
SIOUAN
DAKOTA (TETON AND SANTEE DIALECTS)
WITH REMARKS ON THE PONCA AND WINNEBAGO
BY
FRANZ BOAS AND JOHN R. SWANTON

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§ 1. INTRODUCTION

The Siouan languages are spoken in a considerable number of dialects. One group of tribes speaking Siouan languages lived on the western plains, extending from the northern border of the United States far to the south. Another group of dialects was spoken by tribes inhabiting the southern Appalachian region; and two isolated dialects belonged to the coast of the Gulf of Mexico, east of the Mississippi river and the lower Yazoo river, respectively. At present the last two groups are on the verge of extinction.

The following sketch of Siouan grammar is based mainly on the Santee and Teton dialects of the Dakota language, which embraces four dialects--Santee, Yankton, Teton, and Assiniboin. Santee and Yankton are spoken by the eastern Dakota bands, Teton by the western bands, and Assiniboin by those of the northwest. The material for the present sketch is contained mainly in the grammar, texts, and dictionary of the Santee, published by S. R. Riggs (*Contributions to North American Ethnology*, vols. VII, IX). This account has been the basis of Dr. John R. Swanton's studies of a series of Teton Texts, in possession of the Bureau of American Ethnology, written by George Bushotter, a Teton Dakota. In the summer of 1899 Doctor Swanton revised these texts on the Rosebud Indian reservation with the help of Mr. Joseph Estes, a Yankton Dakota, who had been long resident among the Teton, and who was at that time teacher in one of the Government schools. Doctor Swanton's notes, contained in the present account, refer to the Teton dialect, while the material based on Riggs's published Santee material has been discussed by F. Boas.

The Ponca material has been gleaned from a study of J. Owen Dorsey's work, *The Čegiha Language* (Contributions to North American Ethnology, vol. vi¹). The Winnebago material is based on the unpublished collections of Mr. Paul Radin. The notes on both of these dialects have been written by F. Boas. Page references in the sections describing Santee and Ponca refer to the publications by Riggs and Dorsey referred to before.

PHONETICS (§§ 2-4)

§ 2. System of Sounds

Since Riggs, in his grammar and dictionary, does not distinguish the aspirates and surd stops, which were first discovered by J. Owen Dorsey and which are of such frequent occurrence in American languages, we give here the description of the Teton as obtained by Doctor Swanton. In order to preserve as nearly as possible the usage employed in printing Dakota books, Riggs's alphabet has been adhered to; but *p'*, *k'*, *t'*, and *č'* have been added to designate the aspirates of the corresponding surds. Doctor Swanton also distinguishes a fortis *š* and *š'*; *ɛ* is an obscure vowel, related to short *ö* and *ê*.

TABLE OF SOUNDS OF TETON

	CONSONANTS									
	<i>Stops</i>				<i>Continued</i>					
	Sonant	Surd	Aspirate	Fortis	Sonant	Surd	Fortis	Nasal	Lateral	Semi-vowels
Labial	<i>b</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>p'</i>	<i>p</i>	—	—	—	<i>m</i>	—	<i>w</i>
Dental	<i>d</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>t'</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>z</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>š</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>l</i>	—
Dorso-palatal	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	<i>y</i>
Affricatives	—	<i>č</i>	<i>č'</i>	<i>č</i>	—	—	—	—	—	—
Alveolar	—	—	—	—	<i>ž</i>	<i>š</i>	<i>š'</i>	—	—	—
Palatal	<i>ɟ</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>k'</i>	<i>k</i>	—	—	—	—	—	—
Velar	<i>g</i>	—	—	(<i>ʔ</i>)	—	<i>h</i>	—	—	—	—
Open breathing	—	—	—	—	<i>h</i>	—	—	—	—	—

VOWELS

	A					
Pure	<i>i</i>	<i>ê</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>u</i>
Nasalized	<i>iⁿ</i>	—	<i>eⁿ</i>	<i>aⁿ</i>	<i>oⁿ</i>	<i>uⁿ</i>

¹See F. Boas, Notes on the Ponca Grammar (Congrès International des Américanistes, xv^e session, Québec, 1907, vol. II, pp. 317-337).

The affricatives have been placed in the group of stops because they are closely associated with them. It is doubtful whether the fortis velar occurs.

The affricative *č* series corresponds to the English CH in CHURCH; the *ž*, *š* series to Z in AZURE and to SH in SHORE; *ħ* to the velar CH in German.

The phonetic system of Santee is quite similar to that of Teton, except that *l* is absent and is replaced by *d* and *n*. Teton *n* is either initial or follows *ħ* or *g*.

In Ponca, *y* of the series of sounds enumerated before is absent, and is throughout replaced by *ç* (English sonant TH). According to Dorsey, this sound approaches the *l* and *r* of other dialects; i. e., it is pronounced slightly laterally and with a tendency to a trill. The sonant of the affricative series, *ʃ*, occurs in Ponca, and *l* is absent. In Kansas, which is closely related to Ponca, the Teton *y* is replaced by *l*.

In Winnebago the Teton *y* is replaced by a weakly trilled linguo-apical *r*. Two *n* sounds are found, one, *n̄*, more strongly sonant than the other *n*. In the velar series the sonant continued sound *ɣ* occurs besides the surd *ħ*.

In the printed Ponca texts published by Dorsey an alphabet is used that does not conform to the Dakota alphabet used by Riggs and in later publications based on Riggs. Dorsey's alphabet agrees in many respects better with the systems of transcription used in rendering American languages than Riggs's alphabet. Nevertheless we have adhered here to the Riggs system and have avoided the awkward inverted letters used by Dorsey.

Riggs	Dorsey
<i>p, t, k</i>	<i>ᄀ, ᄁ, ᄂ</i>
<i>s, š</i>	<i>s, ʃ</i>
<i>č</i>	<i>ç</i>
<i>p', t', k'¹</i>	<i>p, t, k</i>
<i>s, š'¹</i>	(?)
<i>č'¹</i>	<i>tc</i>
<i>p, t, k</i>	<i>p', t', k'</i>
<i>č'¹</i>	<i>tc'</i>
<i>ž</i>	<i>j</i>
<i>ʃ¹</i>	<i>dj</i>
<i>ħ</i>	<i>q(?)</i>
<i>g</i>	<i>x(?)</i>

¹Supplementary symbols used in this sketch.

We are not quite certain whether the sounds \mathfrak{s} and \mathfrak{z} occur in Ponca. The sounds s and c of Ponca have been rendered here by analogy by s' and \mathfrak{z}' , but their character has not been definitely ascertained.

In Santee consonantic clusters in initial position are common, while they are absent in terminal position. In these consonantic clusters three groups may be distinguished,—clusters with initial surd stops; those with initial m and h ; and those with initial s , \mathfrak{s} , \mathfrak{h} . The first of these groups never occurs in Ponca, the second shows a remarkable variability in different dialects, while the third seems to be common to Dakota, Ponca, and Winnebago.

The following table illustrates these three groups of consonantic clusters:

SANTÉE										
Initial con- sonant	Second consonant of cluster									
	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>ś</i>	<i>ć</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>m</i>
<i>p</i>	—	<i>pt</i>	—	<i>ps</i>	<i>pś</i>	<i>pć</i>				
<i>t</i>	<i>tp</i>	—	<i>tk</i>	—	—	—				
<i>k</i>	<i>kp</i>	<i>kt</i>	—	<i>ks</i>	<i>kś</i>	<i>kć</i>				
<i>m</i>							<i>md</i>	<i>mn</i>		
<i>h</i>							<i>hd</i>	<i>hn</i>	<i>hb</i>	<i>hm</i>
<i>s</i>	<i>sp</i>	<i>st</i>	<i>sk</i>	—	—	<i>ść</i>	<i>sd</i>	<i>sn</i>	<i>sb</i>	<i>sm</i>
<i>ś</i>	<i>śp</i>	<i>śt</i>	<i>śk</i>	—	—	<i>ść</i>	<i>śd</i>	<i>śn</i>	<i>śb</i>	<i>śm</i>
<i>h</i>	<i>hp</i>	<i>ht</i>	<i>hk</i>	—	—	<i>hć</i>	<i>hd</i>	<i>hn</i>	<i>hb</i>	<i>hm</i>

Besides these clusters which belong to the stem, or to pronominal forms, others are admissible. These originate by composition of a stem ending in a consonant with another stem beginning with a consonant. We have found in this series—

$$\begin{array}{cccc}
 & & & th \\
 & mt & mk & ms & mć & mh \\
 & & sk & & & \\
 & & hk & & & \\
 & & & gs & gć & gb \\
 np & & & & &
 \end{array}$$

and it is likely that others occur.

It will be noticed that in the stem, sonants, affricatives, and n do not occur as the first sound of a consonantic cluster; that sonants, except d and b , and h , do not appear at the end of a consonantic cluster. Fortes occur neither in initial nor in terminal position. No sound except § 2

s and *š* occurs with another one of the same class. Clusters of three consonants may occur when a stem beginning with a biconsonantic cluster follows a stem with terminal consonant, but these combinations are rare.

In Ponca and Winnebago stems the following consonantic clusters occur, which, however, are never terminal.

PONCA											
Initial con- sonant	Second consonant of cluster										
	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>š</i>	<i>č</i>	<i>č</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>m</i>
<i>b</i>							<i>bč</i>				
<i>g</i>							<i>gč</i>				
<i>h</i>								<i>hn</i>			
<i>s', s</i>	<i>s'p'</i>		<i>s'k'</i>							<i>sn</i>	
<i>š', š</i>	<i>š'p'</i>	<i>š't'</i>	<i>š'k'</i>			<i>š'č'</i>				<i>šn</i>	
<i>h</i>	<i>h'p'</i>	<i>h't'</i>				<i>h'č'</i>	<i>hč</i>				

WINNEBAGO						
Initial con- sonant	Second consonant of cluster					
	<i>d</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>š</i>	<i>č</i>	<i>č</i>
<i>č</i>		<i>čg</i>				
<i>k</i>			<i>ks</i>	<i>kš</i>	<i>kč</i>	
<i>s</i>	<i>sd</i>	<i>sg</i>				
<i>š</i>		<i>šg</i>		<i>šč</i>	<i>šć</i>	
<i>h</i>		<i>hg</i>	<i>hš</i>	<i>hč</i>		

§ 3. Syllables and Accent: Teton

Syllables of Teton may consist of single vowels, a consonant followed by a vowel, or two consonants followed by a vowel. In the last case the first consonant is never a sonant or fortis (see p. 882). In other instances an obscure vowel-sound is heard between the two consonants, which may either be inserted for euphony or be a sign of composition. On the other hand, such stems may be considered as having been originally dissyllabic.¹

¹ This view, expressed by Doctor Swanton, does not seem to be supported by the phonetic characteristics of other dialects. It has been pointed out before that the consonantic clusters beginning with the surd stops, *p*, *t*, *k*, do not occur in Ponca and Winnebago; while those with initial *s*, *š*, *h*, are quite common in these dialects. Winnebago has a strong tendency to repeat the vowel of a syllable between certain consonantic clusters (see pp. 888, 923), but it does not seem probable that this is an original condition from which the consonantic clusters of Dakota and Ponca have originated.—F. B.

The sounds *ś* and *l* are almost the only consonants found closing a syllable in which no contraction is known to have taken place, although it seems significant that both these sounds result from supposed contraction of syllables.

The placing of the accent is said sometimes to constitute the only difference between words, but it is possible that other vocalic modifications, not hitherto observed, may be involved.

§ 4. Phonetic Changes

In this section we give a summary of the phonetic changes occurring in Teton, Ponca, and Winnebago.

TETON

1. After a nasalized vowel or the syllable *ni* there is a strong tendency for the following vowel to be nasalized; and this tendency is particularly marked in the causative auxiliary *ya*, as in the following cases:

kiⁿ'yaⁿ to fly
tohaⁿ'huⁿniⁿ'yaⁿ as long as
icitahaⁿ'yaⁿ far apart
taⁿ'yaⁿ well
wačiⁿ'yaⁿpi they trusted to him
niyaⁿ' he cures him (literally, causes him to live)
wiyuškiⁿ'yaⁿ in a holy manner
hpaⁿ'yaⁿ'pi they caused it to be softened with water
teuⁿ'yaⁿ'pi we caused him to die

Ya to go sometimes changes similarly, as—

wⁿyaⁿ'pi we go.

2. After *o*, *u*, *oⁿ*, *uⁿ*, the semivocalic *y* is apt to change to *w*, especially in the imperative forms, as—

wⁿči, *u wo* be coming, O grandmother!
taⁿ'yaⁿ' éaⁿ'noⁿ'we well have you done

Here may belong forms like—

noⁿ'waⁿ he swims
lowaⁿ'pi they sing

3. The final *a* of most verbs is changed into *iⁿ* when followed by *na* AND, or *k'ta* (the future particle).

é'eya'-uⁿ'piⁿ' na you roast and— (instead of *é'eya'-uⁿ'pa' na*)
yaⁿ'k'iⁿ' na he sat and— (instead of *yaⁿ'ku na*)

§ 4

keyi^{n'} na he says that and— (instead of *keya' na*)
yu'ziⁿ k'ta he will take her (instead of *yu'za k'ta*)

Final *a*ⁿ is usually treated similarly.

hec' o^{n'} hiⁿ na she was doing that and— (instead of *hec' o^{n'} haⁿ na*)
e'toⁿwiⁿ na he looks at and— (instead of *e'toⁿwaⁿ na*)

4. Terminal *a* very often changes to *e*, but it is not certain that this change is of a purely phonetic character. It occurs before the sounds of the *s* and *ś* series:

slolaya^e śni he knew not (for *slolaya' śni*)
yuzi^{n'} k'te śni he will not take her (for *yuzin k'ta śni*)
kinⁱ k'te se'ce he will revive perhaps (for *kinⁱ k'ta se'e'e*)
ki^{n'}ye se it flew, as it were (for *kiⁿya se*)
ya hēcha^{n'} he went just then (for *ya hēcha^{n'}*)

This change also occurs when the following word begins with *e*:

uⁿyi^{n'} k'te e'ci'ya she said to him, "We will go" (for *uⁿyi^{n'} k'ta e'ci'ya*)
k'te e'ci^{n'} "I will [travel]," he thought (for *k'ta e'ci^{n'}*)
le eha^{n'}taⁿś if you go (for *la eha^{n'}taⁿś*)

It occurs before the articles *kiⁿ* and *koⁿ*, and before the conjunction *keya'ś*. In all these cases it is connected with a change of the initial *k* sounds of these verbs into the corresponding affricative. Examples are given under 5.

Since verbs change into nouns by a transformation of final *a* to *e* (or by change of suffix *a* to suffix *e*), it is not certain that these phenomena can be considered as purely phonetic in character.

The change from *a* to *e* usually accompanies word composition. Examples are:

tuwe'ni whoever (for *tuwa' ni*)
tuwe'wak'a^{n'} what is holy (for *tuwa' wak'a^{n'}*)
hēcha^{n'} just then (for *hēca-ha^{n'}*)
a'k'ap'eya to throw beyond the bounds (from *a'k'ap'a* the outside)
ak'a'śp'a and *ak'a'śp'eya* to be provoked

The rules relating to terminal *a* suffer many exceptions. The verbal stem *ha* TO HAVE, and some verbal stems, like *wa* and *ta*, seem to be invariable:

baluha' śni I have not
wi'c'a'yak'u'wa k'te you will treat them (*wi'c'a* them; *ya* thou)
iya'kita śni he did not cause him to behave

5. The palatals *k*, *k̄*, and *k'*, when preceded by *e* or *i*, change to the corresponding dental affricative.

le' oⁿ' he did this
le' é' a this sort

kak' oⁿ' he did that
to' k' a that sort

This happens most frequently in the case of the articles *kiⁿ* and *koⁿ*, and the conjunction *keya' s* EVEN, THOUGH.

ísta' gamuze éiⁿ the eyes closed (instead of *ísta' gamuza kiⁿ*)
k' te éiⁿ haⁿ' if he will (for *k' ta kiⁿ haⁿ'*)
yuⁿ ka' he éoⁿ he was lying in the past (for *yuⁿ ka' ha koⁿ*)
hi' yuye éoⁿ haⁿ' he caused it to come forth (for *hi' yuya koⁿ haⁿ'*)
yaⁿ ke' éaya' s although he sat (for *yaⁿ ka' kay a' s*)

This change is regular only when the preceding *e* stands in place of *a* of the independent forms of the verb; but the change also takes place at times, although not regularly, when the verb ends in *e*.

k' te éiⁿ kill the (for *k' te kiⁿ*)

According to Riggs, the same change takes place after *i*, in verbs, when the *k* is followed by a vowel.

ícalu fan (from *i-*, prepositional prefix [see §12]; *kalu'* to blow away with hand)
ícašla a scythe (from *i-*; *kašla'* to cut off)
kícableca to break for one by striking (from *ki-* for; *kableta* to break by striking)

The analogous changes occur throughout in Santee.

6. Contraction. Words ending in certain consonants followed by *a*, when compounded with other words that follow them, and when duplicated, lose their final *a* and change their consonants as follows:

<i>p'</i> to <i>b</i> or <i>m</i>	<i>g</i> to <i>li</i>
<i>é, t</i> to <i>l</i>	<i>z</i> to <i>s</i>
<i>k</i> to <i>g</i>	<i>ž</i> to <i>š</i>

Examples:

tob p'asala' tapi they stick four into the ground (for *to' p' a*)
waša' g-íčila' he thought himself strong (for *wašu' ka*)
kah-wi' é' asi he told them to make (for *ka' gu*)
yus-ige' yiⁿ holding him, he sent him (for *yu' za*)
p' aⁿ s' p' aⁿ za soft (reduplicated from *p' aⁿ za*)
ap' si' l and *ap' si' éa* to jump on
oyu' l and *oyu' ta* to eat

When a word ending in one vowel is compounded with another one beginning with the same vowel, the two vowels are generally contracted.

hiyotanka to come and sit down (for *hi iyotanka*)

Terminal *a* before the particle *lo* (see p. 933) changes to *e* because it requires a preceding particle *ye*, which with *a* is contracted into *e*.

bala'he lo I am going

PONCA AND WINNEBAGO

Ponca and Winnebago have vocalic changes analogous to those of Dakota.

The negative auxiliary, the future, the quotative, and the plural of Ponca change terminal *e* and *ai* to *a*.

ik'ágewiçai I have you for friends 711.13

ik'ágeawáçá-máži I do not have them for my friends 711.13

šk'áge thou doest

çi šk'ága-báži thou doest it not 711.19

né t'ai you will go 689.6

ná-baži you (plural) do not go 689.3

The same change takes place in verbs followed by *-bi*, *-biamá*

IT IS SAID.

ai he said 60.8

á-biamá he said, they say 60.7

iⁿçéšk'áge thou makest for me 640.1

gajá-biamá he made, they say 60.5

açé he went 9.1

açáb he went, it is said 9.10

çugçe with him

çugçá-bi he with her, they say 331.18

daⁿbái-gá see him! 60.6

daⁿbá-biamá they saw, they say 58.10

The change of terminal *e* to *a* occurs also in Winnebago in the plural, when the verb is followed by the negative and is in the present tense, and when followed by *á'náñga* AND.

de I go

da'wi we go (*-wi* plural ending)

rahe thou buriest

raha'wi ye bury

In Winnebago, *r* changes regularly to *n* when following a nasalized vowel. This *n* differs in the strength of its nasal aspiration from the ordinary *n*.

hinu'gas he tears me by pulling (for *hiⁿ-ru-gas*)

The dialects here treated demonstrate a close relationship between certain groups of sounds. These are notably—

<i>m</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>p</i>				
<i>y</i>	<i>ç</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>l</i>	
<i>g</i>	<i>h</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>é</i>	(<i>k</i> <i>ç</i>)	<i>n</i>

These relationships appear partly in consonantic changes required by the rules of euphony of each dialect. It has been shown before that, in cases of contraction in Teton, *p* may change to *m*, *t* and *é* to *n*; and that *k* and *k* after *a* transformed into *e*, and in a few other cases, change to *é* and *ç*.

When discussing consonantic clusters, we called attention to the peculiar groups of clusters which occur in Santee, beginning with *m* and *h*. These show a great variability in different, closely related dialects, and exhibit some of the relationships of sounds to which attention has been called. Thus we find the corresponding groups in Santee, Yankton, and Teton:

<u>Santee</u>		<u>Yankton</u>		<u>Teton</u>		<u>Ponca</u>	
<i>mđ</i>	<i>mn</i>	<i>mđ</i>	<i>mn</i>	<i>bl¹</i>	<i>mn</i>	<i>bç</i>	—
<i>hđ</i>	<i>hn</i>	<i>kđ</i>	<i>kn</i>	<i>gl¹</i>	<i>gn</i>	<i>gç</i>	—
<i>hb</i>	<i>hm</i>	(<i>?</i>)	<i>km</i>	<i>gb</i>	<i>gm</i>	—	—

The close relationship between *t* and *k* appears in Santee whenever the sound precedes a *p*. Thus we find—

in^hkpa and *in^htpa* end of a thing
wakpa and *watpa* river

The relations between *n* and *l* in Santee and Teton, and those between *y*, *ç*, *r*, *l*, in Santee, Ponca, Winnebago, and Kansas, have been mentioned before.

An important phonetic law relating to the Winnebago was formulated in 1883 by J. Owen Dorsey in the following words:²

“A trilateral monosyllable in *Łiwere* (and often the corresponding ones in Dakota and *Çeŋiha*) is changed into a quadrilateral dissyllable in *Hotçaŋgara* (Winnebago), when the first letter of the monosyllable is a mute, a palatal spirant, or a spirant sibilant, and the second consonant is a labial or dental mute, or a dental spirant. The first consonant of the *Hotçaŋgara* dissyllable is always a surd; the second is, as in the corresponding *Łiwere* word, a labial or dental mute, or else a dental spirant; and each consonant (in *Hotçaŋgara*) must be followed by the same vowel sound. In no case, as far as examples have been gained, can any mute stand next to one of the same order; e. g., a labial can not precede a labial.”

¹ Swanton hears here an indistinct vowel between the consonants of the cluster. This is true of a great many groups of two consonants.

² J. Owen Dorsey, *The Comparative Phonology of Four Siouan Languages* (Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution for 1883, p. 923).

Examples illustrating this law are:

śa'raśís thou breakest with mouth (*ś-r-* equals Ponca *śn-*; *ra-* Winnebago WITH THE MOUTH)

śuru'śís thou breakest by pulling (*ś-r-* equals Ponca *śn-*; *ru-* Winnebago BY PULLING)

haki'rugas I tear my own (*k-* ONE'S OWN, followed by the vowel of the first syllable of the verb; *ru-* BY PULLING)

haka'raśís I break my own with mouth

Compare also—

kawā'nañga for *kêwê a'nañga* AND HE ENTERED

hî'at'ā'nañga for *hî't'ê't'ê ā'nañga* AND HE SPOKE

§ 5. GRAMMATICAL PROCESSES

Grammatical relations are expressed by juxtaposition, composition, and reduplication. The limits between juxtaposition of words in a fixed order and of word composition are ill defined, since the independent words that enter into the sentence are liable to considerable phonetic modification, which is due entirely to the closeness of the connection of the adjoining elements. The phonetic decay of different words, under these conditions, is not the same everywhere; and certain elements appear exclusively in combinations, so that they may be considered as affixes. Prefixes, suffixes, and in some cases infixes, occur, although the latter may have been originally prefixes which appear now as incorporated in a compound, the parts of which are no longer discernible. The total number of affixes, however, is small, the entire number not reaching thirty-five. Composition of independent words is resorted to with great frequency. In these compounds the subordinated element is usually modified by the elision of the terminal vowel and the correlated modification of the preceding consonant, so that the component parts form a very firm unit. Modifications of terminal sound of one word and initial sound of the following word occur in many cases, and express the syntactic relations of parts of the sentence. Phonetic modification of prefixes and of suffixes, particularly of the pronominal elements, and irregularities of their positions, make the verbal forms of the Siouan languages very irregular in appearance. Far-reaching substitutions in the labial and dental series occur in all dialects.

Duplication of stems occurs in verbs and in some nouns derived from them. It is almost always confined to the principal stem. The final

consonants, which in the unduplicated word are followed by terminal *a*, are modified as in other types of composition (see § 4).

The syntactic relation of words is often expressed by position. On the whole, there is a strong tendency to place particles indicating the function and relationships of groups of words following those groups.

§ 6. IDEAS EXPRESSED BY GRAMMATICAL PROCESSES

The categories of noun and verb are clearly distinct, although in some cases the same word may be used both as a noun and as a verb. In other cases there is at least a slight modification of form, which consists in a change of suffixes. In the Dakota dialects there is no classification of nouns, except in so far as verbs of existence imply form; but in Ponca the classification, which is expressed by particles, is elaborate. Animate and inanimate—the former at rest and moving; the latter as round, upright, horizontal, etc.—are distinguished. Plurality of the noun is expressed, not by means of a nominal plural, but rather by a device which expresses the plural idea of the whole sentence. In the possessive pronoun the ideas of inalienable and alienable possession are distinguished. Distributive forms of verbs expressing states or conditions are often expressed by reduplication.

The subjective and objective personal pronouns are clearly distinguished. The former are the subjects of all verbs expressing activities; the latter are the objects of transitive verbs, and the subjects of verbs expressing conditions. The Siouan languages have the tendency to include in the former class all declarative terms, even those that imply only a slight amount of action.

The pronouns are not well developed. There are only three fundamental forms,—I, THOU, THOU AND I. Forms with incorporated object are generally composed of the subjective and objective forms of these elements, but a few cases occur of combinations that can not now be explained as compounds of subjective and objective pronouns. The pronominal forms give rise to new combinations, owing to the marked exactness with which the action directed toward an object possessed by the subject is differentiated from other actions directed toward objects not so possessed.

In the verbal stem a few instrumentalities and locatives are expressed. Complex ideas are expressed very frequently by means of composition. Some of the elements entering into such composition

appear with great frequency, and might be called auxiliaries. To these belong verbs like *TO CAUSE*, *TO BECOME*, and nominal classifiers like *RUMINANT*. Temporal and modal ideas are almost wholly rendered by means of enclitic particles.

Demonstratives seem to have designated originally four distinct positions, but these are no longer clearly recognizable. The demonstrative ideas are very closely associated with some verbs with which they enter into composition.

While in Dakota there is no indication of the existence of a grammatical distinction of the nominal subject and object, the Ponca differentiates these forms through the use of distinct particles.

The local relations of nouns are expressed with great nicety by means of post-positions, in which Doctor Swanton finds the ideas of rest and motion clearly and sharply distinguished.

