-wic'a'sasni* an inhuman woman (i. e., tricky) 167.14

Many names are formed in this manner:

wab.li'-hoksi'la Eagle-Boy;—*ptesa'-wab.li'* White Buffalo Eagle;—*c'eta'-waha'c'aka* Hawk Shield

Demonstratives are treated in the same manner:

le'-wic'a'sa ki, he'-wic'a'sa ki this, that man;—*he'-htaye'tu ki* that same evening 226.2;—*he'-'oya'te ki* that particular people 225.8;—*tukte'-wic'a'sa* which man;—*tuwa'-wic'a'sa* some man;—*ta'ku-wic'a'sa* some kind of man, what kind of man 234.9;—*ta'ku-hou'ksipika c'a* we are some kind of children (i. e. not children) 167.6;—*le'c'a-wi'ya, he'c'a-wi'ya* this, that kind of woman;—*le'c'i-'oya'te, he'c'i-'oya'te* people of the kind that are here, there; but *to'k'i 'oya'te wa* a people somewhere;—*le'c'iyataha-, he'c'iyataha-'oya'te* people from (belonging to) this side, that side;—*heta'-'oya'te* people from there (See p. 115)

Partitive genitives.—Most of these are firmly united. They appear most frequently with locative terms.

he'-a'katu ki the top of the mountain;—*m.ni-c'o'ka* the middle of the water;—*m.ni-yo'huta* bank of river;—*p'i'kpa* (<*p'a-'i'kpa*) tip;—*c'i'kpa* (<*c'a'-ikpa'*) top of tree

A number of terms for parts of the body are so formed:

p'asu' nose (=head seed);—*nasu'* brains (=scalp area, core);—*sip'a'* toe (=foot head);—*nap-k'a'* sinews of wrist;—*nakp'a'* wrist part of sleeve (by metathesis);—*'ista'-hoksi'cala* pupil of eye (=infant of eye);—*p'o'wuwila* (<*p'a-owi'wila*, see p. 8) fontanelle;—*c'ato'ge* (<*c'ate'-o'ge*, see p. 8) pericardium;—*nu'gohloka* (<*nu'ge-ohl'o'ka*, see p. 8) meatus auditorius (*onu'ge* or *onu'ge gnarl*) *'isko'nagi* (<*iska'-o-nagi'*, see p. 8; for *onu'ge gnarl*) the spot black inside horse's hoof;—*pte-p'a'* buffalo skull;—*syk-si'te* horse tail

Evidently only such body parts are included in this list that are used so specifically that the partitive idea prevails over the possessive. (See p. 69.)

Here belong also terms like—

paha'-'ip'a' end of a hill;—*'ita'zipa-'ik'a'* bow string;—*wa-si'te* (<*wa'ta si'te'* boat tail) rudder;—*c'a-ha'* bark (=wood skin)

Not all the partitives show the more complete degree of assimilation; for instance *c'e'ga-mat'e'te* rim of kettle (but also *c'eh-ma't'ete*).

The contracted form *šuk-ma' nitu* wilderness-dog, i. e. wolf, may be understood from the point of view either that it has come to be the formal word for wolf, or that *mani'tu* is a locative term which, however, in this case has an attributive meaning.

Possessive relation.—When two nouns are in possessive relation both retain their independence and their accents.

šuk'ka hi' a dog's tooth;—*wag.mu' su'* pumpkin seed (but *wag.mu'-ha* rattle of pumpkin rind, but also pumpkin rind);—*mat'o' c'qte'* bear's heart (name);—*p'atka'sa ha'* turtle shell (but *p'atka'sa-hapa* turtle moccasins);—*zuzé'ca ha'* snake skin

When possessives⁹⁰ are used idiomatically as names of objects they are firmly united, p. e.:

ptet'a'wote buffalo its food (a plant);—*zuzé'ca-t'awote* snake food (a berry);—*heha'k-t'ap'e zuta* elk medicine (a plant);—*t'at'a'wab.lu'ška* horse fly (ruminant's bug);—*pi'sko-t'ahq'pe* lady slipper (night hawk's moccasin);—*ho'he-t'ama'kpiya* Assiniboine clouds (northern lights);—*k'agí-t'ame* gumbo (*k'agí'* crow; *me?*)

§ 67. NOUN AND ADJECTIVE

The adjective follows the noun and is subordinate to it. The adjective is identical with the neutral verb. As a verb it retains its independent accent, as adjective it loses it.

šuk'ka ki' t'q'ka' the dog is large, *šuk'ka-t'q'ka* large dog;—*he' šuk'ka-t'q'ka'* that is a large dog, *nazú'spe-wašé' ki' he' mit'a'wa'* the good ax, that is mine

but also—

nazú'spe wašé' b.luha'' (considered as contracted from *nazú'spe wq wašé' c'a b.luha''* a certain ax is good, it being so I have it)

Examples of noun with adjective:

pté-t'q'ka a large buffalo;—*ho'-t'q'ka* a loud voice;—*'i' yq-k'a'ta* a hot stone 174.8;—*c'q'-ha'ška* a long pole;—*'ape'-ša* a red leaf;—*sina'-lu'ta* red blanket;—*ha'pa-t'o* blue moccasin;—*k'u'ku-winy' hcala* his old mother-in-law 240.1;—*t'osú'-haška ki' au'* bring the long tent pole!—*c'q'-owa'štecaka* woods in which it is pleasant (cf. *c'q'-o'waštecaka* a place pleasant on account of woods 172.15)

When noun and adjective are thoroughly amalgamated into one concept, the first stem, if monosyllabic, loses its accent which falls on the second syllable.

c'e'ga-zi a yellow kettle, *c'eñ-zi'* a brass kettle
b.le'-ska a lake that appears white at a distance, *b.le-ska'* a clear lake without vegetation of water plants
b.le'-hišma (v.) a furry lake, i. e., full of reeds (as an individual); *b.le-hi'šma* a lake full of reeds as a type (iv.)
hiške' (<*hi-ha'ška*) canine teeth (long teeth)
ha'-wak'q a holy night, *ha'wa'k'q* northern lights
c'q'-wak'q a sacred pole, *c'q'wa'k'q* sundance pole

Numerals form an exception to the general rule. Cardinals when used as adjectives follow the noun but retain their accents. *nu'p* two, and *to'p* four, as adjectives are always used without terminal *a*, accented, not in the predicative forms *nu'pa* and *to'pa*. Ordinals follow the general rule.

paha'-i'okahe' the first hill;—*paha'-'ici' nupa* the second hill 244.2

Present participles of active verbs and those neutral verbs which express a temporary condition or one in which the noun presents itself under unusual conditions, which are used in English as adjectives cannot be so used in Dakota.

wic'i'cala wq wac'i' ki' he' 'u' a dancing girl arrived;—*wic'a'sa wq 'aki'k'q ki' he' 'u'sike'* a certain man that one who is starving is pitiable;—*šuk'ka wq 'oc'o'za c'a b.luha''* I have a cozy (warm) dog; but *sina'-oc'o'za wq b.luha'* I have a warm blanket;—*šuk'ka wq t'e' c'i' he'l t'a' hpa'ye* a dead dog a dog that is dead, that one lies dead;—*šuk'ka wq ni' ki' he'* a living dog

Past participles as passive terms are no longer active and are used as adjectives.

t'alo'-'iyo' hpeyapi ki' the boiled meat (lit. meat they throw into the);—*ha'pa-kšupi ki'* the embroidered moccasin (moccasin they embroider the);—*t'i'pi wq lec'a'la 'ii'i'caqapi* a newly erected tipi 16.4

⁹⁰ See p. 131.

A few terms forming fixed units omit the *pi*.

hap-'i'pat'a ki beaded moccasin (in this combination *a* is unchangeable);—*t'i-o'wa* a painted tipi 4.13; but *sina'owa'pi wa* a painted blanket;—*šuk-nu'ni* or *šuk-'i'yeyapi* a stray horse

Proper names translated in English as noun and qualifying adjective are in most cases nominalized noun and verb.

mat'o'-nazi he stands as a bear (not Standing Bear);—*k'agi' 'i'yotake* Crow Sits;—*pte-sq-'i'yotake* he sits as a White Buffalo;—*'aki'c'ita na' zi* warrior stands;—*'aki'c'ita-nazi* he stands as a warrior;—*mat'o' k'ina'zi* bear takes a stand (lit. returning stands)

The name of Sitting Bull is *t'at'a'ka 'iyo'take* Supreme Bull. Sitting Bull would be *t'at'a'ka-'i'yotake* he sits as a bull or *t'at'a'ka 'i'yotake* bull sits.

§ 68. NOUN AND VERB

As shown in §67 the subject of a neutral verb is not compounded with the verb.

The noun expressing the object of a transitive verb is often compounded with the verb. *cvc* nouns that can be contracted (see p. 34) are used in contracted form. Special objects followed by *ki*, *wa*, etc., remain independent. Compounding is used whenever object and verb are conceived as a unit action, expressing customary activities.

wa-ka'zipa to whittle arrow-shafts;—*c'a-le'* to gather firewood;—*c'qli'-wakpa'* to cut tobacco;—*c'a-pa'ile* to make fire with fire drill;—*c'a-ka'bu* to drum;—*pte-kte'* to kill buffaloes;—*pte-a'tuwa'* to scout for buffaloes;—*p'a-ka's'i* he raised his head 13.9;—*waha'tka* to dress flesh side of hide by scraping it clean;—*wahi'(wa)pa'pa* (I) knock off the hair (clean off the fur side);—*c'ap'a'-kaski* to pound fresh cherries into a mash for drying;—*c'ap-'o'(wa)le* (I) search for beavers;—*k'a-ka'kpa* to tap the vein for bleeding the sick;—*t'osu'-kaksa* to cut tent-poles;—*šy-m.ni'-k'u* to water horses;—*šukma-nitu-kte'pi* they are wolf-killers;—*pte-'a'wayaka* to guard cattle;—*c'a-pa'slata* to set up posts;—*asa'pi-yushi'* to milk;—*maka-'ok'a* to dig skunks;—*haka'-k'utepi* the shooting-the-brush game;—*p'a-ka'huka* to nod;—*'aske'-g.luwi* to wear hair in braids (men) (literally; to bind one's braids);—*si-ca'psa'* to swing one leg from knee down ^{90a};—*hoksi'-k'i* to carry child on back;—*hoksi'-yuha* to give birth;—*hoksi'-napa'tayus* leading child by hand, adv.;—*hoksi'-g.lasta'ka* to whip one's child, corporal punishment of child;—*heyo'k'a-ihq'bla* to have *heyo'k'a* as guardian;—*mat'o-'ihq'bla*—bear—;—*wana'gi-'ihq'bla*—ghost—;—*'osni'-waki'g.leca* to feel in the body the portents of cold weather;—*m.ni-c'o'p'a* to wade (in) water;—*m.ni-ya'ika* to drink;—*m.ni-t'o'ksu* to haul water;—*m.ni-na't'aka* to make a dam;—*'ikto'mi-kaga* he acts (like) *ikto'mi* (the trickster) 184.2;—*c'ap'a'ksa-'ic'i'c'aga* to make oneself into a stump 169.19;—*hac'o'kaya-kaga* he acts midnight (i. e., goes to bed early);—*he'c'a-ka'ga* to act in the manner of that kind 245.4;—*hoqa-'ic'a'ga* he grows (to be like) a fish 168.18;—*ho-k'u'wa* to fish

t'a't'e (adv.) hunting deer, may be contracted from *t'a'ha-ka-k'ute* or *kte*

The third person plural of active verbs, used for a passive is also employed in compounds.

'i'ya-kab.le'capi crushed stone (*kable'capi* they crush it);—*'i'ya-kape'm.nipi* sling stone;—*'ukce'la-ka'gapi* made cactus-shaped (an ornament)

In some terms of this class the noun and verb remain independent: *m.ni' hiyo'ya* to go to get water;—*m.ni' 'aku'* to bring water;—*m.ni' t'a'* to die by drowning.

§ 69. NOUNS, CLASSIFIERS

A number of nouns in abbreviated form (or their primary stems?) are used in compounds as classifiers. The consciousness of their derivation is not always clear as is proved by those cases in which the noun is obscured by metathesis. Examples are:

wasma'hi for *mas-wa'hi* (metal arrow tooth) iron arrowhead;—*nakp'a'* for *nap-k'a'* (hand-sinew) wrist

Abbreviated nouns:

'ap- daylight;—*'apt'a'niya* air of early morning (*niya'* breath);—*'apo'waste'caka* an agreeable day, best part of the day;—*'a'pa-o'* ^{90b}dawn;—*'a'po'waka* (two accents) very early (adv.);—*'ape'tu* daytime

^{90a} *kapsa'* to oscillate,—*koza* to swing, brandish, wave.

^{90b} Day shoots.

- 'i or i from 'i' yq stone, rock;—'igu'ja whetstone;—'izu'za, 'izu'za grindstone;—'im.ni'za great rock, high cliff;—'iswu'la pebbles, (swu'la fine);—'ih'e' place full of small stones (h'e'h'e' ragged);—'ih'e'-oi'yuwege Rocky Ford (place name);—'ih'e'-paha'la Little Rocky Hills (place name)
- wi or wi from wi' yq woman;—wio'k'iya to court a woman;—winu'na first-born child, if a girl (Santee);—winu'hca old woman;—wikte' to beat a wife (kte to kill);—wi'kte to act like a woman, hermaphrodite;—wii'c'uwa love medicine (means of pursuing woman);—wii'lowq to sing about woman
- wi tipi;—wio'wa a painted tent, ceremonial tipi;—wihu'ta base of tipi;—wih'i'paspe tipi pegs holding down cover (hi'paspā < hu-i'paspā, paspa' to push into);—wip'a' tipi flaps;—wic'e'ska chest of tipi, part over doorway;—wipa't'a to cut and sew a tipi cover;—wip'i'paha flap pole;—wi'yapahice rear center pole (pahi'ca to arouse by pushing)
- wic'a' human being;—wic'a'sa man;—used with all parts of body when it is necessary that part of a human body is meant (wic'a'p'aha scalp);—wic'a'c'qte human heart;—also in other cases it distinguishes humans from other beings: wic'o'waste it is good for humans (wo'waste goodness);—wic'a'huku mother of humans (see p. 131)
- wo- food;—wo'yute food;—wo'(wa)k'u I give food;—wo'aya to take food to a guest;—wo'(wa)la (I) ask for food
- hq night, from hqhe'pi;—haya'guka to dry by night (yagu'ka to suck out with mouth);—haye'tu'night time;—hqa'kpaza, dark night ('oi'yokpaza it is dark);—hawa'johq' some time at night;—hawa'c'i to dance at night;—hawi'v moon (in mythology);—hawi'yapa' moonlight ('apa' daylight);—(hqb.le' to quest)¹¹;—hqa'mani to walk at night, hqama'ni' to be puzzled, "in the dark" about something;—hq' t'ah'e'na before the end of night;—hqi'l-kikta to wake up from a nightmare (si'ca bad; kikta' to sit up from a reclining position);—o'hazi, shadow, shade (zi' yellow);—haki'kta to watch all night, haki'ktaka an early riser;—hak'o'kp'a to be afraid of the dark (k'oki'p'a to fear);—l hqc'o'haya midnight
- he louse, from he'ya;—he'cak'q fine-toothed comb (kak'q to knock down small objects);—hezq'zala nits (zazq'la translucent, light-colored)
- ho a circle;—ho'c'oka the inner area of the camp circle;—hola'zata outside (behind) the camp circle;—howo'kawihitu track around the camp circle, parade track (place of turning around camp circle);—hoc'e'ta the opening of the camp circle or buffalo surround (S);—hoi'kpa or hu'kpa the "tips" of the camp circle, next to the entrance;—hu'kpat'i the Yanktonnais who lived at the entrance to the camp circle;—hu'kpa'aya Hunkpapa
- ho fish, from hoq'a;—hoa'pe fins;—hoi'yupsice fish hook;—hoi'c'uwa fishing net;—hoyu'ze to lift fish out of water (from ze- to dangle);—hova'b.luska eel;—hova'sapa catfish (wa,'a on, sa'pa black);—hova'k'q spotted pike;—hohu' fish bone;—hohu'ka old fish (Santee);—hopa't'a to use a net;—hopa'sku (hoka'sku S) scales;—hot'e'ca dead fish;—hoki'zila perch;—hoc'e'spu scales;—hona'wikala tadpole;—hoka' pike;—hok'u'wa to fish
- ma- one of the fundamental regions of the world? mak'a' earth;—mahpi'ya sky, clouds (hpi to dangle);—'ama'hpiya clouds (S);—maya' cliff;—mahi' flint (earth tooth);—matka' clay (ika old form for heavy);—mat'e'te edge of cliff;—mac'a'¹² dawn;—ma'ga field;—ma'ni to walk;—ma'ste' it is good weather (-ste good);—maqa'zu rain;—ma'za metal;—(perhaps also m.ni < mani water, from ni to be alive?)
- mi knife, from mi'la;—mi'yog.liye whetstone;—mi'yozuha knife case;—mi'yuksi'za jack knife;—mi'wak'q sword;—mi'p'aksa stubby knife;—mi'p'isla knife with rounded point;—mi'p'estola butcher knife;—mig.na'ka to carry in belt (originally to carry knife in belt?)
- t'a ruminant (does not occur as independent noun) with all parts of body (see effect on terminal a p. 34);—t'ap'i' liver of ruminant;—t'a'b.lo¹³ foreleg of ruminant, including shoulder;—t'aha' dressed skin;—t'aha'lo green hide;—t'ahu'ka heavy rawhide;—t'aho'm.ni hoop for drying skin;—t'at'q'ka buffalo bull;—t'awi'yela female deer;—t'azi' buffalo calf (tawny ruminant)
- t'q body, from t'ac'q';—t'q'woksq around (living body), t'ac'o'la without wraps, —t'q'nicela gnat (little one without body);—t'qza'ni to have a healthy body;—t'q'iqhq with reference to
- t'i tipi;—t'ima'hetu it is inside;—t'io'le to search for a house (to beg);—t'ica'ga to put up a tipi
- si foot (siha' Santee);—siye'te heel;—siyo'haza tarsals;—siyo'h'ape arch of foot;—sio'ko interstices between toes;—sip'a' toes;—sii'yut'e moccasin pattern;—sii'takaha top part of moccasin
- c'a fine dry material;—c'ata' cinders;—c'asmu' sand;—c'aho'ta ashes (ho'ta grey);—c'ahli' gun powder
- c'o central part, kernel (does not occur as independent noun);—c'on'i'c'a the living flesh;—c'oka' middle;—c'oka'ya in a middle course;—c'oka'ta in the center;—c'ok'u' inner flesh of body;—c'oqi' pith;—c'ohwa'zica small willows
- k'e turtle, from k'e'ya;—k'eha' turtle shell (Santee);—k'ewo'yuspa snapping turtle (oyu'spa to hold on to);—k'enu'nuza soft shell turtle (instead of k'enu'nuza);—k'eg.le'zela striped-back turtle
- na scalp region, from nata';—nawa'te temples;—nasu'la brains;—nazu'te nape of neck;—nakpa' external ear

¹¹ i(waq)hqb.la I dream about it; hq(wa)b.le I quest for a vision.¹² = Accent doubtful.¹³ t'a-ab.lo'.

c'e occurs often initially in words expressing parts of the body, but neither *c'e* nor the following part of the word can be analyzed except in a few cases;—*c'e'* penis;—*c'ehu'pa* jaw;—*c'eg.na'ke* breech cloth (*g.na'ka* to lay on);—*c'e(wa')sli* (I) defecate (*sli* to slide through a narrow opening);—*c'eb.lo'hu* clavicle (*b.lo* ridged; *hu* bone);—*c'etu'te* femur (uncertain whether the two *t's* are aspirated or not, from *c'eca-hu'te* leg base);—*c'eska'* chest;—*c'ezi'* tongue;—*c'eca'* leg, from hip joint down;—*c'ekpa'* navel;—*c'ekpa'ag.nake* afterbirth (*'ag.na'ka* to lay on);—*c'ehpi'* flesh (as opposed to spirit)

c'a occurs also in terms for parts of the body; *c'aka'* palate;—*c'agu'* lungs;—*c'ana'* groins. In some cases *c'a* seems to mean leg; *c'a'e'g.le* to set down the leg, i. e., to take a step, *c'a-g.le'pi* a step;—*'ac'a'ksi* to step over (*ksi* curved like a crescent);—in a tale is found *c'e'wis c'a-was'aka nac'e'cel* how indeed leg-stout doubtless! i. e., how untiring his legs must be!

c'aq occurs also in terms for parts of the body;—*c'ate'* heart;—*c'akpe'* knee;—*c'ak'a'-hu* spinal column;—*c'atk'u'* chest (*c'ate'-k'u* heart below)

hta- evening;—*htawo'ta* to eat the evening meal;—*htao'mani* to walk about in the evening

Certain cv nouns are treated in the same way.

wq arrow;—*wqi'yukeze* implement for grooving arrow;—*waye'ya* to go hunting with bow and arrows;—*wahi'* arrowhead (tooth);—*wahi'sa* percussion caps (*sa* red);—*wq't'o* blue racer (a snake) (*t'o* blue);—*wasa'ka* sticks for making arrows (*sa'ka* to be dry and stiff);—*wasma'hi* iron arrow head (Metathesis for *maswaq'hi*);—*wq'zu* quiver (*zu* full)

wa- indefinite object is often used to designate the bear;—*waha'* bear skin;—*wahu'topa* the four-legged one, i. e., the bear in sacred language;—*wahu'nupa* the one with two legs, i. e., a man with a bear guardian

he' horn;—*heha'ka* elk (branched horns);—*heyu'ga* stag (spread out horns);—*he'kpa* tips of horns;—*hec'a'nicela* a yearling colt, *heyu'ktq* a buffalo with bent in horns (horn bent in);—*he'hlogeca* hollow-horned buffalo;—*he'slusluta* smooth-horned buffalo;—*hehu'tela* dull-horned buffalo

he' mountain, the country away from rivers and camp;—*he'i'm.niza* a hill consisting of rock;—*he'i'kpa* top of mountain, brow of hill (Santee);—*he'o'hlat'e* base of mountain;—*hewa'ka* hoar frost;—*hewo'skatu* deserted places;—*heb.lo'* upper ridge of a mountain chain;—*heska'* Big Horn Mountains;—*ho'puza* dry wilderness (*he'-o-pu'za*);—*ho'ski* Bad Lands (*-ski* gathered, curled, rough)

ha' skin;—*hahy'ta* rope (rough skinned);—*ha'sapa* Negro;—*haya'ke*, *haya'pi* clothing

ho' voice, tune; to howl (only with verbs);—*ho'(ma)bu* (I) have a low voice;—*ho'(ma)gila* (I) have a strained voice, hoarse;—*ho(wa')hpa* (I) cough, have a cold;—*ho'p'imiciya* or *ho'p'imic'iya* I clear my throat; *ho'p'iciya* to clear one's throat;—*ho'hlihli* (adverb) in a froggy voice (*hli'* to have mucus, pus);—*ho'ye(wa)ya* (I) call out away from here (to make the voice go);—*ho'uya* to call out to this place (to make the voice come);—*ho'yeic'iya* to speak audibly, to make a vow (as, to give a sun dance);—*ho'(ma)p'esto* to have a squeaky, sharp voice (*p'esto* pointed; *p'e* sharp);—*ho'(ma)wak'q'* to cry in mourning, to wail (*howa'k'q* trout);—*hotq'* (*wah'o'tahq*) to rave on (even without listeners);—*ho'(ma)t'qi* (my) voice is distinguishable, plain; I speak significantly;—*ho(wa)t'q'* to give forth a natural cry, (used for cries of animals not otherwise designated); *waki'yq hot'q'pi* the thunders cry out;—*ho'(ma)sna* (I) have a ringing voice, like the voice of a good woman speaker;—*ho'(ma)hapa* I have a soft, husky voice, like that of a timid person who does not like to speak out;—*hoa'g.nag.na(wa)kiya* (I) give utterances in spiritual intercourse with a guardian spirit;—*ho'ci-lowq'* she sings a very high soprano (*ci'ka*, *ci'kala*, *ci'scila* small; cf. *cici'*, *cici'la* little mythical bug-a-boos; *'aci'la s'e* said of a little girl with nice, small features; *naci'cila s'e* said of mincing steps of a little child);—*ho'cila* nickname of a woman

hu' stalk, leg, trunk;—*wahu'wapa* corn on the ear (*'apa* to be attached to);—*huwo'kahmi* inner side of knee joint (*'oka'hmi* corner);—*hub.lo'* front of shin bone (*b.lo'* ridge, protuberance);—*husa'ni* one of a pair of legs, socks;—*husli'* ankle (*sli* narrowed down)

p'a' head;—*p'a'huhu* skull;—*p'ahu'* round end of anything;—*p'ahu'te* bridge of nose between eyes (*hu'te* base);—*p'asu'* nose;—*p'ahla'te* inner part of nose to posterior nares;—*p'o'wiwila* fontanelle on infants' head;—*p'o'sta* (S), *wap'o'sta* hat (*'o'sta* to fit in);—*p'o'ge* nose;—*p'o'gohloka* nostrils;—*p'o'ge hlo'ka* Nez Percés;—*p'o'hc'q'te* septum of nose

m.ni' water;—*m.ni'yatke* cup (*yatka'* to drink, *'ya'tke* drinking instrument);—*m.niyo'paspa* to duck some one;—*m.niwa't'icoqa* water algae (*wat'o'* green plants; *'ico'ga* to drift against in a heap);—*m.niwa'ca* ocean (*'o'waca* all over);—*m.nita'* flood;—*m.nit'a'ge* foam (*t'age'* saliva);—*m.nisku'ya* salt

c'aq' wood;—*c'aha'* bark (*ha* skin);—*c'aha'pi* sugar;—*c'ahu'ta* tree stump;—*c'ahlo'ga* weeds;—*c'awa'pe* leaves;—*c'aka'ga* log;—*c'ahu'th'q* tree roots;—*c'a'c'ega* drum;—*c'ana'kpa* fungi on trees;—*c'qo't'ila* a tree spirit;—but *c'a'hapa* shoes (=moccasins made of wood)

cvc nouns which can lose their terminal *a* or *e* are treated in the same way. When not contracted they retain their accent. *ma'za* metal, the only word of this type that expresses material (see p. 68) follows the same rule.

ha'pa moccasin;—*hap-ka'gege* to sew the sole of the moccasin to the uppers;—*hapi'take* tongue of moccasin;—*hapi'c'u* uppers;—*hap-'i'pat'a* embroidered moccasin;—*hapi'ska* ankle piece;—*hapa'kig.lake* rawhide sole pieces;—*hapi'sica* old moccasin;—*hakt'q'* moccasin strings (<*hap-k'q'*)
hu'te base;—*'o'huta* shore;—*huk'q'* roots (*k'q'* ligament, sinew?)
p'e'ta fire;—*p'el-m.na'* smell of fire;—*p'el-'i'leye* kindling;—*p'el-'i'ska* to be active around the fire;—*p'eni'za* sparks (l drops out before consonant cluster);—*p'el-na'kpakpa* fire crackles;—*p'eta'ga* live coals;—*p'el-'a-'ihq'b.la* to dream of fire (and obtain it as protector)
ma'za metal;—*mas-'i'yap'e* hammer;—*mas-'i'yokatq* nails;—*mas-'a'p'api* telegraph ('*ap'a* to strike);—*mas-wi'c'ak'upi* annuities paid by government (they give them iron);—*mas-wi'g.muke* trap
ma'ga field;—*mah-yu'sla* to weed
maja' goose;—*mah-k'u'te* to hunt geese
(*lote*) food;—*loc'i'* to be hungry (to desire food);—*log.le'ska* oesophagus;—generally *lol-*, *lol-'i'g.ni* to go out for provisions;—*lol-'i'k'q'* to cook food;—*lol-'i'p'ila* to begrudge food to another;—*lol-'o'p'iyegranary*;—also *walo'teteka* one who thinks only of food
t'a'pa ball;—*t'ap-ka'psica* to strike ball in game
t'age' saliva, *t'ah-na'kipca* to swallow saliva (i. e., to swallow hard in state of excitement)
su'ka dog;—*su'kak'q'* horse (*wak'q'* wonderful);—*su'k-ma'niku* wolf;—*su'k-ma'nyu* to steal horses;
su'k-c'i'ca wolf cubs;—*su'k-c'i'cala* colt;—*su'kpa'la* puppy;—*su'kpu'ka* dog with puppies;—*su'syla* donkey, mule;—*su-b.lo'ka* stallion;—*su'k-wi'yela* mare;—*suji'la* red fox (*gi* brown);—*su'k-'o't'i* wolf lair;—*su'k-nu'ni* mustangs (lost horses);—*su'k-'o'na's'o* pacer
c'a'pa beaver;—*c'ap-k'u'wa* to hunt beaver;—*c'ap-'o'(wa)le* (I) search for beavers
c'ate' and *c'ql* from *c'ate'* heart;—*c'qlwa'ste* happy (*waste'* good);—*c'qlwa'k'a* cowardly (of weak heart);—*c'ata'g.le* to set one's heart on;—*c'ate'hahala* to be sensitive;—*c'asi'lya* sadly;—*c'ato'yuze* thought;—*c'ato'ge* pericardium;—*c'atki'ya* to love;—*c'aze'* angry
c'aze' name;—*c'aze'yata* to call a name;—*c'as-t'u'* to name
c'a'ga ice;—*c'ah-na'zuzu* ice breaks up (in spring);—*c'ah-wa'ksa* to cut ice;—*c'ah-ka'zo* to skate;—*c'a'ga-t'i'pi* ice house
c'e'ga kettle;—*c'eh-'o'c'i'*, *c'eh-'o'lota* to borrow a kettle;—*c'eh-m.na'ya* to collect kettles (for a feast);—*c'eh-g.la'wapi* to count kettles (of food in preparation of feast)
nap Yankton *nam* hand, from *nape'*;—*nap'a'huka* thumb (<*nap-t'ahuka?*);—*napo'sta* thimble (fitting on hand);—*napo'kaske* wrist ('*oka'ske* place for tying);—*napo'ktq* bracelet (*ktq* bent around);—*napwi'staka* to have a skillful hand;—*napsu'kaza* fingers, metacarpals (*su* seed; *kaza'* to lie in parallel rows);—*napc'o'ka* palm of hand (*c'oka'* center);—*napk'q'* wrist (*k'q'* ligaments, sinews)
nu'ge ear;—*nu'h(ma)pa* (I have) a ringing in the ear;—*nuh-c'q'* to be hard of hearing
k'q'ta plum;—*k'qt'o't'o* green (unripe) plums;—*k'ql-ya'ski* to bite plums (so as to force out the pit for drying the meat);—*k'qt'u'hu* plum bush;—*k'qsu'* plum pit for game; *k'ql-yu'spi* to pick plums;—*k'a'ta-sasa* red (ripe) plums;—*k'qsu'-k'ute'pi* card games (they shoot plum seeds)
hupa' wing;—*hupa'-hu* wing bone; *hupi'yu* by means of the wings (adv.);—*hupa'wakig.lakela* bat (*aki'g.lake* rawhide)

Nouns derived from noun and verb also form units.

wase-'oyu'ze place to get red paint (place name);—*wasa'k-'oyu'kse* place to cut saplings for arrows (place name);—*wic'a'g.naska-'ozu'* gooseberry patch (where full of);—*su'k-'i'c'i'* harness (horse means of carrying on back);—*wic'a'sa-'it'o'ksu* passenger train (means of hauling people)

§ 70. VERB AND VERB

When two verbs are conceived as a unitary concept they are compounded.

'u'stima-ma'ni he is a sonambulist, walks in his sleep, *'u'stima ma'ni* he walks while sleeping;—*mak'a'ama'ni-suk-'ole* land walking (i. e., on foot) he looked for his horses, *mak'a'ama'ni suk-'ole* while he was walking about he looked for horses;—*nywaq-'ihy'nikiya* he causes his swimming (contest) to reach (its end), *nywaq' 'ihy'ni* he reached there swimming;—*'u'stima-'iya* he talks in his sleep (habitually);—*hqb.le'-c'eya* he cries in his quest for a guardian spirit;—*'i'yak-'ohi-wac'i'psi'ca* trying to reach it by running he jumped;—*waya'za-hpaya* he lies sick

'eya' to say is always compounded with the following verb:

'eya-'ayu'pta he answered saying 77.3;—*'eya-pq* he shouted saying 96.11;—*'ikto' 'eya'-c'aze'yatapi* they name him Ikto 100.21

When the subordinate verb expresses an action that follows in time the finite verb as a purpose or intention (like our infinitives) the verbs are compounded. cvc verbs insofar as they can be contracted are contracted.

skal'ó'mani he goes about in order to play;—*ha' yus-c'i'si* I ordered you to take skin off 124.10;—*kos-'i'nahni* he is in a hurry to wave it;—*waka'h-wohi'tika* he has energy to make things 51.2;—*'owaq'yak-waste'* it is good to look at 137.10

cv and cvcv verbs; when ending in changeable *a* change it to *e*.

k'e-'i'yaya he went off to dig it;—*the-'i'* she went to flesh (hide);—*heye'-'i'* he arrived there to say that;—*t'e-ku'za* he pretends to be dead

Verbs with invariable ending enter into the complex unchanged.

spa-a'p'e he waited for it to cook 174.14;—*lowa'-wayu'p'ika* he is skilled to sing;—*manu'-wac'f'* he tried to steal it;—*yah'a'-'oya'kihi* you are able to act 107.3;—*'oma'ni-yapi* they go to wander about 87.6;—*tuwe'ni he'c'usni-wasu'uyapi* that nobody should do this we have a rule 10.4

Neutral verbs are rarely used in such combinations. Generally they take adverbial form with the suffix *ya* and remain independent.

A considerable number of verbs occur only attached to other verbs. Most of these require loss of terminal *a* in cvc verbs and change of *a* to *e* in cv and cvcv verbs. (See p. 29.) It is rather the meaning of these verbs than any morphological trait that makes them appear as a distinct class. They are parallel to words like "to cease, to begin, to continue," all of which imply or require another verb to which they refer. The position of the pronoun is always as though they were independent verbs, the verb to which they refer being in subordinate form. A sharp line between these and other compounds cannot be drawn. Most of them might as well be considered as compounds with infinitive construction. Examples are:

c'e'ye-(wa)ki'nica (I) am hardly able to restrain myself from weeping;—*ye-'i'na(wa)hni* (I am) anxious to go

The only reason why some of them are included here is that they occur as independent verbs with modified meaning. Those changing terminal *a* of the verb to which they are attached are marked v., those leaving *a* unchanged iv.

v *-ya* to cause

v *-k'iya* ²² to cause by immediate personal intervention, *-k'iya* differs from *-ya* in that it expresses causation by personal force exerted upon someone or intentional interference; while *ya* expresses causation directed upon an object or a less direct causation, often unintentional;—*sap-ya'* he blackens it;—*sap-k'i'ya* he causes another one's to be black (*sapki'ya* he blackens his own);—*sap-ye'-ya* he is the unintentional or indirect cause of another one's blackening it;—*sap-ye'-k'iya* he makes him blacken it;—*hihpa'ye-ya* he lets it fall unintentionally;—*hihpa'ye-k'iya* he makes it fall intentionally

Idiomatically we find: *'u-ya'* he sends it here, the wind blows from; *'u-k'i'ya* he makes him come;—*g.licu'-ya* he starts him off returning home this way (*ku* to return);—*g.licu'-k'iya* to help somebody come down, he induces him to come home;—*suk-'i'yak-k'iya* to race horses (to make run) p. 73. For double use of *k'iya* see p. 100.

iv *-k'iya* it is (his) opinion that; *miye' t'e'ha'u-(wa)k'iya* in (my) opinion it is far;—*he'c'etu-(wa)k'iya* in (my) opinion it is so; I approve of it;—*c'ap'a-(wa)k'iya* in (my) opinion he has stabbed it; but *c'ap'e(wa)k'iya* (I) cause him to stab it;—*miye' ha'ska-(wa)k'iya* in my opinion he is tall

v *-kapi* to be reluctant to; *wae'kiye-(wa)kapi* (I) am reluctant to advise him; *nywe'-(wa)kapi* (I) am too lazy to swim

v *-la, -laka* to consider, regard; *si'cela, si'celaka* he considers it bad

v *-kuza* to pretend to (independent, to forbode); *'isti'me-kuza'* he pretends to be asleep

v *-ut'a* ²³ to try to (independent, to shoot a gun); ²⁴ *eye'-'u(wa)t'a* (I) tried to say it;—*kat'e'-'u(wa)t'a* (I) tried to kill it; *the-'u(wa)t'a* (I) weigh it (to try, heavy)

iv *-iyut'a* to test, try (independent, to measure); *sku'ya-'ib.lut'a* I tried its sweetness;—*ap'a'-'iyut'a* he acts as though striking it

²² Possibly *-k'iya* may convey the same idea of contact, mutual relation as the prefix *k'i*. (See pp. 80, 92.)

²³ This and the next have the same meaning. *-ut'a* is more formal than *-iyut'a*.

²⁴ Compare *tu(wa)t'a* I miss shooting.

- v -*p'ica* it is tolerable to, advisable to, possible to; (independent, *p'ica* it is rather good); *c'op'e-p'ica šni* it is not advisable, not possible to wade;—*e'l ye-p'ica šni* it is hard to approach (go to) him;—*'ec'ŭ-p'ica* it is the proper thing to do
- v -*wac'ŭ*⁹⁶ to intend (independent, *c'ŭ* to want; *'awa'c'ŭ* to consider) *ta'keye-wac'ŭ* he intended to say something;—*k'ig.le'-wac'ŭ* he intended to get away;—*waa'p'e-wac'ŭ na' ži* trying to hit somebody he stood
- v -*š* to order; *yuške'-š* he ordered him to untie it;—*t'ak-š* he orders him to parch it
- v -*ap'e* to invite someone to join in (independent, to wait); *nywe'-ap'e* he invites him to swim with him;—*ye-a'p'e* he invites him to go along
- v -*k'o* to predict, prophesy; *t'ek'o* to foredoom, prophesy death of someone;—*'osni'k'o* to portend cold weather
- iv -*yawa* to judge as (perhaps *ya* with the mouth; *wa* to mark); *š'ca-yawa* he judges him as bad (*š'ca-b.lawa* I —);—*mi'š he' ho'ta-b.lawašni* as for me, I do not judge that to be grey
- iv -*aya* he competes with him (independent, to take something along^{95a}); *waha'ika-a'(ma')ya* she competes with me dressing hides;—*wo'hiika-aya* he competes with him in recklessness, greediness, with active pronouns for the challenger, with neutral pronouns for the one challenged
- iv -*niya* only with *'eya*, *c'e'ya*; *'eya-niya* he uttered a faint cry;—*c'e'ya-niya* he cried out
- g.la*⁹⁶ to sense (independent, to loathe);—*'osni'-(wa)g.la* (I) feel too cold;—*mašte'-wag.la* I feel too hot (the weather);—*'ok'a'l-wag.la* I feel too warm;—*š'wa'g.la* I resent, mourn (from *š'ca* bad);—*c'e'ŭ'-wag.la* I doubt it
- iv -*hiq.la* suddenly; *'eya'-hiq.la* he said suddenly, he blurted out

The dependent verb *hiq.la* suddenly, differs from others insofar as it leaves the accent on the first verb.

pu's-hiq.la it became dry suddenly

Verbs expressing arrival '*i*', *hi'*, *k'i'*, *g.li'* may be combined in the usual way with other verbs, when a purpose is to be expressed.

kte-wa'hi I arrived here in order to kill him.

The verbs expressing going and coming back to where one belongs (p. 92) do not express purpose but the return from an accomplished action.

wana' wakte'ku we lo' now he comes home from killing enemies 9.11;—*wakte'g.la* he is going home from . . .;—*wakte'k'i* he arrives home from . . .;—*wayawag.li* he came home from school

When the purpose is not so definitely implied the verbs expressing arrival with the prefix *a* precede in subordinate form. In all these forms '*a*' is contracted to '*e*'.

'ahi'wakte I came and killed him;—*'e'wakte* I went and killed him;—*'ag.li'wakte* I came back and killed him;—*'ak'i'wakte* I went back and killed him

In the same way we have:⁹⁷

'ahi'iyuğa, *'e'iyuğa*, *'ag.li'iyuğa*, *'ak'i'iyuğa* to go, come and question;—*'ahi'wota*, *'e'wota*, *'ag.li'wota*, *'ak'i'wota* to go, come and eat (*wol-hi'* he came to eat);—*'ahi'wok'u* he came and gave him food (*wo'k'u-hi* he came to give him food);—*'ahi'c'eya* to come and cry (*c'e'ye-hi* he came to cry);—*'ahi'wamayazq* I came and was ill;—*'ahi'awap'a* I came and struck him;—*'ahi'mištima*, *e' mištima*, etc. I come, go and sleep

Without prefixed *a*:

wahi'nap'a or *wahi'nawap'a* I come out;—*'ina'wap'a* I go out;—*wag.li'nap'a* I come back out;—*wak'i'nap'a* I go back out;—*'ahi'nap'a*, *e'nap'a*, etc. he came, went and brought it out;—*'iwa'hpaya* I come and am taken down with an ailment;—*'e'ihpaya* to go there and be taken down with an ailment;—*wak'i'hpaya* I go back there and am taken down with an ailment;—*g.li'hpaya* a heavy object that is held up falls back to where it lay before;—*hi'hpaya* to fall down

kah'i'hpaya to knock down by force, may belong to this group

⁹⁵ Irregular verb, see p. 98.

^{96a} Independent: *'e'ya* to become gradually (*š'p'e'ya* to become dark, to develop tuberculosis);—*'aya*, first person *'ama'ya* to be destined to have a certain habit (as a girl who will retain the habit of industry, laziness, etc., that she has during her first menstrual period).

⁹⁷ No example has been found of *g.la* following a variable *a*.

All these require *pi* for the plural; see p. 98.

§§ 71-99. THE PRONOUN

§ 71. SUBJECTIVE AND OBJECTIVE FORMS

Dakota has pronouns only for I, thou, I and thou. The first person is designated by a labial sound, the second by a dental or palatal, the inclusive dual by a nasalized vowel.

Subjective pronouns designate activities for both, transitive and intransitive verbs; objective pronouns express the object of an action or the subject of a condition or state.

	Subject of active verbs	Object and subject of static verb
I.....	<i>wa</i>	<i>ma</i>
thou.....	<i>ya</i>	<i>ni</i>
I and thou.....	<i>'u</i>	<i>'u</i>

There is no pronoun of the third person (p. 78). The plural object for human and animate beings is expressed by *wic'a'*. This is not a pronoun but signifies person, as is evidenced by the terms *wic'a'* male, *wic'a'sa* man.

Plurality is expressed by the suffix *pi* which pluralizes the whole phrase. (See p. 66.)

Examples are:

wat'i' I dwell, *yat'i'* thou dwellest, *t'i'* he dwells, *'ut'i'* thou and I dwell; *'ut'i'pi* he and I or several of us (more than two) dwell, *yat'i'pi* ye dwell, *t'i'pi* they dwell
masi'ca I am bad, *nisi'ca* thou art bad, *si'ca* he is bad; *'ysi'ca* thou and I are bad, *'ysi'capi* he and I or several of us (more than two) are bad, *nisi'capi* ye are bad; *si'capi* they are bad

§ 72. TRANSITIVE VERBS

Transitive verbs with pronominal subject and object form combined pronominal forms in which the object always precedes the subject, except in the form we-thee. It might also be said, that in true pronominal combinations the first person always precedes the second. Since the dual *'u* has other peculiarities of position the formulation of order object-subject seems better. The object *wic'a'* them, is always in first position. The combination I-thee is expressed by *c'i* which cannot be reduced to other pronominal elements.

	I	thou	we
me.....	—	<i>maya</i>	—
thee.....	<i>c'i</i>	—	<i>uni'—pi</i>
us.....	—	<i>'uya—pi</i>	—
them.....	<i>wic'a'wa</i>	<i>wic'a'ya</i>	<i>wic'a'u(1—pi)</i>

¹ Exclusive dual and plural.

c'ikte' I kill thee, *maya'kte* thou killest me, *'uya'ktepi* thou killest him and me (exclusive dual) or several of us, *wic'a'wakte* I kill them, *wakte'* I kill him, *nikte'* he kills thee

As in static verbs the ending *pi* pluralizes the whole phrase.

§ 73. VERBS WITH INITIAL *y*.

These verbs form the first and second person subjects with *b.l* I, *l* thou. The dual has the usual prefix *'u*.

b.luh'i'ta, *luhi'ta*, *yuh'i'ta*, *'uyu'hita* to rake
b.lapta', *lapta'*, *yapta'*, *'uyu'pta* to bite off

Verbs in *ya-* and *yu-* have in the second person subject, first person singular and plural object the normal subject *ya* in addition to the *la-* and *lu-* forms of the respective conjugations.

maya'lasig.la you hurt my feelings, *yasi'g.la* to hurt feelings by talking
'*ama'yaluta* you look at me, '*ayu'ta* to look at
maya'luta you eat me, *yu'ta* he eats it
'*ama'yala* you go taking me, '*a'ya* to take along, to go with something
'*uya'lusig.lapi* you hurt our feelings by an act

This is not the case for the first person subject second person object.

'*yni'yuhapi* we have you
c'iyu'sig.la I hurt your feelings

§ 74. VERBS WITH INITIAL VOWEL

Verbs beginning with a vowel have for the first person dual-plural the form '*uk-* instead of '*u*'; those with initial nasalized vowel have '*uk'*'- provided the pronoun precedes the nasalized vowel.

'*i'* to wear as a blanket, dual-plural *uk'i'*;—'*i'yaka* to run, '*uk'i'yaka*;—'*u*' to be, to use, '*uk'u*';—'*u'ya* to lose, '*uk'u'ya*;—'*u'pa* to lay down horizontally, to put up for the night '*uk'u'pa*;—*c'anu'pa* to smoke a pipe, *c'anu'uk'upa* (second *u* very brief, not preceded by a glottal break)

In all other cases, when the pronoun follows the nasalized vowel and stands before a consonant, the usual form *u* is used.

'*u'macihisni* I am lazy, dual-plural '*u'ucihisni*;—'*u'macikpani* I am indolent, '*u'ucikpani*;—'*u'mac'unica* I am paralyzed with fear, excitement, '*u'uc'unica*;—'*u'masika* I am poor, '*u'usika*;—'*u'si'wah'a* I act like one poor, '*u'siu'h'a*;—'*u'mat'u* I am hurt, '*u'u'u*;—'*u'wac'a* I make fun of, ridicule, '*u'uc'a*;—'*u'wakce* I break wind, '*u'ukce*;—'*i'maskokeca* I am his size, he is my size, '*i'uskokeca* you and I are his size.

'*uspe'* to know how to do something, has the first and second pronouns following the '*u*', the dual-plural precedes it, but without glottalized *k*.

'*uma'spe* I know how, dual-plural '*uku'spe*

§ 75. INTRANSITIVE VERBS WITH OBJECTS

The eight verbs of going '*u*', *ya'*, '*i*', *hi'*, *ku'*, *g.la'*, *k'i'*, *g.li'* and their derivatives, also '*i'yaka* to run, are treated as transitive verbs, but require a locative adverb.

'*el c'iya'* I go to you (or '*ekta' c'iya'*);—'*ektiya wic'a'ya* towards there he went to them 40.4;—'*ekta' maya'g.licu* or '*ekta' maya'g.liyaku* there you come back to me;—'*kiya' 'el mau'* flying it came to me;—'*ektiya c'i'yaka* I run towards you

Verbs expressing position are treated in the same way, '*u*', *yaka'*, *yuka'*, *na'zi* and *hihpa'ya*. The last of these takes the locative *a*—instead of the adverbs; also the active verb *hpay'a*.

'*ac'i hihpaya* I fall on you, (*ma*)*hi'hpaya* (I) fall down;—'*aka'l c'iyaka* I sit on top of you;—'*isa'k'ip maya'ka* he sits next to me;—'*aka'l c'iyuka* I lie on top of you;—'*aka'l nac'i'zi* I stand on you;—'*isa'k'ip c'iu'* or '*nisa'k'ip wau'* I stay by you

§ 76. NEUTRAL VERBS WITH TWO OBJECTS

In certain neutral verbs which imply comparison two objective pronouns may be combined, but only *-nima-* I thee, not conversely. Examples are:

'*ie' nimac'eca* I resemble you, '*ie' (ma)c'eca* (I) resemble him, literally: I am thus to you, him;—'*i'nimaskokeca* I am as large as you;—'*i'nimaskola* I am as small as you;—'*ie' nimahakeca* I am as tall as you, '*yak'iyehakecapi* they are mutually as tall as each other;—'*io' nimakip'i* I find you congenial, '*io' kip'i* he finds him congenial, '*io' nicip'i* you find him congenial (not he-you, instead *niyo'h'a*), '*io' kip'i* he finds his acts congenial, '*io' kip'ic'iya* I please you;—'*i'yonimak'ih'e* I am next to you;—'*a'onimaptetu* I am less (shorter, etc.) than you;—'*ia'c'i* to compare, to adopt (i. e., to liken someone to someone else, is active: '*ate' 'ib.la'c'i* I adopt [liken] him as my father, takes the form '*ini'mayac'i* he compares me with you, but these are two objects of an active verb)
'*itq* to be proud of, has both forms, '*inimatq* or '*i'c'itq* I am proud of you

When the second person is subject, the first person object the dual with *k'i* is used (see p. 79).

