

Mandan, sole member of one of the four branches of Siouan (within Catawba-Siouan), has under 10 speakers, among some 200 tribal members. Epidemics and inter-tribal warfare reduced these Missouri River village-dwelling horticulturists, from 5000 to under 200 members by 1837. With the Hidatsa (Siouan) and the Arikara (Caddoan), they constitute today's, Three Affiliated Tribes Nation (Ft. Berthold Indian Reservation; North Dakota). Mandan has vocalic epenthesis, is notable for only 10 consonants, 9 vowels (plus length) and no nasal stops, despite nasal spread from 3 nasal vowels. Mandan is a verb-final, head-marking language, with positional auxiliary verbs (sit, stand, lie) marking tense-aspect-modality (these auxiliaries also serve as classificatory NP determiners); other auxiliaries mark diminutives, benefactives and causatives, etc. Evidentiality, subject-number and other TAM distinctions are mostly suffixal. The verb has active/stative, subject-object split-transitive prefixation and distinguishes addressee gender in its illocutionary suffixation. Coordinate and subordinate clauses suffix a three-way distinction of realis vs. irrealis subject-continuity/switch-reference.

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# *Mandan*

**Mauricio Mixco**

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0. General Historical and Cultural Background:

Mandan is an endangered Siouan language spoken fluently by a rapidly dwindling population of fewer than eight elderly people on the Ft. Berthold Indian Reservation, which straddles a dammed section of the Middle Missouri River in North Dakota. In addition, there is a smaller number of semi-speakers. For the most part, modern Mandan have multiple ethnicity, as the result of intermarriage with members of other native, as well as non-native groups. All told, there are perhaps two hundred people, on and off the Reservation, who can claim some degree of Mandan ancestry; however, the great majority of these consists of non-speakers.

In recent times, the oldest Mandan speakers have tended to be trilingual, speaking Hidatsa as well as English. In some instances, though certainly not all, there is even evidence of interference from these languages in Mandan. Multilingual speakers report having acquired Hidatsa in childhood, either from relatives or as a result of contacts at local mission schools in which Hidatsa-speaking classmates predominated. As the language of instruction, they also acquired a working knowledge of English, perfected later in life through educational, military or work experiences. Moreover, some speakers recall a minor degree of Mandan-Arikara bilingualism, which has not persisted from former times. Instances of possible borrowing and other contact phenomena will be duly noted here.

The Mandan are considered to be one of the longest-settled, aboriginal peoples in the Middle Missouri River region. From a high point of wealth, power and cultural achievement at first European contact (by the Sire de Verendrye in 1738), these erstwhile bison hunters, horticulturalists and traders came to be decimated by European epidemics brought by riverboat to their palisaded earthlodge villages and by the depredations of mounted nomads from the surrounding plains. In 1837, a mere thirty-three years after the first visit of the Lewis and Clark expedition, the *Corps of Discovery*, dispatched by

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<sup>1</sup>. I should like to thank the Mandan speakers who have collaborated with me: Clyde Baker, Jacob Bird, William Bell, Edwin Benson, Louella Benson Young Bear, Ernest Medicine Stone and Carl Whitman. I also thank those colleagues, whose comments on drafts of this monograph have enhanced its quality; all flaws that may persist in it continue to be entirely my responsibility, of course: Randolph Graczyk, Douglas Parks and Robert Rankin. I gratefully acknowledge the support of the The University of Utah College of Humanities Sabbatical Leave and Career Development and University Faculty Research Committees, *The Whatcom Museum Foundation Melville and Elizabeth Jacobs Research Fund* (for exploratory fieldwork in Mandan on the Ft. Berthold reservation in 1993) and of the *National Science Foundation* for research support since 1994.



mounted nomads from the surrounding plains. In 1837, a mere thirty-three years after the first visit of the Lewis and Clark expedition, the *Corps of Discovery*, dispatched by Thomas Jefferson to explore the newly-purchased Louisiana Territory, thousands of Mandans died of small pox, leaving under 200 survivors. The thirteen clans of the Mandan were reduced to two major divisions (the *Three-Clans* and the *Four-Clans*), which soon merged with analogous structures in the Hidatsa kinship system (Will and Spinden 1906; Parks 1991, Vol 3: pg. 11).

A remnant of the original Mandan population was thus forced to join with two other friendly tribes against the trauma of depopulation and the incursions of the marauding equestrian raiders. In 1845, they came to share a single, palisaded settlement with the Hidatsa at Like-A-Fishhook Village (named after a bend in the Missouri River north of the Knife River confluence). The Hidatsa were still relatively viable due to an opportune absence from the River during the latest of the epidemics. In 1856, the two Siouan tribes were joined by the Caddoan-speaking Arikara, nearly as devastated by disease and beleaguered by war. Originally, a vast territory, from North Dakota into Wyoming, was promised to the three tribes by the Ft. Laramie Treaty of 1851; however, this area had been drastically reduced by the time the Ft. Berthold Reservation was established by an executive order in 1891. For over a century and a half, these three small tribes have been socially, culturally and, to a degree, linguistically linked. Since the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934, their political relationship has been formalized before the United States government in the *Three Affiliated Tribes Nation* in an even smaller Ft. Berthold Indian Reservation.

### 0.1 Genetic Affiliation:

While Arikara is most closely related to Pawnee in the *Caddoan* language family (previously of the Central and Southern Plains), Mandan, like Hidatsa, is a member of *Siouan*, a family the territory of which extended from the Lower Mississippi River Valley to the Northern Plains into Canada. Mandan is currently classified as the sole member of its own branch in the family, the *Mandan* branch. Despite having shared the same territory with the latter for some time, Hidatsa is closely related only to Crow of southeastern Montana in the *Missouri River* branch. There are two other branches of Siouan: the *Ohio Valley* (also known as *Southeastern*, given the distribution of its few, now-extinct members in that region: Tutelo, Saponi, Moniton, Biloxin and Ofo). The most populous grouping in Siouan is the *Mississippi River* branch, consisting of three sub-branches with a number of languages each, namely: the *Dakotan* sub-branch (Teton, Santee, Yankton, Yanktonais, Assiniboine and Stoney); the *Dhegiha* sub-branch (Omaha-Ponca, Osage-Kansa and Quapaw) and the *Chiwere-Winnebago* sub-branch (Winnebago and Iowa-Oto-Missouri). Though some of the latter languages are now extinct, several in the Dakotan branch are still spoken in the general vicinity of Mandan. *Catawba* (once spoken in what are now the Carolinas along with its sister language, Woccon) is counted as an extinct branch, collateral with the entire Siouan family in a superordinate, *Catawba-Siouan* family. More remote relationships have also been postulated on a tentative basis for Catawba-Siouan with such, otherwise unrelated, families as Caddoan and Iroquoian (Chafe 1976), not to mention Edward Sapir's earlier, more speculative *Hokan-Siouan* super-stock hypothesis (Sapir 1929).

### 0.2 Variation; Past and Present:

Mandan is often referred to by its speakers as, *Rú?eta:(re)* ([nú?eta:(re)], sometimes spelled, *Nu-eta:(re)* or *Nuitade*), after the dialect from which it arose. Considering the number of pre-contact villages, it is probable that there was some degree of dialect diversity in Mandan. A handful of lexical items are still referred to as of possible *Rúpta:(re)* origin ([núpta:(re)], spelled *Nuptare* or *Nuptade*); the latter dialect does not appear to have survived the earliest reservation period. *Rúpta:(re)* was also the name of one of the surviving villages in the early nineteenth century. What little is known about earlier varieties of Mandan comes from the writings of such celebrated travelers as Maximilian, Prinz zu Wied Neu-Wied (1839-41), George Catlin (1897) and a few others (see, Will and Spinden 1906.)

The flooding of the Ft. Berthold Missouri River bottoms in 1951 by the US Army Corps of Engineers radically disrupted what dialect groupings may have survived the move to the Reservation, henceforth cut diagonally in two by Lake Sakakawea, leaving only two crossings, upstream and downstream.<sup>2</sup> The former is a bridge near New Town close to the western reservation boundary of the Northern Segment; the latter is outside the Reservation, at Pick City across the top of the Garrison Dam, some 20 miles east of the southern boundary of the Eastern Segment of the Reservation and about an hour north of the state capital, Bismarck. The name of its twin city, Mandan, on the opposite bank of the Missouri River, commemorates the location of early Mandan villages near the confluence of the Heart River, a western tributary of the Missouri (e.g. Huff, Slant Village, etc.).

Presently, the bulk of the Mandan on the Reservation lives near the Twin Buttes sub-agency in the Southern Segment; others are scattered throughout predominantly Hidatsa settlements situated around the lake: at Mandaree, Drags Wolf Village (near the Four Bears tribal administrative headquarters and casino), New Town (Shell Creek) and Parshall (Lucky Mound). Whatever linguistic diversity may have existed in the language prior to the earlier period of tribulations and the more recent population displacements is now virtually beyond recovery.<sup>3</sup>

### 0.3 Previous Scholarship:

There are few published sources on Mandan grammar. Aside from older, sketchy reports and wordlists, such as those recorded by Prince Maximilian, the first published modern description of the language is by Edward Kennard (1936), who also collected numerous unpublished, narrative texts. More recently, Robert C. Hollow has left us an unpublished University of California-Berkeley doctoral dissertation, *Mandan Dictionary* (1970) in an early generative phonology framework (Chomsky and Halle 1968). It is a great stride beyond the broad phonetic transcription and morphological analysis in Kennard and is liberally quoted from here.<sup>4</sup> Richard T. Carter has worked on the language most

2. The name *Sakakawea* is from the Hidatsa, *saka:ka wi:a* 'Bird Woman', the name of the captive Shoshoni woman who accompanied the Lewis and Clark expedition on their way to the Pacific.

3. Prior to formation of Lake Sakakawea modern speakers recall at least three dialect zones, within *Ry:ʔeta:re* itself, along the Missouri River: the Short River or Red Butte area (near the present-day Twin Buttes sub-agency), the confluence of the Little Missouri and Missouri Rivers and, finally, the Independence "Territory" (near modern Mandaree and New Town.)

4. More recently Richard T. Carter has published a phonological paper based on philological dialect data from Maximilian as well as an analysis of one of the Kennard texts (Carter 1991a and 1991b). Mary Schramm Coberly has also published an analysis of a Kennard text, *Trickster Challenges the Buffalo*, Coberly (1979). Therefore, including Kennard (1936) and Carter (1991b), there have been three published text analyses.

recently, publishing a phonological and philological study as well as an analysis of one of the Kennard texts (Carter 1991a; 1991b).

### 0.4 Present Fieldwork and Endangered Status of the Language

I began my own fieldwork with Mandan in the summer of 1993, continuing each summer since. I have worked with most of the fluent men and one woman in the Northern as well as the Southern Segments of the Reservation. The last three years have seen the demise of three male speakers and the incapacitation of another. Given the absence of fluent speakers under sixty years of age, Mandan may accurately be characterized as an *endangered* language.

Some language-preservation efforts are being made to provide formal instruction in Mandan both at the elementary-school, as well as at the adult level. The teacher for both educational levels is Mr. Edwin Benson of the Twin Buttes area, south of Lake Sakakawea. I have worked most intensely with Mr. Benson over the last few summers.

An immediate goal of my project is to produce a reference grammar and dictionary from which materials can be adapted for both community, scholarly as well as archival purposes. I am also currently editing for publication the collection of several hundred pages of texts collected by Edward Kennard between the late 1930's and the early 1960s. With these, I will include materials I have tape-recorded, transcribed and analyzed, consisting of many hours of narrative and conversation. As mentioned, a small number Kennard texts have been published by Robert C. Hollow (1977, 1978) and one by Richard T. Carter (1991b). The former are in a pedagogical orthography with no grammatical analysis; the latter, has a modern phonemic format with morphemic glosses. The text fragment presented here is from *No Tongue*, a 220-line text, one of those previously published by Hollow (Parks, Jones and Hollow 1978). I have provided the missing morphemic analysis for the longer version in a manuscript I have recently submitted for publication (Mixco forthcoming).

### 1. Phonology:

Mandan has a relatively simple consonantal inventory, with a single series of four voiceless oral stops. Unlike some of the other Siouan languages, it lacks both aspirate and glottalized (or ejective) stop series. As is currently postulated for Proto-Siouan, Mandan lacks nasal stops; the latter are predictably nasal in the environment of phonemic nasal vowels, where /w, ɾ/ are nasalized to [m, n] on the phonetic level, respectively. There are four fricatives, including a palatal fricative. Note that /h/ patterns as a resonant, not a fricative in the following rules.

There are six oral vowel distinctions which also contrast through vocalic length.<sup>5</sup> The vowel /æ/ is an archiphoneme that captures a predictable ablaut alternation, between [a] and [e], as conditioned by grammatical environments in specific roots and suffixes.<sup>6</sup> The three nasal vowels may also occur as long.

### 1.1 Consonants:

p	t	(č) <sup>7</sup>	k	ʔ
	s	š	x	
w	r			h

### 1.2 Oral and Nasal Vowels; Long and Short:

i(:)	u(:)	ĩ(:)	ũ(:)
e(:)	o(:)		
æ(:)	a(:)	ǣ(:)	

### 1.3 Minimal Pairs:

#### 1.3.1 Consonantal Minimal or Subminimal Pairs

##### 1.3.1.1 Stops

po 'fish'; te: 'to die'; ko: 'squash'; xo: 'ice'; ho 'voice'

to:p 'four'; o:t 'to accompany'; xik 'bad'; ši 'foot'

a:re 'arm; ha:re 'sky; cloud'; kok 'antelope'; hók 'story'

<sup>5</sup> Hollow 1970 does not recognize the phonemic distinction of vocalic length.

<sup>6</sup> Hollow 1970 uses a capital letter /E/ for the archiphoneme /æ/, which is [a] in the following grammatical environments: 1) as the replicated vowel in a reduplicated root; 2) before the imperative, the second plural, same-subject and negative suffixes. Elsewhere it is [e].

<sup>7</sup> The affricate /č/ occurs in one suffix only, -č 'intensive' (INT); see section 2.2.7.1 for examples.

### 1.3.1.2 Fricatives

The best examples of fricative contrasts can be found in sound-symbolic ablaut series, such as the following:

si:re 'buckskin'; ši:re 'yellow' xi:re 'brown';

šot 'white'; xot 'grey'; šeʔ 'wind'; xeʔh-oʔš 'it's raining'

### 1.3.1.3 Glides

The following examples reveal the contrast between glides in nasal as opposed to non-nasal environments:

waʔh 'snow'; wəh 'turnip'; wə:h 'arrow'; wʔt 'field'; wʔp 'cellar';

ra:-te-oʔš 'you stand'; rə-tə-oʔš 'stood up' (vt; mutative prefix);

pa:re 'bitter'; piʔh 'smoke'; pih 'fart'; wı:h 'woman';

wa-ıʔh 'robe'; psi-oʔš 'be black'; pši:r-oʔš 'be flat'.

### 1.3.2 Vocalic Minimal or Subminimal Pairs

These examples are arranged to show both qualitative and quantitative vowel contrasts, along with contrasts in nasalization:

piʔ 'liver'; peʔ 'nit'; poʔ 'fish'; paʔ 'head'; pus 'striped';

wa-xtik okšuk 'peg'; wa:xtik 'rabbit'; wəh 'turnip'; wə:h 'arrow';

ši-oʔš 'be good'; ši:h-oʔš 'be sharp'; sıh-oʔš 'be strong'; wı:h

'woman'; xtuxte 'chew'; xiru: 'tame'; šʔt 'tail'; šʔ:te 'bent'; hu-oʔš

'be much'; hu: 'yes'; hiʔ 'teeth'; i-hıʔ 'hair'; i-hı: to drink';

ka-ških-oʔš 'to slit'; ka-xkih-oʔš 'to crack'; xke:ʔ-oʔš 'to dig';

ka-skæ-oʔš 'to tie'; skop-oʔš 'be crooked'; ka-pke 'snowfall';

oxa 'wound'; o:xa 'red fox'; rex-oʔš 'to urinate'; ræ:h-oʔš 'to go';

i-re:x-oʔš 'be light'; i-ki-hə:-xi=k-oʔš 'to forget';<sup>8</sup>

ǰ-ki-hə:-xi=k-oʔš 'to faint' (lit. 'forget oneself').

#### 1.4 Representative Phonological Rule Derivations:

In the interest of space, only one example is provided for each of the following rules.

##### 1.4 .1 k/p Metathesis:

k + p ---> p + k

ki-pa-xkiḥ-oʔš 'he cracks something of his own'

k-pa-xkiḥ-oʔš Readjustment Rule

pka-xkiḥ-oʔš p/k Metathesis Rule

[pkaxkiḥoʔš]

##### 1.4 .2 i-Deletion:

i ---> ø / \_\_\_\_\_ + Resonant Consonant  
[+stress]

áki-rǰr 'bridge' (lit. atop-walk)

ák-rǰr i-Deletion Rule

ák-rǰr-e Final Vowel Addition

akṇǰne Glide Nasalization

[akṇǰne]

<sup>8</sup> The latter has an irregular infixation of the negative suffix, -xi (NEG) within the root, ki-hæk 'to recall' (cf. hæk 'to know'; ki- 'middle voice' (MV)).