Adverbs of various kinds, and a few special adjectival ideas, are expressed by means of suffixes.

DISCUSSION OF GRAMMAR (§§ 7-47)

Juxtaposition and Composition: Santee (§§ 7-10)

§ 7. Verbs

In the Dakota sentence the component elements are often placed side by side without any connective elements, but so closely connected that two successive elements influence each other phonetically. Compositions of this type appear with great frequency when a number of predicative terms enter into combination. Whenever an element of such a series, that is followed by another element, ends in the vowel *a*, preceded by one of the consonants *p*, *t*, *é*, *k*, *g*, *z*, *z*, contraction (see § 4, no. 6) takes place.

snayeli yumden iyeya it snapped and broke suddenly IX¹ 88.9

(*sna* ringing sound; *yumde'ea* to break to pieces; *iyeyu* to do suddenly)

wased ti he lived and was rich IX 95.1 (*wasé'ea* rich)

ikpihnag u he came putting them in his blanket IX 88.14 (*ikpi'-hnaka* to put in blanket)

ikpihnag uⁿ it was in the blanket IX 88.26

waⁿyag nažiⁿ to stand and see (*waⁿya'ka* to see)

¹These references indicate page and line in Vol. IX of the Contributions to North American Ethnology.

When the first verb ends in a syllable that can not be contracted, the two verbs stand simply side by side.

ičimani hi to come and visit IX 87.22 (*ičimani* to visit; *hi* to come)

ode' i he went hunting IX 117.2 (*ode'* to hunt; *i* to go)

ape yaⁿka he stayed and waited IX 117.3 (*ape'* to wait)

čeya wivakoⁿza she cried and wailed IX 117.16

When the first and second verb end in the same vowel, contraction may take place.

hdiyotaⁿka to come home and sit down (*hdi* to come home; *ičjotaⁿka* to sit down)

hihuⁿni to come to the shore (*hi* to arrive; *ihuⁿni* to land)

While ordinarily the terminal *a* in verbs that can not form contractions remains, and the two verbs appear simply in juxtaposition, a few verbs, which otherwise do not differ in their usage from those discussed heretofore, require the change from *a* to *e*, and thus indicate a more intimate association of the component elements of the group. These are *iyeya* SUDDENLY; *ya* (*yaⁿ*) TO CAUSE; *kiya* TO CAUSE; *uⁿ* TO BE; *i* TO GO; *u* TO COME.

The following forms are analogous to the preceding groups, and show contraction:

kaptuš iyeya to put down (from *kaptuša*)

yuohidog iyeya to open out IX 83.15 (from *yuohidoka*)

kali kiya to cause to do (from *kaga*)

sam ya to blacken (from *sapa*)

pus ya to dry (from *puza*)

waⁿya'g ya to cause to see (from *waⁿya'ka*)

No change of the first verb occurs; for instance, in—

nažiⁿ kiya to cause to stand

Changes of *a* to *e* in words in which contraction is impossible are found in—

te koⁿ to wish one dead

ye kiya to cause to go (from *ya*)

nive kiya to cause to swim (from *nivaⁿ*)

nive uⁿ he is swimming

bakse i he went to cut (from *baksa*) IX 115.10

wanase aya they went buffalo-hunting IX 88.11

hihnaye au they came to marry him IX 144.3

aniče wačiⁿ to forbid he intended IX 111.17 (this should be, according to analogy, *anin wačiⁿ*)

Judging from the published texts, the usage is not quite regular, and some verbs seem to take both forms.

§ 8. Verbs and Nouns

In many compounds of this group an intimate phonetic relation of the noun and verb exists, so much so that the noun sometimes appears in a fragmentary form which never occurs alone, or, at least, with a termination that has undergone far-reaching modifications.

éanté' HEART. From this word are formed—

éantiⁿ'za to have courage (with *tíⁿ'za* staff)

éanze' to be troubled (with *ze* disturbed)

éaⁿ'to'hnaka to love (with *ohna'ka* to push in)

The complete word appears in—

éaⁿ'té'asni to recover one's mind (with *asni'* to recover)

haⁿ'yé'tu NIGHT

haⁿ'mani to walk in the night (with *ma'ni* to walk)

haⁿ'waⁿ'ka to remain over night (with *waⁿ'ka* to be)

wiⁿ'yaⁿ FEMALE

wi'hdáštaka to strike one's wife (*hdáštá'ka* to strike one's own)

wi'inalima to conceal a woman (with *ina'hima* to hide)

wiki'sdeya to molest a woman (with *kisde'ya* to molest)

witaⁿ'šna a virgin (*taⁿ'šna* alone)

The terminal *a* of the noun does not change to *e*, but contraction takes place in compounds of this type.

malik'éaⁿ'yaⁿ to till a field (from *ma'ga* field; *kícaⁿ'yaⁿ* to cultivate)

maki'puskića to lie on the ground (from *maka'* ground; *ipuskića* to press on; with contraction of *a-i* to *i*)

In still other cases the noun modifies the initial sound of the verb.

tíca'ga to pitch a tent (from *tí* dwelling; *kaja* to make)

mí'ničapi a well (from *mí'ni* water; *ka* to dig)

The transition between these forms and others consisting of object and verb, or subject and intransitive predicate, is quite gradual. A number of nouns are used like classifiers, when the sense of the sentence does not require the noun. Thus we find, from—

éaⁿ WOOD

éaⁿ'ka'ška to tie wood together

éaⁿ'ba'sdeća to saw wood

wíća HUMAN BEING

wíćataⁿ'šna bachelor (compare the true compound *witaⁿ'šna* virgin)

At the other end of the series we have forms like—

hihna' toⁿ to have a husband (*hihna'* husband; *toⁿ* to have)
hihna' ya to have for a husband.

In the latter form the same verb that forms the causative compound appears combined with a noun.

§ 9. Nouns

Nouns enter into composition in the same way as nouns and verbs, and presumably there is no fundamental difference between these groups. We find here also abbreviated or contracted forms, more probably stems. These nouns often have a classificatory function.

ta RUMINANT

tapa deer-head
tateēzi' buffalo-tongue
taha' deer-skin

hojaⁿ FISH appears in the form *ho*

howa'mduška eel (literally, fish-snake)
hoa'pe fin (literally, fish-leaf)
hočé'spa fish-scales (literally, fish-warts)

šuⁿka DOMESTICATED ANIMAL appears in the form *šuⁿg*

šuⁿgwi'ye mare
šuⁿgi'kaⁿ bridle (literally, horse-ropes)

wiča' HUMAN BEING

wiča'nasu brain of a man
wiča'pi liver of a man

wi'yaⁿ FEMALE appears in the form *wi*

wišaⁿ vagina
wito'ka a female captive

čaⁿ WOOD

čaⁿha' bark (literally, wood-skin)
čaⁿhaⁿpa shoes (literally, wood moccasins)
čaⁿha'sá cinnamon-bark (literally, wood-skin red)

ti DWELLING

tíča'tku rear part of tent
tíhu'ka framework of tent (literally, tent skeleton)

§ 10. Note on Certain Verbal Compounds

Compositions similar to those here described occur in other Siouan dialects. Perhaps the most peculiar ones are the Winnebago verbal compounds, in which the position of the subject is described as sitting, lying, or standing. Following are a few examples.

§§ 9, 10

- ra'size-na'ñksenaⁿ* he breaks it with the mouth, sitting (*ra-* WITH MOUTH, *sis* TO BREAK, *na'ñksenaⁿ* HE IS SITTING, only in compounds)
- rašišje'naⁿ* he breaks it with the mouth, standing (*jenⁿ* HE IS STANDING, only in compounds)
- rā'siza'ñksenaⁿ* he breaks it with the mouth, lying or walking (from *wa'ñkkenaⁿ* HE IS LYING, WALKING, only in compounds)

Similar forms are not quite absent in other dialects, but they are much less developed. In Dakota we have, for instance,

- ʔa waⁿka* to be dead IX 111.19
ya waⁿka he went (literally, going he reclined) IX 110.1
ia haⁿ to speak (literally, speaking to stand)
wawaⁿyaka haⁿ en i looking on standing in he came IX 86.12
iyekiya yanka it is shining (literally, shining he sits)¹

§ 11. Reduplication

SANTEE

Reduplication in Dakota consists essentially in the doubling of the principal theme of a word. In the process, all monosyllabic words ending in a vowel, pure or nasalized, are doubled.

<i>te</i>	<i>tete'</i> blue
<i>bu</i>	<i>bubu'</i> to make a noise
<i>pe</i>	<i>pepe'</i> prickly, jagged
<i>do</i>	<i>dodo'</i> soft, damp
<i>gi</i>	<i>gigi'</i> brown
<i>ju</i>	<i>juju'</i> to burn
<i>ha</i>	<i>haha'</i> curling
<i>zo</i>	<i>zozo'</i> to whistle
<i>hu</i>	<i>huhu'</i> made of bone
<i>ko</i>	<i>ko'ko</i> quick
<i>pa</i> (Santee)	<i>papa'</i> (Teton) to bark
<i>po</i>	<i>po'po</i> foggy
(<i>so</i>)	<i>soso'</i> to cut into strings
—	<i>kaⁿkaⁿ</i> uneven
<i>paⁿ</i>	<i>paⁿpaⁿ</i> to yell
—	<i>poⁿpoⁿ</i> rotten
<i>mdu</i>	<i>mduⁿmdu'</i> pulverized
<i>hbu</i>	<i>hbuⁿhbu'</i> to make a crunching noise
(<i>sta</i>)	<i>staⁿsta'</i> weak, brittle

¹The form *haⁿ* has been classed by Dorsey with the articles (IX, p. 25, footnote), while Swanton classes it as a continuative suffix, because it occurs not only with verbs, as stated before, but also after other parts of speech, especially after demonstratives; as, *e'haⁿ* THEN, *tohaⁿ* WHEN. These uses, however, agree with the use of articles.—F. BOAS.

<i>sda</i>	<i>sduśda'</i> bare
<i>sni</i>	<i>snisni'</i> cold
<i>sna</i>	<i>snasna'</i> to ring, to rattle
<i>tipu</i>	<i>hipukipu'</i> to pick off
<i>(yu) kpa</i>	<i>(yu) kpalipa'</i> to throw down

Bisyllabic words ending in *a* lose this ending in the reduplicated syllable and modify their last consonant in accordance with the rules described in § 4.

<i>śo'ka</i>	<i>śokśo'ka</i> thick
<i>keža</i>	<i>keskeža</i> smooth
<i>śo'za</i>	<i>śosśo'za</i> warm, comfortable
<i>kiⁿza</i>	<i>kiⁿskiⁿza</i> to grate
<i>kega</i>	<i>kelike'ga</i> to scrape
<i>ye'ga</i>	<i>yeliye'ga</i> to shine
<i>te'pa</i>	<i>temte'pa</i> worn off
<i>go'pa</i>	<i>gopgo'pa</i> to snore
<i>hapa</i>	<i>hamlia'pa</i> to make a rustling noise
<i>saⁿpa</i>	<i>samsaⁿpa</i> more
<i>sa'pa</i>	<i>sapsa'pa</i> black
<i>će'pa</i>	<i>ćemće'pa</i> or <i>ćepće'pa</i> fat
<i>hota</i>	<i>hotho'ta</i> gray
<i>(ya) po'ta</i>	<i>(ya) po'tpota</i> or <i>(ya) po'npota</i> to tear to pieces (with mouth)

When the terminal consonant and the initial consonant form inadmissible clusters, the former is omitted.

<i>dopa</i>	<i>dodopa</i> miry
<i>(ya) śu'za</i>	<i>(ya) śu'śuza</i> to crush (with teeth)
<i>ka'ka</i>	<i>kaka'ka</i> to make a dull noise by breathing
<i>ko'ka</i>	<i>koko'ka</i> to rattle

In bisyllabic words beginning with a consonantic cluster the consonant of the terminal syllable is not repeated:

<i>(yu)hida'ta</i>	<i>(yu)hida'hidata</i> to scratch
<i>(ka)hide'ća</i>	<i>(ka)hide'hideća</i> to tear
<i>mděća</i>	<i>mdemdě'ća</i> broken
<i>psi'ća</i>	<i>psipsi'ća</i> jumping
<i>psa'ka</i>	<i>psapsa'ka</i> (<i>haⁿ</i>) broken
<i>hido'ka</i>	<i>hidohido'ka</i> to make a hole
<i>tku'ja</i>	<i>tkutku'ja</i> to cut short
<i>ptuža</i>	<i>ptuptu'ža</i> cracked
<i>śnuⁿza</i>	<i>śnuⁿśnuⁿza</i> indistinct
<i>kśi'ža</i>	<i>kśikśi'ža</i> to double up

hmu'nza
ksa'pa
sko'pa

hmu'hmu'nza slimy
ksaksa'pa wise
skoško'pa crooked

An exception to this rule is—

(*ya*)*sma'ka*

(*ya*)*sma'gsma'ka* to indent (with teeth)

When the consonant of the second syllable is a dental or affricative (*t* or *č*) and the first consonant a sibilant (*z*, *s*, *ž*, *š*), the dental or affricative is transformed into a *k* (*y*).

so'ta
sutu'
zata
šiža
 (*wa'ži'* one)

sokso'ta clear
suksu'ta hard
žagža'ta forked
šikši'ža bad
wa'ži'gži some)

In compounds, only the stem is reduplicated; prefixes and suffixes remain unaffected.

s'i'n in sight
mdu pulverized

kas'i'n
abo'mdu

kas'i'n s'i'n to appear in sight
abo'mdumdu to bubble up (*a-* on; *bo-* by blowing)

ju to burn
hde to plan

aju
i'čiyahde

aju'ju to burn out something
i'čiyahdehde to reach one to another

ša red

ai'deša

ai'dešaša in the red flames (*a-* on; *idé* to blaze)

to'n to give forth
 (*pta'n*) to roll

aho'to'n to'n to cry out (*ho* voice)
po'pta'npta'n to shake head ([*po*] head)

The following examples illustrate the use of reduplication of words with suffixes:

to'keča
yukta'nkiya
yupta'nyan

tokto'keča different
yukta'nkta'nkiya to cause to bend
yupta'npta'nyan to roll over

It would seem that in a limited number of cases the component elements have lost their independence—both the reduplicated stem and the prefix. Instances of stems that do not seem to occur alone will be found in the preceding list. The following cases illustrate the occurrence of prefixed elements that have apparently now no independent meaning:

ko'ska
ju'nğa

koška'skapi youth
ju'nğaja proud

*sdoha'*ⁿ
tkitka'

*sdoha'*ⁿ*ha'*ⁿ to crawl
*tkitka'**tka* slushy

Reduplicated numerals show very clearly these principles of reduplication:

*wa'*ⁿ*zi'* one
*ya'*ⁿ*mni* three
*za'*ⁿ*pta'* five
*ša'*ⁿ*kpe* six
*šako'*ⁿ*wi'*ⁿ seven
*šakdo'*ⁿ*ja'* eight
*napé'*ⁿ*wa'*ⁿ*ka* nine
*wiké'*ⁿ*mna* ten

*wa'*ⁿ*zi'**gzi'* a few
*ya'*ⁿ*mni**mni* by threes
*za'*ⁿ*pta'**pta'* by fives
*ša'*ⁿ*kpe**pe* by sixes
*šako'*ⁿ*wi'*ⁿ*wi'*ⁿ by sevens
*šakdo'*ⁿ*hdoja'* by eights
*napé'*ⁿ*wa'*ⁿ*gwa'*ⁿ*ka* by nines
*wiké'*ⁿ*mnamna* by tens

PONCA

In Ponca, monosyllabic words ending in a vowel, pure or nasalized, are doubled:

*ša'*ⁿ*ša'*ⁿ always 207.10
*sna'*ⁿ*sna'*ⁿ level 25.3
hiéhié spotted 315.11
*ča'*ⁿ*ča'*ⁿ each time 264.12
huhu' fish 280.8

Apparently most stems ending in a consonant are reduplicated without the terminal consonant:

bihu' *hut'*ⁿ blowing on 260.15
*uča'*ⁿ*u'*ⁿ*ude* he bit holes in them 267.7
pu' *puháhi'* *i* drawn up much 282.16
gagígige coiled up 282.16 (*gagígije* 320.3)
uču' *k'* *ihehébe* one after another 307.9
*a'*ⁿ*ša'*ⁿ*ša'*ⁿ*dema'* shake me repeatedly 310.3
jijiñga little ones
waši' *šige* active 9.14
híhige to crush often 20.3
bié' *ic'* *i'**je* to break in by pressing 20.4
*na'*ⁿ*jájafe* kicking out with the legs 24.1
nágigíča made people afraid to carry 756.5
wakekega sick ones (*wakega* sick)

Since the suffixes of Ponca are not well known to me, it is quite likely that some of these stems may be monosyllabic. We find also examples of reduplication, including the terminal stem-consonant.

wáčabčaze 267.6

wáčabčábčaze 267.13

In compounds, only the stem is reduplicated; prefixes and suffixes remain unaffected:

- iʔa'ʔaⁿ* suddenly and regularly 9.5
wi'ʔa'ʔaⁿ one by one 314.7
ʔiʂp'áʂp'a pulled to pieces 17.3
ukihʔahʔae they run unequal distances 756.16
uʂk'a'ʂk'aⁿ in a line with 261.4
ák'igʔi'gʔiⁿ sitting on one another 320.4
iʔiʂk'i'ʂk'i much tangled 591.16
uga'haha floating in little waves 279.5 (see *uga'ha* 282.4)
ʂa'ʂa'hi'i without stopping 261.8
pipi'a'ji bad ones (*pi* good)
ukigʔiʂa'ʂaⁿ he turned round and round 260.8.

WINNEBAGO

Monosyllabic stems with terminal vowel are doubled:

stem <i>ʔe</i>	<i>hi'ʔe'ʔe</i> to talk
“ <i>p'o</i>	<i>rap'ɔp'uá'naŋga</i> to puff
“ <i>k'o</i>	<i>hiwak'ok'o'</i> to skip about
“ <i>ʔiⁿ</i>	<i>waʔi'ʔiⁿna</i> the ball
“ <i>hgi</i>	<i>naŋhgi'hgi</i> to walk over something
“ <i>kʂi</i>	<i>ruksiksʂi</i> to disturb
“ <i>zi</i>	<i>ruzizi</i> to point at
“ <i>ʔ'e</i>	<i>ʔ'e'ʔ'e</i> earring
“ <i>hgiⁿ</i>	<i>naŋhgiⁿ'hgiⁿ</i> to hear often

Bisyllabic stems with repeated stem vowel (see p. 888) are treated in the same manner as monosyllabic stems:

stem <i>kiri</i>	<i>kirikiri</i> he comes again and again
“ <i>pini</i>	<i>rupinipini</i> to turn
“ <i>sara</i>	<i>sarasara</i> bald
“ <i>pónô</i>	<i>worupónôpónô</i> to smell
“ <i>poro</i>	<i>poroporo</i> round

Almost all stems ending in a consonant do not repeat the terminal sound:

stem <i>hiuc</i>	<i>horuhū'hiuc</i> he looked again and again
“ <i>ʔak</i>	<i>ʔaʔa'kʂe</i> to shriek
“ <i>ziç</i>	<i>hoizi'ziçsê</i> to strain one's eyes
“ <i>gas</i>	<i>ruɡa'gas</i> to tear in pieces
“ <i>kʂuⁿé</i>	<i>ruksūŋksūⁿéçsê</i> to shake
“ <i>éas</i>	<i>hiraçaças</i> to chatter
“ <i>ʂiz</i>	<i>boʂiʂiz</i> to shoot
“ <i>siⁿé</i>	<i>siⁿsiⁿé</i> to sweep
“ <i>ʔiç</i>	<i>ʔiʔiç</i> to squeak

stem <i>kšap</i>	<i>mañksakša'pšé</i> to slit open
“ <i>jih</i>	<i>jiji'hjishónuna</i> to whisper
“ <i>sak</i>	<i>hosa'sak</i> to shoot
“ <i>huh</i>	<i>wašhuhu'híšé</i> to smash
In the same way is treated	
stem <i>s'urutci</i> ⁿ	<i>s'urus'urutci</i> ⁿ naked
In the following the terminal consonant is repeated:	
stem <i>gih</i>	<i>gihgih</i> to touch

Prefixes (§§ 12-14)

§ 12. Prepositional Prefixes

TETON

There are three prefixes, consisting of the pure vowels *a*, *i*, and *o*, which have very general meanings of prepositional or adverbial character. Since these elements have no influence upon the structure of the following word to which they are attached, they might be considered as proclitic particles.

1. *a* signifies ON. It is also employed to indicate that one thing is accompanied by another, and therefore becomes a kind of plural.

awⁿpi they put on (many sticks)
wi'tayuta he looked at them
ana'tan she ran (thither)
at'eti he put on the fire
awa'k'eya he covered it (with a robe)
awi'tac wa-u I bring them
aka'staⁿpi they poured on him

2. *i* indicates that an action has taken place with some definite object in view, and therefore often occurs in words denominating instruments; it also forms ordinals. Sometimes it may be translated by FOR.

ipa't'a sewed with
iya'haⁿ he was going to (a hill)
iye'wica'k'iya' he passed it to them
ilonwaⁿpi they sing of it
ina'ziⁿ he stood there (to look into the lodge)
iya'kaškapi they hid it there
ia'pe thing that they strike fire with
ica'salohe stone balls

§ 12

*iza'p'ta*ⁿ the fifth time
ito'pa the fourth
iyu'ha all
iwaⁿkab above it

3. *o* signifies IN, WITHIN, INSIDE OF. It is frequently employed with verbs signifying TO SPEAK; and also when indefinite actions are to be expressed, when it becomes partly antithetical to *i*.

osalo'he coasting (into the water)
opa'witahta' she packed them up
oma'hiⁿhpa'ya I fall into
ao'nawicat' d'ka he closed them in
ohaⁿhepi night-time
ozu'ha place for a certain article (bag)
oya'te people
oya'siⁿ all
ohuⁿkakaⁿ myth
d'gale coat
obala'ye level place
oma'ni he walked (about)¹

PONCA

The corresponding elements are also found in Ponca:

1. *a* (Dakota *a*) on
áŕe to glue on 84.19
áŕŕiⁿ to sit on 84.6
áŕŕá to drop on 234.18
áŕigŕa'hiⁿaⁿ he poured on his own 234.19
2. *i* (Dakota *i*) from, with, out of, by means of
igagá to make of it 97.22
it' iⁿ to hit with 433.3
ik'ide to shoot with 369.10
ite to die from 690.11.
3. *u* (Dakota *o*) in, into
ubáŕaⁿ to push into 232.6
uáŕaⁿúde I broke a hole in it 96.17
uŕásne split inside by hitting 81.18
ubásnaⁿ to push into 75.8
uŕŕiⁿ to sit inside 85.17

¹ Probably in *oma'ni* one is represented as traveling about WITHIN a certain area, for the word for PRAIRIE OF LEVEL PLACE is *obala'ye*.

§ 13. *Instrumental Prefixes*

TETON

1. *na-* to do a thing by means of the foot.
nahta'ka he kicked (the ground)
naho'toⁿ he made it cry by stepping on it
nata'pi they trampled her to death
na'ziⁿpi they stood
nabu'bu stamping often
 2. *wa-* (Santee *ba*) to accomplish by cutting.
wabala'zapi they cut it open
wahu'huⁿ she cut it in many places
waspiⁿ she cut it out (i. e., the ground)
wak'sa' he cut it off
 3. *wo-* to accomplish by shooting or punching, also by blowing, and derivatively by the falling of rain.
wogala'kiⁿyaⁿ to cause to glance (as a bullet)
wohiⁿkipaya to make fall by shooting
woko'kela to make rattle by shooting
- This prefix seems to be used less often in Teton than does its corresponding form *bo* in Santee.
4. *pa-* to push with the hands.
pasala'tapi they drove it into the ground
o'pawicahita' she packed them up
pahalo'kapi they punch a hole
e'pata he cut it up or butchered it
parⁿkapi they pushed it down
 5. *ka-* to accomplish by striking; also applied to other actions by derivation.
kahu'huⁿpi they gashed it in many places
kahu'ga he broke it up
kako'ga he made a grating noise
kapo'gaⁿ it puffed out.
 6. *ya-* to accomplish by means of the mouth.
aya'staⁿ he stopped singing
ai'yapi they talk about it
iya'kaskapi they tied it there by means of the mouth
ivo'galakapi they spoke about their own (here the *y* of *ya* has either been omitted before *l* or changed into it)

7. *yu-* to accomplish by any means, but more especially by handling.

yu'za she took hold
yuu'kapi they pulled him down
yuha' he had him
ayu'staⁿ she let him alone
yuzu'zu he pulled apart
çiyu'ta I choke you to death

Most of these have come to have uses varying considerably from the significations given above, which seem to be the original meanings.

