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MANDAN GRAMMAR

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INTRODUCTION

The Mandan language is spoken by about forty people on the Fort Berthold Reservation in North Dakota. All of them are bilingual, speaking Hidatsa, another Siouan language, closely related to Crow. Since the time of the smallpox epidemic in the middle of the last century, which reduced the number of the tribe to about 125, the Mandans have lived among and intermarried with the Hidatsa to such an extent, that there are only three people alive today, both of whose parents spoke Mandan. However, it is still used exclusively in three or four households.

This study is based on grammatical, lexical, and text material, obtained during the summers of 1933 and 1934 from the following informants: Bear on the Flat; Walter Face, Edna Face, Nora Baker, Stephen Bird, Mark Mato, Bessie Medicine Stone, and Mary Atkins. Mary Atkins and Mark Mato translated all the texts and furnished the grammatical material. In practically all cases, examples of grammatical forms have been taken from texts.

All the information of the earlier writers has been collected by Will and Spinden in "The Mandans", which includes a vocabulary of seven hundred words and a few grammatical notes. (Peabody Museum Publications in American Archeology and Ethnology vol. 3). There is a short text in Lowie's "Military Societies of the Mandan, Hidatsa, and Crow. (Anthr. Papers, Am. Mus. Nat. Hist., vol. 11).

PHONOLOGY

1. CONSONANTS

	Voiceless Stop	Voiceless Fricative	Voiced	Nasals Voiced	Trills Voiced
Labial	p	—	w	m	—
Dental	t	s	—	d	—
Alveolar	—	c	—	n	r
Palatal	k	—	—	—	—
Velar	—	x	—	—	—
Glottal	'	—	—	—	—
		h			

2. The above table is a schematic representation of the Mandan consonants. The series of stops are all slightly aspirated. The degree of aspiration varies with the position of the sound, being more pronounced in initial and medial position than in final. Acoustically, the aspiration is stronger when the stop precedes a close vowel than an open one, although each representsonly o ne phoneme. The glottal stop is of equal value with the other consonants of the series.

The spirants, *s* and *c* are the equivalents of the English *s* and *sh* respectively. The velar *x* approximates the *ch* in the German *machen*. *h* is clearly of equal value with the other continuous sounds of this series, as its morphological use indicates, but it may not be present acoustically when it follows an *s* or *c* in normal speech, as a result of assimilation. Thus, *a.'shuk* — to go out, is always heard as *a.'suk*.

3. All of the consonants thus far described are surds and may occur in combination with one another. Two stops, spirant and stop, stop and spirant, two spirants, and occasionally stop-spirant-stop have been recorded. *p, t* and *k* appear in contact in such words as *ptį* buffalo, *pkε* turtle, *tkap* brown, and *pta* autumn. However, none of these sounds ever occurs in juxtaposition with a sonant. The glottal stop never occurs preceding or following *p, t* or *k* within a word, nor do the glottalized sounds *p, t, k* occur in Mandan.

4. The nasals and *w* are found in initial and medial, never in final position. The sound represented by the symbol *d* is approximately like the *nd* in the English word "hand". It is produced with the tip of the tongue against the upper teeth and in contact with the alveolar ridge. The quick release of the tongue from this position gives it the character of a stop. In some cases, particularly when it precedes a close vowel, it also acquires a distinct lateral quality. This sound is related to *r*, which is not a true trill, but consists of a single quick contact of the tip of the tongue with the alveolar ridge. The flapped *r* occurs only in intervocalic position.

Three-consonantic clusters are avoided. For instance the second person plural suffix -*nit* before obligatory -*stoc* becomes -*ni* (see §§ 53, 60), and the future -*ktoc* after a stem ending in a consonant becomes -*toc* (see § 50).

VOWELS

5. Mandan has seven pure oral and three nasalized vowels. They vary in regard to length, but this will be discussed in another section. The qualities approximate those in the following English words, but without diphthongization:

a	as in father	*i*	as in "deep"
o	as in open	*e*	as in "plate"
u	as in rule	*ε*	as in "get"
		ə	as in unaccented a, as in "a dog"

The nasalized vowels are *ą*, *į*, and *ų*.

6. There are no diphthongs. Even in cases, in which two vowels are brought together as a result of affixation, there is no tendency to produce a glide. In these cases the vowels retain their individual qualities or they contract, producing generally a long vowel.

Examples:

a'sukoc	he takes it out
oa'sukoc	he will take it out
a'sic	he follows
i'asic	he follows along
a'kit	on top
ia'kit	toward the top
a'ptεho'c	he eloped
oa'ptεho`c	he will elope

Contractions:

wa + a· > wa·

a·'kakcε	to meet
wa·'kakcεc	I meet

mi + i > mi·

imahą'poc	he is lost
mi·'mahą'poc	I am lost

mi + i > mi·

i'kikų'tεc	he helps himself
mi·'kikų'tεc	I help myself

wa + i > wi·

i'ruxu'roc	he plows with it
wi·'ruxu	the plow (what he plows with)

The first person plural pronoun, *nu* is always contracted when used with verbs having a locative prefix, *o, a,* or *i*, losing its *u*.

Examples:

nu + a > na

a·'xawεc	he hides
na·'xawεc	we hide

1*

nu + i > ni

i'hɛkoc	he knows
ni'hɛkoc	we know
ipa'ciri`hoc	he planned it
nipa'ciri`hoc	we planned it

nu + o > no

o'napoc	he finds it
no'napoc	we find it
oka'tahoc	he nailed it
noka'tahoc	we nailed it

7. Vowels may also be long, not as a result of contraction, but because they are different phonemes.

Examples:

ma'na	wood
maː'na	someone
o'xa	wound
oː'xa	fox
mah	wild turnip
maːh	arrow

THE SYLLABLE

8. The syllable is closely related to the significant morphological units of the language. It may consist of a vowel, ᴄᴠ, ᴄᴠᴄ, ᴄᴄᴠᴄ, or ᴄᴠᴄᴄ[1]. By far the most common syllabic unit is ᴄᴠ. The tendency of syllables to begin with a consonant is such that a syllable ending in a consonant, to which is suffixed an element beginning with a vowel, effects a transfer of the consonant to the succeeding syllable.

Examples:

ki-pta'h-	to turn back (stem)
ki-pta'-hoc	he turns back
ki'-ka-na`k	to sit down (stem)
ki'-ka-na`-koc	he sits down
pa-wɛ'c	to cut (stem)
pa-wɛ'-coc	he cuts it
o'-ru-cu̜`k	to hang down (stem)
o'-ru-cu̜`-koc	it hangs down
ka-ko'x	to scrape with a knife (stem)
ka-ko'-xoc	he scrapes it
da-ska'p	to taste (stem)
da-ska'-poc	he tastes it

DURATION

9. This item is closely related to that of accent, the tendency being to lengthen an

[1] c represents any consonant, v any vowel.

accented syllable. There is no significant difference in the length of consonants, the length of a syllable being determined by vocalic quantity.

The vowel ɛ is approximately half the length of *a, e, i, o, u*. Thus, the duration of a morphologic unit such as *hɛ'rɛ* or *kɛ'rɛ* is equal to *pa* or *ka*. The long vowels are about twice as long as the short ones.

The vowel ə occurs only in the final syllable, as in suffixes like *cək* or *rək*, and is equal to ɛ or half a mora. This may be related to shortened unaccented *a*.

Syllables are also lengthened for rhetorical effect, particularly certain elements which carry continuative connotations.

For example:

daː'haːmiːmiː going along; *(dɛh-* stem to go, ɛ changes to *a* before *ha*; *ha-* continuative suffix; *mi-* an element indicating continuation, here reduplicated)

ACCENT

10. Accent in Mandan is stress upon one or more syllables of a unit complex (word), and is related to the phenomena discussed under Duration. The stress is concerned with the rhythm of speech, and does not affect the phonetic or grammatical processes of the language. There are no words differentiated by change of accent alone such as occur in Dakota. Frequently, the accent of a stem is changed as a result of composition or affixation, but the changes cannot be reduced to rule. The general tendency is one of alternating stresses, the first being more pronounced than succeeding ones. And the units which are considered are those of length rather than syllables.

nu'mək	man
numq̜'kci	chief
ki'numq̜`kci	trickster
nu'məka`ki	human
a'kinumq̜`kaki	Indian

The essential unit from which all the succeeding words are derived is *nu'mək*, but the accent changes frequently depending upon the length of the complex.

In some cases the accent is evenly distributed, as in:

manacɛ	tobacco
natorɛ	uncle (m. b. — vocative)

The rhythm of the above words is approximately the same as that of the French *impossible*.

11. The only instance in which change of accent is of grammatical significance, is in the future tense of a verb with the locative prefix *o*. The two *o*'s (future time and locative prefix) are contracted and lengthened, and stressed. Even in this example, it is impossible to separate the change of accent from the related phenomenon of change in vocalic quantity.

orucy'koc	it is hanging down
o:'rucy'koc	it will hang down
ohạ'roc	it is caving in
o:'hạroc	it will cave in
owa'kakakoc	I am mired
o:'wakaka`koc	I will be mired
oka'ptikoc	he shoots it down
o:'kaptikoc	he will shoot it down

PHONETIC PROCESSES

12. The sounds represented by the symbols *d*, *n*, and *r* form two phonemes. *d* occurs only in initial position. In intervocalic position it changes to *r*, unless the preceding syllable consists of *m* or *n* and a vowel, in which case it changes to *n*. Examples of the change from *d* to *r* are:

dɛ'hoc	he goes
warɛ'hoc	I go
duxo'koc	he lifts it
waru'xokoc	I lift it
wi'ruxok	an elevator
do'tkic	he strikes it
waro'tkic	I strike it
da'skapoc	he tastes it
wara'skapoc	I taste it
dara'skapoc	you taste it
ora'skapoc	he will taste it

Examples of the change from *d* to *n* are:

da'koc	he buries it
mana'koc	he buries me
duxo'koc	he lifts it
manu'xokoc	he lifts me

duksi'ksiroc	he tickled him
nunuksi'ksiroc	we tickled him
du'tkec	he touches it
manu'tkɛc	he touches me
dusko'poc	he bends it
manu'skopoc	I am bent

The other phoneme consists of an initial *n* which changes to *r* in intervocalic position, unless the preceding vowel is preceded by a nasal consonant.

na'cɛc	he bites it
wara'cɛc	I bite it
naxu:'mạkɛc	he was munching it
oraxu:'roc	he will munch it
napu'roc	he disbelieved it
wara'puroc	I disbelieve it

13. Although *w* and *m* are separate phonemes in most instances, the *w* changes to *m* under the following conditions. When an element composed of *w* plus a vowel is prefixed to a stem or an element beginning with a nasal consonant, the *w* frequently changes to *m*. This is not absolute, since it is in some degree dependent upon the speed of articulation, and the closeness of integration of the elements involved.

ma'manu:roc for *ma'wanu:roc*   I steal it
ma:ma'tacixic for *wa:ma'tacixic* she does not like me
mama'napec for *mawa'napec*   I danced

14. When a syllable composed of a consonant plus *a* occurs between two close vowels, the *a* frequently changes to *ɛ*, an effect of vocalic harmony.

ɛ'werɛhoc	I want it, for *ɛ'warɛhoc*
oi'rɛsɛkoc	you will do it, for *oi'rasɛkoc*
i'wehɛkoc	I know it, for *i'wahɛkoc*

15. Verb stems ending in *ɛ* change the *ɛ* to *a* before the following suffixes:

-*ni*	a general connective suffix
-*ta*	imperative mode, addressing men
-*na*	imperative mode, addressing women
-*t*	conditional mode
-*ha*	continuative
-*nit*	second person plural suffix (with prefix *da*)
-*xi*	negative suffix (with prefix *wa:*)

This change is not a strictly phonetic process, but must be regarded as a correlate of the

grammatical process of suffixing. It is not limited to verb stems with final ε, but affects those ending in -εh, the causative -hεrε, and the third person plural suffix -kεrε as well. It is analogous to the same type of change in Ponca and to the reverse change of a to ε in Dakota.

Examples:

-ni connective conjunction

te·'harani he killed it and — *(te·* to die; *hara* > *hεrε,* causative, changed by the following -*ni*)

ni'karani they climbed and — *(ni* to climb; -*kara* > *kεrε,* third person plural suffix, changed by the following -*ni*)

da·'hini ε'rεho'makoc he wanted to go *(dεh* to go; *ni* connective suffix; the -*i* is inserted avoiding the contact of a voiced consonant with an unvoiced one)

do'pxani ε'rεhoc he wants to come in *(do'pxε* to enter; *ni*)

pta'hini he ran, and — *(ptεh* to run; *ni*)

-ta imperative, addressing men

ha'ta look! *(hε* to see; *ta*)

da'hta go! *(dεh* to go; *ta*)

makina'ta tell me! *(ma* me; *kina'* to tell; *ta*)

duca'ta take it! *(ducε'* to take; *ta*)

-na imperative, addressing women

dopxa'na come in! *(do'pxε* to enter; *na*)

dεhha'rana send him! *(dεh* to go; *ha'ra* > *hεrε,* causative; *na*)

kaska'na tie it! *(kaskε'* to tie; *na*)

nako'xεkiru'pcana listen! *(nako'xε* ears; *kiru'pcε* to stand up; *na*)

-ha continuative

pta'ha running *(ptεh* to run; *ha*)

iru'caha grasping it *(iru'cε* to grasp; *ha*)

da·'ha nu·'niha going along *(dεh* to go; *ha*)

kaska'skaha tying them in bunches *(kaskε'* to tie, from *ska* reduplicated, "in bunches"; *ha*)

-nit second person plural suffix

warε'hraharani'tki if you put something there *(wa* something; *rεh* > *dεh* to go; *ra* > *da* pronoun, you; *hara* > *hεrε,* causative; *nit* second person plural; *ki* subordinating suffix)

orara'hinitoc you will go *(o* future; *ra* > *da* you; *rah* > *dεh* to go; *nit* second person plural suffix, -*i* separating surd and sonant; *oc* verbal suffix, addressing men)

ci'raharani'tore you did it well *(ci* good; *rada* you; *hara* > *hεrε,* causative; *nit*; *orε* verbal suffix, addressing women)

te'raharani'tki when you kill it; *(te* to die; *ra* you; *hara* from *hεrε,* causative; *nit*; *ki* temporal subordination)

-at, -t conditional mode

ikε'kakara't they can take care of themselves *(ikε'ka; kara* > *kεrε,* third person plural suffix; *t* conditional mode)

kiri'kεrεki okina'karat if they get back, they will tell *(kina'* to tell; *o* future time; *kara* > *kεrε,* third person plural suffix; *t*)

oci'at it would be good *(o* future time; *ci* good; *at*)

oru'kxakara't they would cross *(o* future time; *du'kxa* to cross; *kara* > *kεrε,* third person plural suffix *t*)

-nix, -xi negative suffix

ma·'nukiha'xic we did not see *(ma·* > *wa·* negative prefix; *nu* we; *ha* > *hε* to see; *xi* negative suffix, *c* verbal ending adressing men)

wa·'owara'hinixo'rε I'm not going *(wa·* negative prefix; *o* future time; *wa* I; *rah* > *dεh,* to go; *nix; orε* verb ending, addressing women)

wara'hinixok maybe he did not go *(rah* > *dεh,* as in preceding example)

wa·'aptahi'nixoc he did not run away *(wa·* negative prefix; *a'ptah* from *aptεh,* to run away; *nix; oc* verbal ending, addressing men)

16. A sonant and a surd may never occur in combination. When, as a result of affixation, this would occur, the vowel of the suffix is inserted between the surd and sonant.