##### 1.4 .3 Dental Stop Dissimilation:

t ---> s / \_\_\_\_\_ t

pa-wéš-rǰt-ta 'Cut it (pl)!'

pa-wéš-rǰs-ta Dental Stop Dissimilation  
[pawéšṇǰsta]

##### 1.4 .4 Geminate Consonant Simplification:

C' ---> ø / \_\_\_\_\_ C'

wrók-kræ-eška 'rice' (lit. worms-like)

wrók-kre-eška Readjustment Rule

wró-kre-eška Geminate Consonant Simplification

wró-kreʔeška Glottal Stop Insertion

werókereʔeška Epenthesis

[werókereʔeška]

##### 1.4 .5 Final Vowel Addition (optional):

ø ---> {e/a} / C \_\_\_\_\_ #

ǰ=sæk 'do; make'

ǰ=sek Readjustment rules

ǰ=seke Final Vowel Addition

[ǰseke]

##### 1.4 .6 Glottal Stop Metathesis:

ʔV ---> Vʔ / C \_\_\_\_\_

wə-áki-rǰk 'I ride horseback' (lit. I-atop-sit)

wʔ-ák-rǰk Readjustment Rules

wáʔk-rǰk Glottal Stop Metathesis

wáʔkanǰk Epenthesis

wáʔkanǰk Glide Nasalization

[wáʔkanǰk]

## 1.4 .7 Post-Consonantal /h/ Deletion:

h ---&gt; ø / C + (r) \_\_\_\_\_

ki-hĩ-oʔʂ	'he arrives back there'
k-hĩ-ʔʂ	Readjustment Rules
k-ĩ-ʔʂ	Post-Consonantal /h/ Deletion
[kiʔʂ]	

## 1.4 .8 /rh/ Realization:

r (-) h ---&gt; t / C + (r) \_\_\_\_\_

é=ra-hæ-rĩt-oʔʂ	'you (pl) say it'
é=r-ha-rĩt-oʔʂ	Readjustment Rules
é=ta-rĩt-oʔʂ	/rh/ Realization
étanĩtoʔʂ	Glide Nasalization
[étanĩtoʔʂ]	

## 1.4 .9 Final Resonant Deletion:

r ---&gt; ø / \_\_\_\_\_ #

h

ptĩr	'buffalo'
ptĩ	Final Resonant Deletion
[ptĩ]	

## 1.4 .10 Glottal Stop Deletion:

ʔ ---&gt; ø / \_\_\_\_\_ #

pĩʔ	'liver'
pĩ	Glottal Stop Deletion
[pĩ]	

## 1.4 .11 Pre-Consonantal /r/ Deletion:

r ---&gt; ø / \_\_\_\_\_ C

ĩ-hĩr-ka	'pipe'
ĩ-hĩ-ka	Pre-Consonantal /r/ Deletion
[ihĩka]	

## 1.4 .12 Pre-Consonantal /h/ Deletion (optional before stops):

h ---&gt; ø / \_\_\_\_\_ C

pasáḥ-s	'the stream'
pasá-s	Pre-Consonantal /h/ Deletion
[pasás]	

## 1.4 .13 Glottal Stop Insertion:

ø ---&gt; ʔ/V \_\_\_\_\_ V

wa-ru-úx-oʔʂ	'I break it'
wa-ru-ʔúx-oʔʂ	Glottal Stop Insertion
[waruʔúxoʔʂ]	

## 1.4 .14 Epenthesis:

ø ---&gt; V' / C \_\_\_\_\_ w/rV'

wrĩ	'water'
wirĩ	Epenthesis
winĩ ~ mənĩ	Glide Nasalization
[winĩ ~ mənĩ]	

ko-wró	'her husband'
ko-wró	Final Resonant Deletion
ko-weró	Epenthesis
[koweró]	

## 1.4 .15 Stress:

V ---> [+stress] / #(C)\_\_\_\_(C)V  
[-stress]

V ---> [-stress] / V (S)\_\_\_\_#  
[+stress]

wa-ki-ki-hú:r-oʔš 'I came back again'  
wa-ki-kú:h-oʔš Readjustment Rules  
wákiku:hoʔš Stress  
[wákikú:hòʔš]<sup>9</sup>

## 1.4 .16 Regressive Nasal Assimilation:

Vr ---> [+nasal] / \_\_\_\_ [+nasal]

Cr

wr̥j 'water'  
wir̥j Epenthesis  
wir̥j Stress  
m̥j̥n̥j̥ Glide Nasalization  
[m̥j̥n̥j̥] ~ [m̥ɲ̥j̥]

## 1.5 Syllable Structure and Phonotactics:

Mandan lexical morphemes may consist of one or two syllables.

Polysyllabic morphemes exceeding two syllables, are likely to be lexically complex, at least historically. Monosyllabic morphemes may begin with one or no consonant or a cluster of no more than two members, followed by at least one and no more than two vowels and one or no final consonant: ((C)C)V(C). Disyllabic morphemes may begin with a syllable with minimally no consonants and maximally two, followed by a single vowel. The first syllable vowel in turn can be followed by from one to two consonants followed by a vowel and either one or no final consonant. No morpheme may contain more than one two-consonant cluster: ((C)C)VC(C)V(C):

Shape	Example	Gloss
V:	é:	'be distant'
VC	áh; i:h	'be covered; mouth'
CV	šĩ	'be good'
CV(:)C	šáh; t̥j:h	'be half; to appear'
CCV(:)	pke; psĩ;	'turtle; be black'
CCV(:)C	skúh; pt̥j:re; pšəš	'be sweet'; bison; sweetgrass'
V(:)CV(:)	á:ki; ʔ:xa:	'be above; alone'
VCV(:)C	írək;	'again'
VCCV	áp̥xa; oxka	'wing; wild'
VCCVC	ákreh; ox̥t̥a:r	'be pitiful; cedar'
CVCV(:)	hika; kiw̥a:	'be last; six'
CVCVC	šówok	'be deep, hollow'
CCVCV	xt̥áte;	'thunderbird'
CCVCCV	kš̥j̥kše	'lightning'
CCVCVC	pš̥ɣar	'sage'
CVCCV	kips̥a	'painted turtle'
CVCCVC	húpr̥j̥h	'soup'

## 1.6 Phonotactics and Morpheme Structure Conditions:

1) A morpheme contains at most one consonant cluster. 2) There are no geminate consonants in a single morpheme. 3) There are no clusters of spirants with spirants. 4) /p/ never occurs as the second member of a consonant cluster. 5) Resonant consonants do not occur before obstruents. 6) /w/ may be preceded by velars only. 7) /t/ never occurs before spirants. 8) /h/ can be preceded only by /t/. 9) A morpheme contains no more than one nasal segment. 10) There are no vowel clusters. 11) /ŋ/ may occur only between a vowel and a consonant. 12) There is only one primary stressed syllable per morpheme. 13) /w/ cannot occur as the final consonant of a morpheme.

## 2. Morphology:

Mandan generally fits the traditional definition of an agglutinative morphology; many, if not most, grammatical concepts are expressed by a rich system of affixes and clitics, particularly on the verb. Furthermore, there are very few syncretic (portmanteau, fusional) morphemes. What is more, with minor exceptions, affixes do not usually undergo drastic phonological restructuring from their phonemic to their phonetic

<sup>9</sup>. Primary stress alternates with secondary. A detailed analysis awaits further research.



representation. Periphrastic constructions are treated with the discussion of auxiliary verbs (see 3.2).

### 2.1 Nominal Morphology:

The noun root can be an unanalyzable phonemic monosyllables like: *wɪ* 'water', *ha:(re)* 'sky; cloud', *wro:k* 'male; buffalo bull', *wi:h* 'woman' (cf. *wi:h-ka* 'female') or polysyllables (among which disyllables prevail; with epenthesis, some of these are heard as polysyllabic): *ɾiʔeta:(re)* 'Mandan', *rotki* 'hit', *xopɾi* 'holy; sacred' [xópinɪ], *wiʔ ti* 'village' and *ruwəʔk* 'man'. Analyzable nouns are often the product of compounding or of derivation, discussed below: *ruwəʔk ši* 'chief' (lit. man good), *suk ruwəʔk* 'young man', *wəʔk ti* 'earthlodge' (lit. earth house), *wə:-xopɾi wi:h* 'holy woman' (lit. something-holy woman).

Singular number is unmarked on nominals and verbs; plural often remains unmarked on the noun, being reflected most often on the verb as subject-number agreement. When plurality is expressed on the noun, it takes the shape of the suffix, *-kræ* 'plural', which also occurs as the third person plural marker on the verb: *suk ruwəʔk-kræ-s* 'the young men; the youths', *suk wi:h-kræ-s* 'the young women', *wɾi-xtæ-kræ-s* 'the ocean waters' (lit. 'the big waters').

### 2.2 Verbal Morphology

The phonological description of the noun root will also serve for the verb root. There is abundant affixation on the verb, with a few more suffix than prefix positions. The latter mark mostly pronominal agreement (subject and object), valency (middle voice, reflexive, reciprocal, mutative, vertative), a set of instrumentals, a marker for unspecified argument (referred to as the 'absolutive' in previous writings: Carter 1991b, Hollow 1970, Kennard 1936) and prefixes to mark agreement with other under-specified arguments. There is also the prefixal component of a circumfixal negative. There is only one tense-marker before the root; this is the future prefix. Mandan also shows a typically Siouan set of "separable" prefixes which serve to mark agreement with certain arguments on the verb stem; in the lexicon, these must be considered to be stem-building morphemes associated discontinuously with the root. I refer to them as separable because other prefix positions can intervene between them and the root and yet they are a discontinuous unit with the root. Suffixes are listed below by position and are further described for function and content in the appropriate sections that follow. Note that the ordering and affixal or clitic status of some of these morphemes remain a matter for further research.

The order of the prefixes (numbered on the left) can be tentatively represented in the following schema: (10) **Negative**-(9) **Unspecified Argument**-(8) **Future**-(7) **Pre-Stem Vowel**-(6) **Pronominal Agreement**-(5) **Pronominal Agreement**-(4) **Reciprocal**-(3) **Reflexive**-(2) **Instrumentals**-(1) **Iterative**-(0) **Root**.

In the pronominal prefixes, first person precedes second in transitive stems. Since third person remains unmarked, it is not relevant to this requirement. These combinations require some special phonological rules (readjustment rules) seen in what follows. Note also the distinction between Stative and Active pronominal agreement reminiscent of ergativity and of unaccusatives; some intransitive verbs share agreement pattern for transitive subjects, while some bear the prefixes for transitive-object agreement.

Suffixes (numbered on the right) are aligned roughly in the following tentative order following the root: **Root (0)**-**Stem Vowel (1)**-**Negative (2)**-**Similitive (3)**-**Attitudinal (4)**-**Evidential (5)**-**Aktionsart (6)**-**Subject Number (7)**-**Aktionsart/Aspect (8)**-**Emphatic (9)**-**Aspect (10)**-**Aspect (11)** **Conjunctive/Modal/Past/Intentive/Quotative/Illocutionary (12)**. Note the variety of semantic categories occurring in final suffix position.

Illocutionary suffixes occur only on the last predicate of the clause; predicates not in clause-final position bear other affixation such as switch-reference, etc. This suffix sequence must be considered tentative, given the difficulty of actually generating complex forms involving several position classes.

The two suppletive forms of the Negative suffix (position 2) are phonologically predictable, taking the suffix, *-xi-* after vowel-final roots and *-ɾix-*, otherwise. The Similitive is, *-eʃka-*, which has the basic meaning 'be like; resemble' (SMT; position 3). The discussion and examples below are organized by semantic category; I refer to the above suffix schema to locate the specific examples. References to the text examples are also given before the ones listed in each section.

#### 2.2.1 Pronominal Agreement Marking

Pronominal prefixes occupy positions 4 and 5. As stated above, Mandan shares with other Siouan languages a distinction between Active and Stative pronominal agreement (also known as, *split intransitive agreement*). Active agreement marks the (agent) subject of transitive verbs and of some intransitives; while Stative marks transitive object agreement and the sole patient or theme argument of certain intransitive predicates, including the predicate nominals and possessive predicates. This subcategorization is not strictly semantic, however; it appears to be on its way to developing into a lexical determination. The following are examples of Active agreement on transitive verbs (also see Text lines: 10, 12, 26):

**wa-pa:ʔx-oʔʂ** 'I set it upright; established it.'  
(A1sg-set:up-INDma)

**ra-ru-u:x-oʔʂ** 'you snapped it with your hand(s).'  
(A2-IPh-break-INDma)

**a:-ø-xwæ:-oʔʂ** 'he hid it.'  
(OBJ-A3-hide-INDma)

In the following, we see a third person subject (unmarked) with a set of Stative or object-agreement prefixes:

**wā-ø-kirā-oʔʂ** 'he tells me'  
(S1sg-A3-tell-INDma)

**rī-ø-hæ-oʔʂ** 'he sees you'  
(S2-A3-see-INDma)

**rō:-ø-hæ-oʔʂ** 'he sees us'  
(S1pl-A3-see-INDma)

**ø-ø-kirā-oʔʂ** 'he tells him'  
(S3-A3-tell-INDma)

The following are intransitives with Stative agreement:

**wī-wa:-xwæ:-oʔʂ** 'I'm hiding'<sup>10</sup>  
(S1sg-UNSP-hide-INDma)

**rī-šīʔ-rīt-oʔʂ** 'you (pl) are good'  
(S2-good-2PL-INDma)

**ø-si:-oʔʂ** 'it's yellow'  
(S3-yellow-INDma)

<sup>10</sup>. The *wī-* 'first person stative' (S1sg) may be a contraction of *wā-* and *i-*; rather than a special use of the typically possessive, *wī-* 'first person' (cf. Hollow 1971; Kennard 1936).

**ro:-ha:ʔ-oʔʂ** 'we're sour'  
(S1pl-sour-INDma)

The following are intransitives with Active agreement:

**wa-ptæ:h-oʔʂ** 'I'm running'  
(A1sg-run-INDma)

**i=rū-hæk-oʔʂ** 'we know it'  
(PV=A1pl-know-INDma)

**ra-kiʔka:r-rīt-oʔʂ** 'you (pl) are flying'  
(A2-fly-2PL-INDma)

As was mentioned above, the order of the overt transitive pronominal prefixes is determined by the rank of their grammatical person; with first person outranking second. Morphophonemic rules tend to disguise the phonemic representation of certain pronominal prefix sequences. This is due, in part, to the interaction of rules of vocalic syncope with those of epenthesis. It also entails a degree of vowel harmony by which the epenthetic vowels reflect the quality of the nearest stressed vowel. Along with the aforementioned vocalic phenomena, goes the process of nasalization which can render a phonemic /w/ or /r/ as phonetic [m] and [n], respectively, thus blurring the distinction between some of the forms of the Active and Stative prefixes.

Recall that First Person Singular is /wa-/ as an Active but /wā-/ as a Stative, thus glide-nasalization can neutralize the difference. Second Person is /ra-/ as an Active and /rī-/ as a Stative, but if the vowel of the former is dropped and the subsequent epenthetic vowel harmonizes to [i], followed by nasal assimilation of /r/ to [n], the resulting [ni-] makes the Active phonetically indistinguishable from the Stative. Through such rule interactions, the sequence First singular Subject with Second Stative /wa-rī-/ phonemically, is rendered as [mini-] phonetically. Likewise, Second Active with First Singular Stative is /wā-ra-/ but is realized as [mana-]. Further examples follow (also see Text lines: 10, 12, 26):

**rū-rī-kirā-kt-oʔʂ** 'we will tell you' [nʉnʉkináktʔʂ]  
(A1pl-S2-tell-POT-INDma)



**wa-rj-pe-s-oʔʂ** 'I spoke to you' [mjɨnpésoʔʂ]<sup>11</sup>  
(A1pl-S2-speak-PST-INDma)

**ro:-ra-hæ-kt-oʔra** 'will you see us?' [ro:rahéktoʔna]  
(S1pl-A2-see-POT-INTfa)

With the exception of the first-person plural, the separable stem prefixes (PV; position 6) precede the pronominal prefixes; Kennard (1936) refers to these as "infix" pronominals, a term not in keeping with modern usage:

**i=rj-hek-oʔʂ** 'we know it'  
(PV=A1pl-know-INDma)

**i=wa-sæk-oʔʂ** 'I make it'  
(PV=A1sg-make-INDma)

In the case of the First Person Plural Stative prefix however, there is an obligatory rule of metathesis by which the latter exchanges positions with the stem prefix; in the case of certain prefixes there is also vowel deletion, resulting in a rather distinct phonetic realization:

**i=∅-rukap-oʔʂ** 'be unable; incapable'  
(PV=S3-unable-INDma)

**i=ro:=rukap-oʔʂ** 'we're unable'  
(PV=S1pl=unable-INDma)  
> ro:-i=rukap-oʔʂ > r-i:=kap-oʔʂ > [ri:kapoʔʂ]

**i=a:-∅-xwæ-oʔʂ** 'he covered it (with something)'  
(PV=TR-A3-cover-INDma)

**wa:-i=a:-ro:-waxwæ-xi-oʔʂ** 'he didn't cover us up (with it)'  
(NEG-PV-TR-S1pl-UNSP-cover-NEG-INDma)  
> wa:-ro:-i=wa:xwæ-xi-oʔʂ > [wa:ri:waxwa:xiʔʂ]

11. Note that A1sg is marked twice. Once next to the root, yielding [pe:]; the second prior to the object prefix (see 'say' paradigm below)

There are a few morphophonemically complex realizations of certain verbs, which seem to be the product of lexically-determined, now "irregular", historical developments. Thus the verb, 'to say' has the following paradigm; note also the aforementioned metathesis of the First Person Plural:

/e:=wa-hær-oʔʂ/	'I say'	/e=ra-hær-oʔʂ/	'you say'
e:=w-hæ-oʔʂ		e:=r-hæ-oʔʂ	
e:=pæ-ʔʂ		e:=tæ-ʔʂ	
[é:peʔʂ]		[é:teʔʂ]	
/e=rj-hær-oʔʂ/	'we say'	/e=ra-hær-rjt-oʔʂ/	'you (pl) say'
e=r-he-oʔʂ		e:=r-hæ-rjt-oʔʂ	
r-e=her-oʔʂ		e:-tæ-nit-oʔʂ	
[ré:heroʔʂ]		[e:tánitʔʂ]	
/e=∅-hær-oʔʂ/	'he says'	/e=∅-hær-kra-oʔʂ/	'they say'
e=her-oʔʂ		e=her-kre-oʔʂ	
		e=here-kere-ʔʂ	
[é:heroʔʂ]		[e:hérekereʔʂ]	

In addition to the above agreement patterns, there is another involving the same type of prefixation as can be found on alienably possessed nouns, yet lacking the possessive meaning; these will be referred to as "pseudo-possessives". The few predicates bearing this type of affixation are derived from adjectival statives with special, idiomatically transitive meanings. Note that, in addition to the "pseudo-possessive" prefixes, transitives involving first and second person agreement, also bear the usual transitive agreement patterns. The First Person Pseudo-Possessive has an Active pattern, the Second Person is Stative:<sup>12</sup>

<b>wa-ta-ši-oʔʂ</b>	'I like it'	[ptašʔʂ]
(A1sg-AL-good-INDma)		
<b>rj-ta-ši-oʔʂ</b>	'we like it'	[nʔtašʔʂ]
(A1pl-AL-good-INDma)		

12. The structure of the verb, 'like' in Crow is remarkably similar: *bas-ĩchi-w-aa* (IPOS-good-1-CAUS); both may have resulted from the elision of an incorporated noun like 'heart' as would be typical for idioms referring to emotions (Randolph Graczyk, personal communication).