'a'k'iyeyuc'ec'eca or *'i'yak'iyeyuc'eca* * you and I are both alike, *'a'k'iyec'elya'uk'u'*;—*'a'k'iyuskokeca* you and I are of the same size;—*'a'k'iyeyuhakeca* or *'i'yak'i-eyuhakeca* we are equally tall; also *'a'k'ilec'eca*, *'a'kilec'elya* resembling each other, *'a'kileyuc'eca* we two (cf. *s'e ye'c'eca*, *s'e le'c'eca*)

wani'yetu 'a'k'iyeynakeca we are equal in years, lacks the form in *nima*.

§ 77. INDEPENDENT PERSONAL PRONOUN

The independent personal pronoun is derived from the objective pronouns contracted with *i*, perhaps an old third person. It appears in three different series. One simply emphatic, another adversative emphatic, are derived from the objective pronoun and the indefinite demonstrative *e* connected by a glide, the second series being strengthened by the adversative suffix *s* or *k'es*.^{98a} (See p. 146.) A second adversative series presupposes an antecedent and consists of the objective pronoun with *i* followed by the adversative *s*. Examples are:

	Simple emphatic series	Absolute adversative series ¹	Adversative series following antecedent
I.....	<i>miye'</i>	<i>miye' s</i>	<i>mi' s</i>
thou.....	<i>niye'</i>	<i>niye' s</i>	<i>ni' s</i>
he, she, it.....	<i>'iye'</i>	<i>'iye' s</i>	<i>'i' s</i>
thou and I.....	<i>'uki'ye</i>	<i>'uki'yesh</i>	<i>'uki' s</i>
he and I, and we (more than two).....	<i>'uki'yepi</i>	<i>'uki'yesh</i>	<i>'uki' s</i>
you.....	<i>niye'pi</i>	<i>niye' s</i>	<i>ni' s</i>
they.....	<i>'iye'pi</i>	<i>'iye' s</i>	<i>'i' s</i>

¹ Also unaccented: *miyesh-eya* I also;—*'iyesh tu k'a*'s lucky for him!

miye' wai' I arrived there (and no one else)

miye' s m.ni'kia
miye' k'es m.ni'kia } I shall go (no matter what others may do)

t'ib.lo' wica'lasni ik'a mi' s 'iyo'wiyaya my elder brother was unwilling but I was
t'ib.lo' mak'a' yub.lu' na mi' s wo'waku my elder brother ploughed and I planted

The adversative element may also be attached to the conjunction and in this case the simple emphatic forms are used:

t'ib.lo' wica'lasni ik'a' s miye' 'iyo'wiyaya (as above)

§§ 78-98. POSITION OF PERSONAL PRONOUNS

§ 78. MONOSYLLABIC STEMS

It is not possible to give absolutely consistent rules for the position of personal pronouns. All pronouns, subject, object, indirect objects and possessives are placed in the same positions, excepting the possessives of neutral verbs and of active verbs without object. (See p. 88.)

Monosyllabic stems of the type *v*, *cv*, *cvc*, or *ccvc* always prefix the pronoun. The two last-named groups have as terminal consonants *p*, *t*, *c*, *k*, *z*, *z*, *g*, *w* or *y*. (See p. 11.)

§ 79. STEMS WITH INITIAL VOWEL

All verbs beginning with a vowel, except those consisting of a single vowel, and verbs of the type *vc*, have the pronoun following the vowel. The only exception is the first person dual-plural which precedes the vowel when the object is second or third person singular. When the

⁹⁸ This and the following are contracted from *i'yak'i*.

^{98a} Perhaps from *ki'es*.

object is third person plural, the single initial vowel remains in initial position. The initial vowels are probably all locative prefixes, 'a, 'i, 'o.

'aki' he steps on, climbs, 'yka'li we - him; 'awi'c'ayli¹⁰ we - them
'iyu't'a he tries, measures, 'yki'yut'a we - him; 'iwi'c'ayyut'a we - them
'owa' he paints, 'yko'wa we - it; 'owi'c'ywa we - them
'ayu'pta he answers him, 'ab.lu'pta I - him; 'yka'yupta we -; 'awi'c'yuypta we - them

Apparent exceptions are 'y'pa to lay down, *way'pa* I lay down, and 'o'ta many, *mao'ta* I am many (said by a leader) which prefix the pronoun. Both of these belong to the class of cvc verbs and are, therefore, not bisyllabic words.

In bisyllabic stem complexes following the initial vowel the pronoun retains its proper position in the complex.

'ina'hni he hurries, 'ina'yhni we -;—'ona'h'u he hears about it, 'ona'yh'u we -, 'ona'wic'yh'upi we - them;—'iha'hta he is loath to leave him, 'iha'yhta we -, 'iha'wic'yhta we - them;—'aho'p'a he pays respect to him, 'aho'y'p'a;—'op'a'hta he ties it into a bundle, 'op'a'yhta;—'oc'e't'i he builds a fire in it, 'oc'e'y't'i;—'ok'i'pat'a he pieces it together, 'ok'i'y'pat'a

§ 80. STEMS WITH TWO INITIAL VOWELS

When the stem is preceded by a combination of two vowels (locative prefixes) these retain their initial position also when the subject is first person dual-plural, the object second or third person singular.

'ai'hqb.la he dreams of him, 'ai'yhqb.la;—'ai'hikc'i he gets out of patience with him, 'ai'y'hikc'i;—'ai'capa to hold mouth open for something, 'ai'y'capa;—'ai'c'aga it grows on him, he grows up on it, 'ai'y'c'aga;—'ao'kak'i he peers around at him, 'ao'y'kak'i;—'ao'kiyapi they confer, 'ao'y'kiya;—'ao'hom.ni he goes around him, 'ao'y'hom.ni;—'iya'pehq he wraps it around him, 'iya'y'pehq;—'iya'y'pa he blames him 'iya'y'k'y'pa

An exception is:

oi'hake to be ended 'yko'ihake

probably because it is derived from 'ihq'ke end, and not directly from *hake* piece.

Locative prefixes are often contracted, either among themselves or with other elements. In these cases the accent is on the first syllable and the verbs are treated like those with uncontracted prefixes.

'i'p'i to be satisfied with food, 'i'y'p'i;—'i'm.na he is surfeited, oversatisfied with it, 'i'y'm.na;—'i'm.naka he is confident of another's efficiency, competent, 'i'y'm.naka;—'i'yokteka he scolds him, 'i'y'okteka;—'o'p'a he joins, takes part in, 'o'y'p'a¹¹;—'o'm.na he smells of it, 'o'y'm.na;—'o'ge he covers him as with a sheet, 'o'y'ge;—'o'hi he reaches, touches it as result of an effort, 'o'y'hi;—'o'kiha he is (that much) younger than he, 'o'y'kiha;—'o'kiya he assists him, 'o'y'kiya;—'o'k'itupi they assemble, 'o'y'k'itupi;—'o'ska she wraps porcupine quills around strips of raw hide, 'o'y'ska

Here belongs also:

'y'c'a he imitates him 'y'y'c'a

Verbs with initial 'e', always derived from *ai* or *aki*, are treated in the same way.

'e'ktuza he forgot it, 'e'y'ktuza;—'e'g.naka he lays it by, 'e'y'g.naka

§ 81. STEMS WITH PREFIX k'i

The reciprocal in its widest sense expresses the mutual relations between two objects acted upon. It expresses not only the concept of actions which two or more individuals perform upon each other or one another but also those performed jointly and those in which two objects are brought into mutual relation. In this last sense it may express contact or separation.

It is formed from the obsolete stem *k'i* which appears in adverbial form as *kic'i'ca* to be with. (See p. 138.) The *k'i* appears in unmodified form with the locatives 'a and 'o.

¹⁰ *wic'au* may be contracted in all cases to *wic'y'*.

¹¹ But *op'a* to go by way of. *yko'p'a*.

We find the following forms:

The prefix *k'i* into two parts. The position of the pronoun is the same as that found in locatives, except that the first person dual-plural follows the same rule as all other persons. The *k'* does not change after pronominal *i*. (See p. 15.)

k'ica'ksa he cuts it in two by striking; *ik'i'nicaksa* he - thee; *k'iu'kaksa* we two - him; *k'iw'i'c'ukaksa* we two - them

k'iw'o'ksa he breaks it in two by hitting from a distance; *k'iw'o'uksa* we two - it; *k'iw'o'wic'uksa* we two - them

'ok'i'casleca he splits it in two; *ok'i'wakasleca* I - it

The prefix *k'i* in contact. With this meaning *k'i* is preceded by the pronoun, whenever the *k'i* is not separable from the stem, or when the stem with *k'i* has a special meaning. The *k'* of *k'i* changes after pronominal *i*. (See p. 15.)

wak'i'ksq I wrestle with him; *nic'i'ksq* he - with thee, (-) *ksq* to be bent, *ksq'ksq* to wriggle;—*wak'i'skata* I challenge playfully;—*'owa'k'iya* I court, address someone; *'oi'ya* to talk, grumble about;—*wak'i'i* (for *k'i'i'*), I pelt him;—*wak'i'za* I fight somebody;—*wak'i'ge* I scold somebody (Santee);—*wak'i'pazi* I oppose someone and try to harm him, *'i'pazi* to resist an impulse, to force against;—*wak'i'yuse* I bully someone, *'ik'u'se* (n.) to be hindered;—*k'iyu'ha* (animals) copulate, *yu'ha'* to be attracted by a person, drawn by affection to a person;—*k'isle'* (*wa*) *ya* I commit rape (preceded by *wi* woman, or by nominal object);—*'iye'k'iya* to send to, *'iye'ya* to send;—*k'ipaza* to fold, requires an instrumental prefix and the pronoun stands, according to the character of the prefix, but preceding *k'i*;—*'ok'izu* to come together in assembly, *'o'uk'izupi* we assemble (intrans.)

When the stems occur without *k'i* and the *k'i* is preceded by a locative the pronoun follows *k'i*.

'ok'i'wapat'a I piece together several things, *'ok'i'upat'a* we piece it together;—*'ak'i'wakaska* I fasten together;—*'ak'i'yuha* to carry jointly, *ak'i'uyuha* we carry jointly, *kic'i' 'ak'i'b.luha* or *kic'i' 'awa'k'iyuha* I - with him;—*'ak'i'yuzza* to hold jointly;—*'ak'i'yutita* to pull jointly (in opposite directions), *'ak'i'patita* to push jointly, compare *'ak'i'ptq 'ec'u'pi* they did it together; *'ak'i'ptq 'uka'kat'api* we acting together pile soil on it; *kic'i' 'awa'k'iptq* with him I cooperated on it;—*'ak'i'g.na* (adv.) a shot passed through;—*'u'a'k'ig.na* ² piling bodies one on the other (adv.)

Here belong also the reciprocal forms of verbs expressing comparisons. (See p. 78.)

'a'k'iyeyeca we two are alike;—*'a'k'iyuskokeca* we two are of the same size; *'a'k'iyehakecapi* they two are equally tall

§ 82. STEMS WITH INITIAL CONSONANT

The pronoun is prefixed in bisyllabic verbs with initial *b*, *p*, *p'*, *p'*; *l*, *t*, *t'*; *s*, *s'*, *s'*; *g*, *k*, *k'*, *k'*; *g*, *h*, *h'*; *h*.

Exceptions are few and in most cases it may be assumed that they are compounds.

In the labial series we have infixed pronouns in—

b.lo-ka'ska to hiccup (b.lo protuberance)

b.lok-yq'ka to stay in camp in summer (b.lok- summer)

both obviously compounds.

p'a-hita' ² to tie up a bundle, is treated as though it were a compound of *p'a* head; but is derived from the obsolete stem *p'aga* to be gathered in a bunch

ku-t'a' to miss aim, is probably derived from *sil-'ut'a'* to hit badly, which would take the pronoun after initial *u*

sl'o't'a to be a good worker (only used for women), a colloquial term, prefixes the pronoun, although it may possibly be derived from *sl'a-'ot'a'* to be covered with grease (like a woman working meat); this may be a chance similarity

Exceptions in the *k* series all begin with *k'o* and are presumably compounds.

k'o-ska' (S) to be a young man;—*hak'o'-kp'a*, *hak'o'-kip'a* he is afraid at night;—*k'o'-ya* to include;—*k'o-ya'ka* to wear an ornament, fine clothing;—*k'og.li'* to be translucent, has no first and second persons, but would probably belong here;—*k'o-ki'p'a* to fear, is a verb in *p'a* and has the pronoun and the obligatory dative *ki* preceding *p'a*

¹ Probably for *'u'q'k'ig.na*; compare *'u'a'anuk* for *'u'qanuk* on each side of body, *'u'a'woksq* for *'u'q'woksq* around body; also conversely a Santee proper name *'qwa'duta* for *'awa'duta* scarlet arrow.

² Compare *op'a'* (*wa*) *hta* (I) take in a sight as a whole, Santee, Assiniboine.

The prefixed position of the pronoun before *k'i* expressing mutuality or meeting; and its position following *k'i* expressing separation have been discussed before.

k'i'iyaka to run a race has the regular double pronoun of *iyq'ka*, *k'iwa'im.naka* I run a race

A number of irregularities occur in verbs with initial *h* and *h'*.

hta-ni' to toil, *htawa'ni* I toil

wa-hta'ni to sin, *waya'htani* you sin; contains undoubtedly the indefinite object *wa*

h'u'-ta to be exhausted and *h'u'-kpani* to give out, be exhausted before completing a work, the former neutral, the latter active, may be contracted from *h'u'-u'-ta* lit. to die by means of action, and

h'u'-kpani to be inferior to it by means of action (see *'a'okpani* it is less than it)

h'qhi' to be slow, tardy, a compound of *h'q* to act, prefixes the pronoun

Exceptions in verbs with initial *h* are also presumably compounds.

haki'kia to look back *hawekia* I look back;—*iha'kia* to be held back by attraction *ihawakia* I am —;

hqb.le' to fast for a vision *hawa'b.le* I — (see *i-hq'b.la* to dream, probably contains *hq* night);—

ho-hpa' to cough (*ho* voice);—*hi-g.nu'* to singe (*hi* fur, feathers);—*he-pa'* to argue, fight against someone (*he* antlers, horns?)

§ 83. STEMS WITH INITIAL *m*

Some bisyllabic verbs with initial *m* prefix, others infix the pronoun. There are very few verbs beginning with *mv*. All beginning with *m.n* prefix the pronoun.

Infixing:

ma'-ni to walk, *ma-nu'* to steal

Prefixing:

mima' to be circular, disk shaped (cf. *g.mig.ma'* to be spherical);—*mi(wa')g.naka* (I) wear in belt, may be a compound of *mi-* knife;—*m.ni'* (*uk*)*iciyapi* we are having a meeting, is contracted from *m.na-'i'ciyapi*;—*'a(ni')masie* the weather is warm (for you), may have the pronoun prefixed on account of the preceding locative *a*

§ 84. STEMS WITH INITIAL *t'*

Many verbs with initial *t'* infix the pronoun; but all seem to be compounds.

t'a-p'a' to follow in the path of (see p. 83, verbs in *p'a*);—*t'a-o'pi* to be wounded (*t'q* body, often heard as *t'a*; they shoot the body);—*t'a-go'sa*, *t'a-to'sa* to spit (*t'age'* saliva; evidently formed from *t'age'-so'sa'* roly saliva);—*t'a-kpe'* to meet as enemies, to fight (usually adverb) (perhaps, to puncture body?);—*t'o-k'u'* to haul to another place (*t'ok* different, *k'u* to pile);—*t'o-ki'cu'* to take revenge (*t'ok* enemy, *kie'cu'* to use one's own);—*t'e-sla'ka* to wear about the head (usually adverb);—*t'o-ka'p'a* to be the elder of two; also *mat'o'kap'a* (this does not belong to the verbs in *p'a*, p. 83, all of which are active); also *mat'o'kahe'* I stand first

The following prefix the pronoun:

t'qi' it is apparent to sight or hearing, *mat'q'i* I am in sight;—*t'qni'* to be old, *mat'q'ni* I am old;—*t'ak'i'* to be out of vertical position, to slant (as a pole, tree), does not occur with first and second person pronouns

§ 85. STEMS WITH INITIAL *c*, *c'*, *c'*

Usage in verb stems with initial *c*, *c'*, *c'* is very uncertain.

Infixing:

c'e-u'pa to roast by fire (*c'e?*; *upa'* to lay down);—*c'e'-kiya* to pray to, entreat, address by kinship term;—*c'e-t'i'* to build a fire;—*c'o-k'i'* to roast in ashes (*c'o* kernel, corn);—*c'o-ku'* to threaten the life of someone (*ku'* to covet);—*c'a-p'a'* to stab;—*c'o-p'a'* to wade

Prefixing:

(*wa*)*c'e'ya* (I) weep;—(*ma*)*c'u'wita* (I am) cold;—(*ma*)*co'nala* (I am) few (said by a leader on behalf of his followers);—(*ma*)*ci'kala* (I am) small;—(*ma*)*ci'scila* (I am) small

Prefixing or infixing:

c'a(ma')ksi or *(ma)c'a'ksi* (I am) cranky (contains *c'ql-* heart);—*c'a(ma')ze* or *(ma)c'a'ze* (I am) angry (contains *c'ql-*);—*(ma)c'a'tka* or *c'a(ma')tka* (I am) left handed;—*(ma)c'a'ske*, sometimes *c'a(ma')ske* to assume by mistake a position of honor (Y); (I am) an eldest son (Santee);—*(ma)c'e'kpa*, rarely *c'e(ma')kpa* (I am) one of twins;—*si'c'o(ma)k'ala* or *si(ma')c'ok'ala* (I am) barefoot

§ 86. STEMS WITH INITIAL *w*

Very few bisyllabic stems begin with *w*. Most verbs beginning with *wa* have this syllable as a prefix which precedes the pronoun. To this group may belong *wa(ya')c'i* (you) dance. In a few cases this prefix seems to have become firmly united with a monosyllabic stem, so that it has lost its identity.

waste' good, *(ma)wa'ste* I am good. The stem *ste* appears in *matte'* the weather is good, *huste'* lame (peculiar in the legs); and in the related *wahite'sni* not good
wak'a' wonderful, sacred *(ma)wa'k'a* I am holy, may perhaps be interpreted in the same way
wazi' to be one, *mawaz'i* I am one, prefixes the pronoun

Usage is variable in:

(ma)wa'k'ala (I am) fragile, in delicate health, but *c'qlwa'(ma)k'a* (I am) sensitive (*c'ql-* heart);—*wa(ma')sicu* (I am) a white man, cunning, a guardian spirit, 'i' *(ma)wa'sicu* I am garrulous, talkative

§ 87. INSTRUMENTALS *wa, wo, na, na*

The instrumentals *wa, wo, na, na* are followed by the pronouns.

§ 88. INSTRUMENTALS *ka, pa, pu*

The instrumentals *ka, pa, pu* are preceded by the pronouns.

§ 89. STEMS WITH INITIAL *n*

Verbs beginning with *na* except those of the type *cvc* infix the pronoun. These cannot have the instrumental *na-* by an inner force, because they have the active pronoun.

na(wa')wizi (I am) jealous;—*na(wa')pca* (I) swallow it;—*na(wa')p'i* (I) wear it around neck;—*na(wa')tq* (I) charge in battle;—*na(y')sa* (we) go on a communal hunt;—*na(wa')sy* (I am) with (my) feet in a certain direction (this contains *na-* with the feet);—*na(wa')t'aka* I lock a door, block the way;—*na'zi* (*nawa'zi*) to stand up;—*na(wa')zica* (I) run away;—*na(wa')m.ni* I turn about and return without reaching my objective;—*na(wa')h'iy* (I) hear it;—*na(wa')h'ma* (I) hide it;—*'ina'(wa)h'ni* (I) hurry

The verb *'ina'piskayq* (*nape'* hand, 'i by means of, *skq'* to move, *ya* to use for) is treated in the same way, so that the word *nape'* hand, is split; *ina'-piskayq*.

napi' to have an oily taste does not occur with first or second person;—*na'ka* a muscle twitches (*cvc* verb) *mana'ka* my muscle twitches

Other verbs beginning with *n* prefix the pronoun.

(wa)ni'ya ⁴ (I) breathe; *c'uwi'o(wa')kiniya* (I) sigh deeply;—*i(ma')nihq* (I am) scared (monosyllabic with continuative *hq*, see *nih'i[m]iciya* I am in a state of panic);—*(ma)ni'yq* (I am) inflamed;—*(ma)ni'ca* (I) lack;—*(wa)nu'wq* (*nivaq'* Santee) I swim on or under water;—*(wa)nu'ni* (I) lose (my) way (see *wanu* accidentally, *g.nu'ni* to lose one's own);—*(ma)nu'za* (I am feeling) soft (like an enlarged gland);—*(ma)nu'za* I feel soft (like cartilage);—*(ma)nu'ga* I have callus of bone (*nu'ga* to be gnarled);—*ni'skokeca* < *le-iskokeca* to be this large forms *nima'skokeca*

⁴ *ni (wa')ya* to save, does not belong here. It contains the stem *ni* to live; *ya* to cause.

§ 90. VERBS WITH TERMINAL *p'a*

Verbs ending in *p'a*, all active, infix the pronoun preceding *p'a*. This ending is presumably a verb, but no meaning that fits all cases has been found.

ik'o'-p'a he fears lest (see *hak'o'-kp'a*, *hak'o'-kip'a* he is afraid at night; *k'oki'p'a* to fear someone);—*k'a-p'a* to surpass, beat in a race;—*a-p'a* to strike, *c'qti'-ya'map'a* my heart beats (*c'qte*, *iya'p'a*);—*'o'-p'a* to join;—*'o-p'a* to go by way of, *'ot'a'-p'a* to follow after (see *t'a't'e* hunting deer), *'ot'a' map'a* following (me, my thoughts);—*wato'-p'a* to row a boat (*wa'ta-op'a*);—*nap'a* to flee, to go out of sight temporarily¹;—*c'o-p'a* to wade;—*c'a-p'a* to stab;—*'aho'-p'a* to treat with respect (see *'oho'la* to regard as deserving respect; *'o'hoka c'a'* said of a questionable character, lit. being sort of deserving respect; *'oho'hola* a post, tooth, etc., is loose at its base);—*'i'u'-p'a* to treat with care, to marvel at (see *'u'(ma)t'u* I am injured);—also *'a-p'e* to wait for

Exceptions:

'a-k'i'p'a to meet, it befalls one (from *'ap'a*), *'i'tko-k'ip'a* to meet face to face, (*'itko'p* in the direction towards one who is approaching)
t'o(ma)kap'a I am the eldest, is static and does not belong here

§ 91. VERBS WITH TERMINAL *k'a*

Verbs ending in *k'a* to be of a certain quality, prefix the pronoun, except those combined with demonstrative pronouns (see pp. 121 et seq.).

sa'k'a it is raw, uncooked, *masa'k'a*;—*wq'k'ala* it is fragile, he is delicate, *mawq'k'ala*, but *c'ql-wq'-k'a* to be cowardly (*c'ql-wq'mak'a* I am -);—*psuk'a* it is roundish, *mapsu'k'a* (*yupsu'psu' e'g.naka* he left it bundled up roundish there);—*g.lak'a* they are upright and sparse (trees, grass), *nig.la'-k'ela(pi)* you have thin (hair) (*yug.la'* to unravel strings);—*k'ec'a* it is shaggy, *mak'e'c'a*;—*watu'k'a* he is weary, *wama'tuk'a* (see *'itu'ya* in vain *'itu'h'a* to act in vain);—*k'uk'a* it disintegrates, *mak'u'-k'a*;—*tok'a* to protrude (lips);—*'ob.le'c'a* it is oblong, *'oma'b.lec'a* (see *b.leh'a* it widens downward);—*k'ok'a* the singer who accompanies dances, *mah'o'k'a* (see *a[wa]ki'h'oka* I am skilful in that, that is my speciality)

An exception is:

sic'o'k'ala he is barefooted (lit. his feet are without anything), *sic'o'mak'ala*, rarely *sima'c'ok'ala*;—*t'ac'o'k'ala* he is without a blanket, *t'ac'o'mak'ala*²

§ 92. VERBS WITH TERMINAL *k'a*

Verbs ending in *k'a* prefix the pronoun.

wak'q' he is holy, *mawq'k'a* (*k'a* given by Walker as "mystery" is unknown to E. D.);—*yuk'q'* he has (there is to him), *mayu'k'a*

§ 93. VERBS WITH TERMINAL *t'u'* TO WEAR

Verbs with *t'u'* to wear, bring forth, insert the pronoun before *t'u'*.

Active:

'i-t'u' to speak the truth (*i* mouth?);—*'i-t'u'sni* to lie;—*'o-t'u'* to wear as leggings (to be inside of);—*wah'i'yu-t'u* to dress skin (see *wah'i'yu-waste'pi* they are good for greasing skins 39.3; *'i'u'* to apply oil);—*wac'i-t'u'sni* to have no sense;—*wi'ti-t'u* (< *wa-'iti*) to offer a price to be paid for a service;—*ho-t'u'* to send forth voice (i. e., to utter one's own characteristic cry, such as animals);—*c'as-t'u'* to name;—*c'eya'k-t'u* to build a bridge (*c'eya'ka* beaver dam);—*'op'e-t'u* to purchase

Neutral:

'u'-t'u to be injured (it injures me)

¹ See *wi'hina'p'u* sunrise, sun comes into sight.

² *wic' (wa)k'a* to mean what one says, does not belong here (*wica* right, *k'a* to mean; see *wica'la* to consider right.)

§ 94. VERBS COMPOUNDED OF NOUN AND VERB

Verbs compounded of a noun and a verb leave the pronoun in the position where it belongs in relation to the verb.

p'o'(wa)šĩ I wrinkle my nose (*p'a'-o-šĩ*);—*p'a'(wa)kahu̇ka* I nod (*p'a* head);—*p'o'(wa)m.nam.na* I shake my head (*p'a* head);—*'isto'(wa)g.muza* I blink with my eyes (*'ista'* eye);—*c'ati'ya'(ma)p'a* my heart beats (*c'ate'* heart);—*c'q'(ma)ze* I get angry (also *mac'q'ze*);—*sic'o'(ma)k'ala* I am barefooted (*si* foot, *si[ma]c'ola* bare);—*hu'(ma)šte* lame (*hu* leg);—*'ai'(wa)capa* I hold mouth open for (*'i* mouth);—*nap'(ma)zanišni* I am given to petty thievery (my hand is not healthy, *nape'* hand);—*t'qc'o'(ma)k'ala* I am without wraps, outer clothing (*t'q* body);—*ho'(wa)hpa* I cough;—*ho'(ma)t'qi* my voice is audible;—*ho'(ma)bu* I have a low voice;—*c'e'(wa)sli* defecate (*c'e* a prefix for some body parts);—*wi'(wa)pat'a* I make a tipi cover (*wi* a prefix for tipi);—*c'qwa'(ya)ksa* you saw wood (*c'q* wood);—*c'q'(wa)le* I provide firewood;—*c'qnu'uk'upa* we two smoke;—*lo'(wa)c'i* I am hungry (lit. desire food *lo*);—*b.lo'(wa)kaska* I hiccough (*b.lo?*);—*hi'(wa)g.nu* I singe off hair or down (*hi* hair);—*t'u'(wa)kašpa* I cough up slime;—*nu'h'(ma)pa* my ears ring (*nu'ge* ear, *pa* to shout);—*c'aksi'* he is cranky, *c'q'(ma)ksi* I—(*c'ate'* heart);—*c'qlwa'k'a* he is a coward, *c'qlma'wak'a* I—(also *c'ahwa'mak'a*, *c'qlwa'nik'a*, probably on account of the lack of the combinations *ln*, *lm*)

To this group belong the demonstratives *'e'*, *le'*, *he'*, *ka'*, p. e.:

le'(ma')hayela this finishes me;—*le'(ma')hakeca* I am this tall;—*le'(ma')taħa* I am from this place;—*'iye'(mi)cic'etu* it is suitable for (me);—*he'(ma')c'a* (I) am that kind;—*le'(ma')c'eca* I am like this;—*le'(ma')c'ala* I am of recent times, young

§ 95. SUBORDINATE VERBS

Compounds consisting of two verbs insert the subject pronoun before the second verb, the first verb being treated like an adverb.

ška'l'oma'wani I travel playing
skal'o'mawani I go about to play

Compositions of this type occur particularly with verbs of motion and position.

heye'-i he went to say that, *heye'-wai* I—(not very idiomatic);—*c'ok'a'-g.li'* he comes back without anything, *c'ok'a'-wag.li* I—;—*wo'g.lak nawa'zi* I stood talking, *wo'g.lak-nawa'zi* I stood for the purpose of talking

Verbs of arriving, *'i'*, *hi'*, *k'i'*, *g.li'* take also first position and are followed by the pronoun.

'ak'i'wab.luzaza on arriving home there, I washed things
'ag.li'waniyaza on arriving home here you became sick
'ahi'uškatapi on arriving here we play
'e'ništimapi on arriving there you fell asleep (*e' > ai*)

The forms and meanings of compositions have been treated at another place (pp. 67 et seq.; see also p. 157).

§ 96. COMPOUND VERBS

A few compound verbs use the subject pronoun with both verbs.

Some derivatives of *ya* to go, are used with double pronouns.

kaa'ya he takes it to him, *waka'ya* or *waka'b.la* I take it to him
ki'caya he takes another one's without his sanction, *we'caya* or *we'cab.la* I take his without his sanction
ki'cicaya he takes another one's with his sanction, *we'cicaya* or *we'cicab.la*, I take—
kae'yaya he starts taking another's, *waka'eyaya* and *waka'eb.lab.la*, I start—
kihiyoya he goes after it for him, *waki'hiyoya* or *waki'hiyob.la*, I go—
ki'cihiyoya he goes after another one's with his sanction, *we'cihiyoya* or *we'cihiyob.la*, I go—

Other verbs using double pronouns are:

i'yaka he runs, *wai'm.naka* I run, *yai'naka* you run, *uk'i'yaka* you and I run

With the verbs *'i'*, *hi'*, *k'i'*, *g.li'* expressing arrival preceding the finite verbs *yuka'*, to lie, *i'yotaka* to sit, *hpa'ya* to lie, *ha'q'* to stand (inanimate objects), *na'zi* to stand (animate beings), *yaka'* to fall to doing something, both verbs may take pronouns.

(*wa*)*g.li'-naži* or (*wa*)*g.li'-na(wa)ži* (I) come back to where (I) belong and stop
 (*wa*)*k'i'yotaka* or (*wa*)*k'i'(b.l)otaka* (I) arrive back where I belong and sit down
 (*wa*)*k'i-yuka* or (*wa*)*k'i'-(m)uka* (I) arrive back where I belong and lie down
 'e'-*i(m)uka* (I) arrive there and lie down
g.li'yotaka ' he returns here to where he belongs and sits down, *wag.li'yotaka* or *wag.li'b.lotaka* I return
 to where I belong and sit down
k'i'yotaka he arrives going back to where he belongs and sits down, *wak'i'b.lotaka* I -
u'ya he loses it, *wau'b.la* ' I -, *ya'u'la* you -, *c'iu'ya* I - you, *maya'ula* you - me

A doubling of pronouns without the obvious presence of two verbs occurs in a few cases, the dative forms being followed by a subjective pronoun.

oki'yaka he relates it to him, *owa'kib.daka* (Assiniboine, Teton generally *owa'kiyaka*), *owe'ciyaka* or
owe'cib.daka I tell for him (Assiniboine)
waya'ka he sees it, *wawe'ciyaka* or *wawe'cib.laka* I see for him
k'oya'ka he wears an ornament, a standard, *k'owe'ciyaka* or *k'owe'cib.laka* I wear his honor-badges

§ 97. NOUNS

The following nouns insert the pronoun:

'*Iha'kt'uwa* a Yankton, '*Ima'hakt'uwa* (also idiomatic: '*Iha'kt'uwa hema'c'a*; better still '*Iha'kt'uwa-wima'c'asa*, -*wima'ya*); -'*i'q'c'q* chief, lord, leader, '*ima't'ac'q*; -'*Ikto'mi*, '*Ikto'* the trickster, '*Ima'ktomi* (also '*Ikto'mi-wi'maya*, etc. (woman), both forms used; -*wasi'cu* guardian, medicine-bundle, white man, *wama'sicu* (see *wasi'* to order one to work for); -*waki'ya* thunder, *wama'kiya* (also *waki'ya-wima'c'asa*); -*wak'q'heza* child, *wama'k'qheza* (also *wama'k'qyeza*); -*wic'a'sa* man, *wima'c'asa*; -*wic'a'hcala* old man, *wima'c'ahcala*; -*wic'i'yela* Dakotas not using *l*, *wini'c'iyela* ^{8a} you are —; -*winu'hcala* old woman, *wima'nuhcala*; -*wi'ya* woman, *wima'ya*; -*wic'i'cala* girl, *wima'c'icala*; -*ha'sapa* Negro, black skin, *ha'masapa* (or *ha'sapa-wima'ya*); -*hoksi'la* boy, *homa'ksila*; -*hoksi'cala* baby, *homa'ksicala*; -*mat'o'* bear, *mani't'o* (You're a shark at it!) or (You are fiercely angry); -*Lak'o'ta* a Dakota, *lama'k'ota* (also *mala'k'ota*); -*k'oska'laka* young man, *k'oma'skalaka*; -*wik'o'skalaka* young woman, *wima'k'oskalaka*—*T'i't'uwa* a Teton, does not insert the pronoun, *mat'i't'uwa* (or *t'i't'uwa-wima'c'asa*)

The following are verbal forms:

'*aki'cita* camp police, '*ama'kic'ita* (from '*a(wa')k'ita* I look around for); -'*ou'papila* infant in cradle (little one wrapped tightly in it), '*oma'upapila*

Children playing might also use such terms as:

'*ima'gmu* I am a cat

The feeling for such nouns may be understood from the following cases:

'*ale'tika* a twig, *maa'leika* I am a twig (a younger member) of a great family, '*ama'leika* he is a twig on me (i. e., he is a young member of my family)

heha'ka branched antlers, elk *mah'e'haka* I am a member of the elk society (but better *heha'ka* 'o'wap'a I joined the elks), *hema'haka* would be said by the animal elk, I am with branched antlers

§ 98. DOUBLE VERBS

In transitive compound verbs, expressing either synchronous or successive actions, both verbs having the same subject, the objective pronoun stands with the subordinate, the subject with the principal verb. This occurs most frequently with suffixed verbs. (See p. 74.)

wqma'yak-yahi'-na'zi you stopped (*na'zi*) on your way coming (*hi*) to see me; -*wqma'yak-yahi'-na'zi* just as you arrived on your way coming you saw me; -'*ama'g.le-p'ica* it is best to take me home ⁸; -'*ic'i'kte-waka'pi* I am reluctant to kill myself

¹ '*i'yotaka* he sits. With '*i* "to arrive going" no compound verb is formed; *wai' na' t'b.lotaka* I arrive there and sit down.
² Instead of the dual *wic'u'k'uyq* we lose them, the expression *to'k'i'ihpe'wic'uyq* we left them somewhere, is preferred.

³ Literally talking man's language.

⁴ Compare *ta'kuy-map'icatni* to have for anything I am not good (I am useless).

When the subject is first person singular, the object second person, the combined pronoun stands with the subordinate verb and the subject is repeated with the principal verb.

'ac'i'p'e-waki'nica I could hardly restrain from striking you;—wqc'i'yak-wac'qmi I hope to see you;—c'ikte'-waka'pi I am reluctant to kill you;—c'ikte'-uwa't'a I tried to kill you;—mac'inu-wahi I have come to steal you;—'awa'mac'inu 'oma'wani I went about stealing things from you;—c'ici'pa 'oma'wani I went about shouting for you;—'oc'i'le 'oma'wani I walked searching for you

With verbs of motion and position the subordinate verb may also take adverbial form.

ac'i'p'e-nawa'ti I stood to await you; 'ac'i'p'e nawa'ti or 'ap'e'-nac'iti I stand waiting for you;—'ic'i'-yuh-wahi or 'iyu'h-c'ih'i I came to ask you

When the subject of the subordinate verb is the object of the finite verb both verbs have the subject and object pronouns.

'oi'ye nama'yah'ukta 'uspe'c'ic'iya I teach you to listen to my word (the word/you will listen to me/I make you know)

When two objects are involved, the subject of the finite verb being the same as the object of the subordinate verb, the subject and object of the finite verb remain attached to it, the object of the subordinate verb stays with that verb.

'ama'p'e-c'ic'iya I make thee strike me;—mak'u'-c'iti I order you to give it to me;—wani'c'u-mayati you order me to give you something

When three persons are involved, so that subject and first object belong to the finite, the second object to the subordinate verb, the subject and first object stand with the finite verb, the object of the subordinate verb stays with that verb.

'ama'p'e-nic'iy'a he makes thee strike me;—'ani'p'e-wak'iy'a I make him strike thee;—'ani'c'eye-way'a I cause him to cry for thee;—nic'u'-wahi I order him to give it to you;—nic'u'-masi he orders me to give it to you;—ni'c'o-masi he orders me to invite you (k'ic'o to invite);—'ani'patiq mayu' za he held me pushing against you;—'awa'nic'i-'ama'p'e he invited me to join him dancing (trampling) on you;—'el mau'-nisi he told you to come to me;—'el niye'-masi he told me to go to you;—'el ye-c'iti I told you to go to him;—'heta' ye-c'iti I told you to go from there

The last four examples agree in form with the preceding, but require the preceding 'el, 'heta' because 'u' and 'ya' are intransitive verbs. (See p. 77.)

A double object occurs in:

le' 'el wic'a'c'ic'u I give you to this one in marriage, probably because wic'a'k'upi she is given in marriage, is felt as a unit

§ 99. POSSESSION OF OBJECT AND INDIRECT OBJECT

The possession of the object by the subject, and the indirect objects to, on behalf of, instead of, in place of, are expressed by the prefixes *ki* and *kici*. The latter may be by origin a doubled *ki*, the second *k* being transformed after *i* into a *c*. The form *ki-* (1st dative) implies action referring to an object belonging to a person different from the subject but without sanction or permission of the owner, for instance, "I take his own without his permission," in other words, an action that reflects in some way upon his interest but performed on the initiative of the subject. The form *kici-* (2d dative) expresses an action done with permission of the owner of an object, an action done on his initiative or in his place.

The use of these forms is very irregular. The personal forms of the three sets are as follows:

First dative, on behalf of, without sanction

	me	thee	him	thee and me	us	them
I.....	—	c'ici'-	waki'-	—	—	wic'a waki-
thou.....	maya'ki-	—	yaki'-	—	uya'ki-pi	wic'a yaki-
he.....	maki'-	nici'-	ki'-	uki'-pi ¹	uki'-pi	wic'a ki-
thou and I.....	—	—	uki'-	—	—	wic'a uki-
we, plural ²	—	yni'ci-pi	uki'-pi	—	—	wic'a uki-pi

Second dative, instead of, with sanction

	me	thee	him	thee and me	us	them
I.....	—	c'i'ci-	we'ci-	—	—	wic'a weci-
thou.....	miye'ci-	—	ye'ci-	—	uye'ci-pi	wic'a yeci-
he.....	mi'ci-	ni'ci-	ki'ci-	uki'ci-pi ¹	uki'ci-pi	wic'a kici-
thou and I.....	—	—	uki'ci-	—	—	wic'(a)ukici- ³
we, plural ²	—	yni'ci-pi	uki'ci-pi	—	—	wic'a ukici-pi

¹ Always with *pi*.

² Plural and exclusive dual, he and I.

³ Both forms.

When these pronouns are in initial position the first dative has the accent on the second syllable, while in the second dative the initial syllables *we'*, *ye'*, *ki'*, *c'i'*, *ni'* bear the accent. The forms for I - thee, he - thee, of the two datives differ only in accent. The second datives are obviously formed by the contraction of *aki* to *e*; *iki* to *i*.

Possessive

we' - I—mine
ye' - you—yours

ki- he—his
uki'- we—ours

§ 100. POSSESSION IN VERBS WITH INITIAL *p*, *ka*, *y*

Verbs with initial *p*, including the prefix *pa* "by pushing," take for the possessive forms of the first, second, third, and inclusive persons *wak-*, *yak-*, *k-*, *uk-*.

pawi'yakpa to polish, to make shine; possessive *wakpa'wiyakpa*, *yakpa'wiyakpa*, *kpawi'yakpa*, *ukpa'wiyakpa*; 1st dative *waki'pawiyakpa*; 2d dative *we'cipawiyakpa*;—also: *peha'* to fold up flat things, like blankets, goods;—*o-pe'm.ni* to wrap about;—*po'gq* to blow on, to blow up;—*puske'pa* to strain a fluid

Verbs with initial *y* have for the possessive forms first, second, third, inclusive persons *wag.l-*, *yag.l-*, *g.l-*, *ug.l-*. The first and second datives are as before.

yapsu' to spill with mouth; possessive *wag.la'psu*, *yag.la'psu* *g.lapsu'* *ug.la'psu*; 1st dative *waki'yapsu*; 2d dative *we'ciyapsu*

yum.na' to rip as a seam; possessive *wag.lu'm.na*, *yag.lu'm.na*, *g.lum.na'*, *ug.lu'm.na*; 1st dative *waki'yum.na*; 2d dative *we'ciyum.na*

Related to these forms are *g.lo'wi* to wear one's own (see p. 94) and *g.nu'ni* to lose one's own (*nu'ni* to lose one's way).

Verbs with initial instrumental prefix *ka-* have the possessive forms *wag.la'-*, *yag.la'-*, *g.la'-*, *ug.la'-*.

Verbs with initial *k* of stem change it after *e* and *i* in the possessive, not in the first dative. (See p. 14.)

kic'u'wa he pursues his own; *kik'u'wa* he pursues it for him; *ki'cic'uwa* 2d dative
kic'u'te he shoots off his own (gun); *kik'u'te* he shoots it (a bow, etc., for him); *ki'cic'ute* 2d dative
kic'a' he digs his own; *kik'a'* he digs it for him; *ki'cic'a* 2d dative

§ 101. THE USE OF *ki*- FOR BACK AGAIN

A peculiar use of *ki* is probably reducible to the dative *ki*. The possessive forms *iki'kcu* he takes his own, i. e., he takes it back 47.1, 48.8; *kic'u'* he gives his own, i. e., he gives it back; *op'e'kit'u* he buys his own, i. e., he buys it back; *kic'a'* he asks for his own, i. e., he asks it back; *kikta'* to get up from a lying position, i. e., to be up again; all imply a return to a former state. The first person has the regular possessive form *wé'*. The *k* does not change to *c* after *e* and *i*.

A number of other forms which render the idea of return to a previous state are expressed by forms corresponding to the first dative *ki*, with first person *waki*.

(*wa*)*ki'ni* (I) revive (*ki'cikini* his revives);—*kiska'* to fade (to return to an original white color);—*kic'e'pa* to become fat again (*waki'c'epa-wi* June, moon of things getting fat again);—*kisa'pa* the grounds become black again after melting of snow

Nouns may be treated in the same way and thus become active verbs.

(*wa*)*ki'wic'asa* (I) become a man again (like a human who in a tale had appeared in animal shape);—*kit'a'ha* she became a deer again
(*wa*)*ki'wiya* (I) became a (respectable) woman again;—*kima'k'a* tilled land comes to lie fallow again
kiwa'k'qheza has a different meaning: to treat like a child, like something weak and fragile, to humor

§ 102. POSITION OF POSSESSIVE AND INDIRECT OBJECTS

The position of all these forms is the same as that of other pronouns. The possessive of neutral verbs and of active verbs without object is expressed by the forms *mi'ci- ni'ci- ki'ci-, uki'ci*. These precede the locative prefixes and the neutral prefix *na-* by itself.

ni'cisni your light goes out 39.12;—*mi'cisapa* mine is black;—*uki'cinazipi* ours stand;—*mi'cinag.la* mine unravels;—*mi'ciiyali* mine climbs going there;—*ki'ciot'ehika* his is expensive;—*mi'ciakih'q* mine is starving;—*ni'ciakisni* yours is getting well (*ani'cisni* you are getting well)

The second datives have the same forms but they follow the locatives and the neutral prefix *na-*.

mi'ciiyuka mine goes to bed, *'iki'ciiyuka* she goes to bed for him;—*mi'ciot'ehika* mine is expensive, *wao'kicit'ehika* he is stingy, lit. he holds something of his as of high value;—*mi'ciiyohi* my supply is sufficient, *'iyo'micihi* it is sufficient for my use 65.11;—*mi'ciwac'i* mine dances, *wami'cic't* he dances for me, in my honor;—(*mi'ciwog.laka* mine makes a speech, correct, but unidiomatic), *wo'miciyaka* he tells me something pertinent to me, *wo'miciq.laka* he makes a speech for me;—*mi'ciita* mine talks

In many cases it is more idiomatic to use the possessive pronoun with the noun, instead of the possessive verbal forms.

mit'a'syuka ki nap'e' my horse has run away
mic'kai waya'zake' my son is sick

§ 103. USE OF REGULAR FORMS

The use of the two forms *waki-* and *wé'-* and the corresponding forms for second and third persons is exceedingly irregular. Some verbs use consistently *waki-* for the first dative, *wé'-* for the possessive. Others use both *waki-* and *wé'-* for the possessive and *waki-* alone for the first dative, the usage being individually and locally variable; others use only *waki-* for the possessive, or lack the possessive. Still others lack the forms in *waki-*. The second dative is regular throughout.

Many stems beginning with *gw, gl, gm, gn, k, k', k'*, most of which require instrumental prefixes use regularly *wé'-* for the possessive; *waki-* for the first dative, excepting, however, those with inseparable *ki*.

'ana'-g.waka ¹⁰ to kick at;—*-g.mi* bald, bare;—*-g.mica* to pull hair;—(-)*g.mig.ma'* round;—**g.mu'ka* to trap;—*-g.mu* twisted;—*-g.la* unravelled;—**g.le'* to have standing by, ready;—(-)*g.le'pa* to vomit;—(-)*g.le'za* to mark with many fine marks;—*-g.nayq* to miss (aim);—**g.na'yq* to deceive;—**g.na'ka*

¹⁰ - stands for the position of the infixed pronoun. Where the symbols - and (-) stand before the stem they indicate, as usual, obligatory or admissible prefixes. *shows that the stem cannot take a prefix.

to have lying on hand, ready;—**hi-g.ny'* to singe off;—(-)*ki'za* to squeak;—**kte'* to kill;—**ksu'* to do beadwork, *t'o-ksu'* to haul goods, *aksu'* to pile;—**k'uwa'* to pursue, chase;—**k'ute'* to shoot at;—**ka'* to dig; ^{10a} *-h'q* to knock off small, loose objects (berries, wheat);—*o-k'u* to lend

Regular are also:

—*b.leca* to be shattered;—**napca'* to swallow (but *t'ah-na'wakipca* I swallow my saliva);—*-p'a* to be pulplike;—*aty'wa* ^{10b} to look around;—*-t'aka* to be barred, locked;—*-zam.ni* to remove cover;—**su'* to braid;—*-sleca* to be sliced;—**slip'a* to lick, active;—*-sku* to pare;—*-s'o* to trim edges;—**stut'a'* to miss;—*-spu* to break off;—*-sna* to miss aim;—*-ceka* to stagger;—**c'i'* to desire;—*-c'oc'o* to splash;—*ina'kpq* to grind into bits;—(-)*k'uk'a* to be worn out (clothing);—**ha'* to bury;—*-hpa* to be down on ground (**hpa'* untidy);—**hmu'ga* to bewitch;—*-hileca* to be torn;—*-hitaka* to touch with force
'alo'-ksohq to carry on or under arm;—*'ac'a'-ks'i* to step over;—*wo'-k'u* to feed (no 1st dative);—*'i-h'q'* to deal with, work with (not as: to cook, employs reflexive, see p. 90);—*p'a-hia'* to tie a bundle;—**u'c'a* to imitate

Many active verbs that are not transitive take dative forms:

ma(we'ci)ni I walk in his stead;—*awa'k(i)c'i-wo'hapi* they have a dance feast;—*we'cic'eyaya'ha* I worry (cry) about him

§ 104-107. IRREGULAR USE OF FORMS

§ 104. IRREGULAR USE OF *we'*- AND *waki*-

DOUBLE FORMS

1. In many cases *waki* and *we'*- are used indiscriminately for possessive forms. Examples are:

—*psu* to be spilled;—**nap'i'* to wear as a necklace;—*-m.na* to rip;—*oc'e'-t'i* to build a fire in something;—**u-i'a'* to shoot off;—(-)*t'ani* to wear out (clothing);—*-sli* to be squeezed;—*-zu* to uproot;—*i-g.ni'* to look for;—*-k'apa* a roundish object moves swiftly through the air; *yuk'a'pa* to catch (a ball, etc.);—*-k'ita* to be wiped;—*-k'ica* to be scraped;—*-hica* to be awake;—(-)*hmi* to be out of shape;—*-hlaya* to be peeled off;—*na-h'u'* to hear (no 1st dative);—*na-hma'* to hide (*nawe'hma*, but *ite'-nawa'kihma* I hide my face)

FORMS LACKING *waki* FORMS

Verbs with inseparable *ki* lack the *waki*- forms:

aki't'o to be tattooed (active verb) *awe't'o*;—*kiit'u* to wear (clothing, see p. 102);—*t'o-ki'c'u* to retaliate;—*ki'c'q'* to wail over someone (*we'c'q'*);—*kikc'q'pta* to comfort;—*wa-ki'g.leca* to have feelings in body that foretell coming events (*wawe'g.leca*);—*kiq.le'ga* to overtake someone;—*kis'u'* to braid hair;—*ki'c'o'* to invite;—*ki'c'u'* to give back one's own;—*kiq.na'* to soothe;—*ha-ki'kia* to look back;—*ki'kta'* to get up;—*kiksu'ya* to remember (*wawe'ksuya*)

The following may be derived from inseparable *ki* with loss of vowel, although the *k* or *g* is retained after *we'*-. This is suggested by *si-g.la* to feel resentful: *si'ce-kila* he considers his own bad, >*sikila*>*sig.la*; *siwe'g.la* I feel resentful about it. The shortening of *si'ca* to *si* is not rare, p. e. *sihti'* very bad.

c'et'u'-g.la to doubt, disbelieve;—*iha'-kta* to feel pulled back, to wish to stay with someone or something;—*wa-kta'* to expect, depend on;—*i-yo-kteka* to scold sharply;—**ksu'* to do beadwork

Also: **ika'* to flesh robe;—(-)*t'iza* to be solid, firm;—**so'* to cut things in strips;—**ka'ga* to make (see p. 101); **ha* to bury

^{10a} Possessive in Yankton *owa'kie's*.