Examples:

kipta'hini *(kipta'h* plus *ni*) he turned back and

pawε'cana *(pawε'c* plus *na*) cut it!

ni'sεki'nistoc *(ni'sεk* plus *nistoc*) let us do it!

nį·'kapątini'ts *(į'kapąt* plus *nits*) your origin

17. Whenever a suffix beginning with a vowel is used with a stem ending in a vowel, an *r* is inserted between the two vowels.

Examples:

ptį'rε *(ptį* plus *ε*) a buffalo

duxu'roc *(duxu'* plus *oc*) he plows

si'roc *(si* plus *oc*) it is yellow

pasa'rε *(pasa'* plus *ε*) a creek

In other cases two vowels may stand in contact (see § 6).

This is evidently a common trait of Mandan and Winnebago. In Winnebago when the first consonant of a cluster is a surd, a palatal or dental spirant, and the second is a labial or dental surd or spirant these cannot appear in contact, but the vowel following the

second consonant is repeated between the first and second consonant.[1]

In Mandan we have

ciric	to slice,	Teton	sletca
canah	to thresh	,,	sna
cinih	cold	,,	sni
xini	to crumble	,,	xni to tremble
kiri	to arrive	,,	g.li
pirih	to spread out	,,	m.ni

Avoidance of consonantic clusters is also indicated in

ciru'	to crawl	Teton	slo(hạ')
se'ro	to jingle	,,	cla
xɛ'ro	to rattle	,,	xla

MORPHOLOGY

GRAMMATICAL PROCESSES

18. Mandan employs the processes of affixation, reduplication, and position to express all grammatical relations, and the composition of stems to form derivatives. Locative ideas and those of instrumentality and direction are expressed by prefixing. Morphemes indicating tense, mode, number, definiteness, indefiniteness, aspect, and exclusion are suffixed to the stem. The demonstrative adjectives classify all objects according to position or form standing, sitting or lying, corresponding to the forms of erect, round or horizontal objects, and are suffixed to the noun.

Reduplication as a free process is little used today, the concepts of distribution and repetition being expressed in other ways. That it was a more regular process in the past may be surmised from the fact that all examples are taken from the texts obtained from old informants.

The relation of subject and object is determined by the order of the words in a sentence, the subject always preceding, except in the case of personal pronouns where the first person always precedes the second (see § 25).

[1] See Handbook of American Indian Languages, Bull. 40 Bureau American Ethnology, Part 1, p. 888.

All types of stems may be compounded in the formation of derivatives — noun and noun, noun and verb, and verb and verb. The compound may be either noun or verb.

STEMS

19. There is a clear distinction between nominal and verbal stems. This distinction is important, because the majority of affixed elements, although primarily verbal in character, may be used with nouns. When used in this manner, the verbal suffixes are the equivalent of the English verb "to be", and form predicate nouns of the stems to which they are affixed. Although it is possible to nominalize verbs, one can never form verbal derivatives from nouns. The causative is an exception to this statement, since it can be used in conjunction with all types of stems.

COMPOSITION OF STEMS

20. All types of composition occur in the formation of compound nouns; noun and noun; and noun and verb.

Noun and noun

istụ'hmina`ki moon	(istụ'h night; mina'ki sun)
ista'mini` tears	(ista' eye; mini' water)
ihi:'waka lips	(ih mouth; i'waka edge)
ma:'tama`na forest	(ma:'ta river; ma'na wood)
isti'a'kaxtɛ veil	(isti' face; a'kaxtɛ cover)
i'hmini saliva	(ih mouth; mini' water)
ma'naihi`mɛ sap	(ma'na wood; ihi:'mɛ juice)

Noun and neutral verb

cụ'thacka mountain lion	(cụt tail; ha'cka long)
cụ'tkcuk muskrat	(cụt tail; kcuk thin)
cɛ'xtɛ hurricane	(cɛ wind; xtɛ big)
mini'xtɛ lake	(mini' water; xtɛ big)
ikiri'sixupɛ cheese	(i'kiri grease; si yellow; xupɛ stink)
mini'sɛ' wine	(mini' water; sɛ' red)
nu'mạkha`ckas the tall man	(nu'mạk man; ha'cka tall; -s the)
wapa'ministke:`rɛ a heavy bundle	(wapa'minis bundle; tke: heavy; -[r]ɛ indefinite article)
ma^ạkpci flat land	(m'a' ạk land; pci flat)

no'pxiocara'tkɛrɛs the piled up hides   *(no'pxi* hide; *ocara't* piled up; *-kɛrɛ* plural; *-s* definite article)

mɛni'skxakxɛ'rɛ a pinto horse   *(mɛni's* horse; *kxa'kxɛ* spotted; *-[r]ɛ* indefinite article)

Noun and active verb

ista'oru'pxi eyelid   *(ista'* eye; *o* nominalizing suffix; *du'pxi* to skin)

mɛni'swɛrut dog   *(mɛnis* horse; *wɛ* excrement; *rut* from *dut* to eat)

ma'nakata'xɛ woodpecker   *(ma'na* wood; *kata'x* to cut notches; *-ɛ* indefinite article)

mini'numini'ka whirlpool   *(mini'* water; *numini'ka* to twist)

ma'nao'ptux chips   *(ma'na* wood; *o'ptux* to crumble into small pieces, active)

Compound verbs are formed by the composition of verb and noun and verb and verb stems.

Noun and verb

mini'pacų to swim   *(mini'* water; *pacų'* to push away)

i'hɛruco'p to pucker the lips   *(i'hɛ* mouth; *ruco'p* from *duco'p* to gather in folds)

i'hɛrok do to mumble   *(i'hɛ* mouth; *rok* within; *do* to speak)

hɛtkuc to gaze or stare   *(hɛ* to see; *tkuc* real, true)

Neutral verbs are also formed by the process of composition of nouns and verbs.

na'tkanup to be undecided *(na'tka* heart; *nup* two)*
i'hɛsak to be thirsty *(i'hɛ* mouth; *sak* dry)*
ica'hų to be expensive *(ica'* price, value; *hų* many)*
na'tkaxip to be lazy *(na'tka* heart; *xip* wrinkled)*

PERSONAL AND POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS

21. The pronouns are limited to the first and second persons singular and the first person plural.

The independent personal pronouns are:

mi	I
ni	you
nu	we

They may be emphasized by suffixing *-ona* to form a relative clause (see § 48).

mi'ona	I am the one who
ni'ona	you are the one who
i'ona	he is the one *(i-* does not exist alone)
nu'ona	we are the ones

We find also

mi'cak	I myself, even I
ni'cak	you yourself, even you
i'cak	he himself, even he
nu'cak	we ourselves, even we

The dependent forms which combine with the verbs are:

	Subject	Object
I	*wa-*	*ma-*
thou	*da-*	*ni-*
we	*nu*[1]	*no-*
ye	*da — nit*	*ni — nit*
they	*-kɛrɛ*	*-kɛrɛ*

The possessive forms are:

my	*mi-*	and	*pta-*
thy	*ni-*		*nita-*
his	—		*ta-*
our	*nu-*		*nuta-*
your	*ni — nitɛ*		*nita — nits*
their	*-kɛrɛ*		*ta — kɛrɛ*

The use of the verbal pronoun will be discussed in the following sections, that of the possessive in § 99.

THE VERB

Character and Classes of Verbs.

22. As is common in American Indian languages, the verbal complex expresses most of the grammatical relations and may form a complete sentence in itself. Locative ideas, tense, mode, number, instrumentality, subordination, and pronominal relations are all indicated by affixes to the verb stem.

Conceptually, there are two kinds of stems: (1) those indicating an activity and (2) those indicating a state or condition.

Nouns and stems expressing qualities may be verbalized and belong to the latter class. The distinction between these two types of verbs is made morphologically by the use of different subject pronouns. The same pronouns which are used with the neutral verbs, are used with nouns and adjectives.

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[1] in verbs with the prefixes *i-*, *o-*, *-ni-*, *no-*. See § 35.

Pronominal Forms.

23. *General remarks.* — The personal pronouns are ordinarily prefixed to the verbal complex. In some of the compound verbs they are prefixed to the second stem (see § 108—117). Prefixing is much more regular than in Dakota. The pronouns precede all instrumental prefixes (§§ 32). They follow the locatives *o-* and *i-*. Infixing occurs in a few verbs only (§ 26). While in Dakota the only non-pronominal indication of number consists in the use of *-pi* for plurality, not only of the verb but of the whole expression, and of *witca-* for the third person plural object, Mandan has non-pronominal plural suffixes, one for the second person, one for the third person. The latter is also used with nouns (§§ 44—46).

24. *Subjective and Objective Pronouns.* Subjective pronouns are used as subjects of active verbs. Objective pronouns are used as objects of transitive verbs and as subjects with those verbs which indicate a state or condition and with predicate nouns and adjectives.

Examples with Active Verbs:[1]

wa'xkahoc I broke camp *(wa-* I; *xkah* stem to break camp; *-oc,* suffix of present time)
i'wasektoc I will make it *(wa* I; *i-* prefix, function not known; *i'sek,* to make; *-ktoc* suffix of future time)
daro'pxektoc you will enter *(da-* you; *do'pxɛ* to enter; *-ktoc,* future tense)
dahi'ktoc you will arrive *(da-*you; *hi* to arrive having gone; *-ktoc,* future)
nukiki'ckɛktoc we will think it over *(nu-* we; *kiki'ckɛ* to consider; *-ktoc,* future tense)
nunɛ'hoc we went *(nu-* we; *nɛh* from *dɛh,* to go § 12; *-oc* present tense used as narrative past)

The following examples of this kind of predication are taken from texts:

xopini'sonik since he was sacred *(xopini'* sacred; *-sonik* causal subordination)
ptɣ' rɛ hɣ`sonik buffalo being plentiful *ptɣ* buffalo; *-ɛ* indefinite article; *hɣ* many; *-sonik)*

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[1] For plural forms of second and third persons which have suffixes see §§ 44—46.

xte'ki when it was big *(xtɛ* big; *-ki* temporal subordination)
i'rexana`cki when it was light enough *(i'rex* light; *nac* enough; *-ki)*
mikso'c there was nothing *(mik* nothing; *-soc* preterite)
nuxi'ktukac it is always dangerous *(nuxi'ktu* dangerous; *-kac* always is)*
wa·ni'kcatinixka'c you are never careful *(wa·-* negative prefix; *ni-* you; *kcat* careful; *-nix* negative suffix; *kac* customary action)*
hɣ'kukac it is always hard *(hɣ'ku* hard; *-kac* customary action)*
xa'makɛrɛkaˀɛʰɛ they were small, it is said *(xa'ma* small; *-kɛrɛ* third person plural; *-kaˀɛʰɛ* quotative)*
xawa·'kɛrɛkaˀɛʰɛ they were lost, it is said *(xawa'* lost; *-kɛrɛ* third person plural; *-kaˀɛʰɛ* quotative)*

Examples of pronouns with neutral verbs:

oma'ptiksoc I fell *(ma-* I; *o'ptik* stem to fall; *-soc* preterite)
oriru'cɣkoc you are hanging *(ri-* from *ni-* you; *oru'cɣk* to hang, suspended; *-oc* present tense)
mi'mahɑpoc I am lost *(mi-* from *ma-* and *i-* contracted; *i'mahɑp* to be lost; *-oc* present tense)
ni'matkɛc you lost your balance *(ni-* you; *i'matkɛ* to lose one's balance; *c* present tense)
mi·'nisoc I am alive *(mi·* contraction of *ma-* and *i-*; *i'nis* to be alive; *-oc* present tense)
nixara'kinitoc you are brave *(ni-* you; *xara'k* stem, brave; *-nit* 2 person plural; *-oc,* present tense)
masi'hkas I used to be strong *(ma-* I; *sih* strong; *kas* usitative)

Examples of pronouns with nouns:

ni'numɑ`koc you are a man *(ni-* you; *nu'mɑk* noun man; *-oc* present tense ending with a noun equivalent to the verb to be)
ni'numa'ksonik since you are a man *(-sonik* causal subordination)
nunuˀɛtaroc we are Mandans *(nu-* we; *nu'ɛta* Mandan; *-roc* present tense)
ninumɑ'kciktoc you will be chief *(ni-* you; *numɑ'kci* chief; *-ktoc* future tense)
marɛ'ksukso`nik since he was a bird *(marɛ'ksuk* bird; *-sonik* causal subordination)
istɣ'hki when it was night *(istɣ'h* night; *-ki* temporal subordination)

These pronouns are also the objects of transitive verbs. Examples are:

mami'kahɛrɛmi`kɛrɛs they ignored me *(ma-* me; *mi'ka* nothing; *-hɛrɛ* causative; *-mi* continuative; *-kɛrɛ* third person plural suffix)

maku' kina'nista let them tell me *(ma-* me; *ku* to give, here used to indicate the indirect object; *kina'* to tell; *-nista* imperative plural)

maku'ta give it to me *(ma-* me; *ku* to give; *-ta* imperative addressing men)

niku'ktoc he will give it to you *(ni-* you; *ku* to give; *-ktoc* future tense)

no'hɛsoc he saw us *(no-* us; *hɛ* to see; *-soc* preterite tense)

mana'sta name me *(ma-* me; *na'sɛ* to name; *-ta* imperative, addressing men)

25. *Pronouns of transitive verbs.* When both subject and object pronouns occur in the verbal complex, the first person always precedes the second. The complete table of these forms including the second person plural, indicated by the suffix *-nit,* is given below.

	I	thou	we	ye
me	—	*mana-*	—	*mana-nit-*
thee	*mini*	—	*nunu-*	—
us	—	*dora*[1]	—	*dora-nit-*[1]
you	*mini-nit-*	—	*nunu-nit*	—

The I-thee form is irregular, which is analogous to the Dakota *-tci,* but it might be the result of the tendency toward vocalic harmony discussed in § 14.