**rĭ-ta-ši-oʔš** 'you like it' [nĭtašĭʔš]  
(S2-AL-good-INDma)

**rĭ-ta-ši-rĭt-oʔš** 'you (pl) like it' [nĭtašĭŋĭtoʔš]  
(S2-AL-good-INDma)

**ø-ta-ši-oʔš** 'he likes it' [tašĭʔš]  
(S3-AL-good-INDma)

**ø-ta-ši-kræ-oʔš** 'they like it' [tašĭkereʔš]  
(S3-AL-good-PL-INDma)

**wa-ta-wa-rĭ-ši-oʔš** 'I like you' [ptamĭŋĭšĭʔš]  
(A1sg-AL-A1sg-S2-good-INDma)

**rĭ-ta-wa-ra-ši-oʔš** 'you like me' [nĭtamāŋāšĭʔš]  
(A2-AL-S1sg-A2-good-INDma)

### 2.2.2 Agreement for Plural Subject Number

There are two plural-agreement suffixes (position 7); one for a third-person plural subject, *-kræ* 'plural' (PL), the other for second-person plural, *-rĭt* 'second plural' (2PL). In addition to the two below, further examples are available in the paradigms throughout this paper (also see Text lines: 10, 11, 12, 16, 17, 18, 21, 22, 25, 27, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 39):

**ø-ta-ši-kræ-oʔš** 'they like it' [tašĭkereʔš]  
(S3-AL-good-PL-INDma)

**rĭ-ta-wa-ra-ši-rĭt-oʔš** 'you (pl) like me' [nĭtamāŋāšĭŋĭtoʔš]  
(A2-AL-S1sg-A2-good-2PL-INDma)

### 2.2.3 Adjectival Predicates

Adjectives do not constitute a distinct formal category and are best dealt with as stative verbs. Some adjectival idioms referring to attributes of the body in English, take the body as their subject; the possessor of the body, the equivalent of the English

subject has no agreement on the verb. The Mandan construction is, 'my body is long/tall' rather than 'I am tall' (also see Text lines: 1, 3, 5, 18, 25, 27, 29, 35):

The house is big. **tĭxtæ-oʔš**

That house is not big. **tĭ ʔt e: wā:xtæ-rĭx-oʔš**

The houses are small. **tĭxwāh-kræ-oʔš**

That house is (still) new. **tĭ ʔt e: (rā:ku) rā:ka-oʔš**

That house is (really) old/ ancient. **tĭ ʔt e: ū:sta-oʔš; wā-wā-ŭ:t-ta:-oʔš**

I'm tall. **wĭ-wā:r[e] háška-oʔš**  
(lit. 'my body long')<sup>13</sup>

The dog is short. **wrĭswé:rut ʔt i-wā:r[e] srak-oʔš**

I'm fat. **wā-rép-oʔš**

My house is big. **ó=wa-ti xtæ-oʔš**

Our house is big. **rĭ:=ti-s xtæ-oʔš**

In the Noun Phrase, adjectives follow the noun and may optionally take the relativizing or adjectival prefix, *ko-* 'relativizer' (WH), which does not appear on numerals:<sup>14</sup>

'Five, big, round, heavy, old drums'  
**wrā wa-i=rēx-e, ko-ŭst, ko-tke, ko-kawĭx, ko-xte-s kixu:**  
(wood kettle, WH-old, WH-heavy, WH-round, WH-big-DEF five)

Adjectival comparative and superlative predications are marked by the aforementioned relativizing prefix: *ko-* 'the most' (WH); the prefix can either be seen as

<sup>13</sup>. Note the first person singular possessive, *wĭ-* in 'my body'. In 'I am fat', the prefix is a stative marker.

<sup>14</sup>. The relativizer also appears as, *ka-*; this seems to be lexically determined.

polysemous or as a type of nominalization akin to others bearing the prefix. The latter might be interpreted as a type of nominalization akin to the use of this suffix as a relativizer: *ko-xwəh-s* 'the small one (of the comparison)'. Note the use of the prefix as the marker of third-person possession on certain kinship terms. Examples follow:

He is taller than me (cf. *kahúʔh-oʔš* 'to exceed; be beyond')  
 ǵʔt é: i-wə:re ɥəʃka-oʔš wá:-ø-kàhúʔh-òʔš  
 (that DEM 3P-body tall-INDma S1sg-S3-exceed-INDma)

He is as tall as me (cf. *o:=kaʔškà-oʔš* 'be the same; identical')  
 i:-wə:re ɥəʃka-oʔš wǵ-o:=kaʔškà-oʔš  
 (3P-body tall-INDma P1sg-S3-PV=same-INDma)

He is as tall as me. (lit. 'his body height the same to mine')  
 i:-wə:re o-ɥəʃka wǵ-o:=kaʔškà-oʔš  
 (3P-body NOM-tall S1sg-S3-PV=same-INDma)

We're both the same height. (lit. 'our height is the same')  
 o=rǵ:-hàškà o:=kaʔškà-rəʃ-oʔš  
 (NOM-A1PL-tall PV=same-ATT-INDma)

He's the tallest. (lit. 'the tall one in the comparison')  
 ǵʔt é: i-wə:re ko-ɥəʃka-oʔš  
 (that DEM 3P-body WH-tall-INDma)

## 2.2.4 Reflexives, Reciprocals and other Valency Morphemes

### 2.2.4.1 Polysemous *ki-*:

Reflexives and reciprocals occupy positions 2 and 3. They are not pronominals *per se*. Rather they are related to valency-change markers and are identical to such polysemous prefixes as the middle voice (MV), the veritative (VRT; 'back to a starting point'), inceptive (INC), etc. These concepts are typically marked by prefixes on the verb; no separate, specifically reflexive or reciprocal morphemes outside the verb have been recorded. The prefix, *ki-* 'reflexive' when concatenated to *ki-ki-* has a 'reciprocal' interpretation. Not surprisingly, the former also occurs as a marker for the medio-passive. In addition to the former, there is also a prefix, *ǵ-* for reflexivization which occurs in some semantically complex periphrastic contexts, particularly as prefixed to the verb, *hræ* 'cause;

make': viz. *ǵ-hræ* 'do to self'. The same form occurs with the meanings, 'to pretend' (lit. make self) and even, 'do diminutively; be diminutive', with extended affective meanings such as, 'pitifully' or 'lovingly', etc (also see Text lines: 9, 17, 18, 22, 33).<sup>15</sup>

'I see myself'  
 wə-ki-hæ-oʔš [mikihéʔš]  
 (S1sg-RFX-see-INDma)

'you see yourself'  
 rǵ-ki-hæ-oʔš  
 (S2-RFX-see-INDma)

'the men see each other.'  
 rǵwəʔk ki-ki-hæ-kra-oʔš  
 (man RCP-see-PL-INDma)

'pretend to cut it off...'  
 rá-pa-weš-rǵ ǵ-hræ-rǵ ...  
 (2A-IPh-cut-SS RFX-cause-SS ...)

...he was saying his name lovingly.  
 ...é=he-rǵ ka-rát ǵ-hræ-ro:wəʔk-oʔš.  
 (...PV=say-SS IPf-call:name RFX-cause-NAR-INDma.)

his sister made some pitiful little arrows  
 há-ki kó-ta-wǵh-æ ta-wəh ǵ-hræ ǵ-sæk-a:  
 (PROV-IF P3-AL-sister-SV AL-arrow RFX-cause PV=make-SMT)

for him.  
 kǵʔ-ki,  
 give-IF)

<sup>15</sup> Note that the reflexive occurs with stative, not active markers as in Lakota; Crow shows both subject and object pronominal marking. When Crow diminutive (*kaáta*) is suffixed to an active verb, it is obligatorily followed by a causative. Perhaps a similar pattern occurred in pre-Mandan, but Mandan lost the diminutive and kept the causative with diminutive semantics (Randolph Graczyk, personal communication)

while they were devouring the ribs, the man went back to the village.  
 pĩ-kræ rut-a: wá:k-æ-ha:, ruwáʔk-s ǐ-wǐʔ=ti-t  
 (devour-PL eat-SIM abide:lie-SIM, man-DEF DIR-village-LOC)

ki-ræ:h-o:wak-oʔʃ.

VRT-go-NAR-INDma)

#### 2.2.4.2 Mutative *r̥a-*:

The function of the rare mutative morpheme is akin to the above middle voice prefix with an inchoative meaning. It seems to indicate a state resultant from some change or alteration with no agency specified. It frequently occurs in adjectival predicates that reflect a gradient semantic relation to another, more central or typical meaning. This can be seen in terms distinguishing among shades of color:

*r̥a-šot* 'grey; whitish; pale'

(MUT-white)

*r̥a-se:* 'pink; reddish'

(MUT-red)

#### 2.2.5 Instrumental Prefixes

The instrumental prefixes occupy the second position from the root. They represent a form of agreement with arguments of instrumentality or with the means involved in accomplishing the action described by the transitive root (e.g. *ru-* 'by hand'; *pa-* 'by pushing'; *ra-* 'by heat'; *ra-* 'with the mouth'; *ra-* 'with the foot'; *ka-* 'by force'; *wa-* 'with a sharp object'). The instrumentals are a type of causative or transitivizer. In many instances these prefix-root complexes have become lexicalized stems, functioning as idioms whose meaning has distanced themselves from their original literal sense (also see Text lines: 2, 3, 6, 8, 9, 10, 15, 24, 25, 29, 30, 31, 33, 39):

*ru-šæ* 'to grasp (with the hand)'  
(IPh-grasp)

*ra-šæ* 'to bite'  
(IPm-grasp)

*ra-xu:(re)* 'to scorch (with heat)'  
(IPT-scorch)

*wa-itkæ* 'to flesh a hide'  
(IPs-remove) (sharp inst)'

*ka-tax* 'to knock; tap'  
(IPf-knock)

*pa-kr̥a* 'to butcher'  
(IPh-butcher)

#### 2.2.6 Other Nominal Agreement Prefixes

The *wa-* 'unspecified-argument' prefix (UNSP) of position 9 and the stem-forming, "separable" or "pre-verb" prefixes (PV) of position 7, represent a type of nominal agreement in the verb stem whose function is to reflect a relationship with an overt or covert ((un)specified) argument of the predication (*i-* 'unspecified instrument'; *o-* 'unspecified location' and 'nominalizer'; *a-* 'transitivizer; (unspecified) theme or patient' (TR); . The former may occur with transitive and intransitive predicate. With the former, it usually represents a covert object; with the latter, it represents the sole argument (semantic patient or theme) of the predicate. In the latter function, it may occur in stems glossed as nouns (also see Text lines: 1, 3, 5, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 14, 15, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 37, 38, 39):

wr̥a *wa-ra-xu:(re)* 'coffee' (lit. scorched wood)  
(wood UNSP-IPt-scorch)

*wa-i=sæk-oʔʃ* 'work' (lit. do/make something; cf. *i=sæk*  
(UNSP-PV=do-INDma) 'do/make')

wr̥i *i-o=su hr̥æ* 'bucket' (lit. what causes water to pour into  
(water PV-PV=pour cause) a space)

*pax i-pa-kis-e* 'dishcloth' (lit. what one pushes (on) dishes)  
(dish PV-IPh-wipe-SV)

#### 2.2.7 Tense and Aspect

##### 2.2.7.1 Future Tenses and Irrealis Aspects

Most tense and aspect markers relate to past time; however, there are three affixes with a future or future and irrealis dimension; these are, *o-* 'future' (FUT; in prefix position 7), the suffix, *-kt* 'potential' (POT; in position 11) and *-č* 'intensive' (INT; position 13) the latter, usually accompanied by the irrealis auxiliary verb, *ehe* 'say; want; intend'. The former is more strictly a future tense marker, while the latter has a

future/irrealis reading, also rendered with English modal glosses (with both deontic and epistemic meanings), such as *may, might, should, must*, etc. (also see Text lines: 25, 26):

wɾə ʔt e: o-ka-ho:-oʔš 'that (there) tree is going to topple.'  
(tree that that FUT-IPf-fall-INDma)

wə-o-rj-ru-pax-rjx-rjt-oʔš 'you (pl) won't burst it.'  
(NEG-FUT-IPh-burst-NEG-2PL-INDma)

a:-rə:h-kræ-ka-kt-oʔre 'they must take it back'  
(TR-go-PL-IMPf-POT-INDfa)

ta-ška wj̄k-č e=wa-rə:h-oʔš 'I think it won't be so.'  
(INDf-how not-INT PV=A1sg-think-INDma)

### 2.2.7.2 Narrative Past Aspectuals

#### 2.2.7.2.1 Narrative Past:

Perhaps the most common of the past tense aspectuals in the Kennard texts is, *-ro:wək* 'Narrative Past' (position 11). It signals that the narrator is transmitting received lore and not making an assertion on his or her own initiative; this stylistic formula is suspended in the free English translation (also see Text lines: 2, 3, 8, 9, 14, 16, 17, 18, 21, 22, 30, 32, 34, 37, 39):

he made a fire and roasted the ribs.  
wa-ra o-rák-rj rú-kræ-s ra-sit  
(UNSP-fire NOM-kindle-SS rib-PL-DEF IPT-roast)

hræ-ro:wək-oʔš.  
cause-NAR-INDma.)

those (scouts) pushing ahead came in first.  
ró: ka-kí-ut-ka ka-pá-tə:-ka-kræ-s e-rə út-æ  
hí-kræ-ro:wək-oʔš.  
(there WH-MV-first-NOM WH-IPh-push-PL-DEF  
DEM-TOP before-SV come-PL-NAR-INDma)

#### 2.2.7.2.2 Quotative Past:

A less frequent narrative formula which has approximately the same semantic function as the Narrative Past above, is a periphrastic complex of a position-13 suffix, *-ka*, attached to the last element of the quote, followed by the verb, *ehe* 'to say', typically without illocutionary suffixes. The choice may be stylistic in that the Narrative Past is found outside of literary narratives, such as personal accounts. However, the Quotative (QT) seems to be restricted to tales (also see Text line: 15):

'it is small, **they say**.'  
xwəh-kræ-ka ehe  
(small-PL-QT say)

'he went, **it is said**.'  
rə:h-ka ehe  
(go-QT say)

#### 2.2.7.3 Habitual Aspect

Predications descriptive of a usual or habitual activity or situation take the suffix, *-ka* 'habitual' (HAB; position 8). This is a true aspectual and can occur with any tense. Note that the auxiliary verb, *sjh* 'be strong' also has a habitual or usitative function and can thus occur redundantly in combination with the suffix in question:

'I **used to have** a horse.'  
wriš wa-kæʔ-ka-s=hi  
(horse A1sg-have-HAB-PST=AUX)

'you are **always** laughing.'  
i=ra-kxə ra-sjh-rjt-ka-oʔš  
(PV=A2-laugh A2-strong-2PL-HAB-INDma)

'**whenever** they soften them (in the future).'  
wə-pə:pi i=sæk-rəš-kræ-ka-kt-oʔš  
(UNSP-soft PV=make-ATT-PL-HAB-POT-INDma)

## 2.2.7.4 Anterior Aspect

To mark a predicate as perfective and anterior with respect to a subsequent one, the polysemous suffix, *-ro:te* 'Anterior' (ANT; position 11) is used; this is particularly evident when the suffix occurs in the Conditional mood (*-ki* IF/WHEN). A homophonous suffix has modal and evidential meanings which are discussed in the appropriate section (2.2.11):

"if you go there and cry and the spirits take pity on us,  
 ʔit̩ e: ro: ó: o=hræ-r̩ ra-ki-rátax-a:  
 (DEM DEM DEM PV=cause-SS A2-MV-cry-SMT

they might (then) help us."  
 ró-ki-k̩t̩æ ra-ræ:h-ro:te-ki w̩-xópr̩-r̩  
 S1pl-MV-help A2-go-ANT-IF UNSP-sacred-TOP

r̩-r̩t̩ka x̩k-kræ-ki  
 P1PL-heart bad-PL-IF

e=he-r̩k=oʔ-kræ-kt-oʔš.  
 PV=say-MOD=be-PL-POT-INDma.)