^{10b} *awe'kiwq* I look around for mine.

FORMS LACKING POSSESSIVES

Verbs with the forms *waki-*, *yaki-*, *ki-* for both possessives and first datives.

(a) Many monosyllabic verbs:

o'* to hit by shooting;—ba'* to blame, censure, *waki'ba* I blame my own (deeds);—(-)*bu* a deep noise;—(-)*b.lu* to be powdery;—**m.ni'* to spread out to dry (corn, berries, strips of squash; no possessive, because food is not personal property);—**ky'* to covet (*k* does not change);—**hi'* to arrive, *waki'hi* I arrive at my own, i. e., I reach maturity, fledglings begin to fly; also all other verbs of motion and position

(b) Verbs with terminal *-p'a*. (See p. 83.)

(c) Verbs with initial vowel not separable from the following stem complex, or with transitivizing locatives. (See p. 45.)

'*au'* to lay on fire;—'*ab.le'za* to notice;—'*ap'e'* to wait, '*iya'waki'p'e* I wait for him; '*awe'cip'e* I wait for it for him;—'*ale'za* to urinate on;—'*ali'* to step on;—'*alo'wq* to sing, '*awa'kilowq* I sing or arrange song for my own, I sing for his; '*we'cilowq* I sing his praises at a dance;—'*ana'-iq* to charge, hurry to;—'*ana'-slata* to creep up to something;—'*ac'e'-sli* to defecate on;—'*as'a'* to jeer, shout at (1st dative missing);—'*ascu'* to be self-conscious in relation to opposite sex (datives missing);—'*ac'e'ya* to cry on account of;—'*ani'ya* to breathe on . . . ;—'*akta'sni* to reject, disregard something;—'*aksi'za* to refuse to surrender something;—'*aksu'* to pile on;—'*ak'i'ta* to look for;—'*awa'-hiani* to sin against (*hitawa'ni* I toil);—'*ahni'yayq* to be aflutter with emotion (joy or anger)
'*iu'* to apply (as an ointment);—'*iha'* to ridicule, to laugh;—'*i'm.naka*¹¹ to admire
'*owa'* to write (possessive in S. W. Teton *owe'gwa*);—'*o(na')-ha* to force in (with foot);—'*ohq'* to wear on foot (= to stand in [not with meaning "to cook"]);—'*oho'm.ni* to circle around something;—'*o'm.na* to smell in;—'*ole'* to hunt;—'*olo'ta* to borrow;—'*ot'i'* to dwell in;—'*oska* to wind quills around strips of rawhide;—'*oc'o'za* to heat by . . . ; '*nao'wakic'oza* I heat my own; '*nawa'kioc'oza* I heat for him;—'*og.muza* to shut in; '*nao'wakig.muza* I shut in my own; '*nawa'kiog.muza* I shut it in for him;—'*oge* to cover with a sheet

When the stem following the locative prefix belongs to any of the classes discussed in §100, p. 87, it follows the rules of that class; for instance, '*ope'm.ni* to wrap around, has as possessive *owa'kpem.ni*, as under verbs with initial *p*.

(d) A considerable number of verbs that cannot be classified lack the *we'*-series and use *waki-* for both possessive and for 1st dative:

-*wiza* to bend down smooth (grasses, etc.) (*owi'za* to use as bedding);—*-hom.ni* to be revolving;—*-huhuzza* to vibrate, shake (a flat, horizontal object¹²);—*-b.laya* to be level, unfolded;—*-b.laza* to be rent, torn;—(-)*b.laska'* to be flat;—*-b.laga* to be opened out all around (like an umbrella);—(-)*b.leza* clear, sane;—*-b.leca* to be shattered;—(-)*psi'ca* to jump;—**la* to ask for;—**la* to esteem (dependent verb);—*-suza* to splinter, crack into small pieces;—*-wa-si'* to employ;—(-)*coco'* to be soft, like mud (but *ona'wecoco*);—(-)*kpa'* to puncture;—*-ksi'za* to puncture;—*-gapa* to be flayed;—*-ga* to open (as a door) (**ga'* to have untidy hair);—*-go* to mark up;—*-hpu* to be crumbled;—(-)*hilo'* to growl
iyé-ya to find;—*-ya* (dependent verb) to cause; *iyé'wakiya* possessive; *iyé'wak'iya* 1st dative;—*-he-yu'* to pack;—*-ma-nu'* to steal;—*-p'a'ta* to butcher

VERBS USING REFLEXIVES INSTEAD OF POSSESSIVE

According to Dakota concepts certain objects, particularly natural objects and food, cannot be personal property. For this reason the possessive forms cannot be used and reflexives take their place. (See p. 103.)

'*otzu'* to plant, '*omi'c'izu* I plant for myself;—*-wazu'zu* to slaughter a buffalo, *wami'c'izuzu*;—'*ik'q'* to cook, '*imi'c'ik'q'* (regular when used in its broader meaning "to handle");—*-wasle'ca* to slice (bread), *wamic'isleca* I slice for myself;—'*ohq'* to cook, '*omi'c'ihq* I cook for myself (regular when used in its literal meaning "to stand in")

¹¹ With ending *ka* differentiating it from '*i'(ma)m.na* I am surfeited.

¹² *mic't'huhuzza* I bestir myself.

Reflexives are also sometimes used parallel with possessive forms:

p'añta' to tie a bundle, *p'awe'ñta* I tie mine, *p'amí'c'iñta* I tie it for my own use

Possessives are also used for expressing indirect objects:

we'c'u I give to my own (not "I give my own")

§ 105. VERBS IN *ka-* AND *ki-* AND RELATED FORMS

A number of verbs have forms analogous to possessives which express I - thine, his; thou - mine, his; he - mine, yours.

	mine	thine	his	ours
I.....	—	<i>c'i'</i>	<i>we'</i>	—
thou.....	<i>miye'</i>	—	<i>ye'-</i>	<i>uye'</i>
he.....	<i>mi'-</i>	<i>ni'-</i>	<i>ki'-</i>	<i>uki'</i>
we.....	—	<i>yni'</i>	<i>uki'</i>	—

wic'a'miyec'u you give mine away to them, also 1st dative;—*wic'a'miyecic'u* 2d dative.

All verbs with the instrumental prefix *ka-* have these forms which take the place of the first dative.

miye'caksa you cut mine;—*c'i'caksa* I cut yours

The second dative is regular *we'ci-* etc.

Verbs with inseparable prefix *ki-* follow the same pattern, but the forms given above do not refer to an object possessed, but to a direct object. In all these the *waki-* form is missing; the second dative refers to the possessed object or expresses that the action is performed in place of another one who ought to have done it. The third person differs from the series given above in having the accent on the second syllable.

kic'o' he invites him, *we'c'o* I invite him, *we'cic'o* I invite his, I invite in his place, *mi'c'o* he invites me, *mi'cic'o* he invites mine or in my place

In the same way:

kic'a' to wail;—*kikca'pta* to condole;—*kig.le'ga* to catch up with;—*kig.na'* to comfort

k'i' to carry on back, is treated in the same way: *we'c'i'* I carry him on back, *k'i'* he carries it (inanimate) on the back. *kic'i'* he carries his own (animate) on his back; *ki'c'i'* he carries him on his back; *wak'i'* a load

kte' to kill follows the same pattern as words with prefix *ka-*. The only difference is that there is no form *ki'kte* he kills his (another one's), but in its place *kikte'* he kills for him, he kills his own, and he kills another one's. The form *waki'kte* means I kill it, or I kill mine for him; *mi'ktepi* they killed mine 56.10

g.le' to set aside, *g.na'ka* to lay away have the series *we'-*, etc., for the possessive and 1st dative. The forms of the pattern *waki-* are rarely used, but express I set, lay aside his, etc. The third person has the accent on the second syllable like *kte'*: *kig.le'*, *kig.na'ka* he has his own set, laid away, or he has it set, laid away for him

Also *kic'i'ca* to be with; instead of *mi'c'ica* he is with me *mi'c'i' 'u'* is preferred; *ni'c'i' wa'u'* I am with thee

Exceptions are *kiyu'k'a* which forms only *waki'yuk'a* I make room for him (perhaps from *kiyu'ok'a*, cf. *wapa'ok'a* to make room by pushing).

aki't'o to be tattooed;—*kini'* to come to life;—*(wa)kini'hq* to honor someone;—*nawa'kiwizi*¹³ I am jealous of someone; have no datives and no possessives.

¹³ See *wina'wizi* cocklebur.

In a number of cases the possessive form does not refer to an object owned by the subject, but to any object. These evidently contain the element *ki* as those of the preceding group:

'*e* *ktuza* he forgets it, '*e* *wektuza* I forget it, '*e* *wakiktuza* 1st dative, '*e* *weciktuza* I forget his, forgive him;—*kiksu'ya* he remembers it, *we'ksuya* I remember it (*waki'ksuya* not used), *we'ciksuya* I remember for him;—*kiq.le'ga* he catches up to him, as to someone going ahead, '*e* *weg.leja*, or '*e* *wakig.leja*. 1st dative, I catch up with him, '*e* *wecig.leja* 2d dative;—also *ko'za* to wave, *we'coza* I wave to him, no 1st dative, *we'cicoza* 2d dative.

§ 106. IRREGULAR FORMS OF VERBS IN *g.l*

Irregular forms in *we*. The possessive forms of verbs beginning with *y* are *g.l* (see p. 87) and take the pronouns *wa*, *ya*. *waya'ka* to see, takes also the possessive form in *g.l* but uses *we* instead of *wa*, omits however the corresponding *ki* in the third person: *wawe'g.laka*, *waye'g.laka*, *wag.la'ka*, *waq'g.laka* to see one's own. The datives are regular *wawa'kiyaka*, *wawe'ciyaka*;—*iwe'g.lepa*, third person *ig.le'pa* to vomit follows the same rule.

A few verbs with initial *g.l* follow the same pattern but retain *ki* in the third person.

sig.la' to resent, *siwe'g.la* I resent my own, *siki'g.la* he resents his own
wawe'g.leca, *waki'g.leca* to feel signs of something evil approaching (like pains in body before bad weather, presentiment of bad news). This occurs only in possessive form
By contrast compare *ip'i'yaka* to wear a belt, *ip'i'wag.laka* I wear my own belt; also *atu'waq* to look around for something, *awe'ktuwaq* and *awa'ktuwaq* I look for my own

§ 107. VERBS WITH INITIAL *k'i* EXPRESSING CONTACT ¹⁴

When *k'i*- is preceded by the pronoun, the verb takes no possessive and no datives. These must be expressed by possessive pronouns accompanying the noun, or by making the verb subordinate to another verb which takes the dative forms.

mic'i'ksi wak'i'za I fight my son
mit'a'suke ak'i'wic'awakaška I hitch my horses together
k'i's waq.lo'ku fighting him I brought mine along

§§ 108-115. VERBS OF GOING AND COMING

§ 108. SINGLE AND COMPOUND FORMS

Verbs of going and coming have peculiar forms expressing going and coming to a place where one belongs permanently or temporarily, clearly related to possessive forms, although differing from the more common forms. These are:

A	B
1. to be coming 'u'	to be coming back to where one belongs <i>ku'</i>
2. to be going <i>ya'</i>	to be going back to where one belongs <i>g.la'</i>
3. to arrive going 'i'	to arrive going back to where one belongs <i>k'i'</i>
4. to arrive coming <i>hi'</i>	to arrive coming back to where one belongs <i>g.li'</i>

and the compounds of these:

(4 and 1) A to start coming *hiyu'*; B to start coming back to where one belongs *g.licu'* (<*g.li-ku*)
(3 and 2) A to start going '*iya'ya*'¹⁵; *ib.la'b.la* 1st person; B to start going back to where one belongs *k'ig.la'*
(4 and 2) A to pass by going *hiya'ya*'¹⁵; B to pass by going back *g.lig.la'*

§ 109. CONNECTIVE *ya* IN COMPOUND FORMS

In the forms *g.licu'* and *k'ig.la'*, *ya* is inserted between the component parts. Miss Deloria considers the forms with *ya* as recent formations.

The use of these forms is, however, not regular. Some of the forms without *ya* seem to be going out of use.

¹⁴ See p. 80.

¹⁵ Reduplicated.

They are used in the first and second persons; for instance,

- (3 and 2) B *wak'i yag.la* I start returning to where I belong
yak'i yag.la you start returning to where you belong
'uk'i yag.la we start returning to where we belong

With the prefix *a-* to carry along, and *g.lo* to carry along one's own (see p. 94), these forms occur in all persons. From *'a'ya* to go carrying along is formed *g.loa'ya*, while *'au'*, *'ai'* form *g.lou'*, *g.loi'*.

- 'awa'k'iyag.la* I start back taking it to where I belong
'aya'k'iyag.la you start back taking it to where you belong
'ak'i yag.la he starts back taking it to where he belongs
'uka'k'iyag.la you and I start back taking it to where we belong
g.lok'i yag.la he starts back to where he belongs taking his own
g.log.li' yag.la he passes by going back to where he belongs carrying his own
g.log.li' yaku he starts back coming to where he belongs carrying his own

The connective *ya* is also used in all dative forms.

kak'y yag.la, *ki'cak'iyag.la*, *ki'cicak'iyag.la* (see pp. 94, 95)

In the forms with initial *hiyo-* (see p. 95) to go after, the inserted *ya* appears only in the first and second persons.

- hiyo'g.licu* to start back hither after something
hiyo'wag.liyaku I start back hither after something
 Also *hiyo'k'ig.la*, *hiyo'wak'iyag.la*; *hiyo'g.lig.la*, *hiyo'wag.liyag.la*
 Instead of *hiyo'g.licu* and *hiyo'k'ig.la*, it is customary to say *he'ktakiya hiyo'iyaya* (towards where he came from he went after something, and *he'ktakiya hiyo'hiyu* (see p. 95)

§ 110. DATIVE FORMS ¹⁶

The simple forms as well as the possessives (expressing going or coming back) have second datives.

<i>Without the other's sanction</i>	<i>With the other's sanction</i>
1A. (<i>kiu'</i>) (<i>waki'u</i>) <i>maki'u</i> mine comes	<i>ki'ciu</i> he comes in his place, or: his comes <i>we'ciu</i> I came in his place
2A. (<i>kiya'</i>) (<i>waki'ya</i>) <i>maki'ya</i> mine goes	<i>ki'ciya</i> <i>we'ciya</i> , <i>we'cib.la</i> <i>mi'ciya</i> mine goes
3A. (<i>kii'</i>) (<i>waki'i</i>) (<i>maki'i</i>)	<i>ki'cii</i> <i>we'cii</i> <i>mi'cii</i>
4A. <i>kiihi'</i> chickens hatch (<i>waki'hi</i>)	<i>ki'cihi</i> his arrives; he arrives instead of another <i>we'cihi</i> I arrive; I arrive in his stead <i>mi'cihi</i> mine has arrived
1B. (<i>kiku'</i>) (<i>waki'ku</i>) (<i>maki'ku</i>)	<i>ki'ciku</i> <i>we'ciku</i> <i>mi'ciku</i>
2B. (<i>kig.la'</i>) (<i>waki'g.la</i>) <i>maki'g.la</i>	<i>ki'cig.la</i> <i>we'cig.la</i> <i>mi'cig.la</i>
3B. (<i>kik'i'</i>) (<i>waki'k'i</i>) (<i>maki'k'i</i>)	<i>ki'cik'i</i> <i>we'cik'i</i> <i>mi'cik'i</i>
4B. (<i>kig.li'</i>) (<i>waki'g.li</i>) <i>maki'g.li</i>	<i>ki'cig.li</i> <i>we'cig.li</i> <i>mi'cig.li</i>

¹⁶ Forms in parentheses are not in use.

(4 and 1) A. <i>kihí'wu</i> his has started coming	<i>kí'cihiyu</i> <i>wé'cihiyu</i> <i>mí'cihiyu</i>
<i>maki'hiyu</i> mine has started coming	
(4 and 1) B. <i>kig.lí'yaku, kig.lí'cu</i> (see §109, p. 92)	<i>kí'cig.liyaku, kí'cig.lícu</i> <i>wé'cig.liyaku, wé'cig.lícu</i> <i>mí'cig.liyaku, mí'cig.lícu</i>
(<i>wakí'g.liyaku</i>) <i>maki'g.liyaku; maki'g.lícu</i>	
(3 and 2) A. <i>iki'iyaya</i> his has gone	<i>iki'ciyaya</i> he has gone in his stead with his sanction
<i>iwa'kiyaya</i> I being his have gone	<i>iwé'ciyaya</i>
<i>ima'kiyaya</i> mine has gone	<i>imí'ciyaya</i>
(3 and 2) B. <i>kik'í'g.la</i>	<i>kí'cik'íg.la</i>
(<i>wakí'k'íg.la</i>)	<i>wé'cik'íg.la</i>
<i>maki'k'íg.la</i>	<i>mí'cik'íg.la</i>
(4 and 2) A. <i>kihí'yaya</i>	<i>kí'cihiyaya</i>
(<i>wakí'hiyaya</i>)	<i>wé'cihiyaya</i>
<i>maki'hiyaya</i> mine goes by	<i>mí'cihiyaya</i>
(4 and 2) B. (<i>kig.lí'g.la</i>)	<i>kí'cig.lí'g.la</i>
(<i>wakí'g.lí'g.la</i>)	<i>wé'cig.lí'g.la</i>
<i>maki'g.lí'g.la</i>	<i>mí'cig.lí'g.la</i>

§ 111. FORMS IN 'a

The verbs of going, coming, and arriving with the prefix 'a- express to go, come, arrive carrying; also collective, to go, come, arrive in a group, evidently with the same meaning of bringing others along; with the prefix *g.lo* or *g.loa-* to go, come, arrive carrying one's own.

'au' to come bringing something 'awa'u	<i>g.lou'</i> one's own
'a'ya to go taking something there 'a'b.la	<i>g.loa'ya</i> , 1st p. <i>wag.lo'aya</i> or <i>wag.lo'b.la</i>
'ai' to arrive there carrying something 'awa'i	<i>g.loi'</i>
'ahi' to arrive here bringing something	<i>g.lohi'</i>
'aku' to be coming back here bringing something	<i>g.loku'</i>
'ag.la' to go back there carrying something	<i>g.log.la'</i>
'ak'i' to arrive back there carrying something	<i>g.lok'í'</i>
'ag.lí' to arrive back here bringing something	<i>g.log.lí'</i>
'ahi'yu to start coming bringing something	<i>g.lohi'yu</i>
'e'yaya to start from here taking something (1st p. 'e'b.lab.la)	<i>g.loe'yaya</i>
'ahi'yaya to be passing by taking something there ¹⁷	<i>g.lohi'yaya</i>
'ag.lí'yaku to start coming back here bringing something	<i>g.log.lí'yaku</i>
'ak'í'yag.la to start back from here taking something	<i>g.lok'í'yag.la</i>
'ag.lí'yag.la to be passing by taking back there something	<i>g.log.lí'yag.la</i>

Here belong also:

'ani'ca to withhold, refuse to give up;—'ahi'yaya to sing a song (= to go by carrying something) and
'í' to wear about shoulders
<i>wag.lo'nica</i> I refuse to give up my own; 3d p. <i>g.loni'ca</i>
<i>mig.lo'nica</i> I balk, refuse to move; 3d p. <i>ig.lo'nica</i>
<i>wag.lo'hiyaya</i> I sing my own song
<i>wag.lo'wí</i> I wear my blanket; 3d p. <i>g.lowí'</i>

The datives of this series are as follows: (a) something to someone; (b) his without sanction, (c) his for him with his sanction.

1. (a) *kau', waka'u, maka'u, maya'kau*, to bring something to some one
- (b) *kí'cau, wé'cau* I bring his without his sanction
- (c) *kí'cicau, wé'cicau* I bring his for him with his sanction
- 1B. (a) *kaku', waka'ku, maka'ku*
- (b) *kí'caku, wé'caku*
- (c) *kí'cicaku, wé'cicaku*

¹⁷ Also: to sing a song (to carry a melody).

- 2A. (a) *kaa'ya, waka'ya, or waka'b.la*
 (b) *ki'caya, we'caya, or we'cab.la*
 (c) *ki'cicaya; we'cicaya or we'cicab.la*
- 2B. (a) *kag.la'* (like 1)
- 3A. (a) *kai', waka'i*
 (b) *ki'cai, we'cai*
 (c) *ki'cicai, we'cicat*
- 3B. *kak'i'* (like 1)
- 4A. *kahi'* (like 1)
- 4B. *kag.li'* (like 1)
- (4 and 1) A. *kahi'yu* (like 1)
 (4 and 1) B. *kag.li'yaku* (like 1)
 (3 and 2) A. *kae'yaya, waka'eb.lab.la or waka'eyaya* (rest like 1, derived from these forms)
 (3 and 2) B. *kak'i'yag.la* (like 1)
 (4 and 2) A. *kahi'yaya* (like 1)
 (4 and 2) B. *kag.li'yag.la* (like 1)

§ 112. COMPOUNDS OF VERBS OF ARRIVING

The forms '*i*', *hi'*, *k'i'*, *g.li'* when combined with a following finite verb require the prefix *a* when expressing a contemporaneous action. The pronoun stands with the finite verb.

'ahi'-washkata I arrived here and played
'ahi'-skatapi they arrived here and played

Exceptions are subordinate forms followed by *yuka'* to lie, '*i'yotaka* to sit, *hpa'ya* to lie, *ha'* to stand (inanimate objects), *na'zi* to stand (animate beings), *-yaka* to do something at once. These express plurality without *-pi* or they may take *-pi* and leave off '*a*'. The pronoun is prefixed to '*i*', *hi'*, *k'i'*, *g.li'* and may be repeated in the finite verb. (See p. 84.)

<i>g.li-yu'ka</i> he lay down	} when coming back to where one belongs
<i>'ag.li'-yuka</i> or <i>g.li-yu'kapi</i> they lay down	
<i>wag.li' yuka</i> or <i>wag.li'-muka</i> I lay down	
<i>yag.li'-yuka</i> or <i>yag.li'-nuka</i> you lay down	
<i>ska'l g.li-yu'ka</i> the moment he arrived he began to play	
<i>ska'l ag.li'-yaka</i> the moment they arrived they began to play	
<i>ug.li'-na'zi</i> we arrived and stopped	
<i>wag.li'-nazi</i> or <i>wag.li'-nawa'zi</i> I arrived and stopped	

When successive, the verbs of arriving are finite and are used without '*a*' except in the third person plural. Instead of the prefix '*a*' they may take the suffix *pi*. The former expresses an indefinite group arriving, the latter definite persons. The form with prefix '*a*' may also mean "to arrive bringing."

skal-hi' he arrived here to play;—*skal-hi'pi* they arrived here to play (definite persons);—*skal-'a'hi* they arrived here to play (indefinite persons);—*skal-'a'yahi* you brought him here to play;—*(skal-ya'hi* you arrived here to play)

In a number of verbs we find *hi'* which may be modified *hi*.

hiha' (rain, snow, hail) falls (*ha'* to stand);—*hihpa'ya* to fall (*hpa* to lie; cf. *hihpe'(wa)ya* (I) cause to fall;—*ag.li' hpe(wa)ya* I bring here and leave

§ 113. TO GO, COME, FOR A PURPOSE

The prefix *hiyo'* with verbs of motion expresses purpose. It is not used with the forms expressing going or coming back (the group *B*); instead *he'ktakiya* is used as adverb with the verbs of *u, ya, i, hi*.

hiyo'u he is coming for something, to get something
he'ktakiya hiyo'wai' I arrived back to get something

To go after one's own has the prefix *g.liyo'*. In all these forms the subject pronoun precedes the verb of motion, while the object pronoun may precede *hiyo'* or the verb of motion.

hiyo'-wau I am coming to get something

c'ih'i'yo-wahi'yelo' I have come to get you 52.2, not so often *nih'i'yo-wahi* or *hiyo'-c'ih'i*

kih'i'yo'i na g.li' he arrived going after it for him and arrived back here

hiyo'-mayahi or *mahi'yo-yahi* you come to get me

In the forms with *hiyo* the form *b* (see p. 94), without sanction, is missing throughout. In the following *a* is the possessive form, *c* the dative with sanction.

1. (a) *kih'i'you*, *waki'hiyou* to come for him or his
(c) *ki'cihiyou*, *we'cihiyou*
2. (a) *kih'i'yoya* to go after, *waki'hiyoya* or *waki'hiyob.la* I —
(c) *ki'cihiyoya*, *we'cihiyoya* or *we'cihiyob.la*
3. (a) *kih'i'yo'i*, *kih'i'yowai* to arrive there, going after
(c) *ki'cihiyoi*, *we'cihiyoi* or *ki'cihiyowai*
4. (a) *kih'i'yohi*, *kih'i'yowahi* to arrive here, coming after
(c) *ki'cihiyohi*, *ki'cihiyowahi* or *we'cihiyohi*
- (4 and 1). (a) *kih'i'yohiyu*, *kih'i'yowahiyu* or *waki'hiyohiyu*
(c) *ki'cihiyohiyu*, *ki'cihiyowahiyu* or rarely *we'cihiyohiyu*
- (3 and 2). (a) *kih'i'yoiyaya*, *waki'hiyoiyaya* or *kih'i'yoib.lab.la*
(c) *ki'cihiyoiyaya*, *we'cihiyoiyaya* or *ki'cihiyoib.lab.la*
- (4 and 2). (a) *kih'i'yohiyaya*, *kih'i'yowahiyaya*
(c) *ki'cihiyohiyaya*, *ki'cihiyowahiyaya*

The verbs expressing returning (1-4) *b* have no datives but are combined with the corresponding verbs of motion.

kih'i'yo'i na ku' he arrived going after it for him and was coming back

kih'i'yohi na g.la' he arrived coming after it for him and was going back there

With *a* these forms express the 3d person collective plural.

hiyo'au they (in a group) come for it;—*hiyo'aya* they go for it;—*hiyo'ai* they arrive going for it;—*hiyo'ahiyu* they start coming for it;—*hiyo'eyaya* they start going for it;—(*hiyo'ahiyaya* not used)

§ 114. TO REACH

The verbs of arriving are compounded with *ihu'ni* to reach:¹⁸

'e'hu'ni, (1st p. *'e'wahuni*) he arrived going there with it; they arrived going there

'ahi'hu'ni, (1st p. *'awa'hihu'ni*) he arrived coming here with it; they arrived coming here

'ak'i'hu'ni, (1st p. *'awa'k'ihu'ni*)¹⁹ he arrived there going back with it; they arrived there going back

*'ag.li'hu'ni*¹⁹ (1st p. *'awa'g.lihu'ni*) he arrived here coming back with it; they arrived here coming back

Datives of these forms are avoided as in the preceding group.

§ 115. 'e' AND 'ahi'

Certain verbs express with the verbs of motion *'e'* and *'ahi'* the direction towards the speaker and away from the speaker. In all of these the actor is stationary. Examples are:

'atu'waq to look for (*'e'tuwaq* to look thither, *'ahi'tuwaq* to look hither);—*pazo'* to point (*'e'pazo* thither, *'ahi'pazo* hither);—*'awa'c'i* to think about (*'e'wac'i*, *'ahi'wac'i*);—*'ao'kas'i* to peep into (*'e'yokas'i*, *'ahi'yokas'i* he peeps this way);—*'ao'kak'i* to bend the body and look in (*'e'yokaki*, *'ahi'yokaki*; *'yokakiyaq* in full view);—*pani'* to nudge;—*yut'a'* to touch

With the forms *'ag.li'* and *'ak'i'* these verbs express motion *'ag.li'tuwaq* upon reaching home he was able to see, or: he opened his eyes.

¹⁸ Without prefix *hu'ni' i'ni m'aka'* I stay put.

¹⁹ Also *yuha' k'ihu'ni*, *yuha' g.lihu'ni* having it he arrived.

In adverbial forms direction is expressed by the finite verb of motion.

kaġ'o'l 'iye'ya he throws it thither (*'iye'ya* he causes it to arrive going)
kaġ'o'l hiyu'ya he throws it hither (*hiyu'ya* he causes it to arrive coming)

§§ 116-136. IRREGULAR VERBS

§ 116. NEUTRAL VERBS WITH INITIAL 'i

Neutral verbs beginning with *i* elide the vowel of *ma-* and *ni-* and leave the accent on the second syllable.

misti'ma, nisti'ma, 'isti'ma, 'uki'stīma to sleep²⁰

Reflexive verbs in *ic'i-* and *ig.l-* (forms of the verbs with initial *y*) belong to this class.

mic'i'ba, nic'i'ba, 'ic'i'ba, 'uki'c'iba to blame one's self
'ami'c'ip'a, 'ani'c'ip'a, 'ai'c'ip'a, 'uka'ic'ip'a to strike one's self
mig.lu'zaža, nig.lu'zaža, 'ig.lu'zaža, 'uki'g.lužaža to wash one's self

The independent pronouns are formed in the same way: *miye', niye', 'iye'; mi's, ni's, 'i's*.

§ 117. VERBS WITH TERMINAL *u*

Verbs ending in *u* insert *wa* before terminal *hq*. (See p. 62.)

psuwa'hq it has come to be spilled;—*psuwa'hq* it has become disjointed;—*spuwa'hq* it has come off (as a button, knob, tassel);—*ĥpuwa'hq* it has fallen off (something that adheres, like a mud nest of swallows, scabs);—*žuwa'hq* its roots are loose in the ground;—*žužu'wahq* it has come apart so that it is in pieces;—*'og.mu'wahq* it has come to be in a gurgling condition inside (as a germinated egg)

§ 118. VERBS WITH APPARENT IRREGULARITIES DUE TO NASALIZATION

ya' to go

Before the future *kta* and the connective *na*, *ya* takes the form *yi* and nasalizes its pronouns before the nasalized vowel; *mn < b.l*; *n < l*

m.ni'kta, ni'kta, 'uyi'kta to go (future)

'i'yaka to run

The initial *b.l* of the first person becomes *m.n*, the initial *l* of the second person becomes *n* before the nasalized vowel of *yaka*. Besides this *wa-* and *ya* are prefixed.

wa'i'm.naka, ya'i'naka, 'i'yaka, 'uk'i'yaka to run
we'ciiyaka, ye'ciiyaka, ki'ciiyaka, 'uki'ciiyaka to run instead of somebody or for somebody, with his sanction

ya'ka to weave (Santee; Riggs, p. 33); to be skillful in porcupine quill, bead work (Yankton) is treated like *'i'yaka*; *m.na'ka, na'ka, ya'ka, 'uyaka*

The forms are regular, the apparent irregularities being due to phonetic laws. Initial *md* of the first person becomes *mn*, the initial *d* of the second person becomes *n* before the nasalized *q* of the stem.

§ 119. VERBS IN *yu-* (SANTEE)

In Santee the instrumental prefix *yu-* is generally omitted in the dual plural.

yustaq' to finish; *'u'staq* dual (Riggs Grammar; in Dictionary erroneously given as imperative only, p. 28)

In Teton and Yankton the dual is regular: *'uyyu'staq*.

²⁰ *'u'stīma* adverb, see p. 102.

§ 120. VERBS WITH INITIAL 'u

Verbs with initial 'u insert in possessive forms c' (<k'?).

'u to wear (clothing), to use: *wé'c'u, yé'c'u, kic'u, 'uki'c'u*
wi'y'u to paint (with loss of y glide): *wi'wec'u*, or *wi'wakiu*, 3d person *wi'kiu*
 'u pa to lay down (u > i): *wé'c'ipa, yé'c'ipa, kic'i'pa, 'uki'c'ipa*
c'eu'pa to roast (like the preceding): *c'ewe'c'ipa, c'eye'c'ipa, c'eki'c'ipa*

§ 121. 'u' To EXIST, 'ec'u' To Do, yak'u' (SANTEE) To BE

'u' to exist

wau' I exist
yau' you exist
 'u' he exists
 'uk'u' we exist

mu' it exists for me, i. e., I use it, I wear it
nu' it exists for you
 'u' it exists for him
 'uk'u' it exists for us

wé'c'u, yé'c'u, kic'u, 'uki'c'u to use one's own (see above)
wé'ciu, yé'ciu, ki'ciu, 'uki'ciu I use his with his sanction, *c'i'ciu* I use yours with your sanction
waki'u, yaki'u, ki'u, 'uki'u I use his without his sanction, *c'ici'u* I use yours without your sanction

Examples:

wana' hé'l t'e'ha wau' now I have been there a long time;—*e'na c'i'ciukte*²¹ *k'oha' g.liyo'ya'* I'll stay for you, so meanwhile go for it!;—*maya'ukta oya'kiki huwo'* are you able to exist for me (i. e., are you able to have me work for you);—*he' 'u'* literally: using that; therefore;—*le' 'u'* on account of this;—*waki'uylaka* I lived after a fashion, poorly; *kiu'ypilaka* they—40.15

'ec'u' to do

This is derived from 'ec'a' it is that kind, (stem -k'a), and 'u'. The third person is contracted to 'ec'u'; the dual assimilated to 'ec'u'uk'u or 'ec'u'k'u'. The word is also used for "to copulate." In this case the third person remains 'ec'a'u.

'ec'a'nu, 'ec'a'nu, 'ec'u' ('ec'a'u), 'ec'u'uk'u or ('ec'u'k'u) to do

All these forms may be combined with the demonstratives and have the accent on the first syllable: *le'c'amu, he'c'amu, ka'k'amu, to'k'amu*.

'ec'a'wec'u, 'ec'a'yec'u, 'ec'a'kic'u, 'ec'u'kic'u to do one's own work, to do to one's own (see p. 103)
 'ec'a'wecu, 'ec'a'yecu, 'ec'a'kicu, 'ec'a'ukicu to do his without his sanction or to him
 'ec'a'wecicu, 'ec'a'yecicu, 'ec'a'kicicu, 'ec'a'ukicicu to do his with his sanction, or for him
 (wo'wasi) 'ec'a'weciu, 'ec'a'yeciu, 'ec'a'kiciu, 'ec'a'ukiciu to work for someone (such as an employer)
 'ec'a'mic'iu or 'ec'a'mic'u, 'ec'a'nic'iu, 'ec'a'ic'iu, 'ec'a'ukic'iu or 'ec'a'ukic'u to do for one's self

Also with demonstrative *le', he'*

Instead of the older form *to'k'u* in recent times *ta'ku to'k'u* is used; *to'k'u* alone is "to lose".

yak'u' (Santee) to be

The forms suggest that this defective verb is a combination of an active verb *yak'a'* and the objective forms of 'u. The following forms were recorded by Riggs.

dak'a'nu (*dak'a'-nu*) thou art (also with *pi*)
yak'u'pi (*yak'a'-u-pi*) they are
*'yya'ku(pi)*²² (*'y yak'a'-u-pi*) we are

§ 122. 'ec'i'²³ To THINK SOMETHING

'ec'a'mi, 'ec'a'ni, 'ec'i', 'uke'c'i to think something
 'ec'a'waki, 'ec'a'yaki, 'ec'a'ki, 'ec'a'uki to think it, about someone, something
 'ec'a'c'ici I think it about you, 'ec'a'mayaki you think it about me
 'awa'c'ami, 'awa'c'ani, 'awa'c'i, 'awa'uc'i to think about something, someone

I think about you, cannot be formed with the last series.

²¹ *c'i'ciukte* means also I shall wear it for you.

²² Probably more correctly *yya'ku'?*

²³ From 'ec'a' and a stem 'i'(?).

Also with demonstratives *lec'í'*, *hec'í'*, *ke'c'í'*, *ta'kec'í'* or *ta'kc'í'*

lec'a'wakí, *hec'a'wakí*, *ke'c'a'wakí*, *ta'kec'awakí* I think this, that, something, about him
ec'a'wakíñni I don't think much of him

Also as second verb in compound verbs: *wac'í'*.

'*ap'e'wac'ami* I am planning to strike him ('*ap'a'* to strike);—'*ac'í'p'ewac'ami* I try to strike thee (see p. 75)

§ 123. 'í' TO WEAR ABOUT THE SHOULDERS AS A BLANKET

hími', *híni'*, 'í' '*úk'í'* to wear around shoulders (blanket, shawl)

wag.lo'wí, *yag.lo'wí*, *g.lo'wí*, '*ug.lo'wí* to wear one's own ²⁴

wak'í', *yak'í'*, *ki'í'*, *c'ici'í'* 1st dative

w'e'cií, *y'e'cií*, *ki'cií*, '*úk'icií* to wear somebody's in his place; *c'í'cií* I wear it in your place; no second dative.

§ 124. 'u'pa TO LAY DOWN; TO SMOKE

'*u'pa* to lay down, active, is regular, except that the possessive is contracted and the *c* before *í* glottalized.

w'e'c'ípa, *y'e'c'ípa*, *ki'c'í'pa*, '*úk'ic'ípa* to lay down one's own

Datives:

w'e'ciupa, *y'e'ciupa*, *ki'ciupa*, '*úk'iciupa* to lay down in place of another with his sanction or knowledge

'*e'mic'íupa* or '*e'mic'ípa*, '*e'nic'íupa* or '*e'nic'ípa*, '*e'ic'íupa* or '*e'ic'ípa*, '*e'úki'ciupa* or '*e'úki'ci'pa* to lay one's self down

wak'íupa, *yak'íupa*, *ki'upa*, '*úk'íupa* to lay down something, put up someone without the owner's sanction

'*u'pa* to smoke, neutral

The pronouns are contracted in the same way as in '*u*.

mú'pa, *nú'pa*, '*u'pa*, '*úk'u'pa*

The possessive forms do not occur.

In the dative the neutral pronoun may be retained in the first person.

c'annú'pa, *w'e'ciupa*, *y'e'ciupa*, *ki'ciupa*, '*úk'iciupa* to smoke another one's pipe, to smoke in place of another one (not contracted like '*u'pa* to lay down) always with object *c'ali'* or *c'annú'pa*

wak'íupa, *yak'íupa*, *ki'upa*, '*úk'íupa*, *c'ici'upa* to smoke another one's pipe without his sanction

§ 125. *yaka'* TO SIT, *yuka'* TO LIE, '*iyu'ga* TO QUESTION ABOUT, *heyu'* TO TIE A BUNDLE

In all these *may-* and *níy-* of the first and second persons are contracted before the following vowels to *m-* and *n-*, similar to the treatment of *ma-* and *ni-* in '*u*. In the dual the initial *y* remains, except in *heyu'*.

The dative forms are active but may be combined with the neutral forms in the first and second persons.

maka', *naka'*, *yaka'*, '*yya'ka* to sit

w'e'cimaka or *w'e'ciyaka*, *y'e'cinaka* or *y'e'ciyaka*, *ki'ciyaka*, '*úk'iciyaka* to sit in place of someone else;
c'í'ciyaka I sit in your place

muka', *nuka'*, *yuka'*, '*yyu'ka* to lie down (3d person *waka'* in S Y)

w'e'cimuka or *w'e'ciyuka*, *y'e'cinuka* or *y'e'ciyuka*, *ki'ciyuka*, '*úk'iciyuka* to lie down in place of someone;
c'í'ciyuka I lie in your place

'*iyu'ga* to question about something, neutral.

'*imu'ga*, '*inu'ga*, '*iyu'ga*, '*úk'iyuga* (3d person '*iwa'ga* in Santee).

²⁴ See also p. 94.

From this transitive forms are derived:

'ic'i'muga or 'ic'i'yuga I question thee about it

'ima'yanuga you question me about it

'uki'niyugapi we question thee about it

Also 'imi'c'iyuga I question myself about it

'iwe'cimuga or 'iwe'ciyuga, 'iye'cinuga or 'iye'ciyuga, 'iki'ciyuga, 'uki'ciyuga to question about it in place of someone; 'ic'i'ciyuga I ask about it on your behalf

heyu' to tie a bundle

hemu', henu', heyu', heu'yu (S; heu'k'u? T)

§ 126. yu'ta To EAT

wa'ta, ya'ta, yu'ta, 'yyu'ta to eat

c'iyu'ta I eat thee, niyu'ta he eats thee, 'yni'yuta, we eat thee, maya'luta thou eatest me (double pronoun), mayu'ta he eats me, 'yyu'ta he eats us;—wic'a'wata, wic'a'yata, wic'a'yuta, wic'u'yuta to eat several persons;—g.lu'ta he eats his own, 'ig.lu'ta he eats himself

§ 127. CAUSATIVE VERBS IN -ya AND k'iya

CAUSATIVE VERBS IN -ya

This verb occurs only as a suffix. Instead of the forms *b.la* and *la* for the first and second persons, we find *waya* and *yaya*.

They aspirate the *ki* for the first dative. The second dative is divided into two forms. The form "instead of, in place of" inserts after *kici* another aspirate *c'i* (<*k'i*); the form "on his initiative" has the usual form. At present the 2d dative *b* is obsolescent. It seems likely that the 1st dative and the 2d dative (a) are derived from *-k'iya*, not from *-ya* (see below)

	1st dative	2d dative		Possessive
		a in place of	b on one's own initiative	
1st person.....	-wak'iya	-wecic'iya	-weciya	-wakiya
2d person.....	-yak'iya	-yecic'iya	-yeciya	-yakiya
3d person.....	-k'iya	-kicic'iya	-kiciya	-kiya
Inclusive.....	-uk'iya	-ukicic'iya	-ukiciya	-ukiya

Examples:

'ina'ziwak'iya I cause him to stand up; 'ina'ziwecic'iya I make it stand up in his place, with his sanction;
'ina'zic'icic'iya I — in your place, with your sanction, ((*c'i*) -thee; -*cic'iya*)

CAUSATIVE VERBS IN -k'iya

With neutral verbs and datives *-k'iya* and *-ya* may be used in combination, and *-k'iya* may appear twice in the same verb, the first part of which takes a subordinate form retaining the object:

sapma'k'iya he causes mine to be black without my sanction
sapma'k'iyewaya I am the unintentional cause of his causing mine to be black without my sanction
sapk'i'yemayak'iya you cause me to cause his to be black without his sanction
sapni'cic'iyewak'iya I cause him to cause yours to be black with your sanction
iki'ciyukcamayak'iya you made me think about it for him
ini'ciyukcamak'iya } he made me think about it for you
ic'i'ciyukcamak'iya }

'*iyé'ya* to find'*iyé'waya* I find itPossessive: '*iyé'wakiya*1st dative: '*iyé'wak'iya* I find it for him2d dative a: '*iyé'wecic'iya* I find it in his stead2d dative b: '*iyé'weciya* I find his on my own initiative

Here belong also:

slolya' to know*slolki'ciya*, he knows his (another one's) on his own initiative*slolki'cic'iya* he knows on his behalfVerbs which have *-ya* instead of *-ya* (see p. 32) are treated in the same manner.§ 128. *na'zi* TO STAND

This verb reduplicates the first person entirely irregularly by including the first person in the reduplication.

na(wa')s(wa)ziki na (wa)hi'yu (I) just stood about and came on§ 129. '*eya'* TO SAY'*ep'a'*, '*eha'*, '*eya'*, '*uke'ya* to say'*ewa'kiya*, '*eya'kiya*, '*eci'ya*, '*uke'ciya* to say to another one; '*eci'ciya* I say to youInstead of the possessive, a reflexive is used: *emi'c'iya* I say on behalf of myself, lit. I say myself (obj.); 3d p. *ei'c'iya*.'*ewe'ciya*, '*eye'ciya*, '*eki'ciya*, '*uke'kiciya* to say in place of someone (also '*eki'cic'iya*, etc.)With demonstratives *leya'*, *heya'*, *ke'ya'*, *ta'keya*.dual plural *leu'keya*, *heu'keya*, *ke'u'keya*, *ta'keukeya* to say to—; *lewa'kiya*, *leya'kiya*, *leci'ya*, *leu'kekiya* (more correctly, but not heard so often *leu'keciya*)The other forms follow the same pattern. The dative has no demonstrative forms; instead *le'c'el ewe'ciya* thus I said for him.§ 130. *hiyu'* TO START TO COME

Modern forms regular:

wahi'yu, *yahi'yu*, *hiyu'*, '*uhi'yu*

Old forms, still in use about 1880:

hibu', *hilu'*, *hiyu'*, *uhi'yu*At present the form *hibu'* still occurs in old songs.§ 131. *ku'za* TO DECREE, *ka'ga* TO MAKE*ka'ga* to make, lacks the series *waki-* and has instead *we'caga* I make for him, *c'i'caga* I make it for you (without your sanction), *miye'caga* you make it for me, etc.; and *c'i'cicaga* I make yours or I make it for you with your sanction (etc.). The possessive forms are irregular insofar as they aspirate the *c*, *we'c'aga* I make my own.*waku'za* to decree something, also lacks the series *waki-* and has instead *wawe'cuza* I decree something for him without his sanction and *wawe'cicuza* with his sanction, or in place of another one. The other forms follow the same pattern. As in *ka'ga* the possessive has aspirate *c'*, *we'c'uzza* I decree something my own, *mic'i'c'uzza* for myself.§ 132. VERBS IN *t'u* AND OTHERS INSERTING *ca*Verbs in *t'u* to acquire, to wear, introduce *ca* in both datives. These forms are parallel to the verbs of motion with dative *ka* (see §111, p. 94).*hawe't'u* I am dressed: *hawe'cat'u* 1st dative, *hawe'cicat'u* 2d dative*wap'o'stawet'u* I wear a hat: *wap'o'stawecat'u* 1st dative, *wap'o'stawecicat'u* 2d dative

In the same way:

c'uwí'gnak-wet'ú I wear a dress;—*ip'í'yak-wet'ú* I wear a belt;—*'o'g.le-wet'ú* I wear a coat

In the first dative inserted *ca* is found in:

op'e't'ú to buy: *op'e'wecat'ú* I buy it for her without her sanction;—*op'e'wet'ú* I buy back my own, or
op'e'wakit'ú;—*op'e'wecit'ú* I buy back his own with his (the same person's) sanction

c'et'í to build a fire, is treated in the same way: *c'ewa'kit'í* I build a fire for a ceremony;—*c'ewe'cat'í*
1st dative, *c'ewe'cit'í* 2d dative;—*'oc'e'wakit'í* I build a fire in his (stove)

kq' to tell a tale: *we'cakq* I tell it for him;—*we'cicakq* I tell in his place

§ 133. 'i-cu' TO TAKE; 'a-tu'wq TO LOOK AROUND FOR; o-wa' TO DRAW, WRITE

These insert *k* in the possessive:

twe'kcu I take my own (i. e. take it back);—*awe'ktuwaq* I look around for my own;—*o-we'gwa* I write my own
(Western Ogalala)

§ 134. u'yq TO LOSE

Possessive is another verb *wag.nu'ni* I lose my own:

1st dative *waki'u'yq* or rarely *waki'ub.la*

2d dative *we'ciuyq* or rarely *we'ciub.la*

§ 135. DEFECTIVE VERBS

yuk'q' there is, exists

In T and Y only for indefinite collectives, like: he has horses, there are people; only 3d person singular.

According to Riggs this is a defective verb in Santee. The only forms he gives are:

yuk'q' there exists;—*yuk'q'pi* there exist;—*duk'q'pi* you exist;—*'uk'q'(pi)* we (dual and plural) exist.

In Yankton this is used as continuative suffix in dual and plural, but without *pi*. In the first person dual and plural the pronoun precedes the verb that is made continuative (singular *yaka* unaccented).