PONCA

In Ponca have been found nine instrumental prefixes, all of which form transitive verbs, like the analogous Dakota prefixes:

1. *naⁿ-* (Santee *na-*) by pressing with the foot.

naⁿhá he kicked 314.16
wanaⁿ't'e stepping on them 235.19
wanaⁿ'hikíje crushing them with the foot 235.19
naⁿsnáha he slipped in walking 97.14
naⁿgáge to make cry by kicking 96.11

2. *ma-* (Santee *ba-*) by cutting.

ma'za he cuts head off 11.1
wémabázai-ga rend it for us with a knife 76.6
umásnai-ga split it with a knife 318.14

3. *mu-* (Santee *bo-*) by shooting.

múçinçe to exterminate by shooting 628.6
umúšt'a to remain from shooting 399.14

4. *ba-* (Santee *pa-*) by pressing with the hand.

basnú he pushed along 318.3
bahíiaçá he pushed down 80.14
ubásnaⁿ to push (a tail) into (a tree) 75.8
bašibe he forced a way out 369.13
bahíçéça he pushed it away 331.3
baçút'aⁿ to make straight by pushing 234.14

5. *ga-* (Santee *ka-*) by striking (and by action of wind and water).

gaté to die by falling 163.9
ugásne he split by hitting 81.18
ugák'iba he made a crack by hitting 81.12
gašáçu to strike a rattle 315.10
gasnú wind blows 324.7
gamú to empty by pouring out 17.11
gap'úk'i to make sound by hitting 266.10

6. **ca-** (Santee *ya-*) with the mouth, by blowing.
çaliú to drink 266.18
çasnín' to swallow 79.12
çahék'ípa he made him put it in his mouth 99.7
wáçabçábçazá he bit and tore them in many places 267.13
çaeçar'ba he made it emerge by biting 124.9
7. **çi-** by pulling.
çisnú to drag 306.3
çisp'áçp'ai he pulled pieces apart 17.7
çipan'de he shook by pulling 318.8
çidañ'-ga pull on it! 96.9
çihçida he pulled it out 131.5
8. **na-** by heat.
náte to die by heat 232.7
náçabe blackened by fire 259.5
náziçá made yellow by heat 237.2
náçinçe it is consumed by fire 673.6
náhçi"' it burns brightly 235.15
nádadáze fire sends out sparks 234.18
nátubewáçe he cooked them to pieces 232.19
9. **bi-** by pressure.
biç'ic'ije to break in by pressing 20.4
bihúhúç'a" blowing on 260.15

WINNEBAGO

In Winnebago eight instrumental prefixes have been found:

1. **na"**- (Santee *na-*, Ponca *na"*-) by pressing with the foot.
na"si's he breaks by pressing with the foot
nañga's he tears with the foot
na"çja" to accomplish with the foot (to dance)
na"t'a"p to push with the foot.
2. **ma"**- (Santee *ba-*, Ponca *ma-*) by cutting.
ma"si's he breaks by cutting
mañga's he tears by cutting
ma"égu'h to cut to pieces
3. **bo-** (Santee *bo-*, Ponca *mu-*) by force, by blowing.
bo'sis he breaks by shooting
boç'p he pushes
4. **wa-** (Santee *pa-*, Ponca *ba-*) by pushing with the hand.
wa'sis he breaks by pushing with the hand
wáčgi's he saws

5. **gi-** (Santee *ka-*, Ponca *ga-*) by striking.
gi'sis to break by striking
gisa'k to kill by striking.
gígí's he cuts by striking
6. **ra-** (Santee *ya-*, Ponca *ça-*) with mouth.
rasís he breaks with the mouth
racígis he cuts with the mouth
rasja' he accomplishes with the mouth (he sings).
7. **ru-** (Santee —, Ponca *çi-*) by pulling.
rú'sis he breaks by pulling
ruga's he tears by pulling
8. **da-** (Santee —, Ponca *na-*) by heat.
dasə'p'i to blacken by heat
dat'élkín to wither by heat

The pronominal forms of all these prefixes show certain peculiarities, which will be treated in § 32.

§ 14. *Modal Prefixes: Teton*

Two elements may be mentioned here which are difficult to classify. The one (1) might seem to be better classed as a proclitic particle, while the other (2) is closely related to syntactic forms of the verb that will be found treated on p. 909.

1. **hiⁿ-** indicates that an event happened suddenly, as—
hiⁿhpa'yapi they dropped it at once
hiⁿna'pa he came out quickly
hiⁿgala' it became suddenly
hiⁿhaⁿ'ni early in the morning
hiⁿyaⁿka po now wait ye!
2. **wa-** Verbs, especially when used with other verbs, sometimes take on a passive or infinitive form by prefixing *wa-*. It is probable that this prefix is equivalent to SOMETHING OR THING.

Thus we have—

waya'tapi k'ta you will have something (just referred to) to eat
tahu' aka'ní nakita'g waéiⁿ what he wanted was to kick on her neck
"mi'ye" t'oke'ya wana'jí "*waé miyé cigana'kiⁿ k'te*" *eya'* the ghost said, "You will have something put down for me first"
u'ma salohaⁿ' wata'kpe hiya'ya the other went slipping along

Often this is used in the formation of nouns and adjectives, as—

wásté good, beautiful (from *ste* to esteem highly)
wakiⁿyaⁿ the thunders (from *kiⁿyaⁿ* to fly)

wana'gi ghost (from *na'gi* soul, spirit)
wak'in' a pack of goods (from *ki'n* to carry)
wak'a'n' holy
wap'a'hita bundle
wap'a'ha war-bonnet (from *p'a'ha* human hair [?])

With the prefix *o-* it forms *wo-*:

wo'yuha property (from *yuha'* to have)
wo'sica cause of trouble (from *si'ca* bad)
wok'oya'ke clothing

§ 15. Verbal Suffixes: Teton

Although the existence of verbal suffixes is not so readily recognized, a careful examination of the language renders it almost certain that several verbal elements exist which are analogous in form to the verbs *kiya* and *ya*, which will be referred to later (p. 931). These are *ka*, *pa*, *ga*, *ta*, *za*, and *za* (or *y*, *b*, *h*, *l*, *s*, and *ś*), and are identical with those referred to in the section on phonetics as undergoing certain morphological changes. The *ca* there mentioned I do not include, because it is nothing more than *ka* after a weak vowel. Of the remainder, I can only suggest the significance of the first two or three with any plausibility, and am obliged to infer that the others were of similar character merely from the similar manner in which they are used.

-ka (or *ca*) is practically equivalent to the English TO BE; as—

ya'n'ka she sat
yu'n'ka he lay
t'a'n'ka it is large
e'i'n'ka (however) he did wish
owa'sakapi they have no strength
o'n'sika poor
ta'kuka whatever it is (*ta'ku* what)
zi'n'gi'n'ca snorting
wawa'te'calu gentle
p'te'licaka they were real bison
śica'ka it was bad (*si'ca* bad)
oya'ka he told it (*ya* to say)
tehi'ka difficult
niya'ka alive (*niya* caused to live)
wikimita'pi they scrambled for them
ana'p'teca to hinder or obstruct

§ 15

-pa probably means TO GO AND DO; or, at any rate, some sort of motion.

wⁿkoⁿ'i'yuspa we two take hold of you

t'até'yaⁿpa the wind blows

ewi'É'auⁿpa'pi they lay them down (i. e., they go and lay them down)

karwi'É'awapa I excel them in it

yuó'gipa it (branches) closed on his hand

wato'papi they paddled

-ga appears to mean TO MAKE OR TO DO, although it is used so often in referring to a harsh noise or rough action that something of that sort may be connoted. Examples are—

tíⁿ'ga he grunted

nakihi'ga he broke it with his foot

yamení'ga making a crunching noise

oma'joⁿga I awoke

waó'gapi they gashed it

ka'ga he made

kaḱé'ga to make a grating noise

iⁿyuⁿ'ga he asked her a question

yaḱogahaⁿ'pi they were gnawing the hard substance

owa'kahanije sni I did not understand

igalagalé'gapi they painted themselves in all styles

patku'ga to break in two by striking

-ta is exemplified in the following:

pakiⁿ'ta he brushed it

pasala'tapi they set the pole in the ground

naḡa'lgata he kicked out his feet

ogaⁿlužiⁿ'ta he put his hand in his

ayu'ta he looked at it

wíča'yuhíala'tapi they pinched them

yupo'ta she cut to pieces

kaski'ta to press

olo'tapi they borrowed

kaža'ta to make forked with an ax

kapo'ta to tear in pieces

-za.

wobala'za it burst

oi'yokpaza dark

wahu'k'eza war-spear

kagwé'zapi they painted in many lines

iya'za he went to each one

kamada'za to make burst by throwing down
içi'čoⁿza she determined for herself
akalu'syela caused to flow out rapidly (from *akaluza*)
taⁿte' tiⁿza brave heart
naiçi'baleza po stir yourselves by running

-ka.

éⁿye'ktuⁿzapi you forget us
p'ésani'za a flash of fire (from *pé'ta* fire; *šani'za* dried up)
o'galukši'za he tucked it around himself (from *kši'za* bent)
wak'aⁿyeža children
kakši'za to bend up by striking (from *kši'za* bent)
kaⁿhé'za poor, distressed (from *kaⁿ* aged?)
kata'za to make waves as the wind does (from *ta'za* rough water)¹

Personal Pronouns in Dakota (§§ 16-20)

§ 16. Subjective and Objective Pronouns

The development of the personal pronoun in the Siouan language is very weak. Distinct pronominal forms occur only for I, THOU, THOU AND I. The first person is designated by a labial sound, the second person by a dental, and the inclusive by a nasalized vowel.

Subjective pronouns, which designate the subject of an activity, are differentiated from objective pronouns, which express the object of an action or the subject of a condition or state. In Santee these forms are—

	Subjective pronouns	Objective pronouns
1st person	<i>wa</i>	<i>ma (mi or m)</i>
2d person	<i>ya</i>	<i>ní (or n)</i>
Inclusive	<i>uⁿ</i>	<i>uⁿ</i>

There is no pronoun of the third person. The plural object of the transitive verb is expressed by *wiça*. This term, however, is not a pronoun, but signifies PERSON, as is evidenced by the occurrence of the terms *wiça* MALE, HUMAN BEING, and *wiçaša* MAN. The plurality of the pronoun is expressed by the suffix (or enclitic) *pi*, which will be discussed in § 39. Added to the inclusive, this element forms the inclusive and exclusive first person plural.

¹ This attempt to reduce the bisyllabic words of Sioux to compounds of two monosyllabic elements, each ending with a vowel, does not seem to me quite successful. The unity of idea claimed for the groups in *-ka*, *-ta*, etc., is not convincing. It seems to me more plausible that we are dealing here with stems ending in a consonant which are amplified by the terminal vowel *a*, so that the so-called contracted forms are rather the stems. There is good evidence that *-ka* is a suffix of very weak meaning, since many words occur with and without it. I doubt, however, if this element occurs in *taⁿ'ka*, *yaⁿ'ka*, *yuⁿ'ka*.—F. BOAS.

Examples in Teton are—

t'i he dwells
wa't'i I dwell
w't'i thou and I dwell
w't'ipi we (he and I, or plural) dwell
t'i'pi they dwell
masi'ca I am bad
oma'hē'hi'pa'ya I fall into
nit'a'kapi ye are large
muⁿku I lie
yuⁿku he lies
éca'moⁿ I do it
wⁿkuⁿ we live

§ 17. Transitive Verbs

Transitive verbs with pronominal subject and object form combined pronominal forms in which the first person always precedes the second. The combination I—THEE is expressed by *éi*. The object *wíca*, expressing the third person plural, precedes all pronouns.

	I	thou	we
me	—	<i>maya-</i>	—
thee	<i>éi-</i>	—	<i>wⁿni-</i>
us	—	<i>wⁿya</i>	—
them	<i>wícarwa-</i>	<i>wícaya-</i>	<i>wícawⁿ-</i>

Examples in Santee:

k'te to kill.
maya'k'te thou killest me
maya'k'tepi ye kill me
wíca'k'tehaⁿ she was killing them
maya'kaška thou tiest me (from *kaška* to tie)
wícuⁿ'kaška you and I tie them
éica'ška I tie thee (*kaška* after *i* changed to *kaška* [see § 4.5])

§ 18. Pronouns of Verbs in *y-*

Verbs beginning with *ya* or *yu* in the third person—with very few exceptions—have pronouns of a different form. These are—

	Teton	Santee
I	<i>bal-</i>	<i>md-</i>
thou	<i>l-</i>	<i>d-</i>
he	<i>y-</i>	<i>y-</i>

§§ 17, 18

Examples are—

Teton: *yu'za* he takes
balu'za I take
lu'za thou takest
yawa he counts
bala'wa I count
lu'wa thou countest
ya he goes
bala' I go
lu thou goest

Santee: *yušta^{n'}* he finishes
mdušta^{n'} I finish
dušta^{n'} thou finishest
yaksa' he bites in two
mdaksa' I bite in two
daksa' thou bitest in two

The most important exception is the verb *ya* TO CAUSE, which occurs in last position in compounds, and which has always the pronouns as described in § 16.

Santee:

napsi'nya he makes jump *napsi'nyaya* I make jump

§ 19. Other Exceptional Forms

Other exceptional forms may be grouped as active and neutral verbs. Irregular active verbs are the following:

	TO ARRIVE		TO GO (future)	TO START TO COME	TO SAY
	Teton	Santee (regular)	Teton (Riggs)	Santee	Teton and Santee
1st person . .	<i>mani'</i>	<i>wahi</i>	<i>ni kta</i>	<i>hibu'</i>	<i>épa</i>
2d person . .	<i>ni</i>	<i>yahi</i>	<i>ni kta</i>	<i>hidi'</i>	<i>éha</i>
3d person . .	<i>hi</i>	<i>hi</i>	<i>yiⁿ kta</i>	<i>hiyu'</i>	<i>éya</i>

The Santee verb *ya^{n'}ka* TO WEAVE BASKETRY, TO WEAVE SNOW-SHOES, is analogous in its forms to Teton *mani'*:

1st person: *mna'nka*
 2d person: *na^{n'}ka*

§ 19

It will be noticed that in all these forms, except in *é ha* THOU SAYEST, the labials and dentals, respectively, appear for the first and second person pronouns. In the forms in *mn* for the first person we have apparently verbs in *y*, in which for the regular *l* (Santee *d*) the nasal *n* is substituted; while in *hibu'* I START TO COME and *é pa* I SAY, the dental element has been lost. Perhaps all the forms of the verbs in *y* may be explained as a transformation of the pronominal labial and the stem-dental into *bal-* (Santee *md-*) in the first person, and as a loss of one of the dentals in the second person, so that instead of *yy-*, *l-* (Santee *d-*) remains. As pointed out by J. Owen Dorsey,¹ this theory is substantiated by the correspondence of the following forms:

Santee: *da-* (2d person of verbs in *ya-*)

Ponca: *šna- hna-*

Winnebago: *cara-*

All verbs beginning with *yu-* generally drop this prefix (see § 13) in the inclusive. *yu'ta* TO EAT drops it also in the first and second persons.

Two Santee verbs—*yuka^{n'}* THERE IS and *yako^{n'}*—are defective, and similar in their treatment to *hiyu'*.

yukaⁿ there is

uⁿkaⁿpi we are

dukaⁿpi ye are

yakaⁿpi they are

daku'noⁿ thou art

daku'noⁿpi ye are

uⁿya'koⁿ, uⁿya'koⁿpi we are

yakoⁿpi they are

Among the neutral verbs the following have to be noted: The verbs beginning with a vowel use *m-* and *n-* instead of *ma-* and *ni-*. The few neutral verbs beginning in *y* drop this sound in the first and second persons; those beginning in *wa-* and prefixing the pronoun change *wa-* to *u-* in the first and second persons. Examples in Santee are—

	TO USE	TO SMOKE	TO BE	TO LIE DOWN
1st person	<i>muⁿ</i>	<i>uⁿmuⁿpa</i>	<i>maⁿka'</i>	<i>muⁿka'</i>
2d person	<i>nuⁿ</i>	<i>uⁿnuⁿpa</i>	<i>naⁿka'</i>	<i>nuⁿka'</i>
Inclusive	<i>uⁿkuⁿ</i>	<i>uⁿkuⁿpa</i>	<i>uⁿyaⁿka</i>	<i>uⁿwaⁿka</i>
3d person	<i>uⁿ</i>	<i>uⁿpa'</i>	<i>yaⁿka'</i>	<i>waⁿka'</i>

¹ Comparative Phonology of Four Siouan Languages (Smithsonian Report for 1883, p. 924). See also §§ 21 et seq.

Quite irregular are the following Santee verbs:

	TO DO ¹	TO THINK ²	TO WEAR
1st person	-kamo ⁿ	-éa ⁿ mi	hi ⁿ mi'
2d person	-kano ⁿ	-éa ⁿ ni	hi ⁿ ni'
Inclusive	-ko ⁿ ku	u ⁿ -éi ⁿ	u ⁿ ki ⁿ '
3d person	-ko ⁿ	-éi ⁿ	i ⁿ

§ 20. Verbs with Indirect Object and Reflexives

Whenever a verb takes an indirect object or when the object belongs to the subject, one of two peculiar forms is used. One of them is regular, and is characterized by the introduction of the element *ki* after the compound pronoun expressing subject and object. When the pronoun ends in an *i*, this form changes to *éi*. Thus we have—

barca'kiksa I cut off my own

éicidowaⁿpi I sing for you IX 110.14 (from *dowaⁿ* to sing)

A second set of forms is irregular. The forms are in Santee—

	I	thou	he	we
to me	—	maye-	mi-	—
to thee	éi-	—	ni-	u ⁿ ni-
to him	we-	ye-	ki-	u ⁿ ki-
to us	—	u ⁿ ye-	u ⁿ ki-	—

The *k* of the third person seems to be characteristic of most Siouan dialects; but it seems doubtful whether it is justifiable to explain the forms *we-*, *ye-*, *mi-*, *ni-*, as originating through contraction of *waki-*, *yaki-*, *maki-*, *niki-*, as Riggs does. The Ponca forms are not in favor of this theory.

The uses of these two forms are peculiarly irregular. It seems that etymologically both must be considered as distinct, since their relation to the pronouns as well as to the stem is different. The *ki* which enters into regular composition with the pronouns forms exceptional forms with certain stems.

(1) Before stems beginning with *k* and *y* (and *hi* in Teton) it forms *gal* (Teton) and *hd* (Santee).

¹With the demonstratives *e*, *he*, *ke*, *to*, this verb forms *eton'*, *heton'*, *ke'ton'*, *to'kon'* (see § 43). It does not occur alone.

²With the demonstratives *e*, *he*, *ke'*, and *wa*, *awa*, this verb forms *e'cin'*, *he'cin'*, *ke'cin'*, *wa'cin'*, *awa'cin'* (see § 43). It does not occur alone.

(2) Before stems beginning with *p*, it forms *kp*.

According to Riggs's Dictionary, these forms always indicate that the object belongs to the subject.

Swanton gives the following Teton examples of these forms before *yu-*, *ya-*, and *hi*:

<i>galuha'</i> they had their own	<i>gala'ska</i> he tied his own
<i>gala'haⁿ</i> he was going back	<i>gali'</i> he got back

The forms in *ki* which form an irregular pronominal series, according to Riggs, express sometimes the same relation:

3d Person	1st Person	
<i>kica'</i>	<i>weca</i>	to mean one's own (from <i>ka</i>)
<i>kica'ga</i>	<i>wecaga</i>	to make one's own (from <i>kaga</i>)
<i>kica'kea</i>	<i>wecakca</i>	to count one's own (from <i>kakca</i>)
<i>kicu'wa</i>	<i>wecuwa</i>	to follow one's own (from <i>kuwa</i>)
<i>kikte'</i>	<i>wekte'</i>	to kill one's own

Ordinarily these forms express an indirect object with the meaning of our preposition **TO** or **FOR**:

ki'cahi to rummage for one (from *kahi*)
kihna'ka to keep for one

There are, however, many cases in which the *ki* that does not form irregular pronouns is used in this sense.

e'ya to say
eci'ya to say to some one
ewakiya I say to him
emayakiya you say to me

dowaⁿ to sing
wakidowaⁿ I sing for him

In still other cases both forms are in use with the same meaning:

<i>kito^{n'}</i> to wear	<i>weto^{n'}</i> and <i>wakitoⁿ</i> I wear
<i>kiso^{n'}</i> to braid for one's self	<i>weso^{n'}</i> and <i>wakiso^{n'}</i> I braid
<i>kihma'</i> to look like	<i>wehma</i> and <i>wakihma</i> I look like

It would seem, therefore, that a considerable amount of confusion between these morphologically distinct forms has developed.

Related to the pronoun *ki*, which tends to become assimilated by the stem, is the reflexive *ici*, which, before verbs beginning with *k* and *y*, assumes the forms *igl* (Teton) and *ihd* (Santee), while before verbs beginning with *p* it becomes *ik*. It will be seen that this form is simply the first *ki* with the prefix *i*.

ba'ciksa to cut one's self in two (from *ksa*)
ikpa'ptaⁿ to turn one's self over (from *paptaⁿ*)
ihda'ksa to cut one's self off

The following Teton examples are given by Swanton:

oičiya'pi they paint themselves
miči'čaga I have made myself
u'kičiya' we two exchange between ourselves

These forms are neutral verbs, and take the objective pronouns.

Derived from the second *ki* is also the form *kici*, meaning almost always FOR, which forms the pronominal forms *weci*, *yeči*.

ki'čiyušna to make a mistake for one
ki'čisoⁿ to braid for one

Another form *kici* means WITH, TOGETHER, and is generally followed by the pronoun:

3d person	1st person	
<i>ki'čitidaⁿ</i>	<i>kičiwatidaⁿ</i>	to ride with one
<i>kiči'yuta</i>	<i>kičiwata</i>	to eat with some one

Swanton considers COMPANIONSHIP as the original significance of the form, which occurs also as a post-positive meaning WITH, ACCOMPANIED BY. Teton examples are—

oko'lakičiye society (literally, friends to one another)
oki'čiyusiča they two got into trouble with each other
kiči'k'tepi they killed each other

Personal Pronouns in Ponca (§§ 21-29)

§ 21. Subjective and Objective Pronouns: First Class

The two classes of pronouns, subjective and objective, occur here in the same way as in Dakota, but the modifications of their forms with various classes of verbs are more numerous. By far the majority of verbs may be combined in one group, which show what may be called the normal pronominal forms.

	Subjective pronoun	Objective pronoun
1st person singular	<i>a-</i>	<i>aⁿ-</i>
2d person singular	<i>ča-</i>	<i>či-</i>
Inclusive dual	<i>aⁿ-</i>	<i>wa-</i>

The plural of all these forms is made by the suffix *-i*, corresponding to the Dakota *-pi*. The inclusive, by addition of this suffix, is transformed into the first person plural. While the object, third

person plural, is expressed by *wa-*, this form does not occur as subject of the neuter verb. Examples of verbs of this class are the following:

Subjective pronouns:

- aná^éaⁿ* I heard it 670.2 (from *ná^éaⁿ* to hear)
at^íi I have arrived 671.6 (from *t^íi* he arrives)
φat^íi thou hast arrived 715.3
φaná^éaⁿ thou hearest it 665.1
aⁿmaⁿφiⁿi we walk 713.5

Objective pronouns:

- aⁿφiñ^íge* I have none 715.2 (from *φiñ^íge* he has none)
aⁿwaⁿhⁱp^íani I am poor 719.2 (from *waⁿhⁱp^íani* poor)
φiφiñ^íge thou hast none 70.17
wawák^íegaí we have been sick 662.1 (from *wák^íega* sick)

§ 22. Transitive Verbs

Transitive verbs with incorporated object appear in the same forms as in Dakota. The object has the same form as the subject of the neutral verb. In the combinations of subject and object the first person precedes the second and third, and the third person precedes the second. As in Dakota, the combination of the first person subject and the second person object is expressed by a special form, *wi-*. The object of the third person plural after the inclusive dual and first person plural is always *waⁿ*. The plurality of the object is expressed by the suffix *-i*.

	I	thou	we
me	-	<i>aⁿφa-</i>	-
thee	<i>wi-</i>	-	<i>aⁿφi-</i>
us	-	<i>waφa-</i>	-
them	<i>awa-</i>	<i>waφa-</i>	<i>aⁿwaⁿ-</i>

Examples:

I—THEE:

- winá^éaⁿ* I hear thee 87.14
wít^íiⁿ I hit thee 62.3
wi^éi I give you 706.10

I—THEM:

- awána^éaⁿ* I have heard about them 676.1
awá^éi I gave them 652.14

THOU—ME:

- aⁿφásiφáji* thou dost not remember me 652.6

THOU—US:

waçáziçafá-bi it is said you remembered us 687.5
úawaçakana'i you have aided us 751.9

THOU—THEM:

waçána'aⁿ thou hearest about them 692.7

WE—THEE:

aⁿçi'^éi we give it to thee 439.3
aⁿçi'çifai we remember you 687.4

WE—THEM:

aⁿwa'ñgaⁿçái we desire them 750.7
aⁿwaⁿ'daⁿbaí we saw them 705.10

§ 23. *Pronouns of Verbs in ç: Second Class*

Corresponding to the Dakota inflection of the verb beginning with *y*, we have the following forms of the verb in *ç*:

1st person singular	<i>bç-</i>
2d person singular	<i>śn-, hn-, n-</i>
3d person singular	<i>ç-</i>
Inclusive dual	<i>añç-</i>

According to Dorsey,¹ *śn-* is the oldest form of the second person, while *hn-* and *n-* are more modern forms. The sound *hn-* has not an oral *h*, but expresses a very full breathing through the nose with *n* closure of the tongue.

Examples of these forms are the following:

<i>bçizè</i> I receive 670.1	<i>nizè</i> thou receivest it 745.3
<i>kaⁿ'bçá²</i> I wish 704.4	<i>maⁿniⁿ'³</i> you walk 744.5
<i>naⁿbçéiⁿ'³</i> I walk 706.2	<i>hništaⁿi</i> ye finished 436.9
<i>kaⁿbçégaⁿ'²</i> I hope 706.4	<i>hnaí</i> ye go 436.8
<i>ełçégaⁿ'⁴</i> I think that 706.6	<i>gaⁿ'çá²</i> he wishes 50.8
<i>śne</i> you went 738.2	<i>eçégaⁿ'⁴</i> he thinks that 757.13
<i>uśné</i> thou tellest 58.17	<i>aⁿ'çiⁿ</i> we were 727.5
<i>śkaⁿ'na²</i> thou wishest 741.10	<i>aⁿçáⁿ'çai</i> we think 727.8

§ 24. *Pronouns of Verbs in b, d, g: Third Class*

Verbs in *b*, *d*, and *g*, provided the pronoun is not infix, are treated in the following manner:

1st person singular	<i>p-</i>	<i>t-</i>	<i>k'-</i>
2d person singular	<i>ç'p'-</i>	<i>ç't'-</i>	<i>ç'k'-</i>
3d person singular	<i>b-</i>	<i>d-</i>	<i>g-</i>
Inclusive dual	<i>aⁿb-</i>	<i>aⁿd-</i>	<i>aⁿg-</i>

¹See the Čegíha Language, note on page 534.

²Infix pronoun.

³Double conjugation. See § 24.

⁴Compound verb.

The second persons of this group reveal their close relationship to the verbs in ϕ , a relationship which is still clearer in Winnebago (see § 32). Following are examples of this class:

<i>págu</i> I write 488.8	<i>k'a'n'be</i> ¹ I wish 704.4
<i>pígaⁿ</i> I blow it 575.7	<i>šk'a'ge</i> thou makest 582.14
<i>išp'ahaⁿ</i> thou knowest 435.14	<i>ga'ⁿča¹</i> he wishes 50.8
<i>št'aⁿbe</i> thou beholdest 635.10	<i>gáge</i> he made 10.13
<i>daⁿbe</i> he saw 116.3	<i>añgágai</i> we do 686.5
	<i>aⁿdaⁿ'be</i> we see 132.8

In verbs beginning with ϕ -, *b*-, *d*-, *g*-, the objective form, and also the combined form *wi* I—THEE, are prefixed to the subjective forms, which take the pronominal subjective according to the second and third classes, as described before (p. 916).