"my son, I will help you when you **have given** me your tongue!"  
 há-ki w̩-r̩k-æ ra-i=résik-æ  
 (PROS-IF P1-son-VOC P2-PV-tongue-SV

w̩-ra-k̩ʔ-ro:te-ki  
 S1-A2-give-ANT-IF)

## 2.2.7.5 Past Tense

There are two forms of the Past Tense marker, depending on an apparently optional auxiliary element in position 12: *-s=(h̩j)*. The latter may be an archaic predicate; however, its closest synchronic analog functions as a type of coordinating conjunction: *-h̩j* 'and'. The presence of this auxiliary obviates the use of the illocutionary markers. The aspectual seems to have a perfective meaning. Examples follow:

'they think they killed him'  
 te hræ-iši-s-oʔš  
 (die cause-EVD-PST-INDma)

they kind of called him, "Shobe".  
 "Shobe" ehe-r̩š-kræ-ka-s-oʔš  
 ("S" say-ATT-PL-HAB-PST-INDma)

'he never said, "Okipe".  
 "Okipe" wa:-ehe-r̩x-r̩š-ka-s=h̩j:  
 ("Okipe" NEG-say-NEG-ATT-HAB-PST=AUX)

'I didn't think you needed to be defended'  
 wa:-o-i=r̩-ki-ru:xre-oʔš w̩k-č  
 (NEG-FUT-PV=S2-MV-defend-INDma NOT-INT

e=wa-ræ:h-s=h̩j:  
 PV=A1sg-think-PST=AUX)

## 2.2.7.6 Iterative Aspectuals

The position-7 suffix, *-ske* 'iterative' (ITR) marks iterations; note that this is also one of the functions of the prefix, *ki-* 'iterative' (position 3), which may occur redundantly with the suffix as well as the adverb, *ir̩k* 'again; also', all bearing the same meaning. In addition there is also the verb-final (position 13) suffix, *-r̩k* 'iterative' (ITR) which describes repeated or habitual acts (also see Text lines: 23, 24):

'again he became a child'  
 ir̩k ki-súk ĩ-hræ-ske-ro:w̩k-oʔš.  
 (again ITR-exit RFX-cause-ITR-NAR-INDma)

'he asked her again'  
 wá-ki-w̩xe-ske-ro:w̩k-oʔš.  
 (UNSP-ITR-ask-ITR-NAR-INDma)

..it was these they would drink (from).  
 ... é: oʔ-ak ki-h̩-r̩k  
 (...DEM be-DS MV-drink-ITR)

## 2.2.8 Aktionsarten

Some of the suffixes provide meanings somewhere between that of an adverbial and that of an aspectual; these are dealt with here as, *Aktionsarten*; the following are two examples:

## 2.2.8.1 Celerative Aktionsart

The suffix (position 7) , *-rj:te-* 'celerative' marks actions done quickly or states arising suddenly:

'they can eat it **quickly**'

o-rut-rj:te ahka-kræ-oʔʃ

(FUT-eat-CEL ABLE-PL-INDma)

'having farted, his heels **suddenly** lifted up'

pñh-ak ši rote ru-xok-rj:te-o:wək-oʔʃ

(fart-DS foot heel IPh-lift-CEL-NAR-INDma)

## 2.2.8.2 'Almost' Aktionsart

The suffix, *-rə:te-* 'almost', designates states or actions nearly, but not actually, achieved (position 5):

'they were **almost** not the same'

wa:-o=ki-ki-kaška-xi-rəš-rə:te-kræ-oʔʃ

(NEG-PV=RCP-same-NEG-ATT-ALMOST-PL-INDma)

'it **almost** reached up to his nose'

pa:xu-rə:s-t hi hræ-rə:te-ro:wək-oʔʃ

(nose-ATT-LOC arrive cause-ALMOST-NAR-INDma)

## 2.2.8.3 Aktionsart of Intensity

The suffix, *-xtæ-* 'big', designates intensively experienced states or actions vigorously executed; i.e. intensively (INTS; position 3):

though he hardly had any teeth; he was **really** chewing...

hí oʔ-ška ř=wjik-ša ra-xtú-xtæ-rj

(tooth be-DSJ PV=not-COLL IPm-chew-INTS-SS)

when he gave it (to him), (Sun) was **very** pleased

úʔʃ wá:k-æ... kúʔ-ki rátk-a-s

thus abide:lie give-IF heart-DEF

ši xtæ-ro:wək-oʔʃ.

good-INTS-NAR-INDma)

## 2.2.9 Reduplication and Sound Symbolism in the Root

## 2.2.9.1 Aspectual Reduplication

The semantic force expressed by reduplication is typically aspectual, involving continuous, repetitive or intensive actions, states or configurations. Formally, reduplication may involve the copying of an entire monosyllabic root or of the final syllable of a disyllabic root. In the latter case, syllable-final consonants are not copied. I enclose these deleted consonants in parentheses (also see Text lines: 5, 27):

he was going and going along, ...

ræ:h-ha: wj wj e:s ...

(go-SIM CONT:R ...)

well, they **kept going**; they filled the paunches with water....

hř, řřřh-a: řřřh-a: wrj o-sú hræ ké-ka-rj

(well, exist:pl:R-SIM water PV-pour cause cause-HAB-SS...)

he took (his wife) farther into the middle of the dense brush.

ku-t wrə-rok ó-si(p)=sip-ta á-ræ:h-rj.

(farther-LOC wood-interior PV-thick:R-LOC TR-go-SS)



...the chief ordered all the active young men...

...wíʔ=ti rųwáʔk=ši=re-řa wá-ki-si-ki suk rųwáʔk

o-xka=xka-řaš-æ...

(village man=good-ANF-TOP UNSP-MV-order-IF boy man  
NOM-active:R-ATT-SV....)

he...gave the boy great power and went, that Moon.<sup>16</sup>

i=šák wá-o-ši kúʔra=kúʔra kúʔ-řj hj ...

(PV=PRO UNSP-NOM-good power:R give-SS...)

...he carried the dangling tongue ...

..ro: résik-s wá-ru-šæ=šæ-řj á-ræ:h-řj ...

(...give PV-say-SS here tongue-DEF UNSP-IPh-dangle:R-SS ...)

...his sister would skin them, cook them, and divide them up. ...

...kó-ta-wj:h-s e-řa ru-xáp-řjk rokirj-řj

(...P3-AL-sister-DEF DEM-TOP IPh-skin-ITR, cook-SS

ĩ=ki-ša(h)=šah-æ rut-řjk....

PV=ITR-halve:R-SV eat-ITR...)

he came sort of staggering in.

ra-xrá(t)=rat-eška hí ĩ-hræ-ro:wák-oʔš.

(IPf-stagger:R-SMT thus RFX-cause-NAR-INDma)

### 2.2.9.2 Sound Symbolic Fricative Ablaut

As in other Native American languages, the Siouan languages show a type of consonantal ablaut to express a semantic spectrum or gradience of intensity in a series of related stative predicates. This type of relationship is referred to as *sound-symbolism*, and usually involves the pairwise alternation between root-edge fricatives; in Mandan, these fricatives are: s > š > x. The arrows indicate the usually decreasing intensity or of diminutivization, though there are some reversals in semantic direction:

<sup>16</sup>. The word for power seems to derive from the root, *kúʔ* 'give.'

s ~ x

ru-sap 'to pull; tug on'

sero: 'to jingle'

sa(p)=sap 'be rough'

pux 'be striped'

ru-xap 'to tear off'

xero: 'to rattle'

xa(p)=xap 'rougher'

pux 'be speckled'

š ~ x

pušak 'coarse-grained'

šot 'white'

řa-reš 'hot'

puxak 'fine-grained'

xot 'grey'

řa-rex 'lukewarm'

s ~ š

saši 'slick'

šaši 'smooth'

(cf. wíʔ šaši

'sandstone')

### 2.2.10 Modality

Most of the modals occupy position 13; this is also the position for the illocutionary suffixes. Predicates of non-final clauses bear other types of affixation such as switch-reference, etc (also see Text line: 26).

#### 2.2.10.1 The suffix, -kt- 'potential; irrealis':

'I might be able to go'

o-wa-ræ:h ahka-kt-oʔš

(FUT-A1sg-go able-POT-INDma)

'he must have been formidable'

wa:-o=krah-řaš-kt-oʔš

(UNSP-PV=formidable-ATT-POT-INDma)



2.2.10.2 The suffix, *-aška* 'may; might', 'perhaps',  
'possibly', or 'maybe':

'perhaps the enemy chased them'

wirata:re oʔ-rą xkəh hræ-rəš-kra-**aška**  
(enemy be-TOP flee cause-ATT-PL-MOD)

'maybe they fixed it'

i=sək-rəš-kra-**aška**  
(PV=make-ATT-PL-MOD)

2.2.10.3 The suffix, *-oʔxre* 'surprise/negative expectation'  
reflects incredulity or surprise on the part of the speaker. When used in a question, its use  
reflects the expectation of a negative answer:

'they might possibly devour it'

pi-kra-**oʔxre**-eška-aška  
(devour-PL-MOD-SMT-MOD)

'where would there possibly be any?'

ta-we-t tu-**oʔxre**-oʔša  
(INDF-LOC exist-MOD-INTma)

'and so it was, the shelter couldn't possibly be too large'

uʔš-ka-ak é: xtá-xtæ-**oʔxre**  
(thus-ADV-DS DEM big:R-MOD)

wa-tĩ=šoh-eška-ahka-oʔš

UNSP-house=taper-SMT-EXT-INDma)

2.2.10.4 The suffix or complex clitic consists of a modal  
suffix followed by the copular verb, 'be', with the potential modal, *-rįk=oʔ-kt* 'may; might'  
(also see Text line: 26):

'I might be able to go'

o-wa-ræ:h ahka-rįk=**oʔ-kt**-oʔš  
(FUT-A1sg-go able-MOD=be-POT-INDma)

'they might (then) help us.'

ró:-ki-kųtæ e=he-rįk=**oʔ-kra-kt**-oʔš.  
(S1pl-MV-help PV=say-MOD=be-PL-POT-INDma.)

"they might eat us all up!" he said.

"á:we ro:-ki-pi e=he-rįk=**oʔ-kt**-oʔš"  
(*"all S1pl-MV-devour*  
*PV=say-MOD=be-POT-INDma"*)

The modal clitic, *-rįk-u-ak* 'must' (MOD) seems to be a variant of the above; note that,  
unlike the former, it occurs without further illocutionary affixation in final position (also see  
Text line: 20):

all those many people must have been afraid.

há-ki ó: o-hræ-rį wá-rųwəʔk-aki  
(PROV-IF there PV-cause-SS ABS-man-COLL)

hų-rų-s wa-karahka-kra-**rįk-u-ak**.

many-ANF-DEF ABS-fear-PL-MOD-DS)

## 2.2.11 Evidentials

Evidentials make explicit the source of the speaker's information. These  
include the cliticized auxiliary, *-eška*- 'similitive' (SMT), which, in its evidential function,  
reflects the tentative or subjective nature of the speaker's assertion. Similarly the suffix,  
*-rąš* 'attitudinal' (ATT; position 3), reflects the attenuated force of the speaker's statements  
as merely speculative opinions. In position 4, we find the suffix, *-iši* 'visual evidence'  
(EVD), for assertions usually based on visual evidence. The suffix, *-aʔško*- 'emphatic'  
(EMPH: position 10) gives special emphasis to a speaker's assertions. In position 11,  
along with a variety of aspectuals, we find the suffix, *-ro:te*- 'hearsay evidence' (EVD) or  
'surmise'; the latter reflects a speculative meaning (also see Text line: 37):

'they may sort of devour it'

pi-kra-**oʔxre**-eška-aška  
(devour-PL-MOD-SMT-MOD)

'I never **really** knew that'  
i=wa-ha:-xi=k-eška-rəš-ka-s  
(PV=A1sg-know-NEG-SC-SMT-ATT-HAB-PST)

'there **must** have been some'  
rɥ:rɥ-iši-kræ-oʔš  
(exist:pl-EVD-PL-INDma)

'it's **apparently** become just a story.'  
ki-hok-rəš-iši-əʔt  
(MV-story-ATT-EVD-DEM)

'**indeed**, they always called it "West Segment".  
"WS" ehe-rəš-kræ-ka-aʔško:-s  
(“WS” say-ATT-PL-HAB-EMPH-PST)

Sun said, "Yes, so **apparently** that's the way it is."  
"háu." é=he-ro:wək-s. "uʔš-ka-ro:te-oʔš."  
(“Yes,” PV=say-NAR-PST. "thus-ADV-EVD-INDma.”)

## 2.2.12 Indicatives and Addressee Gender

Given the variety of examples of the Indicative (IND) throughout this paper, no further examples need be included in this section. It is important to indicate, however, that, like the other two illocutionary suffixes below, the choice of Indicative reflects the gender of the hearer. Thus an indicative addressed to a male shows the now familiar, -oʔš (INDma); one addressed to a female must bear, -oʔre (INDfa).

## 2.2.13 Interrogatives and Addressee Gender

As with the Indicative and Imperative, there are two interrogative suffixes; one for male (INTma) and one for female addressee (INTfa):

'did they really always called it "West Segment?"  
"WS" ehe-rəš-kræ-ka-aʔško:-s-oʔša  
(“WS” say-ATT-PL-HAB-EMPH-PST-INTma)

'do I understand that I've met you?'  
wa-kakše-ro:te-oʔrə  
(A1sg-meet-EVD-INTfa)

## 2.2.14 Imperatives and Addressee Gender

As with the Indicative and Interrogative, there are two imperative suffixes; one for male addressee (IMPma) and one for female (IMPfa). The negative imperatives require a preverbal negative particle. There is also a mild or polite imperative formed by adding the suffix, -hak 'request' (RQ) (also see Text line: 11):

'(you pl) go!  
ræ:h-rɥt-ta  
(go-2PL-IMPma)

'don't (you pl) go!  
ka:re ræ:h-rɥt-ta  
(NEG go-2PL-IMPma)

'please don't (you pl) go!  
ka:re ræ:h-rɥt-ta-hak  
(NEG go-2PL-IMPma-RQ)

'(you pl) go!  
ræ:h-rɥt-rə  
(go-2PL-IMPfa)

'don't (you pl) go!  
ka:re ræ:h-rɥt-rə  
(NEG go-2PL-IMPfa)

'please don't (you pl) go!  
ka:re ræ:h-rɥt-rə-hak  
(NEG go-2PL-IMPfa-RQ)

## 2.2.15 Negation

Negation is typically circumfixal in the stem: wa:- ... rɥx/-xi. The prefixal element occupies position 10, the farthest from the root. The suffixal elements are in the first position, immediately contiguous to the root; a short root vowel is lengthened in the environment of -xi. Both trigger [a]-ablaut in /æ/-roots. Recall that the choice of suffixal component is phonologically determined; it is nasal-initial when attached to consonant-final root. It is the other when not. An alternative to the aforementioned pattern is the existential negative which obviates the suffixal element, using, wɥk-oʔš 'there is not' (NEG) as a type of negative auxiliary verb. This construction lends an emphatic meaning to the negative; emphasis may also be added by the prefixation to the verb or the negative particle, the prefix, wa- 'unspecified' (UNSP). The individual prefixal and suffixal elements are only weakly obligatory; there are sporadic instances of their absence (also see Text lines: 4, 22, 28, 39):

'he didn't come by way of the road'

r̥a:ku-ha: wa:-i=ø-si:-xi-oʔʂ

(road-LOC NEG-PV=A3-follow-NEG-INDma)

'he didn't come by way of the road at all'

r̥a:ku-ha: wa:-i=ø-si: w̥i:k-oʔʂ

(road-LOC NEG-PV=A3-follow NEG-INDma)

'you didn't work.'

wa:-wa:-i=ra-sæk-r̥j̥x-oʔʂ

(NEG-UNSP-PV=A2-do-NEG-INDma)

when there was no one **at all** in the village, the children  
cried and cried.

w̥i:ti reʂ o: wa-w̥i:k-ki ó=hræ-r̥j̥ suk-kræ-s rátax-r̥j̥k.

(village thus there UNSP-NEG-IF PV=cause-SS  
child-PL-DEF cry-ITR)

### 3. Syntax:

#### 3.1 Noun Phrases

The noun phrase is head-initial. Other constituents follow the noun (or noun compound) as represented by the following schema: **NOUN (NOUN)\*-PL-ART QUANTIFIER DEMONSTRATIVE-TOP/POSTPOSITION**<sup>17</sup>

##### 3.1.1 The Definite Article

The noun (or a relative clause) may be followed by a definite article formed by the suffix, *-s* 'definite article' (DEF): *suk ruw̥aʔk-s* 'the young man', *w̥aʔk ti-s* 'the earthlodge', *w̥i:h-s* 'the woman', *w̥i:h xop̥ri-s* 'the holy woman'. An indefinite suffix */-re/* is described by Kennard (1936), however, this may be the epenthetic excrescence predicted by Carter's rule of r-insertion after a long vowel, particularly one followed by a glottal stop (1991a). Indefiniteness remains unmarked in the language (also see Text lines: 6, 9, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 20, 22, 23, 24, 27, 32, 37, 38, 39).

<sup>17</sup>. The asterisk marks a recursive element.

#### 3.1.2 Postpositions and Surface Case

There are two case suffixes appended directly to the noun; these are: *-ta* 'locative', *-h̥a:* 'with', 'locative' and 'while' (when attached to a predicate): *w̥ri-ta* 'in/at the water', *w̥iʔ-ta* 'on/at the rock', *w̥ra-ta* 'in/at the woods'. There are also some locative postpositional clitics such as *ro:* 'here' and *o:* 'there'; when the latter occur as clitics they seem to have the more generic meaning, 'locative'. All other case-like relations are expressed by postpositions: *-kuʔʂ-ta* 'in(side)', *-rok* 'interior of', *aki-ta* 'on top/ atop', *w̥a:pe-h̥a:* 'under', *(pa)-uʔ-ta* 'next to, alongside', *y̥pa* 'with', *o:ta* 'accompanying', *o=hræ-r̥j̥* 'from', *o=hræ* 'through', *-a;ska:* 'near', *-teh̥a:* 'far from', and so forth. Frequently the locative postpositions concatenate with the locative suffix or the demonstratives (*-ta* 'locative'; *-h̥a:* 'locative', *o:* 'there'; *ro:* 'here'). Directionality, especially that involving verbs of motion, require a directional prefix */i-/* on the noun, along with a locative suffix: *i-w̥ri-ta* 'into/toward the water', *i-w̥ri-ta* 'toward the rock', *i-w̥ra-ta* 'into/toward the woods'. The presence of middle voice affixation as well as subject-object agreement on some postpositions indicates that they are essentially predicates. Some representative examples follow (also see Text lines: 1, 3, 5, 9, 14, 18, 22, 23, 24, 25, 27, 30, 33, 36, 37, 38, 39):

the school in **near (from)** here.

w̥a:-kapus óti-s ro: o=hræ-r̥j̥ aʂká-oʔʂ

(paper=house-DEF here **from be:near**-INDma)

who is your father **with?** (Who is it he is with?)

ra-aʔ-s ko-téwe (ó:ʔ-ak) y̥:pa rá:ke-oʔʂa

(2A-father 3-INDF (be-DS) **with** abide:sit-INTma)

the knife is **next to** the cup.

w̥aʔi w̥ri i-h̥j̥:-s r̥a-uʔ-ta:

(knife water IP-drink-DEF **next-LOC**)

the dog is **outside**.

w̥ri:s w̥rut w̥aʔtih-ta: h̥a:k-æ-oʔʂ

(dog **outside-LOC** abide:stand-INDma)

the school is **in front of** that house. (lit. the house yonder)

w̥a:-ka-pus ó-ti-s tí'é:-ta p̥exti ro: óʔ-oʔʂ/te-oʔʂ

(paper=house-DEF house yonder-LOC **front LOC** be-INDma/stand-INDma)

the dogs encircled the house.

wɾɪs wa-e rut-kræ-s ti i-ki-sə:p-ha: ræ:h-kræ-oʔʂ  
(dogs house DIR-MP-around-LOC go-PL-INDma)

'the man went behind the house.' (lit. to the rear)

ɾɪwəʔk ti i-ɾəʂi-ta ræ:h-oʔʂ  
(man house DIR-behind-LOC go-INDma)

'the man is across the road.'