Examples from text:

mini'kukto'rɛ I will give it to you *(mini-* I-you; *ku* to give; *-ktorɛ* future tense)

wa:i'manakihq'xiktoc you might forget me *(wa: —* *xi* prefix and suffix of negation § 79; *mana-* you-me; *i'kihɛk* to remember; *-ktoc* future tense)

mana'kuki if you give me *(mana-* you-me; *ku* to give; *-ki* subordinating suffix)

dora'hanitoc you will see us *(dora-nit-* you-us; *ha* from *hɛ* § 15 to see)

nunu'kina'ktoc we will tell you *(nunu-* we-you; *kina'* to tell; *-ktoc* future time)

mini'pesoc I said it to you *(mini-* I-you; *ɛ'pɛ* first person stem of irregular verb; *-soc* preterite)

wa:'onunuku'nixoc we won't give it to you *(wa:-* negative prefix; *o-* future time; *nunu-* we-you; *ku* to give; *-nix* negative suffix § 79; *-oc* present tense suffix)

As may be seen from the above examples there is no distinction in the pronouns between the direct and the indirect object.

¹ The intervocalic *r* changes the initial *n* to *d.*

26. *Infixed pronouns.* — Several verbs in Mandan, insert the personal pronouns, in the middle of the stem. This may indicate that the verbs originated through composition, but it is impossible to analyze the stems. Examples are:

manu' to steal
    mamanu'roc   I steal
    mananu'roc   you steal
    manunu'roc   we steal

wika' to buy
    wiwa'karoc   I buy
    wira'karoc   you buy
    wiru'karoc   we buy

ma'napɛ to dance
    mama'napec   I dance
    mana'napec   you dance
    manu'napec   we dance

27. *Irregular pronouns.* — The verb *to say* is irregular having strongly modified personal pronouns. Its paradigm in the present is as follows:

ɛ'pec	*dɛ'heroc*
ɛ'tɛc	*ɛ'tanitoc*
ɛ'hec	*ɛ'hekɛrɛ'c*

The verb to want, wish, think, is *ɛ'rɛh* and its paradigm in the present is:

ɛ'werɛhoc	*dɛ'rehoc*
ɛ'rerɛhoc	*ɛ'rarahinitoc*
ɛ'rehoc	*ɛ'rehkɛrɛ'c*

Verbs the first syllable of which is *ta-* use pronouns identical in form with possessive pronouns (see § 99). Thus, *taci'* to like, has the following forms:

ptaci'c	*nu'taci'c*
ni'taci'c	*ni'taci'nitoc*
taci'c	*taci'kɛrɛc*

When a pronominal object is to be expressed and the subject is first or second person, the regular pronominal combinations subject object are used after the initial *pta-* and *nita-.* Therefore these verbs cannot be considered as nominal forms.

ptamini'cic	I like you
ni'tamana'cic	you like me

Examples from texts:

hqktɛ'k   *a'wɛ*   *numq'kcis*   *taci'kɛrɛromakoc*
and   everyone   chief the   liked they past,
     (and everyone liked the chief)

wahɛ'ckanik   *ptaci'-mikoc*
But those I saw   I do not like

pa'xɛrukɛ'na   *taci'ka'ᵉᴬᵉ*
Corn Tassel   liked that it is said

VERBAL PREFIXES

28. *Reflexive and reciprocal verbs.* — The reflexive pronouns are derived from the objective pronoun by the element *-ki-*, *ma-* of the first person becoming *mi-* as in the form *mini-* I-thee.

miki-	*nuki-*
niki-	*niki — nit*
ki-	*ki — kɛrɛ*

The reflexives are prefixed to the verb stem, in the same manner as the other personal pronouns. When the action is reciprocal, the form *kiki* is used in the same manner as *-ki-* of the reflexive. Examples from text:

kiki'kutani they helped each other and *(kiki-* reciprocal pronoun; *iku'tɛ* to help; *-ɛ* changes to *a* before *-ni*, a general connective § 15)

ikiki'rokɛrɛka'ᵉᴬᵉ they talked to each other (taking sides in a dispute) it is said *(i-* locative prefix; *ro* from *do* to speak § 12; *-kɛrɛ* third person plural suffix § 45; *-ka'ᵉᴬᵉ* quotative § 57)

kima'hihɛ'rɛka'ᵉᴬᵉ he made himself into an arrow *(ki-* reflexive pronoun; *mahi* arrow; *-hɛrɛ* causative; *ka'ᵉᴬᵉ* quotative § 57)

kisu'kihɛrɛka''ᵉᴬᵉ he made himself into a child *(ki-* reflexive pronoun; *suk* child; *i-* verbal prefix "into"; *-hɛrɛ* causative; *-ka'ᵉᴬᵉ* quotative)

niki'pawɛ'cotɛc you must have cut yourself *(niki-* reflexive pronoun; *pawɛ'c* to cut; *-o'tɛc* evidential)

29. *Possessive verbal forms.* Whenever an action is performed upon an object possessed by the subject, *ki-* is prefixed to the verb stem.

Examples:

wapa:'minicɛ'na kiru'cɛro'makoc she took a bundle *(wapa:'minic* a bundle; *ɛ* indefinite article; *na* emphatic; *ki-* indicates that she was the owner of the bundle; *ru'cɛ* from *du'cɛ* to take; *-ro'makoc*, narrative past)

wapa'minis kiru'xotki when she untied the bundle *(wapa'mini[c]* bundle; *-s* definite article; *ki-* indicates that the subject is the possessor of the object; *ru'xot* from *du'xot* to untie; *-ki* suffix of temporal subordination)

tama'hi kiru'caka'ᵉᴬᵉ he took his knife *(ta-* third person possessive pronoun; *ma'hi* knife; *ki-* indicates that object is possessed by subject; *ru'ca* from *du'cɛ* to take; *-ka'ᵉᴬᵉ* quotative)

nita'mɛnis kitɛ:'harata kill your horse *(nita-* possessive pronoun second person; *mɛni's* horse; *ki-* prefix indicates that the owner is to act on his possession ; *tɛ:* to die; *-hara* from *-hɛrɛ*, causative § 15; *-ta* imperative mode addressing men)

suk kiru'xoko'makoc she lifted up her child *(suk* child; *ki-* indicates object is possessed by subject; *ruxo'k* from *duxo'k* to lift; *-o'makoc* narrative past)

30. *Iterative ki-.* The prefix *ki-* is also used in an iterative sense and seems to be the equivalent of the English prefix "re-" in such words as "remarry, reconvene. restate".

Examples:

kikxu'kɛrɛka'ᵉᴬᵉ they lay down again it is said *(ki-* iterative; *kxu* stem; *-kɛrɛ* third person plural; *-ka'ᵉᴬᵉ* quotative)

dakiru'cɛki if you get him again *(da-* you; *ki-*; *ru'cɛ* from *du'cɛ* stem; *-ki* subordinating suffix)

makiku'ta give it back to me *(ma-* me; *ki-*; *ku* to give; *-ta* imperative mode addressing men)

kiro'ktikɛrɛka'ᵉᴬᵉ they camped again it is said[1] *(ki-*; *ro'kti* from *do'kti*, to camp; *-kɛrɛ* third person plural; *-ka'ᵉᴬᵉ* quotative)

kirasiru'tomakoc he slipped again *(ki-*; *ra-* from *da*, instrumental prefix "with the foot"; *siru't* stem; *-omakoc* narrative past)

ki'ptɛhka'ᵉᴬᵉ he ran back it is said *(ki-*; *ptɛh* to run; *-ka'ᵉᴬᵉ* quotative)

makiru'cata take me back again *(ma-* me; *ru'ca* from *du'cɛ* stem [§ 15] to take; *-ta* imperative to men)

When the first syllable of the stem consists of *d* plus an open vowel the prefix takes the form *ka-*. This change is in accordance with the principle of vocalic harmony discussed in § 14.

karo'pxani he went in again (for *kiro'pxani*)

ta'mɛnis karo'tkika'ᵉᴬᵉ he struck his horse it is said[1] (for *kiro'tkika'ᵉᴬᵉ*)

karo'ktikɛ'rɛka'ᵉᴬᵉ they camped again it is said (also *kiro'ktikɛ'rɛka'ᵉᴬᵉ*)

kara'cikoc he kicked it again (for *kira'cikoc*)

31. *Inceptive ka-.* — *ka-* is also used as an inceptive in some instances.

Examples:

kara'taxka'ᵉᴬᵉ he began to cry it is said *(ka-* inceptive; *ratax* from *datax*, stem to cry; *-ka'ᵉᴬᵉ* quotative)

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[1] Also *karo'ktikɛ'rɛka'ᵉᴬᵉ*.

kara'ptɛhɛrɛka'ᵉʰᵉ he began to light it, it is said, (*ka-* inceptive; *ra-* for *na-* instrumental prefix, with fire; *-hɛrɛ* causative; *-ka'ᵉʰᵉ* quotative)

kama'napɛka'ᵉʰᵉ he began to dance (*ka-* inceptive; *ma'napɛ* stem, to dance; *-ka'ᵉʰᵉ* quotative)

suk ka'minixkɛ'rɛka'ᵉʰᵉ the children began to play (*suk* children; *ka-* inceptive; *mini'x* to play; *-kɛrɛ* third person plural; *-ka'ᵉʰᵉ* quotative)

32. *Instrumental prefixes.* — Mandan shares with other Siouan languages one of the characteristic traits of the stock — an extended use of verbal prefixes indicating the instrument by which an action is performed. This is no longer a free process, the prefix having become an integral part of the stem in most cases. The normal order of elements in such a verbal complex is locative, pronoun, instrumental, stem, and suffixes.

(1) *du-* with the hand, motion toward the body (Dakota *yu-*)

du'piri'h	to spread out	*ducɛ'ca*	to carry with a handle
dupą'x	to break by pulling	*du'cɛ*	to take
du'tkɛ	to touch with the hand	*duxo't*	to untie
dusɛ'	to open	*duxɛ'na*	to pick up in a bunch
du'xini	to crumble with the hand	*duha'*	to pick from a tree
duxka'xka	to shake by hand	*duho'p*	to bore a hole
		dukɛ'	to uncover
dukasa'	to hold tight	*duki't*	to take off, a little at a time
duksi'ksi	to tickle		
duxa'p	to skin	*dupa'*	to carry in one's arms
dutka'	to feel with the hand, rubbing	*du'pasi*	to unfold
		dupį't	to scatter
duhį't	to tan (a hide)	*duski'ka*	to squeeze
du'pxɛ	to let down a pack	*duckɛ'*	to weave
		duxa''	to husk
dusko'p	to bend		

(2) *da-* with the foot (Dakota *na-*)

daci'k	to kick over	*dapi'x*	to scatter with the foot
dapci'k	to kick off		
data'h	to besmear with the foot	*da'u'x*	to break by stepping on
dapci'	to flatten with the foot	*da'siru't*	to slip
		daso'	to kick
dacų'	to spill with the foot	*dacka'p*	to pinch with the toes
datɛ'	to stand	*dacka'cka*	to prance

(3) *na-* with the mouth (Dakota *ya-*)

na'cɛ	to bite	*natu'xtɛ*	to chew
naxu:'	to munch	*nacka'p*	to pinch with the teeth
napa'h	to open one's mouth		
		nata'x	to cry
naxki'	to crack with the teeth	*nawi'*	to hold in the mouth
nasarɛ'	to eat the meat off a bone	*napu'c*	to crunch with teeth
na'tana's	to cut with the teeth	*naxi'k*	to criticize, blame

(4) *na-* by heat ot fire (absent in Dakota)

All stems using this prefix are compounded with the causative *hɛrɛ*, which distinguishes them from those using *na-* with the mouth. The personal pronouns precede the causative.

na'hoc hɛrɛ	to consume in fire	*na'cɛ hɛrɛ*	to melt
na-osa'k hɛrɛ	to wither	*na'sɛ hɛrɛ*	to heat red hot
na'xu hɛrɛ	to char	*na'si hɛrɛ*	to smoke
naka'c hɛrɛ	to singe	*naciru'k hɛrɛ*	to warm
narɛ'c hɛrɛ	to heat	*na'xɛrɛp hɛrɛ*	to boil off the bone
na'sit hɛrɛ	to roast		
na'ptɛhɛrɛ	to burn	*nasi'p hɛrɛ*	to brand

(5) *wa-* with a point (Dakota *wo-*)

waski'	to cut open	*wapo'x*	to make a hole in the flesh
i'watara'k	to sew		
wakte'k	to run a splinter		
wacka'p	to prick	*watkɛ'*	to remove hair from a hide
waxki'	to split		

(6) *ka-* by striking (Dakota *ka-*)

katɛ'	to pound	*ka'ciri'h*	to smash by throwing down
ka'u'x	to break by striking		
ka'tiri'k	to scatter by striking	*ka'cana'h*	to thresh
		ka'siri'k	to shatter by striking
kaxki'	to crack by striking	*ka'siri'x*	to splash
kata'x	to knock or rap	*kapci'k*	to knock down someone in motion
katą'x	to beat, hit		
ka'ciru't	to strike a a glancing blow	*kapci'*	to fell, knock down
		ka'para'c	to whip

ka- by cutting (?)

kawɛ'c	to chop	*kaptu'x*	to cut fine
kaci'p	to cut	*ka'ciri'c*	to cut into
kaxi'p	to skin		strips
ka'tana`s	to cut with an	*kakoko'pa*	to knick
	ax	*kako'x*	to scrape
kapxi'	to slice	*kakɛ'x*	to scratch off
kasa'p	to cut meat		with a knife
	from the bone	*kakɛ's*	to shave off
kaca'p	to chip off		with a knife
kaku'ka	to hollow out		

(7) *pa-* by cutting (Dakota *wa-*)

pawɛ'c	to cut		made slight cuts
pakana'	to butcher	*paskį'*	to rip up the belly
paskiski'homakoc	he		as in skinning

(8) *pa-* by pushing, motion away from the body (Dakota *pa-*)

pahkɛ'	to pluck	*papci'k*	to push or
paskį'	to rip up the		shove
	belly, as in	*paptə'k*	to roll over
	skinning	*pasa'si*	to polish
paki'c	to wipe or rub	*pacu̧'h*	to spill
pako'h	to saw	*paski'ka*	to squeeze out
paksi's	to fold double	*pata'p*	to peel
	on itself	*pa'tara`k*	to shut a door
pa'mini`c	to fold some-	*pawiwi'hini*	to flourish
	thing flat		or brandish a
			weapon

33. *Prefix a-.* The prefix *a-* is used in a general locative or directional sense, to mean "to, on, toward". Like the instrumental prefixes, it has become an integral part of the stem, and follows the personal pronouns in the verbal complex. It is contracted with all pronouns. In this respect it differs from the analogous prefixes *o-* and *i-*, but it is treated here with them because in Dakota, the corresponding *a* precedes the personal pronouns. Verbs with the locative prefix *a-* are:

a'si	to travel	*a:'kakcɛ`*	to meet
a:'xawe	to hide	*a:'kapɛ'c*	to overflow
a:'natɛ	to charge (an	*a:'kara`kic*	to block,
	enemy)		head off
a:ka'nacu	to spill on	*a:'kiru`ptok*	to sprinkle
	(*a:ka* on top	*a:'kiru`xkap*	to patch
	of)	*a:'kəkɛc*	to step
a:'kana`k	to ride (= to		over
	sit on)		