'uke'ya-yuk'q we are saying (dual inclusive and plural; in Yankton the plural of the continuative has no *-pi*); *'eha'duk'q* ye were saying;—*'ep'a'maka* I am saying

Regular in Teton

mayu'k'q there exists for me (I have) or *maki'yuk'q*

niyu'k'q there exists for thee (you have) or *nici'yuk'q*

yuk'q' there exists, *kiyu'k'q*²⁵ they exist for him

yuk'q'pi there exist for them, *'uki'yuk'q* there exist for us

'epca' I thought it²⁶

No indefinite form with *to-*. No other persons.

'u'wa' come!

'u'wa yo' (man speaking), *'u'wa'* (woman speaking), *'u'wapo'* (man speaking), *'u'wapi'* (woman speaking),
come! *'u' wo'* formal

§ 136. IRREGULAR ADVERBIAL FORMS

'isti'ma to sleep, has the irregular adverbial form *'u'stima* 33.15, (<*'oi'stima*; *'oi'stime* sleep, noun)

Analogous is S *'u'htata* (doubtful meaning; stem *-htata* to be relaxed; lacking tension; *wayu'-htata* to offer sacrifice).²⁷ See also p. 60

'u'h.daka (Santee) migrating; Teton: *'ig.la'ka* to migrate; *'oi'g.lake* migration

²⁵ Homonym *kiyu'k'q* he makes room for him, stem *k'q*.

²⁶ With demonstratives *lepca'*, *hepca'*, *ke'pca'*.

²⁷ T *wau'yq*, Y *wo'sna*.

§ 137. RECIPROCAL ²⁸

The reciprocal expressing action of two or several without reference to a third is expressed by *kic'i* which takes the position of personal pronouns. The first person is *we'c'i*, the second *ye'c'i*, the first person dual *'uki'c'i*.

'aki'c'ip'api they struck each other;—*c'aki'c'ip'ap'api* they stabbed each other 175.9;—*kic'i'kiepi* they killed each other 175.10;—*kic'i'zapi* they fought each other 175.9

When the first verb is in adverbial form *kic'i* may stand with the active finite verb.

yu's kic'i'yakahapi 194.11, or *kic'i'yus yaka'pi* they were sitting holding each other

With other adverbial forms *kic'i* is always attached to the finite verb.

'eha'-kic'i'ipi then they came upon each other 175.6;—*hena'os 'e'l kic'i'ipi s'a* the two always came to (visit) each other

These forms may also be subordinated: *'aki'c'ip'a t'a'pi* they struck each other dead (striking each other they died).

A second reciprocal *'i'c'i* has always initial position. It expresses fundamentally the idea that a third person handles objects in reference to each other, or that several persons handle each other in reference to something else.

kic'i'caskapi they tie up each other, *'i'c'icaska* he ties them (inanimate) together;—*waki'c'iyakapi* they see each other; *'i'c'iwayaka* he sees them (comparing) the one to the other (inanimate), *'i'c'iwawic'ayaka* (animate);—*'ik'o'yakic'iyapi* they hold fast to each other (lit. they cause each other to be held fast to each other), *'i'c'ik'oyakya* he causes them to hold fast to each other (inanimate).

With objective reference:

'ana'kic'itapi they rush at each other, or at one another, *'i'c'inatapi* they rush (competing with each other) at something;—*'oki'c'ihom.nipi* they go around each other, *'i'c'iohom.ni ku'pi* they come going (in regard to their coming) around each other. (The former would be a circular turning, the latter a forward motion in which the one by a turn to the side avoids the other who is in his way);—*k'aki'c'ip'api* they outdo each other, *'i'c'ik'apeya* (adv.) outdoing each other in regard to;—*naki'c'iwizipi* they are jealous of each other (without reference to the object of jealousy); *'i'c'inawizipi* they are jealous of each other in reference to the object of jealousy;—*'i'c'icakizaha* it is making them squeak against each other

The forms in *'i'c'i* appear generally in adverbial form.

'i'ya ki'c'iyap'a 'u' the stones striking them against each other she used;—*kai'c'iyopteya 'iwa'kazo* made into a cross, I draw them 4.2;—*'i'c'icameya ha'* they stood making them rub against each other 21.14;—*'i'c'ipahaha hiyu'pi* they came out, by pushing tumbling over each other 195.2

§ 138. REFLEXIVE

The reflexive is formed by the element *ic'i* which follows the objective pronoun. *mic'i*, *nic'i*, *'uki'c'i*; for instance, *c'ami'c'ip'a*, *c'ani'c'ip'a*, *c'ai'c'ip'a*, *c'au'kic'ip'a* to stab oneself.

In verbs with instrumental prefixes *ic'i* follows *wa*, *wo* and *na* (by cutting, by pushing from a distance, with the foot). In verbs with *pa* by pushing, it precedes the prefix.

wai'c'iksa he cuts himself; *woi'c'ihpa* he knocks himself over;—*nai'c'ihata* he kicks himself;—*sap'i'c'iya* he blackens himself;—*zuzeca-'ic'c'aga* he made himself into a snake 28.5;—*'i'yak-'ic'i'c'iya* he caused himself to run;—*nii'c'iya* he saved himself (caused himself to live) 30.1;—*wau'kai'c'ilala* he regarded himself as a little important one (*wa-* indefinite; *'u'* to be; *ka* kind of; *la* to consider; *la* diminutive) 49.7

* See also p. 79.

Verbs with initial *y* (or *y* taking the pronouns *bl*, *l*) and those with the prefix *ka* have the reflexive forms *mig.l*, *nig.l*, *'ig.l*, *'ukig.l* related to the possessive forms. (See p. 87.)

mig.lu'ha I support (have) myself;—*mig.lu'ska* I clean myself;—*ig.lu'hlahlata* he clawed himself repeatedly 40.3;—*mig.la'waste* I praise myself;—*mig.la'hū* (*kahū*) I gash myself;—*igla'itom.ni* he made himself dizzy 45.2
t'ig.la'ga to pitch one's own tent is formed from *t'i-ca'ga* as though *ka* were an instrumental

The same reflexives are used for indirect objects: *wami'c'iksa* I cut myself or I cut for myself (for my own use).

Verbs in *ya-*, *yu-*, *ka-* may form double reflexives.

mig.la'sica I complain of bad treatment, *mic'i'g.lasica* I speak badly of myself;—*tayq'ig.lu'za* he dresses well, *sica'ya ig.lu'za* he dresses badly, *ic'i'g.luzza* he holds on to it for himself;—*mig.lu'sta* I am through, *mic'i'g.lustq* I finish it for myself;—*kasu'ta* to harden by striking, *ig.la'suta* he hardens himself, *ic'i'g.lasuta* he hardens it for himself

On the whole these double reflexives express indirect reflexives.

Reflexives in which *ic'i* changes to *ici'* after nasalized vowels:

q-ic'i contracted to *ici'*: *skq* to be active, *sk'i'ciya* to move, struggle, *sk'i'miciya* I struggle;—*m.nayq'* to collect, *m.ni'ciyapi* they assemble;—*nih'i'ciya* (instead of *nihq'-ic'iya*) to be scared
'*oi'ci*' contracted to *uci'*: *'u'cishi'ni* to be lazy (instead of *'oi'c'ishi'ni* he is unable to help himself);—*'oki'kpani* to fail, *u'cikpani* (instead of *'oi'c'ikpani*) to fail one's self, i. e., to be lazy
kte' regular, except one specialized form: *ic'i'kte* he kills himself (regular); *ici'kte* he kills himself by choking, hanging

§ 139. CONTINUATIVE

The continuative is expressed by the unaccented suffix *hq* (from *hq'* to stand) in Teton; by *yaka* to sit, in the singular, by *yuk'a* in dual and plural in Yankton.

p'e'ta ki'ile'ya he' the fire stands burning; *p'e'ta ki'ile'he'* the fire continues to burn
'*oma'ni-yahq sk'e'* it is said he was going about to travel 1.1;—*'eya'hapi* they were saying 20.3;—*'isto'-g.mus wac'i'hapi* with closed eyes they were dancing 21.5;—*'e'l wi'yukca yaka'ha sk'e'* there cogitating he was sitting it is said (lit. sitting he stood!) 23.6

Yankton:

'*uke'yayuk'a* we (dual inclusive and plural) were saying; *eha'duk'a* you (plural) were saying; *eya'yuk'a* they were saying

Santee:

c'e'ya-yaka she was crying R 145.8

Another form of the continuative which rather stresses the existence of an individual or object in a certain condition is formed from the contracted verb and the verb *'u* to exist.

psi'l'u'pi they exist (are) jumping about 48.1 *ni' 'u'* he is alive 15.8

'*u'* to exist, is used for living beings; *'ic'a'ga* to grow for plants, both to express permanent existence.

he'l 'u' there he lives, exists; or *he'l 'ou'ye* there he has his place of existence;—*mak'a' akq'l 'u'pi k'u* those who existed on the earth 2.14;—*tayq' 'o'p 'u' sk'e'* nicely with them she stayed 89.7

'*u* is also used to express an activity that is continued persistently while one is occupied with other matters.

c'e'ya 'u'pi ke' it is said they were crying all the time (while attending to other things) 13.4;—*ma'niyq 'u'* he is walking about (e. g. being distracted, roving)

'*u* used for living beings may also take the continuative *hq*.

For inanimate objects *'u* always implies that they are in a container, like seeds in a melon, clothing in a box, bag or any other container, but not within an enclosure, as within a stockade or corral.

wązi' 'icu', 'o'ta 'u' we take one! there are many in it; but *wązi' 'icu', 'o'ta ye* take one! there are many (not in a container);—*wi'yatke ki mahe'l m.ni' 'u'* inside the container is water

NOTE.—The verb 'e' is used only for identifying a particular individual.

le' su'ka' this is a dog, or fuller *le' su'ka' 'eya'pi ki he'c'a'* this is what they call a dog, it is of that kind; but *le' su'ka ki' 'e'* this is the dog (we expected to see), or *le' su'ka k'u' 'e'* this is the dog we were talking about;—*he' 'ate' 'e'* that is my father;—*'ikto'mi he' 'e'* it was Iktomi 16.12;—*wahte' sni ki le' e'* — the worthless one, this is the one (who —) 90.10

§ 140. FUTURE

The future is expressed by *kta* which changes preceding changeable *a* to *i*. The *a* of *kta* is changeable.

wąya' ki kta he will see him
t'i' kte sni he is not going to die

The future expresses also the obligatory must. An urgent order is formed by adding *tako'm.ni* whatever may happen. A milder form is:

y'i' kta iye'c'eca it is likely that he will go; *y'i' kta-iye'c'eca* he ought to go

§ 141. NEGATIVE

The negative is expressed by *sní* which changes terminal *a* of verbs that admit change to *e*. It is so closely connected with the verb that the adverbial suffix *-ya* follows the negative.

sní expresses a special negation; when the negation is general, inclusive, the preceding indefinite pronoun, or numeral, has the suffix *ní* (in Yankton *na*).

tuwe' ki wqb.la' kešni' I did not see who it was
tuwe' ni wqb.la' kešni' I did not see anyone
'uma' wqb.la' kešni' I did not see the one (but the other one)
'uma' ni wqb.la' kešni' I saw neither the one nor the other
wi'ya tuwe' ni wqb.la' kešni' I did not see any woman among them
wązi' sni' it is not one (but another number)
wązi' nišni' it is not one (of that group)
to'k'i m.ni' ktešni' I am not going away, to some particular place
to'k'iyani m.ni' ktešni' I am not going anywhere at all
ta'ku wac'i' sni' I have no wants
ta'kuni wac'i' sni' I do not want anything at all
ta'k to'k'amųktešni' I am not going to do anything particular
ta'kuni ec'a' mųktešni' I am not going to do anything at all

The negative interrogative is also expressed by *sní* which however is not followed by a glottal stop.

kinas' 'ina'-t'oka' p'a ki kic'i' le' sni' in that case, how about my eldest mother's sister going along with you? 9.1
'oma' yanišni' you are not walking about
'oma' yanišni' why don't you walk about?

Also with double negation intensifying the negation:

'oma' yanišni sni' why don't you not walk about, i. e., why don't you stay at home? 9, note 2;—*kiš wala' wašni sni'* why don't you not read? i. e., why don't you stop reading;—*'iyo'k'išni sni'* why did he not forbid him?;—*waya' tešni sni'* why do you not not eat, i. e., do eat!;—*ehq'ni' esa' š b.le' sni sni'* I wish (now) I had not gone;—*wąca'k 'e' š ug.le' sni sni'* why not simply not go home, you and I;—*he'c'ųšni sni'* he ought not to do that

Intensification of the negative by repetition of *sní* occurs particularly in adverbs.

'ec'i' snišniyaq; 'ekta' snišniyaq wrongly, adversely;—*'i'u' snišniyaq* falsely ('i' mouth;—*t'u* to have);—*'ista' ki nat'q' išnišniyaq* with eyes not showing 239.1;—*'niya' snišni* all out of breath (adv.) 272.17

Verbs which include *šni* in the theme form a negation by the usual process of suffixing *šni*.

'*iyé šni* to be dumb;—*ma'nišni* to be lame;—*šičešni* not to be spoiled;—*hpeca'šni* to be lively (*hpa* lying down);—*špu'kešni* to be a nuisance

Double negative also expresses repetition.

wica'lašnišnike c'e'yaš 'e'yayapi although he frequently demurred they took him along;—'*ec'ič'šnišniya 'e'tuwe'* he looked away repeatedly (*ec'ič'* to want, *ec'ič'kešni* to be disinclined)

Also with indefinite pronouns: *taku'šnišni* trifles; *tuwe'šnišni* anyone whoever it may be. *tase'*—*ka* a strong negation:

tase' m.nič'kte ca I am not going to go (an absolute refusal);—*tase' he'c'etu ka* that is not the way!;—*tase' he'c'el wac'ič'ka* I do not want it like that!

Men preface *tase'* often by the exclamation *oñ* or *hoñ*, women by *hiya* no. In a simple answer *hiya'* is accented.

§ 142. *šna* USUALLY

šna is used adverbially. It does not change terminal *a* to *e*. *waa'p'ašna oma'ni* he goes about striking people. It is more idiomatic to attach it to adverbs, particularly those derived from demonstratives or indefinite adverbs.

'*eya'šna waa'p'a 'oma'ni* well, he always goes about striking people;—*ta'ku wac'ič' c'ašna wala'* whenever I want anything, it being so always I ask for it;—*tohq'l ku' c'a'šna 'ut'e'* when he comes home that being so always he shoots (whenever he comes home he shoots);—*le'c'ešna 'ec'a'mu s'a* in this manner I usually do it;—*he'šna wau'* there I usually stay;—*tukte'šna waya'ta hef* where as a rule do you eat?

The following series are all idiomatic and the *šna* merely emphasizes various aspects:

le'c'iyatahąšna 'ece' t'oke'ya pusya' 'iye'waye' on this side regularly exclusively first I dry it; *le'c'iyatahą 'ece'šna t'oke'ya pusya' 'iye'waye'* on this side exclusively regularly first I dry it; *le'c'iyatahą 'ece' t'oke'yašna pusya' 'iye'waye'* on this side exclusively first regularly I dry it; *le'c'iyatahą 'ece' t'oke'ya pusya'šna 'iye'waye'* on this side exclusively first I dry it regularly

In other words *šna* adds the idea of regular action to the word it immediately follows.

§ 143. *s'a* REGULARLY, HABITUALLY

s'a changes terminal *a* of the verb to which it is attached, when changeable, to *e*. The *a* of *s'a* is not changeable (*ece' Y ece'* or *ce' S* do not change terminal *a*)

he'c'u s'a he did that regularly 145.3, 277.1
he'c'i t'e'hąhą 'u' s'a there he used to stay a long time 232.12
'o'we ha'hąpila s'a they make jokes regularly 27.5
'oya'kapi s'a they tell it habitually 216.17

§ 144. QUOTATIVE

1. Statements known by hearsay are indicated by *šk'a'*, terminally *šk'e''*. (For *šk'a* although, see p. 175, note 93.)

'*eya' šk'e''* he said, it is said 1.6
'*ini'lañci hi'yotaka šk'e''* very quietly she came and sat down, it is said 64.7

Sometimes *ke''*, probably derived from *ke'ya'* "thus he said," is used instead of *šk'e''*.

c'ič'šni ke'' he would not, it is said 9.2
'*eya' ke''* he said, it is said 65.13

2. When the statement or thought of a definite person is quoted, the quotation may end with *lo* (*le*), *ye*, *c'e* or *k'y*. The first is used for the present or future; the second for an obligatory future; the third for the past. The glottal stop is not used at the end of the quotation. *c'e*

is also used in formal speeches when the future is determinate; it also designates something unescapable on account of supernatural sanctions.

yí'kta c'e 'eye', "he shall go," he said;—*wic'a'sa kí le' zuya' yí'kta c'e, 'eye'* "this man shall go to war," he said;—*c'uká, le' nu'kta c'e, 'ate' 'eyí' nq' sína' wq' wáste' maka'g.lí'* "daughter, you shall wear this," father said and brought for me a beautiful blanket;—*m.ní'ktesni c'e 'ep'e' cí* I say, "I am not going" (so why do you pester me, see p. 158);—*hí'hana kíhā hūka'yapi í'isyā' híyo'take cíhā, í'aka'n 'ina'-wap'íkta e'e, 'eya'* "tomorrow when the sun (ceremonial term) when it firmly arrives sitting down, outside I shall step," he said (jantee).

k'ú expresses the past. It is the past article. (See p. 133.)

'ehq'ni 'iya'ye c'ú, 'eye' "long ago he started," he said;—*'iya'ye c'ú, 'eye'* "he has gone," he said;—*nawa'te kí he'l mí's mawq'k'ala k'ú, 'eye'* "my temples there I have (always) been weak" 26.7;—*'iyu'keq' waku' k'ú, 'eye'* "thinking of it I came," he said;—*le' e' k'ú 'eye'* "this is he," she said;—*ka'k'i m.ní'kte c'ú, 'eya'* "I am or was about to go there," he said

'ec'í' to think, may be used with the same forms, but the sentences in *c'e* must be determinate.

'ehq'ni 'iya'ye c'ú, 'ec'í' "long ago he started," he thought;—*yewi'c'awayí'kta c'e 'ec'í'* "I shall make them go" he thought; but not *wic'a'sa kí zuya' yí'kta c'e, 'ec'í'* "the man shall go to war," he thought, (because it might happen that he refuses). On the other hand *m.ní'kta c'e, 'ec'í'* "I'll go," he thought, is possible

In other verbs that might be used with a quotative *'eya'* is always used, p. e., *wic'a'sa kí lena' zuya' 'a'yíkta c'e, 'eya'-yustā'* "these men shall go to war," he said finished, i. e., "he decided."

3. When expressing one's own thoughts, in remarks not requiring an answer, or in a remark expressing thoughts in soliloquy the terminal particle *ke* is used.

(*'it'o'*) *ka'ki b.la' ke ('ec'a'mi)* (well,) there I'll go (I think).

'it'o' wo'wak'u ke, 'ec'í'pi well, I'll give him food, they thought

When *'ec'í'* is not used, the *e* of *ke* is lengthened with falling tone.

§ 145. *kí* TAKE CARE LEST! (S *kí, nu'ce'*)

he'c'ú s'a ke c'ú niya'ye ci lo' she always does somewhat that way, take care lest you let her live (*niya'* to cause to live) 145.3

wani'c'ihy kí lo' take care lest you cut yourself!

niya'htake ci lo' take care lest he bite you!

Compare:

ayú'stq yo'! wani'c'ihykte stop! you will cut yourself!

mí'la kí he' 'iya'cu hq'tahqá wani'c'ihykte se'ce lo' if you take the knife you will cut yourself it is probable

§ 146. *ke'* RIDICULING

'eya' ke' that is what you say! lit. that is what he says

he'c'ú ke' that is what you do! (lit. 3d person)

This may be contracted from *ke'ya'* he said that.

§ 147. *s'e* AS THOUGH

s'e is used adverbially. It changes terminal *a* of the verb to which it is attached, when changeable, to *e*.

c'a' yusna'pi s'e 'iha'kap hina'p'e' as though rustling trees were following him he ran out 276.16

mí'yog.las'í híyu'yapi s'e like flashes being sent 209.17

c'ag.le'ska s'e 'iyu'ka ke' like a hoop he lay, it is said 215.15

t'at'a'ka s'e le'c'eca like a buffalo bull this was 217.6

síle' nak'a'p yeki'ye s'e 'iya'ya the tail as though kicking her own she started off 189.5

he'l tyyá' s'e le'c'eca there as though it was good this was 194.1

§ 148. ADVERSATIVE *s*

The terminal *s* is primarily an adversative element, often only with emphatic meaning. It occurs with pronouns and many adverbial and conjunctive elements. With personal pronouns, it always requires a precedent, the opposite of what is to be emphasized.

With pronouns:

mi's-eya I also 2.9, 236.10
'i's-eya he also 43.2
ho', ni's nitu'we huwo' well, now you, who are you? 29.1
ho' ikto', ni's heha'tu we lo' well, Ikto, you are next! 34.5
mi's miye' ki mak'i'li ye lo' but I, the one who is I, am all right 40.1
miye's I at least, synonym of *miye'k'es* (*mi-e'k'es*) 29.10
ig.la'tqhe lo'; *miye'ka ye's hep'e'ni ki* he is boasting; even I do not say that!

With adverbs and conjunctions:

wana's now indeed 27.15;—*'ak'e's* again indeed 25.1;—*le's* here indeed 27.2;—*to'k'eni's* in no wise 29.13;—*'a'tayas* at all indeed 51.9;—*na's* and indeed 186.11, 187.1;—*tok'a's* perhaps (it being indeed somehow) 26.5; *hqb.le'b.le's* extraordinarily (from *hqb.le'* to seek a vision)
niya'te t'a' c'as wana' huhu' 'oka'b.lalya yuke' ci your father is dead, so indeed now his bones being scattered he lies 16.9 (see also 27.8)
'i'se' leha'l ni' u' yu'k'a's 'ani'lowapi k'o'kta tk'a' ye' really up to now alive (if) he existed, then, indeed, they would even sing over you 15.8 (see § 165, p. 147)
he'ha'nis ma't'i'kta tk'a' k'e'yas wak'a'yela leha' wahi' at that time indeed I should have died, but miraculously up to this time I arrived (live)
wana' nake's 'iya'ya now certainly indeed he went away 22.13

'e's literally: but it is it; giving emphasis to the contrast between an expected event and an actual occurrence; therefore often "instead" (see p. 159):

le'c'el-yau'ke ci 'e's taku'nci k'oya'kip'e se'ce lo' you the one who exists this way (contrary to expectation), you probably fear something 3.8;—*'e's to'k* how about it? (unexpectedly what?) 26.5;—*'e's wana' niya'te taya' 'a'ya he'* (although hardly to be expected) is your father now getting well?;—*he' 'e's wqb.la'ke'* that much I saw;—*he's k'ola'waye se'ce 'u'* but he seemed to be my friend!—*t'aka'l 'e's ska'ta'* instead (of indoors) play out-of-doors!;—*he'c'el 'e's* instead of being thus 22.16;—*itu'ka ye's* anyway instead 66.19;—*ma't'a'peh'a ye's k'o' ahi'huni* even toads also arrived 73.2;—*wo'yute ye's to'k'a-iwa'g.nisni* I cannot even get food 34.16

'e's 'e's anyway:

'e's 'e's wo'wazakta-iy'e'ha'u c'a'ena k'es mak'i'kte anyway it is time for me to wash, it being so I'll just stay home;—*tok'i's'es 'e's heya' c'a'ec'a'mukte* according to my wish he said it and so I'll do it¹

Unaccented *'es* expresses a weak emphasis, like German "doch"

'ec'el ('es) 'e'wic'aktuzapi so they forgot them 9.10;—*he'c'el ('es) ci'ni s'a k'u'* that way she did not want 46.5;—*he'c'el ('es) wo'tesni-* this he did not eat 22.16;—*i ma'hel ('es) k'igle'* he went back into the house

he'c'el 'es is often contracted to *he'c'es* 1.1; 30.1; 77.6;—with plural *pi-'es* > *pes*: *'awi'c'ap'apes* even when they struck them;—*i's-es-'ekel-'es* by the way

Various uses:

c'e's at end of a statement, though 22.10; who knows! *to'k'i ni'kte ca c'e's* where you will go, who knows!
t'o'wa's le' waq.lu'stakta tk'a' I really wanted to finish this first
'e's to'k, misu' tok'a's tukte'l niwa'k'ala se'ce how about it, little brother, in some way indeed somewhere you may be weak 26.5

ta'ku waste' k'es ihq'kyapi ki something good but regularly they destroy it 23.8

lec'a's just a moment ago (see § 155, no. 29, p. 121)

lec'a'las t'e' c'u' having died just now 13.7

'eyas t'a'ha p'a' ki li'la kap'o'zela as is well known indeed, a deer's head is very light 28.12

ha'tqha's if that should happen, then 12.6, 8

'cha's to'k'el ec'u'kta t'qi'ni' that was too much! how he would act was not clear 23.4

kinas ina-t'oka p'a' ki kic'i' le'ni' In that case, with my eldest mother's sister, will you not go along?

9.1

¹ *tok'i's*. see optative, p. 111.

he'c'es a general introductory particle used in tales 30.1

tk'a's wana' wac'o'k'i na wapa'sna k'u hena' iyu'ha hena'la sk'e' but now the roastings in ashes and those on spits were all gone 22.15

na'i's or, else (see § 165, p. 144)

'aka's no wonder 2.8.

For *k'e'yaš* see p. 145.

The meanings of the pronouns, demonstratives, adverbs and conjunctions which are emphasized by *-s* will be found discussed under their proper headings.

A number of modifiers which follow verbs begin with *s*. These are *sna* usually (p. 106), *sni* negation (p. 105), and *seha'*. Notwithstanding its apparent initial position it may be identical with the adversative *s*. *sna* may possibly contain the unaccented ending *-na* (p. 120) used with demonstratives; *sni* may be based on the negative *ni*. *seha'* by this (or that) time (Y. *heha'*) is evidently derived from *'eha'* (p. 117); also *seha'* *stuk'a* this time without fail 185.10; *seha'l 'e'* (Y. *heha'n 'e'*) now (is the time to do something that previously was inappropriate)

§ 149. DECLARATIVE PARTICLES AND END OF SENTENCE

1. The end of a declarative statement of a commonly known fact, or the mere statement of a fact previously not known to the hearer and without expression of an opinion regarding it is expressed by the terminal glottal stop, both by men and women. Changeable terminal *a* becomes *e*; all other vowels take the glottal stop without any change.

heha'yela 'owi'hake' there it ends 5.11;—*'awaq'yak k'uwa'* watching him she followed him 8.4;—*leye'* she said as follows 8.4;—*hi'hana c'ake' heye'* next morning then he said that what follows 176.12;—*stolye'sni'* he did not know 176.16;—*wana' 'i'yakapi'* now they ran 177.2;—*maja'zu'* it is raining;—*lak'o'ta'* he is a Dakota

2. The particle *ye* is attached to stems ending in unchangeable *a* or *q*, or in *e*, *i*, *z*. With changeable *a* or *q* it is contracted to *e*; after *o*, *u*, *u* it takes the form *we*. (See p. 29.) With the plural *pi* it forms *pe*. In various types of sentences it appears accented and unaccented.

Exclamatory sentences, i. e., sentences calling attention to immediately present states or actions, generally introduced by an unaccented demonstrative (see p. 115) close with unaccented *ye*, man or woman speaking.

le na'zi ye here he stands!—*he yake'* there he is (sits)! (accented, because contracted from *yaka' ye*);—*he'c'iyataha le wau' we* (see here!) from there I am coming!;—*he 'oma'niyape* there they are going on a trip!

When an intention is expressed in soliloquy or in a remark not directed at any one in particular (which can be only in the first person singular) men and women use the unaccented future *kte* < *ktaye*.

'it'o' wag.ni'kte suppose I go home! (synonym *'it'o' wag.la'ke*);—*'it'o' 'oma'ni-mni'kte* suppose I go walking! 109.7

Energetic statements followed by an imperative that has an inner relation to the statement also use the form in unaccented *ye*, man or woman speaking.

'isti'me 'ini'la yaka' po' (synonym *'isti'ma, c'e 'ini'la yaka' po'*) he is asleep! be quiet!;—*'osni'ye t'ima' g.la' yo'* (synonym *'osni' c'e t'ima' g.la' yo'*) it is cold! go in!;—*taku'l 'iwa'houniyapikte 'ina'hni yo'* some message we will send by you! hurry! 236.13;—*waho'si-wahi ye nah'u' po'* (synonym *c'e for ye 4.7*) I come bringing a message! listen!;—*le'c'u we waya'ka po'* (synonym *c'e for we*) see him doing this! (*le'c'u ki waya'ka po'* would mean: watch the doing of this!)

The synonym forms in *c'e* are presumably derived from *c'a ye*. (See p. 146.)

Direct quotations of statements which, when not quoted would end with a glottal stop end in unaccented *ye*, *c'e* or *k'u*. (See p. 106.) These are followed by *'eya'* he said, or *'ec'i'* he thought.

'ec'a he ktataḡa nakī kte, 'eya'pi' "then you will sit behind," they said 91.10;—c'a' 'au'yewaye, 'eya'-ho'uya ke' "I caused him to grow on a tree," she said sending out her voice, it is said, 178.10;—mit'a' hiḡ.na'kula ki li'la wag.la' hce, 'eye' "my younger sister's miserable husband I abhor very much," said she 202.9;—to'k'a'-ib.lab.lešni ye', 'eye' "I cannot go further," said she 217.18;—'ece's li'la c'e ye s'a ye, 'eya'pi' "he is crying too much," they said 268.6;—'awi'c'a-wag.li ye, 'eye' "I brought them home," he said 53.12;—'i'o' we'caḡikte, 'ec'i' she thought, "I'll make it for him" 198.11;—tu'hišni hi'sni k'u, 'eye' "the one who never came before," said she 174.2;—he' wo't'ehi-wakila k'i, 'eye' "I consider that hard on me," said she 178.14;—tuwe'ni'o' 'oki'hišni k'u, 'eye' "nobody is able to hit it," she said 110.9;—'ina' 'u'pikte c'u, 'eye' or 'ina' 'u'pikte, 'eye' "my parents will come," he said

Sometimes the *k'u* would be used also, if the statement were not in quotation. In those cases it expresses an emotional attitude. (See p. 158.)

sak'i'p 'u'i'kte se'ce 'u (for *k'u*) I supposed we would camp together (disappointment) 254.1

NOTE.—In a number of cases quotations end in *ki* (after changed *a*, *ci*). These refer always to emotional attitudes. (See p. 158.)

nije's 'ik'i'yela nuke' ci you are nearby (so why don't you do it) 196.3

The quotation *lak'o'ta-wiyā ki* 269.9 is merely a nominal exclamation.

The particles *lo*, man speaking, *le*, woman speaking are employed following *ye*. The use of these forms by men and women is somewhat distinct. *ye lo* is used for any declarative statement intended to interest the hearer or as a remark not addressed to any particular person. It always implies a personal opinion of the speaker. When used to close a sentence expressing a well-known fact or one previously not known to the hearer it can be applied only by persons of authority.

'ekta' wic'a'b.le lo' thither to them I go 2.7;—k'ica'kse lo' he has broken it in two 10.4;—wakté'malašni ye lo' she does not consider me very good (she hates me) 97.13;—mama'kinu we lo' he steals it from me 97.17

In soliloquy or addressing no one in particular men use the same *ye lo* as in statements including an opinion, rarely *ye* alone; women use *ye le* with accent varying according to emotional state.

Man speaking:

leks'i' wic'a'kte se'ce lo maybe he killed my uncles 90.11;—huhuhē, le' li'la map'a'zipe lo well, well! this one is certainly stinging me 131.16;—ta'ku lu'ta iye'c'ecašni ye lo' nothing is red like it 137.12;—also without *lo*: hi'si:co-'a'ka 'u' maka't'ikte se'ce maybe she will kill me with the one so large 173.16

Woman speaking:

'iye' 'cha' makte' ye le that he should kill me! 173.18;—to'k'esk'e ta'ku 'iyo'kip'išni se'ce le' something must not be pleasing to him 272.1;—'oi'yokišice le it is saddening 16.3

Women, in addressing particular persons are not expected to express an opinion. For this reason they do not use *le*, but merely the accented *ye'*.

hena' 'ec'e'l 'ec'u'k'u'pikte' those accordingly we shall do 14.1;—'ima'gagaic'iya ho'hotela we'c'u' wac'i' ye' amusing myself to use swinging I desire 167.7;—wic'a'yute' he eats them 55.1;—'oka'lalaya he' (<ha') scattered they (inanimate) stand 14.5;—hehā'yā 'owa'khišni ye' I am no longer able 52.8;—lena' 'au'mašni ye' he ordered me to bring these 200.13; 'awa'u we' I bring it 199.18

The *ye lo'* used by man, and the *ye'* and *ye le'* used by women do not change to unaccented forms in quotations.

In indirect discourse the particle *ye* is not used.

'uci' nikté'kta ke'ye' lo' grandmother says that she will kill you 188.3;—'u'kta ke'ye' he says that he will come 206.13

When shouting the glottal stop is omitted. It is not used with the imperative, interrogative, optative, and negative sentences in *tase'* — *ka*. Exclamatory statements are similar to the permissive imperative used by women, except that in stems ending in changeable *a* the ending *aye* is contracted to *e*.

Doubtful statements ending in *se'ce*, *hu'se'*, *nac'e'ce* have no glottal stop. It is also absent in the future *kte* (<*ktaye*) that does not imply the certainty of the future action.

§ 150. OPTATIVE

tok'i (or *t'uk'i*) — *ni* expresses probability of fulfilment of wish. In Santee *nywe'* is used instead of *ni*.

tok'i he'c'etu ni' I wish it were so!—*t'uk'i t'e'ha-wani ni'* would that I live long!—*t'uk'i wani'yetu mao'-tasnihani mat'a'ni'* would that ere I had not too many years, I die!—*tok'i mat'a' ni'*—*tok'i mi's 'eya'* wish that I might die!—Would that I too! (imitation of the calls of certain birds to each other)

'esa' — *sni*, expresses improbability of fulfilment (S. *esta'*)

'esa' le'-ape'tu ki wa'map'i sni' oh, if I would fare well today!—*'esa' le'-b.loke'tu ki wawi'c'age sni'* oh, if things would grow this summer!—*'esa' hi' na wana' niyu' 'aki' sni ke'ye' sni'* oh, if he would come and say that your mother is well now!—*'eha'ni 'esa' he'c'amuy sni'* oh, if I had done that first!

'esa' alone means "even" 35.2; "at least" 20.7

When the optative expresses a wish that cannot be fulfilled *k'es* is used.

ka 'u ki he' 'ate' 'e' k'es oh! if the one coming yonder had been my father; compare the hypothetical statement *ka 'u ki he' 'ate' 'e' yu'k'q's m.ni'kta tk'a'* if that one coming had been my father I should have gone (see p. 112)

§ 151. INTERROGATIVE

he used by both sexes in formal speech.

so (Yankton *se*) used by both sexes in conversation; changes terminal *a* of verbs that admit of change to *e*

huwo' used by men;—*huwo'* a rhetorical question.

huwe' used by women as a rhetorical question.

to'k'esk'e c'iy'e' 'oho'wala'sni 'iy'e'c'el wae'c'amukta he how can I do what will disgrace my elder brother? 181.4

to'k'a he what is the matter? 8.4

ta'ku yac'i' he what do you want?

hena' ta'ku c'a yak'i' huwo' what are those you carry on your back? 20.4

huhuhe', tok'e misu'kala le' 'e'la so, oh, is it my little brother? 25.3

ta'ku to'k'anu' so what are you doing?

to'k'a c'a heya' huwo' why does he say that? (soliloquy, 176.8)

mic'i'ksi to'kel k'a' huwo' what does my son mean? 176.13

to'k'esk'e le' 'oma'yani huwo' how (does it happen that) you travel this way? (expecting an answer) 241.2

§ 152. IMPERATIVE

The imperative is expressed by postpositional particles which differ according to the sex of the speaker.

Command

Permission

Mild request (please)

Woman speaking

Man speaking

na (often omitted)

sing. *ye' we'*, plur. *pe'*

sing. *ye'*

sing. *yo', wo'*; plur. *po'*

plur. *pi ye'*

(Santee *mi ye'*)

All these are accented, except *na*. When *na* is omitted the terminal syllable of the verb is accented. It seems probable that the plurals *po'* and *pe'* have originated by contraction from *pi-yo'* and *pi-ye'*. The *ye'* remains unchanged in the form for a mild request while the permissive *ye' w. sp.* and *yo' m. sp.* change to *we'* and *wo'* after *u*, *y*, *o*.

The form for mild request requires change of the terminal *a* of verbs into *i*. Those verbs that retain terminal stem *a* in the future also retain it in the imperative.

Examples are:

kaška' yo', kaška' po' tie it (singular, plural, man ordering or permitting)
kaška' na or *kaška'* tie it! (singular and plural, woman ordering)
kaška' ye', kaška' pe' tie it! (singular, plural, woman permitting)
kaški' ye', kaška' pi ye' please tie it (singular, plural, man or woman requesting)

Man speaking:

c'e yui'nałni po' so make haste! 4.10;—*c'e nał'u' po'* so listen! 4.7;—*ho po'* attention! 4.7; 20.10;—*wic'a'kte po'* kill them! 10.1;—*kułpa'la ki le' wazi' taye'łci lolo'pyi na yuha' 'e' maupa yo'* this one (of the puppies) well cook and having it lay me out! 12.11.

Woman speaking:

c'e ęa' 'olo'l-ya na go and get a kettle! 81.1;—*hina'p'a na* come out! 144.2;—*wic'a'yuta'* eat them! 172.13;—*kikta'* get up! 132.8;—*mayu' zuzu'* unwrap me! 228.5;—*li'la k'ig.la' pi'* start ye for home! 55.3;—*ho'we' 'iya'yape'* all right! you may go!

Man or woman speaking:

ni'u'škala ki'c'i' 'oma'ni ye' carrying your nephew go about, w. sp. 168.10;—*k'oya' ku' ye'* come along! m. sp. 129.13;—*misu' he'c'upilałni ye'* younger brothers, don't do that, little ones! 21.15;—*'ak'o' g.la' pi ye'* please, go away (pl.);—*k'ig.li' ye'* (from *k'ig.la'*) go on home!;—*kila' ye'* ask him for it! (*a* of *la* not changeable);—*mak'u' ye'* please, give it to me

ho is a defective verb. It is used independently, without accent, in calling attention of someone. It may be followed by a term of address, by an imperative, or by a statement of fact. It takes all imperative endings, except that women use *ho'we'* for both singular and plural.

ho po', waho'si-wahi c'e nał'u' po' now then ye! I have arrived to bring news, so listen! m. sp. 4.7;—*ho'wo', haqa'* now then, sister-in-law m. sp. 160.15;—*ho'ye* now then! very well! m. sp. 9.7;—*ho'na* very well! w. sp.

The negative imperative is formed from the ending *łni* by use of the same endings as the positive imperative.

Instead of the exhortative the accented future is used, or the exhortative is expressed by *ho'ye, hoye'* or *hoye* m. sp.; *ho'na* w. sp. followed by the unaccented future

'uyi'kte lo' m. sp. *'uyi'kte* w. sp. let us go;—(*wa*)*'uyi'kte lo'* (*wa*) or *ho'ye 'uyi'kte lo'* m. sp.; *ho'na 'uyi'kte* w. sp. let us go;—*y'i'kte'* let him go!

For the first person exhortative the simple future is used.

NOTE.—*y'i'kia-'iye'c'eca'* he ought to go (lit. that he will go is proper).

§ 153. *tk'a'*

tk'a' (often, *k'a'* Western Ogalala, *tuk'a'* Santee), at end of sentence followed by glottal stop or one of the particles closing a sentence, makes the statement contrary to fact.

t'epwi'c'ayahikta tk'a' šk'e' he would continue to cause them to be consumed, it is said (he would be devouring them) 5.7;—*'ehq'ni 'ama'kisnikta-'iye'c'etu tk'a' ye'* long ago I might have been well 226.16;—*he'c'anukta tk'a'* you should have done that;—*wac'i'ka yu'k'a'š 'ehq'niłci c'ac'i'p'ap'akta tk'a' ye lo'* if I had really wished it, then long ago I might have stabbed you 71.2, 3

With the past it often expresses "almost" as something contrary to fact.

leha'yela ma'a' tk'a' I almost died;—*'uši'ka mic'i'ksi to'hini 'ošo'tamaki'apila tk'a' ye le'* my poor children, by smoke they almost died (woman speaking) 196.16;—*he'ha' waši'cu-ıya'pi ıma'spełni tk'a'* I should not have known English at the time (if I had not gone to school); or: I could not talk English then (but now I can)

When *tk'a'* appears at the end of the sentence without glottal stop, the sentence is interrupted and the *tk'a'* expresses annoyance.

waši'c'u-'ıya'pi 'ıma'spełni tk'a' (leya'he) I cannot talk English but (he says this);—*t'o'wa'š le' wag.lu'-stąkta tk'a'* first I was going to finish this, but (you interrupted me)

When not final *tk'a'* means "except that, only."

'*uk'u'kta c'a 'u'*; (ho) *tk'a' 'o'hini 'u' siykie'ilakte'* we shall live together, it being so it is; only always we shall be kind to each other 229.16-230.1;—*kic'i' 'uma'sipe'*; *tk'a' wo'wasukiye waži'la 'aho'u-p'apikte'* with him they ordered me to live; only one rule we must observe 231.12;—*pte' ki'wic'a'wao we lo'*; *tk'a' waste'ya wic'a'o b.lustq' c'a'sna . . . 'a'taya 'e'yaye lo'* buffaloes I shoot; only well shooting them I finish, then always . . . all he takes 114.20;—*wana' yag.ni'kte lo'*; *tk'a' ni'u'kasila li'kiila loc'i'pi c'as slolya'ye lo'* now you will go home, only that your grandfathers are often very hungry, you know 183.8;—*le'l 'u'kta tk'a' he' mic'u'ksi yu'zikta c'i'* here he will be coming, only (for) that my daughter he will want to marry 12.2;—*miye' tk'a' le' 'ape'tu tukte' mit'a'wakta t'qi'-sniya wau'we lo' I*, except for this, which day will be mine it not being apparent I live (except that I do not know when I am going to die) 12.4;—*t'i'l ni'kta tk'a' wakta' yo'* you will go in (there is nothing to hinder you); only take care! 57.14;—*'u'masika tk'a' 'e'l maya'hipi I am poor except that you come here to me, i. e., your coming makes my state more tolerable.* (This is not what is meant. It should read *k'e'yaš* instead of *tk'a'*: although I am poor you come here to me, 195.4)

Often *tk'a'* is used with *k'e'yaš*.

le'l hi's'a tk'a' k'e'yaš wana' 'oki'hišni he used to come here, but now he is unable

—*ka nu' tk'a'* lit. as it were almost but; 'to be at a loss (what to do):

ta'keyeca nu' tk'a' what to say he was at a loss, he all but said something;—*tukte'l e'tuweca nu' tk'a'* which way to look he was at a loss;—*to'k'i ya'pika nu' tk'a'* where to go they were at a loss 211.8

§ 154. NUMERALS

All cardinal numbers are neutral verbs and like these may be used as adjectives by subordination under the noun. The count is expressed by the verbal forms.

1	<i>wq'ci</i> (as adjective <i>wqži'</i>)	<i>Reduplicated forms</i>
2	<i>nu'pa</i> (as noun or adjective <i>nu'p</i>)	<i>wqži'kzi</i>
3	<i>ya'm.ni</i>	<i>nu'pnu'p</i> or <i>nu'mnu'm</i>
4	<i>to'pa</i> (as noun or adjective <i>top</i>)	<i>ya'm.nim.ni</i>
5	<i>za'ptq</i>	<i>to'ptop</i>
6	<i>ša'kpe</i>	<i>za'ptqptq</i>
7	<i>šako'wi</i> (<i>iyu'sna</i> ²⁹ Assiniboine)	<i>ša'kpekpe</i>
8	<i>šag.lo'gq</i>	<i>šako'wiwi</i>
9	<i>napci'yuka</i> (<i>napci'waka</i> Y S) (as noun or adjective <i>napci'yuk</i>)	<i>šag.lo'gqgq</i>
10	<i>wikce'm.na</i>	<i>napci'yukyuk</i>
11	<i>'ake'-wqži'</i>	<i>wikce'm.nam.na</i>
12	<i>'ake'-nupa</i> (as adjective <i>ake' nu'p</i>)	<i>'ake'wqži'kzi</i>
20	<i>wikce'm.na nu'pa</i> (<i>wikce'm.na-nu'p</i>) ³⁰	<i>wikce'm.na nu'mnu'm</i>
21	<i>wikce'm.na nu'p sa'm</i> (or <i>ake'</i>) <i>wqži'</i> (ca)	
22	<i>wikce'm.na nu'p sa'm</i> (or <i>wikce'm.na nu'p 'ake'</i>) <i>nu'pa</i> (as adjective <i>nu'p</i>)	
100	<i>'opa'wiže</i>	<i>'opa'wižeže</i>
1000	<i>k'ekto'pawiže</i> or <i>k'okto'pawiže</i> or <i>k'ekta'opawiže</i>	

Although it is easily recognized that the higher numerals are derived from verbal stems, analysis is not easy. Clearest is *nap-ci-yuka* finger little lies; *'opa'wiže* one hundred, is parallel to *'oka'wiža* to go round and round, with *pa* by pushing, instead of *ka* by striking.

Ordinals.—The ordinals except *t'oka'he* the first, are formed from the cardinals by the prefix *'i* or *'ici'*, in Y and S by *'i*.

'inu'pa or *'ici'nupa* the second, as adjective without accent

'iya'ke-wqži' the eleventh

'iwi'kem.na nu'pa the twentieth

The adverbial forms are formed in the same way, except *t'oka'* the first time.

'inu'pa the second time (always accented)

²⁹ Taken from gambling with seven counters, the seventh is *iyu'sna* the one one misses.

³⁰ Also if objects counted are understood.

Numeral adverbs are identical with the cardinals, except *wá'ca* once. These are compounded with the following verb which loses its accent.

nu'pa-hi' he arrived twice
'o'ta-hi' he came often
to'nakel-hi' he came several times

The numeral adverbs with "only" added take the regular diminutive, or rather limiting suffix *la*.

wá'cala only once

A few take the double suffix *lala*.

nyb.la'la only twice; only two
to'b.lala only four times; only four
napci'yug.lala only nine times; only nine
co'nala a few times

§ 155. DEMONSTRATIVES, INDEFINITE AND INTERROGATIVE PRONOUNS

There are three demonstrative forms:

le' this near me
he' that at a distance, that referred to before
ka' that at a distance, but visible and pointed out

Besides these there is a very general demonstrative *'e'*

The indefinite and interrogative are identical and are treated in the same way as the demonstratives:

to' something; what?
tuwe' someone; who? (predicative); *tuwa'* nominal 149.11; 150.11
tukte' which one?
ta'ku what, something 148.6; 149.7

Examples:

le' wic'a'sa c'a 'u' hq'tahqš- if this should be a human being coming 265.10
'u' na le' nu'ge 'oka'f'ol 'iye'ya' come and throw this one into your ear 268.5
he' tuwe'ni waya'kešni nobody saw that one 268.7
he' 'u' le' 'iwa'hoc'iye lo' on account of that this warning I give you 12.7
yu'k'a' ka t'ica'ge c'u' he'c'iyatahq ho'uyi na and then that yonder tipi-building aforesaid, from that place called and 254.3
tukte'-p'ežu'ta c'a nu' so? what kind of medicine do you use? 139.16
he' tuwe' ki that somebody 133.13
taku'l, tahu'h'ci any little thing, anything

In many cases the demonstrative is used independently like a noun:

he' wica'k'e' that one spoke the truth, 129.2;—*hena' he'c'a'* those were of that kind;—*le' pte'* this is a buffalo;—*le' waka'hniqe'* I chose this one;—*he' t'ake'yapikta ke'ya'pi'* that one they would have for their sister, they said 89.4

When referring to a noun with emphasis on both, the accented pronoun may precede or follow the noun, both being independent. The noun must be followed by one of the definite articles, *ki* or *k'u*.

he' wic'a'sa ki ksa'pe' or *wic'a'sa ki he' ksa'pe'* that man is wise. The first form seems to lay a little more stress on the demonstrative;—*le' pte' ki 'e'*³¹ or *pte' ki le' 'e'* this is the buffalo (the particular one, or the buffalo in contrast to other animals; also *pte' ki le' he' 'e'*; plural *lena' pte' ki 'e'pi'*;—*pte' k'e'ya wic'u'yuhapi tk'a' k'u hena' lena' 'e'pi* some cattle those we had, these are the ones;—*he' wiyu' ki li'la wasté'* that woman is very good 89.7;—*t'ac'u'pa ki hena' kaksí' na*—those marrow bones she broke and — 242.9

³¹ Contracted from *'e' 'e'*; in Yankton uncontracted.