ɾɪwəʔk ɾaku ʂəh-ta: wək-oʔʂ  
(man house across-LOC sit-INDma)

### 3.1.5 Nominal Compounds

As can be seen from the following examples, taken entirely from the *No Tongue* text, there are several patterns for nominal compounds. In endocentric compounds, the head noun can precede the modifying noun (e.g. chief, travois, bison) or follow it (e.g. fruit, sun, moon, wooden bowl). Derived nouns can either be head or modifying (cf. village leader, river versus holy woman). Note also the presence of exocentric compounds (e.g. dog, drinking vessel, *No Tongue*, lit. 'not having a tongue; without a tongue'; also see Text lines: 3, 8, 15, 17, 18, 22, 24, 25, 27, 30, 35):

wɾɪ i=hj:-s 'drinking vessel' (water PV=drink-DEF)	wɪ ti 'village' (?=house)
ɾɪwəʔk ʂi 'chief' (man=good)	wɾə ap 'leaf; foliage' (wood=foliage)
wɪʔ ti ko-wreh-ka 'village leader' (village=WH-door-HAB)	wə:tah i-xti-t 'headwaters' (river=PV=tip-LOC)
wə:ptæ i=wokah 'shore' (bank PV=edge)	wɾɪs wa-e: rut 'dog' <sup>18</sup> (horse=UNSP-defecate eat)
wɾə haʂka 'travois' (wood=long)	wɪʔ xtuk-æ 'mortar' (stone=grind-SV)

<sup>18</sup>. Literally: 'horse manure eats'; recall that the dog was the first beast of burden on the Great Plains.

wɾə ro 'fruit'  
(wood=flesh)

ti xoka 'shelter'<sup>19</sup>  
(house=?)

həp wɪɾəki 'sun'  
(day=orb)

ɪstuh wɪɾəki 'moon'<sup>20</sup>  
(night=orb)

resike wɪk 'No Tongue'  
(tongue=NEG)

o=ti wreh 'doorway'  
(PV=house door)

suk ɾɪwəʔk 'young man'  
(young=man)

suk wɪ:h 'young woman'  
(young=woman)

ptj:r tkuʂ 'bison'  
(cattle=true)

wəʔak o=ti 'earth lodge'  
(earth=house)

wə:-xopɾɪ wɪ:h 'holy woman'  
(UNSP-holy=woman)

wɾə pax-æ 'wooden bowl'  
(wood=bowl)

### 3.1.5 Pronominals

#### 3.1.5.1 Personal

The personal pronouns are *wɪ* 'first person singular', *ɾɪ* 'second person' (singular or plural). The third person prefix is *i*; it only occurs as a proclitic on one of two particles. The first- and second-person pronouns rarely occur as bare stems either. Usually they are cliticized in a clefted form to the copular verb, *o:ʔ* 'be', which in turn bears a topicalizing postclitic, *-ɾə*: *wɪ-oʔ-ɾə* 'I; myself' (lit. 'it being me'), *ɾɪ-oʔ-ɾə* 'you; yourself' (lit. 'it being you'), *i-oʔ-ɾə* 'it; he; she' (lit. 'it being third person'). The alternative forms are built on the pronominal stem, *-ʂak*: *wɪ-ʂak* 'I', *ɾɪ-ʂak* 'we', *ɾɪ-ʂak* 'you', *i-ʂak* 'third person' (also see Text line: 19).

<sup>19</sup>. Edwin Benson does not acknowledge this as a word.

<sup>20</sup>. The word, *wɪɾəki* 'orb' is also used for 'bullboat' (or 'coracle'), and by extension to all modern vehicles.

## 3.1.5.2 Deixis

At least three deictic positions are distinguished; namely, *re* 'here; speaker's position', *o*: 'there; hearer's position and, a third position, *e*: 'far from speaker's and hearer's positions'. A more remote variant of the latter is, *wa-e:-ta* 'far off/away; in the far distance' (recall the negative intensifier, *wa-*). The less remote form frequently combines with the demonstrative, *ǰʔt* 'that' (e.g. *tí ǰʔt e*: 'that there house' or *tí ǰʔt e: ro*: 'that there house there').

The form *ro*: 'here' or 'there' may be a contraction of *re* and *o*:; as stated above, both *o*: and *ro*: may have a more generic interpretation ('there') indicating the location of an event as informed by discourse context. Note that, *reš* 'thus' appears to be derived from, *re*. The proximal and distal demonstratives are often followed by the positional auxiliaries, which take on a deictic value in this context, *ǰʔt e: wǰk* 'that (lying) there'; the latter has an irregular plural, *wǰ:kakhe* 'these'; *ǰʔt e: wǰ:kakhe* 'those there'; *ǰʔt e: hǰk* 'that (standing) there', *re rǰk* 'this (sitting), *re wǰk* 'this (lying)'. There is evidence that finer distinctions for distance of the third position exist, but the glosses yield no firm analysis.

The suffix, *-rɥ* 'aforementioned; the former' (ANF), allows reference back to a previously introduced noun in discourse, e.g. *rɥwǰʔk-rɥ-s* 'the aforementioned man'. Another discourse deictic is, *ǰʔt* 'thus' from which *ɥʔš* 'then' and *ɥʔš-ka* 'then; thus' and *uʔš-ka hræ* 'doing thus' can be derived (also see Text lines: 14, 24, 27, 32, 35, 37, 38, 39):

he took them **there to where** the wife had been scraping the hide.  
ko-ǰʔh-s o-watk-a: wǰ:k-æ:-s e:-t  
(P3-wife-DEF NOM-scrape-SIM AUX:DUR-SV-DEF DEM-LOC

á-ræ:h-o:wǰk-oʔš.  
TR-go-NAR-INDma)

(yet) everyone **there** had believed what their father had said before and the poor children were suffering (for it.)  
ré-t rɥwǰʔk kó-at-s e-rǰ wá-ehe-s  
(DEM-LOC man, P3-father-DEF DEM-TOP UNSP-say-DEF

ǰt-a: á:we, wǰka hræ-kræ-rǰ suk-kræ-s, ahkrǰ, wá-hǰku  
before-SIM all real cause-PL-SS child-PL-DEF, pitiful, UNSP-difficult

í=sæk-kræ-ro:wǰk-oʔš.  
PV=do-PL-NAR-INDma)

**those** many people must have surely been afraid.

há-ki ó: o=hræ-rǰ wá-rɥwǰʔk-aki hǰ-rɥ-s  
(PROV-IF there PV=cause-SS UNSP-man-COLL many-ANF-DEF

wa-karahka-kræ-rǰk-u-ak.  
UNSP-fear-PL-MOD-DS)

having done **that**, he took half the rib cage.<sup>21</sup>

ǰʔš-ka hræ-rǰ, rú-t-æ rǰte-ška ru-šæ-rǰ.  
(DEM-ADV do-SS, rib-SV side-COLL IPh-take-SS)

**then** while the children were there crying, the village chief said,

ǰʔš, wǰ:k-æ-ha: wǰʔ=ti rɥwǰʔk=ši-s e-rǰ,  
(Thus, abide:lie-SIM village man=good-DEF DEM-TOP,

"go and grab **those** children and tie their wrists;

"ræ:h-rǰ súk-kræ-re í=ru-šæ-rǰ ǰkite ka-skæ-rǰ irǰk ró:  
"go-SS child-PL-ANF PV=IPh-take-SS wrist IPf-tie-SS again there

tie them around the waist too!"

rǰte ro:-ha: ka-skæ-rǰ!  
waist there-LOC IPf-tie-SS!")

when there was **thus** no one in the village, the children cried and cried.

wǰʔ=ti reš o: wa-wǰk-ki ó=hræ-rǰ suk-kræ-s rátax-rǰk.  
(village thus there UNSP-not-IF PV=cause-SS child-PL-DEF cry-ITR)

(the dog) was howling **this way there** in the village.

woh-a: rǰ:k-æ wǰʔ=ti reš o:.  
(howl-SIM abide:sit village thus there)

since the children were crying **here**,

há-ki ré-t suk-kræ-s rátax-a: wǰ:k-æ-soʔrǰk  
(PROV-IF here-LOC child-PL-DEF cry-SIM abide:lie-SINCE

<sup>21</sup>. Note the SS suffix instead of, *-ak*, in this temporal sequence. This may be a reduced version of *oʔ-hræ-rǰ* 'from (there)', in which SS is idiomatic. No English influence of the SR mechanism is possible, however.

that dog must have heard them;  
æ-ró:te o: ratax-a-;  
hear-EVD NOM-cry-SIM;

he was going to **there** where the children were.  
hú:-a: a:wí wrj̄s-wa-e-rut-s hí-ro:wák-oʔš,  
come-SIM CONT horse-UNSP-defecate-eat-DEF arrive-NAR-INDma,

suk-kræ-s e:-ta.  
child-PL-DEF DEM-LOC)

### 3.1.5.3 Indefinites and Interrogatives

The indefinites and interrogatives are structurally and semantically related, being built on the sequence, *ta-(we)-* (phonetically, [tewe]) with a general indefinite meaning, which receives an interrogative reading in questions. The *any* forms differ from the preceding only in employing a slightly different disjunctive form of the copula, *oʔ* 'be'. The former are as follows: *wa-te-we* 'something', *(ko)-ta-we (oʔ-ki)* 'somebody', *(ko)-ta-we oʔ-aška* 'anybody', *ta-we-t* 'somewhere', *ta-ahka-raš* 'some time' (cf. *ahka* 'extent'), *ta-ʔa:* 'some amount', *ta-ahka-ra* 'some distance' (cf. *ahka* 'extent'), *ta-ška* 'somehow; some reason', *ta-we-ta* 'somewhere'. The negative indefinites are identical to the preceding, except that they take the negative existential, *wj̄k-oʔš* 'not' as their predicate: *(ko)-ta-we oʔ-aška wj̄k-oʔš* 'nobody' (lit. 'anybody is not'; also see Text line: 3).

### 3.1.5.4 Possessives

Mandan distinguishes between alienable (AL) and inalienable possession. The former usually requires the alienable prefix, *ta-* on the stem to which the prefixes for possessor agreement are then added. The latter place the possessor agreement prefixes directly on the stem. The prefix *wj̄-* marks first-person singular possessor agreement, *ro:-* 'first person plural', *rj̄-* 'second person' and *i-* is for 'third person'. These coincide with stative verb agreement, making alienable possession a type of stative predication ("X" relates as kin'). Several kinship terms are marked for third person possessor agreement with *ko-* (also found as a relativizer). The examples below represent kinship possession exemplifying both stative and active agreement patterns on alienable and inalienable stems. Thus 'mother' shows stative prefixation on an inalienable stem; whereas, 'father' shows active. Inalienable possession is found only with active prefixation, as with, 'younger

sister'. Active prefixation can also be found on old nominalized forms of the verb, 'dwell': *o=wa-ti* 'my house', *o=ra-ti* 'your house', etc. Mandan has a Crow system of matrilineal kinship.. Note that vocative forms are occasionally suppletive (also see Text lines: 1, 2, 3, 6, 9, 13, 14, 18, 19, 32).

### 3.1.5.5 Kinship Terminology

In the following list of Mandan kinship terms, vocatives are given first when available. Note that kinship terms may take the definite article:

- 1) **mother** *rāʔé* (voc); *wj̄-hu:s*; *ru-hu:-s*; *ko-hu:-s*; 2) **father** *taté* (voc); *wa-aʔt-s*; *ko-aʔt-s*; *ko-aʔt-e*; 3) **older brother (ms)** *wj̄-úká:* (voc); *wj̄-úka*; *ko-úʔk*; 4) **younger brother (ms)** *wj̄-šú:ka:(?)* (voc); *ko-šú:ka*; 5) **o. sister (ws)** *wj̄-rúké:*; *wj̄-rúks*; *ko-rúke-s*; 6) **younger sister (ws)** *ko-tá:ká:* (voc); *ptá:ka (wa-ta-tka)*; *ko-tá:ka*; 7) **sister (ms)** *wa-ta-wj̄:hé:* (voc); *wa-ta-wj̄:he*; *ko-ta-wj̄:he*; *rutawj̄:hekeres*; *ritawj̄:hirj̄ts*; 8) **parent's mother (ms/ws)** *rā: xj̄:hé:* (voc); *rā: xj̄:-s*; *kohú:*; *xj̄:-s*; *ru-hú: xj̄:-s*; 9) **parent's father (ms/ws)** *tatá xj̄:hé:*; *tatá xj̄s*; *wa-aʔt xj̄:-s*; *ko-aʔt xj̄:-s*; *á:t xj̄-kræ-s*; 10) **son (ms/ws)** *wj̄-rj̄k-é:*; *ko-rj̄:ka-s-é:* 'child!' (voc. of endearment); *wj̄-rj̄ks*; *ko-rj̄:ka*; 11) **daughter (ms/ws)** *ko-rj̄:hák-s/e*; *wj̄-rj̄:háks*; 12) **child's child (ms/ws)** *wa-ta-wj̄:há:káʔ* (voc); *wa-ta-wj̄:há:kaʔ*; *wa-ta-wj̄:há:kaʔkræ-s*; 13) **sister's child (ms)** *wa-ta-háka* (?); 14) **wife** *wj̄-úʔuhe*; *wj̄-úʔs*; *ko-úʔs*; *ko-úʔhe*; 15) **husband** *wj̄-wro-s*; *ko-wro-s*; 16) **husband's brother** *wj̄-sike* (?); 17) **wife's brother** *wó:wahkis*; *kawó:wahkis*; 18) **father/son-in-law** *ró:háka*; *ró:há:ka*; *(ptuts* (?)); 19) **husband's siblings** *ptus*; *ko-tus*; 20) **brother's wife** *wa-ta-ró:há:kawj̄s*; *ko-ta-ró:há:kawj̄s*; *(r̄p:há:kawj̄s* (?)); 21) **mother's brother (ms/ws)** *(p)ta-wa-rató:re*; 22) **father's sister (ms/ws)** *wj̄hú:re* (voc) 'my mother'; *ptú:wj̄rj̄ks*; 23) **mother-in-law (ms)** *ptuhirj̄ke*; *kotuhirj̄ks*; 24) **widow(er)** *kiʔi:ʔahkaʔš*; **widower** *kiʔórukohs* (also see Text lines: 2, 3, 6, 18, 32)

### 3.1.5.6. Numerals

The cardinal numbers are: *wxa(rā)* 'one' (cf. *wxā* 'once'), *rj̄p* 'two', *rā:wj̄* 'three', *to:p* 'four', *kixu:* 'five', *kiwā:* 'six', *ku:pa* 'seven', *te:toki* 'eight', *waxpe* 'nine', *pirak* 'ten', *ak-wxra* 'eleven', *ak-rj̄p* 'twelve', etc.; *rj̄p-ha: pirak* 'twenty', *rj̄p-ha: pirak-rj̄ wxra* 'twenty-one', *hjsuk wxra* 'one hundred', *hjsuk ikakohi* 'one thousand'.

The ordinal numbers are formed by the prefix, *i-*, e.g. *i-rj̄p* 'second', *i-rā:wj̄* 'third', *i-to:p* 'fourth', etc.; the exception is *ute* 'first'.



There are other numerical expressions. The suffix, *-ha:*, attaches to the cardinal numbers to mark iterations, with the exception of *wax-ha:* 'once'; other examples are: *rup-ha:* 'twice', *to:p-ha:* 'four times'.

Serial expressions reduplicate the final syllable; with the exception of, 'one by one', which uses the form one might have expected for 'once', *wxrā-ha:*. The other forms are: *rup(p)rup* 'by twos; two by two', *rā:wriwri* 'by threes', *to(p)to:p* 'by fours', *kixu:xu:* 'by fives', *kiwā:wā:* 'by sixes', etc.

Groups or sets involving a specified number, are formed by the addition of the suffix, *-ša=ška:* *wi:h ko-hāšk-kræ-s i-rup-ša=ška* 'both the tall women' (cf. *rup* 'two'; also see Text lines: 1, 33).

### 3.1.5.7. Quantifiers

Quantifiers are found at the end of the noun phrase:

'five, big, round, heavy, old drums'

*wrā wa-i=rax-e, ko-ust, ko-tke, ko-kawix, ko-xte-s kixu:*  
(wood kettle, WH-old, WH-heavy, WH-round, WH-big-DEF five)

'many, round, heavy, old drums'

*wrā wa-i=rax-e, ko-ust, ko-tke, ko-kawix hu*  
(wood kettle, WH-old, WH-heavy, WH-round many)

'a few, round, heavy, old drums'

*wrā wa-i=rax-e, ko-ust, ko-tke, ko-kawix sa:ka*  
(wood kettle, WH-old, WH-heavy, WH-round few)

## 3.2 The Simple Sentence

The simple sentence follows a verb-final (SOV) pattern with complements preceding the verb. While Mandan is a typical Pro-drop language, overt subjects are sentence-initial. The main verb may be followed by one or more auxiliary verbs. These are discussed in what follows.

### 3.2.1 Have and Existential Constructions

Both possessive and existential predications share the same predicate, *tu* 'exist'; in fact, in the third person, there is an ambiguity between the

possessive and existential readings. In the negative, possessive and existential constructions both take the negative existential predicate, *wik-* 'negative; not exist' (NEG). There is also a verb, *kæ:-* 'have' which in the habitual aspect, *kæ:- ka* 'have habitually' means, 'keep'.<sup>22</sup> This can be nominalized to, *ka-kæ:- ka-ka* 'keeper', with reference to the guardian or keeper of a sacred object. Constructions with BE are based on the copular verb, *o:ʔ* 'be', which also seems to have evolved into the illocutionary suffixes for the indicative, *-oʔʃ* 'indicative male addressed' (INDma) and *-o:ʔre* 'indicative, female addressed' (INDfa) and the interrogative, *-oʔša* 'interrogative, male addressed' (INTma) and *-o:ʔra* 'interrogative, female addressed' (INTfa). The copular verb comes to the fore in cleft constructions and even the pronouns (also see Text lines: 1, 9, 13, 39):

**there is hair/he has hair** all over his body.  
*ʔ-wā:re ʔ-ku-hā: hi tu-oʔʃ*  
(3P-body PV-whole-LOC hair exist-INDma)

**I have money.**  
*wa-ta-wa:taše tu-oʔʃ*  
(A1sg-AL-money exist-INDma)

**I have money.**  
*wá:tà-šè wà-kæ:-oʔʃ*  
(money A1sg-have-INDma)

**I have/keep a cat.**  
*pus wà-kæ:-ka-oʔʃ*  
(cat A1sg-have-HAB-INDma)

**I have no money; I don't have any money.**  
*wa-ta-wa:taše wik-oʔʃ*  
(A1sg-AL-money NEG-INDma)

**I have no cat; I don't have/keep a cat.**  
*pus wa:wà-kæ:-rix--ka-oʔʃ*  
(cat NEG-A1sg-have-NEG-HAB-INDma)

<sup>22</sup> One of the forms of, 'to give; give away' is the causative construction, *kæ hræ* 'cause to have.'

it **is/was** he ....  
 i-oʔ-r̥a ...  
 (PV=**be**-TOP ...)