Examples:

<i>witaⁿ'be</i> I see thee 644.16
<i>wibčahaⁿ'i</i> I pray to you 775.4 (from <i>čahaⁿ'</i> to pray 189.14)
<i>wibágu</i> I write to thee 750.11
<i>wábčiⁿ</i> I have them 751.2
<i>wašt'aⁿ'be</i> you saw us 752.6
<i>wak'aⁿ'be</i> I desire them 751.3

§ 25. *Pronouns of Verbs in i-: Fourth Class*

In verbs beginning with *i* we find modified forms of the pronoun, due principally to the insertion of an intervocalic ϕ in cases in which the inserted pronoun begins with a vowel:

SUBJECTIVE PRONOUN	
1st person singular	<i>iča'</i>
Inclusive dual	<i>aⁿčaⁿ'</i>
OBJECTIVE PRONOUN	
1st person singular	<i>aⁿčaⁿ'</i>
1st person plural	<i>wea-</i>
OBJECT	
3d person plural	<i>we-</i>
SUBJECT AND OBJECT COMBINED	
I—they	<i>wea-</i>

All other persons are regular. Examples are—

<i>ičámaje</i> I ask him a question 737.5

¹Double conjugation.

- íáíp'áhaⁿ¹* I know 659.12
aⁿʔaⁿwañk'égai I am sick on account of 714.8
aⁿʔaⁿ'bahaⁿ¹ ke knows me 475.6
aⁿʔaⁿ'bahaⁿ¹ we know it 657.9
wedábaⁿ'i¹ they know us 389.13
wedáʔaí they hate us 679.19
wémaje he questioned them 40.5
wéʔai they found them 440.14
wéáʔa-mázi I do not find them 151.20
weaⁿ'ʔai we found them 440.15

Other regular forms are—

- íwíp'áhaⁿ* I know thee 728.4
íbaⁿ'i they know him 728.8

§ 26. Pronouns of Verbs in *u-*: Fifth Class

In this class the following modifications occur:

- Objective pronoun, 1st person singular *aⁿwaⁿ-*
 Subjective pronoun, inclusive dual *añgu-*

Examples are—

- aⁿwaⁿ'bit'aⁿ* he presses me down 23.15
aⁿwaⁿ'na'aⁿ he heard about me 39.19
añ'guiñkaⁿ'i we aided him 748.3

Other regular forms are—

- ubit'aⁿ* he pressed him down 23.15
uná'aⁿ he heard about something 40.8

§ 27. Irregular Verbs

The following verbs are irregular :

- | | |
|-------------------------------|--|
| <i>p'i</i> I arrive 453.6 | <i>míñk'e</i> I who 13.4 |
| <i>ʔi</i> thou arrivest 555.7 | <i>niñk'é</i> thou who 758.1 |
| <i>hí</i> he arrives 555.7 | <i>ʔiñk'é</i> he who 11.5 |
| <i>mañk'á</i> we who | <i>maⁿ</i> I do 245.10 |
| <i>nañk'á</i> 667.8 } ye who | <i>zuⁿ</i> thou doest 13.8 |
| <i>knañk'á</i> 231.5 } | <i>aⁿ</i> he does 13.7 |
| <i>ʔañk'á</i> they who 624.3 | |
| <i>ehé</i> I say 665.6 | <i>aⁿʔaⁿ'</i> we say 678.6 |
| <i>eʂe</i> thou sayest 674.12 | <i>ʔaí</i> ye say 678.18 |
| <i>e</i> he says 194.5 | <i>aí</i> they say 667.4 |

Here seems to belong the negation

- mázi* I not
bázi thou not
ázi he not

¹The stem takes at the same time the forms described in § 24.

Examples of its use are—

ik' ágeawáŋa-máži I do not have them for my friends 711.13.

ŋi šk' ága-báži thou dost not do it 711.19

§ 28. *Forms Expressing Object Possessed by Subject*

Possession of the object by the subject is expressed by forms analogous to those of the Dakota.

1. In most verbs *gi-* is prefixed. Examples are—

éiⁿ he carries 306.6

giⁿéiⁿ he carries his own 296.13

agiⁿéiⁿ I carry mine 45.15

ŋagiⁿéiⁿ thou carriest thine 45.11

žúgŋe with him 305.5

žúgigŋe with his own 305.3

uhá he follows 289.4

uŋigíha he follows his 306.14

ák'ípa he met him 50.1

ágik'ípa he met his own 299.3

aⁿŋa he abandons 84.3

aaⁿbŋa I abandon it 50.5

agiⁿaⁿbŋaⁿ I abandon mine 756.2

2. Verbs in *ŋ-* have the form *gŋ*.

ŋize to take 298.3

gŋize he took his own 298.16

ŋiⁿ to have 288.15, 290.11

ageábŋiⁿ I have my own 755.10

3. Verbs in *ga-* have probably also forms in *gŋ*, but I have not been able to discover examples illustrating this point.

4. Verbs in *b-*, *d-*, *g-*, have the forms *gip-*, *git-*, *gik-*.

daⁿbe he saw

agitaⁿba-máži I do not look at mine 756.2

gitaⁿbai she saw her own 306.7

iabahaⁿ he knows

ígipahaⁿ he knew his own 295.1

wégipahaⁿ she knew them 289.8

ga'ge to make

gika'ge he made his own 299.9

ubet'aⁿ he wrapped it

ugípet'aⁿ he wrapped his own 208.4

utaⁿ to put on 47.3

úagitaⁿ I put on my own 43.9

§ 29. Verbs with Indirect Objects

I give here only a series of the most important forms, since the total number of modifications and combinations is very large, and it is hardly possible to reconstruct from the texts each separate series.

1. The indirect object is ordinarily expressed by the following series of forms:

	I	thou	he	we
for me	—	<i>iⁿɕe-</i>	<i>iⁿ-</i>	—
for thee	<i>wi-</i>	—	<i>ɕi-</i>	<i>iⁿɕi-</i>
for him	<i>e-</i>	<i>ɕe-</i>	<i>gi-</i>	<i>iⁿ-</i>
for us	—	<i>wɕe-</i>	<i>wɕe-</i>	—
for them	<i>ewe</i>	<i>wɕe-</i>	<i>wɕe-</i>	<i>wɕeⁿ-</i>

Examples:

I FOR THEE:

wiɕage I make for thee 723.10

wik'aⁿbɕa I desire for thee 725.3

I FOR HIM:

ek'aⁿbɕe I desire for him 778.3

I FOR THEM:

ewɕbɕi^ɛa I fail for them 673.8

ewék'aⁿbɕe I wish for them 663.8

THOU FOR ME:

iⁿɕéšk'age thou doest it for me 726.2

iⁿɕéwašk'aⁿ thou makest an effort for me 758.2

THOU FOR HIM:

égaⁿɕe'^ɛaⁿ thou doest so for him 439.5

THOU FOR US:

wɕéšk'age thou doest it for us 752.7

wɕéni^ɛai thou hast failed to do it for us 752.8

THOU FOR THEM:

wɕe'^ɛšk'aⁿna thou desirest it for them 767.3

HE FOR ME:

iⁿ't'ehi it is difficult for me 755.4

iⁿ'te he dies for me 775.1

HE FOR THEE:

ɕigaⁿɕai they work it for thee 741.11

éɕiɕiⁿ he has it for thee 741.6

ɕit'ehi it is difficult for thee 517.10

HE FOR HIM:

git'ehi it is difficult for him 729.4

giudaⁿ it is good for him 758.5

HE FOR US:

wéudaⁿ it is good for us 758.4*wét'chi* it is difficult for us 752.12

HE FOR THEM:

wegágai they do it for them 767.3

WE FOR THEE:

iⁿéihuka we sing for thee 439.4*iⁿéibagúí* we wish for you 680.13

WE FOR HIM:

iⁿ'gaⁿéa we wish for him 758.13

WE FOR THEM:

weañgap'ai we wait for them 454.162. Verbs in *u-* have the following forms:

	I	thou	he	we	they
to me	—	<i>iⁿwiⁿ'éa-</i>	<i>iⁿwiⁿ'-</i>	—	<i>aⁿwaⁿ-</i>
to thee	<i>wéi-</i>	—	<i>uⁿí-</i>	<i>añguíéí</i>	<i>uⁿí-</i>
to him	<i>uⁿé-</i>	<i>uⁿé'-</i>	<i>uⁿí-</i>	?	<i>uⁿí-</i>
to us	—	<i>úwaⁿagí-</i>	<i>uáwagí-</i>	—	<i>uáwagí-</i>
to them	<i>uáwak'í-</i>	<i>úwaⁿak'í-</i>	<i>uⁿwagí-</i>	?	<i>uⁿwagí-</i>

Examples:

wéibéa I tell thee 755.10*wébéa* I tell him 443.7*uáwak'ía* I say to them 437.17*iⁿwiⁿ'éaná* thou sayest to me 671.1*iⁿwiⁿ'éahná* thou sayest to me 500.6*uⁿééhna* thou sayest to him 497.8*úwaⁿagísná* thou sayest to us 633.1*úwaⁿagíhná* thou sayest to them 507.4*iⁿwiⁿ'éste* it remains to me 501.2 (from *uⁿéⁿ* 501.2)*uⁿéik'aⁿí* he helps you 508.3*uⁿíéa* he says to him 656.8*uáwagíéa* he says to us 503.1*aⁿwaⁿ'k'íe* they say to me 670.2*uⁿíéai* they say to thee 678.123. Verbs in *g-* lose their *g* after the pronominal forms.

	he
to me	<i>aⁿ'age</i> 39.12
to thee	<i>éiágai</i> 735.13
to him	<i>giája</i> 152.9
to us	<i>wájai</i> 735.13

Personal Pronouns in Winnebago (§§ 30-34)

§ 30. Subjective and Objective Pronouns: First Class

The principles of classification of the verbs are the same as those found in the Ponca dialect. The most common forms of the subjective and objective pronouns are as follows:

	Subjective pronoun	Objective pronoun
1st person singular	<i>ha-</i>	<i>hiⁿ-</i>
2d person singular	<i>ra-</i>	<i>niⁿ-</i>
Inclusive dual	<i>hiⁿ-</i>	<i>wañga-</i>

The plural of all these forms is made by the suffix *-wi*, except the third person plural, which has the suffix *-ire*. By addition of this suffix the inclusive dual is transformed into the first person plural. The third person plural object is *wa-*. This does not occur as subject of the neuter verb. Examples are:

- hāhē'* I bury
- rahē'* thou buriest
- hiⁿmañgā's* you and I tear with a knife
- hiⁿšibre* I am falling
- niⁿšibrē* thou art falling
- wa'ñgasibra'wi* we are falling

§ 31. Transitive Verbs

The transitive forms of the Winnebago verb resemble those of Ponca and Dakota in the development of the combined form I—THEE, and the occurrence of the third person plural object. The forms for the first person plural subject has the same pronominal forms as the corresponding singular forms, from which they differ by the plural ending *-wi*. The forms HE—THEM and I—THEM differ in accent. I—THEM, evidently originating from *wa-ha-*, is always accented *wa'*-, while the third person has the accent on the stem. *wā'he* I BURY THEM, but *wahē'* he buries them.

	I	thou	we
me	-	<i>hiña-</i>	-
thee	<i>niⁿ-</i>	-	<i>niⁿ-wi</i>
us	-	<i>hiña-wi</i>	-
them	<i>wa'-</i>	<i>wara-</i>	<i>wa'-wi</i>

Examples:

- niñ'he* I bury thee
- hi'ñahē* thou buriest me

nĩhã'wi we bury thee
wã'rahẽ thou buriest them
hihã'ire they bury me
hã'niⁿp'a I hit thee (from *hã'p'a* he hits)

§ 32. *Pronouns of Verbs taking s in the Second Person:*
Second Class

Verbs corresponding to the Dakota verbs in *y*- and to the Ponca verbs in *ç*-, and those corresponding to the Ponca verbs in *b*, *d*, and *g*, are treated alike, thus suggesting a later differentiation of the second and third classes in Ponca. Verbs of this class begin in the third person with a vowel *w*, *r*, or with *ʃ*, *ʧ* or *g*. If we indicate the first vowel of the word by *v*, the pronominal forms may be represented as follows:

Type	<i>v</i>	<i>w</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>ʃ</i>	<i>ʧ</i>	<i>g</i>
1st per. sing. .	<i>hv-</i>	<i>p'v-</i>	<i>dv-</i>	<i>čv-</i>	<i>č'v-</i>	<i>k^cv-</i>
2d per. sing. .	<i>šv-</i>	<i>švæv-</i>	<i>šrvv-</i>	<i>ščv-</i>	<i>šč'v-</i>	<i>šgv-</i>
3d per. sing. .	<i>v-</i>	<i>wv-</i>	<i>rv-</i>	<i>ʃv-</i>	<i>ʧ'v-</i>	<i>gv-</i>
Inclusive dual .	<i>hiⁿv-</i>	<i>hiⁿwv-</i>	<i>hiⁿrv-</i>	<i>hiⁿʃv-</i>	<i>hiⁿʧ'v-</i>	<i>hiⁿgv-</i>

The plurals are formed as in the verbs belonging to the first class—by the suffix *-wi* in the first and second persons, by *-ire* in the third person. The first person plural, instead of being formed from the inclusive, as in the first class, is formed from the first person singular by suffixing *-wi*. The repetition of the vowel in the second person which is characteristic of the first three types of this class in Winnebago has been referred to before.

'ãⁿ he does

hã'ãⁿ I do

šãⁿ thou doest

hã'ãⁿwi we do

hiⁿ'ãⁿ you and I do

wã'égis he saws

p'a'égis I saw

šã'wãégis thou sawest

p'a'égiswi we saw

hiⁿ'wãégis you and I saw

hiw'ũné he is near

hip'u'ũné I am near

hiš'wusũné thou art near

hip'u'ũnɣwi we are near

hiwusũnɣirê they are near

wé'wiⁿ he thinks

p'é'wiⁿ I think

šé'wewiⁿ thou thinkest

p'é'wiⁿwi we think

hiⁿ'wewiⁿ you and I think

<i>rašís</i> he breaks with mouth	
<i>da'sís</i> I break with the mouth	<i>da'sizwi</i> we break with the mouth
<i>ša'rašís</i> thou breakest with the mouth	<i>hi'našís</i> you and I break with the mouth
<i>ru'gas</i> he tears by pulling	
<i>du'gas</i> I tear by pulling	<i>duga'zwi</i> we tear by pulling
<i>šu'rugas</i> thou tearest by pulling	<i>hi'ngugas</i> you and I tear by pulling
<i>rê</i> he goes	
<i>dê</i> I go	<i>da'wi</i> we go
<i>šerê</i> thou goest	<i>hi'nê</i> you and I go

*Verbs belonging to the second division of this class are rather rare.

<i>haŋa'</i> he sees	
<i>hata'</i> I see	<i>hata'wi</i> we see
<i>hašca'</i> thou seest	<i>hi'ŋa</i> you and I see
<i>t'enAⁿ</i> he is dead	
<i>ɛ'enAⁿ</i> I am dead	<i>ɛ'a'winAⁿ</i> we are dead
<i>šɛ'e'nAⁿ</i> thou art dead	<i>hi'ⁿt'e'nAⁿ</i> you and I are dead
<i>gu'nAⁿ</i> he comes	
<i>k'u'nAⁿ</i> I come	<i>k'una'wi</i> we come
<i>šgu'nAⁿ</i> thou comest	<i>hi'ngu'nAⁿ</i> you and I come

To this class belong also the verbs expressing the position in which the act is performed, as sitting or lying;¹ while standing belongs to the first class of verbs.

rašís TO BREAK WITH MOUTH

To break with mouth	Sitting	Lying or walking	Standing
1st p. sing. . .	<i>dabišena'ŋkšenaⁿ</i>	<i>dabišema'ŋkšenaⁿ</i>	<i>dabišaje'nAⁿ</i>
2d p. sing. . .	<i>šarašizēša'naŋkšenaⁿ</i>	<i>šarašizēša'waŋkšenaⁿ</i>	<i>šarašizeraŋenaⁿ</i>
3d p. sing. . .	<i>rašizena'ŋkšenaⁿ</i>	<i>rašiza'ŋkšenaⁿ</i>	<i>rašišje'nAⁿ</i>

Verbs of this class take their objects, including the composite form *niⁿ*- I—THEE, preceding the subjective pronoun, which is treated as described before.

<i>niⁿp'a'égis</i> I saw thee (from <i>waégis</i> he saws)
<i>hiⁿwaégis</i> he saws me
<i>niⁿp'e'wiⁿ</i> I think of thee (from <i>we'wiⁿ</i> he thinks)
<i>hiⁿšu'rugas</i> thou tearest me by pulling (3d per. <i>ru'gas</i>)
<i>hiⁿšu'wusūnc</i> thou art near me (from <i>hiwu'sūnc</i> he is near)

¹Occasionally the verbal forms expressing a lying position are formed with *mi'ŋkšé*, which belongs to the first class of verbs.

§ 33. Contracted Pronominal Forms

In many cases the verb begins with a prefix which forms contractions with the pronominal forms here described. Contractions also occur with infixed pronouns. These may be grouped under the following rules:

1. Verbs in *gi* with preceding pronoun lose the *g* in the first and second persons.

ha-gi becomes *hai*

ra-gi becomes *rai*

hai'égis I cut in two by striking

rai'égis thou cuttest in two by striking

giégis he cuts in two by striking

hi'ñgiégis you and I cut in two by striking

2. Verbs with prefixes ending in *a* or *aⁿ* and followed by a pronoun beginning with *h* lose the pronominal aspirate. At the same time two *a*'s that are thus brought into contact form a single accented (or long ?) *a*, while *a* and *i* form a diphthong. When one of the vowels is nasalized, the contracted form is also nasalized.

ma'ñgas I tear with a knife

mañga's he tears with a knife

mai'ñgas he tears me

maiña'gas thou tearest me

na'ñsis I break by pressure

nañsi's he breaks by pressure

nai'ñsis he breaks me by pressure

nai'ña'ñsis thou breakest me by pressure

3. Verbs with prefixes ending in *o* (except *ho-* and *wo-*) also eliminate the *h* of the pronoun, but form no diphthongs.

boa'sip I push down

bo'sip he pushes down

bois'i p he pushes me down

roa'gûⁿ I wish

rogûⁿ he wishes

roigûⁿ he wishes me

4. Words with the prefix *ho-* contract:

1st person subjective *ho-ha-* into *wa-*

1st person objective *ho-hiⁿ-* into *huⁿ-*

Dual inclusive *hiⁿ-ho-* into *ho'-*

3d person plural object *wa-ho-* into *wo-*

1st person plural object *wañga-ho* into *wañgo-*

wa'jiⁿ I strike
ho'jiⁿ he strikes
ho'jiⁿ you and I strike
huⁿjiⁿ he strikes me
wo'jiⁿ he strikes them

5. Verbs with the prefix *wo-* contract:

First person subjective *wo-ha-* into *wo-*. I have no example of the treatment of the first person objective.

wa'hi I win
wora'hi thou winnest
wo'hi he wins

6. Verbs in which the pronoun follows an initial *hi* form contraction illustrated by the following examples:

yap'é r'éz I know (for *hi-ha-per'éz*)
hiⁿpe' r'éz you and I know (for *hiⁿ-hi-per'éz*)
niⁿpe' r'éz I know thee (for *niⁿ-hiper'éz*)
hini'per'éz thou knowest me (for *hina-hiper'éz*)
hiⁿper'éz he knows me (for *hiⁿ-hi-per'éz*)
wia'per'éz I know them (for *wa-hi-ha-per'éz*)
wa'ñgiper'é ziré they know us (for *wañga-hi-per'ézire*)

The third person plural object *wa-* is always contracted with *hi* to *wi*.

7. Verbs in which the pronoun follows an initial 'áⁿ- contract the first person 'áⁿ-*ha* into 'uwaⁿ-:

'úwañgí'gí I compel (for 'áⁿ-*ha-gí'gí*)
'u'íñagí'gí thou compellest me (for 'áⁿ-*hiñagí'gí*)

8. The causative suffix *hi* has the forms *ha* and *ra* for the first and second persons, respectively.

t'e'ha I killed him
t'e'ra thou didst kill
t'e'hi he killed

The causative suffix *gí'gí* is regular.

rea'gí'gí'náⁿ I send him
rera'gí'gí'náⁿ thou sendest him
régí'gí'náⁿ he sends it

§ 34. *Indirect Object and Reflexives*

The indirect object is expressed by the same forms that are used to express the direct object, but the indirect object is indicated by the prefix *gi* which follows the pronoun. The initial *g* of this prefix is never elided.

<i>ní'ñhe</i> I bury thee	<i>nigi'ñhe</i> I bury for thee
<i>híṇai'égis</i> thou cuttest me in two	<i>híṇaigigtis</i> thou cuttest it in two for me
<i>boisí'p</i> he pushes me down	<i>boigi'síp</i> he cut it down for me
<i>híṇa'p'ā</i> thou hittest me	<i>híṇa'gip'a</i> thou hittest for me
<i>níⁿp'éwiⁿ</i> I think of thee	<i>níṅgip'éwiⁿ</i> I think for thee

The reflexive forms take the regular subjective pronouns followed by the prefix *ki-*. In these forms the prefixes are contracted in the usual manner with the pronouns; *ki-* and the prefix *gi-* BY STRIKING combine to form *ki-*.

<i>haki'he</i> I bury myself
<i>haki'égis</i> I cut myself (for <i>ha-ki-gi-égis</i>)
<i>boa'kisíp</i> I push myself (for <i>bo-ha-ki-síp</i>)
<i>mañki'gas</i> I tear myself (for <i>maⁿ-ha-ki-gas</i>)
<i>yakipe'rêz</i> I know myself (for <i>hi-ha-ki-pe'rêz</i>)
<i>waki'jiⁿ</i> I strike myself (for <i>ho-ha-ki-jiⁿ</i>)
<i>haki'p'a'égis</i> I saw myself
<i>hakidí'gas</i> I tear myself

The last two examples show that in the reflexives of verbs of the second class the stem takes its pronominal forms in addition to the pronominal forms prefixed to *ki-*.

The forms indicating that the object belongs to the subject are formed by the prefix *kara-* in all verbs of the first class, while verbs of the second class take *lv-* when *v* indicates the first vowel of the stem. All these verbs have the ordinary subjective pronouns which are contracted with the pronouns in the usual way. The prefix *kara-* and *gi-* BY STRIKING combine to form *karai-*.

<i>haka'rahe</i> I bury my own
<i>hakarai'égis</i> I cut my own (for <i>ha-kara-gi-égis</i>)
<i>boaka'rasíp</i> I push my own (for <i>bo-ha-kara-síp</i>)
<i>mañka'ragas</i> I tear my own (for <i>maⁿ-ha-kara-gas</i>)
<i>ha'karap'a</i> I hit my own (for <i>hi-ha-kara-p'a</i>)
<i>ya'karape'rêz</i> I know my own (for <i>hi-ha-kara-perêz</i>)
<i>waka'rajiⁿ</i> I strike my own (for <i>ho-ha-kara-jiⁿ</i>)

Examples of the second class are the following:

<i>haka'waégis</i> I saw my own (from <i>waégis</i> he saws)
<i>yaku'wusúné</i> I am near my own (from <i>hinou'súné</i> he is near, for <i>hi-ha-ka-wusúné</i>)
<i>haka'rasís</i> I break my own with mouth (for <i>ha-ka-ra-sís</i>)
<i>haku'rugas</i> I tear my own (for <i>ha-ka-ru-gas</i>)

§ 35. Independent Personal Pronouns

The independent personal pronoun is derived from the objective forms of the pronoun. In Teton we find—

mí'ye I
ní'ye thou
i'ye he
wⁿki'ye thou and I

The suffix *-pi* is added to express the plural. It stands either with the pronoun or with some following word. Emphatic pronouns are formed with the ending *ś* (see § 41): *míś*, *níś*, *iś*, and *wⁿki'ś* or *wⁿki'yés*.

The independent personal pronouns in Ponca are:

wi I 736.3, 715.5
ϕi thou 711.18
añgu we

Position of Pronoun (§§ 36, 37)

§ 36. Position of Pronoun in Dakota

Ordinarily the pronouns are prefixed to the stem, other etymological prefixes preceding the pronouns; but there are a number of cases in which the pronoun precedes other prefixes. A number of verbs of more than one syllable that can not be reduced to compounds of an etymological prefix and a monosyllabic stem place the pronoun after the first syllable, so that it appears as a true infix.

According to Riggs's Grammar and the material contained in his dictionary and texts, the following groups of forms may be distinguished:

1. In monosyllabic words the pronouns are always prefixed. Examples of this class have been given before (§ 16).

2. Verbs of more than one syllable, that can not be shown to be compounds, prefix or infix the pronoun, the position being determined to a certain extent by the initial sound of the word.

Verbs beginning with *l* or *k* prefix the pronoun:

TETON EXAMPLES

<i>laka</i> to consider in a certain way	<i>walaka</i> I consider
<i>lowaⁿ</i> to sing	<i>walowaⁿ</i> I'sing
<i>kaja</i> to make	<i>yakaja</i> thou makest

§§ 35, 36

Verbs beginning with *é*, *ś*, *m*, or *n*, or a vowel, often infix the pronouns after the first syllable:

SANTEE EXAMPLES

éapa to stab
éeti to build a fire

éopa to wade
śuta to miss
manoⁿ to steal
ma'ni to walk
opa¹ to follow
asni¹ to be well

éawa'pa I stab
éewati I build a fire
éewⁿtipi we build a fire
éowapa I wade
śuwⁿtapi we miss
mayanoⁿ thou stealest
mawani I walk
owapa I follow
aniśni thou art well

Although Riggs states that verbs with initial *n* belong to this class, I have not found a single instance of this kind. On the other hand, some verbs, apparently not compounds, beginning with other sounds, infix the pronoun.

SANTEE EXAMPLES

pahita² to bind
tokśu to transport
toⁿhaⁿ to be
toⁿwaⁿ to go to see

parwahita I bind
towakśu I transport
toⁿwahaⁿ I am
watoⁿwaⁿ I go to see

Prefixed pronouns before the sounds here enumerated are, however, not rare:

SANTEE EXAMPLES

éeka to stagger
éeya to cry
śkata to play
nuni to wander

maéeka I stagger
waéeya I cry
washkata I play
wanuni I wander

In verbs of this class the first person dual is often prefixed, even when the other persons are infixes.

wⁿkopapi or *owⁿpapi* we follow (from *opa*)

3. Verbs containing the prefixes *ka-* and *pa-* (see § 13), and Teton verbs in *kpa-* (*tpa-*), *glu-* (Santee *hda-*), and *glu-* (Santee *hdu-*) (see § 20), prefix the pronouns.

¹In this word the vowel is not a prefix.