The paradigm in the present tense for *a:'xawe* is as follows

1st p. sing.	*wa:'xawec*		1st p. plural	*na:'xawec*	
2nd sing.	*da:'xawec*		2nd plural	*da:'xawɛ`-*	
				cinitoc	
3rd sing.	*a:'xawec*		3rd plural	*a:'xawɛ`ks-*	
				rɛc	

34. *Prefix a- with verbs of motion.* — With verbs of motion, the prefix *a-* preceding the personal pronoun adds the idea of carrying something or accompanying someone. Examples:

aro'pxɛkɛrɛka`ᵉʰᵉ* they took him in it is said *(a-* prefix "along with"; *ro'pxɛ* from *do'pxɛ* to enter; *-kɛrɛ* third person plural suffix; *-ka`ᵉʰᵉ quotative)

a'matic he brought me *(a-* prefix with verb of motion; *ti* to arrive here; *c-* present tense suffix, used as narrative past)

a:'hiro`makoc he arrived with him *(a-* prefix with verb of motion; *hi* to arrive there; *-[r]o'makoc* distant past time)

arɛ'homakoc he went with him *(a-* prefix with verb of motion; *rɛh* from *dɛh*; *-omakoc* narrative past)

aki'hinik having returned with it *(a-* prefix with verb of motion; *kih-* to arrive back at starting place; *-i-* inserted between surd and sonant; *-nik* past participle, see § 68)

35. *Prefix i-.* This is used with many verbs (and adverbs) in the directional sense of toward or into. In some cases, like *i'sɛk* to do and *i'hɛk* to know, the stem is not used without it, and its significance has become obscure. Examples of this type of verb are:

i'waxɛ`	to stop	*i'sɛk*	to do
iku̧'tɛ	to throw	*i'hɛk*	to know
ia'xawe	to cover	*ipa'cirih*	to plan, in-
i'xat	to look at		tend
ira'xiru`t	to drive	*i'kaskɛ*	to tie to
iru'cɛ	to grasp	*iru'sah*	to wrap up
i'tara`k	to sew	*isi'h*	to put in
iki'hɛ	to wait for	*i:'kara`p*	to pass around

The pronouns always follow the locative prefixes *i-* and *o-*, except in the first person plural. This precedes and is contracted with the *i-* or the *o-* giving the form *ni-* or *no* (see § 6). The present tense of *i'sɛk*, to do is as follows:

i'wasεkoc I do it   *ni'sεkoc*   we do it
i'rasεkoc you do it

36. *Prefix i- as instrumental.* — *i-* is also prefixed to many verb stems to from a general instrumental. Example are:

wai'pawεc something one cuts with *(wa-* something; *i-* instrumental; *pawε'c* to cut)

wai'hkεs what one digs with *(wa-* something; *i-* instrumental; *hkε* to dig)

wi'ruxu a plough *(wi-* is a contraction of *wa-*something and *i-* the instrumental; *ru'xu* is from *du'xu* to plough)

wi'ruskik a wringer *(wi-* contraction of *wa-* and *i-* as in the preceding example; *ruski'k* from *duski'k* to wring)

wiru'tanas scissors *(wi-* as above; *ru'tana's* from *du'tana's* to cut)

wi'rutạ a sleigh *(wi-* as above; *rutạ'* from *dutạ'* to drag)

With the prefix *wa* both the uncontracted form *wai-* and the contracted form *wi-* may be used.

37. *Prefix o-.* As a locative prefix with certain verbs its meaning is general, as may be seen from the following examples:

oru'ptik	to pull down
omi'h	to paint
oka'h	to show
o'rak	to set fire to
oka'ptik	to shoot down
ota't	to be on the good side of someone
oka'kak	to be mired
oka'xkot	to strike and dent
oki'	to wear in the hair

Morphologically, it is treated in the same way as the prefix *i-* discussed in § 35.

38. *Prefix o-, future.* The prefix *o-* forms the future tense, when used in conjunction with the verbal suffix of the present tense. It precedes the personal pronouns in the complex. If this form is used with a verb which has the locative prefix *o-*, the two *os* are contracted and receive the primary stress. (See § 11.) Examples:

o'warεhoc I shall go *(o-* future tense; *wa-* I; *rεh* from *dεh* to go; *-oc* present tense suffix)

ohu'kεrεc they will come *(o-* future time; *hu* to come; *-kεrε* third person plural suffix; *-c* present tense ending)

onikiru'kεxkε'rεki if they surround you *(o-* future time; *ni-* object pronoun, you; *kiru'kεx* to surround, *-kεrε* third person plural suffix; *-ki* subordinating suffix)

mana'kuki ora'xεrεrε if you give me it, you will live *(mana-* you-me; *ku* to give; *-ki* subordinating suffix; *o-* future time; *ra-* you; *xεrε* to live; *-re* ending adressing women)

a'wε owapi'roc ε'hεka'ᵉʰᵉ I will devour it all he said it is said *(a'wε* all; *o-* future time; *wa-* I; *pi* to devour; *-roc* verb ending; *ε'hε* he said; *-ka'ᵉʰᵉ* quotative)

o'kina'karat they will tell about it *(o-* future time; *kina'* to tell, *-kara* from *-kεrε*, third person plural suffix; *-t* conditional mode suffix)

NOMINALIZING PREFIXES

39. *Nominalizing o-.* Verbs and adjectives are nominalized by the use of the prefix *o-*. Active verbs take on a passive meaning: *kaptux* to cut, *oka'ptux* something cut off, a piece, part. Generally, either the definite or the indefinite article is suffixed to the stem. Examples are:

o'minix celebration *(o-*; *mini'x* to play)

oro'rε a pictograph or symbol *(o-*; *ro* from *do* to speak; *-ε* indefinite article)

oka'ciri'cε a fringe *(o-*; *ka'ciri'c* to cut a fringe; *ε* indefinite article)

o'pci flatness, plains	*o'tkε* heaviness
o'psi blackness	*o'hạcka* tallness
o'sana'k roundness	*o'sa* paleness
	o'sasap roughness

In the above examples, the neutral verbs are nominalized by the use of the prefix *o*.

With certain verbs, particularly those of motion, the prefix *o-* performs a dual function — locative and nominalizer. Its use is illustrated by the following examples:

o'ni footprints (where he walked)

okxụ'kεrεs where they had lain *(o-*; *kxụ* to lie down; *-kεrε* third person plural suffix; *-s* definite article)

oru'xkεso: the place where he sank *(o-*; *ru'xkε* from *du'xkε* to sink; *-so* definite localization "right there")

ohu'kεrεs where they came from *(o-*; *hu* to come; *-kεrε* third person plural suffix; *-s* definite article)

orε'hε the way he went *(o-*; *rεh* from *dεh* to go; *-ε* indefinite article)

o'raki`kanaks* the place where you sat down *(o-; ra* from *da* you; *ki'kana`k to sit down; *-s* definite article)

oi'kapxɛkɛ`rɛs the place where they landed *(o-; i'kapxɛ* to land; *-kɛrɛ* third person plural suffix; *-s* definite article)

40. *Agentive ka-.* This prefix, with verb stems, forms the agentive. It is usually followed by the articles. If it is used in conjunction with the usitative suffix *-kas*, it indicates an habitual or regular action on the part of the agent. Thus,

karo'rɛ a speaker (the one who spoke)

karo'kas the speaker (one who holds that office)

Examples from text:

katɛ'hɛrɛs the killer *(ka-* agentive prefix; *tɛ-* to die; *-hɛrɛ* causative; *-s* definite article)

katani'ckɛrɛka`na owners of medicine *(ka-* agentive prefix; *ta-* third person possessive pronoun; *ka-* to have; *-na* an emphatic suffix)

*kaka'hɛrɛkɛ`rɛka*ˀᵉᴬᵉ they made him an owner it is said *(ka-* agentive; *ka* to have; *-hɛrɛ* causative; *-kɛrɛ* third person plural; *-ka*ˀᵉᴬᵉ quotative)

ka:'kana'kɛ a rider *(ka-* agentive; *a'kanak* to ride; *-ɛ* indefinite article)

kama'napɛkɛ`rɛs the dancers *(ka-* agentive; *ma'napɛ* to dance; *-kɛrɛ* third person plural; *-s* definite article)

ka'ptɛhɛ a runner *(ka-* agentive; *ptɛh* to run; *-ɛ* indefinite article)

41. *Prefix ko-.* The prefix *ko-* forms an agentive, but in what way it differs from *ka-* is not clear. It is probable that the element *ko-* does not actually form the nomina actoris, but a relative clause which might be more accurately translated "the one who".

ko'ptɛhɛ the runner *(ko-* agentive; *ptɛh* to run; *-s* definite article)

kowa:'kihini`xkɛrɛs those who did not get back *(ko-* agentive; *wa:-* negative prefix; *kih* to arrive back from starting place; *-i-* inserted between sonant and surd; *-nix* negative suffix; *-kɛrɛ* third person plural; *-s* definite article)

ko'kina`kas the one who used to tell about it *(ko-* agentive; *kina'* to tell; *-kas* usitative suffix)

koma'hɛs the one who saw me *(ko-* agentive; *ma-* me; *hɛ* to see; *-s* definite article)

42. *The Prefix ko- with adverbs, nouns and pronouns.* — It is used with adverbs, nouns and pronouns, particularly when one from a group or several from a group are to be singled out for emphasis. Examples are:

koma'pɛt the one below *(ma'pɛt* below)

ko'tɛwɛ which one *(tɛ'wɛ* who)

koma'xanas the other one *(ma'xana* one; *-s* definite article)

koxi'kɛrɛs the bad ones *(xik* bad; *-kɛrɛ* plural; *-s* definite article)

kowarɛ'hka the leader *(warɛ'hka* leader)

ko'rɛmą`kɛhɛ this very one *(dɛ'mąkɛhɛ* this one)

43. *Prefix ko- expressing comparative and superlative.* In this sense it is also used to express the comparative.

koci'	better, i. e. the one who is good
kohį'ku	more difficult
kopci'	flatter
kotkɛ:'	heavier
kosa'sap	rougher

The superlative is formed by suffixing *-mika'* to the comparative. Examples are:

koci'mika`	best
kohį'kumika`	most difficult
kopci'mika`	flattest
kotkɛ:'mika`	heaviest
koha'ckamika`	tallest
koxa'mamika`	smallest

VERBAL SUFFIXES.

44. *Number, 2nd person plural.* — In the first person, the distinction between singular and plural is indicated by the pronominal prefixes. In the second person singular and plural the pronoun remains the same, but the element *-nit* is suffixed to the stem in the plural.

Singular	Plural	
da'pawɛ`coc	*da'pawɛ`cinitoc*	you cut it
dahɛ'soc	*da'hanit.so`c*	you saw him
nitį'hoc	*nitį'hinitoc*	you are outside
ni'numą`koc	*ni'numą`kinitoc*	you are a man (men)
ni'xara`koc	*ni'xara`kinitoc*	you are brave

As may be seen from the above examples, this suffix is employed with nouns when they are predicates.

45. *Number, 3rd person plural.* — Mandan lacks pronouns for the third person, but uses the suffix *-kɛrɛ* in the plural. Examples are:

wa:taci'kεrεro'makoc they did not like it *(wa:-* negative prefix [see § 79]; *taci* third person, irregular verb, to like; *-kεrε; -romakoc* narrative past)

pa'kana'kεrεro'makoc they butchered it *(pa'kana'* stem; *-kεrε; -ro'makoc* narrative past)

su'kkεrεk they came out *(suk* to come out; *-kεrε; -k* past participle)

kahara'tkεrεro'makoc they picketed it *(ka'hara't* stem; *-kεrε; -ro'makoc* narrative past)

ε'hεkεrεro'makoc they said *(ε'hε* irregular verb, to say; *-kεrε; -ro'makoc* narrative past)

46. *Plural of nouns.* The suffix *-kεrε(s)* forms the plural of nouns. Examples are:

nu'mąkkε'rεs	the men
oho'pkεrεs	the holes
paro'pxikεrεs	the scalps
mi:'hakε'rεs	the geese
nu'mąk ito'pkεrεs	the four men

The final *-s* is the definite article (see § 95). When *-kεrε* is suffixed to a noun, without the definite article, it performs an exclusive function rather than a plural one. Examples are:

mini'kεrε	nothing but water
makiru'xkakεrε	nothing but snakes
'q'skakεrε	that kind only
ε':kεrε	that alone
mi'hkεrε	women only
nu'ʔεtakε'rε	just the Mandans

47. *Address of men and women.* In all declarative forms, the imperative, optative and interrogative, Mandan distinguishes between speech addressed to men and to women. The quotative declarative is the only form in which there is no distinction. The essential unit is the final element of the verbal complex, which is usually the final element in a sentence. In all tenses of the indicative mode, the final element of the morpheme is *-c* in speech addressed to men, and *-rε* in speech addressed to women.

In other Siouan dialects there is a distinction between man speaking and woman speaking, mostly expressed by particles some of which are in close connection with the verb. The two forms here described are analogous to the particles of other dialects. *-c* corresponds to Teton *lo*, *-rε* to Teton *lε*.

These elements appear at the end of all finite statements ending with a verb. They may be followed by the interrogative *-a* and *-na* (§ 62). Their connection with the verb is irregular. In some cases they are attached to the stem or to the stem suffix, in others an *-o-* the origin of which is not clear precedes the endings. The use of *-o-* depends upon the final sound of the stem. According to the general phonetic rules a stem ending in a vowel will have an *-r-* between the terminal vowel and the suffixed *-o-*. In a number of cases the *-c* and *-rε* are attached directly to stems ending in *-ε* and *-i*.

The following finite forms require the suffix *-c* or *rε:*

1. Present	no suffix preceding	*-c* or *-rε*
2. Completive	*-tε* followed by	*-c* or *-rε*
3. Future	*-kt-* ,,	*-oc* or *-orε*
4. Preterite	*-s-* ,,	*-oc* or *-orε*
5. Narrative past	*-omak-* ,,	*-oc* or *-orε*
6. Compulsory	*-st-* ,,	*-oc* or *-orε*
7. Dubitative	*-oxεrε-* ,,	*-c* or *-rε*
8. Customary	*-ka-* ,,	*-c* or *-rε*
9. Usitative	*-ka-* ,,	*-s* or *-rε*

In the present (1), completive (2), and dubitative (7) the simple *-c* is attached after terminal *i* or *ε* of the stem. This phonetic, rule does not hold good in the customary (8), usitative (9) and the suffix *-εcka* (§ 77), which have no *-o-* inserted after the terminal *a* of the suffix. Furthermore the usitative has the suffix *-s* instead of *-c* which suggests some older form that brought about this change.

The *-o-* which is found after consonantic endings and after all terminal vowels except *i* and *ε* appears also before the narrative past (5), the dubitative (7) and in certain forms before the completive (2). It is never affected by the preceding *i* or *ε* and is always retained. It is likely to be the same in origin as the *-o-* of *-oc* and *-orε*.