..it **is/was** these ...  
 ... é: oʔ-ak ...  
 (...DEM **be**-DS ...)

he **is/was** the one ...  
 ĩ=oʔ-r̥a ...  
 ("PV=**be**-TOP ...")

the school **is** in front of that house. (lit. the house yonder)  
 w̥a: ka-pus ó-ti-s tí'é:-ta pexti ro: óʔ-oʔš  
 (paper=house-DEF house yonder-LOC front LOC **be**-INDma)

### 3.2.2 Auxiliary Verb Constructions

Many predications involve periphrastic constructions. Secondary predicates are referred to here as, "auxiliary verbs"; yet not all share the same structural characteristics. For example, some auxiliaries agree for subject, others do not. Some are clearly members of separate clauses from their main verb (with same-subject marking) others appear to belong to the same clause as the main verb. Furthermore, there may be a spectrum of boundedness for the auxiliaries that share a clause with the main predicate, from clitics to suffix on the main verb stem. The principal structural criterion for determining whether an morpheme is an auxiliary clitic rather than a suffix, is that the latter can be found in a specific position in the stem, while the former behave more like an independent verb, taking the first position with respect to other, truly suffixal positions.

The most salient of the auxiliaries are, *hræ* 'causative'; *kʉʔ* 'benefactive; give'(BEN); to the positional and configurational auxiliaries, which mostly have an aspectual function: *r̥ak* 'sit'; *r̥ak-æ* 'abide:sit'; *w̥ak* 'lie'; *w̥ak-æ* 'abide:lie'; *h̥ak* 'stand'; *h̥ak-æ* 'abide:stand'. The first members of the pairs in the latter series simply reflect a stative meaning, while the second have a durative or continuous meaning. The irregular auxiliary, *r̥ur̥ih* 'exist:pl', also has a durative meaning. Agreement for subject number in

the positional auxiliaries is expressed only through the LIE root, *w̥akah* 'lie/sit/stand pl' (also see Text lines: 1, 2, 3, 4, 10, 11, 14, 16, 17, 18, 19, 24, 25, 33, 36, 37, 38, 39)<sup>23</sup>

### 3.2.3 Causative Auxiliary Construction

The causative has its own subject agreement prefixation; however, it does not allow same-subject marking. Both, *hræ* 'cause' and *kæ* 'cause' serve this function. Unlike other Siouan languages, no semantic distinction occurs between these two forms.<sup>24</sup> Note that the idiom for 'kill' is 'cause to die'; similarly, the transitive of 'to roast' is 'cause to roast':

"come and eat! Fill yourselves up!"

hú:-r̥i wa-rút-ta! ra-éx o=hi

"A2imp-come-SS UNSP-A2imp-eat-IMPma P2-belly NOM=full

**hræ-r̥it-ta!"**

**cause-2PL-IMPma!"**

as he took the children, he said, "I've **killed** a deer

wa-á-hu:-r̥i, "w̥aw̥ar̥ahku-r̥a té **wa-hræ-ak**

(UNSP-TR-come-SS, "deer-TOP die **A1sg-cause-DS**

and **roasted** the ribs for you."

rút rá-sit **wa-hræ** wa-r̥i-kʉʔ-r̥it-oʔš.

rib IPT-roast **A1sg-cause** A1sg-S2-give-2PL-INDma.")

he killed her without cause.

wa-ĩ=h̥ut-æ w̥ik-a: te: **kæ-r̥i.**

(NEG-PV=reason-SV NEG-SIM die **cause-SS**)

<sup>23</sup> Crow uses the same plural *kaáu* for both the *daachi* 'sit' and *baachi* 'lie' auxiliaries (Randolph Graczyk, personal communication).

<sup>24</sup> While Mandan makes no apparent distinction, Crow shows two causatives with distinct meanings: *ee* 'direct causative' and *hche* 'indirect causative' (Randolph Graczyk, personal communication).



## 3.2.4 Benefactive and Applicative Auxiliary Verb Constructions

The verb, *ku?* 'give' functions as a benefactive auxiliary verb which, like its full verb version, can take subject and object pronominal agreement. Thus in the first example below, the benefactive is literally, 'I give you (the action)':

as he took the children, he said, "I've killed a deer  
wa-á-hu:-rj, "wáwərahku-rə té wa-hræ-ak  
(UNSP-TR-come-SS, "deer-TOP die A1sg-cause-DS

and roasted the ribs for you."  
rút rá-sit wa-hræ wa-rj-ku?-rjt-oʔš.  
rib IPt-roast A1sg-cause A1sg-S2-give-2PL-INDma.")

"our father shouldn't have done what he did to us...  
"ta-at-æ wá-i=sæk-rjx ró-ku? ĩ=sæk-rj rá:h-oʔš.  
(AL-father-SV NEG-PV=do-NEG S1pl-give ...")

## 3.2.5 Aspectual Auxiliary Verb Constructions

## 3.2.5.1 Positional and Configurational Auxiliaries

The auxiliaries, *rək* 'sit', *wək* 'lie', *hək* 'stand' tend to have a perfective meaning. In the following examples this is further rendered by the English temporal adverb:

when he'd gone, the boy stayed there; in a little while, Moon came.  
ræ:h-ki i=sák wək-rj jstuh wřaki-s štek éš-a-ki  
(go-IF PV=PRO lie-SS night orb-DEF while farther-SIM-IF

hř-ro:wək-oʔš.  
come-NAR-INDma)

by then, the boy had grown up,  
řj?-ahka súk-s ki-ráto:-a: wa-tá-wə:rə  
(DEM-EXT boy-DEF MV-grown-SIM UNSP-AL-year

he might have been nine or ten  
wəxpe-rəš-rj pirák-rj ta-wé hək-kraé óʔ-kt-oʔš.  
nine-ATT-SS ten-SS what stand-ANF be-POT-INDma.

(as) he was doing that.  
řjʔš-ka hræ-ro:mək-oʔš.  
thus-ADV cause-NAR-INDma)

The auxiliaries, *rək-æ* 'abide:sit', *wək-æ* 'abide:lie', *hək-æ* 'abide:stand' have an imperfective or durative meaning. In some instances, the configurational dimension of the meaning is more literal than in others; as in the third example below:

they all scattered upstream (lit. they were scattering)..  
á:we o=šři-ha: wá:tah ĩ=xti-t rək-æ e:-t ...  
(all PV=scatter-SIM river PV=tip-LOC abide:sit ...)

...a man had two (young) children...  
...rjwəʔk e-rə ta-súk-æ i=rjup-ak kəʔkæ-rj ..  
(...man DEM-TOPAL-boy-SV PV=two-DS have-SS

wá:k-æ-ak.  
abide:lie-DS...)

"yes," he said and went, poor thing, and he stood crying.  
"Háu." é=he-rj ræ:h-rj; ák, rátax-a:  
("yes." PV=say-SS go-SS; pitiful, cry-SIM

hř:k-æ-ro:wək-s=hj:  
abide:stand-NAR-PST=AUX)

## 3.2.5.2 Other Auxiliary Verbs

The auxiliary, *r̥r̥iḥ* 'exist plural' functions as an imperfective also; especially when a predicate of motion is involved:

uʔš *r̥r̥iḥ-a*:...  
(thus **exist:pl-SIM**...)  
They went on that way...

"they know (all about what has happened).  
"a:we wá-i=hek-r̥j *r̥r̥iḥ-aʔt*, i=šák...  
(all UNSP-PV=know-SS **exist:pl-PRT**, they...)

Another periphrastic construction with progressive or continuous meaning is, *-a: awi* 'continuous (motion)'. The construction usually involves the suffix, *-ha:* 'simultaneous' on the preceding verb. Note that the auxiliary verb itself may take a subject agreement prefix:<sup>25</sup>

...he was going to where the children were.  
...hú:-**a: awi** wr̥s-wa-e-rut-s hí-ro:wák-oʔš, suk-kræ-s e:-ta.  
(...come-**SIM CONT** horse-UNSP-defecate-eat-DEF  
arrive-NAR-INDma, child-PL-DEF DEM-LOC)

he was returning home....  
ki-ræ:h-**a: awi**, ...  
(VRT-go-**SIM CONT**...)

As was mentioned above, there is an auxiliary, *s̥iḥ-oʔš* '(be/do) strong', which has the value of a usitative or habitual aspectual. Note subject agreement:

'you are **always** laughing.'  
i=ra-kx̥a *ra-s̥iḥ-r̥j-t-ka-oʔš*  
(PV=A2-laugh A2-strong-2PL-HAB-INDma)

<sup>25</sup>. Crow and Lakhota show similar distribution for possible cognates of the 'simultaneous' aspectual suffix (Randolph Graczyk, personal communication).

The Inceptive aspectual consists of the auxiliary, *e=ræ:h* 'want; think', preceded by the suffix, *-ha:* 'simultaneous' (SIM) attached on the immediately preceding predicate. Its meaning is, 'about to VERB':

"your father's really miserable; he's just **about to** starve.  
ra-âṭ-s í=xik w̥ka-oʔre. wa-rút-æ té:-**a: e=ræ:h-r̥j** ...  
(P2-father-DEF PV=bad real-INDfa. UNSP-hungry-SV-SIM  
die-**SIM** PV=want-SS, rock-SV PV=say-PL-HAB-INDfa.)"

The aspectual above, *-ha:* 'simultaneous' (SIM) occurs to indicate the simultaneity between the marked clause and the one immediately contiguous to it (*/h/* is lost after consonants):

his wife was scraping a hide.  
ko-ŭʔh-e ropx̥í wá-itk-**a: w̥k-o:w̥k-oʔš**.  
P3-wife-SV hide IPs-scrape-**SIM** lie-NAR-INDma.

**as** they broke camp, there was a really old dog;  
xk̥ah-r̥j ræ:h-kræ-ki wr̥s-wa-e-rut-e-r̥a x̥iḥ-æ í=w̥ka-ak;  
(decamp-SS go-PL-IF horse-UNSP-defecate-eat-DEM-TOP)

they had abandoned him.  
ŭpræ-**ha:** ræ:h-kræ-ak.  
old-SV PV=real-DS abandon-**SIM** go-PL-DS)

**all the while**, (the children) didn't know (what was happening).  
wá-i=hek-æ w̥k-**ha:**.  
(NEG-PV=know-SV not-**SIM**)

The auxiliary, *w̥ka* 'real(ly)' occurs as an adverbial or adjectival intensifier, much as its English analog:

**as** they broke camp, there was a **really** old dog...  
xk̥ah-r̥j ræ:h-kræ-ki wr̥s-wa-e-rut-e-r̥a x̥iḥ-æ í=**w̥ka-ak**...  
(decamp-SS go-PL-IF dog-DEM-TOP old-SV PV=**real-DS**...)

all the while, (the children) didn't know (what was happening.)

wá-i=hek-æ wjk-ha.

(NEG-PV=know-SV not-SIM)

"your father's **really** miserable...

ra-áŕt-s í=xik wjka-oŕe...

(P2-father-DEF PV=bad **real**-INDfa...)

The auxiliary, *-ahka* 'able' is one which attaches as a clitic to the verb stem; it shows no subject agreement:

if we **can** eat...

rŭ-rut-**ahka**-ki...

(A1PL-eat-**able**-IF...)

as much as he **could** lift...

o-ru-xok-**ahka**...

(NOM-IPh-lift-**able**...)

There is another, homophonous auxiliary, *-ahka* 'extent' (EXT) which also attaches as a clitic to the verb stem; it has an aspectual function indicating that a following predicate is temporally simultaneous or physically coterminous with the verb bearing this auxiliary. When the *extensive* attaches to the deictic, *ŭ?* 'that', it has the meaning, 'then':

**just as** he said it...

ehe-**ahka**...

(say-EXT...)

...it was about **as big** around as a tipi...

... wa-tí=šoh-eška-**ahka**-oŕš...

(...UNSP-house=taper-SMT-EXT-INDma...)

"... **then when** everything is quiet,

... ŭ?-**ahka** wá-ŭ?-s hápo

(...DEM-EXT UNSP-thus quiet PV=say-SMT-ANT-IF

**then** you can go out. ...

...ŭ?-**ahka** ra-súk-rjt-kt-oŕš

DEM-EXT A2-exit-2PL-POT-INDma)

The auxiliary, *-eška* 'similitive' (SMT) which also attaches as a clitic to the verb stem; it has the adverbial meaning, 'like; similar to'. It also renders the meaning, 'approximately; about':

...it was **about as big** around as a tipi...

... wa-tí=šoh-**eška**-ahka-oŕš...

(...UNSP-house=taper-SMT-EXT-INDma...)

for **about** four days...

háp-æ tópe-**eška**-ak ...

(day-SV four-SMT-DS...)

### 3.3 Complex Sentence Structure:

#### 3.3.1 Coordination and Realis Switch-Reference:

The morpho-syntactic patterns identified here as reflecting a switch-reference function (i.e. the tracking of *subject-continuity* in discourse, henceforth SR) have been previously misanalyzed as coordinating or aspectual/subordinating suffixes (Kennard 1936; Hollow 1970; Carter 1991b). Mandan SR is verbal suffixation responding to syntactic and discourse triggers, which marks the continuity or discontinuity of subject-reference, typically, between two clauses, regardless of their hierarchy (or even contiguity, in some cases.) With the exception of such auxiliaries as, *hræ* (and *kæ*) 'cause', SR suffixation may also intervene in the same clause between main verb and its aspectual auxiliary verbs (here, AUX or 'positional postverb' (PPV), in Carter 1991b.)<sup>26</sup>

In a verb-final (SOV) language like Mandan, SR takes the form of suffixation on the last verb of a non-final (or "medial") clause; this includes the non-final main verb when followed by an auxiliary verb. The verb of a non-final clause in Mandan typically lacks affixation, such as the gender-sensitive illocutionary suffixation (indicative, interrogative, imperative) and other modals found only on final-clause verbs. The canonical, realis SR system envisioned here for Mandan involves the suffix, *-rj* 'same subject' (henceforth, 'SS'; phonetically: [nj], this suffix occurs in both *realis*- and *irrealis*-

<sup>26</sup> A definitive analysis of auxiliary verbs must await further research.

SS environments) along with, **-ak** 'different subject' (henceforth, 'DS'; the suffix vowel is lost following a vowel). The following single sentence example should suffice. Note that the sentence begins with a complex of two positional auxiliaries to which the DS suffix attaches. The auxiliaries serve as a sentence connective and have the syntactic force of a separate predication, thus requiring a marking for change of subject. It is also usefully typical that there is an idiomatic use of SS marking as well. The form, *o=hræ-rj* 'from' has lexicalized the causative auxiliary into a temporal and discourse deictic with no causative force at all (also see Text lines: for SS: 1,3,4,5,7(2), 8, 9(2),11, 12, 13,1518(3), 19(2), 20, 22, 23, 24(4), 25, 26, 27(2), 29(2), 30, 31, 32, 33, 34(3), 35, 38, 39(6); 2) for DS: 1(3), 9, 10, 20, 31, 35(2), 38):

soon (even here) [sic] autumn came,  
 hək=tá-ak ó: o=hræ-rj, ró: oʔ-ška ptáŋa  
 (stand=stand-DS there PV=cause-SS, there be-DSJ, autumn)

and the elder said,  
 ko-ráto:-e, "ró: oʔ-ška  
 WH-mature-SV, "there be-DSJ,

"we'll make a brush shelter even here.  
 tí=xoka wá-i=ro-sæk-rj  
 house-pointed UNSP-PV=A1PL-make-SS

my brother, this is where we'll live."  
 wj-šúk, rj-həʔ-kt-oʔš."  
 P1-brother, A1PL-exist-POT-INDma."

### 3.3.2 Coordination and Irrealis Switch-Reference

In addition to *realis* DS, **-ak**, as above, there is an, *irrealis/conditional* suffix (DSirr), presumably related to the polysemous suffix, **-ki** 'if/when' (IF; see below). The two *ki*-suffixes differ in that the latter (IF) occurs in coordinate-clause environments, whereas the former (DSirr) marks a subordinate object-complement clause when dominated by certain *irrealis* predicates to be exemplified below. It is, furthermore, notable that the SR system appears to be unaffected by the distinction between *Active* and *Stative* intransitive verbs. The text contains only two examples of the DSirr:

"we didn't see which trail they had taken at all." she said.  
 "téwe ráku rá:h-kræ-ki wá-rj-hæ wj-kt-oʔš, ...  
 ("what road go-PL-DSirr NEG-A1PL-see not-INDma,"...)

"when Moon [sic] arrives and says,  
 há-ki ɪstj wj-ráki-s [sic] e-rj hí-kt-ki  
 (stand-IF night-orb-DEF DEM-TOP arrive-POT-IF

'will you give me your tongue...my son?'"  
 ka-ró:te-ki, "é=wa=he-s-oʔš wj-rj-æ  
 PROS-ANT-IF, "PV=A1-say-PST-INDma P1-son-VOC

ra-i=résik-æ wá-rá-kuʔ-ki  
 P2-PV=tongue-SV S1-A2-give-DSirr ...)