The demonstrative is often treated as a noun qualified by the noun to which it refers.

tuktena'-sykak'a c'a nic'u' he? Which horses (out of a herd) did he give you?—*he'-wic'asa ki ksa'pe'* that particular man is wise;—*le'-wic'asa ki he' 'e' c'a wab.la'ke* this particular man it is that one, he being so I see him (for *c'a* see p. 146);—*he'-'ape'tu ki mal'i'kte lo'* on that day I shall die 12.6;—*he'-wani'yetu ki li'la wic'a'akih'a* or *wani'yetu ki he' li'la wic'a'akih'a* that winter there was starvation 198.3 (according to emphasis on "that" or "winter")

These demonstratives are also used with adverbial function. In initial position, before nouns or nominalized phrases they have no accent. Since they never take the plural in *-na* when the following noun is plural, they must refer to the general content of the following sentence, like other initial adverbs. (See p. 155.) The noun or nominalized phrase must be followed by the article and the corresponding accented demonstrative or *he'* (which, however, colloquially may be omitted) followed by the predicate.

ka wic'a'sa ki ka' wab.la'ke' (there) the man that one I see;—*le ta'ku ec'a'muhe ci (<-ha ki) le' li'la waste'walake'* (here) the thing I am doing this very much I like;—*le t'i'pi k'eya' he' ci lena' mit'a'wa* (here) the tents standing these are mine;—*he' le wic'a'sa wa k'ap'e' c'u' he' t'a'wa* that one in this case a certain man's who had passed by, that was his 107.15;—*'ikto' le c'oka'p t'i' ki (le) 'e'ly'a' yo'* to Ikto' on this occasion in the center of the camp dwelling go! 112.6

In exclamatory sentences, i. e., those direct statements which express an observation to which attention is called and which do not admit the glottal stop as closure of the sentence (as simple statements of fact do, see p. 109), when referring to a definite place require the use of unaccented demonstratives.

he yake' there he is (sits)! but *he'l yake'* he is sitting there (a simple statement);—*le na' zi'ye* here he stands! but *le'l na' zi'* he is (or was) standing here;—*pte' wa c'e'pehca c'a he g.le'* a fat buffalo, it being such there it goes! 199.4, also *he pte' wa c'e'pehca c'a g.le'!*;—*'ak'e' wana' he hiya'ye'* again now there he goes! 110.10

Compare *he'c'iyataha le' wau' c'a sak'i'p 'ug.ni'kte lo'* from there I come to this, it being so we will go together to where we belong 102.14; and the same with unaccented *le* which might be translated as "see (look) here! I came from there," etc.; also *he'c'iyataha le wau' we* (look here!) from there I come; i. e., the *le* refers to the present situation

In indirect discourse:

wic'a'sa wa ka'l na' zi' ke'pe' that a certain man stands yonder, that I said; and *wic'a'sa wa ka (ka'l) na' zi' ke'p'e' (c'e ep'e) c'u' he' wana' 'iya'ye'* a certain man (of whom) I said that he stands yonder, that one has gone now;—*he yaka'pi k'e'p'e' cu' hena' wana' 'iya'yapi'* those (of whom) I said that there they stand there have gone now;—*pte' ki|he' wic'a'sa wa|ka c'akpe'skamak'ag.le na' zi'|ke'p'e'|c'u'|heta'ha . . . na' zi'|sk'e'* the buffalo|that one a certain man|(whom) that he kneeling stands|I said so|the one|away from that one (the man) . . . it stands|it is said 99.12, i. e., the buffalo stood away from that man of whom I had said that he had been kneeling

In all sentences that do not close with the exclamatory *ye* the demonstrative is accented.

to'ki le' la'pi he? or *le' to'ki la'pi he?* (look here!) where are ye going? but *lena' to'k'i la'pi he?* where are these ye going?—*(le') mahpi'ya na mak'a' ki hena' (le') miye' (le') waka'ge lo'* (look here!) sky and earth those I myself made 2.2 (the *le'* may stand at any one of the three positions indicated)

Dakota uses a superabundance of demonstrative forms which emphasize location and time. These are formed by the demonstratives alone or by combining them with verbal stems and various types of postpositions. (See pp. 116 et seq.).

The derivatives of the pronouns are used with highly specialized meaning.

First of all a list of the principal forms will be given: (a.) means used as an adverb; (v.) used as a verb; (a., v.) used as both verb and adverb; brackets indicate rare usage.

Summary of compound demonstratives¹

	e	le	he	ka	tukte'
1. -e	ee	lee	hee	kaa	tuktee
2. -ya	eyas (a.)	leya, leyas (a.)			
3. -yalaka		leyalaka (a.)			
4. -hq'	ehq' (a.)	lehq' (a.)	hehq' (a.)	kahq' (a.)	tohq' (a.)
5. -hayq	iye'hayq (a., v.)	lehq'ya (a., v.)	hehq'ya (a., v.)	kahq'ya (a., v.)	tohq'ya (a.)
6. -hayela	(iye'hayela) (a., v.)	lehq'yela (a., v.)	hehq'yela (a., v.)	kahq'yela (a., v.)	tohq'yela (a.)
7. -hahuniyaq		lehq'huniyaq (a., v.)	hehq'huniyaq (a. [v.])	kahq'huniyaq (a. [v.])	tohq'huniyaq (a.)
8. -hql	iye'hql (a.), hehq'l (a.)	lehq'l (a.)	hehq'l (a.)	kahq'l (a.)	tohq'l (a.)
9. -hqtq	ehq'tq (a.)		hehq'tq (a.)	kahq'tq (a.)	tohq'tq (a.)
10. -hq'tahq	ehq'tahq (a., v.)	?	hehq'tahq (a., v.)	kahq'tahq (a., v.)	tohq'tahq (a.)
11. -hq'tu	iye'hqtu (v.)	lehq'tu (v.)	hehq'tu (v.)	kahq'tu (v.)	tohq'tu (v.), tukti'- ye'hqtu
12. -hqtuya (a.)	iye'hqtuya (a.)	lehq'tuya (a.)	hehq'tuya (a.)	kahq'tuya (a.)	tohq'tuya (a.)
13. -hakeca, -hakeca	(iye'hakeca) (v.)	lehq'keca (v.)	hehq'keca (v.)	kahq'keca (v.)	tohq'keca (a.)
14. -l	e'l (a.)	le'l (a.)	he'l (a.)	ka'l (a.)	tukte'l (a.)
15. -tq	etq' (a.)	letq' (a.)	hetq' (a.)	katq' (a.)	tuktetq' (a.) (totq', S.)
16. -tqhq	etq'hq (a., v.)	letq'hq (a., v.)	hetq'hq (a., v.)	katq'hq (a., v.)	tukte'tqhq (a.) (to- tq'hq, S.)
17. -tu	e'tu (v.)	le'tu (v.)	he'tu (v.)	ka'tu (v.)	tukte'tu (v.)
18. -tkiya	e'tkiya (a.)	le'tkiya (a., v.)	he'tkiya (a., v.)	ka'tkiya (a., v.)	to'tekiya (a., v.)
19. -cela	ece'la (a., v.)	lece'la (a., v.)	hece'la (a., v.)	kace'la (a., v.)	
20. -c'ql	ec'q'l (le'q'l) (a.)				
21. -c'qtu	ec'q'tu (la)ncj (iye'na) (a.)	lena' (a.)	hena' (a.)	kana' (a.)	tuktena' (a.)
22. -na	e'na (a.), ena'na (a.)	le'na (a.)	he'na (a.)	ka'na (a.)	tukte'na (a.)
23. -na	(iye'nala)	lena'la (a., v.)	hena'la (a., v.)	kana'la (a., v.)	tona'la (a.) (rare)
24. -nala	iye'nakeca (a., v.)	lena'keca (a., v.)	hena'keca (a., v.)	kana'keca (a., v.)	tona'keca (a.)
25. nakeca			he'cjhq (a.)		
26. kihq			he'kta (a.)		
27. -kta	ekta' (a.)		he'ktakiya (a.)		
28. -ktakiya (-ktatqhq)	ekta'kiya (a.)		he'ktatqhq (a.)		
29. -k'a	ec'a'	le'c'a (a., v.)	he'c'a (a., v.)	ka'k'a (a., v.)	to'k'a (a., v.)
30. -c'ala	ec'a'la (a., v.)	lec'a'la (a., v.)			(tokka')
31. -k'e		le'c'e (a.)	he'c'e		tok'e (no accent)
32. -k'eya		le'c'eya' (a.)	he'c'eya' (a.)		
33. -k'el	ec'e'l (a.)	le'c'el (a.)	he'c'el (a.)	ka'k'el (a.)	to'k'el (a.)
34. -k'elya	ec'e'lya (a.)	le'c'elya (a.)	he'c'elya (a.)	ka'k'elya (a.)	to'k'elya (kel)
35. -k'etu	ec'e'tu (v.) (iye'- c'etu) (v.)	le'c'etu (v.)	he'c'etu (v.)	ka'k'etu (v.)	to'k'etu (v.)
36. -k'etuya (a.)	iye'c'etuya (a.)	le'c'etuya (a.)	he'c'etuya (a.)	ka'k'etuya (a.)	to'k'etuya (a.)
37. -k'etkiya	ec'e'tkiya (a.)	le'c'etkiya (a., v.)	he'c'etkiya (a., v.)	ka'k'etkiya (a., v.)	to'k'etkiya (a.)
38. -k'eca	ec'e'ca (v.), iye'c'eca	le'c'eca (v.)	he'c'eca (v.)	ka'k'eca (v.)	to'k'eca (v.)
39. -k'ena	(ec'e'na)	le'c'ena (a.)	he'c'ena (a., v.)	ka'k'ena (a.)	to'k'elya (kel)
40. -k'i		le'c'i (a.)	he'c'i (a.)	ka'k'i (a.)	to'k'i (a.)
41. -k'iyi		le'c'iyi (a. [v.])	he'c'iyi (a., v.)	ka'k'iyi (a. [v.])	to'k'iyi (a.)
42. -k'iyataq	ec'e'iyataq (a.)	le'c'iyataq (a.)	he'c'iyataq (a.)	ka'k'iyataq (a.)	to'k'iyataq (a.)
43. -k'iyataqhq	ec'e'iyataqhq (a., v.)	le'c'iyataqhq (a., v.)	he'c'iyataqhq (a., v.)	ka'k'iyataqhq (a., v.)	to'k'iyataqhq (a.)
44. -k'iyot'q	ec'e'iyot'q (a., v.)	lec'e'iyot'q (a., v.)	hec'e'iyot'q (a., v.)	kak'e'iyot'q (a., v.)	tok'e'iyot'q (a.)

It will be noticed that the forms in *-l*, *-tq*, *-(t)kiya*, *-kta*, *-tuya* are adverbs, while those in *-tu* are verbs or nouns. (See p. 58.) A number of others, particularly those in *hq* following an adverbial ending, *-la*, *-ka*, *-keca*, *-k'a* are both adverbs and verbs. They are primarily verbs which enter into combination with following verbs and assume adverbial character.

On account of the idiomatic use of these forms it is necessary to discuss them in detail.

1. 'e' 'e' idiomatic: instead:

he' 'ayu' šta nq 'e' 'e' ška'ta yo' leave off doing that and instead play!—*'e' 'e' he' ktakiya 'a' yapi* instead they took it back 262.7;—*he' 'e' mak'u' wo'* give me that instead!;—*ka' 'e' 'ag.la' yo'* take that home instead (*ka' 'ag.la' yo'* take that home);—*he' 'e' wo'wicake'* that instead (of another statement) is the truth;—*tukte' 'e' 'iwa'cukta he'* which one shall I take instead (of some other one);—*miye' 'e' wahte' malašni'* he dislikes me (in contrast to another one whom he likes)²²

When followed by *c'a* it being so, the forms with *le'*, *he'* express "that is the one":

he' 'e' c'a pq'-ho-uya ke' that is the one who sent out his voice aloud 263.2 (*he' 'e' c'a* would mean: THAT is the one —);—*he' 'e' c'a waka'l' 'iya'kaška 'u' papi'* that was the one whom they had laid up there tied up 134.14

2. *leya*, *leyas* (adv.) contrary to expectation; lit. it being this way:

yu'k'a' leya t'ak'o'laku . . . then unexpectedly it was his friend 134.13;—*leyas c'a-wq'kal yake'* meanwhile (contrary to what he thought) he was sitting on a tree

'eya' often introduces speeches

'eya's (accented) sufficient: *'eya's wana' hena'keca'* that is enough now;—*'eya's ha' skeya ka' gapi'* it is made long enough

'eyas (unaccented) as you know, with terminal *k'u'*: *'eyas wama'loteteka c'aš slolya'ye c'u'* as you know I am fond of food 12.12; *eyas he'c'etu k'u'* you know it was thus

3. *leya'laka* more emphatic than *leya*; synonyms *'ehq'k'u'*, *'ehq'ke c'u'*:

leya'laka he' t'oka'p'a ki k'a'pi nq in reality they meant the eldest one 203.4;—*k'oška'laka k'u' 'i's leya'-laka heha' huyiyq ot'i wota ki 'e'l 'u'* the aforesaid youth, he on his part as a matter of fact all the while up to that time in the deserted camp stayed there 227.13;—*yu'k'a' leya'laka, he' wak'i'ya-wic'a'sa* and then actually, that was a Thunder Man 179.11

Nos. 4–13 of the preceding list (p. 116) are derived from *haq*, originally "to stand," but used in Teton also to express the continuative (see p. 104). For this reason they designate primarily time, although in many cases the usage has come to be uncertain. A few derivatives are employed to express extent in space.

As continuative we have (see p. 104):

'i'se' ka'k'iya waka'ta zitka'la wq 'oki'yqha just yonder away from you above a bird is flying in there. 146.10;—*he'c'es sak'i'p ya'ha'pi* so together they were going 147.3

4. *'ehq'*:

'eya' mahpi'ya nq mak'a' ki lena' t'oka'-ka'gapi k'u' he' 'ehq' mat'u'pe lo' well, the sky and earth these were first made, that during that period I was born 1.12-2.1;—*'ehq'* occurs without preceding demonstratives in such forms as *'ehq'k'u'* (synonym of No. 3 *leya'laka*), *'ehq'k'ehq'* (<*ehq'-k'u'-ehq'*) in olden times, erstwhile

The demonstratives are either independent or contracted with *haq* which does not change to *he* (see p. 32)

With *'ehq'*: *le' 'ehq'* or *le'haq'* at this time

he' 'ehq' or *he'haq'* at that time

ka' 'ehq' at that time

to'haq' at some time past, when? once upon a time

li'la 'ehq'ni k'u' he'haq' very long ago, it was at that time 156.16;—*mak'a' 'aka'l 'u'pi k'u' he'haq'* on the earth they existed, at that time it was 2.14;—*'i'ya le'c'el kte'pišni k'u' he'haq' li'la 'oya'te'o'ta t'epwi'-c'aya sk'e'* Iya in this manner they had not killed at that time very many people he had swallowed (i. e., before they had killed Iya he had swallowed many people) 105.19

le'haq' apparently used for space, has been found in one phrase:

wi' le'haq'ci my! how tall (you have grown)! (w. sp.)

²² See the customary greeting: *toke'he' niye' so?* is it you?

With *haq*: *lehaq'* up to this time; after all this time
tohaq' . . . *hehaq'* as long as — that long

lehaq'-g.lišni' up to this time he has not returned 134.3;—*to' hūweni mat'ī' ktešni, tohaq' p'e'ta 'u' pišni*³³ *kī hehaq'* never I shall die as long as they do not use fire, so long 105.5 (at end of sentence *hehaq'* does not change);—*tohaq'-g.lišni kī hehaq'-'awa p'ekte'* as long as he does not come back, that long I shall wait for him;—*kahaq'*'s expresses "no sooner" (lit. indeed at that time, pointed out), *kahaq's ha'pa waqti' b.luštaq' k'es wī yop'eya 'iye' ye!* as soon as I finish a pair of moccasins he always sells it

5. *-hayaq*:

lehaq'ya this far (generally for space) *wac'ī'-lema'hayaq*—my mind (patience) is only this long;—*lehaq'ya 'ahi' hpe mayi nq k'iq.le'* this far he accompanied me and then went home;—*'išpa' kī hehaq'ya pao' hlat'e 'iye'ya* his elbows that far he pushed them under it 152.3;—*hehaq'ya 'owa' kīhišni ye'* I am no longer able (lit. that far I am not able) 52.8;—*hehaq'ya b.la' 'owa' kīhišni'* I cannot go that far;—*c'a' i'haqe kī hehaq'ya wai'* as far as the edge of the wood I went;—*hehaq'hayaq* that long in each case;—*kahaq'ya yug.la'* unwind it that far (indicating the point);—*tohaq'ya yac'ī' kī (hehaq'ya) 'icu'* the indefinite distance you want (that distance) take! (*hehaq'ya* is always understood although it may be omitted);—*tohaq'ya nic'u' he!* how long a piece did he give you?—*tohaq'ya he'l hpa'yahi nq* some time there he lay and 277.11;—*'o'tohayaq 'ini' la ya'pi'* for some time silently they went 149.9

6. *hayela* only (this) far, more definitely limited than *hayaq* (5).

lehaq'yela 'iwa'cu' I am taking only this much;—*hehaq'yela 'owi'haqe'* only that far it goes 205.2;—*hehaq'yela 'i'yakic'uni'* only then he gave up 150.6;—*hema' hayela* that finished me (lit. I was only that long);—*kahaq'yela* only that long (time or space);—*tohaq'yela'i'* he went part way, some distance (no interrogative because *la* limits the distance)

7. *-hahūniyaq* (from [*i*] *hū'ni* he arrives there):

'oya'te kī lehaq'hūniyaq t'epwi'c'ayahikta tk'a' šk'e' the people always up to this time he would be eating up, it is said 5.6;—*hehaq'hūniyaq k'ī'ahi'* all that time (distance) carrying it on his back he brought it;—*k'oška'laka k'u' 'i's leya'laka hehaq'hūniyaq 'ot'i'wota 'e'l 'u'* the youth referred to, he evidently all that time at the campsite stayed 227.13;—*kahaq'hūniyaq psi'l g.le'* all that way he went hopping on his way home;—*tohaq'hūniyaq kī he'wahte' malašni'* it being from sometime (from I don't know when) that he disliked me

In questions *tohaq'ya* would be preferred to *tohaq'hūniyaq*.

8. *haq'l* primarily time. The demonstrative derivatives often loosely used for space.

hihū'nikta haq'l when he was about to arrive 51.11;—*nañ'u' yqka' haq'l heya'* while he sat hearing she said 65.13;—*c'op'a'pikta haq'l 'ec'a'l* when they were about to ford it, just then 67.14 (or *c'op'a'pikte cī 'ec'a'l* or *c'op'a'pikte hcehaq'l*). *hcehaq'l* expresses a welcome event; *'ec'a'l* one unwelcome (see No 21) *hcehaq'l* 51.6 64.4

lehaq'l during the present period 5.8, 79.4

hehaq'l during the period; after that; next 149.9; 150.7; 151.4

yū'k'a' hehaq'l wī'yaq k'u' — *g.luškī' nq* then, after that the woman previously referred to — untied hers and 65.15;—*yū'k'a' hehaq'l heya' ke'* and then, after that she said that, it is said 67.17

An idiomatic phrase: *'i', 'i', kahaq'l 'es tukte'esni* see! I told you so! literally *'i', 'i'*, after that yonder it is not anything.

Colloquially, although rarely, *he'l* is used in place of *hehaq'l* for time.

tohaq'l mi't'a'k'ola kī 'ai'yapi c'a'he'l (instead of *hehaq'l*) *'oma'hitike lo'* at any time when they slander my friend, that is when (instead of at that time) I get wild;—*he' 'u' tohaq'l k'oška'laka kī wa'g.li g.li'* therefore, whenever the young man brought something home 275.9;—*tohaq'lšna* at certain times

9. *-hataq*; 10. *hataqha* from a time on:

'eha'ta-solwa'ye lo' already I know it 149.5 (already at that moment);—*'eha'ta wo'ksape yuha'* already he had wisdom;—*'eha'taqa wic'a'sa waži'kzi 'i's'eya' wo'ksape yuha'pi'* ever since the beginning of time continuously some men they also had wisdom;—*'osni' 'ahi' kī hehaq'ta 'oma'nišni'* the cold coming since that time he did not walk about;—*tohaq'ta 'ima'c'age cī hehaq'ta tu'weni he'c'a wa'tešni'* since I was born (grew up) I never ate that kind;—*'eha'ni t'ama'opi yū'k'a' hehaq'taqa lehaq'hūniyaq ima'kakiže* long ago my body was hit and then ever since that time up to now I am

³³ Or *p'e'ta tohaq'-upišni*.

suffering by it;—*kahq'tq hema'c'eca'* since that time (to be defined later) I am that way (not continuously);—*kahq'tqhq he'c'el mil'a'wac'i'* since that indefinite time thus was my mind (here must follow a statement as to the time referred to);—*tohq'tq hi' ki' wo'wasi'ec'u'* ever since he arrived he works (not continuously);—*tohq'tqhq sce'p'qwaye ci tu'wena c'aze' solowa'yeshni'* ever since she has been my sister-in-law I have never known her to be angry

11. *hq'tu*:

wo'tahapi hq'tu c'ake' . . . hey'a they were eating, it was just then, and so . . . he said that 64.4;—*li'la 'anu'k'atahq 'i'c'iyokip'ipi hq'tu sk'e'* very from each side they loved each other, it was just then, it is said 225.10;—*wo'tapi-'iye' hqtu* it is mealtime;—*wana' 'iye' hqtu* now in due time 226.11;—*'iye' mahqtu* it is the right time or place for me; it suits me; *'iye' micihqtu* my time has come;—*lehq'tu ki' lehq'l he' le'l 'u' c'a wo'niciyakapikte lo'* it being at this time, at this time that one is here (and) will address you;—*hah'e'pi c'a' hehq'tu c'a wac'i'pi'* it is night time, then it is at that time such they dance;—*hema'hqtuke'* that is just the right time for me (slang);—*kahq'tu* it is right there (pointed out); this form is loosely used for space, although it is felt to be improper;—*kahq'tu kihq wai'kte do'* at that time I will get there (Yankton); perhaps pointed out by place of sun or watch;—*tohq'tu* it is at some time, often used colloquially for *tukte'tu* at some place, *'i' tohq'tu* after some time 228.8;—*tohq'tu yu'k'a' wana' Lak'o'ta wa' t'i' c'a 'el 'i'pi ke'* after some time then now a Dakota lived it being so there they arrived, it is said 152.10;—*tohq'tu ki' le' b.latk'i'kta he'* at what time shall I drink this?—colloquially: *tohq'tu c'a ksu'yeniya he'* at what place is it that you are injured?

12. *-hqtuya*, usually with *s'e* as it were:

lehq'tuya s'e hiyu'ye' he sent it (throwing), approximately here;—*hehq'tuya, kahq'tuya* thereabouts, about that time; also *hehq'tuya s'e* or *wahqhqtuya*, cf. *le'l tukte'l hi'hp'a'ye'* it might be here somewhere that it fell;—*hac'o'kaya-wah'e'hqtuya waq.li'* about midnight I got home;—*wale'hqtuya* about this time

13. *-hakeca* (i. v.) it is of that length (<*hq-ka-ca*); used only for space (cf. *haska'* long).

wana's lehq'keca now, indeed, he is as tall as this, *lema'hakeca* I am as tall as this;—*lehq'keca wazi' waks'a'* cut one that is this long;—*t'osu' ki' hehq'keca waq maki'la'* one that is as long as that tipi pole he asked me for;—*wana' mi'cihake'*; *'i's 'eya's kahq'kake s'e le'l (<ka-hakeca-ka s'e le'c'eca)* now he is tall to me (i. e. mine is tall); he also is about as tall as that one yonder;—*tohq'keca nic'u' he'* how much in length did he give you?—*toma'hakeca he* how tall am I?—*tohq'keca c'el* who knows how long it is? (*c'el' < nac'eca* who knows?)—*'iye' mahakeca* I am as tall as he is, *'a'k'iyehakecapi* they are of the same height, *'a'k'iyehakeca* we two are of the same height, *'a'k'iyehakeca* or *'iye' nimahakeca* I am as tall as you

14. *-l* at, always a place nearby, not requiring the covering of a distance to be reached.

'eha'ke le'l 'iyo' micihisni' still here it reaches not for me (i. e., this is insufficient) 65.11;—*he'l 'ena'na 'u'ta li'la 'o'ta hiye'ye'* there, here and there, very many acorns lay about 77.13;—*yu'k'a' ka'l 'it'u'-hu-c'a' waq t'a'ka ha'* and then yonder a large oak tree stood 77.12;—*ka'l c'ahlo'gu-ozuzu waq 'e'g.na c'akwu'yapi* yonder through a place full of weeds they took their way 77.16;—*ka'l* with the meaning yonder is accompanied by a pointing gesture of hand or lips, or at least such gesture is implied; when this is not the case it means "aside, off from the main line; at another place";—*hehq'l ta'kula waq ka'l yupsu'psu' ihpe'waye c'u'* at that time some little thing aside bundled up I threw it 2.4;—*ka'l 'i's yup'i'yela t'ap-ka'psicapi* at another place they on their part nicely doing made the ball jump by striking 3.1;—*tukte'l naya'zi' c'a 'a'taya wac'i'yake'sni'* at what place you stood it being so at all I did not see you;—*tukte'l he' lehq'l 'u' ki' solowa'yeshni'* the place where that one at present stays I do not know;—*to'k'iya tukte'l 'u' ak'e'* somewhere (away from here) in some place he stays. it is said (i. e., he lives somewhere else; he is still living)

Also with nouns *t'i'l t'ima'hel* in the house

15. *-tq* from, out of (without emphasis on motion):

mak'a' ki' 'a'taya 'eta' hina'p'a from the whole land appeared (knives) 67.8;—following a noun *'eta'* means "some," *m.ni' 'eta' mak'u'* give me some water, *'eta'tq* some of each group; but *m.ni' ki' 'eta'ha b.latke'* I drank some of the water, I drank water from it (see No. 16);—*c'a' 'eta' 'owa'kic'i'* I asked him for some wood;—*letq' 'ina'p'a* go out of here!—*hetq' 'iya'yapi'* from there they went on 77.15 (compare 77.12 *he'c'es za'ptala hetq'ha 'iya'yapi'* so five only continuing from there they went on);—*c'ake' hetq' kic'i' 'iya'ye'* and so from there he went with him 157.9;—*katq' t'ate' hiyu'* from yonder the wind comes in;—*tukteta' he' 'iya'cu he'* whence did you take it?—*m.ni' hiyo'wai k'e'yas 'o'huta ki' waqk'uya c'ake' tuktetq' 'iwa'cukta t'qi'sni'* I went to get water but the bank being high and so whence I should take it was not apparent (the Santee use *totq'* instead of *tukteta'*)

16. *-tqhq* from out of, implying continued motion:

'*etq'ha ta'ku k'eya' g.mig.ma'g.ma 'icu'* from out of it he took some round things;—*wic'e'škołoka ki'etq'ha kiya' t'ima'hel hiyu'* from the air vent flying he came into the tipi (see 65.8 which would be better '*etq'* because the boy stayed on the air vent);—'*ema'tqhq* I am from such and such a place or tribe 123.2;—'*Og.la'la t'i'pi ki' heta'ha-wima'yq* I am a woman from out of the Ogalala tribe

The difference between '*etq'* and '*etq'ha* appears clearly in some of the following examples:

t'i'pi ki'etq'ahi'yokas'i' he peered out of the tent, *t'i'pi ki'etq'ha u'* he came out of the tent;—*na' heta'ha'ak'e' to'k'el'iya'yeca c'e'l* and from there again which way he kind of went who knows? 5.11, also 17.3;—*he'c'es heta'ha sak'i'p zuya' ya'pi* then from there together to war they went 71.4;—*kata'ha wau'* I come from over yonder (pointed out), *kama'tqhq* I belong there (pointed out), *tukte'tqhq yahi' he?* where do you come from? (*to'q'ha Santee*);—*tukte'tqhq wase' ki'lana' 'aya'hi he?* whence did you bring this red paint? (compare *wase' ki' tukte'tq' 'icu'pi s'a* he where do they always get red paint?)

'*etq'has he' wak'a'heza ki* anyway that one is a little child;—'*etq's to'k'(a)* what of it!—'*etq'hahq* several times from

17. *-tu*; '*e'tu* it is at the place referred to:

tukte'l niya'za he? le'tu' where does it hurt you? it is here (cf. *tu'wel niya'za he? le'ha'tu* when did it hurt you? it is now; *tu'wel < to'huwel*);—*le'tu* it is here;—*he'tu* it is there 181.16; 261.11;—*ka'tu* it is over yonder;—*tukte'tu* it is somewhere, where is it?—*to'huwetu ki'ha yau'ktu he?* when is it when you will come? *to'huwetuka wa'el mahi'* some time he came to me, or *to'huwel e'l mahi'*;—*to'huwetuka c'e's* but when!

18. *-tkiya* towards, i. e., in a direction without movement, towards that direction. (The relation between *-tkiya* and *-kta'kiya* is comparable to that between *l* and *ka*.)

t'ate' ki'e'tkiya kaho'm.ni' it turns to the wind;—*le'tkiya 'ahi'wac'i'* his thoughts turned in this direction (instead of *S to'tkiya to'k'etkiya* No. 37 is used)

19. '*ece'la* ('*ece* always that only kind; '*e* it is; *la* diminutive, limiting the sense):

ka'kiya ka wa'zi' 'u' k'u' he'c'i' 'ece'la 'e'wac'i' towards yonder that one coming (away from here) alone she thought of 51.9;—*he'c'a 'ece'la k'owa'kip'e c'u'* that kind only I fear 78.16;—'*a'ecela hi''* he came alone (without anything);—*lece'la t'ewa'hila'* I prize only this one highly;—*hece'la nap'e'sni'* that one alone did not run away 121.18;—*kace'la wana' b.luha'* only that yonder I have left now;—(*tok'e'cela* the end of which is evidently identical with the present means "barely") (see No. 38);—*tok'e'cela sak-ye'kil'u' 'iya'ha ke'* barely using a staff himself he came to the top, they say 172.3 (see also 67.14)

20. '*e'c'ql* just then:

'*ec'q'l wi'k'q ki' kapsa'kahq* just then the rope kept breaking 66.15;—*ha'l 'ec'q'l winu'hcala wa tok'e'cela-ma'nila c'a . . . hiyu'* when just then an old woman barely walking, such . . . came 67.14;—*yu'k'q' 'ec'q'l g.lina'p'a lo* and behold! just then he emerged 79.2;—(''*ec'q'l* always expresses an unexpected, unwelcome interruption);—a welcome incident is introduced by *hceha'q'l* (see No. 8)

21. *-c'qtu* a verb form but not used without suffixes:

'*ec'q'tulahci'* just at that very moment

22. *lena'*, *hena'*, *kana'*, *tuktena'* or *tona'*. Plurals of demonstratives, animate and inanimate:

hena'la only those 72.8; *hena'la'* that is all;—*tona'* whichever ones, those who;—*to'na* as many as, how many?—*tona' 'a'm.nikta he?* which ones shall I take?—*tona' 'u' pikta he?* which ones (among them) are coming?—*to'na yac'i' he?* how many do you want?—*to'na mak'u'ke c'e'yas 'iyu'ha 'iwa'cukte'* as many as he gives me, still I will take them all;—*to'nakel* several, 229.1;—*hena's* but those, 78.13;—*lena'yos, hena'yos, kana'yos* those two, etc. (Western Ogala'la); *hena'yoza* those two are the ones; *hena'yosyos* those by twos;—*hena'os*, etc. Eastern Dakota;—older form *heni'yus, heni'yos*, etc. (from *yu'za* to hold?)

23. *-na*. '*e'na* right there at the place referred to:

'*e'l naka' huwo'?*—'*e'na mak'i'kte'* are you home?—there I shall stay;—*le'na yaka' yo'* stay right here! 4.1;—*he'na yake'si po', to'k'sa' hiyo'm.nikte'* tell him to stay there, I'll go to get him;—*ka'na ina'zi' na na'zi'he'* at yonder place he stopped and continued to stand (there);—*tukte'na — sni* no place where: *tukte'na b.le'sni'* I have no place to go to; *le' tukte'na 'e'wag.nake'sni'* this I have no place where to put it down (also *tukte'ni* instead of *tukte'na*);—'*ena'na* here and there: '*uma' ki' ena'na*

'ap'e hpa'yapi others here and there waiting lay about 51.5;—he'l 'ena'na 'u'ta li'la 'o'ta hiye'ya ke' there here and there very many acorns lay about, they say 77.13;—*etq'na* right from there;—*leta'na* right from here without going any farther;—'ekta'na there at the place where it is;—'ekta'na *wac'e'upahapi* right there where they were they were roasting meat 273.8 (see also no. 39)

24. *-nala*:

'isna', *misna'*, *nisna* he, I, you alone (generally with-*la*); *t'q'sna'* unmarried (body alone) presumably with adversative δ

lena'la, *hena'la*, *kana'la*, *co'nala* only this, that many (*lece'la* sing.);—Santee *to'nana*, Teton *co'nala* few, a little;—*to'nala wic'a'kic'o* he invited a certain few

25. *-nakeca* plurals:

'iye'nakeca, *lena'keca*, *hena'keca*, *kana'keca*, *to'nakeca hena'ykecapi* that many, of us;—*ho hena'keca le'l'awi'c'aku po'* now, that number bring here 182.5;—*ho, hena'keca waya'su-'iyotakapi'* now, that number judging sat 182.9

26. *k'ihq* if—then, always referring to future (see p. 148):

way'hiyalapi he'cihq he' slohwa'yikta' whether you have compassion I shall know 67.18;—'u'kta *he'cihq 'iwa'homayikte'* if he will come, then he will warn me

27. 'ekta' at a place, at rest; always at a distance from the location where the speaker is.

'ekta'kiya *ye' c'u wana' 'ekta' 'ih'u'ni'* the one who was going to that place has now arrived there;—*wana' 'ekta' 'u'* he is now there where he intended to go (cf. *wana' 'el' 'u'* he is now there, near by);—*hena' 'ekta' wic'a'b.le'* I go (to be) at the place where those are 2.9;—*he' 'ekta' 'i'* he arrived at a place away from here where that was 129.9;—'ekta'kta reduplicated, 'ekta'kta *'e'tuwe'* he looked around there;—*c'qke' 'ekta'ktani 'ot'a'pi* and so here and there they died in there 127.12;—'ekta'*sniaq* adversely;—'ekta'*wap'aya* a little more towards there 135.10;—*he'kta* towards the rear: *he'kta b.loke'tu k'u'he'ha' wqb.la'ke'* last summer it was when I saw him;—*ha'pa he'ktakikiya oki'ha'po'* put on (your) moccasins backward;—*he'ktatahq* from the rear, from behind: *he'ktatahq ho'uye'* he shouted from behind; *'ig.la'ka uya'pi yu'k'a' he'ktatahq tuwe'ya ki waho'si-g.lipi'* we went moving and then from the rear those who were looking out came back bringing word (information)

28. *-ktakiya*:

wakpa' ki'ekta'kiya 'ug.la'pi' towards the river we were going homeward;—*he'ktakiya g.li'* he was on his return trip 65.7; more explicitly *he'ktakiya kaw'i'g.li'* backwards turning sharply about (*kaw'ga*) he arrived back, without reaching his goal;—*he'ktakiya wi'b.lukeq'* I think in retrospect

The forms 29–39 seem to be derived from *k'a* which expresses a quality. (See p. 83.) 'ec'a' it is its quality, used as a prefix 'ec'a'-*hušte* he is lame congenitally; 'ec'a'-*osteka* he has a peculiar disposition.

29. *-k'a* iv.:

'ec'a *wana' 'ec'u'ye'* it being so do it now 148.12;—'ec'a *mak'a-nu'geya 'uka'ya po'* it being so, Earth-as-Ear-Haver, take us along! 149.8;—'ec'a' by nature, on purpose; 'ec'a' (unaccented) in that case;—*ta'ku 'oya'le k'u'he' le'c'a he'* something you were seeking that was it this kind? (is this the kind you wanted?);—*lec'a' to'ksa' ²⁴—wqš* before you are aware of it (so and so) will happen;—*c'q' k'eya' c'og'i' sasa' k'u'he'c'a 'ece' 'aku' wo'* wood some pith all red, that kind only bring home! 66.9;—*he'c'a 'ece'la k'owa'kip'e c'u'* it is that kind only I fear 78.16 (see also 188.7);—*ptec'i'cala-zi'la ki'he'c'a 'ece' 'e'wic'ag.lepi'* the yellowish buffalo calves of that sort only they stood them up;—*hema'c'a* I am of that kind;—*ka'k'a 'etq' mak'u'* gives me of that kind yonder;—*to'k'a* does not mean "what kind," and does not permit the corresponding demonstrative answer *le'c'a*, *he'c'a*, *ka'k'a*; it means "what is the matter?";—*to'mak'a* something happens to me; ²⁵ what is the matter with me?—*to'k'a he'* what is the trouble?—*he'l'ta'ku to'k'akta sk'e'* they say something is going to happen there;—*to'k'a* with negative verb; cannot; *to'k'a-wo'tesni* he cannot eat;—*to'k'a-'iki'-kcušni'* he could not take his back 27.4

The interrogative and indefinite form corresponding to *le'c'a* etc. is *ta'ku*.

hena' ta'ku he? hena' le'c'a' what are those? Those are of this kind;—*ta'ku c'a 'u' he'c'anu' he? le'c'a c'a mu'* what kind of thing did you use to do that? It was this kind of thing I used

²⁴ *to'ksa' <to'k'a-'esa'* surely, a promise to comply with a request.

²⁵ Euphemistic for "I am going to die."

Examples of *to'k'a*:

nā ta'ku to'k'a hā'tāhāš 'oya'ka yo' and if anything is in any way, tell! 65.6;—*to'k'a c'a le'niya'te le'c'el hpa'ya huwo'*? why is it (what is of such a kind) that your father lies in this way? 133.14

Duplicated *'ec'a'c'a*, *'ec'a'c'aš* unquestionably, without specific purpose.

'ec'a'c'a-istī'me' he is unquestionably asleep;—*'ec'a'c'a 'istī'mešni'* he is entirely of the kind that he does not sleep (i. e., he cannot sleep);—*tok'e' 'ec'a'c'a-oma'niha*²⁵ he is walking about without specific purpose 19.1;—*tok'e' 'ec'a'c'a-lowā'kta*²⁵ for diversion he would sing 26.12;—*tok'e' 'ec'a'c'a* in an easy manner, nonchalantly (in some manner as it ought to be) or *tok'e'c'ac'a* (see p. 139);—*tok'e* unaccented introduces a rhetorical question

30. *-k'ala*, *'ec'a'la* adverb and verb:

wanā'ec'a'lakte' now it will be soon; it will not be long;—*male'c'ala'* I am of recent times;—*lec'a'la k'ig.le'* he left just a little while ago;—*lec'a'š* just a minute ago

31. *k'e*:

yū'k'q' le'c'e lo and behold, thus! *le'c'e* thus; often used instead of, or with *yū'k'a* lo and behold!—*'i'š he'c'e* in his own way 64.1;—*he'c'eñci* in that very way 5.6;—*he'c'eš* used in narratives with very weak meaning "and now," or "now" at the beginning of a tale 77.6, 77.12, 151.12

32. *-k'eya* really:

wāšē' 'ec'e'ya-wāšē' she is as good as she is beautiful;—*le'c'eya' wama'yazq'* I am actually sick now (although you may not believe it);—*he'c'eya' to'k'añq' šk'e'* he was really lost somewhere 133.7;—*wi'yā k'y he'c'eya' loc'i kī* the aforesaid woman who was really hungry 171.11;—*he'c'el yāka'he c'u he'c'eya' li'la 'iyo'kišica 'y' t'eki'nica šk'e'* the one who was sitting there actually with really great sadness he was almost dead, it is said 225.17—*he'c'eya'-heya he'* did he really say (and mean) it? (also *ec'a'k'el-heya he'*)

Also with the meaning "just now":

le'l yāka'hapi nā le'c'eya'-k'ig.la'pi' they had been sitting about here and just now they left;—*he'c'eya'-hina'žī hā'l 'el wak'i'* he had just arrived and stopped when I got home there

33. *-k'el*, *'ec'e'l* accordingly, properly (adv.), see *'ec'e'ca* (verb):

he'c'ena 'isto' k'y he' 'ec'e'l 'o'kicišapi' continuing that way the aforesaid arm that properly they put into place 135.17;—*niha'šni yāka'hā' 'ec'e'l t'o'ka kī kak'i'yo'q' 'e'yaya* paying no attention he was sitting till the enemy somewhere went 71.15;—*to'k'ešk'e c'iyē 'oho'walašni 'iyē c'el wae'c'amukta he'* how can I (as if) dishonoring my brother thus I shall do? 181.4;—*tk'a' 'ak'e' wic'a'ša 'iyē c'el 'oya'ya niyu'k'e* but also a man in that way limbs are to you (you have) 214.3;—*'i'š-eya' wic'a'ša 'iyē c'el c'ažē'yal wō'yuha yuha'k'iyapi'* it also a human being (as if) in that way in its name property they caused to have 274.7 (as though it [a doll] were a man, they give property in its name);—*hake'la le'c'el 'eci'yapi'* thus they said to Hakela 65.4;—*to'k'a c'a le'niya'te le'c'el hpa'ya huwo'*? why this your father thus lies? 133.14;—*le'c'el 'eya'* indeed it being so, i. e., to be sure;—*he'c'el 'ec'y'* thus she did 66.3;—*he'c'el m.nic'o'kaya k'ina'žipi'* thus in the middle of the water they stop 70.14;—*nā ka'k'el c'iyē ku g.li'pi'* and the instant his elder brothers returned 65.14;—*tok'i t'ako'za ka'k'el nā ka'k'el yuha' ni'* would that my grandson had such and such 122.15;—*'i'ya to'k'el g.nā'yikta he'cihā he' 'iyu'kca' Iya* how he would trap him that he thought about 3.7;—*nā he'q'hā 'ak'e' to'k'el 'iya'yeca c'e'l* and from there again which way he went, who knows? 5.11;—*to'k'el-'oki'hika p'ap'q'la ke'* they say it was somehow extremely breakable 66.8;—reduplicated *'ec'e'kc'e* 180.12

34. *'ec'e'lya* implying sufficiently, suitably, in a proper way:

c'eyi'kta 'iyē c'elya ksu'yeye šq' c'e'yēšni' so as to cry sufficiently he was hurt but he did not cry;—*'ec'e'lya s'e 'y-wa'c'i'* try to live in that way, as it were;—*he'c'elya s'e* in that manner, as it were; somewhat in that manner;—*ka'k'elya s'e 'e'g.le* he set it in that way, as it were;—*'i'p'ikta 'iyē c'elya wak'u'* what would be good for him in that way (sufficiently) I gave him, i. e., I gave him what should have been enough for him; *to'k'elyakel* in a way, after a fashion

²⁵ Correct *'ec'a'ca* in text to *'ec'a'c'a*.

35. 'ec'e'tu it is right, it is as it should be, it has come true

'ema'c'etušni I do not feel just right;—*wac'ī kī 'ec'e'tu c'ake' li'la wi'b.luškī* what I want has come true, and so I very much rejoice;—*tok'i t'ako'za ka'k'el na'ka'k'el yuha' ni'*; 'eya'c'q' 'iye'c'etu I wish that my grandson had such and such! she said and everytime it so happened 122.15;—*he'c'e'ehq'ni 'ama'kisnikta-'iye'c'etu tk'a' ye'* in that way long ago I might have been well it would have come true according to it 226.16;—*wi'hab.la yu'k'q' 'iye'c'etu ke'ye'* he had a dream, and lo! it came true, he said;—*'iye'micic'etu* it has come true for me (compare *'iye'mahatu* it is suitable for me, it has the same length as I have; *iye'micihatu* it is timely for me, my time has come; all these are colloquial);—*le'c'etu ke'ye'* he said it happened in this way; *wah'e'mac'etu* I was about in that way, i. e., this size or age;—*ob.la'ke ci le'c'etu ke'ye'* what I told in this way it happened, he said;—*tukte'ni 'ok'q' wani'ce ci he' he'c'etu* everywhere open space lacking that it happened that way 5.8;—*he'c'etu he'cihq* if it is that way 152.13;—*ho, wana' 'eya's he'c'etu we lo'* oh! now it is enough 227.8 ('eya's implies satisfaction; that will do! 'eya' in that manner; well! indeed!);—*ka'k'etu we lo'*, 'eyi' na' 'ec'e'l 'oma'kiyake' in that way it happened, he said and in that way he told me;—*to'k'etu he'* how is he? what is happening? *to'k'etu he* is some way;—*toni'k'etu he* what is your state? i. e., how are you?—contracted: *to'ktuka c'e'l'es* or *to'ktuka c'e's* I don't know; who knows? (how, i. e., in what manner is expressed by *tukte' oq.na'*)

36. -k'etuya:

'iye'c'etuya suitably;—*iaq' wama'k'u c'a mi's-'eya' 'iye'c'etuya wawa'k'ukte'* well he has given me it being so I for my part correspondingly I shall give to him;—*he'c'etuya mi't'a'wac'ī* I am disposed in accordance with that;—*ka'k'etuya, le'c'etuya, to'k'etuya 'owa' h'akte ci nahq' hci' slol-wa'yešni'* I do not yet know in what suitable manner I shall act;—*wah'e'c'etuya, wale'c'etuya, waka'k'etuya* about like this, that

37. -k'etkiya. The difference between these forms and those in -tkiya (No. 18) is not very clear and it seems they are not used consistently. It has been remarked under -tkiya that instead of the form *to'tkiya* the Teton use *to'k'etkiya*.

le'c'etkiya 'au'pi' they are bringing it this way;—*he'c'etkiya 'iya'ye'* he went that way, in the direction from which you came;—*he'tkiya 'iya'ye'* he went to your place;—*ka'k'etkiya ya'he'* he was going along in yonder direction;—*ka'tkiya 'iya'ye'* he went that way yonder

38. -k'eca <k'a-ka iv:

'ec'e'ca it is that way;—*wana' 'ema'c'eca* now I am that way (i. e., sick);—*'ite' kī sapye'la 'ec'e'ca* his face is black as is natural for him (a favorite slam);—*wana' 'ec'e'ca* now it is the way it should be;—*'ec'e'cahq* it kept on happening 21.16;—*maja'zuka ke'he' c'u wana' 'ec'e'ca'* you said it would rain and now it does;—*ka'tu s'e le'c'eca* it was like this place 19.3;—*'iye'mac'eca* I resemble him;—*le'c'eca* it is like this 1.3, 185.5;—*lema'c'eca* I am like this;—*he'c'eca* it was like that 72.15, 274.15;—*he'c'ecakta* it was going to be like this 172.4;—*he'c'ecakte c'u* (it was clear that) it was going to be that way 149.12;—*he'c'ecakta ye's* it was certain that that would happen and yet (you did not heed);—*'ehq'niš he'c'ecakte c'u* indeed long ago it was certain that that was going to happen (and now it has happened);—*ka'k'eca* it is like that yonder, *kama'k'eca* I am like that yonder;—*to'k'eca* it is some way, something is the matter with it;—*to'k'eca t'qi'sni'* it is not clear what is the matter with him;—*toma'k'eca* something is the matter with me (also, I am menstruating);—*to'k'ecashni* nothing is the matter with him;—*tok'e'cela* barely, hardly (see No. 18) 172.3

39. -k'ena continuing:

le'c'ena 'uyi'kte' let us continue going this way;—*he'c'ena* it is still the same 2.15;—*he'c'ena 'iya'ye'* he continued going that way;—*he'mac'ena* I am still the same;—*he'c'ena hci' g.li'sni* he never returned;—*yašle' ka'k'ena ya'ha'* Coyote was going in yonder direction 70.1;—*p'atka'sa ka'k'ena zuya' ya'ha'* Turtle was going to war in yonder direction 77.1;—*ka'k'ena* means idiomatically "off in any direction".—A Yankton love song begins: *ka'k'ena 'uyi'kte, 'ep'e' c'u* we'll go off, I said

he'c'ena is often translated by "immediately after that." In this case it is a corruption of *he'c'eg.na* from *g.na* placed (on, in, with). Both forms are in use. The form with diminutive *la, he'c'eg.nala* is often pronounced *he'c'eg.lala*. Examples of *he'c'ena* immediately after that, are 4.6, 67.11.