No form in *-rε* has been recorded for the dubitative (7).

The imperative and interrogative have also distinct forms for addressing men or women.

Of finite clauses only the optative *do——ki;* the intentive *-tc;* the quotative *-ka'ᵉᴬᵉ* lack the distinct forms for addressing the two sexes.

Subordinate clauses do not differentiate between the sexes addressed. *-(a)t* conditional; *-ha* temporal (while); *-ki* temporal (when); *-sonik* causal; *-na* present participle; *-k* past participle.

48. *Present tense.* — In the present tense declarative *-c* or *-re* are attached to stems ending in the vowels *-i* or *-ε*. Thus:

  si to wander
    wasi'c I wander (addressing a man); *wasi're* I wander (addressing a woman).
  duce' to take
    waru'cec, waru'cere I take it.

Other verbs of this type are:

do'tki	to strike	*te*	to stand
do'kti	to camp	*ske*	to jump
wasi'	to command	*iru'ce*	to grasp
pahi'	to choose	*kima'xe*	to ask
ti	to arrive there	*a:'xawe*	to hide
hi	to arrive here	*i'kihe*	to wait
kemi'	to vomit	*ma'nape*	to dance
		do'pxe	to enter

According to the rule stated in § 17 stems ending in any other vowel, suffix *-roc* or *-rore* in the present.

kixe:' to quit		*kina'* to tell	
wakixe:'roc	*wakixe:'rore*	*wakina'roc*	*wakina'rore*
dakixe:'roc	*dakixe:'rore*	*dakina'roc*	*dakina'rore*
kixe:'roc	*kixe:'rore*	*kina'roc*	*kina'rore*

Other verbs belonging to this class are:

ha'na	to sleep	*ku*	to trap
dutq'	to drag	*ku*	to give
du'ta	to lead	*ciru'*	to crawl
wi:'ka	to buy	*hu*	to come
kana'	to approach	*ta:*	to die
pata'	to push		

Stems ending in a consonant suffix *-oc* or *-ore* in the present. The phonetic variation in the last two types is an example of the general rule described in § 17.

  duka'h to refuse
waru'kahoc	*waru'kahore*
daru'kahoc	*daru'kahore*
du'kahoc	*du'kahore*
nunu'kahoc	*nunu'kahore*
daru'kahinito'c	*daru'kahinito're*
duka'hkerec	*duka'hkerere*

2

Other verbs of this class are:

pawe'c	to cut	*da'skap*	to taste
i'sek	to do	*dusko'p*	to bend
i'hek	to know	*ci'nih*	to be cold
ka'tiri'k	to shatter	*ke'reh*	to return
a:'kanak	to ride	*ipa'cirih*	to plan
o'ptik	to fall	*pteh*	to run
ki'kana'k	to sit down	*deh*	to go
mini'x	to play	*kipta'h*	to turn back

The same principle is followed when the present tense suffixes are used with nominal stems as predicates. Examples from text:

kara'sana'kkere'c they were in groups *(kara'sana'k* group; *-kere* third person plural; *-c* present tense)

nup se'karani nup psi'kereka'ᵉᴬᵉ two were red and two were black it is said *(se* red; *-kara* for *-kere*, third person plural; *-ni* general connective; *psi* black; *-kere-;* *-ka'ᵉᴬᵉ* quotative)

sakə'k when it was dry *(sak* dry; *-ək* past participle)

ciro'tec it must be good *(ci* good; *-rotec* evidential)

oxi'kore it will be bad *(o-* future; *xik* bad; *-ore* present tense ending, addressing women)

qt xa'ratec that one was a wolf *(xa'rate* wolf; *-c* present tense suffix, here used as narrative past)

49. *Completive and Evidential.* — The suffix *-te* is primarily an element indicating a completed action, or the state resulting from a completed action. In certain instancès, it is used to form the evidential, and takes the form *-ote*. If the perfective or the evidential idea is the most important one expressed in the verbal complex, the complete form becomes *-tec* or *-tere*, depending on whether a man or a woman is addressed. Examples from text:

noka'ki cikte'c if he keeps us, it will be good *(no-* us; *ka* to have, to keep; *-ki* subordinating suffix; *ci* good; *-ktec* is a combination of the future *kt(oc)* and *tec,* the perfect)

do: nana'kotere here you are *(do:* here; *na-* from *da* you; *nak* to be sitting; *-tere* perfect, addressing women)

hu'rotec he has come *(hu* to come; *-[r]otec-* perfect)

paru'xkatek when he had shaken his head *(pa* head; *ru'xka* from *du'xka* to shake; *-te* the perfect; *-k* past participle)

su'kerero'tec they must have driven him out *(suk* to drive out; *-kere;* *-[r]o'tec* evidential)

nu'mqkakiro'te it must be a person *(numqkaki* human; *-[r]ote* evidential)

kiku'kerero'tec they must have given it back *(ki-* back; *ku* to give; *kere-;* *-[r]o'tec* evidential)

de'hotec he must have gone *(deh* to go; *-otec* evidential)

50. *Future.* — Future time is indicated either by the prefix *o-* with present tense endings (see § 38) or by the suffix *-kt-*, in the forms *-ktoc (-ktorɛ)*. That the latter is probably the older form is shown by the fact that the future in Dakota is expressed by the postpositional particle *kta*. Whether *o-* was used as an intentive at one time is questionable since these forms can be interchanged without affecting the meaning at all. Examples:

mini'kuktorɛ I will give it to you *(mini-* I-you; *ku* to give; *-ktorɛ* future tense, addressing woman)

i'wasɛ`ktoc I will make it *(wa-* I; *i'sɛk* to make; *-ktoc* future, addressing man)

daro'pxɛktoc you will enter *(da-* you; *ro'pxɛ* from *do'pxɛ* to enter; *-ktoc* future tense)

nukiki'ckɛktoc we will think it over *(nu-* we; *kiki'ckɛ* stem; *-ktoc* future)

dahi'ktoc you will arrive there *(da* you; *hi* stem; *-ktoc* future)

arati'ktoc you will bring it *(a-* prefix with verbs of motion, to carry; *ra* from *da* you; *ti* to arrive; *-ktoc* future)

When the stem ends in a consonant, the future appears as *-toc*. Examples are:

ni'nasi`ptoc you will burn *(ni-* pronoun; *nasi'p-* stem with instrumental prefix; *-toc* future)

nurɛ'htoc we will go *(nu-* pronoun; *rɛh-* stem from *dɛh; -toc* future)

nu'mini`xtoc (nu- pronoun; *mini'x-* stem; *-toc* future)

Future time in a subordinate clause is expressed by the suffix *-ktɛk*. This is particularly true of the conditional and sentences involving indirect discourse. Examples:

a'waxo`ktɛk ɛ'hɛka'ᵗᴬᵉ. I might swallow it he said it is said *(a-* locative prefix; *wa-* pronoun; *xo-*stem; *-ktɛk)*.

manu'cɛktɛk ɛ'hɛka'ᵗᴬᵉ he might take me he said it is said *(ma-* pronoun; *nuce-* stem from *duce; -ktɛk)*

waro'pxɛktɛk ɛ'hɛka'ᵗᴬᵉ I might enter he said it is said *(wa-* pronoun; *ro'pxɛ-* stem from *do'pxɛ; ktɛk)*

saktɛ'k ɛ'hɛkɛ`rɛka'ᵗᴬᵉ it would dry they said it is said *(sak-* stem; *ktɛk)*

ka'wɛkɛrɛ`ktɛk ɛ'rɛhka'ᵗᴬᵉ they would choose he thought it is said *(ka'wɛ-* stem; *kɛrɛ-* third person plural *ktɛk)*

With stems ending in a consonant, the above form becomes *-tɛk*, as in the following example:

i'waska`ptɛk I would taste it *(i-*prefix; *wa-*pronoun; *skap-* stem; *-tɛk)*

51. *Preterite.* The suffix *-s-* in the forms *-soc* and *-sorɛ* forms the preterite. Examples from text:

ɛ'pesoc I said it *(ɛ'pe;* third person of irregular verb; *-soc* preterite)

i'wakihq`xiksoc* I forgot it *(wa-* pronoun, I; *i'kihɛ`k to forget, this is an irregular negative form, with *-xi* the negative suffix; *-soc* preterite)

mi'ksoc there was none *(mik-* nothing; *-soc* preterite)

mini'pesoc I said to you *(mini-* I-you; *ɛ'pe* first person of irregular verb; *-soc* preterite)

wakiki'ckɛsoc I tried *(wa-* I; *kiki'ckɛ* stem; *-soc* preterite)

i'rasɛ`ksoca did you make it ? *(ra-(da)* you; *i'sɛk* stem; *-soc* preterite; *-a* interrogative mode)

dɛ'hkɛrɛsoc they went *(dɛh-* stem, *-kɛrɛ* third person plural; *-soc* preterite)

52. *Narrative past.* —The suffix *-omak[oc]* is used in narrative to refer to distant past time. Examples from texts are:

kaha'ckɛrɛro`makoc they slaughtered them *(kaha'c* stem; *-kɛrɛ-; -[r]o'makoc)*

ducɛ'karo`makoc she used to take them *(ducɛ'* stem; *-ka* usitative; *-[r]o'makoc)*

i'sɛko`makoc he made it *(i'sɛk* stem; *-o'makoc)*

wahɛ'romakoc he saw some *(wa-* some; *hɛ-* stem; *-[r]omakoc)*

i:'kaxɛ`romakoc* he landed (from the water) *(i:'kaxɛ` to land; *-[r]omakoc)*

ni'kɛrɛro`makoc they shot at him *(ni-* stem; *-kɛrɛ; -[r]omakoc)*

kxu'homakoc he lay down *(kxu'h* stem; *-omakoc)*

The form *-omakorɛ* occurs also, but not in my material, because all the narratives were told to a man.

53. *Compulsory.* — The suffix *-stoc (-storɛ)* forms a mode, expressing obligation, but its force varies between that of *sollen* and *müssen* in German. Sometimes, it is rendered in English by the hortatory. Example are:

minika'nistoc I am to keep you *(mini-* I-you; *ka* to keep; *-ni* second person plural; *-stoc* obligatory mode)

mana'kikų'tanistoc you must help me *(mana-* you-me; *kikų'ta (kikų'tɛ)* to help; *-nit* second person plural; *-stoc* obligatory mode)

i'ątɛt ni'sta ota'haranisto'c that way you must turn your face *(i'ątɛt* that way; *ni'sta* your face; *ota* to face; *-hara* from *-hɛrɛ* causative; *-ni* plural; *-stoc* obligatory mode)

irakaro'nistoc you are to talk it over *(ra* from *da* you; *ikaro'* to talk over; *-ni* plural; *-stoc)*

ni'nastoc we must call it *(ni-* we, contracted from *nu* and *i; i'nas* to call; *-stoc)*

dahį'nistoc you must drink it *(da-* you; *hį* to drink; *-ni* plural; *-stoc)*

54. *Dubitative conditional.*

The dubitative form of the conditional mode is the suffix *-ox (-rox).* Its complete form is *-oxɛrɛc (-oxɛrɛrɛ* to women), but the shorter form is generally used. Its force can be best derived from the following examples:

iki'sɛkox he wouldn't do it to himself *(i'sɛk* to do; *-ki* reflexive pronoun; *-ox* dubitative)

makina'rox he wouldn't tell me *(ma-* me; *kina'* to tell; *-[r]ox* dubitative)

matɛwɛ' ɛ'pox what am I to say ? *(martɛwɛ'* what; *ɛ'pɛ* first person, irregular verb; *-ox* dubitative)

warɛ'cka i'wasɛko'x whatever have I done ? *(warɛ'-cka* interrogative pronoun; *i'sɛk* to do; *wa-* I; *-ox* dubitative)

nuhi'nito'xɛrɛca where would we get to ? *(nu-* we; *hi* to arrive going; *-nit!; -oxɛrɛc* dubitative; *-a* interrogative)

55. *Customary -kac.*

The verbal suffix *-kac (-karɛ)* denotes customary action, and is rendered in English by "always" or "usually". It may refer to action in the past or the present. Examples:

o'wat iwatɛ'kac I always like to be in it *(ot* to join; *wa-* I; *itɛ'* to like; *-kac* suffix denoting customary action)

wapawɛ'cinik awaki'hkac when I have cut it, I always return with it *(wa-* I; *pawɛ'c* to cut; *-i-* inserted between surd and sonant; *-nik* subordinating; *a-* prefix with verbs of motion "to carry"; *wa-* I; *kih* to arrive back home; *-kac* customary action)

nunu't ni·'tɛkac we always like to eat *(nu-* we; *nut* to eat; *ni·-* contraction of *nu,* pronoun and *i,* prefix; *itɛ'* to like; *-kac* denotes customary action)

ma'napɛkɛ'rɛkac they usually dance *(ma'napɛ* stem; *-kɛrɛ* third person plural; *-kac* usually)

hu'kac he always comes *(hu* stem; *-kac* always)

ira'ksahkac you always worry about it *(i'ksah* stem; *ra-* from *da* you; *-kac* always)

2*

56. *Usitative -kas.*

The suffix, *-kas (-karɛ),* in addition to its function as an agentive in conjunction with the prefix *ka-* also forms the usitative (see § 31). This may be a variant of the suffix *-kac* since the form used in addressing women is the same for both of them. It is also true that in a few cases *s* and *c* are variants of the same phoneme, as *istų́h* and *ictų́h* for night. Examples are:

warɛ'hkas I used to think *(wa-* I; *ɛrɛh* to think; *-kas* usitative)

ma'napɛkɛ'rɛkas they dance as usual *(ma'napɛ* stem; *-kɛrɛ* third person plural; *-kas* usitative)

nu'tkas she used to eat *(nut* stem; *-kas* usitative)

o'xat o'tkɛrɛkas societies they used to join *(o'xat* societies; *ot* stem; *-kɛrɛ* third person plural; *-kas* usitative)

dɛ'hmanahɛ'rɛkas you always used to send me *(dɛh* to go; *mana-* you-me; *-hɛrɛ* causative; *-kas* usitative)

makina'kas he always used to tell me *(ma-* me; *kina'* to tell; *-kas* usitative)

57. *Quotative.*

The quotative is expressed by the suffix *-ka'ɛʰɛ.* Examples from text:

ɛ'hɛka'ɛʰɛ she said, it is said *(ɛ'hɛ-* stem in third person; *-ka'ɛʰɛ)*

ɛ'kɛrɛka'ɛʰɛ they heard him, it is said *(ɛ* to hear; *-kɛrɛ; -ka'ɛʰɛ)*

ki'kara'kɛrɛka'ɛʰɛ they searched for it, it is said *(ki'kara'* stem; *-kɛrɛ; -ka'ɛʰɛ)*

xama'kɛrɛka'ɛʰɛ they were small, it is said *(xama'* small; *-kɛrɛ; -ka'ɛʰɛ)*

hɛ'ka'ɛʰɛ he looked, it is said *(hɛ* to look; *-ka'ɛʰɛ)*

kima'hihɛrɛka'ɛʰɛ he made himself into an arrow, it is said *(ki-* reflexive pronoun; *ma'hi* arrow; *-hɛrɛ* causative; *-ka'ɛʰɛ)*

dɛ'hka'ɛʰɛ he went it is said *(dɛh* stem; *-ka'ɛʰɛ)*

pa'kana'naka'ɛʰɛ he butchered her it is said *(pa'kand* to cut; reduplicated — to cut up; *-ka'ɛʰɛ)*

58. *Intentive.*

The suffix, *-tc* expresses future time and seems to have the force of an intentive. Examples:

ma'mąkotc I'll be there *(ma-* I; *mąk-* to be, lying; *tc-* intentive)

owa'miha waka'hɛrɛtc I will point it out for them *(omi'h* to point; *wa-* I; *ka'hɛrɛ-* stem, to give to more than one, here used as indirect object; *-tc* intentive)

nų'pa warɛ'htc I'll go with you *(nų'pa* with you; *wa-* I; *rɛh (dɛh)* to go; *-tc)*

nunu'kina`tc we'll tell you *(nunu-* we-you; *kina'* to tell; *-tc)*

ma'tki nupa'kanatc tomorrow we'll butcher *(ma'tki* tomorrow; *nu-* we; *pa'kana* to butcher; *-tc)*

59. *Incredulity.* — The verbal suffix *-nikuk* expresses incredulity on the part of the speaker. It is most closely interpreted by using an interrogative in English, but it is not interrogative in Mandan. Its force may be derived from the following examples:

ɛ'hɛniku`k who could say such a thing ? *(ɛ'hɛ* stem, third person; *-nikuk)*

i'sɛkiniku`k who could do such a thing ?

wa''as kɥ'hiniku`k who would marry such a thing ?

ma'ksahiniku`k could anything have happened ?

warɛ'cka wa i'sɛkiniku`k could there be anything like this ?

pakiri'niku`k can he possibly be counting ?