### 3.3.3 Clause Connectives and other Particles

Aside from the aforementioned switch-reference morphology, there are also clause-initial connective words or particles which serve to link clauses. In some instances, these are clitic complexes formed out of what may be fossilized syntactic debris, such as: *μʔš* 'thus', the pro-verb, *ha-* (PROV), the pro-sentence, *ka-* (PROS); the synchronic meaning of the latter is now difficult to ascertain. There is evidence that some of these particles may have been predicates in earlier stages of the language. Note, for example, *ka-ro:te-ki*, which takes the anterior aspectual suffix (ANT) along with the, **-ki** 'if/when' (IF), another verbal suffix. The switch-reference suffixes can be found at work with these elements also. The form, *μʔš* 'thus', refers back to a previously uttered clause or sentence. It is often accompanied by the suffix, **-ka** 'adverbial' (ADV), which may, in fact, be related to the other anaphoric suffixes homophonous with it (also see Text lines: 7, 20, 24, 34, 37, 39):

thus, all the while, the village chief said,  
 μʔš wá:k-æ-ha: wjʔ=ti rjwáʔk=ši-s e:-rj,  
 (Thus, abide:lie-SIM village man=good-DEF DEM-TOP,

"go and grab those children and tie their wrists;  
 "ræ:h-rj súk-kræ-re ɪ=ru-šæ-rj ukite ka-skæ-rj  
 "go-SS child-PL-ANF PV=IPh-take-SS wrist IPf-tie-SS

tie them around the waist too!"

irák ró: r̥áte ro:-ha: ka-skæ-r̥i.

also there waist there-LOC IPf-tie-SS!")

having done **that**, he took half the rib cage.<sup>27</sup>

uʔš-ka hræ-r̥i, r̥út-æ r̥áte-ška ru-šæ-r̥i.

(DEM-ADV do-SS, rib-SV side-COLL IPH-take-SS)

There are two anaphors which have as their antecedent, either a prior verb, *ha-(ki)* 'pro-verb' (PROV) or a sentence, *ka-(r̥i)* 'pro-sentence' (PROS). Note that one or the other of the switch-reference markers (or if/when) frequently appear with these clause connectives. Most interesting is the third example, which, as was stated above, reveals an aspectual marking tagging the clause connectives more clearly as a type of minor predication:

so, since children were crying...

há-ki ré-t suk-kræ-s rátax-a: w̥á:k-æ-soʔr̥ik̥ ;..

(PROV-IF here-LOC child-PL-DEF cry-SIM abide:lie-SINCE ...)

and then all the people broke camp ...

ká-r̥i o: o=hræ-r̥i á:we r̥uwáʔk-aki-s xk̥ah-r̥i...

(PROS-SS there PV=cause-SS all man-COLL-DEF decamp-SS)

"and so, (since) you are a man, you must behave as a man."

ka-ró:te-ki r̥i-r̥uwáʔk-oʔš; r̥uwáʔk̥ í=ks̥ah-oʔš.

(PROS-ANT-IF S2-man-INDma; man RFX-custom-INDma)

An interesting example of clause combination is the use of concatenated auxiliary verbs, marked for switch-reference; the positional auxiliary, *h̥ak* 'stand' is followed by the verb, *te* 'stand', which in turn shows, *-ak* 'different subject' (DS). In the following examples other particles and suffixes such as, *-ki* 'if/when' and *o: o=hræ-r̥i* 'from there' may also be involved. The usual adverbial meaning may not be idiomatic in English and can thus be suppressed from the free translation:

<sup>27</sup>. Note the SS suffix instead of, *-ak*, in this temporal sequence. This may be a reduced version of *oʔ-hræ-r̥i* 'from (there)', in which SS is idiomatic. No English influence of the SR mechanism is possible, however.

so **then**, the girl, was evidently the elder.

h̥ak=té-ak ó: o=hræ-r̥i ko-w̥ih-æ

(stand=stand-DS there PV=cause-SS P3-sister-SV

ko-ráto:r-æ óʔ-ro:te ...

WH-mature-SV DEM be-EVD...)

**then** the girl said,

h̥á(k)-ki ó: o=hræ-r̥i ko-w̥i-s e-r̥a,

(stand(?)-IF there PV=cause-SS P3-sister-DEF DEM-TOP,

"my brother, we're poor."

"w̥i-šuk-æ, wa-ró:-hekkik-r̥aš-oʔš."

"P1-brother-VOC, UNSP-S1pl-poor-ATT-INDma")

As stated above, the particles, *(o:) o=hræ-r̥i* 'from (there)' appears, either alone or in combination with other connectives. Note that the demonstrative element is optional in some contexts. Its semantic contribution is temporally deictic in discourse, indicating a transition to another event:

**then** they made a shelter...

o: o=hræ-r̥i t̥í=xoka í=sæk-kræ-ro:w̥ak-s ...

(there PV=cause-SS house-point PV=make-PL-NAR-PST ...)

The particle, *h̥i*: may also occur as an 'auxiliary' (AUX), as a conjunction, 'and' or as a demonstrative, 'thus', as in the following example:

**then** that boy became

h̥i: ó: o=hræ-r̥i ró: r̥uwáʔk-aki-kræ-s e-r̥a suk-e-r̥i-s

(thus, there PV=cause-SS there man-COLL-PL-DEF DEM-TOP  
boy-DEM-ANF-DEF

their people's chief.

ta-r̥uwáʔk=ši-kræ-ro:w̥ak-oʔš.

AL-man=good-PL-NAR-INDma)

## 3.3.4 If and When

The preceding example conveniently contrasts the IF/WHEN morpheme (IF) with the much less frequent but homophonous irrealis suffix (DSirr) for change-of-subject marking. Note that the suffix can have either the 'if' or the 'when' reading. One further example should suffice (also see Text lines: 3(3), 12, 13, 15, 20, 22(2), 23, 25(3), 27, 35, 37, 38):

**When** she was scraping in a timbered coulee;  
wá-itk-a: wá:k-æ-ki wrą wa-o=krax kuʔš-t  
(IPs-scrape-SIM abide:lie-IF wood UNSP-PV-concave in-LOC)

**while** she was scraping,  
wá-itk-a: wá:k-æ-ki,  
IPs-scrape-SIM abide:lie-SV-IF,

**when** he was thinking who knows what...  
tašká ĩ=pa-šrih-ki, ...<sup>28</sup>  
PV=IPh-think-IF, ...)

## 3.3.5 Active Predicate Comparison and Temporal Sequencing

He works better than me (lit. he works well; I don't do so)  
wa-i=sæke ši: hræ-ka-oʔš  
(UNSP-PV=make good cause-HAB-INDma)

wiʔ=šak wa:-wə-ɸʔš-ka:-xi-ka-oʔš  
(1sg=PRO NEG-S1sg-thus-ADV-NEG-HAB-INDma)

He works as well as I do. (lit. he works well; I also work well)  
wa-i=sæke ši: hræ-ka-oʔš  
(UNSP-PV=make good cause-HAB-INDma)

wiʔ=šak inək wa-i=wa-sæk  
(1sg=PRO also UNSP-PV=S1sg-make)

<sup>28</sup>. This form may be related to another verb for 'kill; murder' the root, *ktE*. More frequent, however, are the periphrastic constructions, *te hræ* or *te kxæ*; both meaning, 'cause to die.'

ši wa-hræ-ka-oʔš  
good A1sg-cause-HAB-INDma)

Temporal anteriority involves a clause about the event followed by a clause in which another subject relates to the same verb in the negative. This clause can be in the form of a locative; the latter may be the result of English influence:

he came **before** me. (lit. he came at/when I hadn't come)  
ro: hi-oʔš wá:-wà:-tí:-xì-tá:  
(here A3-come-INDma NEG-A1sg-come-NEG-LOC)

## 3.3.6 Conjunction and Disjunction

There are two very similar clitics for the expression of conjunction and disjunction, respectively: *-škaʔriək* 'but' and *-oʔ-ška* 'or; (even) though' (both are glossed as, DSJ here); the latter seems to involve the copula, *oʔ* 'be' and can have a conjunctive interpretation as well. The following are examples (also see Text lines: 31, 39):

together they were trying to skin the deer **but** they didn't know  
kó-ta-wiʔ:h-s ki-upa-rį wəwərahku-s ka-xiʔ i=ahka-ɾəš o:  
ĩ=hə-xi=k-**škaʔriək**  
(P3-AL-sister-DEF MV-with-SS deer-DEF IPf-skin PV=just-ATT  
there PV=not:know-**DSJ**  
just how to do it (but) they (finally) managed it.

ka-xiʔ ĩ=hræ wá:k-æ-ha:  
IPf-skin PV=do abide:lie-SIM)

**though** he hardly had any teeth; he was really chewing...  
hĩ **oʔ-ška** ĩ=wik-ša ra-xtú-xtə-rį ũʔš wá:k-æ ra-xot-o:wək-oʔš.  
tooth **be-DSJ** PV=not-COLL IPm-chew-INTS-SS thus abide:lie...

she said to him, "If you kill **even** some cottontails, my brother,  
"wəxtik-æ ó-kšuk-ɾəš **oʔ-ška** wiʔ-šuk,  
"rabbit-SV PV=narrow-ATT **be-DSJ** P1-brother,



I'll roast them for us to eat." (lit. **though it be** some cottontails...)

wá-te ra-hræ-ro:te-ki rá-sit rí-hræ-rí

UNSP-die A2-cause-ANT-IF IPt-roast A1PL-cause-SS

rú-rut-kt-oʒš" é=he-rí .

A1PL-eat-POT-INDma," PV=say-SS)

### 3.3.7 Purpose and Reason Clauses

Reason clauses end in the following clitic, *-soʒrɪk* 'since; because' (SINCE); it is attached to the clause-final predicate. The usual gloss involves 'since' rather than 'because':

...**since** the children were crying, (that dog) must have heard them

...suk-kræ-s rátax-a: wá:k-æ-soʒrɪk, æ-ró:te

(...child-PL-DEF cry-SIM abide:lie-SINCE, hear-EVD)

**since** those children were poor,

suk-kræ-s...wá-o-hikxik-raš-rí wá:k-æ-soʒrɪk

(child-PL-DEF...UNSP-PV=poor-ATT-SS abide:lie-SINCE

they made a house for them...

o=ti í=sæk-a: kúʔ-kræ-ro:wák-oʒš.

PV=house PV=make-SIM give-PL-NAR-INDma)

Purpose clauses typically involve the use of the deictic particle, *ʔ-ta:-ha:* 'that way; for that purpose; that's why':

**that's why** they did it...

ʔ-ta:-ha: wá-i=sæk-rí...

(DEM-LOC-LOC UNSP-PV=make...)

### 3.3.8 Subordination

Subordination remains unmarked for the most part. This is truer for complement more than relative clauses, which may take the prefix, *ko-* 'WH' and are also marked by the definite article suffix, *-s* 'DEF' or a demonstrative such as, *-aʔt* 'that'. The

unspecified argument prefix, *wa-* 'UNSP' may also mark a relative clause, as can, *o-* '(locative) nominalizer' (NOM; also see Text lines: 8, 11, 14, 25, 27).

#### 3.3.8.1 Nominalization and Relative Clauses:

The prefix, *ko-* 'relativizer' (occasionally, *ka-*) optionally marks relativization (WH). Nominalization for place or time is marked by the prefix, *o-* 'nominalizer' (NOM); that for generic instrument, 'what one verbs with', is marked by, *i-* 'instrument'; selected examples follow. Both nominalizations and relative clauses may take the definite article:

you will have **everything that I have promised.**"

wá-i=wa-rí-rat-aʔt á:we ó-ra-kaʔ-oʒš.

UNSP-PV=A1sg-S2-promise-DEM all

FUT-A2-have-INDma)

his **meanness** made him want you to cut out your tongue!"

o=rátka wrɪs-æ ó=t hræ-rí ra-i=résik-æ

(NOM=heart=horse-SV join cause-SS P2-PV=tongue-SV

pa-wéš-rí hræ-rí i=sæk-kt-oʒš.

IPh-cut-cut-SS cause-SS PV=do-POT-INDma.)

the **tracks where** the villagers had **walked** and **dragged** the travois showed...

...o-rí-kræ wɾə=háʒka ó-ru-tá:-rí í:h-a: wá:k-æ-ak ...

(...NOM-walk-PL wood=long NOM-IPh-drag-SS show-SIM abide:lie-DS...)

...when they got **somewhere, they'd gone**, those people (were not there)...

...tewe-rá ko-ræ:h-kræ-ki ro:, rɪwáʔk-aki-kræ...

(...what-TOP WH-go-PL-IF there, man-COLL-ANF...)

(yet) everyone had believed **what their father had said** before

ré-t rɪwáʔk kó-at-s é-rá wá-ehé-s

(DEM-LOC man, P3-father-DEF DEM-TOP UNSP-say-DEF

ú̄t-æ: ǵwe, w̄ika hræ-kræ-r̄j  
before-SIM all real cause-PL-SS...)<sup>29</sup>

### 3.3.8.2 Complement Clause Structures

Some verbs (like 'think') require a type of subjunctive (i.e. irrealis) modal marker on the complement, -aš̄ka 'may be' (MOD); otherwise marking is minimal. Recall the SOV placement of object complement clauses:

"he'll think that it's your tongue."  
...ra-i=résik-aʔš̄ka ó-e=ø-reh-oʔš̄.  
(...P2-PV=tongue-MOD FUT-PV=A3-think-INDma)

## 3.4 Discourse Phenomena

### 3.4.1 Topic

Topics are marked by the clitic, -r̄a 'topic' (TOP); the clitic may attach directly to the nominal (including pronouns) or to a demonstrative referring to the nominal in question, as in the following example (also see Text lines: 1, 3, 10, 24, 27, 32, 35, 38):

there was a large village at the bend in the river;  
w̄í-ti xtæ-r̄a tá-ro:w̄ak-oʔš̄, w̄á:tah ó: wa-krax-t  
(village big-TOP stand-NAR-INDma, river there UNSP-bend-LOC)

e:-ta; w̄í-ti xtæ-r̄a te-ak  
DEM-LOC; village big-TOP stand-DS

a man had two children...  
r̄u-w̄áʔk e-r̄a ta-súk-æ i=r̄ú̄p-ak ká-ka-r̄j w̄á:k-æ-ak...  
man DEM-TOPAL-boy-SV PV=two-DS have-SS abide:lie-DS...)

### 3.4.2 Focus and Clefting Patterns

Focus structures typically involve a topic-marked cleft structure like those illustrated below. There is usually a demonstrative followed by the copula, oʔ 'be', which,

in turn, bears the topic marker discussed above. Note that the prefix, *i-* serves as a reference to the null third person pronoun:

that was Moon; that was the way he helped them.  
i=š̄ák, išt̄úh w̄íʔaki aʔt e-r̄a ó-ki-k̄utæ há-ki  
(PV=PRO, night-orb that DEM-TOP PV=MV-help PROS-IF)

r̄ó: oʔ-s uʔš̄-ka-ro:w̄ak-oʔš̄  
DEM be-DEF thus-ADV-NAR-INDma)

it was he who had killed his wife and had his children eat her.  
i-oʔ-r̄a té hræ-r̄j ta-súk-kræ rut hr̄æ-r̄j.  
(PV=be-TOP die cause-SS AL-child-PL eat cause-SS)

..it was these they would drink (from).  
... é: oʔ-ak ki-h̄j-r̄j̄k  
(...DEM be-DS MV-drink-ITR)

"he is the one who killed mother and made (us) eat her."  
"í=oʔ-r̄a r̄a-æ té hræ-r̄j ki-rút ó=hræ-r̄j̄."  
("PV=be-TOP mother-SV die cause-SS MV-eat PV=cause-SS")

<sup>29</sup>. Note the idiom for, *w̄ika hræ* 'believe' is literally, 'make real'.



4. Text: *No Tongue* (A Narrative Fragment)<sup>30</sup>

1. wǐ=ti xtæ-rǝ tá-ro:wǎk-oʔš, wǎ:tah ó: wa-krax-t e:-ta; wǐ=ti xtæ-rǝ  
te-ak; rǝwǎʔk e-rǝ ta-súk-æ i=rǝp-ak kǎ-ka-rǝ wǎ:k-æ-ak...

1. village big-TOP stand-NAR-INDma, river there  
UNSP-bend-LOC DEM-LOC; village big-TOP stand-DS; man DEM-TOP  
AL-boy-SV PV=two-DS have-HAB-SS abide:lie-DS...

1. There was a large village at the bend in the river; a man had two (young) children...

2. ko-ǔʔh-e ropxǐ wá-itk-a: wǎk-o:wǎk-oʔš.

2. P3-wife-SV hide IPs-scrape-SIM lie-NAR-INDma.

2. His wife was scraping a hide.

3. wá-itk-a: wǎ:k-æ-ki wrǝ wa-o=krax kuʔš-t wátk-a: wǎ:k-æ-ki,  
tašká i=pa-šrih-ki, rǝwǎʔk-re-rǝ, ræ:h-rǝ ko-ǔʔh-s te kæ-ro:wǎk-oʔš.<sup>31</sup>

3. IPs-scrape-SIM abide:lie-IF wood UNSP-PV-concave in-LOC scrape-SIM  
abide:lie-SV-IF, how PV=IPh-think-IF, man-ANF-TOP,  
go-SS P3-wife-DEF die cause-NAR-INDma.

3. When she was scraping in a timbered coulee; while she was scraping, when he was  
thinking who knows what, the man went and killed his wife.

4. wa-ǐ=ħut-æ wǎk-a: te: kæ-rǝ.

4. NEG-PV=reason-SV NEG-SIM die cause-SS.

4. He killed her without cause.

<sup>30</sup>. **Plot Summary:** a boy and his older sister are deceived by their father into eating the cooked flesh of their mother, whom he secretly murdered and cooked. The father then accuses his children of matricide and cannibalism. As punishment, the duped tribesmen picket the children next to a crumbling riverbank to drown in the stream. The villagers flee out of fear of the children. However, through the intercession of an old dog, the pair are rescued. [Fragment Ends] They survive to prosper with the aid of the *Holy Women* of the woods. When the children have reached adulthood, Sun and Moon each offer to reinstate them in the tribe. While Moon seems altruistic, Sun first requires the boy to cut his tongue out for him. The old dog offers to deceive Sun, giving the young man the bloody tip of his own tongue to secure Sun's promises. The ruse succeeds. With Moon's help, the pair returns to the tribe. The murderer dies after a meal cooked by his innocent daughter. The young man becomes chief and the pair live happily ever after.

<sup>31</sup>. This form may be related to another verb for 'kill; murder' the root, *ktæ*. More frequent, however, are the periphrastic constructions, *te hræ* or *te kæ*; both meaning, 'cause to die.'

5. ku-t wrǝ-rok ó-si(p)=sip-ta á-ræ:h-rǝ.

5. farther-LOC wood-interior PV-thick:R-LOC TR-go-SS.

5. He took his wife farther into the middle of the dense brush.

6. ko-ǔʔh-s ka-xǐpa.