40. *-k'i* at a certain place; *i* in reference to the position of the person addressed or spoken of in *le'c'i*; in reference to the speaker in *he'c'i*, *ka'k'i*, *to'k'i*. The forms express the place or region where the object or person referred to belongs permanently. In contrast to the forms in *-k'iya* the forms in *-k'i* refer to a particular place. In contrast to the forms *le'l*, *he'l*, *ka'l tukte'l* they refer to one point in reference to another, while the forms in *l* refer simply to a point. The form *kal* is therefore used for a place nearby, in sight, *ka'k'i* for a point at a distance the direction of which may be pointed out.

le'c'i mąke' I am sitting here (and you there);—*he'c'i c'ap'a yuk'a he?* are there choke-cherries over there (where I am not);—*hiya'*; *iyes ka'k'i 'o'ta se le'ceca ye!* no, rather over yonder are many it seems;—*ka'k'i ka c'u'kaške-ihą ke ki he'l* over yonder, that yonder fence the corner at that referred to;—*to'k'i lehą'l 'ak'e' 'ia' 'oma'ni se'ce le'* at some place (not here) at this time again talking he goes about probably (*le'* woman speaking in soliloquy);—*tok'i' yau' huwo' ?* where (at what definite place) are you; *ka'k'i to'k'i* ever so far, far off somewhere, contracted *ka'kto'k'i*;—*le'c'i to'k'i* way over here (from a distance)

41. *-k'iya*. While *k'i* expresses a definite place, *-k'iya* expresses an indefinite region.

le'c'iya le'l b.le' wą yąka' over here, here is a lake 152.19; 157.7;—*he'c'i m.ni'kte* I will go to where you are;—*he'c'iya m.ni'kte* I'll go in the direction of the place where you are; see 150.1;—*he'c'i yąke'* he sat over there;—*he'c'iya yąke'* somewhere over there he sat 74.2;—*yuk'a' he'c'iya t'azu'skala wą 'ata'ya šk'e'* and then there somewhere he met a little ant 157.7;—*ka'k'iya 'oya'te wą t'i'pi c'a 'ekta' 'ate' i'* somewhere over yonder a people lived, to them father arrived going 133.15;—*ka'k'iya 'ak'i'ksuhą* at a place yonder (indefinite) he was piling it up 171.10; also 149.6, 150.3;—*to'k'iya la' huwo'?* in what direction are you going? 77.2; also 73.13; 82.5;—*to'k'iyani ye'sni* she went nowhere 133.1

42. *-k'iyataq*:

'ec'i'yataq on that side (in reference to this side);—*'yuma' ec'i'yataq sa'pe'* it is black on the other side;—*hu'le 'ec'i'yataq pupu'* it is rotting at the butt end (of the log);—*le'c'iyataq c'a' hą skaska'* on this side, (as of a stream) there are tall trees (the trees are tall);—*t'a-le'c'iyataq hušte'* he (horse) is lame on this side (*t'a* body);—*he'c'iyataq k'es 'et'i po'*; *li'la m.ni-hi'yaye* on that side at all events make camp; very the water goes along (the flood is too high for crossing);—*t'i-ka'k'iyataq 'owa'pi, ną le'c'iyataq 'e' 'e' ta'kunišni'* on yonder side of the tipi it is painted, and on this side it is the one referred to there is nothing;—*ka'k'iyataq 'iya'yapi ną yuwa'kal 'icu' po'* step to that side, and lift it;—*to'k'iyataq b.lu'zika he? 'eya' niye's to'k'iyataq yac'i'ka* which side, which end, am I going to take hold of? Well, you rather whichever side you will

43. *-k'iyataqha*:

'ec'i'yataqha, le'c'iyataqha, he'c'iyataqha, ka'k'iyataqha, to'k'iyataqha coming from a definite point, *le'c'iyataqha* from or at a distant place where the person addressed or spoken of is assumed to be permanently located or to which he belongs, to here; in all other cases from a distant place to the place to which the speaker or the subject of the discourse belongs;—*he'c'iyataqha wic'o'ta 'ahi' ke'ya'pi'* they say a group of people arrived from there (where you or they belong);—*wą, tuwa' le'c'iyataqha 'u'we lo' my!* somebody from a distant place to which he belongs is coming 78.5;—*ka'k'iyataqha* does not refer to a definite place: *ka'k'iyataqha ka tuwa' 'u'we* from over yonder (pointed out) someone is coming;—*yuk'a' to'k'iyataqha ki 'oya's'i mat'a'peh'a ye's k'o' 'ahi'huni* and then from all the somewheres (everywhere) even the toads also arrived 73.2;—*to'k'iyataqha ki 'oya's'i wana' 'awi'c'ahiyupi* from everywhere now they came (charging) at them 105.11

Also, according to—*wana' wawe'ksuye ci'ec'i'yataqha* now according to what I remember 2.3

44. *-k'iyot'a* (compare *'owo't'ąla* in a straight direction):

ka c'a' wą 'išna'la he' c'i hec'i'yot'ąlahe'ci wi' mahel' 'iya'ya hą'l mic'i'ksi t'e' yonder tree one alone standing, exactly in that direction the sun set (went in), when my son died;—*kak'i'yot'a* in yonder direction 3.1, 71.16;—*hec'i'yot'a t'awa'c'išni'* she did not think in that direction 65.2;—*tok'i'yot'a 'iya'ye'* he has gone off in some direction 121.14, 186.1,10

A number of verbs contract with demonstratives, *leya'* he said this, *le'c'u* he did this. (See pp. 98, 101.)

§§ 156-158. NOUNS

§ 156. NOMINAL STEMS

On pages 28 and 33 nominal stems have been described. Like the verbs they have the types *cvc*, *cv*, and *cvccv*. The last-named group contains many compounds. It may be that all are compounded of two elements.

Change of terminal *a* to *e* and of *e* to *a* have been discussed on pages 32 and 34.

§ 157. NOUNS DERIVED FROM VERBS

Nouns formed by the prefix *wa-* have been discussed on pages 52 et seq. Most of these forms are still felt as verbs and function as nouns only with the following article *kí*. This is particularly true of the *nomina actoris*.

The following are felt as nouns and express permanent qualities:

waya'ka captive;—*wap'i'ya* he makes people well, medicine man;—*wakí'ya* thunder;—*way'e'ala* the little one imitates (*way'e'ala* monkey, *way'e'api* mockery)

The following are verbs, nominalized by the article and express temporary occupations:

wak'u'wa he hunts buffaloes (*wak'u'wa kí* buffalo hunter);—*wayu't'q* he serves at a ceremonial, lit. he touches things; (*wayu't'q kí* server at a ceremonial);—*wo'ha* he carries things;—*wao'ka* he rather hits something, marksman

Certain terms which are constantly applied for objects of everyday life have become nouns and function as such without the article. With active verbs these have a passive meaning.

wa'paha something pushed up unsteadily, i. e., a war standard;—*wap'o'sta* hat (*'o'sta* to fit);—*wi'yukpa* mill;—*wapa'zopi* a spectacle, something shown;—*wak'e'ya* tent (*k'e* slanting, *-ya* to make);—*wa'kahpe* cover (*'aka'kpa* to cover up=let fall on);—*waya'hota* oats (*yaho'ta* to choke, lit. he obstructs passage by means of mouth);—*wana'p'i* necklace (*nap'i* to wear around neck);—*wat'e'slake* kerchief (*t'e-sla'ka* to wear around head)

With neutral verbs *wa-* expresses objects having a certain quality.

wapa'm.na a clump of bushes;—*wap'e'p'e* brambles;—*walu'ta* ceremonial red;—*wat'o'* fresh green leaves in spring;—*wat'o'keca* delicacies;—*wasna'* caked pemmican;—*wasni'snika* cold things (food);—*wasku'ya* fruits (sweet things);—*wasá'pa* dirty things, soiled clothes;—*wasi'cu* a sacred object;—*waspa'ka* cold, cooked food;—*wasu'kala* preserved corn;—*wag.mu'* something twisted, i. e., pumpkin;—*wakq'ka* old woman (*kq'* aged);—*wahca'* flower;—*wahpe'* leaf;—*wana'gi* ghost, from *naji'* shadow, ghost of a person;—*wap'a'ha* war bonnet, from *p'a* head, *ha'* skin

The prefix *'o-* forms nouns which are no longer felt as verbs. It has generally a delimiting sense.

Locatives:

'ot'i' dwelling;—*'ot'u'we* (*'o-t'i'-o-a-hq*) town²²;—*'oye'* trail;—*'oa'li* step (in stairway);—*'oa'p'e* place of striking, hour;—*'oo'* wound;—*'ona'p'e* refuge;—*'onu'we* swimming hole;—*'oyu'ke* bed;—*'oc'e't'i* fireplace;—*'o'hazi* a shady place, a shade (also neutral verb);—*'ob.la'ye* prairie;—*'o'ski* hilly country, rough roads

It also expresses the passive participle and the corresponding noun.

'op'a'hte a bundle;—*'ozu'ha* receptacle (*'azu'* to pile up S.);—*'ozu't'upi wa'zi'* a bag full;—*'oyu'kse* pieces cut up;—*'oi'yul'e* a measured object, quantity;—*'ou'* dose of medicine, etc.;—*'oo'he* a quantity for one cooking, or cooked;—*'olo'wa* song;—*'oka'swu* fringes

The prefix *'i-* is used to form instrumental nouns. (See p. 43.)

'iyu'hte rake;—*'ipa'ste* instrument, for rubbing dressing on hides;—*'ica'pte* a ladle;—*'ic'a'p'e* dagger;—*'i'calu* fan;—*'ica'ge* tool (*ka'ga* to make)

In nouns formed with *wa-*, *'o-*, *'i-* the changeable terminal *a* becomes *e*. (See pp. 33, 41, 43.)

The contracted form *wo'-* from *wao-* is used to form generalized nouns, particularly abstract nouns. (See p. 133.)

wo'waste goodness;—*wo'aiye* gossip;—*wo'ksape* wisdom;—*wo'ap'e* expectation;—*wo'yuha* property

²² *t'uwq'pi* (8) they lived in a town.

Other nouns are formed with the ending *-pi*. They are actually third person plurals and correspond to our passives.

c'a-ka'wac'ipi they make wood dance by striking, i. e., a top (see p. 66);—*pai'yakapi* snow snake;—*paslo'hapi* sliding stick

These forms, like those in *wa-*, are felt as nouns only when they apply to terms of everyday occurrence in the life of the people; officers, objects of daily use, abstract terms are so conceived.

§ 158. CLASSIFICATION OF NOUNS

The concept of position which is ever present in some of the Siouan dialects, for instance in Winnebago, is found in traces in Dakota. In sentences expressing "to be somewhere" the corresponding verbs *yaka'* to sit is used for objects of spherical or cubical form, like rocks, hills, heavenly bodies, or for small objects including small animals; *na'zi* to stand, for men and animals; *ha'* to stand, for long, upright inanimate objects or those that stand upright in a definite way; *yaka'* to lie, mostly for animate beings; *hpa'ya* to lie, mostly for inanimate objects; *hiye'ya* for scattered, roundish or short objects that lie in a pile or scattered about. Other special terms are used. Plants "grow," hanging objects "hang," etc.

Examples for the use of *yaka'*:

Natural objects:

<i>'igu'ga</i> rock	<i>b.le'</i> lake
<i>'owo'zu</i> garden	<i>paha'</i> butte
<i>'ot'u'we</i> town	<i>pispi'za-ot'i'</i> prairie dog town
<i>wi'</i> sun	<i>pte'o'wac'i</i> buffalo wallow
<i>wic'a'hipi</i> star	<i>mak'o'c'e</i> a piece of land
<i>wo'icase</i> obstacle	<i>mahpi'ya</i> sky
<i>hah'e'pi-wi</i> moon	<i>c'a'ga</i> a block of ice
<i>hesa'pa</i> Black Hills	<i>c'anu'p-'ok'e'</i> pipestone quarry (digging place)

Animals:

<i>p'atka'sa</i> turtle	<i>g.naska'</i> frog
<i>zitka'la</i> bird	<i>ig.mu'</i> cat

Parts of body of killed animal:

<i>nasu'la</i> brain
<i>supe'</i> intestines and all internal organs.

Food:

<i>'agu'yapi</i> bread (lit. they cause it to be scorched)
<i>'agu'yapsu'</i> ²⁸ (bag, pile of) wheat (=bread seed) (<i>agu'wapi</i> S. and Y)
<i>waya'hota'</i> ²⁸ (bag of) oats
<i>t'alo'</i> meat (lit. fresh food of ruminant)
<i>spa'sniyutapi</i> melon (lit. they eat it not cooked)

Tools, implements, etc.

<i>'i'p'ahite</i> bridle	<i>t'ah'i'spa</i> awl
<i>'i'calu</i> fan	<i>t'ak'a'</i> sinew thread
<i>'oc'a'iyali</i> ladder, when lying	<i>wak'e'ya</i> the tent cover when not put up
<i>wah'i'kpe</i> arrow	<i>t'osu'</i> tipi poles
<i>wi'k'a'</i> rope	<i>c'ahli'</i> coal
<i>wo'p'iy'e</i> medicine bundle	<i>c'a'</i> fire-wood piled up, or short pieces
<i>wo'kp'a'</i> parfleche	<i>c'a'wak'i</i> saddle
<i>hupa'</i> travois	<i>c'a'ka'ga</i> log
<i>psit'o', sip't'o'</i> beads	<i>c'a'ka'a'</i> flint
<i>p'a'</i> bag	<i>c'a'ka'o'zuha</i> pouch
<i>mi'la</i> knife	<i>c'aho'ta</i> ashes
<i>t'a'pa</i> ball	<i>nasu'pakce</i> comb

²⁸ *k'eya'* some is required with this.

And numerous other objects, many of European introduction:

'i'yohqzi parasol	ma' zaska'-ozu'ha purse
'iyu'sloke key	mi'yog.las'i mirror
wi'yowa pencil	m.nihu'hak'ak'aka paper
wi'paškiškite wash board	c'qi'wakse saw
wo'wapi book	c'qi'pakize violin
hai'pažaza soap	c'qwi'pasise clothespin
hahu'ta-'iya'pehapi spool of thread	c'u'wiža-aka'hpe rug
mas-'i'yap'e hammer	nazu'spe ax
ma' zaska' money	

Clothing:

'o'g.le coat	huya'k'u socks
wana'p'i necklace	napi'kpa gloves
wap'o'sta hat	napsi'yohli ring
ha'pa shoes	

Examples of the use of ha':

'oyu'ke bed	m.ni' water (in container)
'ot'i wota abandoned campsite	m.ni'yatke cup
wasu' smoke hole	t'iyopa door
wakst'ca plate	t'i'pi tent (when standing)
wic'a'hapi grave	c'q' tree
wi'g.muke trap	c'qhu'ta stump of tree
ma'za wak'q' gun, except when lying	c'e'ga kettle

All objects that must stand upright on a natural base, like a trunk, a tumbler, a clock, etc.; but also—

'asa'pi milk (probably because always in a container)

Examples of use of na'zi. All animals standing are used with na'zi; also machines that can move and stand upright.

'iye'c'ika-iyaka automobile
hema'ni train

Examples of use of yuka':

wa'ta boat (a skiff yaka')	mak'a' land (as a whole)
wakpa' river (also hpa'ya)	c'aku' road (also hpa'ya)
wakpa'la creek (also hpa'ya)	

Everything lying stretched out long belongs to this group.

Examples of hpa'ya to lie:

wakpa' river (also yuka')	c'eya'kt'upi bridge
wakpa'la creek (also yuka')	zuzé'ca snake
c'aku' road (also yuka')	

Examples of hiye'ya plural for yaka':

he'l 'iyq-t'akt'q'ka 'o'ta hiye'ye' many large stones lie there (scattered)
waya'hota single grains of oats
'oya'te if thought of as tribes, not as living individuals

§ 159-162. POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS

§ 159. GENERAL REMARKS

The possessive pronouns are prefixes and correspond to the objective personal pronouns.

my	mi-, ma-
thy, your	ni-
his	—
our	'u-, 'uki-

Inseparable and separable possession are distinguished. In the former the pronoun is prefixed to the noun; in the latter to *t'a-*. In the case of inseparable possession we have to distinguish between parts of the body and terms of relationship.

Natural objects, like land, water, animals including the dog but excepting the horse ³⁷ cannot take the possessive pronoun, because under aboriginal conditions they could not be exclusive property of anyone. Food also is not used with possessive pronoun except in the term *t'awo'te* his food supply, with the meaning of "his means of extending hospitality."

mit'a'wote wala'kikte you shall see my hospitality ³⁸

In Dakota the use of possessives is generally avoided. Instead of the possessive pronoun verbal constructions are used which indicate the relation between subject and object (p. 86).

su'kak'a' wq kit'e' a horse died to him

rather than—

t'asu'ke wq t'e' his horse died

§ 160. INSEPARABLE POSSESSION

Parts of the body are not ordinarily used with possessive pronouns expressing inseparable possession. Instead the possessive forms of the verb are used. When they are used with possessive pronouns those parts of the body which are conceived as particularly subject to will-power take in the first person the form *mi-*; all others take *ma-*.

mii' my mouth (also *mai'*)
mii'ha my lips
mii'te my facial expression (see *mai'te*)
mii'tog.nake my countenance
mii'sto my arm
mii'sta my eye
mihó' my voice (also *maho'*)
mit'a'c'a my body
misi' my foot (also *masi'*)

misi'ha my foot (Santee)
mic'a'te my heart
mic'e'hipi my flesh (the physical body as opposed to the spiritual)
mina'pe my hand
mina'gi my spirit
minu'ge my ear (as sense organ)
mic'e' my penis

Forms in *ma-* are:

maa'zuka my kidney
mau'b.lo my region of shoulder blade
mai'te my face (see *mii'te*)
mai'spa my elbow
mai'skahu my ankle
mao'yut'e my flank
mau'ze my buttocks
mahi'yete my shoulder
maho' my voice (also *mihó'*)
mawe' my blood
mahu'hu my bone
map'a' my head from neck up
map'a'su my nose
map'e' top of my head
map'e'hi my hair
map'i' my liver
map'i'zi my gall (yellow liver)
mal'e'zi my stomach
mat'u'c'uhu my ribs

masi' my foot (also *misi'*)
masi'c'a my thigh
masu'su my testicles
masa'ste my little finger
masa'ke my nail
masu'pe my intestines
mac'a'gu my lungs
mac'a'k'ahu my spinal column
mac'a'kpe my knee
mac'e'hupa my jaw
mac'e'ca my leg
mac'e'kpa my navel
mac'o'nic'a my flesh under the skin
mana'p'ahuka my thumb
mana'pokaške my wrist
mani'ge my stomach
mak'a' my vein, artery, sinew, ligament
masq' my vulva

³⁷ At present the cattle on large ranches are considered as property and not as food. Therefore they are expressed as separable property by the prefix *t'a*.

³⁸ In forms like *t'alo'* supply of meat, the *t'a* is not the possessive but means ruminant.

When a body part is personified or addressed, the possessive pronouns are always *mi*, *ni*, *uki*.

"*miy'ze, lena' awa' miciyaka yo'*" my buttocks! watch these for me! ³⁹
mic'q'le t'is-i' c'iya yo' my heart! make thyself firm!

The possessive pronouns *ma* (*mi*), *ni*, *uki* are used only when the body parts are used predicatively.

le' ta'ku he? he mina'pe' what is this? It is my hand

When body parts appear as purely nominal forms, possession is expressed in the verb.⁴⁰ (See p. 86.)

si' maka'hu' he slashed my foot (he slashed me the foot)
cate' 'a'taya we'c'u' with my whole heart (I use my whole heart)

§ 161. TERMS OF RELATIONSHIP

Terms of relationship take the possessive pronouns expressing inseparable possession, *mi*, *ni*, *uki*. In addition they take the suffix *-ku*; after terminal *i*, and *i*, *-tku* or *cu* for the third person. The first person possessive is omitted in many terms. On account of the numerous irregularities we give the list of terms according to their forms.

1. REGULAR ENDING IN *a*, *e*, *q*, *o*, *š*

	Address	3d person possessive	1st person possessive	2d person possessive
(his) elder brother.....	<i>c'iy'e'</i>	<i>c'iy'e'ku</i> ¹	<i>c'iy'e'</i>	<i>nic'i'ye</i>
(his) elder sister.....	<i>t'gke'</i>	<i>t'gke'ku</i>	<i>t'gke'</i>	<i>ni'g'ke</i>
(her) elder sister.....	<i>c'uwe'</i>	<i>c'uwe'ku</i>	<i>c'uwe'</i>	<i>nic'u'we</i>
(her) brother's son.....	<i>t'oska'</i>	<i>t'oska'ku</i>	<i>t'oska'</i> , <i>mi'u'ska</i>	<i>ni'u'ska(la)</i>
(his) sister's son.....	<i>t'yaka'</i>	<i>t'yaka'ku</i>	<i>t'yaka'</i> , (<i>mi'u'ska</i>)	<i>ni'u'y'aka(la)</i>
(his) sister-in-law.....	<i>haka'</i>	<i>haka'ku</i>	<i>haka'</i>	<i>nihq'ka</i>
(her) husband.....	(<i>wic'a'na</i>)	<i>hiq.na'ku</i>	<i>wic'a'sa</i> ² <i>mi'a'wa</i> , <i>mih'g.na</i> , (very formal)	<i>nih'g.na</i>
(his) brother-in-law.....	<i>t'ahaq', maqe'</i> ³	<i>t'ahaq'ku</i>	<i>t'ahaq'</i>	<i>ni'u'haq</i>
(her) sister-in-law.....	<i>šcep'q'</i>	<i>šcep'q'ku</i>	<i>šcep'q'</i>	<i>nišcep'q'</i>
(her) elder brother.....	<i>t'ib.lo'</i>	<i>t'ib.lo'ku</i>	<i>t'ib.lo'</i>	<i>ni'u'ib.lo</i>
child-in-law.....	<i>t'ako's</i>	<i>t'ako'sku</i>	<i>mi'u'ako's</i>	<i>ni'u'ako'sku (kš)</i>
his sisters and female cross-cousins.....	}	<i>haka'taku</i> ⁴	<i>miha'kata</i>	<i>niha'kata</i>
her brothers and male cross-cousins.....				

¹ Santee *c'i'cu*.

² It is customary to say *wi'gq mi'a'wa* my wife, not *mi'a'wi* because the latter points to sexual relations; also *wic'a'sa mi'a'wa* my husband. *mi'a'wic'a'sa* is used jokingly for "my fellow."

³ *maqe'* designates particular companionship. Compare *wate'* female friend of woman.

⁴ *haka'taya* he (she) has for his (her) sister (brother) or female (male) cross-cousin.

2. ENDING IN *š*, *i*, *š* and *e*

Ending *-tku*

	<i>t'yakšila'</i> ^{4a}	<i>t'yakšitku</i>	<i>t'yakšila</i>	<i>ni'u'kašila</i> (rarely a nasalized)
grandfather.....	<i>t'yakšila'</i> ^{4a}	<i>t'yakšitku</i>	<i>t'yakšila</i>	<i>ni'u'kašila</i> (rarely a nasalized)
(his) younger sister.....	<i>t'qkšii'</i>	<i>t'qkšitku</i>	<i>t'qkšii'</i> (<i>mi'u'kšila</i>)	<i>ni'u'q'kšila</i>
(her) female cross-cousin.....	<i>cep'qšii'</i>	<i>cep'qšitku</i>	<i>cep'qšii'</i>	<i>nišcep'qšii'</i>
(his) male cross-cousin.....	<i>t'qhašii'</i>	<i>t'qhašitku</i>	<i>t'qhašii'</i>	<i>ni'u'q'hašii'</i>
(his) female cross-cousin.....	<i>hakašii'</i>	<i>hakašitku</i>	<i>hakašii'</i>	<i>nihq'kašii'</i>
(her) male cross-cousin.....	<i>šic'ešii'</i>	<i>šic'ešitku</i>	<i>šic'ešii'</i>	<i>nišic'ešii'</i>
mother's brother.....	<i>lekšii'</i>	<i>lekšitku</i>	<i>lekšii'</i> ⁴	<i>nišic'ešii'</i>

^{4a} Western Ogala children *t'yakšila'*.

⁴ Yankton and Santee use both *dekšii'* and *mide'kšii'*.

³⁹ Quoted from an Ikto'mi story.

⁴⁰ The use of possessive pronouns in the translations of the Psalms by Riggs and Williamson is largely unidiomatic.

2. ENDING IN *hi*, *i*, *ʃ* and *e*—ContinuedEnding -*cu*

father's sister.....	t'uwɔf'	t'uwɔf'cu	t'uwɔf'	niɬ'u'wɔ
wife.....	(wɔɬnu'ʔca)	t'awɔf'cu	(mɨ' a'wɔ) wɔf'ya mɨ'a'- wa kɨ very formal, wɔɬnu'ʔca very infor- mal	niɬ'a'wɔ
(his) elder brother.....	c'iyɛ'	c'ɨ'cu * (Santee)	ʃic'e'	niɬ'ɛ'
(her) brother-in-law.....	ʃic'e'	ʃic'e'cu		

* Teton c'iyɛ'ku.

IRREGULAR

father.....	'ate'	'atku'ku	'ate'	niya'te
(his, her) younger brother.....	miɬu'	ɔyka'ku	miɬu' (kala)	niɬu'kala
father-in-law.....	t'ɨkɔʃɨ' †	t'ɨkɔ'ku	t'ɨkɔ'ʃi	niɬ'u'kɔ
son.....	c'ɨkɔ' ‡	c'ɨʃɨ'tku	miɬ'ɨkɨ	niɬ'ɨkɨ
daughter.....	c'ɨkɨ' §	c'uwɔf'tku	miɬ'ɨkɨ	niɬ'ɨkɨ
mother.....	'ina' ¶	hɨ'ku	'ina'	niɬu'
grandmother.....	'uɛi', k'ɨ'ʃi	k'ɨ'ʃiku	'uɛi', k'ɨ'ʃi	niɬ'ɨ'ʃi
mother-in-law.....	'uɛi'ʃi	k'ɨ'ku	'uɛi'ʃi	niɬ'ɨ'ʃi
her younger sister.....	miɬ'q'	t'aka'ku	miɬ'q' (kala)	niɬ'q'kala
grandchild.....	t'akota'	t'ako'zakpaku	t'ako'za	niɬ'a'kota
(his) sister's daughter.....	t'ɨzɔ'	t'ɨzɔ'k'u	t'ɨzɔ' (miɬ'u'zɔ)	niɬ'u'zɔ(la)
her brother's daughter.....	t'oza'	t'oza'k'u	t'oza', miɬ'o'zɔ	niɬ'o'zɔ(la)

† Also t'ɨka'ʃi, t'ɨka'ku, niɬ'u'ka.

‡ Western Ogalala c'ɨkɨ' and c'ɨkɨ'ʃi.

§ Also 'ina'cik'ala, little mother, 'ina'-ʔɨq'hq make believe mother, terms for mother's sister.

When the form in address occurs in course of conversation the terms are without accent; when the address is used as a call, the last syllable bears a strong accent.

For the use of the article with terms of relationship, see page 134.

The first person dual and plural is not expressed by means of the possessive pronoun, but by the verbal expression 'uɔyɔ'pi kɨ the one we have for:

c'iyɛ' 'uɔyɔ'pi kɨ our (plural) elder brother

For the first person dual of *miɬ'a'koʃ* my child-in-law, the phrase *wiwo'ha kɨ* the woman who is staying owing to attraction, from *yuha* is used: to stay with someone owing to permanent attraction (like children with their mother, friends, etc.).

Plurals formed with *pi* express the plural as related to several individuals.

t'oza'k'u'pi kɨ the daughter of the brother of several women

t'ɨka'ʃi'kupɨ kɨ their (of a group of brothers, cousins) grandfather

When the relatives (here brothers, grandfathers) are also plural an adjective like "all, many, several" must be added.

If the possessor is singular the forms with *ya* to have, are used:

t'oza'-wic'a'waye cɨ those I have for nieces (woman speaking)

The same may also be expressed by the possessive form, if a definite or indefinite numeral is added:

miɬ'o'zɔ' 'iyu'ha all my nieces (woman speaking)

or by adding *pi* to the verb:

miɬ'o'zɔ' kɨ g.ɨ'pi' my nieces have come back; when known to the person addressed *kɨ* is omitted

The third person plural possessive:

t'ak'o'lakupi kɨ hɔ'ske' their friend is tall

t'ak'o'lakupi kɨ hɔ'skaskapi' their friends are tall

The forms with *wic'a* (given by Riggs, p. 16) are not possessive but refer to the terms as belonging to human beings: *wic'a'cica* children of man (not of animals), *wic'a'atkuku* (not *wic'i'atkuku*, Riggs) father of humans, *wic'a'hyku* mother of humans.

Here belong also *wic'o'we* children of one family, *wic'o'ic'age* generation.

More distant affinal relationship terms, and a few others expressing a close relation based neither on consanguinity nor affinity take the ending *ku* and also the prefix *t'a* expressing separable possession.

	Address	3d person possessive	1st person possessive	2d person possessive
parent of my child's spouse.....	<i>oma'wahit'u'</i>	<i>t'o'mawahit'yku</i>	<i>oma'wahit'u'</i>	<i>nit'o'mawahit'u'</i>
stepchild.....	<i>t'awa'qaku</i> ¹	<i>t'awa'qawaye ci</i> ¹	<i>nit'a'wajaku</i> or
her cowife.....	(²)	<i>t'e'yaku</i>	(²)	<i>t'awa'qayaye ci</i>
consanguineal relative.....	(no address)	<i>t'i'takuye</i> ³	<i>mit'i'takuye</i>	<i>nit'i'takuye</i>
consanguineal or affinal relative.....	<i>mita'kuyepi</i> ⁴	<i>ota'kuye-t'awa</i> (group term)	<i>mita'kuye</i>	<i>nit'a'kuye</i>
male friend of a man.....	<i>k'ola'</i>	<i>t'ak'o'laku</i>	<i>mit'a'k'ola</i> or <i>t'ak'o'laku mayu'k'q</i> (his friend exists for me)	<i>nit'a'k'ola</i>
female friend of woman.....	<i>wase'</i> ⁵	<i>t'awa'setku</i>	<i>mit'a'wase</i>	<i>nit'a'wase</i>
master (of a pet animal or guardian spirit)	<i>t'i'hiyetku</i> ³		

¹ Santee *nyka's*, *nyka'sku*, obsolete in Riggs' time. *t'awa'qawaye ci* the one whom I have as a stepchild.

² Cowives call each other sister, cross-cousin, or mother of such and such a child; *t'e'yawaye ci* the one whom I have as a cowife; *t'e'yaku mayu'k'q* (her) cowife exists for me, i. e., I have her as a cowife is also used.

³ See p. 133.

⁴ This term is included here although it lacks the prefix *t'a* because the theme is identical with the preceding. The address is always plural.

⁵ Used only for those who are very intimate; often used by cross-cousins. Compare *mase'* an analogous term for brothers-in-law.

The term *kic'u'wa*, comrade, from *k'uwa'* to pursue, is going out of use. Riggs (p. 15) gives the possessive form *t'aki'c'uwa*.

§ 162. SEPARABLE POSSESSION

Separable possession is expressed by the prefix *t'a* (*mit'a*, *nit'a*, *ykit'a*).

When the noun with the possessive *t'a* is not followed by the article the meaning is in most cases generalized and signifies a permanent relation of the owner to the thing possessed. The terms *k'ola'* a man's male friend and *wase'* a woman's female friend are used with *t'a*.

Compounded with *t'a* are the verbal or nominal possessives *mit'a'wa*, *nit'a'wa*, *t'a'wa*, *ykit'a'awa*. These express "it is mine, yours, his, ours." When used nominally they must be followed by an article (*ki*, *k'u*, *wq*); by a demonstrative (*le'*, *he'*, *ka'*, *lena'*, *hena'*, *kana'*); or by a numeral, definite or indefinite.

The usage is illustrated by the following examples:

t'asuy'ke ki ske'hqhaq' his horse is restless

t'asuy'ke ske'hqhaqke' he is the kind of person who has restless horses

t'ami'la ki p'ep'e'sni' her knives are not sharp

t'ami'la p'ep'e'sni' she is the kind who has no sharp knives

mit'a'woyuha ki waste'ste' my household goods are fine

mit'a'woyuha waste'ste' I am the kind who has fine household goods

tase' waka'b.lac'ic'iyikteca c'as! 'ece's *nit'a'mila siks'ca c'a* but I shall not let (lit. cause) you flatten (i. e., jerk beef) for you are one who (always) has excessively bad knives

t'ac'a'nypa ki ha'ske' his pipe is long

t'ac'a'nypa ha'ske' he is one who owns a long pipe

This appears also in the saying:

t'ahaq'psisica silye'la worn-out moccasins badly! (i. e., he or you, with your worn-out moccasins!)⁴¹

⁴¹ *hapa'* moccasin, *si* foot, assimilated by *s* of *hi'ca* bad, worn moccasins; (cf. *hapes'cu* a pair of pieces of skin cut out for moccasins). An exclamation directed at someone who has annoyed the speaker; also used in affectionate bantering with joking-relatives or children. It refers to the pride the Dakota took in being well-shod.

w'o'p'ahita k'u y g.luzu' zu he undid his aforesaid package 20.10

t'a'hca-hoksi'la k'u 'icu' he took the aforesaid deer boy 26.9

wq:

'ape'tu wq e'l ho'c'okata i' on a certain day he went to the center of the camp circle 8.2

'oya'te wq t'i'pi' a certain people dwelled 46.1

t'iy'o'p-'ik'a'yela winu'hcala wq yake' near the doorway a certain old woman was sitting 54.1

ta'ku wq a certain thing; *tuwe' wq* a certain person

⁴² See p. 14.

⁴³ For use of *k'u* as past tense, see also p. 107.

The forms with prefixed *t'a* as subject, followed by a neutral verb, refer always to the owner of the inanimate object, not to the object itself. For animate beings they are referred to the object by addition of the plural *pi*.

t'asų ke luslu'zaha' he is the kind of person who has fleet horses
t'asų ke luslu'zahapi' the horses he has are always fleet

Ordinarily possession is expressed in the verb (see p. 86).

mit'a'woyuha manų' he stole something belonging to me (among other stolen property)
wo'yuha mama'kinų' he stole property from me
śų kak'a' 'ima'kiyayapi' my horses run away
mit'a'woyuha yuk'e' I am one with property, lit. my property exists;—but *t'i'ta'kuye mayu'k'e'* relatives exist for me, I have relatives, backing; or *'ota'kuye maki'yuk'e'*

As predicate the forms with *t'a* are used:

hena' mit'a'woyuha' those are my possessions
he' mit'a'c'ąnu'pa' that is my pipe (*c'ąnu'pa ki he' mit'a'wa* more idiomatic)

The forms in *t'a'wa* emphasize the contrast between what is his (mine, yours, ours) and the property of others, while the forms in *t'a* designate the contrast between the particular thing possessed by him (me, you, us) and other things belonging to the same person. *t'a'wa* (*mit'a'wa*, *nit'a'wa*, *ųki't'awa*) when following a noun has no independent accent.

mit'a'woyuha ki wašte'ste' my household goods are fine, (but my other property not)
wo'yuha-mit'a'wa ki hena' wašte'ste' my household goods are fine (but yours are not)
mit'a'sina hini'kte' you shall be the kind of a person who may wear my blanket
ti'na-mit'a'wa ki waži'hini'kte' you shall wear one of my blankets (not another person's)
mic'į ca⁴³ ki wašte'stepi' my children are nice (but other members of my family are not)
wak'a'heza⁴³-mit'a'wa ki hena'wašte'stepi' my children are nice (as compared to those of other families)

When not followed by an article, demonstrative or numeral, *t'a'wa* is predicative.

he mit'a'wa ki he' the one that is mine that one
he' mit'a'wa' that is mine
ta'ku mit'a'wa ki hena' c'ic'u' whatever is mine I give you
ta'ku-mit'a'wa ki he' au' that, something mine bring here; but *tukte'-mit'a'waka c'a* which one/mine kind of/it being so (which one of mine?)

When the noun is accompanied by an adjective, the possessive *t'a'wa* follows the noun and precedes the adjective which also has a secondary accent.

t'ii'kceya-mit'a'wa wq t'e'ca k'ų hleca'he' my new tent is torn
wi'ya-mit'a'wa-wašte' k'ų waya'za' my good wife is sick
wi'ya-mit'a'wa wq wašte' k'ų he' waya'za' my wife a certain one, the good one that one was sick

When the possessive is preceded by a noun, expressing a genitive relation it has no independent accent.

P'ala'ni-t'ama'k'oc'e ki ii't'mahel wana' ųya'pi, ha'l we were travelling in the country of the Pawnee,
when
wası'cu-t'asų'ke white man his horse

For possessives used idiomatically as names of objects see page 69

Nouns beginning in *o* when preceded by possessive *t'a* occur in uncontracted and contracted forms *t'ao'-* and *t'o'*. The latter expresses a permanent, the former a temporary relation.

t'ao'wi his earrings, i. e., those he made, or those he happens to wear;—*t'o'wi* the earrings he always wears, that are part of him;—*t'o'wi t'ot'ola* his earrings are blue (a nickname);—*t'ao'ie* his choice of words on a certain occasion;—*t'o'ie* his utterances peculiar to him;—*t'ao'ie sikki'cece'* his words are likely to be bad (unkind, obscene, harsh);—*t'o'ie ki owo't'qla'*; *yus-p'į'ca'* his utterances are (always) upright; they are worthy of acceptance;—*t'ao't'iwola* an abandoned campsite allotted to him for the time being;—*t'o't'iwola* his abandoned campsite where he used to live;—*t'ao'ųye* his place or mode of living (provided he is moving about from place to place);—*t'o'ųye* his permanent abode

⁴³ *c'įca'* does not take the prefix *t'a*, because it expresses child as an inalienable possession, i. e., son or daughter; *wak'a'heza* or *wak'a'yetsa* is used by Yankton and Teton, derived from *k'ąbe'za* weak (Santee). The word is generally misinterpreted by Teton as derived from *wak'a'* holy. Child in Santee is *šic'ca*.

According to their meaning certain of these nouns can take only one or the other form: *t'o'ye* his tracks; *t'o'he* his place (in society, in the tent) *t'o'h'a* his deeds; *t'o'mawahit'uku* his or her child-in-law's parents.

On the other hand we have only *t'ao'inazi* the place where he stops (just once). The same principle prevails in words with initial 'u:

t'au'hnage his fire place, (*t'au'hnaga* Santee), *t'u'hna'ge* his home fireplace
t'u'kce his excrements

Nouns beginning with *wo'* (a contraction of *wa-o*) are treated in a similar manner. Those expressing concrete objects do not form contractions.

t'awo'yute his food;—*t'awo'yaptapi* the food he left over;—*t'awo'k'oyake* his dress;—*t'awo'heyaka* the pay of a shaman;—*t'awo'wapi* his letter;—*t'awo'wasi* his worker, his guardian spirit

In abstract nouns the abstract quality and the results of the quality, or acts due to it are distinguished, the abstract quality by contraction with loss of *w*, the result by lack of contraction.

t'o'waste ki 'iwi'c'ab.leze' his goodness is refreshing, *t'awo'waste ki 'o'takiya'* the results of his goodness (his kindly acts) are varied;—*t'o'c'akiye ki 'iyo'mahi'* his love (in form of a gift) reaches me; *t'awo'c'akiye ki yawa p'icashi'* the results of his love (of making someone beloved) cannot be counted;—*t'o'wita ki wic'o't'i-a'taya waya'kapi'* his glory is perceived by the whole village; *t'awo-wita ki 'ak'i'sokya hiye'ye'* the results of his glory (honor) lie thickly about;—*t'o'sice ki t'iwa'he-t'awa ki 'a'taya 'oka'hta'* his badness saturates his whole family (i. e., the standing of the family suffers on account of the badness of one member); *t'awo'sice ki 'u' kaska'pi-s'a'* on account of ('u) the results of his badness he is always being jailed;—also *t'o'kuze* his will; *t'awo'kuze* rules decreed by him

Nouns beginning with 'i are ordinarily not contracted. A few terms expressing close relation are found only with initial *t'i*. Some of these are probably derived from obsolete stems in *i*.

t'i'takuye consanguineal relative (see *'ota'kuye* a relative; or from *t'i'* household)
t'i'hiyeiku his master (i. e., owner of a pet animal, of a guardian spirit)
t'i'pahi his pillow, given by Riggs is not used by the Teton

NOTE.—In Teton we find *t'ai'tazipa* and *t'i'tazipa* (or *t'i'tazipa* ?), Santee *t'i'nazipe*, his bow. This is derived from *ita'zipa* suggesting a change from *n* to *t*. In Assiniboine we have *wio'kicizipapi* they put up a tent for him (*wi-* tent, *kici-* for; *zipa* to be stretched). Accordingly *ina'zipa* would mean "to stretch by inner force against." A similar case of a possible change of *na* to *ta* is *tasa'ka* frozen stiff (*na* by inner force).

§ 163. THE ARTICLE

There are three articles, *ki* (*ci* after *a* changed to *e*),⁴³ definite article; *k'u* (*c'u* after *a* changed to *e*),⁴³ among western Teton often 'u, definite past, previously referred to or already known; and *wq* a certain one; pl. *k'eya'*. The numeral *wq'zi'* is used as an indefinite article.

ki:

'oya'te ki 'aki's'api' the people shouted
p'ehi' ki 'e'g.na psi'l 'u'pi' among the hair they jumped about 48.1
wik'o'skalaka ki 'ec'u' c'i'sni' the young woman was unwilling to do it 47.5

k'u:⁴⁴

wo'p'ahita k'u g.luzu'zu he undid his aforesaid package 20.10
t'a'hca-hoksi'la k'u 'icu' he took the aforesaid deer boy 26.9

wq:

'ape'tu wq e'l ho'c'okata i' on a certain day he went to the center of the camp circle 8.2
'oya'te wq t'i'pi' a certain people dwelled 46.1
t'iyo'p-ik'a'yela winu'hcala wq yake' near the doorway a certain old woman was sitting 54.1
ta'ku wq a certain thing; *tuwe' wq* a certain person

⁴³ See p. 14.

⁴⁴ For use of *k'u* as past tense, see also p. 107.

k'eya':

c'a' k'eya' certain trees;—*t'ahí'špa k'eya'* some awls 59.3;—*c'a'-haskaska k'eya'* certain tall trees

k'eya' is used only for separate objects.

When part of a mass of separate objects is meant '*eta'*' from, is used: *c'a' 'eta' hiyo'iyaye* he is going for some wood out of a supply or out of a stack of wood.

For a piece of a whole *hake'*: *t'alo' hake' wac'i'* I want a piece of meat.

For part of material that cannot be divided *hu'h* (Y '*u'ge'*) or '*eta'*': *m.ni' hu'h mak'u'*, or *m.ni' eta' mak'u'*: with adjective *m.ni'-sni ki hu'h b.latk'i'kte'* I'll drink some of the cold water.

wazi':

c'a' wazi' 'au' wo' put a stick on (the fire)!

wo'tapi wazi' ka'gikte' he will give (make) a feast; but *wo'tapi wa ka'ge'* he gave a certain feast

'ape'tu wazi' 'e'l wai'kte' some day I shall go there

The examples show that *wazi'* is used for an indefinite unidentified object, *wa* for a certain object or event that exists.

c'a' wa 'ag.li' he brought a stick (now existing)

c'a' wazi' hiyo'iyaye he is going for a stick (the identity of which is not yet known)

When the object spoken of is selected from among a group, *he'* that, follows the article.

wati' ki hena' m.nama'k'iyapikte lo' the bits of fat, those they will collect for me 189.13

haka'kta ki he' hig.na'yikta the younger one that one was to have him for a husband 201.14

c'a'pala k'u' he' 'iki'kc'u she picked up her little beaver (and nothing else) 48.8

'anu'k-'ite' k'u' he' 'e' it was (no other than) the Double-Face 48.14

The article nominalizing a verb makes it subject or object of the finite verb. A following or preceding *he'* may shift the emphasis and with it the syntactic structure.

kte'pi ki slolye' he knows the killing

kte'pi ki he' waya'ke' he saw that one killed, or he saw the killing of him (and nothing else)

he' kte'pi ki waya'ke' that one saw the killing, or he saw that killing

Terms of relationship in first and second person possessive have generally no article.

lena' mit'a'koza 'au'masi' these (things) my grandson ordered me to bring 199.18

niya'te 'a'k'iyec'el t'ey'kilapikta ke'ya' your father said he would love us impartially 195.14

niye'pi na niya'te niyu' k'o' wana' yau'pikte lo' you and your father and your mother also will come now 231.5

wana' 'ina', 'ate' na t'ib.lo' k'o' t'ima' 'u'pikte' now my mother, my father, and my elder brothers also will come into the tent 231.4

All the Dakota terms embrace more than one individual. Those distantly related, particularly when personally unknown, are given the article in the first person possessive.

'ate' g.li' my father came home

'ate' ki g.li' one whom I call father because he married one whom I call mother (except my own father) came home

For consanguineal relatives the article is not used. Therefore the last example could not be used for father's brothers. When my father is not known to the persons addressed I might say *wic'a'sa wa 'ate'waye ci'* a certain man the one whom I have for my father.

The only exception is *mic'i'ca ki* my children

For affinal relatives the article is used particularly when they are not known or not well known to the persons addressed. For *mih'i'g.na* and *mit'a'wicu* my husband, my wife, both forms are used

nit'a'wicu kic'i' 'u' or *nit'a'wicu ki kic'i' 'u'* come with your wife!

The expression *nišce'p'a kic'i' 'u'* come with your sister-in-law, would mean that the sister-in-law is a well-known, long-established member of the family; *nišce'p'a ki kic'i' 'u'* would mean that she is the youngest sister-in-law, or one quite recently married and not yet well known.

The example *mihî'g.na kî le'c'îya m.ni-'a'glag.la yaka'he'* my husband is sitting there by the water 219.18 implies that the people addressed have never seen him.

In the third person possessive the article is generally used:

'atku'ku kî heya' his father said 145.10

t'î'takuye na huka'ke kî 'e'pi her near relatives and her parents they were 230.17

When the third person possessive is not followed by an article it is to be conceived as a verbal expression.

hû'ku hî'pi it is a parents-coming

'atku'ku g.lî'-uspe'sni he does not know (how to act on) father-returning

c'îye'ku g.lî'pi tk'a's wq'cak 'owi'c'akiyake' but on his brothers' return at once he told them 65.14

For this reason the article is often omitted when the term of relationship is object of an active verb.

hû'ku 'oki'le or contracted hûk-'o'kile he looks for his mother

hû'ku kî oki'le his mother looks for him, or: he looks for his mother and not for anybody else

c'uwe'ku 'y'sikila she loves her elder sister

However, we find also:

c'îye'ku kî 'e'l'e't'owic'akû' his brothers he piled up there 88.16

lekû'îku kî t'îwo'kûq wic'a'yûpa he had laid his uncles around in the tipi 90.14

t'yka'sikula kî mat'o' t'awi'cu kî 'ekta' yes' he ordered his grandfather to go to the bear's wife 115.11

The plural *hena'* is also used when the article refers to two nouns connected by "and," the two having only one article.

mañpi'ya na mak'a' kî lena' t'oka'-ka'gapi the sky and land (those) were first made 1.12

wahî'kpe na 'ita'zipa k'û⁴⁴ hena' k'o' 'iki'cu the aforesaid arrow and bow those also he took up his (the other's) 26.3

Generalized terms take no article.

kîhâ wic'a'sa na wî'yâ tohâ'l kic'î'yuzapi when men and women marry 231.17

'yûg.na'ha'sna wic'a'sa 'akâ'tula ('e'g.na) wic'o'wic'asâsni now and then people living above (among) (i. e., human beings) there is deception 207.14 (wic'o'wic'asa character of man)

Another construction for general statements is as follows:

ûy'kak'a'pi c'a' lu'zahapi when they are horses they are fleet, i. e., horses are (supposed to be) fleet
wic'a's'api na wî'yapi c'a' kic'î'yuzapi when they are men and women (they are supposed to) marry

When a noun is compounded with an adjective the article follows as though it were a unit.

ûy'k-ska' kî t'oke'ya ku' the white horse is returning first

ohlo'ka-ci'k'ala k'û he' 'og.na' mahel'îya'ya the aforesaid small hole that he went into 28.6 (or 'ohlo'ka wq'ci'k'ala k'û)

wic'a'sa-'ohi'tike c'û he' kte'pi they killed the brave man

When the adjective is less firmly united with the noun, the attribute is given a verbal form.

ûy'kak'a' wq' t'a'ka k'û he' ('e' c'a) 'owa'le a certain horse it is big being of that kind I look for it (i. e., I am looking for a certain big horse), or ûy'kak'a'-t'aka k'û he' 'owa'le'

ûy'kak'a' wq'zi' t'a'ka c'a 'owa'le I am looking for an indefinite big horse

Nouns followed by numeral adjectives or indefinite numerals do not take the article.

c'a' nu'p 'ic'î'cameya ha' two trees stood rubbing against each other 21.14

k'oska'laka za'piq zuya' 'î'pi' five youths went to war 235.5

waka'p'api 'o'ta yuha'pi much dried pounded meat they had 9.9

m.ni' co'nala mak'u' wo' give me a little water

'a'taya entire, 'oya's'î all of a kind, and 'iyu'ha all individuals as one group, require the article following the noun.

mak'o'c'e kî 'a'taya lehâ'l 'oya'te 'owi'c'at'îza the entire land now-a-days tribes crowd in it 5.8

ûiyo' k'û 'iyu'ha..wac'î'pi all (the whole assembly of) pheasants danced 20.14

wic'a'sa kî 'oya's'î 'iya'yapi all the men are gone

⁴⁴ Misprint in text k'û instead of k'û.