²In this word, *pa-* is not a prefix (see § 13).

SANTEE EXAMPLES

<i>kaksa</i> to cut off	<i>wakaksa</i> I cut off (from <i>kša</i>)
<i>kahi'ga</i> to break by striking	<i>wakahi'ga</i> I break by striking (from <i>huga</i>)
<i>pağaⁿ</i> to part with a thing	<i>wapağaⁿ</i> I part with a thing (from <i>ğaⁿ</i>)
<i>pašipa</i> to break off with the hand	<i>wapašipa</i> I break off with the hand (from <i>šipa</i>)
<i>kpağaⁿ</i> (<i>tpağaⁿ</i>) to part with one's own	<i>wakpağaⁿ</i> I part with my own (from <i>ğaⁿ</i>)
<i>kpapuzā</i> to dry one's own by wiping	<i>wakpapuzā</i> I dry my own by wiping (from <i>pu'za</i>)
<i>hduta</i> to eat one's own	<i>wahduta</i> I eat my own

TETON EXAMPLE

<i>glukčāⁿ</i> to form an opinion about one's own	<i>waglukčāⁿ</i> I form an opinion about my own (from <i>kčāⁿ</i>)
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4. Verbs which take the prefixes *a-*, *i-*, *-o-* (see § 12), and prefix the demonstrative *e*, have the pronouns in the same position in which they would be if the verb had no prefix.

SANTEE EXAMPLES

<i>apalitu</i> to bind on	<i>aparwahita</i> I bind on (from <i>palita</i>)
<i>inalini</i> to hurry	<i>inawahini</i> I hurry

5. Verbs with the prefixes *wa-* (Santee *ba-*), *wo-* (Santee *bo-*), and *na-* (see § 13) have the pronouns following the prefix.

<i>wak'sa</i> (Teton) to cut off	<i>wayak'sa</i> thou cuttest off (from <i>k'sa</i>)
<i>boksa</i> (Santee) to shoot off	<i>boyaksa</i> thou shootest off (from <i>kša</i>)

6. Compound verbs consisting of two verbs of equal order either take their pronouns each independently of the other, or the second verb is used without pronoun.

SANTEE EXAMPLES

<i>hdiyotaⁿka</i> (contracted from <i>hdi</i> and <i>iyotaⁿka</i>) to come home and sit down	<i>wahdimdotaⁿka</i> I come home and sit down; but also <i>wahdiyotaⁿka</i>
<i>iyo'lipaya</i> (from <i>i-</i> on account of; <i>o-</i> in) to alight in something	<i>iyowalipamda</i> I alight in something

hiyo'hipaya to come and
alight in
hiya'kapta to come over a
stream
iyaya to have gone
kiyu'se to hate one
kiyu'ska (from *yuska*) to re-
lease

wahiyowahpanda I come and
alight in; also *wahiyohpaya*
wahiyawakapta I come over a
stream
imdamde I have gone
wakimduše I hate him
wakimduška and *wakiyuska* I
release

7. Compounds having the auxiliary verbs *kiya*, *ya*, *yaⁿ*, place the pronoun preceding these, while the first verb is often used in contracted form.

SANTÉE EXAMPLES

iya'pa(ka) to be offended
iyamapaka I am offended
iyape to wait for
i'yawape I wait for

iya'paya to offend
iyapawaya I offend
iyapeya to cause to wait for
iyapewaya I cause to wait
for

sdoča' to know

sdonya' to know

sdonwaya I know

waⁿya'ka to see

waⁿya'gya to come to see

waⁿmda'ka I see

waⁿyagwaya I came to see

§ 37. *Position of Pronoun in Ponca*

The position of the pronoun in Ponca is quite similar to that found in Dakota.

1. Most monosyllabic verbs prefix the pronoun.

éi^é he gave it to thee (*éi'* to give) 739.9

wa^éiⁿ' he carried them (*éiⁿ* to carry) 10.7

at^é I die (*té* to die) 630.9

at^é I have arrived 671.6

2. Verbs of more than one syllable, that can not be shown to be compounds, prefix or infix the pronoun, the position being determined by the initial sound of the word.

Verbs beginning with *j*, *š*, *k*, *m*, or *n*, or a vowel, often infix the pronoun after the first syllable.

júgęe to be with somebody
305.5

jwóigęe I am with thee 739.6

jahe to stab

jačahe you stab

šigęe to unload

šiağęe I unload

nanpe to fear

nančape you fear

maⁿčéiⁿ to walk

maⁿbéiⁿ I walk 706.2

uha to follow

uaha I follow

kuhe to be frightened

kuahe I am frightened

Modal Suffixes and Particles (§§ 38-40)

§ 38. General Characteristics

The Siouan languages have a large number of elements which may be in part considered as suffixes, while others are undoubtedly enclitic particles, which express modalities of the verb. These are evidently related to similar particles that appear with the noun and with adverbs, and which will be treated in §§ 41 and 42, and from which they can not be sharply separated.

§ 39. Plurality

TETON

Plurality of animate objects is indicated in both verbs and nouns by a suffix, *-pi*.

<i>ʔa</i> he died	<i>ʔa'pi</i> they died
<i>sló'laya</i> he knows	<i>sló'laya'pi</i> they know
<i>k'óška'laka</i> young man	<i>k'óskalaka'pi</i> young men
<i>éa'p'a</i> beaver	<i>éap'a'pi</i> beavers

There is, however, an evident disinclination to employ *-pi* with nouns, except possessives, and it is by preference placed upon a following adjective.

<i>k'óskalaka' yamani'pi</i> three young men
<i>éap'a' taⁿk'a'pi</i> large beavers

This seems to indicate that the suffix is properly verbal, and that when it is employed with nouns the signification is **THEY ARE YOUNG MEN** or **THEY ARE BEAVERS**. It might be said that this element pluralizes the whole sentence. Examples in Santee are—

<i>wikoška nom kúpi</i> they gave him two maidens IX 86.6
<i>šiyó keya hiyahaⁿpi</i> grouse of that kind alighted IX 99.24

PONCA

The corresponding element in Ponca is *-i*.

<i>ʕiñgé-hnaⁿi</i> they have none regularly 335.12 (<i>ʕiñgé</i> there is none; <i>hnaⁿ</i> regularly)

It is not used with nouns, since the articles (see § 42) express plurality.

§§ 38, 39

6. **Interrogative.** The particle *he* indicates the interrogative.

wa'zì'hoi' é'upe' mit'a'kapi he is there one with large marrow?

When the person addressed is at a distance, *hwo* (compounded of *he* and *wo*) is used.

to'kiya la hwo whither do you go?

Riggs mentions also *to* in the same position in Santee.

duhe' sni to? why dost thou not have it?

The particle *éé* (Santee *éi*) is an interrogative particle, calling for an immediate reply.

7. **Negative.** The negative is expressed by the particle *sní*.

slolaye' sni he knew it not

twoc'ni él no'we' sni no one swims there

8. **Optative.** The optative exclamation *toki'* OH IF requires a terminal *ní*, which in position and form is analogous to the other particles here discussed.

toki' paji' eta' iye'waya ni oh that I might find some sunflower roots! (*iye'ya* to find)

9. A number of other particles appear in the same position. They seem to merge gradually into adverbial expressions and conjunctions.

se'ca (Teton) evidently.

tiyata'ne kpe'ya wahi'yu se'ca lo evidently I have come to an abandoned lodge (*t'i* lodge; *ya'ta* at; *hiyu'* to come to)

na'cé'cé (Teton) perhaps.

owé'ki'aha's he nita'kuyepi na'cé'cé lo perhaps those are your relatives (*owé'ki'aha's* perhaps; *he* those; *taku'ye* relative)

hi'ca very (see § 41.3).

ki'ha' (Santee) when, if.

yahi ki'ha' when thou comest

éa, éca (Santee); **éa', éa'naha'** (Teton). According to Riggs, this particle is used "when a general rule or something customary is spoken of, and is generally followed by *éé* or *éce* at the end of the sentence."

yahi éa píwada éé when thou comest, I am glad

waniyetu éa wapa éce when it is winter, it snows

keha' (Santee), **ko'ha'** (Teton), WHEN; according to Riggs, this particle always refers to past time.

colí (Santee) when.

kes although.

The corresponding forms in Ponca are as follows:

PONCA

1. **Future.** *t'e* [*t'a*, *t'ai*] designates the future.

ga té t'e he will die from a fall 236.1

sné t'e ha you will go 230.3

wápat'e gçi^{n'}t'á ak'á he will be sitting eating them 235.16

uzéti shk'áje t'ai ye will make a hole for a pole 615.1

ša^{n'}š'h'áje t'ai áça indeed, ye will do enough 144.14

t'e changes, according to a general phonetic rule, to *t'a* before the article and also before the plural *-i*. Thus *t'ai* is the regular plural future.

By the use of a double future, *t'at'é* and *t'ai^{t'}é*, the idea of futurity with certainty of the event happening is expressed.

ga^{n'}h^{t'}i t'at'é it will be that way 227.4

a^{n'}šp'ana^{n'} t'at'é you surely will gaze on me 230.5

išt'á çizi^{de} t'ai^{t'}e hã your eyes will (shall) be red 578.2

agçi' bázi ša^{n'}ša^{n'} t'ai^{t'}é they shall not come back continually 235.5

2. **Imperative.** *ga* and *a* express the imperative, *ga* being used by men, *a* by women.

iça-gã! send it here! (said by a man) 702.15

ihéçai-gã! lay ye it down! (said by a man) 231.19

gigçái-a! enter your lodge! (said by a woman) 614.1

gçi^{n'}k'içái-a hã cause ye him to sit! (said by a woman) 591.18

3. **Oral Stops.** A number of particles perform the function of oral stops. As in Dakota, some of these have distinct forms, according to the sex of the speaker. Their principal function seems to be to give a certain tone or modality to the predicate, and for this reason they might be more properly considered with the modal particles.

a and *é* are used to mark emphasis. They occur either as stops or within the sentence.

ha and *he* express the period.

áha^{n'} and *éha^{n'}* express the exclamation.

In all of these the *a*-forms are used by men, the *e*-forms by women.

a^{n'}çi^{n'} içánahi^{n'} á! truly, I am fat (said by a man) 567.9

éitaççewáççé içánahi^{n'}i é truly, you hateful one! (said by a woman) 152.2

ša^{n'} zaní wibéçaha^{n'}i hã now I petition you all (said by a man) 690.1

wak'a'nda wáfiğë št'əwa' agik'a'n bəa-mázi hë I do not desire to take any mysterious power for my husband 614.12

gát'ë št'i ga'-na' áha' she has done that regularly! (said by a man) 591.7

wandn'deəagčázi eha' you do not loathe him! (said by a woman) 591.18

ha and *he* are frequently used following imperatives.

mañqčičiñ'-gə há begone! (said by a man) 620.17

giğčá-ə hë enter your lodge! (said by a woman) 614.13

They are also used as interjections. Since *há* and *hé* are found printed occasionally instead of *ha* and *he*, it seems justifiable to consider the exclamations *há* and *hé* as the same particles.

há, tušp'á! ho, grandchild! (said by a man) 620.9

hé, šp'ačəa'! ho, grandchild! (said by a woman) 589.7

4. *Interrogative.* *ǎ* marks the question.

gáči' edéga' ǎ? what does that one say? 233.1

t'i ǎ? has it come? 709.2

éat'á' čanáži'i ǎ? why do ye stand? 23.4

áda' (commonly translated THEREFORE) occurs also apparently as an interrogative particle.

šə'hit'i éšni' áda'? what great (person) are you? 23.12

éat'a' áda'? why? 27.20

əbédi' i' čé da'? to whose lodge does she go carrying it? 591.3

§ 41. Adverbial Suffixes: Teton

1. *-š* is an emphatic suffix. Its use with the personal pronoun has been noted in § 35.

Very often emphasis is added to a word or clause by means of a suffixed *š*, and this sometimes involves a change of meaning.

wu'na now

wana'š now the story runs as follows

ak'e' again

ak'ə'š again (with emphasis)

ke'ya those or some

keya'š although

to yes

toš yes, indeed!

taku what

taku'š oh, bother! or, my goodness!

tk'a but

tk'aš but then

he'čəl so or in that way

he'čəlš therefore

éa'nł as soon as, during

éa'nłčš at that particular moment

<i>mí'ye</i> I (independent pronoun)	<i>míš</i> I (emphatic)
<i>uⁿki'ye</i> we two	<i>uⁿki'yéš</i> or <i>uⁿki's</i> we two
<i>í'ye</i> he	<i>íyé's</i> he himself

2. **-la** is usually given as a diminutive suffix; but its use is very much broader, and sometimes it seems to be rather intensive than diminutive. The English adverb **QUITE** translates it best, though at different times it is found equivalent to **ALMOST** or **LITTLE**. Possibly the independent adverb *lila* **VERY** is this same suffix doubled.

Examples:

<i>wíca' hécala</i> an old man	<i>íwa'stela</i> nicely, in good order
<i>hok'sí'la</i> a small boy	<i>íšna'la</i> alone, or only
<i>kitaⁿ'la</i> a little more	<i>íyé'yela</i> exceedingly
<i>hake'la</i> youngest	<i>t'oye'la</i> bluely
<i>hena'la</i> enough	<i>a'tayela</i> directly
<i>wíⁿéiⁿ'éala</i> a girl	<i>íčík'í'yela</i> near to each other

3. **hca, hciⁿ**. Although their proper meaning is **REAL**, **TRUE**, or **GENUINE**, more often they have the force of **VERY**. Originally their difference in form was probably nothing more than a euphonic change, but it has now been seized upon to mark a distinction in use; *hca* being always employed after nouns either expressed or understood, and *hciⁿ* after adverbs and connectives. They occur independently or in composition. *lila*, which also means **VERY**, always depends directly on a verb, or an adjective used as such.

Examples of the use of *hca* are the following:

<i>é'a'pa waⁿ t'aⁿka'hca</i> a very large beaver (beaver, a, large, very)	<i>ma'za hca'ka</i> real iron (i. e., steel)
<i>wašté' hce éiⁿ</i> the very beautiful (beavers)	<i>míla waⁿ jí hca</i> a very rusty knife
<i>wasé' hca'ka' kíⁿ</i> the real red paint	<i>wíca'hécala</i> an old man
	<i>ta'hca</i> deer (the real <i>ta</i> , or animal of the deer genus)

Examples of the use of *hciⁿ*:

<i>cha'kehčíⁿ</i> lastly	<i>waⁿéi' hciⁿ</i> whether there is one
<i>éé' hciⁿ</i> just in the same way	<i>íyé' é' ehčíⁿ</i> just like
<i>é'nalíciⁿ</i> right there	<i>hé' é'nahčíⁿ</i> immediately
<i>icaⁿtula' hciⁿ</i> just then	<i>hčeha'nl</i> as soon as

4. *-l*. When it is desired to express motion to the situation which demonstrative adverbs and post-positions indicate, *-l* is suffixed: viz.,

aka^{n'} on
eha^{n'}
leha^{n'} } then something was
heha^{n'} }
toha^{n'} when (state)

aka'n^l on to
eha'n^l
leha'n^l } then something was
heha'n^l } done
toha'n^l when (something is done; e. g., under one's own volition)

t'eha^{n'} for a long time or over a long space, more often the former

éoka'n^l into the middle
t'eha'n^l over a long space somebody passed

é'a^{n'} then

é'a'n^l then (something was done)

5. *-na*. Some adverbs appear to have a separate suffix, *-na*, for the stationary form, but it is probably only an adverb meaning **THERE**, which never occurs independently.

e'na } here (something was)
le'na }

él } here (something went)
lél }

he'na } there (something was)
ka'na }

hél } there (something went)
kal }

éé'na } being in this condition
léé'na }

éé'él } going along in this way
léé'él }

heé'na } being in that condition
ka'k'ena }

heé'él } going along in that way
ka'k'él }

to'k'ena being in an indefinite condition

to'k'él going along in that indefinite way

I have tried to translate these rather in accordance with the evident intent than in the most literal manner, they being among the hardest words in Dakota to render properly.

6. *-ta* **TO, AT, OR INTO**, is possibly identical with the *-l* just considered, into which it would change according to the laws of euphony.

Examples:

mak'a'ta to the ground

wana'jiya'ta to the spirit land

t'iy'a'ta to the lodge

éoka'ta to the middle

tok'a'ta in future

wazi'yata at the north

waⁿka'taki'ya upward

ohlala'teya under

7. *-taⁿ* FROM.

Examples:

etaⁿ from this
ehaⁿtaⁿs or *ehaⁿtaⁿhaⁿs* if (literally, from being in the preceding position)

etaⁿhaⁿ from
hetaⁿ from that time
hetaⁿhaⁿ from that time on
akataⁿhaⁿ from on the outside

Many independent post-positions appear to contain a suffix *-kab*; but this is probably nothing more than the verb *kə'pa* TO EXCEL, SURPASS, GO BEYOND, contracted in composition.

iha'kab behind or after
it'o'kab before

iwaⁿkab above
ako'kab before the time

§ 42. Articles

These important elements are only weakly developed in Dakota, while they are very important in Ponca.

In Dakota we find three articles—*kiⁿ* (after an *a* or *aⁿ* transformed, including the preceding vowels, into *e éiⁿ*); *koⁿ* (after an *a* or *aⁿ* transformed into *e éi'koⁿ* [Santee], *éon* [Teton]); and *waⁿ*. The following Santee examples illustrate their use:

kiⁿ expresses the idea of the definite article.

wi'caⁿhipi kiⁿ iye'ga waⁿya'kapi they saw the stars shining IX 83.2
 (*wi'caⁿhipi* star; *iye'ga* to shine; *waⁿya'ka* to see)

ki'taⁿna iye'hya yaⁿke' éiⁿ the one that shines a little IX 83.4
 (*ki'taⁿna* a little; *iye'hya* to cause to shine; *yaⁿka'* to be)

koⁿ indicates the definite article in the past.

uⁿma koⁿ the other aforesaid one IX 83.8

ni'na iye'ge éi'koⁿ the one aforesaid that shines much IX 83.7

waⁿ is the indefinite article.

oya'te waⁿ a people IX 83.1

mako'éé waⁿ a country.

The articles of Ponca are much more highly developed. We have to distinguish between inanimate and animate articles; and the latter are differentiated as subjective and objective, singular and plural.

Following is a general review of the forms that I have found:

I. Inanimate articles.

1. *k'e* horizontal objects.
2. *t'e* standing objects, collective terms.
3. *caⁿ* rounded objects.
4. *ge* scattered objects.

II. Animate articles

A. Subject.

1. *ak'á* singular animate object at rest.
2. *amá* singular animate object in motion; plural.

B. Object.

1. *t'aⁿ* singular animate object standing.
2. *çiⁿ* singular animate object moving.
3. *ma* plural animate objects.
4. *çiñk'el* singular animate object sitting.
5. *çañk'a'* plural animate objects sitting.

III. Indefinite article.

wiⁿ.

Following are a number of examples of the use of these articles:

k'e (I. 1) is used regularly of horizontal objects.

<i>t'an'de k'è</i> the ground 24.4	<i>uhé k'è</i> the path 566.6
<i>man'je k'è</i> the sky 26.4	<i>tí k'è</i> a line of lodges 289.7
<i>ní k'è</i> the water (i. e., stream) 555.1	<i>man' k'è</i> the arrow 50.6
<i>w'aⁿhe k'è</i> the cradle 560.14	<i>sí k'è</i> the foot 35.3
<i>wahí k'è</i> the bone 564.8	<i>máçaⁿ k'è</i> the feather 52.8
<i>pahí k'è</i> the neck 564.10	<i>pahé k'è</i> a long hill 28.11
<i>éibe k'è</i> the leg 564.10	<i>niasíⁿga k'è</i> a line of dead persons 10.7

The following animate nouns appear used with the inanimate article *k'è*:

<i>wés^a k'è</i> the snake 27.1
<i>çiñgaziñ'ga k'è</i> a child lying down 560.13 (in this case, the child being dead, the article may refer to the body of the child stretched out)

The following expression is peculiar:

aⁿba k'è the day 611.6

t'è (I. 2) is used with several classes of nouns.

(a) It denotes standing objects.

<i>tí t'è</i> the lodge 555.17
<i>hçabé t'è</i> the tree 277.2
<i>tízebe t'è</i> the door 46.12.

(b) It is used to express plurality and collectivity of inanimate terms. According to Dorsey, it expresses in this sense a single rectilinear collection of horizontal objects. This idea, however, is not brought out clearly in the examples.

<i>kande t'è</i> the plums 559.4	<i>pá t'è</i> the heads 123.12
<i>te-ánit'a t'è</i> animal limbs 565.1	<i>máçaⁿ t'è</i> the feathers 26.19

<i>sihi t'è</i> the feet 570.9	<i>gúda t'è</i> that (pile) yonder 33.16
<i>sibe t'è</i> the entrails 279.4	<i>wašín t'è</i> pile of fat 33.18
<i>wápaħa t'è</i> the clothing 559.12	<i>umaⁿe t'è</i> provisions 10.11
<i>féze t'è</i> the tongues 123.12	

(c) It denotes abstract nouns.

<i>téšš t'è</i> the killing 16.8.	<i>ie t'è</i> the word 667.14
<i>iwašk' aⁿ t'è</i> strength 611.3	<i>wačít' aⁿ t'è</i> work 699.2
<i>wažín' t'è</i> disposition 583.2	

(d) It denotes acts "as past and as seen by the speaker" (see Dorsey, *The Čegiha Language*, note 246.6, p. 250).

<i>gáge t'è</i> he did the (act) 554.13	<i>hút' aⁿ t'è</i> he cried out 600.14
<i>ín' jaⁿ t'è</i> he lay for me 561.1	<i>át' ai t'è</i> he exceeded 609.1
<i>gi^e aⁿi t'è</i> he did to him 583.7	<i>agiáčaí t'è</i> they went for him 246.6
<i>waiⁿ' t'è</i> he wore as a robe 595.17	

čaⁿ (I. 3) denotes rounded objects and parts of objects.

(a) It denotes rounded objects.

<i>ukíáⁿče čaⁿ</i> the snare 13.12	<i>tii čaⁿ</i> the camp-circle 16.13
<i>miⁿ čaⁿ</i> the sun 13.12	<i>páhe čaⁿ</i> the (round) hill 15.3
<i>ict' á čaⁿ</i> the eye 171.7	<i>hín'bé čaⁿ</i> the moccasin 279.12
<i>našk' i čaⁿ</i> the head 91.6	<i>mažaⁿ čaⁿ</i> the land 508.12
<i>wahéⁿ' ha čaⁿ</i> paper 773.1	

(b) It denotes part of an object.

<i>bašaⁿ čaⁿ</i> the bent part 598.8	
<i>šéndéhi čaⁿ</i> part of the rump-bone 611.5	
<i>índé čaⁿ</i> face part 624.10	
<i>waiiⁿ' haháge čaⁿ</i> the part of a buffalo-hide towards the feet 469.7	

ge (I. 4) denotes a collection of scattered objects.

<i>tenan' de gè</i> buffalo-hearts 33.4
<i>wašín' gè</i> pieces of fat 572.2
<i>tačín' ge . . . gè</i> (scattered) scum 593.9
<i>wahé gè</i> bones 278.16
<i>mikáha gè</i> raccoon-skins 559.3
<i>naⁿ' za gè</i> fences 735.7

ak' á (II. A. 1) denotes the animate singular subject at rest (see Dorsey, note 633.3, p. 634).

<i>Íst' inik' e ak' á ikičá-biamá</i> Ishtínike awoke, it is said 549.4
<i>tašniñ' ge ak' á "tsi-tsi-tsi!" á-biamá</i> the chipmunk said, "tsi-tsi-tsi," it is said 549.9
<i>waiⁿ' ak' á . . . agi-biamá</i> the robe (considered as possessed of voluntary action) had returned 549.6
<i>á-biamá Usní ak' á</i> the cold said 9.6

páhe-wáqahuni ak'á íbaha^{n'}-biamá the hill that devours knew him, it is said 32.6

With numerals *ak'á* is used in a plural sense.

qábçin ak'á, the three 164.14

amá (II. A. 2) denotes the animate singular subject in motion, or the plural subject, both at rest and in motion.

(a) It denotes the animate singular object in motion.

mašč' in'ge-in' amá ačé amáma the rabbit was going, it is said 9.1

Išt' inik'e amá ačá-bi Ishtínike went, it is said 549.1

žúbe amá náta ačá-bi beaver went to the water 553.9

ki wíuhe amá wa^{n'}ú and the woman was following close behind 615.15

amá is also used when the predicate does not express motion, but when the subject is conceived as moving.

íqádi amá ígipaha^{n'}-biamá, it is said his father recognized him 610.18

á-biamá mašč' in'ge-in' amá rabbit said, it is said 10.2

(b) *amá* denotes the animate plural subject, both at rest and in motion.

wažin'ga amá gía^{n'} ačá-biamá the birds went flying, it is said 588.3

e-na^{n'}-biamá niašinga amá the people said often, it is said 574.9

P'añ'k'a amá aqçíi the Ponca have come back 723.2

Umáha amá ušúgigçái the Omaha are sorrowful for their relations 772.4

ník'agáhi amá gíçá-bažii the chiefs are sad 649.2

t'a^{n'} (II. B. 1) denotes the animate singular object standing.

núžin'ga t'a^{n'} é wagik'á-bi the boy meant that his own 556.2

šiš't'e, héga çét'a^{n'} fie! this buzzard! 549.5

te-diçe t'a^{n'} . . . nažin' a scabby buffalo was standing 582.5

šyú šét'a^{n'} k'ída-gä shoot at this prairie-chicken 117.19

çin' (II. B. 2) denotes the animate singular object moving.

dúda^{n'} çin' píga^{n'} çin' áha^{n'}! I'll blow that into the air 575.7

kiçá çin' šét'a^{n'} amá the eagle was that far, it is said 581.3

edúda^{n'} çin' št'ewa^{n'} téçe-na^{n'}-biamá whatsoever he usually killed, it is said 586.6

witande çin' ačín' gígä bring my son-in-law here 589.3

niašinga çin' wašišige áha^{n'}! he is active! 9.14

niašinga çin' íçátabcé hū I hate that person 13.9

káge çin' édihi the crow reached there 599.8

çin' is sometimes used with generic or collective terms.

wanít'a çíⁿ the quadrupeds 628.6

P'añ'k'a çíⁿ the Ponca 748.9

ma (II. B. 3) denotes the animate plural object. This form is regularly printed as a suffix. The examples, however, do not indicate that it differs in character from the other articles.

wanít'a-ma wébaⁿ-biamá it is said he called to the animals 571.5
tañgá-ma áçut' aⁿ waçizá-bi aⁿ he took the large ones at once, it is said 578.4

wažiñga-má wébaⁿ-biamá it is said they called the birds 580.1

wažiñga-ma . . . míwazi he put the birds in his belt 586.4

ník' ašíⁿga-ma waé'igage ewék' aⁿbça I wish the people to dance 601.5

wagáñçáⁿ-ma wiⁿ one of the servants (obj.) 616.2

wáñe-ma úšk' aⁿ etai k'è aⁿçáⁿbahaⁿ-bázi we do not know the customs of the white people 629.2

ník' ašíⁿga-ma çé-ma šk' aⁿ maⁿçíⁿ'-ma wataⁿ'be hã I have seen these people walking about 756.1

çíñk'é (II. B. 4) denotes an animate singular object in sitting position.

zábe çíñk'édi bçé t'áše I must go to the beaver 552.2

égiçe itaⁿ'ge çíñk'é walip'áñikt'iaⁿ çíñk'é amá and behold! his sister was very poor 144.18

waé'ú çíñk'é ená-hé' i ušt'é amá only the women remained, it is said 11.5

çañk'á (II. B. 5) denotes the animate plural object in sitting position.

uíça-biamá Išt'iník'e ak'á níašíⁿga çañk'á it is said Ishtínike told the persons 64.17

íziñ'ge çañk' é wawagik'á-biamá meaning his sons, it is said 100.4

ak' íçaha mašt' iñ'ge çuñk'á wiⁿ waé'í-gã ha give them one of the rabbits 119.16

é waé'ú çañk'á úwak' ie gaⁿ' çai t'è he desired to talk to the women 624.3

wágaži šínudaⁿ çañk'á he commanded the dogs 111.8

The two forms *çíñk'é* and *çañk'á* are not true articles, although they seem to perform their function. They are true verbal forms, as is proved by the occurrence of the pronominal forms.