MODAL SUFFIXES.

60. *Imperative.* — The imperative mode is expressed by suffixes. The forms are:

Speaking to	Singular	Plural
man	*-ta*	*-nista*
woman	*-na*	*-nitana*

Examples:

Addressing men:

i'sɛkta do it!

i'sɛkinista do it! (plural)

maku'ta give it to me!

ha'ta look!

makina'ta tell me!

Addressing women:

i'sɛkana do it!

dopxa'na come in!

ikɥ'tana help her!

hani'tana look! *(ha* stem from *hɛ; -nit* second person plural; *-a-* is inserted between surd and sonant; *-na)*

pawɛwɛ'cana cut it up! *(pawɛ'c* stem, here reduplicated; *-a-* as above; *-na)*

61. *Mild imperative.* — If the suffix *-hək* follows any one of the imperative mode suffixes, it alters the force of the statement from one of command to one of encouragment or affirmation. Examples are:

da'htahək well, go ahead then *(dɛh* to go; *-ta* imperative to men; *-hək)*

kina'nahək tell him about it *(kina'* to tell; *-na; -hək)*

a·'kina`ktahək* ride it, then *(a·'kina`k to ride; *-ta* imperative to men; *-hək)*

dopxa'nahək come on in *(do'pxɛ* to come in; *-na; -hək)*

duca'tahək take it (if you want to) *(ducɛ'* to take; *-ta; -hək)*

maku'tahək well, give it to me *(ma-* me; *ku* to give; *-ta; -hək)*

62. *Interrogative.* — The interrogative mode is formed by suffixing *-a* to the indicative in questions addressed to men, and by changing the final *-rɛ* of the indicative to *-na* in questions addressed to women. Examples are:

Addressing men:

matɛwɛ' ɛ'tɛsoca what did you say ? *(matɛwɛ'* what; *ɛ'tɛ* second person of irregular verb; *-soc* preterite; *-a)*

darɛ'hoca are you going ? *(da-* you; *dɛh* to go; *-oc* present tense; *-a)*

tɛ'wɛ do'soca who spoke ? *(tɛ'wɛ* interrogative pronoun, who; *do* to speak; *-soc* preterite; *-a)*

Addressing women:

o'nanapo`na did you find it ? *(o'nap* to find, *na-* you; *ona-* present interrogative used as narrative past, addressing woman)*

makina'kɛrɛkto`na will they tell me ? *(ma-* me; *kina'* to tell; *-kɛrɛ; -kto* future tense; *-na)*

ki'kkɛrɛso`na did they finish it ? *(kik* to finish; *-kɛrɛ; -so* preterite; *-na)*

63. *Conditional.* — The conditional is expressed by the suffix *-t (-at)*, and is used in certain hypothetical or contrary to fact conditions. It also occurs in future time when the action is uncertain or dependent upon another conditional clause, either expressed or understood. Examples are:

kiri'kɛrɛki okina'karat if they should get back, they would tell *(kiri* to arrive back at starting place; *-kɛrɛ; -ki* causal subordination; *o-* future tense; *kina'* to tell; *-kara* from *-kɛrɛ; -t)*

turo'tiki oci'at if there are some, it would be good *(tu* impersonal verb, there is; *-otiki* subordinating suffix; *o-* future time; *ci* good; *-at)*

noru'kzahat we would cross *(no-* we, contraction of *nu* and *o; oru'kxah* to cross; *-at)*

wa·oti'kinixa't they won't spill *(wa·* negative prefix; *o-* future; *ti'ki* to spill; *-nix* negative suffix; *-at)*

oraki'hinita't you'd get back *(o-* future; *da* you; *kih* to arrive back home; *-nit* second person plural suffix; *-at)*

kara'ctɛki·'kɛrɛki ki'ptahat if they should stop her, she would turn back *(ki'ptah* to turn back; *-at)*

64. *Optative.* —The optative mode is formed by the coordinate use of the prefix *do-* and the suffix *-ki*. Examples are:

dorɛ'hki	oh, that I might go
dohɛ'ki	if I could only see him
do'napki	if I could find it
doi'hɛkki	I wish I knew

The optative is used only with the first person singular. Idiomatically the same concept is expressed for all other persons by omitting *do*, or by the use of the independent stem *ɛ'rɛh.*

SUBORDINATING SUFFIXES

65. *Temporal subordination, -ha.* — An action or condition synchronous with another one is expressed by the suffix *-ha*. It is translated by "while" or by a participial construction in English. Examples are:

i'kxaha laughing *(i'kxa)*
i'paciri`ha* while planning *(i'paciri`h)
iru'caha grasping *(iru'cɛ- stem)*
pta'ha while running *(ptɛh)*
waːsi'hqkha while he was travelling *(waːsi'; -hqk- refers to subject as standing)*
nuku'ha while we were returning *(nu- we; kuh stem)*
mq'kaha during his stay (while he was lying) *(mqk to be lying)*

66. *Temporal subordination, -ki.* — The suffix *-ki* indicates temporal subordination, and is rendered by the English "when". In future time it may form the conditional, "if". Examples:

mana'kuki when you give it to me *(mana-you-me; ku to give; -ki temporal subordination)*
i'wasɛki when I do it *(wa- I; i'sɛk to do; -ki temporal subordination)*
iwaxeː'kɛrɛki when they stopped *(iwaxe': to stop; -kɛrɛ; -ki)*
daru'cɛki when you take it *(da- you; ru'cɛ from du'cɛ to take; -ki)*
da'skapki when he tastes it *(da'skap stem; -ki)*
napa'xkɛrɛki when they grow up *(napa'x stem; -kɛrɛ; -ki)*

67. *Temporal subordination, -tiki.* — The suffix *tiki* is a compound. The *-ki* element is that of temporal subordination, described above. The *-ti* is derived from *tɛ*, the perfective element, the *ɛ* changing to *i* in accordance with the principle of vocalic harmony. Examples are:

naː'kakcɛro`tiki when we have met *(naː- contraction of pronoun, nu and the initial a of the stem; aː'kakcɛ stem; -tiki)*
nukj'kotiki when we have finished *(nu- we; kjk stem; -tiki)*
i'rasɛko`tiki when you have done that *(i'sɛk to do; ra from da you; -tiki)*
oruː'kɛxkɛrɛ`ktiki when they were surrounded *(oruː'kɛx to surround; -kɛrɛ; -k past participle; -tiki perfect temporal subordinator)*
niku'rotiki when he has given it to you *(ni- you; ku to give; -tiki)*
dakiki'ckɛro'tiki when you have thought it over *(da- you; kiki'ckɛ stem; -tiki)*

68. The suffix *-nik* is a general subordinating suffix, and seems to be present in the causal subordinator, *-sonik* (§ 69), and in the disjunctive *-ckanik* (§ 70). Examples are:

nu'harani`k they invited *(nuhara- stem; -nik subordinating suffix)*
wa'cina`conik he being of the no good sort *(wa- negative prefix; ci- stem; nac "sort"; -nik subordinating suffix)*
te'ːnik they die *(teː- stem; -nik subordinator)*
nata'xinik crying — *(natax- stem; i- inserted between surd and sonant; -nik subordinating suffix)*
ki'hinik having returned *(kih- stem; i- as above; -nik subordinating suffix)*
wa'pawɛ`cinik a'waki`hkac when I chip it off, I always return with it. *(wa- pronoun; pawɛ'c- stem; i- as above; -nik subordinator; a- with verbs of motion; wa- pronoun; -kih stem; -kac customary action)*

69. *Causal subordination.* — Causal subordination is expressed by the suffix, *-sonik.* Examples from text are:

dupiri'hsonik since she spread it out *(du- instrumental prefix, with the hand; dupiri'h to spread out; -sonik causal subordination)*
dɛ'hhɛrɛkɛrɛso'nik since they sent him *(dɛh to go; -hɛrɛ causative; -kɛrɛ; -sonik)*
i'wapaciri`hsonik* since I thought of it *(wa- I; i'paciri`h stem; -sonik)
i'kaxɛ`sonik* because it landed *(i'kaxɛ` stem; -sonik)
i'wahqxikso'nik because I don't know *(wa- I; i'hqxik- irregular negative of i'hɛk to know; -sonik)*
ɛ'hɛsonik because he was told *(ɛ'hɛ third person stem of irregular verb; -sonik)*
xopini'sonik he being holy *(xopini' stem; -sonik)*

70. Disjunctive suffixes -cka, -ckanik. — The disjunctive morpheme is the verbal suffix -cka, which has the force of "but" or "although" in English. Examples are:

ɛ'hɛcka he said it but *(ɛ'hɛ* third person stem of irregular verb; -*cka)*

oka'tkɛrɛcka they were included, but *(oka't* stem; -*kɛrɛ*; -*cka)*

xa'macka si'hoc he was small, but he was strong *(xa'ma* small; -*cka* disjunctive; *sih* strong; -*oc* present tense used in narrative past)

i'wasɛkcka I'll do it but *(wa-* I; *i'sɛk* stem -*cka)*

The suffix -*ckanik* is likewise disjunctive in function, but it includes the subordinating element -*nik*. Examples are:

wawau'cka`nik although I had shot some *(wa-* some; *wa-* I; *u* stem; -*ckanik)*

i'wahɛkcka`nik although I had known *(wa-* I; *i'hɛk* to do; -*ckanik)*

warɛ'hcka`nik although I went *(wa-* I; *rɛh (dɛh)* to go; -*ckanik)*

wawahɛ'cka`nik although I had seen something *(wa-* something; *wa-* I; *hɛ* to see; -*ckanik)*

nuku'hckanik although we were returning *(nu-* we; *kuh* to return; -*ckanik)*

nu'waxara`tckanik although we had stuck it *(nu-* we; *wa-* with a point; *xara't-* stem; -*ckanik)*

PARTICIPIAL CONSTRUCTIONS.

71. Participle -na. — The present participle is formed by suffixing -na to the verb stem. Examples are:

kina'na mq'kaho`makoc they were telling about it *(kina'* to tell; -*na* present participle; *mqk* position lying; -*o'makoc-* narrative past)

ni:'na mi'romakoc he went on walking *(ni:-* stem; -*na* present participle; *mi* to continue; -*[r]omakoc* narrative past)

mana'chịna smoking *(mana'chị* to smoke; -*na)*

mini'pacų`na swimming *(mini'pacų'* to swim; -*na)*

o:'tana joining them *(o:t* stem; -*a-* inserted between surd and sonant; -*na)*

Morphologically the -*na* is identical with the emphatic -*na* (see § 97). Conceivably the two are identical.

72. Participle -k. — The suffix -k forms the past participle. If the verb forms the present by suffixing -c, the past participle will be k; if it suffixes -oc to form the present, *ək* will form the past participle; if it suffixes -*roc*, in the present, it adds -*rək*. Examples are:

do'pxɛk he, having entered *(do'pxɛ* stem; -*k* past participle)

hi:k having arrived *(hi-* stem; -*k)*

kixɛ:'kɛrɛk they having quit *(kixɛ:'* stem; -*kɛrɛ*; -*k)*

a'wɛ xka'hkɛrɛk all having broken camp *(a'wɛ* all; *xkah* stem; -*kɛrɛ*; -*k)*

ha'nanə'k having slept *(ha'na* stem; -*nək* past participle, the *r* changing to *n* because the preceding syllable consists of a nasal consonant and a vowel)

miniki'kara'rək when I had looked for you *(mini-* I-you; *ki'kara`* stem; -*rək* past participle)

waku'rək having given him something *(wa-* something; *ku* stem; -*rək* past participle)

wapa'ksahama'nakək while I have been watching *(wa-* I; *pa'ksa* stem; -*ha* durative; *ma-* I; *nak* position, sitting; -*ək* past participle)

DERIVATIVE SUFFIXES

73. Almost, -natɛ. — The suffix -*natɛ* indicates an action begun or intended but not completed. Its closest translation in English is "almost". Examples are:

oru:'xkɛnatɛro'makoc he almost sank *(o-* locative prefix; *du'xkɛ* to sink; -*natɛ* almost; -*[r]o'makoc* narrative past)

ci:'panatɛro'makoc he nearly drowned *(ci:'pa* to drown; -*natɛ* nearly; -*[r]o'makoc* narrative past)

o'ptikana`tɛro'makoc it almost fell *(o'ptik* to fall; -*natɛ*; -*[r]o'makoc)*

ɛ'pɛnatɛro'makoc I almost said it *(ɛ'pɛ* first person of irregular verb; -*natɛ*; -*[r]o'makoc)*

ikiri'xɛnatɛki when he almost caught up to them *(ikiri'xɛ* stem; -*natɛ*; -*ki* subordinating suffix)

daru'tkɛnatɛsoc you nearly touched it *(da-* you; *du'tkɛ* to touch; -*natɛ*; -*soc* preterite).