Some combinations of noun and neutral verb have special meanings and cannot be separated by an article.

wi'yq wašte' she is beautiful; *wic'a'sa wašte'* he is handsome
wi'yq wq wašte' a certain woman is good, there is a good woman

Sometimes the noun and adjective are treated as noun and neutral verb and must be interpreted as subordinate forms.

'oya'te-t'aka wic'o't'i a tribe being large camped 51.1, or
'oya'te-t'aka wq wic'o't'i a certain large tribe camped, or
'oya'te wq t'aka c'a wic'o't'i a tribe large, being so it camped

The articles are used following verbs forming relative clauses. They are used in occupational terms. *t'ika'ge ci* a house builder (see p. 73), but express also abstract terms.

heska'takiya 'a'ye c'u the aforesaid who were going to the Rocky (White) Mountain 226.1
t'i'kte ci 'og.na' 'iya'ya the future dying towards it goes 226.5
t'a'wake c'u the aforesaid one who was in a way hers 226.6
wi'yq wq kpa'ye c'u a woman who was lying down the aforesaid 242.1
tuwa' 'u'pi k'u he'c'iyatahq c'e'ya 'u' someone, the place they had come from, came crying 191.3
wica'k'e ci t'qi' that he spoke the truth was apparent 231.10
ni' wau' k'u hehq'ni he' 'a't'qi I, one who was alive, even as long ago as that then it became apparent, i. e., it was apparent when I was alive
'owa'p'ate ke'c'i' ki' 'u' 'e'tkiya ya'ha with thinking that this was a butchering place she was going there 242.6
špa'sni hiye'ye c'u what lay about raw 27.12
wic'a'sa -'oma'ni s'a wq a man who walks about all the time
'oma'ni s'a na' iye's'a wq one who walks and talks all the time
'oma'nipi s'a na' iya'pi s'a k'eya' or 'iya' 'oma'nipi s'a k'eya' certain ones who walk and talk all the time

Compound forms of the article express temporal relations, *k'ihq* when in the future; *k'u'ha'* when in the past. Literally these mean "the one continuing."

yahi' k'ihq 'oc'i'ciyak'i'kte when you come I shall tell you about it
c'a he' toha'l hi' k'ihq . . . mic'u'ksi hiq.na'yikte lo' so that when he comes here . . . my daughter shall have him for a husband 12.3
'i'yakis'api k'ihq k'oha'⁴⁶ 'uki'yayikte lo' when they are shouting meanwhile we shall start away 135.3
'e'l yai' k'ihq he' 'e' kte' when you arrive there (at a camp) that will be it 139.6
kini' k'u'ha' . . . mani'takiya 'iya'ye' when he had recovered he started for the wilderness 277.12

A peculiar use of *k'u* occurs at the end of direct quotations. (See p. 109.) If not quoted these statements would end in a glottal stop.

he' nahpa'hpake c'u, 'eye' "that one is untidy," said he 9.3;—*oya'kapi k'u, 'eya'pi'* "they tell it," they said 226.10

On the whole, in the enumeration of two nouns connection by *na* is avoided. If unavoidable, the first noun is transformed into a separate clause.

t'i'pi ki' 'e' na' šuk-'o'naži ki' nup'i' kahwo'ke' it was the house and the stable, both were blown over

When two living beings or objects somehow connected are subject or object the second one becomes the object of *kic'i'* to be with.

t'azi' wata'yeyela kic'i' c'aze'-oki'yakapi Buffalo Calf and He-Sends-his-Arrow-Well told their names to him 147.14

When there are more than two nouns connected by "and," the group following the first noun has only one definite article at the end.

t'i'pi ki' 'e' na' šuk-'o'naži na' p'ezit-'it'oksu ki' k'o kahwo'ke' it was the house and (the) stable and the hay wagon also (that) were blown over; or *t'i'pi ki' kahwo'ke'; na' nak'u' šuk-'o'naži ki' 'e' na' p'ezit-'it'oksu ki';—šina' ki' c'q'op'eye mahel' 'u'*. *na' nak'u' t'ah'i'špa (ki' 'e') na' c'uwit'g.naka na' ha'pa ki' k'o* the blanket is in the trunk. And also the awl and the dress and the (pair of) moccasins also

⁴⁶ *'ic'u'ha'* would be better than *k'oha'*.

With *wq* the article is repeated with each noun:

šina' wq ha'pa wq kic'i' ahi' he brought a blanket and a moccasin;—*šina' wqzi' ha'pa wazi' kic'i' he'c'el 'au'wasi'* I ordered him to bring a blanket and a (pair of) moccasins;—*šina' wq 'e' na' ha'pa wq na' t'ahi' spa wq, hena'keca ahi'* a blanket, it was and a (pair of) moccasins and an awl, those he brought

The articles are used at the end of the sentence to express a definite attitude of the speaker, *wq* of approval, *ki* and *k'u* of disapproval. (See p. 158.) Such phrases are felt as predicative, although in form they are nominal. Thus *za'nuyas' 'u' k'u*, formerly he was always well. Followed by *waya'za ye (lo)* it would mean "the one who was formerly always well is sick. *tk'a', le' wiu'c'otapi ki (etq's to'k'a)* but here we are a crowd (out of it, indeed, what, i. e. what of it). The parenthetic statement is implied, expressing the mood of the speaker.

§ 164. ADVERBS

Adverbs are derived from verbs by means of the suffixes *-ya*, *-yela*, *-ha*, *-l*, *-kel*. In active verbs the subordinate form is also an adverb, firmly united with the finite verb by the accent when the time relation is one of succession, as in our infinitive; less firmly when the two verbs express simultaneous actions, as in our participle.

1. Suffix *-ya*, *-yela* (see p. 59):

ša'pa to be soiled
suta' to be firm
ska to be white
c'e'pa to be fat

šapya' in a soiled condition
suta'ya firmly
skaya' in a white condition
c'epyela' in a fat condition

2. Suffix *ha* (see p. 60) following demonstratives. With *ya* it expresses a temporary condition:

leha' up to this time
t'isya' and *t'isya'ha* firmly

3. The ending *l* forms adverbs from verbs in *-tu* (see pp. 48, 58):

he'tu
'aka'tu it is on top
'ape'tu daytime

he'l
'aka'l
'ape'l

4. *-kel* adverbial form of active verbs in *-ka* (see pp. 56, 57):

'ap'e'kel being as it were in a waiting condition
buya'kel with a rather deep voice
ška'ltukel playing in a way

5. Compound verbs expressing infinitive relations (see pp. 73 et seq.):

'oki'le-'iya'ye' he went to search for it
škal-'o'mani' he goes about to play
'ayu'ta-'iyo'lake' he sat down to stare at it

Verbs of the type *cv* ending in changeable *a* change to *e* in adverbial forms when the meaning corresponds to the English infinitive (see p. 74) *he-i'nahni'* he is in a hurry to bury it (*ha'* to bury).

6. Compound verbs expressing synchronous, participial relations:

leya' 'i'yake' saying this he ran 56.17
ška'l 'oma'ni' he goes about playing
'ayu'ta yake' he sat staring at it

When a continued condition, the result of an action, is to be expressed active verbs are also considered as neutral and take the suffix *-ya*.

ko'za to swing;—*'oka'kosya 'otka'* in a condition of swinging, suspended it hangs; but *ko'skos hiya'ye'* he went by swinging it
na't'u'ka to hesitate; *na't'u'kya t'awa'c'i'* his mind was in a hesitating mood
hlo'ka to be perforated; *yuhlo'kya* in the condition of having been perforated; *yuhlo'k* perforating
spa'ya to be wet; *yuspa'yeya e'g.naka* he put it away it having been wetted; *yuspa'ya yuštq'* he finished wetting it

suta' firm; *yusu'taya na'zi* it stands having been made firm; *yusu'ta yusta'* he finished making it firm
ma'niya'u' he is restless (in a walking condition)
'ona'p'eya in a manner of being a place of refuge
k'ap'e'ya surpassingly

Also: *-kahya* (from *ka'ga* to make) with the meaning of "representing"; *wic'a'sa-kahya waspa'pi* representing a man (i. e., in the form of a man) they cut it out

The subordinate ending *-ya* follows the negative *šni*:

ksa'pešniya unwisely;—*hpeca'šniya* energetically

The future does not form a subordinate form, but is expressed by the verb with future particle followed by *iteya* evidently.

yik'ta-iteya leye' evidently he will go, for he said this
(yik'telak'a' leye' means the same)

The following are also adverbial forms of verbs expressing synchronous relations.

'u' by means of, on account of; this is the verb *'u'* to use.

'oma'nipi'u' watu'k'api with travelling about they get weary
wahie'lašni'u' 'alo'slos hig.le' on account of considering him not good she suddenly shivered (for fear)
 47.15

li'la 'oci'k'ayela ki'u' 'iwaq'yak h'ah'i'ya'u' on account of its being very narrow watchfully slowly he came 48.16

'ece'la'u' ni' yaka'pi by means of that alone they lived 198.4

Another form, *c'u'* with a similar meaning, but expressing a superlative, cannot be associated with a verb. The verb to which it belongs is nominalized. *c'u'* always bears an accent.

'oma'nipi(ka) c'u' watu'k'api by overmuch traveling about they got weary (critical of person, or complaining)
wo'tapika c'u' wana' 'ig.lu'hašni by eating too much now he cannot handle himself (cannot move)

This may be strengthened by *šeha'* following *c'u'*.

c'e'yapi(ka) c'u' šeha' wab.le's-wayešni' by having to wail so much by this time I have no clear eyesight
'oma'nipi(ka) c'u' šeha' watu'k'api c'e'eya'pi ki' with traveling about by this time they got weary
(c'e' indirect discourse quotative), so they say (depreciating expression)

c'u' may be a contraction of *ki'* and *'u'* although this would not explain the change from *k* to *c*; compare *'eya'wkec'e'hca* (<*eya'pike ci' e'hca*) it is verily a kind of saying, "that is what you say";—*c'iyeku g.li'pi k'e'l owi'c'akiyaka*—(*k'e'l*<*ki' e'l* on his brother's return there he told them 66.4;—*wayya'ke c'e'l 'oki'yake* (<*ci' e'l*) upon seeing him opportunely he told him

'o'p with several persons, from *'o'p'a* to join, participate:

wic'a'sa 'iyu'ha k'u'ku 'o'p zuya' yewi'c'ašipi' all men with their mothers-in-law to go to war they are ordered 8.9

nile'ksi 'o'p le'l wat'i' with your uncles I lived here 90.4

li'la 'o'p c'qte' waste' very with them his heart was good 90.17

kic'i' with one person (*wec'ica* I am with him, derived from an obsolete verb *k'i*). (See p. 79.)

kinaš ina'-t'oka'p'a ki' kic'i' le'šni' in that case with my eldest mother's sister (why) don't you go? 9.1
wik'o'škalaka wa k'oška'laka wa kic'i' yake' a girl with a boy was sitting 193.16

g.na obsolete verb (see *'aki'g.na* a bird broods):

'ak'i'g.na in layers; *kig.na'* to comfort; *'ug.na'* unexpectedly

'ag.na' added on:

šina'-hišma wa h'a'pa k'eya' 'ag.na' mak'u' a fur blanket some moccasins added on he gave me

wic'a'sa ki' miya'g.na ma'ni' the man went following me

'ag.na' nuw'a'pi 'u'spe'šni ki' he' 'u' moreover her not knowing to swim that on account of it was 47.8

'e'g.na among:

c'qwe'g.na wo'špihe' she was picking berries among the woods

t'iwe'g.na among the tipis

'ak'e' 'oya'te 'e'g.na k'ig.le'' again among people he returned 244.12
wic'e'g.na 'u'' he is among them

'og.na' in, into, through 138.10:

he' 'og.na' mahe'l 'iya'ye' he went into that inside 28.6

wak'e'ya wq 'og.na' hoksi'-c'alki'yapi-t'i in a certain tent he lived as a child beloved 175.13

'o'pta through, across; stem-pta to cut through:

b.la'ye 'o'pta ya'hq he was going (through) across the meadow 139.9

Other adverbs, many of which are of obscure derivation, are conceived as either psychologically united with the verb, or considered as independent, In the former case the two have only one main accent.

'ak'e'sna again and again ('ak'e' again, is independent):

'ak'e'sna-yuma'hel 'icu'hq again and again pulling it inside he was taking it 39.7;—'ak'e'sna-g.li he did the returning-again-and-again 16.10;—'ak'e'sna'sna g.li'' again-and-again he-came-home;—'ak'e'sna-sna both independent and dependent

'eha'ke last ('eha'kela he is the last:)

'eha'ke wo'te' he ate last;—'eha'ke-wote' he ate for the last time;—'eha'ke g.li' he came home the last;—'eha'ke-'ag.li'pi the last to be brought home 56.13;—he 'eha'ke-hi' k'u' that one, who arrived the last 56.16;—'eha'ke-'ec'u' he did it for the last time

k'iyela near (k'iyewayaya I get near it):

'k'iyela 'u' nearby he-lives;—k'iyela-k'ute' he does nearby-shooting (i. e., he shot at short range)

k'it'a'la frequently, often:

k'it'a'la hi'' frequently he comes;—k'it'a'la-hi' he does the-often-coming

'ece' always; independent: exclusively, only:

sa' 'ece' 'u' red exclusively he wears; sa' 'ece'-'u' red he always-wears;—'ak'i'l 'ece' 'u'' looking out for it he stays exclusively thus 167.2;—toha'l 'ece'-g.la huwo'? when does he-always-go-home? 206.1;—'i'ya 'ece' ahi' he brought nothing but stones

tok'e'cela barely:

tok'e'cela hpa'ye' barely-able he-lies;—tok'e'cela-mani' he-hardly-can-walk 67.14;—tok'e'cela-ho'yek'iya he barely-called-to-her 219.14

t'qni'la (same as 'ehq'ta); from t'qni' old:

t'qni'la yaka'pi ha'l 'e'l wai'' already they were (sitting) when I arrived there;—t'qni'la-yaka'pi they were already-sitting

'ehq'ta already (see p. 118, No. 9):

'ehq'ta slolye'' already he knew; 'ehq'ta-slolya' he already knew 149.5;—'ehq'ta-oka'ska he'' already it was hanging 167.10;—'ehq'ta-wic'a yuha already they held them 56.12

he'c'a of that kind (see p. 121, No. 29):

he'c'a 'ic'i'c'aga he made for himself that kind of thing; he'c'a-'ic'i'c'aga he made himself to be of that kind 83.11;—he'c'a-'ozu-hig.la suddenly it was full of that kind 108.21

tok'e' 'ec'a'c'a without specific purpose, just (see p. 122, No. 29):

tok'e' 'ec'a'c'a lowq' ya'hapi in a purposeless mood they went along singing;—tok'e' 'ec'a'c'a-lowq'kta k'es every time he would just sing 26.12 (read 'ec'a'c'a instead of ec'a'ca in text);—tok'e' 'ec'a'c'a-wog.lakaha' he was just talking

'ec'a'kel by nature, on purpose

'ec'a'kel si'capi' by nature they-are-bad;—'ec'a'kel-si'capi they are bad-by-nature 255.19;—'ec'a'kel-uma'sipe they sent me on purpose 66.17

lec'a'la recently:

lec'a'la 'it'i'cagapi it was recently that they erected a tent; lec'a'la-'it'i'cagapi ki the recently erected tipi 16.4

'akša'—*ka* expresses the idea "admitted that something is the case, something else would be preferred."

'akša'-*wuq'siyalaka* you have pity (but better still, take me home) 112.3;—'akša'-*waste'ka wo'h'qihike'* admitted that he is good; but he is slow;—'akša'-*p'ila mayeca 'eha's 'o'ta mak'u'* he did me a favor (to be sure) but too much he gave me

'akša'*ka* unfortunately, expressing an attitude of the speaker, is independent:

'akša'*ka he'l k'use'ya wiyq wq* but for this one drawback, unfortunately there a woman obstructing the way 109.9 (44.17)

'i'hal ('i'ha^{tu} it is temporary, not to be taken seriously):

'i'hal-'eye' he said it not meaning it 78.14;—'i'ha^q-hi' he came not meaning to stay

'itu' (*ya*) (also 'otu'*ya*, 'utu'*ya*) in vain:

'itu'*ya-hi'* in vain he arrived;—'itu'*k'q'* he gave away ceremonially;—'itu'-*mak'o'skal wae'ye'* without anything to back his statement he said something (*mak'o'skatu* middle of the country; *hewo'skatu* middle of the wilderness)

Also independent, when separated from the verb by another adverb:

'itu'*ya he'l maka'he'* in vain there I was sitting;—'itu'*ya t'e'ha^qha wahi'* or *t'e'ha^qha 'itu'ya-wahi'* I come from far away for nothing

'it'u'*se* notwithstanding, however much it may be (cf. *isu't'e* S):

('it'u'*seka* in spite of everything, independent);—'it'u'*se-ksa'peca he'l g.lusna'* however wise he may be, he erred there

'isna' alone ('isna'*la* independent) ('is he adversative, *-na*, see p. 121, no. 24):

'isna'-*ksap-i'c'ila* he considers himself alone wise;—'isna'-*t'i* (woman) lives alone (during taboo period);—'isna'-*zuya 'i'* he went on the warpath alone;—'isna'-*wak'u'wa* chasing (buffaloes) alone (a name)

'ikta'*hela (-kta)* backward, less; see *he'kta* in the rear, 'iha'*kta* to be held back by attraction; *haki'kta* to look back):

'ikta'*hela ska'ta yo'* less-vigorously play! 'ikta'*hela-ska'ta yo'* do a-less-vigorously playing!;—*sehqs 'ikta'hela-waka'kišyiktalak'a* well then, evidently he will be giving less trouble, for;—'ikta'*hela-'istī ma yu'k'q's nah'u'kte'* if he had slept less (soundly) he would have heard it;—*sehqs 'ikta'hela-'istī me cihq nah'u'kte'* if this time (contrary to his habits, speaker's opinion) he will sleep less (soundly), he will hear it;—'ikta'*hela-'istī mece'c'u* as though he would sleep less! (i. e., restrain from sleeping; *k'u* as known from past experience)

Independent: 'ikta'*hela ec'wo'* do it less vigorously!;—*le-'ape'tu ki 'ikta'hela 'ec'u'kte'* today he will do it less

ug.na' by chance

'ug.na'*hala* unexpectedly:

'ug.na'*hala-'uma'si'* he ordered me to come abruptly;—'ug.na'*hala 'uma'si'* unexpectedly on my part he asked me to come;—'ug.na'*hala hi'* he came unexpectedly (i. e., I did not foresee his coming);—'ug.na'*hala-hi'* he came making up his mind unexpectedly

t'oka' first, always subordinate, except *t'oka'* 'ekta', *t'oka'* *k'uha'* in the beginning:

le' t'oka'-ka'gapi he is this the first one made?—*t'oka'-'ahiyat'i* first you made camp 249.1;—*he' t'oka'-p'a-yuha'* she had that one in the manner of a first-born;—*he' t'oka'-p'a yuha'* that one as the first one she had

nake', *nake's* just a little while; *nake'* independent, implies that the speaker considers the action as done too late, or at the last moment:

nake'-ma'nila he was just walking a little while;—*nake'-k'oška'laka* he had just come to be a young man;—*le' na'kenyla-⁴⁷ wani'ye lo'* I am alive only for a short time (said by a warrior spurring his courage)⁴⁸ (cf. *na'ka le'c'ecašni k'u* long ago it was not like this)

⁴⁷ Also *nake'nula*.

⁴⁸ From a song, Natalie Curtis, *The Indian's Book*, 1907, 1923, p. 51.

hehq' all that time, distance; independent, by that time (see p. 117, no. 4):

hehq'-mawa'ni all that time I walked about;—*hehq'-huniya ma'ni* he walked all that distance;—*hehq' 'ec'u'wakap'i* after all that time (i. e., by this time) I have no longer the energy to do it ⁴⁹

lehaq'-g.li'sni up to this time he has not returned.

tohaq' as long as:

tohaq'-yuni ki hehq' as long as we shall live, yet, that long 231.14;—*tohaq'-yac'i'ka* as long as you like 60.4;—*tohaq'-wani* as long as I live 100.15

he'c'eya' just at that very moment; independent, actually (see p. 122, No. 32):

he'c'eya'-kiye'la just at that moment he began to fly (i. e., it was the first time he tried to fly) 81.3;—*he'c'eya'-loc'i'* just at that moment she became desirous of food;—but *he'c'eya' loc'i' ki 'u' 'ayu'hel na'ziha* actually on account of desiring food she was standing watching 171.12

le'c'el, he'c'el, to'k'el, ka'k'el (see p. 122, No. 33).

he'c'el-yusti'q'pi they settled it that way (as told before) 182.15;—*he'c'el-'ami'c'ib.leze lo'* that way I have observed myself 12.5;—*he'c'el-'eye'ca c'a 'uspe'k'iyapi* he just said that, it being so they made him know (since he said so they taught him) 34.4;—*le'c'el yau'* being in this manner you live

le'cel-yau'ke ci (in this way you exist!) did you ever in all your life? 3.8, 153.16

to'k'el-'oki'hi as much as possible 58.8; 97.13;—*to'k'el-waku'kte* whichever way I shall come back 54.14;—*to'k'el-yau'ka huwo'?* how are you? 100.11;—*to'k'el-ki'pa'pika t'qi'sni* why they called to him was not apparent 29.12;—*to'k'el waku'kte ci slo'wa'kiyesni?* I do not know how I'll get home

ka'k'el the same instant; independent, yonder in an indefinite direction: *ka'k'el-'iya'ha* the instant he reached the top 1.2;—*ka'k'el-'inu'wikta* the instant he began to swim 68.3; but *ka'k'el 'oma'nihe'* he is walking about yonder;—*ka'k'el-huk'u'l g.licu'pikta* the moment they will get down 107.9;—*ka'k'el 'eya'* say it in that manner

he'c'ekc'e being of that kind:

he'c'ekc'e-h'a'pika they are of the kind to behave thus 181.10;—*he'c'ekc'e-yah'a'pika* you are apt to behave thus 27.9;—*he'c'ekc'e-wae'yeca* he is apt to talk thus;—but *he'c'ekc'e 'ec'u'pi* they acted in such ways;—*ec'ekc'e 'ec'u'* 55.9 (58.1 should read the same way) he did as it should be done;—*ka'k'eske* (*ka'k'etk'e* Yankton) in such manner there abouts;—*to'k'eske'e*, reduplicated *to'k'eske'eske'e* (*to'k'etk'e* Yankton) in what manner? why?

ta'kole', ta'kove' why (<*ta'ku'-ole'* what seeking):

ta'kole'-lec'amu (the reason) why I do do this 200.16;—*ta'kove'-hi* (the reason) why he came 78.8;—*ta'kole' hi'sni he?* what is the reason? has he not come?—*ta'kole'-hec'u* he for a reason-acted;—*ta'kole' he'c'u* he did it he having a reason

tohaq'l whenever; *tohaq'l hi'kta he?* when will he arrive? Independent: at what time, some time (see p. 118, No. 8):

tohaq'l-yac'i'ka whenever you want in any way 101.16;—*tohaq'l yahi' c'q'* whenever you come (you will be welcome);—*tohaq'l-yahi'ke c'e'yas* regardless of when-you-come

to'na—*'iye'na* as often as—that often; *to'na* how often, how many, several (see p. 120, No. 22):

to'na-'ec'u' ki 'iye'na-'ap'e' as often as he did it, that often he struck him;—*to'na-ipa't'api* how many (rows) embroidered 195.12;—*to'nakel-wab.la'ke'* I have seen him several times;—*to'na 'ec'u'pi* several people did it;—*to'nakel wab.la'ke'* I saw several of them (inanimate)

'ikce' ordinary, to no particular purpose (opposite of *wak'a'*); independent *'ikce'ya*:

'ikce'ya ska'ta po' in-an-ordinary-manner play!—*'ikce'(ya)-ska'ta po'* do ordinary-playing;—*'ikce'-eya'* to say in fun;—*'ikce'-wac'i'pi* they dance (for pleasure);—*'ikce'-wic'a'sa* Indians;—*'ikce'-ota'kuye* ordinary relatives (in regard to whom no social restrictions are preserved)

wak'a' sacredly (opposite of *'ikce'*):

wak'a'-wowahq I cook in a sacred manner 72.10;—*wak'a'-wac'i'pi* they danced in a sacred manner;—*wak'a'-ok'o'lakic'ie* mystery society;—but *wak'a'yq 'oh'a'* he acts in a superlative way

⁴⁹ *hehq'* instead of *hehq'* would indicate that the speaker considers the task excessive.

tq well; independent *tayq'*:

tq-slo'lwayešni I do not know well 44.18;—*tq-wa'wata* I eat well 21.10;—*'otq'-hiq.na'yq* she married him in a proper way;—*tq-na'h'yšni* he did not hear it accurately;—*tq-wq'c'iciyakikte* I will better see them for you 26.2;—*'iyotq'-oi'yokip'i* most specially attractive 21.11

t'e'hq long time, *t'e'hq'* far:

t'e'hq'-u' he stayed a long time 143.6;—*t'e'hq-pi'ga* it boiled a long time 66.7;—*t'e'hq-ška* he worked a long time 66.13;—but *t'e'hq' yaka'* he was seated far away

wanu' unintentionally; *wanu'ktašni* (*-kta* to expect) independent:

wanu'-'ec'u' he did it without intent;—*wanu'-'eya'* he said it unintentionally, it was a slip of the tongue;—*wanu'-yaha'ta'ka* by mistake he bit her 60.1

wq'ca rarely:

wq'ca-tq-wa'watešni on rare occasions (just once) I do not eat well 21.10

wq'cala once, and other numeral adverbs, *nu'pa* twice, *ya'm.ni* three times, etc., *'ota* many times:

wq'cala-m.ni'kte lo' I'll go only once;—*'ota-'opi'* they shot him many times 72.5;—*wq'lwqcala-hi'* only now and then he came

inu'pa twice, as the second:

inu'pa g.li' he is the second to come back;—*inu'pa-g.li'* he came back the second time

The following occur always connected with the following finite verb:

p'iyā' again, corresponds to English re-:

p'iyā'-waka'ge I remade it;—*p'iyā'-kini'* he came back to life, revived;—*p'iyā'-'oki'yake c'e'yaš nah'y'šni* he repeated it to him, but he did not understand it;—*p'iyā'-'ayu'ta* he looked at him again 202.16;—*p'ip'i'yā-kiq'pi* they called to him again and again 20.3

c'ok'a' without, empty handed:

c'ok'a'-g.li' he returns empty handed;—*c'ok'a'-ku* he comes back empty handed

k'ile'le—*wae'ye'* he spoke oddly, significantly:

k'ile'le-'oma'wani nq'ec'e'l'iyē'waye' I roamed about in such unusual ways and, as a result, I found it *kahaq's, lehaq's*

kahaq's-b.luštq' k'eš as soon as I finish it;—*kahaq'ya b.luštq'* I finished it up to that point; *lehaq's-oki'yak b.luštq' k'eš* I no sooner finished telling him (the demonstrative values of these forms seem to be lost and they are used indiscriminately; also more rarely *hehaq's*).

lehi'c'it'a too often (from *k'it'a'la* in close intervals, stem *t'a* close together; independent *lehaq'-k'it'ala*):

lehi'c'it'a-iyu'k ya'pi stopping too often for the night they went 2.11

tok'a'—*šni*; *to'k'a'*—*šni*; *to'k'ani*—*šni* to be unable to:

tok'a'-yake'šni he could not sit still (on account of his nervousness);—*tok'a'-ic'i'-g.nakešni* he cannot place himself, i. e., he is very fidgety

to'k'a'-yake'šni he could not sit still (because there was a physical obstacle);—*to'k'a-mani'šni* he cannot walk 207.2;—*to'k'a-wo'k'ušni* he could not give him food 114.16

to'k'ani-g.licu'šni he could not come out 28.9;—*to'k'ani-ški'ciyešni* he could not move 206.10;—*to'k'ani-ana c'iskapešni* I cannot clamp with feet around you 32.10 (correct text as indicated);—compare *to'k'a-h'q'* it is lost 52.14; 193.1

tok'a'-iwahuni kihaq' when I arrive there by hook or by crook; *to'k'a'-iwahuni* when I arrived there for some reason

tok'a'-muke cihq I lie some way, i. e., when I am dead
tok'a's perhaps

'*ec'a'c'a* completely, unquestionably (see p. 122, no. 29):

'*ec'a'c'a-hiyu*' he came out completely 215.14;—'*ec'a'c'a-pawe'ge lo'* it is completely broken, no doubt about it

tok'i' on his own affairs (*to'k'i* somewhere; see p. 124, no. 40):

tok'i'-hiya'ye he went along on his own business 22.4;—*tok'i'-ya'pi* they went on their own business 27.8

tok'i's carelessly; *tok'i's 'es 'e's* luckily (idiom) 160.9:

k'e'yas to'hini tok'i's-wo'tesni but he never ate carelessly 120.16

7. *-wap'a (ya)* is used with locative adverbs to express a greater distance.

'*ak'o'wap'a* farther beyond 1.8;—*t'ahé'nawap'aya* more to this side;—*waka'(l)wap'aya* farther up;—*c'oka'wap'aya* more towards the center;—*mahe'(l)wap'aya* farther inward;—*heya'wap'aya* farther away ^{so}

8. A considerable number of adverbs end in *p*. These are derived from verbs ending in *p'a* most of which are obsolete. Some of these adverbs form new verbal themes with the ending *tu*. (See p. 58.)

'*aka'p* more than enough, overflowing, on top of something else as excess;—'*anu'wap* away from, off the right place;—'*oka'p* in the middle;—'*haka'p* after (in time), '*iha'kap* following (him), space 4.14, see '*o'hakaptu*, '*iyo'hakap'a* to be born next to;—'*heya'p* away;—'*itu'kap* being face up;—'*hu'tap* (*hu'tawap*) south, see '*ihu'tawaptu*;—'*sak'i'p* together, see '*sak'i'ptuya*;—'*sa'm* (<*sap*) more; see '*i'sap'a* he exceeds it;—'*o'cip* by little bits, see *ci* small;—'*he'kiap* back, retarded;—'*oka'p* ahead, see '*oka'p'a* he is first-born, oldest in a group 9.1, '*oka'* first;—'*a'k'ipap* separately, severally;—'*ai'nap* hidden behind, see '*ina'p'a* to emerge from concealment;—'*to'k'iyap* away somewhere 19.2

9. Analogous to this group is '*anu'k* on both sides ('*anu'ktu* place on either side), from an obsolete theme '*anu'k'a* (see p. 58).

10. The three suffixes *-ta* to, at; *-takiya* towards, directed towards; *-taha* on that side, from, may be attached to nouns, demonstratives and to certain verbal forms. The compounds are used as independent adverbs. Instead of *-ta* the demonstratives have *-ka*,

They are attached to the terminal sound of polysyllabic nouns; with monosyllabic nouns they take the prefixed syllable *ya*.

With demonstratives

'*ekta'*, *he'kta*

'*eha'taha*, *heha'taha*, *kaha'taha*, *toha'taha*

'*eta'ha*, *leta'ha*, *heta'ha*, *kata'ha*, *tukte'taha*

he'ktaha

'*ec'i'yataha*, *le'c'iyataha*, *he'c'iyataha*, *ka'k'iyataha*, *to'k'iyataha*

'*etkiya*, *le'tkiya*, *he'tkiya*, *ka'tkiya*, (*to'k'etkiya*)

'*ekta'kiya*, *he'ktakiya*

'*ec'e'tkiya*, *le'c'etkiya*, *he'c'etkiya*, *ka'k'etkiya*, (*to'k'etkiya*)

With polysyllabic nouns

-ta:

k'oha' wic'o't'ita m.ni' na — meanwhile to the camp I shall go and — 4.1;—*wic'o't'ita ihu'ni* — at the camp he arrived — 4.6;—*ho'c'okata 'i'* — at the middle of the camp circle he arrived 8.2;—*c'aku'ta . . . yaka'pi'* in the place of honor they sat 53.10;—*mak'a'ta 'ihpe'ic'iyi' na* — he threw himself on the ground and — 99.13

-takiya, contracted *-tkiya*:

paha'takiya 'i'yake' he is running towards the hill;—'*iyu'wehtakiya . . . nuwa' ye'* towards the opposite shore he went swimming 29.15;—*mani'takiya 'a'yapi'* towards the wilderness they took him 112.12;—*wic'o't'itakiya 'iya'ye'* he went towards the village 118.4

^{so} See pp. 49, 58.

-tqhā:

wakpa'tqhā 'o'wap'a I belong (am joined) on the side of the river (i. e., I belong to the river section);—*paha'tqhā hihū'ni* he arrived coming from the hills;—*t'awi'cu kī t'ima'hetqhā ho'uyi nā* — his wife from the inside of the tipi called out and — 115.14;—*paha'-ak'o'tqhā* on yonder side of the hill 118.12

With monosyllabic nouns

-yata:

kic'i t'iya'ta k'i'—with him he arrived at his home 122.10;—*m.niya'ta ška'tapi* they are playing at the water;—*m.niya'ta hok'u'wa-m.nikte'* to the water to fish I shall go

-yatakiya:

t'iya'takiya k'ig.le' he went towards his home

-yataqhā:

b.leya'tqhā 'ag.le' ška kī lena' 'u'pi' from the lake these lizards come;—*c'qya'tqhā 'ece'-op'iic'ie'* on the side of the woods he always keeps

heya'wap'aya farther away (p. 143, no. 7) contains also the syllable *ya*

Exceptions are the polysyllabic nouns *c'atka'* left hand 185.15, and *wana'gi* spirit 232.1 which take *ya* before the locative suffixes, like monosyllabic nouns. The form *hohe'yataqhā* 111.17 away from the camp circle is a compound of *ho* camp circle and *heya'tqhā* away from.

The locative ending *-l*, and the verbal ending *-(e)tu* are also attached to nouns expressing location or time, not to other nouns, and to demonstratives (see p. 59); *-wap'a* is attached only to nouns expressing location.

The following nouns take *l* and *tu*:

t'i'l in a tent;—*mani'l* in the wilderness, *mani'tu*;—*c'a'l* in the woods;—*maq'a'l* in the ground;—*hewo'-skqł*, *hewo'skatu* in the desert;—*mak'o'skqł*, *mak'o'skatu* in a desert place

With other nouns *e'l* is used:

wic'a'sa wā 'o'huta kī 'e'l hpa'yahā a man on the shore lay 147.17;—*t'i'pi wā 'e'l ihū'nipi* at a tipi they arrived 149.12;—*'ita'zipa 'e'l ik'o'yakyi nā*—he fastened it to his bow and—151.8;—*c'apa'm.na wā 'e'l 'uyā'hapi* at a clump of trees we are sitting 153.4;—*c'iyē'ku g.li'pi k'e'l 'owi'c'akiyaka (k'e'l > kī + 'e'l)* to his elder brothers returned upon this he told 66.4;—*mak'a' kī 'a'taya 'etā'hina'p'a* from the whole ground they came up 67.8;—*c'a' kī 'etā'hā hiyu'* out of the woods she came 67.15;—*p'e'ta kī 'etā'hā hiyu'* out of the fire it comes 105.7

§ 165. CONJUNCTIONS

nā (Y. and S. *k'a*) is used as a conjunction connecting nouns and clauses. In the latter case it changes preceding terminal *a* of a verb to *i* (Y. and S. to *e*), if the *a* is changeable. The tendency in speaking is to make a short pause after *nā* when it is a conjunction connecting clauses.

'ec'a's šū'kak'a' nā t'i'pi nā wī'yā wāzi' waste' c'a he'c'el 'uni'c'upikte' later on we will give you a horse and a house and a beautiful woman being of that kind thus we shall give you 160.3;—*wic'a'sa wā mani'l 'omu'ni-i nā, wana' hitayē'tu 'a'ya cāke'*—a man was walking, away from camp, and now evening it became and so—163.1;—*mī'la wā 'iyē'ic'iyi nā, yuha' ya'hā* a knife he found for himself and having it he was going 70.1

yū'k'a' and then, introduces a new element ('*yū'k'a'* Y. S.):

'iya'yapi ke'; yū'k'a' ka'l 'it'u'hu-c'a wā t'a'ka hā they went along it is said; and then there a large oak tree stood 77.12;—*t'ate'-hiyu' yū'k'a' c'aho'ta wob.lu' 'iyē'ye'* a wind came, and then ashes it blew away 77.16;—emphatic: *yū'k'a's* 15.8 (see p. 147)

c'āke' (Y. *c'āke'e'*) and so:

c'e'yaya wō'wasi 'ec'ū' c'āke' c'ūwī'tku kī 'ak'e' 'o'kiye' crying she did her work, and so her daughter again helped her (cry) 15.8;—*he'c'el lowā' c'āke' 'isto'g.mus wac'i'hapi* thus he sang, and so with shut eyes they were dancing 21.5

nāi's or:

hūhūhē, misū nāi's c'iyē' well, well, well! younger brother or elder brother 1.5;—*p'qgi' nāi's mak'a'-tom.nica nāi's šikpā'ka* artichokes or earth-beans or roots (sp. ?) 97.16;—*wā'zu nāi's hā'pa k'o'* quivers or moccasins also 89.8

tk'a's but, implying that the verb following *tk'a's* has the approval of the speaker or that the results are according to his expectation or hope.

'*ya 'iya ye-wac'i tk'a's 'oyu'spapi'* Iya wanted to go, but they caught him 105.13.—*maka' wa p'ahi' wa kic'i 'u'pi tk'a's ka'a' 'ihpe'wic'aye'* a skunk accompanying a porcupine came, but striking them dead he laid them 172.14;—*ap'e-wac'i tk'a's kag.na'ye'* he tried to strike him, but missed;—*yup'a'p'ala-wac'a'mi tk'a's* (or *k'e'yaš*) *he'c'ena suta'* I tried to soften it, but it remained stiff (as I expected)

k'e'yaš (after *a* changed to *e*, *c'e'yaš*) but, indifferent attitude:

wi'ya wa 'e'l hind'zi k'e'yaš 'a'tayas 'ayu'tašni ška'he' a woman at that place came and stood, but entirely not looking at her he continued to work 171.9;—*he'c'ena 'iya'yikte c'e'yaš li'la 'oka'kišya* at once he was going to go on but very much she insisted 109.15; also 254.12;—*wic'o't'ita g.li' k'e'yaš ho'c'okata ku'šni* he came back to the camp but did not go into the center of the camp circle 255.12

šk'a' in spite of, contrary to expectation or wish; apparently always followed by active verbs:

wa-šma' šk'a' t'aka'l ška'tiktheč'i the snow is deep and yet he wants to play out of doors;—*'yo'wak'išni šk'a' he'c'ena 'iya'ye'* in spite of my forbidding him he went anyway (also *yešq'* instead of *šk'a'*);—*suta' šk'a' yakse'* in spite of its being hard he broke it by biting

tk'a's is used with both active and neutral verbs (see examples under *tk'a's*);—in spite of its being summer it is cold, cannot be expressed by *šk'a.-b.loke'tušni s'e'osni'* as though it were not summer it is cold; or *b.loke'tu k'e'yaš 'osni'* it is summer, but it is cold

(*ye*)*šq'*⁵¹ but, implying disapproval of the verb following *yešq'* as contrary to the proper action. After verbs which change *a* to *e* the terminal *e* and *ye* contract to *e* so that the ending is *šq'*. After terminal *o*, *u*, *y* of the stem *yešq'* changes to *wešq'*. (See p. 11.) With plural *pi* it is contracted to form *pešq'*.

k'u' tk'a's' akta'šni' he gave it to him but he did not accept it (and that was right);—*k'u' k'e'yaš 'akta'šni'* (indifferent);—*k'u' wešq' 'akta'šni'* (and that was wrong);—*ta'ya'š c'e'kiyešq' 'ayu'piešni'* correctly he addressed her, yet she did not answer 87.5;—*t'a'wašni yešq' 'akš'i'ze'* it was not his, but he did not surrender it;—*zuz'e'capesq' 'i'š-'eya' c'e'yapelak'a* but snakes they also evidently weep 238.4

-ye's is less strong than *-yešq'* It does not disapprove of the person who does not do what is expected; it rather exonerates the other person.

we'c'o'we's hi'šni' even though I invited him (and so I have done my part) he did not come;—*we'c'owešq' hi'šni'* I summoned him but he did not come (as he ought to have done);—*'o'wic'a kiye-wac'i ye's wica'lapišni'* even though he wanted to help them they refused (he did all that could be expected of him);—*'o'wic'akiye-wac'i yešq' wica'lapišni'* (blaming them for their refusal);—*'osni' k'e'yaš tasa'kešni'* it is cold but it is not frozen (statement of fact);—*'osni'yešq' tasa'kešni'* (surprise at an unexpected phenomenon);—*'osni'ye's tasa'kešni k'u' nake'hcaka tasa'ke'* that which was not frozen even though it was cold now at last it is frozen;—*'osni'ye's 'oma'k'ate c'u' nake' mac'u'wita* I who was warm even though it was cold, now feel cold;—*atku'kuwe's 'ana'goptašni c'a'he'c'e'* even his father he does not obey, it being so, therefore;—*wak'a'yeyaye's hec'u' 'oki'hi* even a child could do that;—*wak'a'yeyayešq' he'c'u' 'oki'hi* even though he is a child, yet he can do that

kaye's is stronger than *ye's*:

'atku'ku ki'e'kaye's 'e'l 'e'tuwešni' even his father does not look after him;—*'ate' 'e'kaye's nawa'h'ušni'* not even to my father do I listen;—*t'i'takuye na huka'ke ki'e'pikaye's k'o' 'i't'ehayq waya'k na'zipi'* the relatives and even the parents also stood afar watching 230.17;—*co'nala kaye's b.luha'šni'* I have not even a little;—*ta'kukaye's yuha'ka c'a waka'hni'hnih-c'i'ke* (hardly) anything even he has, such being, he wants selected things, ridiculous!—*tuk'e'tukaye's 'u'šniyešq' le'na k'es'hpaye'šni'* (hardly) any place even he does not live at, here instead why doesn't he stay?—*'iye'kaye's hi' s'a'* even he (although he has the right to be excepted) always comes;—*'iyeš hi's'a'* he comes (and you others do not think it worth while)

⁵¹ Compare *yeš* (p. 29).

*k'es*⁵² but always:

naku' iyu'kapi c'a'šna hiġ.na'ku kic'i' hpa'ya k'es c'oka'ya 'ece'-upa even whenever they went to bed she lay down with her husband, but always she laid it down between them 275.5;—*hiya', 'uci', 'ini'la k'es 'ec'e'l 'ec'u' wo'* no, grandmother, but quietly do so 199.1;—*kiyq' hiya'ya c'a' k'ute'pi k'es tuwe'ni 'o'šni' k'u* whenever it flies going past they shoot at it but nobody hits it 111.4

k'ohq' meantime, two related actions; also two actions performed by the same subject.

k'ohq' paha' ki' ok'a'pi meantime they dug in the hill 209.4;—*iwi'c'akikcu c'ake' k'ohq' k'u'sitkupi ki' wip'a' ki' ec'e'kc'e' ipa'ha 'e'g.le ške'* she took them up, therefore meanwhile their grandmother hoisted the tent flaps, it is said 196.17;—*eya'ya na k'ohq' 'ak'e' 'oka't'apt'ap yake'* he said, and meanwhile again making sign of contempt he sat 38.2

'ic'u'haq while, at the same time, synchronous but disconnected actions; preceded by *ki* or *k'u*:

hokšila ki' isna'la t'iya'ta yake' ci' ic'u'haq hi'u'kala wq ta'ku yak'o'gahq the boy alone in the tipi during the sitting a mouse something was gnawing 96.2;—*'e'l m.ni' 'icu' ki' ic'u'haq b.le' ki' e'l'ena'na ta'ku k'eya' šapsa'pya hiye'ya c'a waya'ka* then during the water taking the lake on here and there something black here and there they were, it being so he saw them 223.15 (while he was taking water he saw some black things appearing in the lake);—*wo'yute wani'ce ci' ic'u'haq wikce'm.nac'q 'ica'm.na* during the food-lacking it snowed for ten days 198.5;—*heya'hapi ki' ic'u'haq k'iyela s'e hiya'ya* during the saying-so it went somewhat near 29.10;—*he'l naka'he c'u' ic'u'haq le' waka'ge'* during your past sitting I made this

c'a, before imperatives *c'e*, it being such, it being so:

'ita' zipa wqhi'kpe k'o' li'la waste'šte c'a yuha' yaka'haq a bow, an arrow also very good, being such, having he was sitting 25.2;—*wana' ak'e' he' ikto' 'e' c'a 'ug.na'yape lo'* now again that Ikto he being so he is deceiving us 30.6;—*m.ni-'i't'ac'q ki' li'la šme' lo', c'a le'c'eya' loc'i'pi c'u' mat'i'kte s'e le'c'eca ye lo'* the main current (water) is very deep, it being so at this time hunger by I shall die, as though it is so 32.6, 7

When a verb is conceived as a noun *ki* is used rather than *c'a*:

c'e'yapi ki' nawa'h'u I heard the wails, the wailing;—*c'e'yapi c'a nawi'c'awah'u* I heard them wailing (they wailed, it being so, I heard them).

The use of *c'a* offers peculiar syntactic difficulties. It is used in Teton while the Yankton always replace it by *'e* to be. Its use may be further illustrated by the following examples:

hake'la c'a' 'icu'kta c'a 'ina'p'e' Hakela about to get wood, it being so he went out 87.1; *hake'la c'a' 'icu'kie ci' waya'ke'* Hakela saw the one who was about to get wood; *c'a' 'icu' c'a hi'* having taken (up) wood(land), it being so, he arrived here; *c'a' 'icu' ki' hi'* the one whose business it is to get wood arrived here;—*c'a' 'icu'pi ki'* the act of getting wood;—*'i'yakyak g.licu' c'a waya'ke'* running he came back, it being so, he saw him (he saw him running back); *'i'yakyak g.licu' ki' waya'ke'* he saw the fact of his running back; *wqži' 'i'yakyak g.licu' ki' he' waya'ke'* one who was running back, that one he saw;—*le' nitu'we c'a wau'šiyala* this you being somebody, it being so, you consider men pitiful 89.1; *le' nitu'we ki' wau'šiyala* this one, the somebody you are, you consider men pitiful;—*le' tuwe' c'a* this is somebody (who may that be?);—*šina' wq 'a'taya wic'a'p'aha kšu'pi c'a g.lub.la'ya* a blanket entirely (with) scalps applied it being so she spread out her own 87.9. If *wq* were substituted for *c'a* it would be an aside, an apposition to *šina' wq*. If *ki* were substituted it would mean "that particular one among others" and would be followed by *he'*;—*mas-'i'hunicat'a wq 'u' p'a-wic'a'kaksaksa k'u he' e' c'a 'icu'* a hammer using heads she had cut them off, that was it, it being so, he took it 88.14;—*g.li'pišni c'a le' 'ukti'šnala 'uyq'ke'* they did not come back, it being so, this (is the situation) we alone we sit 90.5. This might also be: *g.li'pišni c'a le' 'ukti'šnala 'uyq'ke' ci' le'c'ecaye'* they did not come back, it being so, this our sitting alone is this way;—*wizi' wq kaza'zapi c'a 'ot'u'* a yellow (old) tent cover slashed, it being such, he wore it 36.2;—*wakpa' wq 'ot'q'kaya na šma' c'a 'e'l' iyo'hloke* a small river wide and deep, it being such, there it emptied 37.3

It appears from these examples that while *ki* nominalizes the preceding phrase, *c'a* is a conjunction connecting two phrases. The Yankton form *'e* suggests that it may be an adverbial form uniting verbs or phrases. It seems to indicate always an antecedent action or condition.

⁵² See *k'e'š* p. 159.

With transitive verbs the noun preceding the clause ending in *c'a* is always object.

hoksi'la ki wic'a'sa wa nuwa' c'a waya'ke' the boy saw a man swimming it being so;—*wic'a'sa-t'qka ki suk-sa'pa wa waya'ke'* the big man saw a black horse, or *wic'a'sa-t'qka ki su'kak'a' wa sa'pa c'a waya'ke'*, or *wic'a'sa wa t'q'ka c'a [suksa'pa wa waya'ka] ke'ye'* the man being a big one said [he saw a black horse]; here the phrase in brackets is taken up by the active, but not transitive verb *ke'ya'* he said that;—*wic'a'sa wa nuwa' c'a waya'ke'* can mean only: he saw a man swimming, not, a man saw him swimming: *nuwa' c'a wic'a'sa wa waya'ke'* he was swimming, it being so, a man saw him

When a subject is to be emphasized as against another one, it may be verbalized by a preceding *he'*.

he' wic'a'sa c'a hi' that one, being a man (not a woman) has arrived

In the same way the adjective is emphasized by *c'a*:

wic'a'sa wa t'q'ka c'a hi'ye lo' a man being a big one has arrived;—*wic'a'sa-t'qka wa hi'ye lo'* a certain big man has arrived

c'a can never be followed by *he'*, except when *he'* is an adverb.