1st person singular *míñk'e*

2d person singular *níñk'e*

2d person plural *nañk'a*

béé t'á mink'e I who will go 13.4

p'i t'á miñk'e I who will arrive there 496.2

Páçin' ník'agáhi nañk'áše ye who are Pawnee chiefs 685.2

It would seem that these forms correspond to the Dakota verbs
yañk'á, wañk'á.

wiⁿ (III) denotes the indefinite article.

šaaⁿ wiⁿ a Dakota 367.8

níášin'ga wiⁿ a person 267.1

wa^éú wiⁿ a woman 166.1

t'aⁿwañçaaⁿ tañgáht'i wiⁿ a very large village 166.14

§ 43. Demonstrative Pronouns

TETON

The demonstrative pronouns proper are *e*, *le*, *he*, *ka*, and *to*. The first of these always refers to something that has just been said, and its use is more syntactic than local; *le* corresponds very nearly to English THIS, and *he* to English THAT; but when an object is very remote, the proper form is *ka*. *to* indicates that what is referred to is indefinite; and it would not have been classed as a demonstrative had it not been employed in a manner absolutely parallel with that of the other demonstratives. Plurals are formed for all of these by suffixing *-na*.

The demonstratives are employed regularly as prefixes to the verbs meaning TO SAY, TO THINK, and TO DO.

to say	<i>e'ya</i>	<i>le'ya</i>	<i>he'ya</i>	<i>ke'ya</i>	(not found)
to think	<i>é'ín'</i>	<i>lé'ín'</i>	<i>he'ín'</i>	<i>ke'ín'</i>	<i>tok'ín'</i>
to do	<i>é'ón'</i>	<i>lé'ón'</i>	<i>he'ón'</i>	<i>kak'ón'</i>	<i>tok'ón'</i>

The forms with *e* are used after the statement of what is said, thought, or done; and the forms with *le* or *he*, before. *keya'pi* THEY SAY is employed like a quotative, though there is a true quotative *šé'e*. The element *to* occurs rarely with these verbs.

In addition to these forms, there is a syllable *t'e*, meaning FAR in space or time, which is employed in an analogous manner.

t'e'haⁿ a long time

t'e'hanl far

The definite article *kiⁿ* is probably formed from the demonstrative *ka* by rendering the phonetic change to *iⁿ* permanent. To indicate something which happened in the past or some person or thing spoken of in the past, this article takes the form *koⁿ* or *éikoⁿ*, but the latter rarely in Teton (see § 42).

In the plural, and when combined with certain particles, *to* performs the function of an interrogative pronoun.

to'na how many
to'kehiciⁿ however much

In fact, the regular interrogative and relative pronouns *tu'wa* or *tu'we* WHO, and *ta'ku* WHAT, are properly indefinites, and so related to *to*; and from these, or parts of these, other relative and indefinite pronouns are compounded: viz.,

turwe'ni whoever (probably WHO LIVES)
tuk'tél somewhere
tuk'té'k'tél sometimes
ta'ku keçe'yás whatsoever

PONCA

The most common demonstrative pronouns are *éé*, *še*, *gá*, and *é*. The first three of these are very often followed by the article; and in this case they are always printed in the texts as one word, although there is apparently no difference between the use of the article with the demonstrative and that with nouns. Demonstratives also take enclitic adverbial terms in the same way as nouns, and in these cases also the demonstrative and the adverb appear in print as one word. The demonstrative *e* does not seem to be followed by the article. As in Dakota, they form part of a few verbs.

1. *še* refers to what is near the speaker.

še égimaⁿ I do this 9.6
še aⁿšt'aⁿbai t'è this (is) as you see me 26.14
šéák'á šábčeiⁿ zani t'éwačá-biamá it is said he killed all three of these 46.16
šéamá naⁿ čip'ai these fear thee 23.17
šéma júba these few! 28.9
haⁿ šé'hé'i ašítaⁿbe k'aⁿbču I desire to see mine this very night 367.5
šégaⁿ and, thus they say 35.2

2. *šé* refers to what is near the person addressed.

šé égijaⁿ you do that 26.14
šé učuí you told him that 26.19
šé wíwíta that my own 89.4
šéák'á mašé'ĩnge-iⁿ ak'á páde wágaži that rabbit told us to cut it up 23.10
šéčiñk'e k'ida-gā shoot at that! 109.1
šéču there where you are 640.4
mažuⁿ šéta čaⁿ the land yonder by you 487.7

3. *gá* refers to the unseen, also to what follows; it designates probably originally what is near the person spoken of.

gá taⁿ'be t'á I shall see that 28.2

gágě hnát'e t'ai-éde you should have eaten those 28.10

gániñke házi číqade t'ai (that) you shall be called grapes 550.7

gáčiⁿ Hágige iš aň'ga tek'íqai that one Hágige killed his brother for him 235.8

gáčaⁿ iⁿčiñ'gčañ-gă put that on something for me 121.14

4. *é* refers to something referred to before.

é ní that water (referred to in line 2) 559.12

é gíča-biamá it is said she rejoiced at that 21.1

é št'i maⁿčaⁿ'i t'ě that too they stole 85.8

égaⁿ gaja-bažíi-gă há do not ye do thus! 618.8

5. *du* is a form which is comparatively rare, and seems to designate what is near the speaker.

dúak'a this one here 58.5

uhp'é t'ě dúat'ě the bowl on this side 574.1

dúda this way 191.8, 192.15

dúdiha this way 553.3, 556.5

6. *gu* is also comparatively rare, and designates what is farther off than *du*.

gúdiha that way 587.15, 614.1, 630.20

§ 44. Possession

TETON

Inalienable or at least very intimate possession is indicated by prefixing the objective personal pronominal prefixes, and suffixing *-pi* for plural forms. The dual is distinguished in the same manner as in the subjective and reflexive pronominal prefixes.

Examples:

mič'iⁿ'k'sí my son

hu his leg

t'aⁿke'yapi their sister

wⁿé'aⁿ'te our two selves' two hearts

wⁿé'aⁿ'tepi our hearts (more than two)

Sometimes *ma* is used instead of *mi*; and, according to Riggs, this is when those parts of the body are referred to which exhibit no independent action.

ma'p'a my head

mano'ge my ears

§ 44

Alienable or more distant possession is indicated by another prefix, *t'a*, which occurs in conjunction with the prefixes above given.

t'awi'cu his wife

nit'a'su'ke your horse

t'awo'wasi his servant

Often, however, these forms are prefixed to a syllable *wa* placed after the noun.

wo'k'oya'ke t'a'wa her clothing

The noun to which *t'a'wa*, etc., refers may be entirely omitted; as, *wino'hcala t'a'wa kin iyo'taⁿ wast'e* the old woman's was exceedingly good

nit'a'wapi kin iyo'taⁿ lu'ta yours is exceedingly scarlet

Terms of relationship take in the third person a special suffix *-ku*.

hu'nku his mother

hi'gana'ku her husband

atku'kupi their father

su'ka'ku her younger brother

tibalo'ku her elder brother

ku'n'ku his mother-in-law

tak'o'sku his son-in-law or daughter-in-law

This suffix is probably identical with the *ku* in *taku* WHAT, which is used entire in *t'ita'kuye* HIS RELATIONS and *taku'wicaye* KINDRED.

After *i* or *e*, pure or nasalized, the *k* of this suffix either changes to *é* in conformity with the tendency already noted, or a *t* is inserted just before it.

t'awi'cu his wife

k'w'sitku his grandmother

lek'si'tku his uncles

ti'hiye'tku his master

Many terms of relationship have a syllable *si*, which evidently had once some special significance, though it is now impossible to say whether it is properly an affix or part of a descriptive term. Such are *lek'si'tku*, *ku'n'sitku*, and probably *tak'o'sku*, above given; as also—

mici'ksi my son

ha'kasi female cousin

hok'si' boy

tu'kasila grandfather

t'a'k'si' younger sister

t'awo'wasi his servant

ta'ha'ni'si my cousin (male)

PONCA

The following independent forms were observed in Ponca:

wita my 633.11, 635.6

wiwita my own 477.9, 492.12, 493.1

çita thy 485.2, 635.4

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ɕiɕita thy own 485.5, 6, 492.9, 495.7
etá his 491.8, 642.2, 679.11
 [aṅguta thy and my]
aṅgútai our 16.19, 678.1, 679.9
taⁿwaṅgɕaⁿ aṅgúta-ma our own gentes 502.12
 [ɕítai]
ɕiɕítai your own 495.8, 630.8
etái their 633.6, 675.3, 642.7, 523.5

The possessive pronoun appears without the suffix *-ta* as a prefix in terms of relationship.

wi- my *ɕi-* thy *i-* his

Examples:

wikaⁿ my grandmother 9.3
witimi my father's sister 9.3
winégi my mother's brother 10.16
witan'de my daughter's husband 349.12
winíši my child 44.13
ɕinégi thy mother's brother 10.15
ɕihaⁿ thy mother 348.3
ɕik'áge thy friend 487.4
ígáhɕaⁿ his wife 348.13
íziñ'ge his son 345.2
ízañ'ge his daughter 345.1

With the words FATHER and MOTHER the first person possessive has an exceptional form.

iⁿnaⁿha my mother 481.1, 638.1
iⁿdádi my father 26.5, 151.15

§ 45. Adverbs: Teton

Adverbs may be divided into several classes. Some are quite simple, and are used much like corresponding adverbs in English:

<i>wana'</i> now	<i>hca</i> and
<i>ak'el</i> again	<i>k'o</i> also
<i>li'la</i> very	<i>nak'oⁿ</i> also
<i>hciⁿ</i> very	

while others are compounded from other parts of speech; notably, verbs and demonstratives. The former of these are usually changed into adverbs by using the auxiliary *ya*.

<i>su'taya</i> firmly	<i>a'taya</i> entirely
<i>haⁿke'ya</i> at last	<i>kaa'beya</i> in all directions
<i>taⁿyaⁿ</i> well	<i>uⁿgana'haⁿkeya</i> suddenly
<i>waⁿka'takiya</i> upward	<i>ka'kiya</i> there

waⁿéa'g AT ONCE appears to be compounded of *waⁿéa* ONE and the auxiliary *ka*.

Others take *la* either alone or in conjunction with *ya*.

íśna'la alone

wⁿgana' haⁿyela suddenly

éé'la only

íé'yela exceedingly

wⁿgana' haⁿla suddenly

Demonstratives are usually adverbialized by means of another particle, *é'a* (or *k'a*) SORT OF KIND; as,

hé'c'él that sort

to'k'él how

hé'c'ena right off

to'k'éšk'e in what way

é'a is also used after entire clauses, where it may almost equally well be described as an adverbial particle or a connective.

§ 46. Connectives: Teton

Connectives are so closely related to adverbs as to be at times indistinguishable. *Yuⁿk'aⁿ* AND THEN, and *é'aⁿk'e'* so, are most often used to introduce sentences; while *na* AND, *naⁱ's* OR, and *tk'a* BUT, are the ordinary co-ordinate conjunctions. Subordinating conjunctions, such as *é'aⁿ* or *é'aⁿna* WHEN, *kés* or *keya's* THOUGH, follow the subordinate clause, and are to be correlated with the post-positions like *oⁿ* ON ACCOUNT OF, FOR THE PURPOSE OF; *ob* WITH; *mahé'l* INTO. The definite articles *kiⁿ* and *koⁿ*, and the adverbial particle *é'a* SORT OF KIND, are employed in such a way as to suggest a relationship to these.

Nearly all of the simple subordinating conjunctions and post-positions are given above. The rest—and there is a very large number of them—are principally compound. Some are formed by means of demonstratives; as,

éaⁿnl during (from *e*, *é'aⁿ*,
and *l*)

etaⁿ from (from *e* and *taⁿ*)

él at (from *e* and *l*)

heoⁿ therefore (from *he* and
oⁿ)

éhaⁿ then (from *e* and *haⁿ*)

tohaⁿnl when (from *to*, *haⁿ*,
and *l*)

ék'ta' to (from *e* and *ta*)

Another long series contains the verbal prefixes *a*, *i*, and *o* (§ 12), and are in some cases, probably the majority, taken from verbs. Among these are—

aiⁿam on the other side of

iwaⁿkab above

akaⁿ on

iyé'c'él like

i'tehanl far from

ík'i'yela near to

<i>ohala'teya</i> under	<i>o'peya</i> among
<i>o'p'ta</i> across	<i>o'haⁿ</i> among
<i>ogana'</i> in (a stream)	

kici' WITH OR TOGETHER (see § 20, p. 914) is also used as a post-position; while the suffix *-l* (see § 41. 4) appears in that rôle after *t'i* LODGE; as, *t'il* into the lodge

From *ni'ca* TO BE DESTITUTE OF is formed the post-position *wani'ca* WITHOUT.

§ 47. Interjections: Teton

ho is introduced when there comes a change in the thread of the narrative, and so may be said to mark a paragraph. The following are used quite frequently in Teton:

<i>it'o'</i> suppose!	<i>huⁿhe'</i> alas!
<i>iho'</i> well!	<i>howo'</i> now!
<i>yuⁿ</i> oh! (indicating pain)	<i>waⁿ</i> now! why!

For a long list of Dakota interjections, see Riggs's *Dakota Grammar*, p. 54.

§ 48. VOCABULARY: Teton

The simplicity of grammatical forms in Dakota is necessarily accompanied by the use of great numbers of stems.

Verb-stems usually consist of single syllables such as the following:

<i>t'i</i> to dwell	<i>uⁿ</i> to live, or be accustomed to
<i>ya</i> to say	<i>ya</i> to go
<i>k'te</i> to kill	<i>p'a</i> to flee
<i>hi</i> to arrive coming	<i>i</i> to arrive going
<i>ha</i> to have, possess	<i>si</i> to command
<i>ziⁿ</i> to stand	<i>p'soⁿ</i> to break off
<i>k'saⁿ</i> to bend	<i>ni</i> to live, exist
<i>ta</i> to eat	<i>p'ta</i> to answer
<i>ka</i> to dig	<i>k'sa</i> to break
<i>u</i> to be on route coming	<i>ji</i> to rust
<i>toⁿ</i> to cover	<i>o</i> to wound

The stems with terminal *a* have been treated in § 15.

The causative *ya* may be placed after any of these, as also after nouns.

<i>kipaya'pi</i> they were caused to lie
<i>kaki'syapi</i> they made him suffer
<i>waste'ya</i> to cause to be good

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wani'lya caused to be without

kaliya' caused to be made

śana'ya he had it for a robe (*śana* robe)

śawí'aya he caused them to be red (*śa* red)

éiⁿcawí'ca'yapi those that they had for children

śuⁿga ná'p'eyapi they caused the horses to be frightened

Very naturally it is often used in the formation of adverbs.

śogyá' thickly (literally, caused to be thick)

t'oyé'la bluey (literally, caused to be like blue)

kultkiya' caused to be down, or downward

tó'kiya anywhere, or caused to be in an indefinite direction

A considerable number of substantives consist of but one syllable.

Such are the following:

t'a general name for animals

like deer

ho voice

p'a head

t'oⁿ robe

hu leg

we blood

hiⁿ hair

p'te bison; specifically, female

bison

t'i lodge, dwelling

é'aⁿ tree

hiⁿ fur

i mouth

mní' water

wa snow

he horn

A much larger number, however, have two syllables:

wi'é'a male

mak'a' ground

noⁿ'je ear

ma'za iron

é'aⁿte' heart

p'é'ta fire

iⁿ'yaⁿ stone

siⁿte' tail

wi'k'aⁿ rope

é'upe' marrow

p'áje' diaphragm

p'ézi' grass

é'iⁿ'ca child

m'la knife

śo'ta smoke

wiⁿ'yaⁿ woman

si'ha foot

é'a'pa beaver

p'aha' hill

mat'o' grizzly bear

aⁿ'p'a daylight

iśta' eye

ma'ya cliff

é'uwi' small of back

t'ahu' neck

śigo' prairie-chicken

k'aⁿ'ta plum

t'ate' wind

é'oku' flesh

t'o'ka foe

It is quite possible that many or all of these were originally compounded from simpler words, as is still done in numerous cases.

p'éhiⁿ hair of the head, or head-hair

é'abo't'i beaver-house (literally, in which dwell beaver)

- ma'za wak'a^{n'}* supernatural iron (i. e., gun)
šu^{n'}ka wak'a^{n'} supernatural dog (i. e., horse)
ma'za waha' é'a^{n'}ka iron shield
wiçitegalé'ga raccoon (literally, spotted face)
ta^{t'}a^{n'}ka buffalo bull (literally, big *ta*)
wiç'a'héala old man (very much of a male)
wi^{n'}éi^{n'}çala girl (literally, female child)
hupa'wakigalake^{la} bat (literally, little leather wings)
p'asu' nose (literally, head-seed)
wiça'ho human voice
MANI' wak'a^{n'} supernatural water (i. e., whisky)
ma'za wa^{n'}hi' ošta^{n'}pi iron arrow-head fitted in (i. e., flintlock gun)
wiç'o't'i many lodges (where people go after death [literally, in them they live])
ta'hça deer (literally, true *ta*)
wino^{n'}hça old woman (very much of a female)
heha'ta elk (literally, branching [*ha'ta*] horns [*he*])

In those descriptive terms which contain a substantive and adjective, the latter may be regarded equally well as a verb. Many other nouns, however, are taken from verbs (or adjectives) in a much more direct manner, as follows:

- kakami'* an inside corner, a bend; verb the same, meaning to
 BEND BY STRIKING
olo'waⁿ song (from *lo'waⁿ* to sing)
tehi'ka hardship (from *te'hi* hard)
woc'a^{n'}tešica sorrow (from *é'a^{n'}te'* heart, and *ši'ça* bad)
oi'yokpaza darkness (from *kpa'za* it is dark)
wama'k'askaⁿ animals (from *mak'a'* earth, and *ška* to move; i. e., things moving on the earth)
wiça'ganakapi or *ganaka'pi* burial-scaffold (from *gana'ka* to lay up)
ohu^{n'}kak'aⁿ myth (from *hitu^{n'}kak'aⁿ* to tell tales)
hla'hla rattle or bell (from *hla* to rattle)
wak'i^{n'} a pack of goods (from *kiⁿ* to carry)
waki^{n'}yaⁿ the thunder-bird (from *kiⁿyaⁿ* to fly)

Verbs ending in *a*, when they become substantives, sometimes change the *a* into *e*:

- | | |
|---|--|
| <i>ak'a'lip'a</i> to cover | <i>ak'a'hip'e</i> covering |
| <i>é'ya</i> to say | <i>oé'ye</i> a saying, verse, sentence |
| <i>wau'toⁿwaⁿ</i> to be observing | <i>wau'toⁿwe</i> an observer |
| <i>waa'skap'a</i> to stick on | <i>waa'skap'e</i> a sticking-plaster |
| <i>a'p'a</i> to strike | <i>oa'p'e</i> strokes, beatings |
| <i>oçala'ya</i> it is flat | <i>oçala'ye</i> a level place or prairie |
| <i>k'oya'ka</i> to have on | <i>wok'oya'ke</i> clothing |

Stripped of their affixes, the terms of relationship are the following (see Riggs's Grammar, pp. xviii-xx):

- tuⁿkaⁿ* grandfather
kuⁿ grandmother
koⁱža grandchild
ate father and father's brother
huⁿ mother and mother's sister
tuⁿwiⁿ father's sister
lek^si mother's brother
éⁱye man's elder brother
timdo woman's elder brother
taⁿke man's elder sister
éuⁿwe woman's elder sister
suⁿka younger brother
taⁿk^si man's younger sister
taⁿka woman's younger sister
éⁱⁿk^si son
éuⁿk^si daughter
haⁿ man's brother-in-law
šice woman's brother-in-law
haⁿka man's sister-in-law
ičepaⁿ woman's sister-in-law
toⁿška woman's sister's son
toška woman's brother's son
tuⁿžaⁿ man's sister's daughter
tožaⁿ woman's brother's daughter
koš son-in-law and daughter-in-law
hihⁿna husband
wiⁿ wife or woman

In direct address several terms are used slightly different from the above; as, *uⁿéi* GRANDMOTHER.

TETON TEXT

SPIDER'S ADVENTURE WITH THE WATER MONSTER

[Originally transcribed by George Bushotter, a Dakota]

Ik'to' ¹	he'c'és' ²	wana' ³	ka'k'ená' ⁴	isna'la' ⁵	oma'ni-ya'ha' ^{n 6}	šk'e. ⁷	
Spider	it happened	now	in a certain place	alone	traveling was going	it is said.	
Yu'n'k'a' ^{n 8}	wana'	c'o'n/soke' ⁹	iya'za	wol-ya'ha' ^{n 10, 6}	Yu'n'k'a' ^{n 8}	ak'e'	
And then	now	forest	from one to another	eating was going.	And then	again	
wak'pa'la' ¹¹	o'huta' ¹²	êl' ¹³	ina'zi' ^{n 14}	na	mani' k'owa'kata'ha' ^{n 15}	ya-c'i' ^{n 16}	
river	shore or edge	there	he stood	and	water on the other side	to go wished	
keya's' ¹⁷	to'k'ani' ¹⁸	iya'ye' ¹⁹	sni	na	heya'ha' ^{n 20}	šk'e. ⁷	"To'ki'n' ²¹
although	there was no way	he might start	not,	and	he was saying as follows	it is said,	"Oh that
kowa'kata' ^{n 15}	ma'ka' ²²	ni' ²³	e'c'i'c'i' ^{n 24}	nawa'zi' ^{n 25}	eya'. ²⁶	Yu'n'k'a' ⁿ	
on the other side	I sit	might	thinking this often	I stand,"	he said.	And then	

¹ A shortened form of *Ik'to'mi* (the Spider), who is the great trickster and charlatan among the Dakota.

² *he'c'és'* HE THAT; *c'a* SORT; -*s* emphatic.

³ *wana'* perhaps contains the passive prefix *wa-*.

⁴ *ka* demonstrative indicating something that happened at a remote time or in a remote place; *k'e c'a* SORT OR KIND; *na* probably a locative particle used instead of -*l* to indicate that he was already at the place where the event happened.

⁵ *la-* diminutive suffix.

⁶ *o-* prepositional prefix meaning IN, the idea being that the traveling was done within a certain region; when there is a definite object in view the form is *itima'ni*; *ya* motion away in general, as distinguished from starting and arriving; -*ha'* continuative suffix.

⁷ *šk'e* quotative.

⁸ Introductory connective.

⁹ *c'o'n* an altered form of *c'a'n* WOODS; *so'ka* THICK, the final vowel being altered in nominalizing.

¹⁰ *wol wa-* SOMETHING, and *yu'ta* TO EAT, contracted into *l*.

¹¹ *wa-* perhaps passive prefix; -*la* diminutive.

¹² *o-* prepositional prefix; *hu'ta* SHORE.

¹³ *e* demonstrative; -*l* motion to that place.

¹⁴ *i-* prepositional prefix indicating purpose; *na-* instrumental prefix indicating action done with the foot; *zi'n* TO STAND.

¹⁵ *k'owa'ka* ON THE OTHER SIDE OF THE RIVER; -*ta'* FROM; -*ha'* CONTINUING TO BE.

¹⁶ A compound verb; *c'i'n* TO WISH.

¹⁷ *keya's'*; *ke'ya* usually equivalent to SOMETHING and the emphatic suffix -*s*.

¹⁸ *to* indefinite demonstrative; *c'a* SORT OR KIND, which is altered to *k'a* after *o*, and a syllable *ni* often suffixed to adverbs of this kind when the verb is followed by the negative particle. It may be the stem of the verb *ni* TO LIVE.

¹⁹ This seems to contain the ordinary stem of the verb to go and the causative auxiliary. Final *a* is altered to *e* before *sni*.

²⁰ *hc* demonstrative referring to what follows; *ya* TO GO; -*ha'* continuative.

²¹ *to* indefinite demonstrative; *ki'n* perhaps the definite article.

²² *ma-* objective pronominal prefix before *ya'n'ka*.

²³ The sign of the optative.

²⁴ *e* demonstrative; *c'i'n* TO WISH, duplicated to show repetition of the mental process.

²⁵ *na* TO DO WITH THE FOOT; *wa-* subjective personal pronominal prefix; *zi'n* TO STAND.