74. Again, -skɛ. — The suffix -*skɛ* indicates that the action has been performed before. It is not a true repetitive, which is expressed by reduplication, but is equivalent to the English "again". Examples:

kico'skɛni they gathered again and *(kico'* to gather; -*skɛ* again; -*ni* connective)

nuki'hskɛroc we got back home again *(nu-* we; *kih* stem; -*skɛ* again; -*[r]oc* present tense)

nukita'skɛroc we hunted for him again *(nu-* we; *kita'* to hunt; -*skɛ* again; -*[r]oc* present tense used as narrative past)

istų'harɛ`skɛrək again toward evening *(istų'h* night; -*harɛ* toward; -*skɛ* again; -*[r]ək* past participle)

kani'skɛka`ᵗʰᵗ he went walking again, it is said *(kani'* to walk; -*skɛ* again; -*ka'ᵗʰᵗ* quotative)

do'pxɛskɛ'romakoc he went in again *(do'pxɛ* stem; -*skɛ* again; -*[r]o'makoc* narrative past)

75. *Suffix -ahka.* — The suffix *-ahka* with verb stems modifies the meaning of the stem in two quite distinct ways: (a) it may indicate the ability or capacity to perform an action, or (b) it may limit the action in a temporal sense — "just then", or "at that precise moment". Examples are:

(a) *nunu'tahkaki* if we can eat it *(nu-* we; *nut* to eat; *-ahka* indicates ability; *-ki* subordinating suffix)

    oruxo'kahka as much as he could lift *(o-* nominalizing prefix; *duxo'k* to lift, *du-* instrumental prefix "with the hand"; *-ahka* indicates ability)

    wanuhɛ'rahka as much as we could see *(wa-* something; *nu-* we; *hɛ* to see; *[r]ahka-* indicates ability)

(b) *ɛ'hɛrahka* just as he said it *(ɛ'hɛ* third person of stem; *-[r]ahka* at that moment)

    kiru'cɛrahka just as he took it back *(ki-* indicates that object was possessed by subject; *du'cɛ* stem; *-[r]ahka* just then)

    o:ti'sahka'k the moment he arrived there *(o:* there; *ti* stem; *-s* definite article, "his arrival"; *-ahka* at that moment *-k* past participle)

76. *Suffix -ahka with nouns.* — The suffix *-ahka* is sometimes limiting in function like *-kɛrɛ*, and sometimes used in the same way as *-taro* (§ 94). Examples are:

su'kahka	just the children
wa:oxi'hahka	even to the old people
e'xiahka	just the bellies
i'wahu'rahka	even to the bones

77. *Suffix -ɛcka, as if.* — The suffix *-ɛ'cka* means "like" or "as if", and often adds a quality of vagueness to the stem. In the latter case it serves to expand the meaning of the stem to include actions not ordinarily included. To a certain extent, derivatives are formed in this way. Examples are:

i'hɛkɛ'ckaka'ᵉʰᵉ she suspected (she knew somewhat) *(i'hɛk* to know; *-ɛ'cka* somewhat; *-ka'ᵉʰᵉ* quotative)

ɛ'warɛ'heckarɛ I imagine (I kind of think) *(ɛ'rɛh* to think; *wa-* I; *-ɛcka* kind of; *-rɛ* present tense to women)

tu:'ɛckakɛ'rɛro'makoc there might be some *(tu:* impersonal verb, there are; *-ɛ'cka; kɛrɛ; -[r]o' makoc* narrative past)

i'sɛksɛckahɛ'rɛro'makoc he did as he had done *(i'sɛk* to do; *-s* definite article: What he had done; *-ɛ'cka* like; *-hɛrɛ* causative; *-[r]o'makoc* narrative past)

ɛ'hɛsɛ'cka like he said *(ɛ'hɛ* third person of irregular verb; *-s* definite article; *-ɛ'cka* like)

o'wakiri:'ɛcka'rɛ I will probably return *(o-* future; *wa-* I; *kiri'* stem; *-ɛcka* probably; *-rɛ* present tense to women)

78. *Suffix -nac.* — The suffix *-nac* is similar to *-ahka* in adding a quality of vagueness to the stem, and widening the category in some instances (see § 93). Examples are:

xa'mahanaco'makoc it was kind of small *(xa'mah* small; *-a-* inserted between sonant and surd; *-nac* kind of ; *-o'makoc* narrative past)

si'nacha da'hini he went wandering and *(si* to travel; *-nac* changes meaning to wander; *-ha* adverbalizes the complex; *dah* from *dɛh* to go; *-i-* phonetic connective; *-ni* general connective)

i'rɛxana'cki when it was light enough *(i'rɛx* light; *-a-* inserted between surd and sonant; *-nac* enough; *-ki* temporal subordination)

i'kahɛkana'cka'ᵉʰᵉ he remembered well enough it is said *(i'kahɛk* stem; *-a-* between sonant and surd; *-nac* well enough; *-ka'ᵉʰᵉ* quotative)

'u'ckanaco'makoc he resembled him (he was somewhat like that) *('u'cka* to be that way; *-nac* kind of, changes stem to "resemble"; *-o'makoc* narrative past)

ɛ'hɛnactorɛ he would imply (he would kind of say) *(ɛ'hɛ* third person of irregular verb; *-nac* changes stem from "to say" to "to imply"; *-torɛ* future to women)

79. *Negative.* — The negative is formed by the prefix *wa:-* and the suffix *-xi* for stems ending in *ɛ* or *i*. If the stem ends in any other vowel, *-nix*, and if in a consonant, *-inix* is suffixed, the *i* separating the surd terminal of the stem from the sonant *n* of the suffix. Examples are:

Stems ending in *ɛ* or *i*:

ma:ma'tacixi'c she does not like me *(ma:-* negative prefix, the *w* to *m* before *ma* me; *taci'* third person of irregular verb; *-xi* negative suffix; *-c* present tense)

wa:a'rakiri'xiki if you don't bring him back *(wa:-* negative prefix; *a-* with verb of motion, indicates something carried along; *da-* you; *kiri'* stem to arrive back at starting place; *-xi* suffix of negation; *-ki* subordinating suffix)

Stems ending in vowels other than ε or i

waː'ominiku'nixoc I won't give it to you *(waː-* negative prefix; *o-* future time; *mini* I-you; *ku* to give; *-nix* negative suffix; *-oc* present tense suffix, to men)

waːkita'nixki when he did not wake up *(waː-* negative prefix; *kita'* stem; *-nix* negative suffix; *-ki* temporal subordination)

maːmakina'nixa without telling me *(maː-* negative prefix, the *w* changing to *m* before *ma* me; *kina'* stem; *-nix* negative suffix; *-a* is *ha*, the durative, the *h* being absorbed by the preceding *x)*

waːki'hinixo'makoc he did not get back *(waː-* negative prefix; *kih* stem; *-i-* inserted between sonant and surd; *-nix* negative suffix; *-o'makoc* narrative past)

Contracted forms of the negative suffix. are not rare. Thus regularly *i'wahq̓'xikoc* instead of *waːi'wahɛ'kinixo'c* I don't know.

Another example from a text is

waːi'manakihq̓'xiktoc you might not remember me *(i'kihɛ'k* to remember; *-ktoc* future)

There are also forms without prefix *waː-* or without *-xi:*

o'kisu'kɛxikaˑᵗʰᵗ he could not get out, it is said
waːtaci'kɛrɛro'makoc they did not like it

80. *Negative imperative.* In the imperative mode, the negative is expressed by prefixing *ka'rɛ* to the stem. Examples are:

ka'rɛsu'kta don't go out *(ka'rɛ-* negative prefix; *suk* stem; *-ta* imperative mode to men)

ka'rɛhu'harata don't let it come *(ka'rɛ; hu* to come; *-hɛrɛ* causative; *-ta* imperative to men)

ka'rɛrata'xharana don't make him cry *(ka'rɛ-; data'x* to cry; *-hɛrɛ* causative; *-na* imperative mode to women)

ka'rɛra'hta don't go *(ka'rɛ; rah* from *dɛh* to go; *-ta* imperative mode to men)

81. *Negative mik.* — Certain negative forms result from the use of the noun stem *mik* nothing. Thus, the negative answer to a question is *miko'c* or *miko'rɛ*, depending on whether man or woman is addressed.

Examples are:

ɛ'rarɛ'h miko'c you don't think of that *(ɛ'rɛh* to think; *da-* you; *mik* nothing; *-oc* present tense)

mah mi'kkɛrɛro'makoc there were no arrows *(mah* arrows; *mik* nothing; *-kɛrɛ* third person plural; *-[r]o'makoc* narrative past)

kų'hɛmika' without a wife *(kųh* wife; *ɛ* indefinite article; *mik* none)

wa'akna'rɛmika' without sickness *(wa'akna'rɛ* sickness; *mik* nothing)

82. *Conjunctive -ni.* — This is a very general connective, and serves to connect two verbs of equal force; it also connects nouns and adjectives. Examples are:

hi'ni he arrived and *(hi-* stem; *-ni)*

duxo'tini she untied it and *(du-* instrumental prefix, with the hand; *xo't* stem; *-i-* inserted between surd and sonant; *-ni)*

du'piri'hini she spread it out and *(du-* instrumental prefix, with the hand; *piri'h* stem; *-i-* inserted between surd and sonant; *-ni)*

no'pxini wa'hų robes and many things *(no'pxi* robes; *-ni* conjunction; *wa-* things; *hų* many)

katɛ'kani macka'ckapkani minisɛ' chokecherries and bull berries and willows *(katɛ'ka-* stem; *-ni* connective; *macka'ckapka* stem; *-ni* connective)

nup psi'ni nup sɛ' two black and two red *(nup* two; *psi* black; *-ni)*

83. *Suffix -ni before ɛrɛh, to want.* — Any verb used in conjunction with *ɛ'rɛh*, to want, takes the suffix *-ni* as the final element of the complex. In such cases, it is not translated. Example are:

i'wasɛ'kini ɛ'wɛrɛho'rɛ I want to make it *(wa-* I; *i'sɛk* to do; *-ni; wɛ-* from *wa* I, changed according to vocalic harmony; *ɛ'rɛh* to want; *-orɛ* present tense to women)

duca'ni ɛ'rɛhka'ᵗʰᵗ he wanted to take it it is said *(duca'* from *ducɛ'-* stem, *-ni; ɛ'rɛh* to want; *-ka'ᵗʰᵗ* quotative)

da'hini ɛ'rɛho'makoc he wanted to go *(dah* from *dɛh* to go; *-ni; ɛ'rɛh* to want; *-o'makoc* narrative past)

nɛ'keni ɛ'rɛho'makoc she intended to put it *(nɛ'ke* to put; *-ni; ɛ'rɛho'makoc* as above)

The Indirect Object

84. Mandan uses the pronouns with the verb *ku*, to give, to express the indirect pronominal object. For the nominal, indirect object see § 87. Examples are:

i'sɛka maku'ta make it for me! *(i'sɛk* stem; *ma-* me; *ku* indicates the indirect object; *ta-* imperative mode to men)

ku kina'nista tell it to them! *(ku* indirect object; *kina'* stem; *-nista-* imperative plural)

kaxi'pa maku'nista skin it for me! *(kaxi'p* stem; *ma-* me; *ku* indirect object; *-nista* imperative plural)

ku' ɛ'hɛka'ᵉʰᵉ he said to them, it is said *(ku* indirect object; *ɛ'hɛ* third person of irregular verb; *-ka'ᵉʰᵉ* quotative)

a'kiha ku'kɛrɛki when they brought it for him *(a'kih* to return with; *ku* indicates the indirect object; *-kɛrɛ* third person plural; *-ki* subordinating suffix)

THE NOUN

Character of Noun

85. Noun stems are quite distinct from verbs. Although it is possible to nominalize verb stems by prefixing *o-*, (see § 39), and to form other derivatives from verbs by prefixing *wai-*, *ka-*, or *ko-* (see §§ 36, 40, 41) nouns are never verbalized.

Nominal Prefix

86. The prefix *i-* occurs rarely with nouns, giving emphasis. Thus,

      i'numak   the man

It is used here to indicate the head of the household.

Nominal Suffixes

87. *Indirect object.* — With nouns, the indirect object is expressed by the postposition *ut (i'uta)*. Examples are:

warato'kxis i'uta ɛ'hɛro'makoc he said to the old man *(warato'kxis* old man; *i'uta* postpositive element "to"; *ɛ'hɛ* third person of irregular verb; *-[r]o'makoc* narrative past)

ta'tɛ ut kina'romakoc he told it to father *(ta'tɛ* father; *-ut* postpositive "to"; *kina* stem; *-[r]o-makoc)*

suks i'uta ku'ta give it to the child *(suk* child; *-s* definite article; *i'uta* postposition "to"; *ku* stem; *-ta* imperative to men)

numɑ'kcis i'uta daro'soca did you speak to the chief? *(numɑ'kci* chief; *-s* definite article; *i'uta* postpositive element, "to"; *da-* you; *do* stem; *-soc* preterite; *-a* interrogative mode)

88. *Instrumental -ha.* — When the morpheme *-ha* is suffixed to a noun, it indicates the instrument or means by which an action is performed. Examples are:

xɛ'hɑkha with baskets
o'manɛtsoha with the axe *(o'manɛt* stem; *-s* definite article; *-ha)*
ma·'ha with arrows *(ma·h-* stem; *-ha)*

ma'na o'ksɛha with hard wood *(ma'na* wood; *o'ksɛ* hard; *-ha)*
wɛrɛhu'ptaha by means of the smoke hole

89. *Locative -ta.* — The suffix *-ta* is locative in character, indicating either place where or direction to. Examples are:

ma'ᵒɑkta on the ground
mini'ta in the water
mini'xopini'ta at Devil's Lake *(mini'* water; *xopini'* sacred; *-ta)*
ma'ᵒɑkku`cta inside the earth *(ma'ᵒɑk* earth; *kuct* inside; *-ta)*
mɛni'sicata in a travois

90. *Directional -t.* — The suffix *-t* seems to be related to *ta*, but is essentially directional in function. These two morphemes tend to overlap. Examples are:

o'hɑkt at the end
i'akit upward *(aki* above; both *i* and *t* are directional)
pa·'xut in the nose
dɛ'kat this far
ti'hɛnat high on the wall

91. *Locative -so.* — The suffix *-so* is also a locative element, but it localizes more strictly than *-ta;* it refers to the exact spot. This element may limit in time as well as in space. Examples:

ma'naso in the woods
manako'tkiso at the cross timber there *(ma'na* wood; *ko'tki* refers to timber running horizontally on a hillside; *-so)*
tamina'kso at his mound *(ta-* possessive pronoun; *mina'k* stem; *-so)*
na'hkuso on the road
na·'kaso the very last time *(na·'ka* stem; *-so* "the very")*
a'ku'xɛso right opposite *(a'ku'xɛ* stem; *-so* "right")*