When *c'a* is final a following finite verb must be assumed to be omitted or an implied action to be performed.

le' ta'kuhca k'a' c'a this whatever he means it being so (I do not know); i. e., this what he says has no meaning (compare *le' ta'ku k'e'* this one means something);—*he' tuwe' c'a* that who, it being so (I should like to know); i. e., who may that be?—*'ii'o' wana' mi'cispq se'ca c'a* well now mine is done probably, it being so (then she turns to look at her boiling food) 174.18;—*'ii'o' wana' g.li' pi se'ca c'a* well now they have come probably, it being so (then the speaker goes out to meet them)

c'e is used instead of *c'a* before imperatives:

ho, 'iwa'nuwika c'e c'ak'a'hu-aka'l 'ima'yotaka yo' now! I shall swim across, it being so (my) back sit on me! 47.4;—*ho, c'qli' b.lab.lu'kta c'e taku'l kat'e'wac'i po'* now! tobacco I will blow out, it being so, try to kill something! 111.14;—*mio'ye-c'atka'yatahq ki m.ni' 'og.na' hi'kta c'e 'i'nipuz a c'q' 'atu'wa yo'* in my left footprint water will stand, it being so when you are thirsty look for it! 185.15; but *'oye'-c'atka'yatahq ki m.ni' 'og.na' hi'kta c'a 'i'mapuz a c'q' b.latk'i'kte'* it being so when I am thirsty I'll drink;—*c'e 'el to'k'el h'q-wa'c'i yo'* it being so, try to act in some way there 186.8; but *c'a 'el to'k'el h'q-wa'c'ikte'* it being so, he will try to act in some way there

c'q' whenever, when always; *c'q'na* Western Ogalala:

'i'nipuz a c'q' 'atu'wa yo' whenever you are thirsty look for it! 185.15;—*tohq'tu c'q' t'e'ha-wac'i pi huwo'?* at what time is it when always they dance a long time? 135.1;—*tohq'l lowa'c'i c'q' wawa'te'* whenever I am hungry I eat;—*m.ni' c'i' c'q'sna yatke'* whenever he wanted water he drank 186.3 (*sna* see p. 106);—*wa'ca-tq-wa'watesni c'q'sna ka'k'el 'ec'a'mu' we!* Whenever at a time I do not eat well, I do this! 21.10

yu'k'q's colloquially *yu's*, if, contrary to fact; followed generally by future, always by *tk'a'*; literally: lo and behold however—it would be, but not.

'i'se' leha'l ni' 'u' yu'k'q's 'ani'lowapi tk'a' ye' if only now he were alive (he would see to it that) you would be sung over 15.8;—*wac'i'ka yu'k'q's 'eha'nihci c'ac'i'p'ikta tk'a' ye lo'* if I had wanted, long ago I should have stabbed you 71.2,3;—*he'c'ehci 'i'ya t'akpe'-'ipi'sni yu'k'q's 'oya'te ki leha'hu-niyq t'epwi'c'ayahikta tk'a'* in that very way if they had not arrived going to attack I'ya, the people even up to now he would continue to cause them to be consumed 5.6;—*was'a'ka yu'k'q's kte'pi(kte)-sni tk'a'* if he had been strong he would not have been killed

ha'tahq's if (*ha -tahq* from, *-s* adversative):

nq ta'ku to'k'a ha'tahq's 'oya'ka yo' and if anything should happen, tell! 65.6;—*mi's-eya' wac'i' ha'tahq's yat'a'hena 'ic'i'cukte lo'* if I also wish, with the mouth to this side I shall take you 1.8;—*he' wa'zi' nawa'h'u ha'tahq's wa'cak 'e's 'e'na mat'i'kte lo'* that one if I hear, at once then I shall die 104.4

he'ciha or *he'ci* if it is that, whether:

wau' siyala he'ciha maka'hlaya yo' you have pity, if it is that, peel me off! 118.19;—*he'ceca he'ciha wana' 'ug.lu'stape lo'* if it is so then now we have finished with it 104.5;—*tuwe' c'a he' wo'nicihikta he'ciha* who being that kind that one will cook for you, if it is that, i. e., whoever will cook for you, if there is one 81.13;—*c'ati'heya he'ciha 'owo't'ala k'es' 'og.la'kesni*— (it reaches to the heart) she covets him if that is the case directly instead why did she not tell (her own) 168.16;—*to'k'el eha' c'a'ana nit'a'ke'u' he'ciha 'ec'e'l 'eya' yo'* in what way you say whenever your sister comes, if it is that (or not) say now! 169.16;—*tukte-'yuma' t'oke'ya hina'p'ikta he'ciha he' 'ak'i'nicapi* who of the two first will come out, if it is that one or not, that they disputed 194.10

Compare:

'ot'u'weta ni'kta he'ciha 'ini'yuge' he asks you whether you are going to town;—*'ot'u'weta ni'kta ha'tahqs wani'sikte'* if you should go to town he will ask you to do something for him;—*'ot'u'weta le'ciha wani'sikte'* when you go to the city he will ask you a favor;—*maga'zu he'ciha stolwa'ya wac'i'* I should like to know whether it is raining;—*maga'zukta ha'tahqs stolwa'ya wac'i'* I should like to (know) be informed in case it should rain

kijha when, future:

'ec'a'nušni kijha m.ni-ma'hel 'ihpe'c'iyikte when you not do that, I shall throw you into the water 47.6;—*toha'l t'ila'zata ho'p'imiciye cihq heha'l hina'p'a yo'* when behind the tipi I clear my throat, then come out! 46.9;—*ta'ku to'k'a kijha 'ana'makita yo'* when anything happens run to me! (compare *ta'ku to'k'a ha'tahqs 'ana'makita yo'* if anything should happen run to me! 83.3)

k'uhq' when, past, also *k'u'ehq'*:

t'ehq'l 'i' k'uhq' when he had arrived far away 84.8;²⁸—*wana' 'ik'a'yela 'ihy'ni k'uhq'* now when he had come near 235.12;—*yustaq' k'uhq' hoksi'la ki' 'icu'*—when she had completed them the boy took them 99.2

The preceding elements correspond to English conjunctions, but it seems more proper to consider the subordinating conjunctions as elements which nominalize the preceding phrase, or in other cases, transform them into a unitary adverbial expression. It is important to note in this connection that the English forms "in order to, because, before, after," are not expressed by conjunctions but rather by phrases. Examples of these are:

šnihq literally not being, doing, expresses temporal antecedence:

maga'zu šnihq k'ig.la' it not raining go home! i. e., go home before it rains

The same relation may be expressed by *'it'o'kap*:

wi hina'p'ikte ci' 'it'o'kap 'oza'za s'a the future appearance of the sun in regard to it first it always is light; i. e., it gets light before the sun rises;—*wa'tikte ci' 'it'o'kap heya'p 'icu'we lo'* what I was going to eat in regard to it first away he took it; i. e., he took it away before I ate it

Also:

'i'ya le'c'el kte'pišni k'u' he'ha' li'la 'oya'te 'o'ta t'epwi'c'aye' I'ya thus they had not killed, at that time many people he had caused them to be consumed, i. e., before they had thus killed I'ya he had eaten many people 105.19;—*maga'zu-'aki'sni kijha waq.ni'kte'* the rain dying down when I shall go, i. e., after it stops raining I'll go;—*'iya-'ig.lu'sta c'ake' heha'l mi's 'iwa'ye'* to speak he finished and so then I spoke, i. e., after he had spoken I spoke;—*ag.na' nuwa'pi 'u'spe'sni ki' he' 'u'* moreover to swim she did not know that using, i. e., moreover because she could not swim 47.8;—*li'la 'oci'k'a-yela ki' 'u' 'iwa'yak h'ahi'ya 'u'* very the narrowness using looking out with care he came, i. e., because it was narrow he came moving carefully 48.16

Compare:

'u'zi' žitka hu' k'u' he' 'u' rosebush stalks the aforesaid that using, i. e., with rosebush stalk 54.7

²⁸ Text changed from *t'ehq' k'uhq'*.

§ 166. EXCLAMATIONS

'ahq' watch out! careful! also 'ahq'—'ahq'ahq'ahq or 'ahq'—hahq'hahq (pronounced very quick).

'a' hahhahq (very quick) reflex to a very sudden pain.

'e' an indication that one is listening, interspersed in the narrative of the speaker; like "yes" in a telephone conversation indicating that the person addressed hears and understands; only used by men.

'e' alas! expressing regret.

'e', c'ukš, ehq'ni wani' yaza ki oma'yakilake šni?; alas! daughter before your being ill you told me not (alas, daughter! why did you not tell me before that you were ill)

'ē' an exclamation used by young men and boys for "fussing" girls.

'eit, eit, eit (diphthongs), probably recent; the same as the preceding (t not released).

'e' . . . 'e' often used when watching a game, 'e' (very short) when a batter hits a ball and the second e' when the result is seen.

'eya'—i' hesitating beginning, like: well.

'eta' što'k, ta' što'k (eta' ha out of, š adversative; to'k'a what) what of it! (like a shrug of the shoulders).

'eyā (said by men) well! (mild surprise).

'ē'yahahe' a shout of praise, admiration for someone who has done a great deed; always follows the name of a person (shouted).

c'eta'-sapa-ē'yahahe' hurrah for Black-Hawk!

'eya'hikte so he will say! implying disbelief in the claim made by the speaker.

'eya'hikte tukte'l wiwo'ha-i na so she will say when she goes to live with her husband's people (i. e., here in our family you talk that way, but if you want to be admired you will be more careful when living with your husband's people)

'eya'ke' such impudence! (he says it, poor fool! see ke').

'ehā' is that so?

'eha'kal 'e's ('eha'ke finally) finally, anyway, with a tinge of contempt or spite.

'ehq'ni k'iyu'še s'a k'u'eha'kal 'e's leha'l t'awo'yaptapi yu'tahe formerly she was hard on him all the time (past), finally anyway at this time his leavings she is eating

'ehū (u very high and long drawn out) uttered through cupped hands in four directions; calling the supernaturals, followed by smoking and prayer.

'ece''ece''ece' disapproval (used by women) (becoming obsolete).

'ec'ā' an expression of contempt.

ec'ā' wi'ya ye lo' bah, he is a woman (a coward)

'i' 'i' 'i' serves you right! expression of pleasure in discomfiture of someone.

'i'wiska's, 'ic'e'wiš see c'e'wi (p. 152)

'iho' see ho.

'ina' mother! exclamation used by women when suddenly afraid of danger (perhaps the same as hina').

'i' expression of reluctance used by shy children (low voice).

'ihō' just as I said, expected; if followed by sentence 'ihō'.

A woman had treated her husband badly. When she expressed herself mourning his death, an old woman said to her 'ihō', 'ihō' šce'p'a; le'c'ecakta tk'a 'ohi'tinic'ila k'u' kahq'l 'es to'k'a ka now see the result, sister-in-law, it was going to be like this and yet you thought yourself so hard at that time

'i'iiii' quick (more air than vowel) (very short) said when suddenly feeling cold water on the body.

'iska-'i-'i-'i' (also the whole repeated) stalling when delaying an answer. Slow speakers often begin their sentences with i.—Y. *nyske, nu-nu-nu*, or simply *nu*

'oha: O yes! now I understand!

'ohu'wela, 'ohu'welaka of all things! that it should come to this!

'oze' 'oze' 'oze' (quick) exclamation expressing ridicule, disapproval of smallness in action (Yankton).

'ozela' admiration or surprise regarding small things, tricks, actions of young children or small animals (*yui'ze* to confuse order of things).

'oh, hoh (Santee *hoho'*) (man speaking) denial, opposition to an expressed opinion. Sentences beginning with *tase'* are often preceded by 'oh or *hoh*. Women say *hiya* (unaccented)no, before *tase'*. Also if things are going wrong 20. 8

'usti'', *hušti''*, or 'osti'' (man speaking) too bad! hard luck! 28.18.

ya' long in high key. Exclamation of women expressing fear, amazement, horror.

yi' calling attention of a stranger; also the same as the preceding, used by western Teton women.

yu, yu, yu, yu (at intervals) exclamation of pain, indicating a steady, sharp pain.

yá said by women, correcting a child.

yá, *tuwé'ni hé'c'a hé'c'usni ye'* nobody does like that. Also 172.8

wá' (man speaking), *má'* or *ma'* (woman speaking) exclamation calling people at a distance; also expressing hesitation, for instance when addressing strangers the proper term of address not being known; generally *wá-i;* or *wá-iska;* also in answers.

'ec'a's wat'i' ki'ekta' ya'.—*wá, 'owa'kihisi'ni ye lo'* go to my home if you can.—Ah, but I am unable (to go); —*to'k'i ni'kta hé?*—*wá lé'c'i mi'c'opi.c'a lé' 'ekta' b.le' lo'* where are you going?—Why, they invited me here, so here I am going. Both these answers might also take in addition a terminal *wá*.

wahte'sni ki the wretch!

(*wahti'ka* delicate, very fragile, like the wing of a moth)

we' we' a call driving dogs 172.2.

wt' (very high) used by women, expression of mild annoyance.

wi' hé's mu'kte c'u oh dear! I was just going to use it

wi', *wi's* exclamation when a blow or shot just misses the mark 141.11.

wi', *wi'*, *wi'* the same as the last.

ha'o yes (said by men).

haho', *haho'* thanks! to human beings.

hayé'; *hayé' hayé' hayé'* thanks! addressed to the supernatural.

has such bad luck! 1.10

ha yes (said by both sexes).

ha'ta' said to children; also *ha'ta yo'* or *ha'tiye'* (said by men) get out of the way!

ha't^e ha't^e ha't^e (said quickly) get out of the way! (obsolescent, Yankton *han han han*)

hé'' (high and short), also *huhé''* (used by young women) indicating a sneering contempt of an unsustained claim of prestige. The stronger the feeling the stronger the glottal stop. A woman praising her daughter said:

tuwa' le' Ele'ni 'e'ke sa', (literally, someone this Ellen that sort of even though) is there anyone like Ellen! A person disputing this claim answered *hé''*

hé' used by men; the same meaning as *si'*, *yi'*.

hehehe'; *hehehi'*, *hehi'*, *hehehi'*, or *hehehê*: often beginning sentences, then always with short terminal *e*. Expressing disinclination to do something that has to be done 15.14.

hiya' no (said by both sexes).

hina' hina' hina' (said by women) sudden surprise and disapproval.

hina' a milder expression of disapproval.

hini' (strong accent) thanks! said only by the chorus in the *huka'* ceremony at the end of each verse.

hinu' hinu' hinu' (said by women) *huhi'*; *huhuhi'*; *huhe'*; *huhuhe'* (said by men), sudden surprise.

hi (very short, said once or several times) an exclamation expressing disappointment at lack of success in any attempt (like throwing a stone and missing) or when tripping; also used when sneezing or twitching of muscles forbodes ill 100. 4.

hi'yaka', *t'iyaka'* (<(i)t'o'-*hi'yaka'*) wait a minute! 56.5 (men also say *hi'yaka yo'*).

hō, *ihō* ready now (mild), now is time to start; go ahead!

ho'ye (said by men), *ho'na* (said by women) expresses indifferent agreement, "all right."

ka'k'i uy'kte! *ho'ye* We'll go there! All right!

Also introducing a suggestion:

ho'na nuwe'-uy'kte. *ho'na* What do you say, we'll go swimming. All right (woman sp. to woman)

hokahe' or *hukahe'* (short) ready! exclamation for the start of a race or a joint effort.

hōh see 'ōh.

hūsti' see *ūsti''*.

huhuhe' 1.5, 2.8.

huhe'e (said by men) alack! this came out wrong (only applied to matters of minor importance); also used by old women.

hm: (quite high, with hand held over mouth) surprise; like: for pity's sake! (woman speaking).

mina' (woman speaking) expression of pretended (sometimes real) fear.

lililililili said very rapidly with high voice, only by women. It is the cry of the screech owl as expressed in Teton, used to acclaim the brave deeds of warriors, used by female relatives or other women. Not used by Yankton and Santee.

lah (said by women) from *lahca* (*la-hca* very).

'osni'lah how cold it is!

mac'u' witalah my! I am cold

wic'a'sa wast'lah isn't he handsome!

Men say *'osni' lahcake lo'* it is cold indeed!

ta'kole' why should I! (*ta'ku* what; *ole'* to seek).

ta'sto'k see *eta'sto'k*.

to' (mild assent) all right!

toš yes, surely; see *k'e'yaš toš*, *k'e'yaš toštoš* 166.5

to'k see *c'i' to'k*.

to'ka huwo', man sp. *to'k'ahuwe'* woman sp. to what end! why should that happen to me? (exclamation used in mourning); also a question: what is the trouble?

tok'e expresses surprise (also adverb).

to'k'i's, *to'k'na's* is that all? (see also p. 143).

tuwa' 'ak'a'ksa' impossible! (*'ak'a'* on purpose, *ka* kind of; *'esa'* even though) (see also adverbs).

tulā: surprise, for shame! (becoming obsolete).

t'i'yaka' see *hi'yaka'*.

t'o', *'it'o'* a word accompanying imperatives or exhortatives, if nothing important is involved.

'it'o' yuš'i'yewayikte let me scare him!—*'it'o' ški'miciyi'*⁴⁴ *na wo'wakam.nikte* let me bestir myself and take food out of courtesy to him;—*'it'o' wo'wapi mak'u'na*, *'ec'a's t'iya'ta yak'i kihq* write to me (give me a writing) won't you, when you get home;—*'it'o' de wak'a'ke* suppose I dig this (Santee, Riggs 83.13)

⁴⁴ Reflexive instead of the expected *ški'mic'iyu*. Cf. *ic'kte* he hung, choked himself, and *ic'kte* he killed himself.

Also, like lo! behold!

'*it'o wic'a hpi wa 'iye'gehca 'e yake' ci he'hina'waye* ⁴⁴ *c'es* supposing a star shining verily that the one who is (sits), that one, if I could have him for husband (Santee, Riggs 83.3)

c'e'wi incredible! *c'e'wis* how very! also '*i'wiska's*, '*ic'e'wis* always at the beginning of a sentence and requiring *ke* at the end. The same meaning as *lah* (said by women), *lahcaka* (said by men); but not used with these.

c'e'wis witko'tkoke how true it is that he is a bad one!—*c'e'wis wastte'ke* how very beautiful;—*c'e'wis (ic'e'wis) wa'map'ike* how lucky I am!;—*c'e'wis wasi'cu ki 'o'hini wo'imagaga c'i'pik* how strange that White people always desire amusement!;—'*i'wiska' (i'wiska's) loc'i' nac'e'ceke* how very hungry he must apparently be;—'*i'wiska's mac'e'pecel wole'sni wau' k'e'yas* how fat I am! although I abide not eating;—*c'e'wis t'e'ha-g.li'sni ke* how long he does not return!

c'i' to'k, *ic'i' to'k* of course

'*i's c'i' to'k* what about him! let him do it!—Evidently related to '*ic'i'*, '*ec'i'*, '*c'i'*;—*c'i' wo'wapi mak'u'* write me some time;—*c'i' 'i's tuwa'* what about him somebody (i. e. what right has he to blame others)

na in pipe etiquette, said by smoker who hands the pipe to the next man who replies *ku*.

na'na (said by women); *ni'ye* (said by men), said when handing something to another person; '*icu'wo'* (man); '*icu'* (woman) take it! sounds too abrupt. Also used, if somebody pesters the owner about something.

ni'yē' '*e'ktq' ta'ku b.luha' c'a'* take! why bother me something I have whenever; i. e. why do you always want what I have

si; *s'* accompanied by threatening motion with arm or stick, "get away!" (to animals)

s hush! don't! (softer in pronunciation).

si' (short) (woman speaking) say! *he'* (man speaking) calling attention of one whose relationship is not known.

si' 'u'wanit'o say! come here! ('*u'wa* come here, *na*, '*it'o*).

si, *si*, *si* a warning when there is danger that a lot of things a person is carrying may fall, the warning person at the same time running to help.

ss's': pronounced crescendo, with a suppressed laugh, like "stop that," when two relatives of the same sex who stand in a joking relationship poke fun at each other; sometimes accompanied by a poke in the ribs or a push on the shoulder.

ku in pipe etiquette, said by recipient of pipe handed to him by the preceding smoker with the word *na*.

ku'wiye' (said by men or women), *ku'wa na* (said by women) come here!

k'o'ya'h'a' hurry! (*k'o* quick; *h'a'* to act).

kto'k, *to'k* (from *to'k'a*).

le' tuwa' t'a'wa he' he' mit'a'wa kto'k whose is this? It is mine and what of it! (In a more quiet mood the answer would be *he' mit'a'wa'* that is mine;—*to'k'iya la' he' wag.le' kto'k* where are you going? I am going home, and what of it!

hi' very good! (used nowadays by boys, not old Dakota).

'*m*. (rough breathing). Women clear their throats this way to indicate that a remark refers to a certain person present who pretends not to have grasped the meaning as referring to him or her (same use as in English).

hopci's, *hom.nu's* two exclamations occurring in tales, setting unknown.

'*hm'* very deep faucal, expresses disgust at presumption.

'*hm'*, '*ehq'nis he'c'ekakte c'u* ha! long ago it was to have been thus (i. e., what else could you expect).

Clearing the throat also a signal for a girl to meet youth who wants to elope with her. Also a warning 46.8; 246.12.

' , ' rough short vibration of vocal cords with *i* resonance, like two short sighs. Exclamation used by men to control angry passion or temporary weakness.

⁴⁴ Corrected.

§ 167. WORD ORDER

Word order in Dakota requires that all nouns or nominalized clauses are followed by their qualifiers while all verbs are preceded by their qualifiers, excepting however all modal particles: the negative *šni* (p. 105), the future *kta* (p. 105), the intensifying *hca* (p. 57), the diminutive *la* (p. 57), the qualifying *ka* (p. 55), the quotatives *šk'a*, *ke'* and *c'e* (p. 106); the articles *kī*, *k'y*, *wā*, *k'eya'* (p. 133), the contradictory *tk'a* (p. 112); *c'e* (p. 106), and the declarative (p. 109), imperative (p. 111), optative (p. 111) and interrogative (p. 111) particles, the particle *kī* (p. 107), also the particles *s'e*, *ny s'e* (p. 107), *šna* (p. 106), *hūse* (p. 111), *k'es*, *yū'k'a's* which follow subordinate verbs.

In the texts many sentences occur that close with other suffixes or particles, but these must be conceived as incomplete or as such phrases which in loose speech are introduced as an after thought. For instance:

- (1) *ta'ku wāšī' iwa' hoc'iyi'kte lo'* (2) *he'c'el 'y' wakta'kel yau'kta c'a* 11.4 would be in formal speech inverted: (2) that way on account of expecting it you will live, that being so (1) one thing I shall warn you against
- (1) *'ina' wana' ni'c'oumasi ye lo'* (2) *t'ake' kic'i' yau'kta c'a* 15.11 also should be inverted: (2) my elder sister with you will live that being so (1) my mother now asks me to invite you;—*he'c'el kic'i' g.lustq' c'a—toh'a'l t'ila'zata ho'-p'imiciye cihq' heh'a'l hina'p'a yo';'yū'ki'yayikte—'eya'ke'*. 46.9 Thus with her he settled—"When behind the tent I clear my throat then come out; we shall go!"—he said it is said. Here the whole quotation interrupts the sentence. The main part after *c'a* continues with *'eya'*

In the idiom *ta'ku'ka k'a' c'a* 16.9 a following *leya'he* is omitted: what indeed he means it being that kind this is what he is saying, i. e., what does he mean talking this way!—*le' ta'ku k'a'pi c'a'* the same, plural 20.6;—*'ekta' wic'a'b.le lo'*, *hena' wic'a'wag.luti'kta c'a* 2.7 there I shall go. Those I shall eat them my own that being so—implies that the first part "there I shall go" which belongs to the preceding sentence has not been repeated;—*le' ina'wahni c'es' ep'e'sq'* 20.8 this "I am in a hurry indeed" I said but; i. e., but I said I am in a hurry, implies a following: yet they persist!;—*'owe ha'hapila s'a k'y wana' ak'e'* they are always joking, now again, implies a following "they are at it";—*nakū' špa'šni hiye'ye c'y' iyu'hala* 27.12 also what not cooked lay about, all of that, implies a repetition of the preceding *t'epya'pi'* they ate it up;—*tok'e naya'h'ušniyelak'a* how is it, evidently you have not heard about it, implies a following "for else you would not ask me";—*'ape'tu-le'-c'ecaka c'a' e'l ma'i'kta hūse* this kind of a day it being so, in it I shall die evidently 1.3, implies a following "for I met this monster"; compare *t'e'šni hūse p'eta'ga' ona'b.leb.lel kikta' hiya'ya* evidently he was not dead for, scattering the embers with his feet jumping up he went 23.10;—*wāya'kapi ye't'o* 29.8 just look ye! *t'o* is probably abbreviated from S. *'it'o'k'ehq'* (<*'it'o'k'y'ehq'*) at the time previous to it, and might be translated by "just" or "will you": *'eya' na t'o* just say it; repeat it, will you? Initially also *'it'o' 'eya' na t'o* now then, just repeat it; this might perhaps be included among the particles following the finite verb;—*'ina'-'i'yokihe kī he' 'i's to'k* 9.2 my mother's next younger sister that one, what about her. Here *to'k* is abbreviated from the verbal *to'k'a* it is some way; which way is it?—*'e's to'k* 26.5 how about it, lit. indeed it being some way; *to'k* for *to'k'a*

A number of abbreviated verbs are found in terminal position:

'iya'ya nac'e'c'a ke'ye' he says that probably he has gone; lit. he went it is evident, that he says;—*tuwe'ni c'y'wī'ku-g.lu'zešni nac'e'c'e'* nobody marries his own daughter it is likely 17.2;—Abbreviated: *to'k'el 'iya'ya nac'e'l* somewhere he went, who knows? also *to'k'el 'iya'yeca c'e'l* 17.4 the same meaning;—*to'k c'e'l* who knows? (answer to a question <*to'k'a c'e'l*)

The noun is followed by the article:

wic'a'ša kī the man, *wic'a'ša wā* a certain man, *wic'a'ša k'y* the aforesaid man

Nominalized verbs are treated in the same way.

k'oška'laka waste'šte hena'la kī iyu'ha youths those all who are fine ones 53.3;—*p'e'ta hiyo'ilalapi k'y slolye'* he knew your past going to get fire 40.10

The noun is followed by the adjective which loses its accent:

taku'ku-cikci'kala little things 239.15;—*'i'yq-b.laska'ska* flat stones 241.10;—*šuk-sa'pa-g.le'ska wā* a black-spotted horse 258.5;—*'eha'ke-'ag.ki'pi k'y he'* the one brought last 55.7

The temporal forms *kīhq* when (future) and *k'ūhq'* or *k'ū he'hq'* when (past) are derived from the article and the verb *hq'* to stand, continue. They also follow the phrase to which they belong and are analogous in their function to the articles following phrases.

t'iyā'ta yak'ī kīhq maki'yuināhni the time when you arrive there home, hurry for my sake 243.17-244.1;—*tohq'l 'ekta' wic'a'yaiipi kīhq le'c'ehci hiyu'kapikta* the time when you arrive there to them, in this very way they will come to lie 237.16;—*wana' 'ik'a'yela 'ihu'ni k'ūhq' mā'zawak'q' 'apa'ha yu'za* at the time when now near he arrived there, the gun aiming (brandishing) at him he held 235.12

Other "conjunctions" belong to the same category, such as *yu'k'a's*, *hq'tahq's*, if etc. These will be found treated on pages 144 et seq.

It has also been pointed out (p. 144) that the coordinating *nq* belongs sometimes to the preceding clause, while *yu'k'a'* then (unexpectedly), and *c'a'ke'* and so, are independent and stand at the beginning of the phrase.

In quite a number of cases some of the postpositional conjunctions open a sentence. In all these cases the flow of speech is interrupted, but the relation is still to the preceding.

he'c'el 'ec'ū'k'ūpi hq'tahq's (wo'uspe wq 'oya'te ki wic'a'ukicagapikta c'a heya'pe') *kīhq wic'a'sa nq wī'ya kic'ī yuzapi* thus we do if (a lesson the people we shall have made for them it being so they say; woman speaking.) When man and woman take each other in marriage 231.16. In this example both *hq'tahq's* if, and *kīhq* when, refer to the preceding *he'c'el 'ec'ū'k'ūpi*

In the same way we have:

ta'ku k'eya' sapsa'pya hiye'ya c'a waya'ka ske'. *k'e'ya's hena' 'ī'ya-t'q'ka ke'c'ī'* some things black lay there, being that kind he saw them, it is said. However these were large stones, he thought 223.15 This might as well be *wyya'ke c'e'ya's* the two sentences being drawn together.

The finite verb has always terminal position. It is preceded by all adverbs including subordinate verbal forms, each verbal form modifying the following one. The finite verb includes the modal particles mentioned before.

'i'tap ka'h yustā' promptly making it he finished it 48.12;—*c'aku' 'iwq'yakyak 'oka' wīhwīh-'iya'ya 'u'* the road watching here and there, in many turns going, he came 67.4;—*'ū'siya yu't'q't'q' 'iyo'tiye'kiya 'oma'nihq* pitifully feeling about, suffering agonies he was walking about 34.11

Position of subject and object

The object is closely connected with the verb. This appears particularly in terms expressing habitual actions in which the accent unites object and verb. The regular order in sentences containing nouns is subject, object, verb. The finite verb has always final position. The order of pronouns in transitive verbs is the reverse: the object precedes the subject except for the dual-plural *uni* we—thee and the third plural animate object which always precedes. (See p. 76.)

hake'la c'a' 'icu'kta the youngest one was going to get wood 87.1;—*hu'ku k'ū sūka'ku wqwi'c'ag.laka* his mother saw her younger brothers 91.1;—*'ī'ya-hoksi'la hoksi'-c'alkiyapi to'p wic'a'kte* Stone-Boy killed four children-beloved 91.16

Nominalized phrases are in the same order.

wī'ya k'ū he' sina' wq 'a'taya wic'a'p'aha ksu'pi c'a g.lub.lā'ya the woman that one a blanket entirely with scalps appliquéd being of that kind she spread out her own 87.9

t'ahī'spa k'eya' || *'ihu'pa yuk'a'c'as 'ū' hāp-ka'gegepi s'a k'ū* || *he'c'a wq lī'la waste' napsi'l hiyu'* some awls || handles are to them || being indeed that kind (c'as) using moccasins they sew always those in the past || one being of that kind very good jumping on its own accord started to come. Here *k'eya'* some, and the clause beginning with *'ihu'pa* and ending with *k'ū* are attributive to *t'ahī'spa* awl: Some awls having handles, of the kind with which they used to make moccasins; *he'c'a* it is that kind, summarizes the complex subject; with *wq* a certain one of that kind, *lī'la waste'* must be conceived as adverbial, *na-psi'ca* adverbial *na-psi'l* jumping of its own accord; *hiyu'* started. Freely translated: certain awls having handles, such as were used for sewing moccasins, a very fine one of that kind jumped out 59.3

sītē ki' 'ohlo'ka wq kah-wi'c'asi k'ū || *heta'ha pa't'q'kal hiyu'ye'*. *sītē ki' . . . hiyu'ye'* is the simple form of this sentence: the tail he caused to start coming; *'ohlo'ka . . . k'ū* belongs to the verb; *'ohlo'ka wq ka'ga* he made a hole; *'ohlo'ka wq kah-wi'c'asi* he ordered them to make a hole; with *k'ū* the hole which he had ordered them to make; *he'* summarizes the preceding phrase, *he'tahq* from that one;

pat'a'kal by pushing outside, adverbial. Freely translated: He pushed out his tail from the hole he had ordered them to make 39.6

he'c'el 'ec'u'k'upi ha'tahq̄s | wo'uspe wq 'oya'te ki wic'a'ukicagapikte'. The first three words are the subject: thus we do if; *wo'uspe* a lesson, object; *'oya'te ki* second object, indirect object indicated by *ki* in verb; *wic'a'ukicagapikte*, verb: we shall make (or have made) for them; *wic'a* refers to people if we do thus we shall have made a lesson for the people 231.16

The nominal subject is often in initial position when the subject of the subordinate verb and of the finite verb are the same; when they are different the subject follows the subordinate clause.

mat'o' ki 'i'sikc'i'ina'p'ek'iyewac'i'ima'hel hiyu' tk'a's, we'-hoksi'la t'iyop'ik'i'yela na'zi the bear, in a bad-minded way trying to make him go out into the tent came (contrary to expectation) Blood-Clot-Boy near the door stood. Up to *tk'a's* (contrary to fact) the bear is subject. Then it changes and Blood-Clot-Boy becomes subject 115.9

On account of the lack of a third person personal pronoun distinguishing subject and object sentences with a single nominal element, subject or object, as well as those without nominal elements are ambiguous. *mat'o' wq kte'* may mean "he killed a bear" or "a bear killed him." The difficulty is generally overcome by a quasi-passive construction *mat'o' kte'pi*; they bear-killed. The noun and verb are not compounded as in *wqb.li'k'uwa* he eagle-hunted, and *c'apk'u'wa* he beaver-hunted, both occupations requiring special skill and training. When subject and object are nouns the meaning is clear because the subject stands first, the object second, the verb at the end.

In subordinate clauses the same difficulties arise: *g.lihu'ni kihq wi'yuskikte'* when he gets back he will be glad, is ambiguous as to who will be glad. *t'ak'o'laku ki g.li' kihq wi'yuskikte'* the one who is his friend when he comes back he will be glad, is also ambiguous, but *t'ak'o'laku g.li' kihq wi'yuskikte'* expresses that the person who expects his friend will be glad. The opposite would be expressed adverbially *t'ak'o'laku ki wi'yuskiya g.li'kte'* the one who is his friend being happy he will come back.

With the conjunctions *c'ake', tk'a's, k'e'yas, yesa', ye's, kaye's, k'oha'* the expression is ambiguous. *nq* implies the same subject in subordinate and principal clauses. *t'o'ka ki ana'tq nq kte'* the enemy charged him and killed him; *waya'ki nq nap'e'* he saw him and ran away.

There are many devices by means of which ambiguity may be avoided. For instance, *mat'o' ki waya'ka ha'tahq̄s 'iya'hpayikte* when the bear sees him it will attack him, is clear because *'iya'hpaya* to fall upon someone, is used for an attack by animals; *t'akpe'yikte* he will attack him, because used for an attack by man, would indicate that the bear is object.

Adverbs and adverbial phrases are placed preceding the verb. If a single adverb is to be strongly emphasized it takes initial position.

wak'a'-waste'ya Lak'o'ta ki wic'a'k'izapi' supremely well the Dakota fought with them

This occurs frequently with adverbs of time and space.

'ec'a'l 'ukce'k'iha wq 'iyop'teya 'iya'ya just at that moment a magpie went past 88.11;—*m.ni-ma'hel 'e'tuwa yu'k'a' he'c'iya 'ukce'k'iha k'u he' yaka'* into the water he looked, and then there (of all places) the magpie was 74.1;—*leha'l . . . Lak'o'ta ki wo'eye wq eya'pi* now-a-days the Dakota say a saying 79.4;—*heta'ha nake's wic'o'ic'age ki 'a'wicak'eya hiyu'* from there on at last the growth (increase) of people really came 5.9

In the last case the connection with the preceding is equally important in determining the position of the demonstrative adverb. The demonstrative *he'* is constantly used to summarize preceding clauses. In an analogous way the adverbial demonstratives refer back to the preceding sentences or clauses and in such cases stand always at the beginning of the sentence.

heta'ha ya'ha yu'k'a' heha'l pteh'i'cicila wq ka'l yaka'ha from there he was going, and then (a small bird) yonder was 82.8;—*he'c'enahe'is zica' ki sa'p'a ya' 'oki'hisni* instantly the squirrel farther going could not 77.14;—*he'c'el 'iyu'ha 'ig.lu'sol-wic'ayela* in that manner all she caused the little ones to eliminate themselves 81.11;—*'ot'u'we wq t'a'ka ka'l ha' sk'e'*. *yu'k'a' he'l wic'a'sa-'u'a'c'a' ki . . . 'u'* a large town stood there. And then there the chief . . . lived 145.8

In the usual adverbial position we find:

hake'la he'c'ena ski'bibila-'ic'i'c'aga the youngest one at once made himself into (a little bird). If connected with the preceding sentence this would be *'iya'yapi c'ake' he'c'ena hake'la*, etc., they went and so at once, etc. 87.7

In many cases the subordinate clause functions as an adverb and opens the sentence. This happens always when the subject of the subordinate clause differs from that of the finite verb.

t'i-'ile hceha'l mat'o 'el 'i' when the house was burning *Mat'o'* (Bear) arrived there;—*mat'o' t'i' 'ile hceha'l 'el 'i'* when Bear was house-burning he (another one) arrived;—*mat'o' t'i' ki 'ile' hceha'l 'el 'i'* when Bear's house was burning he (another one) arrived. In both these cases the substitution of *k'i* to arrive going back (to one's own) for *'i'* to arrive going would indicate that the subject of the finite verb and of the subordinate clause is the same. With *k'i* the locative *'el* may be omitted

When several verbs connected by *na* (and) occur in the same clause and refer to the same subject, the various modal particles of the imperative, interrogative, future, the declarative and its derivatives are added only to the last verb.

The plural *pi* and the negative *sni* are repeated with coordinate verbs:

'u'pi na waya'kapišni why don't they come and see it!;—*he'c'ena ya'hapi na . . . 'el 'ihu'nipi* then they were going and . . . they arrived there 153.6
he'c'u na yuha' 'i'yak'i na c'ao't'e'ika ki ekta' e'ihpema'ya yo' take that and holding it run and in thick woods there leave them 161.1;—*t'iyot'ipi ki 'el yi' na leya' yo'* go to the council tent and say 162.5
lena' to'k'esk'e luha'pi na le'c'anuhq he? how did you get these and are doing this? 200.14; also 218.12
wo'tapi na waya'tkapi kte they will eat and drink
wo'tapišni na naku' waya'tkapiktešni or *wo'tapi naš' waya'tkapiktešni* they will neither eat nor drink

§ 168. TENSES

Future.—The future (present and past) is expressed by *ka* following the verb.

leta' nu'pac'q kiha' t'iyole-wau'kte 'oya'te ki 'ow'c'akiyaka', 'ehi'kte lo' from here (now) two days when (it is), house-seeking (seeking food) I shall come; the people tell them, you will say 143.11;—*niya'te 'e'yapahawic'asikte lo. c'anymupikta c'a* your father will order them to announce it. I shall smoke because—;—*zuce'ca wa wo'kihapikta-ic'ila k'u taye'la g.na'yapi* a snake considering for himself that they would cook for him, the aforesaid thoroughly they deceived him 81.14;—*'owo't'qla k'es'og.la'kešni, wak'u'ka tk'a'* straightway instead why doesn't she tell it, I should have given her 168.17

Present and past.—In simple, declarative sentences present and past are not distinguished. If it is required to indicate time more accurately adverbs like *he'ha'* at that time, *'eha'ni* long ago, *t'oka' 'ekta'* in former times, *h'al-'eha'* yesterday, *le'*, *leha'l*, now, the present situation, *wana' leha'l* right now, etc., must be added.

In subordinate clauses the time relation of subordinate and principal clause is expressed. Relative clauses:

wac'i'pi k'u hena' watu'k'api' those who danced are weary, or, those who had danced were weary;—*wac'i'pi ki hena' watu'k'api'* those who are dancing are weary, or in narrative: those who were dancing were weary;—*k'oška'laka wa wi'ya ki wo'kiyakahe c'u he' heya'p'iya'ya, c'ake' le'u' k'u he' wik'o'škalaka ki 'ao'hom.ni 'iya'ya* a youth who had been talking to the woman, that one away went, and so this one who had come, that one went past and around the young woman 51.12;—*p'e'ta hiyo'ilalapi k'u slolya'* he knew that you had gone for fire 40.10 (see also 73.16);—*t'e'ha' k'u'ha' wana' 'ak'e' . . . 'au'* when after a long time, now again . . . he brought him 84.8;—*yusta' k'u'ha' hoksi'la ki icu'* when he had finished it the boy took it 99.2;—*'og.mi'g.ma nihi'yupi kiha' maya' pat'a-pikte c'iš*⁵⁵ when you come rolling down you will crush me dead 91.9;—*leha'l ni' 'u' yu'k'a's'ani-lowapi k'o'ka tk'a' ye'* at present if he had been alive you would even have been sung over 15.8

In all these and similar cases the absolute time is not implied, only the time relation of the clauses. It is only incidental that *yu'k'a's-tk'a'* which express a conditional contrary to fact, always refers to the past.

⁵⁵ Teton uses often in this position *hiš* notwithstanding the change of *a* to *e*.

§ 169. THE PLURAL

1. When the subject is an animate being the verb takes the suffix *-pi*.

wic'a'sa ki hi'pi the men have come;—*hihq' ki hot'u'pi* the owls are hooting

When the plural of the animate subject is strongly emphasized it may be verbalized by taking the suffix *-pi*: *wic'a'sapi* they are men. Then it may assume the function of a relative clause.

wic'a'sapi ki hena' kic'i'zapi the ones who were men, those fought;—*wic'ic'apila ki 'iyu'ha ska'tapi* the ones who were little girls all played;—*hoksi'pila ki lena' suk'a'ka yaka'pi* the ones who are little boys these ride horseback

As indicated before, the suffix *-pi* is used when animate nouns are used in the plural predicatively: *hena' su'kak'a'pi* those are horses.

2. When the subject is an inanimate noun the plural is expressed by reduplication of the verb.

c'a'ki hi' skaska the trees are tall;—*c'awa'pe ki snisni'za* the leaves are withered;—*mi'la ki p'ep'e'sni* the knives are not sharp

When the inanimate subject is accompanied by an adjective expressing plurality the verb is not usually reduplicated:

c'a' ki 'iyu'ha hi'ska all the trees are tall

3. The plural of the animate object is expressed by the prefix *wic'a-* them.

hoksi'la ki su'kak'a' ki wic'a'kahape' the boy drives the horses;—*yasle' ki zizi'c'a ki wic'a'k'uwa* the coyote chased the turkeys

Since *wic'a* is the third person plural object, phrases without nominal subject and with animate object are ambiguous in regard to the plurality of subject or object.

su'kak'a ki wic'a'k'uwa the horse chased them, or he chased the horses

4. The plural of the inanimate object must be expressed by means of adjectives expressing plurality.

§ 170. COMPOUNDING

The methods of compounding have been discussed on pages 67 et seq. It remains to summarize the syntactic values of compounding which have been touched upon incidentally with the formal side of the process.

1. Nouns are compounded when the first expresses the material of which the object is made (p. 68); and when the second noun is a qualifier of the first (p. 68).

2. Neutral verbs performing the function of adjectives are compounded with the noun which they follow (p. 69).

3. The object is compounded with the verb when habitual activities are expressed (p. 70).

4. A number of nouns appear only as dependent stems and are compounded in initial position with verbs and with other nouns (p. 70). A number of monosyllabic nominal stems are treated in the same manner (p. 72).

5. Verbs are compounded when they form a unit concept. This happens regularly when a subordinate verb follows in time the finite verb (as a purpose or intention, like our infinitives) (p. 74.)

6. Many adverbs that are felt to form a firm unit with the verb are compounded with it (pp. 73 et seq., 137 et seq.).

It has been pointed out before (p. 74) that subordinate verbs that express synchronous actions, corresponding to our present participle, take adverbial form but are not compounded with the finite verb. They retain their accent.

When the adverbial form has an instrumental prefix it has often an intransitive or passive meaning.

yuu'k ihpe'ya to pull down into a lying position; literally being pulled down, or after pulling it down he left it;—*pa'k ihpe'ya* to push down into a lying position;—*yui'yotak ihpe'ya* to pull down into a sitting position;—*pa'yotak ihpe'ya* to push down into a sitting position;—*yuo'g.mus*⁶⁶ *b.lu'za* I hold it drawn tightly together;—*kaw'i'h k'ina'zipi* after turning in their course they went and

⁶⁶ = *gmuza* always neutral.

'ina to'k'ya la' hef—niya'te 'ekta' b.la' waš mother! where are you going? I am going to your father (as you might know);—toš, wana' 'iya'ya waš yes, now he has gone (as you might know, or, as a surprise);—wana' 'iya'ya wa why! he is gone!;—mi'la wa le'l ya'ke' 'u' to'k'a'k'a' so? 'icu' so?—toš, t'a' wa waš A knife that was here, where is it? Did he take it?—Yes, of course, it is his.
mit'o'za 'isto' pawe'ga waš my niece broke her arm;—ma' k'e'ya 'oma'k'ašni wa you might know that I am too busy (woman speaking; man would begin with wa)
A man thought not to be very ill died. His female cross-cousin, when her husband came back from a visit to him asked: sic'e'si to'k'etuka he? how is my cousin? The answer, expressing the shock was, t'a' waš he is dead;—Regarding a man who had deserted his helpless stepmother it was said: ta'ku yuha' ki'iyu'hañci g.lok'i'yag.le' whatever he owned he took away with him to his own place;—A listener asked: 'eta'haš wo'yute kam.na' k'u' hena' k'o' ka. Certainly not the food he had provided too! Reply: toš, hena' k'o' waš yes, shocking! even that!

Other examples are:

wa, k'u'la ye', wa, nici'lala ye Oh give it to him, the little one asks for it (said by a man regarding a child that kept on asking its mother for something she had);—wa ascu'la se'ce lo' wa, leha'he say! hold on! maybe she is really "smitten" by him, and you are saying this!

The form *kış* is also extended to *kışto*, *kışto*, or *kšto*, and *k'u* with loss of *k'* (see p. 21) to *'ušto*. The ending may be shortened from *to'k'a* what of it! The form *'ušto* is a reminder of something that happened in the past 249.8.

ni'u'kašila wi' hina'p'ešniha kikta'pi 'ušto' your forebears used to get up before sunrise (a reproach to a lazy person);—hehe' 'ušto (you promised that, now keep your promise)

The use of *kışto* seems to give to a statement a friendly tone, chummy, confidential.

ki'ta'ñci' mig.lu'šta' c'a wahi'kšto at last I have finished so I have come

The mood of the speaker is also expressed in the adversative conjunctions *tk'a's*, *k'e'yaš* and *(ye)šaq'* which express in order approval, disinterestedness, and disapproval. (See p. 145; also p. 120, no. 20).

Instead: 'e' 'e', *k'eš*, 'iye's', 'e's after vowels, 'e'ha'. 'e' e' if indifferent whether one or the other is preferable.

wi'ya wa wqb.l'i'-hi'g.na'ye c'u' hece'la nap'e'sni, 'e' 'e' c'u'ñlo'ka wa 'ekta' 'ina'hma-iyotaka a woman the one referred to who had the eagle husband that one alone did not flee, instead in a hollow tree there hiding she sat 121.18;—na' 'e' 'e' li'la waš'i'g.lapi and instead they mourned much 218.4;—tok'e'ñci' i'ako'za šica'ya nic'u'wa k'e'yaš ta'keyešni na' 'e' 'e' k'oha' ha'pa 'uwe'ya k'o' ka'ga' however much my grandson badly treats you, anything say not and instead meanwhile moccasins, lunch also make 239.4;—le' 'e' 'u' use this instead!

k'eš instead of something wanted, as a substitute.

hena' 'e' k'eš waya'ka wic'a'yuzapi those instead they took as prisoners 276.5;—wa'cak ta'ku 'eye'sni k'eš mic'u'ksi k'u' wo' at once instead of saying anything give him my daughter 12.9;—niye'c'ika k'eš kic'i'yo' by yourself instead (of me) carry it on your back 190.3;—ini'la k'eš heya'p 'iya'ya yo' keep still (instead of talking) and go away 126.13;—'e'ka k'eš instead of the right thing;—ta'kuka k'eš instead of anything, i. e., whatever it may be; tukte'tuka k'eš anywhere; tuwe'ka k'eš whoever; toha'tuka k'eš any time;—tuwe'ka k'eš'oki'yaka yo' tell any and everybody;—tuwe'ka k'ešk'eš wic'a'kco' he invited everyone whoever he might be;—c'a'ke' he'c'etu k'eš kiyu'ga and so anyway she opened 191.11

'iye's', 'e's after vowels š, instead of something inferior something better.

šina' ki' e'na' e'g.naki'na' iye's²² waksi'ca ki' he' 'a'ya yo! the blanket there leave and the dish (as a better present) take! or waksi'ca ki' he' 'eš (or he's) 'a'ya yo';—iye's c'a-ka'ksaksani he had better chop wood (instead of doing something else);—c'a's kaks'a'ksani he had better chop wood (rather than use other material)

'e'ha' (<'e' 'eha') instead of what is wanted something that cannot be used.

niye' 'e'ha' yahi' he? did you come instead? (you cannot help me);—(niye' k'eš yahi' he? as an acceptable though not quite adequate substitute);—le' 'eha' mak'u' he gave me this instead (and it is useless);—ha'pa-wašte'ste k'u' hena' 'e'ha' 'owi'c'awak'u' the good moccasins instead of others I lent to them;—miye' 'e'ha' 'iyo'p'emaye' he scolded me instead (of somebody else who deserved it)

²² Or he' 'e's.