²⁶ *e* demonstrative; stem *ya*.

mani' êl¹³ ta'ku²⁷ waⁿ he haⁿ'skaska²⁸ é'a noⁿwaⁿ²⁹ tato'heya³⁰
 water there (or something) a horns long that was swimming against the
 current
 hiya'ya.³¹ Yuⁿ'k'aⁿ⁸ ak'e' heya',²⁰ "To'kiⁿ³¹ k'owa'kataⁿ¹⁵ maka'²² ni²³
 passed by. And then again he said as "Oh! that on the other side I sit might
 follows,
 ec'in'éc'in²⁴ nawa'ziⁿ,²⁵ eya'.²⁶
 thinking often I stand," he said.
 Yuⁿ'k'aⁿ⁸ ic'a'ni³² ta'ku he haⁿ'skaska kiⁿ³³ e'na³⁴ ina'ziⁿ
 And then just then something horns long the there stood (or
 stopped)
 na heci'ya,³⁵ "Ho, mani' kiⁿ le o'p'ta³⁶ ac'i'yiⁿ³⁷ k'ta, tk'a
 and said to him "Hol water the this across I take you will, but
 as follows,
 ta'ku waⁿ³¹ iwa'ktaé'iyiⁿ³⁸ k'te³⁹ lo,"⁴⁰ ec'i'ya.⁴¹ Yuⁿ'k'aⁿ Ik'to'
 certain one I cause you to be on will," he said to And then spider
 thing guard against him.
 kiⁿ heya', "Ho'wo! misuⁿ,⁴² to'ksa⁴³ ta'ku ec'oⁿ'-ma'yaši'⁴⁴ kiⁿ⁴⁵
 the said as "Come! my younger by and by what to do you command the
 follows, brother, me
 êc'ê'l⁴⁶ ec'a'moⁿ⁴⁷ k'te lo," eya'. é'aⁿ⁴⁸ e⁴⁸ wana' heci'ya,
 so I do it will said he. So now he said to him
 as follows,
 "Ho! to'ha'ni p'a taⁿka'l⁴⁹ hiyu'ye⁵⁰ šni mani' ogana⁵¹ noⁿwaⁿ-
 "Hol whenever head outside send it not water in swimming
 wauⁿ⁵² we lo. He'éc'êl wamiye'cikita' k'te lo," eya'.
 I am indeed So you be on the watch will said he.
 for me
 Ho he'éc'és wana' "To," eya'.
 So it happened now "Yes," said he.

¹³ Used indifferently as an interrogative pronoun meaning WHAT? and an indefinite pronoun meaning SOMETHING.

²⁸ The final syllable of *han'ska* LONG is duplicated for the plural of *he*.

²⁹ *waⁿ* is probably the causative auxiliary *ya* altered to *waⁿ* after *oⁿ*.

²⁹ *tate'* WIND AGAINST THE CURRENT, AGAINST THE WIND; *ya* causative; *he* perhaps a contraction of *hano*.

³¹ *hi* TO ARRIVE AT A PLACE APPROACHING ONE.

³² *i-* the prepositional prefix; *é'aⁿ* conjunction; *-i* suffix indicating motion.

³³ Definite article referring to *ta'ku he han'skaska*.

³⁴ Alternate form with *el*, indicating something already in place.

³⁵ *he* demonstrative; *ki-* changed to *éi* after *e*, indicating that the verb takes an object; *ya* stem.

³⁶ Post-position containing the prefix *o-* and referring to *le*.

³⁷ *a-* prepositional prefix, which indicates here that the subject of the verb went in company; *é'i-* I-YOU; *ya* TO GO, altered to *yiⁿ* before *k'ta*, the sign of the future.

³⁸ *i-* prepositional prefix; *wa'kta* TO BE ON GUARD; *é'i* I-YOU; causative *ya*, changed to *yiⁿ* before *k'te*.

³⁹ Future participle *k'ta* altered to *k'te* by incorporating the *ye* of *ye lo*.

⁴⁰ *ye lo* is usually employed in closing declarative sentences in direct address.

⁴¹ *e* demonstrative referring to what has just been said; *éi* for *ki* TO OR FOR; stem *ya*.

⁴² *mi-* possessive prefix, first person singular.

⁴³ Probably the indefinite demonstrative *to*.

⁴⁴ *e* demonstrative; *é'oⁿ* TO DO (probably compounded of a prefix *é'a* and *oⁿ*); *ma-* objective, first person singular; *ya-* subjective, second person singular; *šni* TO COMMAND, TO BID.

⁴⁵ It will be noticed that *kiⁿ* is used referring to the entire preceding sentence.

⁴⁶ *e* demonstrative; *é'a* SORT, KIND; *-i* indicating motion.

⁴⁷ *e* demonstrative; *é'a* (see note 44); *ma-* first person objective; *oⁿ* (?).

⁴⁸ Conjunction introducing the next sentence.

⁴⁹ Contraction of *tanka'ta*.

⁵⁰ *hi* TO ARRIVE COMING; *u* TO BE COMING ALONG WITH A CONTINUOUS MOTION; *ya* causative, changed to *ye* before *šni*.

⁵¹ *o-* verbal prefix.

⁵² *wa-* first person subjective; *uⁿ* usual or customary condition or state.

C'aⁿk'e' wana' leya'⁵³ "Toha'n^l⁵⁴ malipi'ya waⁿzi' tuk'tê'l⁵⁵
 So now he said this, "When cloud one somewhere
 ċi'kala⁵⁶ taⁿiⁿ'yaⁿ⁵⁷ yaⁿ'ke ċiⁿ⁵⁸ eċiⁿ⁵⁹ oma'kiya'ka yo.⁶⁰ He'ċ'êl
 small visibly sits the in that case tell me thou. So
 eċiⁿ' nawa'p'iⁿ⁶¹ k'te na mani' šme e'ltkiya⁶² waki'yakiⁿ⁶³ k'ta ċ'e,⁶⁴
 in that I flee will and water deep thither I go back to will
 case
 eya'. Yuⁿ'k'aⁿ heya' "Misuⁿ' heċ'a'noⁿ⁶⁵ kiⁿhaⁿ'⁶⁶ miš⁶⁷ to'keške'⁶⁸
 said he. And then he said as "My younger you do that if I in what way
 follows, brother,
 waⁿhaⁿ' k'ta he⁶⁹ eċi'ya. Yuⁿ'k'aⁿ "to'kša tohaⁿ' omayakila'ke⁷⁰
 I under- shall ?" he said to And then "in that when you tell it to me
 take him.
 ċiⁿhaⁿ' leċêl ehe'⁷¹ ċiⁿhaⁿ' waⁿ'ċag⁷² kipa's ibala'bale⁷³ ċiⁿ to'k'ša
 when in this you say when at once doubling I start to go so the by and by
 way (when)
 o'huta ek'ta'⁷⁴ iya'lipayiⁿ⁷⁵ k'te lo," eya'. "Misuⁿ' nituⁿ'k'a'šila'⁷⁶
 shore at you fall then will," said he. "My younger your grandfather
 brother
 u we lo,' ehe' ċi'he'⁷⁷ wakiⁿ'yaⁿ⁷⁸ ċ'a hoto'pi⁷⁹ kiⁿhaⁿ'
 is com- in- you say when Thunders that hoto'pi⁷⁹ kiⁿhaⁿ'
 ing deed ; you say when Thunders that hoto'pi⁷⁹ kiⁿhaⁿ'
 sort roar when
 hehiⁿ⁸⁰ k'te lo," eya'.
 you say will," said he.
 that

⁵³ *le* THIS; *ya*.⁵⁴ *to* the indefinite demonstrative; *haⁿ* continuative; *-l* suffix indicating motion.⁵⁵ *tu* indefinite particle, also found in *tu'wa* WHO; *-l* suffix indicating motion.⁵⁶ *-la* diminutive suffix.⁵⁷ *tanin'* VISIBLE; adverbialized by means of the auxiliary *ya*, which is here nasalized after the preceding nasalized vowel.⁵⁸ The *ċ* in *ċiⁿ* has been changed from *k* after the vowel *e*.⁵⁹ *e*- the demonstrative; *kiⁿ* article altered as above.⁶⁰ *o*- prepositional prefix, often used with verbs meaning TO SAY; *ma-* first person objective; *ki-* dative sign; *ya*; *ka* auxiliary; *yo* imperative particle singular.⁶¹ *na-* instrumental prefix, indicating action by means of the foot; *wa-* first person singular objective; *p'a* changed to *p'iⁿ* before *k'ta*.⁶² Probably *e* demonstrative; *-l* suffix indicating motion; *-la* TO; *ki-* the dative sign; *ya* causative in *waki'yakiⁿ*.⁶³ *wa-* pronominal prefix; *ki-* the dative sign; *ya* TO GO; *kiⁿ- ka* TO BE.⁶⁴ Evidently *ċ'a* altered before *he e* in *eya'*.⁶⁵ *he* THAT; *ċ'a* (see note 2); *ni-* pronominal prefix; *oⁿ* stem.⁶⁶ *kiⁿ* article; *-haⁿ* continuative particle.⁶⁷ Emphatic form of the independent personal pronoun, *-š* the emphatic suffix.⁶⁸ *to* indefinite pronoun; *k'e- ċ'a* SORT.⁶⁹ Interrogative particle.⁷⁰ *o*- prepositional prefix; *ma-* objective pronoun; *ya-* subjective pronoun; *ki-* dative sign; *ya* TO SAY. *la* in the second person singular; *ka*, auxiliary. In this case both the final vowel is altered to *e*, and the initial consonant of the succeeding word is changed from *k* to *ċ* in sympathy. This often happens where there is no apparent necessity.⁷¹ Second person singular of *eya* TO SAY; *e* demonstrative.⁷² *wan'ta* ONE + *g*, perhaps the contracted form of the auxiliary.⁷³ *-i* - perhaps from the verb *i* TO ARRIVE, though the sense of this verb is quite distinct; *bala'* first person of *ya*, which is doubled.⁷⁴ *e* demonstrative; *-la* post-position; *k'* inserted for emphasis.⁷⁵ *-i*- prepositional prefix; *ya-* pronominal subject; *ipa* stem; *yiⁿ* probably causative, altered before *k'ta*.⁷⁶ *ni-* possessive pronominal prefix, first person; *-la* diminutive suffix.⁷⁷ Here *haⁿ* is contracted to *he* without the usual phonetic reasons.⁷⁸ The *waki'yaⁿ* are the famous thunder-birds. The word means literally FLYING THINGS (from *kiⁿ'yaⁿ* TO FLY, with the passive prefix *wa-*). Possibly the final syllable of *kiⁿ'yaⁿ* is the causative auxiliary.⁷⁹ *ho* voice; *toⁿ* stem; *-pi* plural suffix.⁸⁰ *he* demonstrative THAT; second person singular of the verb *ya* TO SAY, the final vowel being furthermore altered to *iⁿ* before *k'te*.

Ċ'aⁿk'e' wana' ka'k'êl⁸¹ mani' kiⁿ o'p'ta he kiⁿ ak'a'nl⁸²
 So now in that way water the along horn the on
 yaⁿ'kiⁿ na ya. Yuⁿ'k'aⁿ wana' mani' o'huta ik'i'yela⁸³ ye
 he sat and was And then now water shore near to was
 going.
 ċiⁿ leha'nl⁸⁴ mahipi'ya šabye'la⁸⁵ au'.⁸⁶ Ċ'aⁿk'e' heya', "Misuⁿ,
 the at this time clouds blackly were Ċ'aⁿk'e' he said as "My younger
 coming. follows, brother,
 nituⁿ'k'aⁿ'si'la⁸⁷ u we lo," Ċ'aⁿk'e' agana' mani'
 your grandfather is com- indeed ,," said he. So all at once water
 ing
 ħimuⁿ'ye'la⁸⁸ šk'aⁿ'šk'aⁿ⁸⁹ ħiⁿgala'.⁹⁰ Yuⁿ'k'aⁿ Ik'to' koⁿ⁹¹ to'ki⁹²
 roaringly moving about suddenly did. And then Spider the whither
 (in the past)
 iya'ye ċiⁿ a'taya kik'su'ye⁹³ šni. Yuⁿ'k'aⁿ i'tehaⁿ'ĥiċehaⁿ⁹⁴
 he started the altogether remembered not. And then very long afterward
 manio'huta ek'ta' le'ċe mani' a'op'e'ya⁹⁵ ħpa'ya he⁹⁶ ehaⁿ⁹⁷
 edge of water at behold water partly in he was lying then
 kik'su'ya. Yuⁿ'k'aⁿ hehaⁿ' mani' ekta' e'to'waⁿ.⁹⁸ Yuⁿ'k'aⁿ mani'
 he remembered. And then then water at he looked. And (then) water
 kiⁿ waⁿkaⁿ'tkiya⁹⁹ ħolye'la¹⁰⁰ ħiⁿ na ta'ku he haⁿ'sk'ask'a koⁿ
 the upward grayish being and some- horns long the
 thing (in past)
 waⁿ'ya'ke¹⁰¹ šni na êl nakoⁿ' wakiⁿ'yaⁿ hotoⁿ'pi nahioⁿ.
 he saw not and there also Thunders roared he heard.
 Ho lêl wana' Ik'to' kiⁿ hetaⁿ'¹⁰² he'ċ'êlêš¹⁰³ ak'e' oma'ni-
 Now in this now Spider the from that just as usual again was travel-
 place
 haⁿ šk'e. Lehaⁿ'yela¹⁰⁴ wek'su'ye.¹⁰⁵
 ing It is said. Only this far I remember.

⁸¹ *ka* demonstrative, indicating something distant; *ċ'a* SORT, changed to *k'c*; -*l* suffix indicating motion.

⁸² *a-* prepositional prefix; -*l* suffix indicating motion.

⁸³ *i-* prepositional prefix; *ya* causative altered to *ye*; -*la* diminutive.

⁸⁴ *le* demonstrative; -*haⁿ* continuative particle; -*l* suffix indicating motion.

⁸⁵ *ša'pa* (also *sa'pa*) DIRTY OR BLACKENED, contracted to *šab*; *ya* causative; -*la* diminutive.

⁸⁶ *a-* before *u-* indicates that a cloud was coming accompanied by others, and thus indirectly plurality.

⁸⁷ *ni-* THY; -*la* diminutive.

⁸⁸ *ħmuⁿ* TO BUZZ OR HUM; *ya* causative; -*la* intensive auxiliary.

⁸⁹ Duplicated to express the distributive.

⁹⁰ *ħiⁿ*- indicates rapidity or suddenness of motion.

⁹¹ Article used in referring to some past action or aforesaid person.

⁹² *to* indefinite demonstrative.

⁹³ Although *kik'su'ye* is now used as a whole, it is probably to be analyzed in *ki-* ONE'S OWN; *k'su* stem; *ye* causative.

⁹⁴ *i-* prepositional prefix; *tc* particle indicating something far off in time or space; -*haⁿ* continuative suffix; *ħciⁿ* or *ħce* REALLY, TRULY; -*haⁿ* continuative suffix employed a second time.

⁹⁵ *a-* and *o-* prepositional prefixes; *p'a* TO FOLLOW OR PURSUE; *ya* auxiliary.

⁹⁶ -*haⁿ* changed before *e*.

⁹⁷ *e* demonstrative; -*haⁿ* continuative.

⁹⁸ *e* demonstrative.

⁹⁹ This word contains -*ta* TO, contracted to -*t*; *ki-* the dative sign; *ya* causative.

¹⁰⁰ *ħol* contracted form of the adjective *ħo'ta* GRAY; *ya* causative; -*la* diminutive suff

¹⁰¹ *waiⁿ* probably a prefix; *ke* an auxiliary.

¹⁰² *ħe* demonstrative; -*taⁿ* FROM, AFTER.

¹⁰³ *ħe* demonstrative; *ċ'a-* -*l* suffix indicating motion; -*š* emphatic suffix.

¹⁰⁴ *le* demonstrative; *haⁿ* continuative particle; *ya* causative; -*la* diminutive suffix.

¹⁰⁵ *we-* FOR ME.

[Translation]

Spider happened to be traveling along alone in a certain place, it is said. And he was going along through a forest, eating. Then he stood on the edge of a river; and, although he wanted to get across, there was no way; and he said, they say, "I stand thinking continually, 'Oh that I might sit on the other side!'" Then something with long horns came swimming up against the current. And he said again, "I stand thinking continually, 'Oh that I might sit on the other side!'"

Just then the creature with long horns stopped there, and said to him, "Ho! I will take you across this water, but I will have you be on the watch for a certain thing." Then the Spider said, "Come! my younger brother, I will do whatever you command me." So he said to him, "Well! I always swim in the water with my head not extended above it. So you shall be on the watch for me." Then he said, "Yes."

So he said, "When one small cloud becomes visible, tell me. Then I will flee and go back into deep water." Then he said, "My younger brother, what will become of me?" And he said, "In that case, when you tell it to me, and I double up and start off, you will fall close to the shore. When you say, 'Your grandfather is coming,' it will mean that the Thunders roar."

So he was going along in the water sitting upon the horn. And when he was going along near the shore, black clouds were coming. So he said, "My younger brother, your grandfather is coming." So all at once the water moved about roaringly. And whither the Spider went, he did not at all remember. And a long time afterward, lo! he came to himself lying partly in the water. Then he looked at the water. Then upward the water was grayish, and he did not see the thing with long horns, and he also heard Thunders roaring.

Now the Spider traveled on from this place just as usual, it is said. I remember only this far.

WINNEBAGO TEXT

By PAUL RADIN

Hió¹n'jhi'wira¹ jagu'² hamina'ngiresga'nañk'ú³ hi'perésjina'ñksé;⁴
 Our father what does he sit on, it seems he came to, he knew;
 é'gi⁵ isja'nialó⁶'jê⁶ ɣa'ksé;⁷ é'gi kâ s'i' wewi'ni;⁸ hañkê'⁸ wajaⁿ'nijaⁿ⁹
 and tears flowed he wept; and not long he thought not anything
 of it;
 ha'jani'jê;¹⁰ hañkê'⁸ wajaⁿ'nijaⁿ,⁹ kê'⁸ wajaⁿ'nijaⁿ nîñ'gêna'ngeniê.¹¹
 he did not not anything, not anything was (there) anywhere.
 see;
 Ja'gwamina'ngiresga'nañksé gi'ji¹² hamina'ngenañka, é'ja wajaⁿ'nijaⁿ¹³
 What he sat on it seemed he sat on that which, there something
 hanigu'jê, hanigu'nañka¹⁴ mana'ngêrê¹⁵ é'ja¹⁶ nîñ'gênîk¹⁷
 he took from, he took that which the earth there a little piece
 wa'gi'úⁿ'jê;¹⁸ é'gi¹⁹ homina'ngenañka²⁰ k'uⁿha'hi'regi²¹ howahuhi'jê.²²
 for them he and that which he sat on below him towards he sent it.
 made;

¹ hi'óné FATHER; hihi'wira 1st plural of possessive pronoun of terms of relationship; *é* softens to *f* when followed by any syllable.

² jagu' regular interrogative and relative pronoun.

³ Contraction for *ha-minañk-hire'sgé-nañk-ú*; *ha* ON; *min'añk* HE SITS; *hire* IT SEEMS; *-sgé* a suffix implying uncertainty; *-nañk* suffix denoting sitting position; *ú* HE DOES, auxiliary verb (1st person *ha'ú*, 2d person *s'ú*, 3d person *'u*).

⁴ hi-perés-ji-nañk-é; *hi* prefix generally meaning WITH; *perés* HE KNOWS; *ji* HE COMES; *-nañk* suffix denoting sitting position; *-é* or *-jé* temporal suffix denoting present completed action.

⁵ é'gi conjunction, sometimes with the force of THEN. Composed of two elements,—*e*, the demonstrative pronoun of 3d person; and *-gi*, an adverbial suffix. For the demonstrative expressing position near the 1st person it is *me'gi*, and for that near the second person *de'gi*.

⁶ (h) ija-ni-halón'-jé EYE-WATER-IT FLOWED ON—present time.

⁷ ɣa'k-é HE WEPT—present time.

⁸ wé'wî HE KNOWS; *ni* negative particle following adverb *hañkê'* or *ké* NOT, and always inserted at the end of the stem of the following verb.

⁹ wajaⁿ'nijaⁿ indefinite pronoun composed of *wa'jaⁿ*, SOMETHING; and *hi'jaⁿ* ONE, A. The *n* following the nasalization is a glide.

¹⁰ ha'ja-ni-jé HE SEES; negative particle; present (1st person *haca'*, 2d person *hak'ja'*, 3d person *haja'*).

¹¹ nîñgê-nañk-ni-jé ANY (THING); sitting position; negative particle; present.

¹² gi'ji an adverb generally meaning so. Oftener used as a stop.

¹³ Contraction for *wa'jaⁿ hi'jaⁿ*. The elision of the *h*, the union of two vowels to form a diphthong, and the shifting of the nasalization, are very common in Winnebago; for example, *naⁿ+hi'jaⁿ* form *nain'jaⁿ* A TREE; *maⁿ+hi'jaⁿ* form *main'jaⁿ* A YEAR.

¹⁴ hani-gu-nañka TO HAVE, TO TAKE FROM; *ha* FROM (1st person *ha'ni*, 2d person *ha'tini*, 3d person *hani'*). This verb is used also as one of the possessive pronouns. *gu* IT COMES IN DIRECTION TOWARDS SUBJECT OF ACTION (1st person *hak'u'*, *égu*, *gu*); *nañ'ká*, sitting form of demonstrative pronoun *ga* THAT. Here used with force of relative pronoun.

¹⁵ maⁿ-na'ngêrê EARTH; demonstrative plural pronoun from *ga*; idiomatically used as the plural definite article.

¹⁶ é'ja adverb. Probably composed of demonstrative *e* and *hija'* THERE.

¹⁷ nîñgê-nîñk A PIECE, A LITTLE; *nîñk* is the regular diminutive suffix. Sometimes used to express an indefinite object.

¹⁸ wa-gi'ú-jé plural objective personal pronoun; FOR; HE DID; present time. There are four elements of *gi* that have to be carefully distinguished,—the instrumental prefix, the preposition FOR or TO, the temporal suffix, and the verbal stem.

Hoku'ruhu'ega'ja^{n 23} mana'ngere^e jé'ésge³⁴ jina'ñksê; e'gi
 He looked at his own (to) this earth let similar it became; and
 kē'wajaⁿnijaⁿ harēbeni'jê³⁵ hušarana'ñksê,³⁶ e'gi kēgise'weni-
 nothing appeared upon it bare it was, and not still it
 (i. e., grew)
 nañksê³⁷ mana'ngere^e horup'i'ninañksê; e'gi "mejegūⁿhagiji²⁸
 was this earth turning it was; then "if this way I do
 gise'wē jina'i'ñkjanaga'jaⁿ,²⁹ hiregi'ji.³⁰
 quiet it will become, he thought so.
 E'gi higi'ūⁿjê³¹ homina'ngēnañka; e'ja hiⁿwi'ja^{n 23} ru'zana'ngā³³
 Then he made for it that which he sat on; there a grass he took and
 hi'gi'ūⁿjê ma'no'wahu'hi³⁴ jegūⁿ hiā'na'ngā³⁵ hoku'ruhu'ega'jaⁿ
 he made toward the earth he and then he did he looked upon his own
 sent
 hañkê' gise'weni'nañksê. . . . Jigi'ja^{n 26} 'ūⁿjê 'ūⁿčēbigi'ji³⁷ kečū'ngēgā³⁸
 not still it was. . . . Again one he did when he finished the tortoise
 him

²³ *e'gi* may begin a sentence. Its force is that of a conjunction connecting more or less independent sentences, as distinguished from *ā'nañga*, which connects closely related sentences. The translation AND or THEN is always inadequate.

²⁹ *ho-minañk-nañkē*; *ho* is a nominalizing prefix. Nominalization, however, requires generally not only this prefix or its related *wo*, but also the suffixing of the definite article *ra* or some demonstrative, as in this case.

³⁰ *kuw'ha-hi-re'gi* BELOW; *hi* auxiliary or causative (1st person *ha*, 2d person *ra* or *š*, 3d person *hi*); *re'gi* is an adverb with a prepositional force not very clearly shown in this case because the various elements in the word have been closely united to form a distinct preposition. In spite of this close union, however, the auxiliary is regularly conjugated for the 1st, 2d, and 3d persons; i. e., *kuw'hanha'regi*, *kuw'hanpa'regi*, *kuw'hanhi'regi*. The *-re'gi* denotes that it is immediately below the subject of action; *re* is a demonstrative pronoun, which seems to denote immediate proximity, and to be stronger than *me* THIS (for the first person). But its exact meaning is uncertain.

³¹ *howa'-huh'i-jē*; *howa'* adverb denoting TOWARDS, AWAY FROM subject of action; *huh'i* TO SEND (1st person *huha'*, 2d person *hura'*, 3d *huh'i'*), TO SEND AWAY FROM SUBJECT OF ACTION; FOR TO SEND TOWARDS SUBJECT OF ACTION, the verb 1st person *reha'*, 2d person *re'a'*, 3d person *reh'i'*, is used.

³² *ho-ku-ruhu'č-gadja'*; *ho* preposition generally meaning IN; *ku* pronoun referring to what belongs to one's self, either of one's own person, property, or relations. Its vowel conforms with the following vowel (see § 4); *ruhu'č*; *ru* is in this case either the instrumental prefix or part of the stem. If it is the prefix, its original meaning WITH THE MOUTH has been entirely lost. A similar case is found in the verb *duhu'rág*, *ku'ruhu'rág*, *ruhu'rág*, TO OBTAIN, TO ACCOMPLISH; *ga'dja'* an adverb almost always used as a stop.

³⁴ *jé'ésge* an adverb meaning THAT KIND, THAT WAY.

³⁵ *ha-řym'i-jē*; *ha* ON; *řep* IT PUSHES, IT GROWS, APPEARS; *ní* negative particle; *jē* present tense.

³⁶ *hu'* SKIN; *ša'ra* BARE, NAKED; *na'ñksē* SITTING POSITION.

³⁷ *hañkē* or *kē* NOT; *gise'wē* QUIET; *ní* negative particle.

³⁸ *me* THIS NEAR ME; *jegū'* an adverb meaning THUS, INDEED; *ha* CAUSATIVE 1st person; *gi'ji* conditional.

³⁹ *ji* TO COME; *naiñk* from *nañk*, which becomes lengthened in the future; *-kjāne* future particle. The simple future particle is *kja*, but to express an indefinite future the particle *na'* is always suffixed. Without the *na'* it has the force of a mild imperative. (Cf. also note 43.)

⁴⁰ 1st person *ya're*, 2d person *hira're*, 3d person *hi're* TO THINK.

⁴¹ *hi'ū* TO DO WITH; *gi* FOR.

⁴² *ha'w'* WEED, GRASS; *-ja'* contraction for *hi'ja'*.

⁴³ *ru'z* or *rus* (1st person *duš*, 2d person *ku'rus*, 3d person *rus*) TO TAKE; *ā'nañga*, a conjunction connecting closely related sentences.

⁴⁴ *man'pa-ho'wa-huh'i-jē*; *pa* for *ra*, the *r* of which changes to *pa* after a nasalization (see note 22).