6. P3-wife-DEF IPf-skin.

6. He skinned his wife.

7. ǔʔš-ka hræ-rǝ, rú-t-æ rǝte-ška ru-šæ-rǝ.

7. DEM-ADV do-SS, rib-SV side-COLL IPh-take-SS.

7. Having done that, he took half the rib cage.

8. wa-ra o-rák-rǝ rú-t-kræ-s rá-sit hræ-ro:wǎk-oʔš.

8. UNSP-fire NOM-ignite-SS rib-PL-DEF IPT-roast cause-NAR-INDma.

8. He made a fire and roasted the ribs.

9. rá-sit hræ ó: o=hræ-rǝ kǎʔ-rǝk rǝk-ha: rú-t-s rá-tak-ak ǐ-wǐʔ=ti-t ki-ræ:h-rǝ ta-súk-kræ-s  
wa-á-hu:-ro:wǎk-oʔš.

9. IPT-roast cause there PV=cause-SS have-ITR sit-SIM rib-DEF  
IPT-cook-DS DIR-village-LOC VRT-go-SS AL-child-PL-DEF  
UNSP-TR-come-NAR-INDma

9. When he had roasted the ribs, he had them; he went back to the village for his children.

10. wa-á-hu:-rǝ, "wǎwǎʔhku-rǝ té wa-hræ-ak, rú-t rá-sit wá-hræ wa-rǝ-kuʔ-rǝt-oʔš.

10. UNSP-TR-come-SS, "deer-TOP die A1sg-cause-DS, rib IPT-roast A1sg-do  
A1sg-S2-give-2PL-INDma."

10. As he took the children, he said, "I've killed a deer and roasted the ribs for you."<sup>32</sup>

11. hú:-rǝ wa-rú-t-ta! ra-éx o=hi hræ-rǝt-ta!"

11. "come-SS UNSP-eat-IMPma P2-belly NOM=full cause-2PL-IMPma!"

11. "Come and eat! Fill yourselves up!"

<sup>32</sup>. E. Benson also accepts the SS marking on 'kill.' However, SS before the benefactive makes it into two clauses, with the second being the verb 'give' rather than the benefactive.

12. "rųwǎʔk-aki i=taḥa wǎ:k-æ i=hek-kræ-ki i-ro:=ka-šrat-kræ-oʔš," é=he-rj.  
 12. "man-COLL PV=other abide:lie PV=know-PL-IF  
 DIR-S1pl-IPf-heap-PL-INDma," PV=say-SS.  
 12. "Other people would mob us, if they knew," he said.<sup>33</sup>
13. ta-súk-kræ-s pušǎh-kræ-ki kǎʔ-ka-rj.  
 13. AL-child-PL-DEF small-PL-IF have-HAB-SS.  
 13. His children were very small. (lit. his children he had when they were small)
14. ko-úʔh-s o-watk-a: wǎ:k-æ:-s e:-t á-ræ:h-o:wǎk-oʔš.  
 14. P3-wife-DEF NOM-scrape-SIM abide:lie-DEF DEM-LOC TR-go-NAR-INDma.  
 14. He took them to where the wife had been scraping the hide.
15. á-ræ:h-a: á-hi-ki rut-kræ-s wrǎ-ap i=pa-wriš-æ uʔš-ka hræ-rj kǎ hræ-ka e=he.  
 15. TR-go-SIM TR-come-IF rib-PL-DEF wood-leaf PV=IPH-wrap-SV thus-ADV do-SS  
 have cause-QT PV=say.  
 15. When he got them there, he gave them the ribs wrapped in leaves, it is said.<sup>34</sup>
16. wa-rút-æ-kræ-ro:te irǎk rúts rut-ha: wǎ:k-æ-ha: pí-kræ-ro:wǎk-oʔš.  
 16. UNSP-hungry-SV-PL-EVD again rib-DEF eat-SIM  
 abide:lie-SIM devour-PL-NAR-INDma.  
 16. The children must have been hungry; eating, they devoured the ribs.
17. pí-kræ rut-a: wǎ:k-æ-ha:, rųwǎʔk-s i-wj=ti-t ki-ræ:h-o:wǎk-oʔš.  
 17. devour-PL eat-SIM abide:lie-SIM, man-DEF DIR-village-LOC  
 VRT-go-NAR-INDma.  
 17. While they were devouring the ribs, the man went back to the village.
18. i-wj=ti-t ki-ræ:h-rj rųwǎʔk-aki ta-wj=ti kó-wreh-ka-ta kiʔh-rj.  
 18. DIR-village-LOC VRT-go-SS man-COLL AL-village  
 WH-door-NOM-LOC VRT:arrive-SS.  
 18. He got back to the village and to people's leader and said,<sup>35</sup>

<sup>33</sup>. A better translation might be: 'If other people found out, they'd mob (us); so don't tell!'

Also recall, PV + S1P metathesis rule in phonology.

<sup>34</sup>. Note the GIVE benefactive auxiliary verb construction: '...he wrapped them in leaves for them.'

<sup>35</sup>. Note the root 'door'; the metaphor is the leader as the door of the community.

- "wa=ta-súk-kræ-s wá-xtæ i=sæk-kræ-oʔš, rųwǎʔk-aki-rjt-æ!"  
 "A1=AL-child-PL-DEF UNSP-big PV=do-PL-INDma,  
 man-COLL-2PL-VOC!"  
 "You people! My children have done something awful!"
- ko-hú:-æ ki-rút-rj, wǎ:k-æ-kræ-oʔš! é=he-ro:wǎk-oʔš.  
 P3-mother-SV MV-eat-SS, abide:lie-PL-INDma!" PV=say-NAR-INDma.  
 "They're eating their mother up!" he said.
19. i-oʔ-rǎ té hræ-rj ta-súk-kræ rut hræ-rj.  
 19. PV=be-TOP die cause-SS AL-child-PL eat cause-SS.  
 19. It was he (who) had killed his wife and had his children eat her.
20. há-ki ó: o=hræ-rj wá-rųwǎʔk-aki hú-rj-s wa-karahka-kræ-rjk-u-ak.  
 20. PROV-IF there PV=cause-SS UNSP-man-COLL many-ANF-DEF  
 UNSP-fear-PL-MOD-DS.  
 20. Those many people must have surely been afraid.
21. á:we o=šrí-ha: ptæh-kræ-ro:wǎk-oʔš.  
 21. all PV=scatter-SIM flee-PL-NAR-INDma.  
 21. Scattering, they all ran away.
22. á:we o=šrí-ha: wǎ:tah i=xti-t rǎ:k-æ e:-t á:we o=šrí-ha: ræ:h-kræ-ki  
 suk-kræ-s, ahkére, ki-ó-ru-kuh-rj wa-rút-æ wǎ:k-æ-ha: kiʔk-ki rųwǎʔk-aki  
 wá-wj-k-o:wǎk-oʔš.  
 22. all PV=scatter-SIM river PV=tip-LOC abide:sit DEM-LOC; all PV=scatter-SIM  
 go-PL-IF child-PL-DEF, pitiful, MV-IPg-bereft-SS UNSP-eat-SIM abide:lie-SIM  
 finish-IF man-COLL UNSP-not-NAR-INDma.  
 22. They all scattered upstream. As they were all scattering, those children, poor things,  
 were eating all alone. When they finished, the people were all gone.
23. wj=ti reš o: wa-wj-k-ki ó=hræ-rj suk-kræ-s rátax-rjk.  
 23. village thus there UNSP-not-IF PV=cause-SS child-PL-DEF cry-ITR.  
 23. When there was no one in the village, the children cried and cried.

24. ǫʔš wá:k-æ-ha: wǐ=ti rǫwǎʔk=ši-s e-rǎ, "ræ:h-rǐ súk-kræ-re ǐ=ru-šæ-rǐ  
 ǫʔkite ka-skæ-rǐ irǎk ró: rǎte ro:-ha: ka-skæ-rǐ.  
 24. Thus, abide:lie-SIM village man=good-DEF DEM-TOP, "go-SS child-PL-ANF  
 PV=IPh-take-SS wrist IPf-tie-SS again there waist there-LOC IPf-tie-SS!"  
 24. While the children were there crying, the village chief said, "Go and grab those  
 children and tie their wrists; tie them around the waist too!"<sup>36</sup>
25. wǎpte ǐ-wokah-ta wrǐ ǐ=rotki-ta; wǎpte ó=wako:-ta rá-ka-xrat-rǐt-ki  
 ǫʔš-ka-rǎš-a: rǐrǐh-a: wǎpte-re o-hǎʔ-ro:te-ki, kšǐp-rǐ rǎ:h-kræ-ki, ó-ši-oʔš.  
 25. river:bank DIR=edge-LOC water PV=fall-LOC; river:bank  
 NOM-high-LOC A2-IPf-picket-2PL-IF thus-ADV-ATT-SIM exist:pl-SIM  
 river:bank-ANF FUT-cave:in-ANT-IF, drown-SS go-PL-IF, FUT-good-INDma.  
 25. Take them to the edge of the riverbank. When you picket them close to the high bank  
 where it's falling into the water, (thus) they'll be there when the bank caves in. It would be  
 good if they drowned!"
26. "ǎ:we ro:-kǐ-pi e=he-rǐk=oʔ-kt-oʔš." é=he-rǐ.  
 26. "all S1pl-MV-devour PV=say-MOD=be-POT-INDma," PV=say-SS.  
 26. ("Otherwise) they might eat us all up!" he said.
27. wǐ=ti rǫwǎʔk=ši=re-rǎ wá-ki-si-ki suk rǫwǎʔk o-xkæ=xkæ-rǎš-æ ǎ:we, rǫwǎʔk  
 o-xraka-rǎš-rǐ, ǫʔš-ka ræ:h-kræ-rǐ suk-kræ-s e:-t.  
 27. village man=good-ANF-TOP UNSP-MV-order-IF boy man NOM-active:R-ATT-SV  
 all, man NOM-brave:R-ATT-SS, thus-ADV go-PL-SS child-PL-DEF DEM-LOC.  
 27. When the chief ordered the active young men, the brave young men, to do that to the  
 children, those men went to the children.
28. wá-i=hek-æ wǐk-ha:.  
 28. NEG-PV=know-SV not-SIM.  
 28. All the while, (the children) didn't know (what was happening.)
29. ru-šæ-kræ-rǐ ǫʔk=it-SV ka-skæ ru-kás-æ-kræ-rǐ.  
 29. IPh-take-PL-SS wrist IPf-tie IPh-hard-SV-PL-SS.  
 29. They grabbed them and tied their wrists really tightly.

<sup>36</sup> Note the absence of imperative morphemes here.

30. irǎk šǐ-ta šǫpa-t irǎk ǫʔš-ka hræ-rǐ á-ræ:h-a: wrǐ ǐ=rotki á-ki-ha:  
 ka-xrat-kræ-ro:wǎk-oʔš.  
 30. also foot-LOC ankle-LOC also thus-ADV do-SS TR-go-SIM  
 water DIR-fall top-LOC IPf-picket-PL-NAR-INDma.  
 30. They tied them at the feet too, around the ankles too and took them to where the bank  
 was caving into the water and picketed them up (there).
31. ka-xrat-kræ-ak, súk-s rátax-rǐ wá-hǐ:ku ǐ=sæk-kræ-škaʔrǐk  
 31. IPf-picket-PL-DS, boy-DEF cry-SS UNSP-difficult PV=do-PL-DSJ  
 31. When they had picketed them, the children were crying, (for) they were  
 having a hard time.
32. ré-t rǫwǎʔk kó-at-s e-rǎ wá-che-s ǫʔt-a: ǎ:we, wǐka hræ-kræ-rǐ  
 suk-kræ-s, ahkræ, wá-hǐ:ku ǐ=sæk-kræ-ro:wǎk-oʔš.  
 32. DEM-LOC man, P3-father-DEF DEM-TOP UNSP-say-DEF before-SIM  
 all real cause-PL-SS child-PL-DEF, pitiful, UNSP-difficult PV=do-PL-NAR-INDma.  
 32. (Yet) everyone had believed what their father had said before and the poor children  
 were suffering (for it.)
33. ka-xrat-kræ-rǐ ǐ=rǫp-ša kǐ-ki-pa-hǐ-ta rǐrǐh-a:.  
 33. IPf-picket-PL-SS PV=two-COLL RCP-next-LOC exist:pl-SIM.  
 33. Both of them were picketed side by side, next to each other.
34. ká-rǐ o: o=hræ-rǐ ǎ:we rǫwǎʔk-aki-s xkǎh-rǐ ræ:h-kræ-ro:wǎk-oʔš.  
 34. PROS-SS there PV=cause-SS all man-COLL-DEF decamp-SS go-PL-NAR-INDma.  
 34. And then all the people broke camp and left.
35. xkǎh-rǐ ræ:h-kræ-ki wrǐs-wa-e-rut-e-rǎ xǐh-æ ǐ=wǐka-ak ǫʔpræ-ha: ræ:h-kræ-ak.  
 35. decamp-SS go-PL-IF horse-UNSP-defecate-eat-DEM-TOP old-SV  
 PV=real-DS abandon-SIM go-PL-DS.  
 35. When they broke camp, there was a really old dog; they had abandoned him.<sup>37</sup>
36. woh-a: rǎ:k-æ wǐ=ti reš o:.  
 36. howl-SIM abide:sit village thus there.  
 36. The dog was howling this way there in the village.

<sup>37</sup> The verb 'abandon' also has the meaning 'relinquish; donate' in other contexts.

37. há-ki ré-t suk-kræ-s rátax-a: wá:k-æ-soʔrɪk æ:-ró:te o: ratax-a;

hú:-a: a:wɪ wrɪs-wa-e-rut-s hí-ro:wək-oʔʃ, suk-kræ-s e:-ta.

37. PROV-IF here-LOC child-PL-DEF cry-SIM abide:lie-SINCE hear-EVD

NOM-cry-SIM; come-SIM CONT horse-UNSP-defecate-eat-DEF

arrive-NAR-INDma, child-PL-DEF DEM-LOC.

37. Since children were crying, that dog must have heard them; he was going to where the children were.

38. xɪh-æ i=wɪka-ak hi-rɪ e-rə; ahk, suk-kræ-s ratax-a: wá:k-æ-ki i=hek-o:wək-oʔʃ,

wrɪs-wa-e-rut e-rə.

38. old-SV PV=real-DS come-SS then; pitiful, child-PL-DEF cry-SIM

abide:lie-IF PV=know-NAR-INDma, horse-UNSP-defecate-PV-eat DEM-TOP.

38. He was really old; he got there; poor things, when the children were crying, the dog knew.

39. ká-rɪ í=ka-skæ-s, ahkræ, ra-xtú-xtæ-rɪ. hí oʔ-ʃka í=wɪk-ʃa

ra-xtú-xtæ-rɪ ɸʔʃ wá:k-æ ra-xot-o:wək-oʔʃ. ɸkɪt í=ka-skæ-kræ-s ra-xot-o:wək-oʔʃ. ká-rɪ ó:

o=hræ-rɪ, ahkræ, ré-ta šupa í=ka-skæ-s irək í-ra-ʃæ-rɪ í-a:ki-t í-ka-htæ wá:k-æ

39. PROV-SS PV=IPf-tie-DEF, pitiful, IPm-chew-big-SS.

tooth be-DSJ PV=not-COLL (?) IPm-chew-big-SS thus abide:lie

IPm-loose-NAR-INDma. wrist PV=IPf-tie-PL-DEF IPm-loose-NAR-INDma.

PROS-SS there PV=cause-SS, pitiful, DEM-LOC ankle PV=IPf-tie-DEF again

DIR-IPm-take-SS DIR-up-LOC DIR-IPf-pull abide:lie.

39. He got there and, poor thing, he chewed (on the cords.) Though he hardly had any teeth; he was really chewing on that rope, until the girl's bound wrists came untied and then, poor thing, her ankle (ropes) he chewed on too. He bit into (the cord) and tugged, dragging her (up the bank).

#### 5. Abbreviations:

ADV= Adverbial; AL= Alienable Possession; ANF=Anaphor; A1sg= 1st Pers. sg. Active (subject agreement); A1pl= 1st Pers. pl. Active; A2= 2nd Pers. Active (subject agreement); ANT= Anterior Aspect; Perfective; AUX= Auxiliary Verb; CAUS= Causative; CEL= Celerative; COLL= Collective; CONT= Continuous auxiliary; DEF= Definitive; DEM= General Demonstrative; DIR= Directional; DS= Different Subject; DSin= Different Subject Irrealis; DSJ= Conjunctive/Disjunctive; EVD= Evidential; EXT= Extent; Amount; FUT= Future; HAB= Habitual; IF= if/when; IMPma= Imperative; Male; IMPfa= Imperative; Female; INC= Inceptive Aspect; INDfa= Indicative, Female addressee;

INDma= Indicative, Male addressee; IP= Instrumental; IPH 'by hand'; IPm 'by mouth'; IPf= Instrumental: by force; IPH= Instrumental, by hand; IPT= Instrumental by heat; IPg= Generic instrumental; IPs 'sharp instrumental; INT= Intensive aspect; INTfa= Interrogative; Female; INTma= Interrogative; INTS= Intensive; ITR= Iterative; LOC= Locative; MOD= Modal; MUT= Mutative; MV= Middle Voice; NAR= Narrative Past; NEG= Negative; NOM= Nominalizer; 2PL= 2nd Pers. Plural Subject; PL= 3rd Pers. Plural Subject; POT= Potential; PRF= Perfective; PRO= Pronoun; PROS= Pro-Sentence; PROV= Pro-Verb; PRT= Participle; PST= Past Tense; PV= Preverb; P1= 1st Pers. Possessive; P2= 2nd Pers. Possessive; QT= 'Quotative; R= Reduplication; RCP= Reciprocal; RFX= Reflexive; RQ= Request; SC= Stem Consonant; SIM= Simultaneous Aspect; SMT= Similitive; SPC= Specifier; SV= Stem Vowel; S1sg= 1st Pers. sg. Stative Case (and Object agreement); S1pl= 1st Pers. pl. Stative Case; S2= 2nd Pers. Stative Case (and Object agreement); SS= Same Subject; TMS= Repetitions; TOP= Topic, New or Reactivated; TR= Transitive; UNSP= 'Unspecified argument;' VOC= Vocative; VRT= Vertative; return to point of origin.'

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