⁴⁵ *jē'gā* *hiā'nañgā* a common connective phrase; *hi* causative 3d person.

⁴⁶ Contraction for *jigē' hi'ja'*.

⁴⁷ Contraction of *ūn'čēp* TO FINISH and the third person of the causative *hi*. Both elements of the verb are conjugated. Thus *ha'ūn'čēba'na'*, *š'ūn'čēbra'na'*, *ūn'čēbi'na'*; *-gi'ji* is used here as a temporal particle.

⁴⁸ *ke'čūñk* or *kečū'ngē* large species of turtles; *kē* alone is also found meaning TURTLE; *-gd* a regular possessive pronominal ending, used with terms of relationship, or for persons to whom respect is to be shown. It is always used in indirect address, somewhat in the sense of MR. SO AND SO. It is appended to all proper names; for instance, *ku'nūñgā* ELDEST BORN, etc. But in direct address the *-ga* is dropped.

higé'jê.³⁹ Hunubi'mani⁴⁰ wowe'wiⁿhojéjai'n'ja⁴¹ wagú'ⁿzerã.⁴² "Jeja'n'
 hecalledhim. Two-leggedwalkers attheendofhishinking hemade. "Toend
 kãrêhoa'k'sãnaⁿ⁴³ ma'n'na p'is's'ûⁿ⁴⁴ se'rekJane'naⁿ⁴⁵ ke'cú'ũgera."⁴⁶
 theyareabout theearthyoumakeitgood youaregoingto you,tortoise."
 Jégú'ⁿhiã'naũgamaⁿhi'n'jaⁿ⁴⁷ hanigi'gijê.⁴⁸ Ma'n'negi'jigi'ji⁴⁹ wona'yirê⁵⁰
 Andafterhedid aknife topossesshegave Onearthwhenhe wars
 him. came
 'ûⁿ'jê wogú'ⁿzerã hañkê' ho'giruhujni'jê;⁵¹ e'gi jigê' hañkê'
 he did thecreation not atlookedheforhim; and again not
 hogi'ruhujni'jégê' e'sgê⁵² ji'gigúⁿ⁵³ kuru'ssê⁵⁴ . . . Hagi'⁵⁵
 he lookedforhim thus againthen he tookhimback. . . . Thereat
 cí'ra⁵⁶ hoikê'wêjê.⁵⁷ "HAⁿhaⁿ⁵⁸ k'u'nika,⁵⁹ hiô'cã'ra k'u'nika wa'rê⁶⁰
 thehouse wenthe in. "Say grandmother, myfather grandmother work
 hu'ũngi'gira⁶¹ duhurú'k'sãnaⁿ; wogú'ⁿzera p'i'n'ûⁿ⁶² hu'ũngi'gira
 hesentme for Ihaveaccomplished; hiscreation fixitaright hesentme for

³⁹1st person *ya'gé*, 2d person *hi'ragé*, 3d person *hi'gé*, TO CALL.

⁴⁰Contraction for *hu-nũn'p-hima'ni* LEG-TWO-HE WALKS WITH. As it has no nominalizing prefix, correctly rendered, it ought to read THE TWO-LEGS-TO WALK WITH. It is used here idiomatically as a noun. The verb is 1st person *hi'mani*, 2d person *hima'stani*, 3d person *hima'ni*.

⁴¹*wô'* is a nominalizing prefix properly composed of *wa* indefinite pronoun and *ho*. It is used far less frequently than *ho*. *jejai'n'ja* is a contraction for *jeja'n'* TO END and *é'ja* THERE, with prepositional force.

⁴²*wa* indefinite pronoun; *gũnz* or *gũns* (1st person *ha'gũns*, 2d person *ra'gũns*, 3d person *gũns*) TO CREATE; the article *-ra* has the force of a relative pronoun here.

⁴³1st person *hakã'reho*, 2d person *rakã'reho*, 3d person *kd'reho*, TO BE READY, TO BE ABOUT; *ak* or *añk* 3d person singular of suffix denoting WALKING or LYING. (1st person *-mañk*, 2d person *sa'wãñk*, 3d person *-añk*); *-sã* is a suffix of uncertain meaning that never appears alone, but is always followed by *na'n*. It is generally suffixed to the elements denoting SITTING and LYING or WALKING. Indeed, I know of no instance where *-na'n* is directly suffixed to the above forms of the verbs, *-sã* being always inserted before it. It must not be confused with *se*, from which in actual conversation it can hardly be distinguished. *-na'n* is a suffix denoting general indefinite action.

⁴⁴From *p'is* GOOD, TO BE GOOD, and *s'ûn* 2d person singular of auxiliary *'ûn* (see note 3).

⁴⁵From irregular verb, 1st person *de*, 2d person *se're*, 3d person *re*, TO GO; *kja* future; *-ne* a suffix of the same nature as *sã*, never appearing alone, but always followed by *-na'n*; it is generally suffixed to verbs in the standing form.

⁴⁶*-ra* is the 2d person singular of the possessive pronoun. Used here in a vocative sense. For this reason the regular *-ga* is omitted.

⁴⁷*ma'hiã* AN IRON KNIFE. This term was used to designate the first white people with whom the Indians came in contact.

⁴⁸*hani* with prepositional force of WITH, POSSESSING; *gi'gi* an auxiliary verb (1st person *ha'gigi*, 2d person *ra'gigi*, 3d person *gi'gi*) TO MAKE, with the idea of some force being used in the action.

⁴⁹Contraction for *man-ra-é-gi-ji-gi'ji* EARTH-THE-HERE-HE CAME-WHEN; *-é'gi* is an adverb here, used in a prepositional sense; for *ji* see note 4.

⁵⁰This means literally SOMETHING TERRIFYING (from *nañhĩre* TO BE SCARED).

⁵¹*ho-* preposition IN; *gi-* preposition FOR. The demonstrative *e* is occasionally used for the 3d person singular when it is to be expressed. *-ni* negative particle.

⁵²Regular adverb, meaning THEREFORE THUS, ON THAT ACCOUNT.

⁵³Contraction for *jigê'* and *hi'gũn'* THEN.

⁵⁴*ku* reflexive (see note 23).

⁵⁵Adverbial expression; *ha* in composition often means AT.

⁵⁶*éi* (1st person *ha'éi*, 2d person *ra'éi*, 3d person *éi*) TO LIVE. It is also used as a noun.

⁵⁷1st person *wa'kêwê*, 2d person *horai'kêwê*, 3d person *hoi'kêwê*; *ho* means IN; *i* is probably *gi* FOR, with the *g* elided (see § 33). It may, however, be an idiomatic substitution for *kĩ*, a possessive particle. The verb means HE IS GOING TO HIS OWN HOUSE. If it were not his own house, the forms would have been 1st person *wa'gikê'wê*, 2d person *hora'gikê'wê*, 3d person *ho'gikê'wê*. The stem of the verb is *kê'wê*.

⁵⁸Used in the sense of HALLOO, SAY, and often simply to begin a narrative.

⁵⁹GRANDMOTHER is *hikó'roké*; but in direct address *k'u'nikã* is used, just as *ja'ji* and *na'ni* are employed for FATHER and MOTHER.

⁶⁰1st person *wa'dé*, 2d person *wa'seré*, 3d person *wa'rê*, TO WORK. The 3d person singular of verbs is at the same time the absolute form, to be translated by our infinitive.

⁶¹*hi* objective personal pronoun 1st person. For *-gi'gi* and *-ra* see notes 48 and 46.

⁶²'ûⁿ has participial force.

hanāⁿ 'é duhuró'kśānaⁿ Ua'ñkśigo-iⁿ'na⁶³ hidegwaha'ra⁶⁴ hiuni'wahara
 all I have accomplished it their life my uncles my aunts
 wiakaraki'sgê⁶⁵ 'uinekjane'naⁿ.—"É'gi cúⁿsga'no jasgerá'nañgá
 the same as myself they will be."—"And grandson how did you
 hidegwa'rāga Ua'ñkśigo-iⁿ'na⁶⁶ wiraki'sgê jasge'kjeje⁶⁷ ke'jesga'
 my uncles their life make just as you how could you it is not
 nina⁶⁸ hióⁿ'jihiwi'ra jegûⁿ' gûⁿ'sgê⁶⁹ jegu'naⁿ hañkê' jegûⁿ'
 that way our father indeed he created (them) that is so (but) not he made
 higi⁷⁰ p'ini'naⁿ.⁷¹—"K'unika'gā wajaⁿ' wahigu'ni,⁷² esgê⁷³ hañkê'
 it thus could he."—"Grandmother something to them she must be, for not
 gip'i'nigê wanañku'ni⁷⁴ t'e'wagigi'ra.⁷⁵ Hirana'ñkśê. "Hañkâ'a⁷⁶
 like it does she is saying that I killed them." He thought. "No, no,
 she
 cúⁿsga'no, hañkê'jê jê'êsgê ya'rê wahanina'ñkśānaⁿ,⁷⁷ cúⁿsga'no
 grandson, not that way am I wahanina'ñkśānaⁿ,⁷⁷ cúⁿsga'no
 am I saying, grandson
 hióⁿ'jihi'wira ro'ra hakôⁿ'na⁷⁸ hiⁿgûⁿ'śśānaⁿ⁷⁹ wa'ruc⁸⁰ hi'kiru'jis^{80a}
 our father bodiless the falling he made me eating to fall short
 (to die)
 k'inekjó'naⁿ⁸¹ hegê'jini,⁸² e'sgê hokôⁿ'nā cúⁿwahi'gê⁸³ wā'u'naⁿ.
 they would make one because of that, there-fore death for them to have he made.

⁶³ Ua'ñk means MALE HUMAN BEING; Ua'ñk'k is generic name for HUMAN BEINGS, and secondarily for INDIANS. (h)ó-iⁿ'na is the nominalized form of the verb 1st person a'ⁿ, 2d person ra'ⁿ, 3d person ñ, TO ACT, TO LIVE.

⁶⁴ hide'k UNCLE; -waha'rd 1st person plural of possessive pronoun, used for terms of relationship.

⁶⁵ Contraction for wa-ya-ka'ra-ki'gê; wa indefinite pronoun; kara reflexive-possessive; 1st person yaki'gê, 2d person hi'raki'gê, 3d person hiki'gê.

⁶⁶ See note 63.

⁶⁷ ja'gê HOW; kje future; jê interrogative particle. The whole expression has acquired a force in ordinary usage which makes it practically an exclamation.

⁶⁸ je'gê ha'nina THAT IS NOT MY WAY; ha'nina is a possessive pronoun.

⁶⁹ gâns HE CREATED; -gê a causal suffix, BECAUSE, FOR THAT REASON.

⁷⁰ An expression similar to jegûⁿ'hiá'nañgá; gî has adverbial force.

⁷¹ p'ín TO BE GOOD is often used as an auxiliary verb with the force of TO BE ABLE, CAN.

⁷² This means SHE MUST BE RELATED TO THEM; wa plural objective personal pronoun 3d person; -ñi causative. It must not be forgotten that the causative is really an auxiliary verb and is often used as such. -gu'ni a temporal suffix implying a probability that is almost a certainty. The other suffix denoting probability, -igu'ni, has no element of certainty in its meaning.

⁷³ we SHE SAYS changes to wa after a negative. The verb is irregular, 1st person hie', 2d person hie', 3d person he. The h of he is always omitted. The w preceding a indicates that the subject of the principal verb and of e is the same. If they had been different, the e would have remained unchanged; nañku'ni is a contraction for nañk gu'ni, the suffix denoting SITTING POSITION and the suffix denoting PROBABILITY. K'unika does not actually say the above words, but the supposition seems so true to Wañjige'ga, that it almost amounts to a certainty, and therefore -gu'ni is used instead of -igu'ni.

⁷⁴ t'e DEAD; wa THEM; hagi'gi I DID (see note 48); -ra THAT (see note 46); 1st person t'e'ha, 2d person f'e'ra, 3d person t'e'hi, TO KILL.

⁷⁵ The short e is changed to d on account of emphasis.

⁷⁶ See notes 74 and 48.

⁷⁷ 1st person ha'kónge, 2d person ha'rákón'ge, 3d person hakón'ge, TO FALL.

⁷⁸ hi ME; gâns TO MAKE; śānaⁿ (see note 43).

⁷⁹ 1st person du't, 2d person su'ruc, 3d person ruc, TO EAT. The wa is indefinite.

⁸⁰ 1st person hi'ñkirujis, 2d person hi'ñkiri'rujis, 3d person hiñki'rujis.

⁸¹ Goes with the preceding verb. k'in auxiliary verb (from 1st person ha'k'ín, 2d person ra'k'ín, 3d person k'ín, TO DO, TO MAKE; ge, t'ge, re, i're, suffix used to indicate 3d person plural of almost all verbs. It is really an auxiliary verb. For naⁿ see note 43. When suffixed to future, it makes the latter more indefinite.

⁸² gê'jini or hegê'jini conjunction. The latter form is rarely found.

⁸³ cúⁿ MANY, really an adverb; wahi' HE MADE THEM; gê causal suffix.

Mana'ngêrê hakinikine'k'îônêgê'jîni.⁸⁴ Wa'u'na⁸⁵ hot'e'⁸⁶ cûⁿwahi'gi."⁸⁷
 The earth crowded they would not make one He made a place to for them to have."
 another. die

Ē'gi hisgê'hjîⁿ⁸⁷ wasjînge'ga⁸⁸ hañkê' gip'inina'ñksê. "K'unika'gā
 And truly the hare not he liked it. "Grandmother
 hisgê'hjîⁿ hañkê' gip'ininañka'jaⁿ⁸⁹ e'wajōn^{90a} wahigê' wakarasi'-
 really and not like it she does this something, to them she she is tak-
 truly must be

gēnañka'jaⁿ^{90b} hiranā'ñksê.^{90a} "Kā'a, cūⁿsga'no kē'jesgani'naⁿ haga'-
 ing their part," he thought. "No, no, grandson it is not so
 wojañgajaⁿ'naijaⁿ⁹¹ na'cge'ra⁹² nîⁿdegi'jaⁿ⁹³ cako'⁹⁴ hidegwa'raga
 for a long time (your) heart a sore one, therefore my uncles
 hiuniwa'raga uañksîgo-îⁿna'ji.⁹⁵ Hipōnai'rekjenaⁿ⁹⁶ hoš'a'gera⁹⁷
 my aunts life to live. They will get enough their age
 hirahiⁿ'hçine'kjê"⁹⁸ wagê'jê.⁹⁹ "HAⁿhaⁿ' cūⁿsga'no naⁿji'ne¹⁰⁰
 they will go up to she said. "Well grandson stand up
 hiroikō'nañk'uwiña'nihekjane'naⁿ.¹⁰¹ Ē'gi hironi'kōnañk'janihe'-
 they will follow me thus forever. And I shall follow you for-
 naⁿ,¹⁰² cūⁿsga'no hidajê'¹⁰³ wa'uaⁿ'jê¹⁰⁴ uañgerani'naⁿ,¹⁰⁵ hañkê'
 ever, grandson with your strength do a man you are, not

⁸⁴ First *ki* reflexive pronoun, referring to the fact that the people are regarded as related; *ni* is the negative particle. As I have never found another instance of *ni* appearing without *hañkê'*, I assume that I overheard the latter word. For *-ge'jîni* see note 82.

⁸⁵ See notes 3 and 43.

⁸⁶ Referring to the Winnebago ghost-village.

⁸⁷ *hisgê'* TRULY; *-hçin* intensive suffix.

⁸⁸ *wasjînk* A HARE (see note 38).

⁸⁹ Verb 1st person *ha'p'îⁿ*, 2d person *rai'p'îⁿ*, 3d person *gi'p'îⁿ*. The force of *gi* in verbs that elide it in the first and second persons is obscure, although it is generally the instrumental prefix. In this case it is the *gi*, meaning FOR, TO; IT IS PLEASING TO ME. *nî* negative particle; *ka'jaⁿ*, contracted for *-nañk-ga'jaⁿ* (see notes 74 and 23).

^{90a} *e* demonstrative THIS.

^{90b} The verb is found only in the reflexive form, 1st person *wa'kara'rañk*, 2d person *wa'raka'rañk*, 3d person *waka'rañk*; *wa* indefinite pronoun; *kara* reflexive pronoun; *-e-* is a glide.

⁹¹ *a* This should be *hi'rena'ñksê*, the change from *e* to *a* being due to the presence of the negative.

⁹² An idiomatic expression with force of an exclamation. Probably a contraction of *haga'+wajaⁿ+ga'jaⁿ+ma'jaⁿ*; *haga'* is an exclamation employed by women (see note 115); *matjan* A YEAR, TIME.

⁹³ *na'cge'* HEART.

⁹⁴ 1st person *hiⁿ'dek*, 2d person *niⁿ'dek*, 3d person *dek*, TO BE SORE; *i'jaⁿ*, *hi'jaⁿ*, ONE, A.

⁹⁵ Conjunction, meaning IN SPITE OF, NOTWITHSTANDING.

⁹⁶ See note 12; *-ji*, concessive conjunction meaning IF; *-gi'ji* is often used with the same force.

⁹⁷ 1st person *hiⁿ'pōnañk'je'naⁿ*, 2d person *hiⁿ'pōnañk'je'naⁿ*, 3d person *hi^p'pōnañk'je'naⁿ*. The initial *hi-* in the first person is a contraction of the prefix *hi-* and the pronoun *hiⁿ*; *-irê* personal pronoun 3d person plural (see note 81).

⁹⁸ From *š'ak* TO BE OLD. The fact that it has the nominalizing prefix would indicate that *š'ak* is a verb.

⁹⁹ 1st person *hi'rahi'*, 2d person *hira'rahi*, 3d person *hira'hi*, TO REACH; *-hçin* or *-hçin* superlative particle; for *hçe* see note 81. The simple future *-kje* is used because the limits of the action are conceived as having been set. The suffix *-naⁿ* would have made the future indefinite.

¹⁰⁰ 1st person *wa'gê*, 2d person *wara'gê*, 3d person *wagê'*, TO MEAN.

¹⁰¹ 1st person *nan'jîⁿ*, 2d person *naⁿ'ma'jîⁿ*, 3d person *nan'jîⁿ*, TO STAND. The *-pê* or *re* is the imperative. There are two kinds of Imperatives, immediate and general. The immediate is *-pê*, and the general is *-Aⁿ'jê*.

¹⁰² Contraction for *hira-ho'-hiⁿ-kōna'ñk'-ūⁿipê-ha'nihe-kjane'naⁿ*; *hi'ra* prefix meaning WITH, in sense of accompaniment; *ho* prefix, meaning obscure here; *hiⁿ* objective personal pronoun 1st person singular; *ko'nañk* stem of verb TO FOLLOW; *nîhe'* is an auxiliary verb and is used to imply repetition. It is regularly conjugated 1st person *ha'nîhe*, 2d person *ranihe*, 3d person *nîhe'*. It must not be confused with *-ni'he*, which is not conjugated and appears as a suffix with the meaning of HAD; *'ūⁿipê* THEY DO; for *ne'naⁿ* see note 43.

¹⁰³ *-nî* objective personal pronoun 2d person singular. The stem appears either as *-naiñk* or *nañk* (*h*)*a'nihe* (see note 101).

¹⁰⁴ Adverb. The ending *-a'jê* would seem to indicate that it is really the imperative form of a verb.

¹⁰⁵ Imperative form (see note 100); *wa* indefinite pronoun.

¹⁰⁶ From *uañk* MAN, and *hani'naⁿ* TO HAVE, TO POSSESS (see note 14).

hakja ⁿ benia ⁿ 'jê. ¹⁰⁶ look back."	Hogigi'nh Around	rawi'gi. ¹⁰⁷ they started.	"Hañkê' "Not	hakja ⁿ 'beni" look back"
šia'ka ¹⁰⁸ she said	k'unika'gâ grandmother	jagu''û ⁿ 109 why	wegunihiregê'jîni. ¹¹⁰ she said it he thought.	
Çowe'hjînfînk ¹¹¹ just a little	hoiraçge'ja ¹¹² to the left	hakja ⁿ pga'ja ⁿ look back (he did)	hagohu'ra ¹¹³ to where started	
horuhônújike'rejê. ¹¹⁴ it caved in instantaneously.	"Çû ⁿ sga'no, "Grandson,	hagagasgeja'nhjî ⁿ 115 oh, my! oh, my!	UA'ngera a man	
niga'ja ⁿ you are	waja ⁿ 'nukana ⁿ 116 (but) something great	hanika'rajînhjînga'ja ⁿ . ¹¹⁷ I had encouraged you much.	Çû ⁿ sga'no, Grandson,	
dêere'sgê ¹¹⁸ this even	hañkê' not	karu's ¹¹⁹ take it back	duhurûgni'na ⁿ I can	hokôna'janê. ¹²⁰ these falling."
Hot'a'jô ⁿ nê. The deaths	waga'kçê ¹²¹ she meant	ai'rena ⁿ . ¹²² it is said.	Hogigi'nh Around	harai'regi ¹²³ they went
pejicê'jera: ¹²⁴ the edge of the fire;	hogi'wê ¹²⁵ that way	wa'u-ine'je they went	ai'rena ⁿ . they say.	

¹⁰⁶ From *ha'kja* BACK, and *jaⁿ* TO LOOK; *ni* negative particle; *a'jê* imperative.

¹⁰⁷ *ra* for *re*, which changes in the plural; from verb TO GO; *-wi* is the sign of the plural, but is rarely used for the 3d person. The usual form would have been *ra're*.

¹⁰⁸ 1st person *ha'ti*, 2d person *ra'ti*, 3d person *ti*, TO SAY, TO CALL OUT; *-aka* or *-a'kita* is the walking or lying form 3d person singular.

¹⁰⁹ Interrogative pronoun.

¹¹⁰ See notes 74 and 82.

¹¹¹ *to'we* IN FRONT; *-Ajiⁿ* Intensive particle; *-niñk* diminutive.

¹¹² *hoira'tgê* LEFT; *e'jâ* THERE.

¹¹³ *hak'* or *hakja'* IN BACK; *hohu'ra* TO COME FROM (nominalized).

¹¹⁴ 1st person *hu'pu'hónaⁿ* (for *ho'+hi'pu'hónaⁿ*), 2d person *honi'pu'hónaⁿ*, 3d person *ho'ru'hónaⁿ*, meaning TO FALL IN, like the bank of a river; *-aji-* a particle meaning IMMEDIATELY, IN THE TWINKLING OF AN EYE; *-ke're* an auxiliary verb, never appearing independently.

¹¹⁵ An exclamation of a woman.

¹¹⁶ *ruka'naⁿ* adjective, GREAT, MIGHTY.

¹¹⁷ *ha* preposition; *ni* objective personal pronoun 2d person singular; *kara* reflexive-possessive pronoun, used because the hare is related to *K'unika'ga*; *jiⁿ* stem of verb TO ENCOURAGE; *-Ajiⁿ* intensive; *-ga'jaⁿ* a stop.

¹¹⁸ *dê'ê* demonstrative of 1st person; *-re'tgê* EVEN; for *-re* see note 21.

¹¹⁹ See note 23.

¹²⁰ *hakô'n'pâ* THE FALLING; *jâ'nê* standing singular form of demonstrative *dê*.

¹²¹ From *wage'* TO MEAN, and *a'kçê* walking form of verb 3d singular.

¹²² From *he* TO SAY. The *e* changes to *a* in the plural; *t're* 3d person plural. Is always used as quotative in sense of IT IS SAID.

¹²³ *re* TO GO (see note 107); *-gi* WHEN.

¹²⁴ *peç* FIRE; *çêç* THE EDGE.

¹²⁵ Used as an adverb, but really a verb; 1st person *wa'giwê*, 2d person *hara'giwê*, 3d person *ha'giwê*, TO GO AROUND AND AROUND.

[Free Translation]

As our father came to consciousness, he thought of the (substance) he was sitting on. His tears flowed and he cried, (but not long did he think of it). He saw nothing. Indeed, nothing was there anywhere. He took something of the substance he was sitting on, and made a little piece of earth for them (our ancestors), and from the place on which he sat (he) cast it down below. Then he looked at what he had made, and he saw that it had become very similar to our earth. But nothing grew upon it; bare it was, and not quiet, but revolving. "How shall I make it become quiet?" he (Earth-Maker) thought. Then (from what he was sitting on) he took some grass and cast it toward the earth; and he looked upon what he had made, but it was not quiet.

. . . Again he made a man; and when he had finished him, he called him Tortoise. At the conclusion of his thinking (i. e., when he had come to consciousness) he had made the two-legged walkers (human beings). (Then he spoke to him thus: "The evil spirits) are about to destroy (my creation), and you, Tortoise, are being sent to bring order into earthly things again." Then (Earth-Maker) gave him a knife. When he came on earth, he began to make war, and did not look after the creation (of Earth-Maker); indeed, he did not look after it; so (Earth-Maker) took him back. . . . There he (the Hare) went into the house. "Say, grandmother, the work my father sent me to do I have now accomplished; his creation I have fixed for him, and (all that I was sent out for) I have accomplished. The lives of my uncles and my aunts (human beings) will be like mine (i. e., immortal)." (Then the grandmother answered,) "Grandson, how did you make the lives of your uncles and your aunts like your own, for how could you do something in a way our father had not (intended) it to be? He could not create them thus."—"My grandmother must be related to them (those I have killed); she does not like what I have done, for she is saying that I killed them (the evil spirits)." The Hare thought to himself. "No, grandson, I am not thinking of that, I am saying that our father made death, so that there should not be a dearth of food on earth for all, so death he made to prevent their overcrowding each other. He also made a spirit-world (in which they were to live after death)." But the Hare did not like what she said. "Surely," he thought to himself, "grandmother (does not like it); she must be related to the (evil spirits), for she is taking their part."—"No, no, grandson, it is not so; but as you have been sore at heart for a long time, (to appease you) your uncles and aunts will obtain a sufficient number of years, and they will attain to old age." (Thus she spoke:) "Now, grandson, stand up, (you) they will follow me forever, and I shall follow you forever; so try, grandson, to do (what I tell you) with all your power; and (remember) that you are a man. Do not look back after you have started." Then they started to go around (this earth). "Do not look back," she said. (Thought the Hare,) "(I wonder) why she said it!" And then he turned just the least little bit to the left; and as he looked back toward the place from which he had started, everything caved in (instantaneously). "Oh, my! oh, my!" (exclaimed the grandmother), "grandson, a man you are, but I thought you were a great man, so I greatly encouraged you. Now, grandson, even (if I wished to), I could not prevent death." This, it is said, she meant. Around the earth they went to the edge of the fire (that encircles the earth); that way they went, it is said.