92. *Locative -ɛro.* — The suffix *-ɛro* is identical in function with *-so*, and what difference there may be in meaning is not clear. *-ɛro* frequently follows demonstrative suffixes. Examples are:

tami'tisɛro at his village *(ta-* possessive pronoun; *mi'ti* stem; *-s* definite article; *-ɛro* locative)
okxu'kɛrɛsɛ'ro right where they lay *(o-* nominalizing locative prefix; *kxu'-* to lie; *-kɛrɛ; -ɛro)*
pa'xumɑ`pɛro right below his nose *(pa'xu* nose; *mɑp* below; *-ɛro)*

maˀạkhạˋkɛro this hill, here *(maˀˀạk* stem; *hạk* demonstrative, refers to position as standing; *-ɛro)*
qˊtɛro right over there
nutamiˊtihạˋkɛro this village of ours, right here *(nuta-* possessive pronoun; *miˊti* stem; *hạk* demonstrative, this; *-ɛro)*

93. Classifying -nacini. — The suffix *-naˊcini* is a classifier, in that it refers to the class of objects to which the noun belongs. It is related to the verbal suffix *-nac* which expands the stem to include actions not ordinarily included (see § 78). Examples are:

katɛˊkanaˋcini such as chokecherries *(katɛˊka* stem; *naˊcini* classifier)
mako:ˊnaˋcini ominiˊkanaˋcini things like squash and beans *(mako:ˊ* stem; *naˊcini; ominiˊk* stem; *naˊcini)*
si:ˊnaˋcini things such as tallow
mɛniˊsnaˋcini such as horses

94. Even to, -taro. — The suffix *-taro* is translated by "even to" or "even including". In the following examples, the noun stem is that part of the complex which precedes *-taro.*

paˊtaro	even to his head
istaˊtaro	even to his face
pahịˊtaro	even the scalp
cɛˊtaro	even the winds
wahu:ˊtaro	even the bones
hụˊpkɛrɛtaˋro	even to their moccasins
wirusịˊtaro	even including a hide stretcher
waˊra onuˊnitaro	even to the fireplace

95. Definite article. — Mandan forms the definite and indefinite articles by suffixes to the noun stem. The definite article is the suffix *-s*. Examples are:

miniˊiwaˊkɛs	the shore
miniˊxtɛs	the lake
niˊkasis	the calf
maˊnahịs	the root
nuˊmạkɛrɛs	the men
toˊkis	the shell
mihs	the woman
wapaˊminis	the bundle
wo:ˊkis	the plume

96. Indefinite article. — The indefinite article is the suffix *-ɛ*. Examples are:

wa:oniˊrɛ	game
ptịˊrɛ	a buffalo
oˊtirɛ	a lodge
maˀakɛ	a hill
nuˊmạkɛ	a man
maˊhɛ	arrows
mɛniˊsɛ	a horse

97. Emphatic -na[1]. — If the speaker wishes to designate either the subject or the object as the important element of the sentence, the suffix *-na* is used. It occurs frequently with the general demonstrative *ɛ* in the form *ɛˊna*. Example are:

siˊsohsiˋna a yellow hawk *(siˊsoh* hawk; *si* yellow; *-na* emphatic)
nuˊmạkciˋna it was a chief who *(nuˊmạkciˋ* chief; *-na* emphatic)
sukɛˊna ɛˊna that boy (boy-a-emphatic that-emphatic)
tiˊcohɛˊna a tipi *(tiˊcoh-* tipi; *-na)*
kiˊsɛkasɛˊna the maker *(kiˊsɛka* maker; *-s* definite article; *-ɛna* emphatic)

98. Emphatic -ona. — This often occurs with the element *o*, in which case it is best translated by a relative clause in English. Examples are:

miˊhona	the women were the ones who
kụˊhona	his wife was the one who
kaˊwarɛˋhkasoˋna	the leader was the one who
wiˊkxakxɛˋkona	it was a magpie that
maˊnumạkoˋna	I am the man who

It seems probable that the *o* which gives the verbal character to the suffix is related to the *o* which occurs in the majority of the independent verbal suffixes like *-oc*, *-soc*, *-omakoc*, *-ktoc*, etc. Thus, *oˊroc* is like "That one did it"[2].

The following examples from texts of the independent use of *o* with verbal suffixes, in the sense of the English verb "to be".

nuˊxɛrɛt oˊki ciˊox ɛˊhɛkɛrɛ-
Far away if it is it would not be good they said

kaˋˀɛhɛ
it is said

miniˊ oˊwakaraˋrɛ iˊmapɛt oˊrat
Water way it flows down it would be

[1] See § 71.
[2] See § 21.

hạ'ki   a'kit   oro'tiki   o'mikoc
And   above   if it is   there will be none

ε'na   nunu'kahǝk   ε'na   o'roc
So   we, not having reached it   that   was it

     o'minixu'retuk   *o'roc*
Where there has been water   it is

psǫ'ka   cε'reki   ε   mini'tuk
Frog   if   there is noise of   that   water has been

    o'roc
it is (it means)

  ε   ma'nahini   o'roc
  That   a spring   is

cεta'hini   oro'tiki
Cold air   if there is

i'macụt   datirikεrek
The dress, when they stepped on it (past participle),

   ε   o'ka'ᵋᴬε
that was it,   it is said.

POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS

99. *Separable and inseparable possession.* —
There are two distinct sets of possessive pro-
nouns in Mandan, the one used with parts of
the body, things worn on the body, and cer-
tain kinship terms. The other set is used with
all other objects. The basis for the classifica-
tion is not wholly clear, unless the objects
worn on the body are conceived to be exten-
sions of the body. With the kinship terms,
their use is wholly irregular, and does not
follow lines of blood relation and affinal
relation. The pronouns are prefixed to the
nouns. Like the verb, the second and third
persons plural have added suffixes. Those
for the personal category are:

mi-	my	*nu-*	our
ni-	your	*ni- — nitε*	your
—	his	— *kεrε*	their

The possessive pronouns with *pa'xu* nose
are as follows:

mipa'xu	my nose	*nupa'xu*	our noses
nipa'xu	your nose	*nipa'xunitε*	your noses
pa'xu	his nose	*paxu'kεrε*	their noses

The other set of possessive pronouns are:

pta	my	*nuta*	our
nita	your	*nita—nitε*	your
ta	his	*ta—kεrε*	their

pta is undoubtedly dirived from *mita* by
assimilation.

The possessive pronouns with *mεni's*, horse
are as follows:

pta'mεnis	*nuta'mεnis*
nita'mεnis	*nita'mεni`sinitε*
ta'mεnis	*ta'mεni`skεrε*

For the use of *pta-* with verbal forms see
§ 27.

100. Terms of relationship[1].
Type 1.

ptami'hε   my sister (man speaking)
ni'tami`hε   thy „
ko'tami`hε   his „
nu'tami`hε   our „

ptawi'hạka grandchild, daughter-in law
nitawi'hạka
kotawi'hạka

ptaro'hạkamihs mother's brother's wife
nitaro'hạkamihs
kotaro'hạkamihs

ptawa'ratos (stem *nato*) mother's brother
ni'tawa'ratos
ko'tawa'ratos

ptawa'ratoxkas father-in-law
nitawa'ratoxkas
kotawa'ratoxkas

Type 2.

ptǫ'ka my younger sister (woman speaking)
nitǫ'ka
kotǫ'ka

ptu'miniks father's sisters in all generations
nitu'miniks
kotu'miniks

ptụts my son-in-law
nitụ'ts
kotụ'ts

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[1] Some of these forms are given without article,
others with definite article *-s*, still others with
indefinite article *-ε*.

ptu'hiniks mother-in-law
nitu'hiniks
kotu'hiniks

ptu'hqxkas sister's son, man speaking
nitu'hqxkas
kotu'hqxkas

Type 3.

micu̧'ka younger brother, younger male parallel
 cousin
nicu̧'ka
kocu̧'ka

minu'ks my elder sister (woman speaking)
ninu'ks
konu'ks

mi'niks my son, mother's brother's son, male
 "child of clan"
ni'niks
ko'niks

minu'hqks my daughter, female "child of clan"
ninu'hqks
konu'hqks

Type 4.

tats' voc. father, father's brother, father's sister's
 son, mother's sister's husband
mats
nats
kots
da:ts
natinits
ko:'tksres

mu̧'kas elder brother, elder male parallel cousin
nu̧'kas
ku̧'kas

mu̧ʌhɛ my wife
nu̧ʌhɛ
ku̧ʌhɛ

Type 5.

na'ɛ' voc. and 1 person. mother, mother's sisters,
 father's brother's wife.
nihu̧'s
kohu̧s'
nuhu̧'s
nihu̧'nits
kohu̧'ksres

na'xis voc. and 1 person. grandmother
nihu̧'xis
kohu̧'xis

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101. *Possessive of verbal nouns.* — The nominalized form of the verb employs the regular subjects pronouns for possessive as in:

o'rasi`rɛ	your trip *(da* thou)
o'waro`s	my speech *(wa* I)
o'raka`nana	your singing *(da* thou)

However, there are a few examples of nouns, derived from verbs, in which the verb no longer exists in Mandan. Thus, the word *o'ti*, lodge is composed of the locative nominalizer, *o-* and the stem, *ti* to dwell. *t'i* is the verb to dwell in Dakota, but is not used in Mandan; yet, the use of the subject pronouns for possessives makes this derivation practically certain.

owa'ti	*oru'ti*
ora'ti	*ora'tinits*
o'ti	*o'tikɛ`rɛ*

DEMONSTRATIVES

102. *Demonstrative pronouns.* — There are three demonstratives in Mandan:

dɛ	this
qt	that
ɛ	a general demonstrative

As pronouns, both *dɛ* and *qt* indicate the form of the antecedent as standing, sitting, or lying (see §§ 114—117).

dɛ'mqk	this one, lying
dɛ'nak	this one, sitting
dɛ'hqk	this one, standing
q'tɛmqk	that one, lying
q'tɛnak	that one, sitting
q'tɛhqk	that one, standing

The plural of the demonstrative pronouns is formed by suffixing *-ɛhɛ* to the forms given above.

103. *Demonstrative adjectives and adverbs.* As adjectives, the demonstratives are suffixed to the noun stem. For *this* *-mqk*, *-nak*, and *-hqk* are used. For *that*, *-qt* is used regardless of the shape or position of the noun it modifies. Examples are:

o'tihqk	this lodge
ma'tamqk	this river
ha'rɛnak	this cloud
o'tiqt	that lodge
ma'taqt	that river
ha'rɛqt	that cloud

Adverbs are:

do here
de'ta hither
'q'ska in this manner

q'tero there
(*q'teta* not found)
'u'cka in that manner

INTERROGATIVE PRONOUNS

104. There are several pronouns used only with the interrogative mode or with an interrogative subordinate clause. They are always in the initial position of the sentence or the clause they introduce.

te'we	who
matewe'	what
tewe't	where
ko'tewe	which one
te'wena	who is it
tacka:'k	how
ta'q:	how much, how many
te'weta	to where

105. INDEFINITE PRONOUNS.

ADVERBS

wa- something, precedes the verbal complex
ma:'na someone

106. Adverbs are formed by suffixing -*ha* to certain stems. Examples are:

ta'taha	separately
ociri'ha	scattered
xa'xapha	roughly
katu'caha	swiftly
cε'rεkha	noisily

THE NUMERALS

107. The Mandan numerical system is decimal. The cardinal numbers are as follows:

1. *ma'xana*	12. *a:'ka nup*
2. *nup*	19. *a:'ka ma'xpε*
3. *na:'mini*	20. *nu'pa pi'rək*
4. *top*	21. *nu'pa pirə'kini*
5. *ki'xu*	*ma'xana*
6. *ki:'ma*	30. *na:'miniha pi'rək*
7. *ku:'pa*	40. *to'pha pi'rək*
8. *tε:'tuki*	100. *hi'sukma'xa*
9. *ma'xpε*	101. *hi'sukma'xani*
10. *pi'rək*	*ma'xana*
11. *a:'ka ma'xana*	1000. *hi'suk ika'kohi*

The ordinals are formed by prefixing *i-* to the cardinal numbers. There is one exception to this; first is *u'tε*.

The suffix -*ha* with the cardinal numbers indicates the number of times — once, twice, etc. *ma'xa* once is exceptional.

The suffix -*ca* indicates the total number.

to'pca	all four of them
nu'pca	both of them
tε:'tukica	all eight of them

Numerical groupings such as one by one, two by two, etc. are indicated by reduplication

maxana'na	one by one
nunu'p	two by two
na:mini'mini	three by three
toto'p	by fours
kixu:'xu:	by fives

The same idea is conveyed with certain adjectives by reduplication, as

xa'ma little   *xa'mama* little by little

COMPOUND VERBS

108. *The Causative.* — The causative, *hέ're*, is compounded with verb, noun, and adjective stems to form verbs. With all types of stems, the order of the elements in the complex is stem, pronoun, causative, tense or modal suffix. Examples are:

do'ktiro`herε`c he had us camp *(do'kti-* stem; *ro* from *do* us; *herε* causative; -*c* present tense, used as narrative past)

dutq'wahεrε`c I made it drag *(du-* instrumental prefix; *tq'-* stem; *wa-* pronoun; *herε* causative; -*c* present tense in narrative past)

kxu'hεrεka'εhε he had her lie down it is said *(kxu* stem; *herε* causative; *ka'εhε* quotative)

ptini'herεktoc we will become buffaloes *(pti* buffalo; *ni-*, *nu* and prefix *i* contracted; *herε* causative; -*ktoc* future tense)

psi'herεro`makoc he blackened it *(psi* stem; *herε* causative; -*[r]o'makoc* narrative past)

sakwa'herεc I dried it *(sak* stem; *wa-* I; *herε* causative; -*c* present tense)

pcinu'herεsoc we flattened it *(pci* stem; *nu-* we; -*herε* causative; -*soc* preterite)

109. *tu-.* — The use of *tu-* is confined to verbs of motion. It is an independent impersonal verb with two forms, *tuc* there is, and *tukεrεc* there are. Prefixed to the verbs of motion, it adds the idea of going or coming to get something which is known to exist. Examples:

tu'warɛ`horɛ I'm going after *(tu-* as above; *wa-* I; *rɛh* from *dɛh* to go; *-orɛ* present tense, addressing women)

tura'hini he went after them and *(tu-* as above; *rah-* from *dɛh* to go; *-i-* inserted between sonant and surd; *-ni* general connective)

turɛ'homakoc he went after them there *(tu-* as above; *reh-* from *dɛh* to go; *-omakoc* narrative past)

tuwa'tic I came to get them *(tu-* as above; *wa-* I; *ti* to arrive there, having gone; *-c* present tense, addressing men)

tura'hinista you must go get them *(tu-* as above; *rah* from *dɛh* to go; *-i-* inserted between sonant and surd; *-nista* imperative plural)

110. *kiru-*. — Like *tu*, this element is used with verbs of motion, and indicates purpose in the action. In certain contexts either form could be used to convey the same meaning, but the limitations imposed by *tu-* are narrower than *kiru-*, although included in the same general category. Examples from text:

kiru'rehkɛrɛro`makoc they went after it *(kiru'-* prefix indicating purpose; *reh* from *dɛh* to go; *-kɛrɛ* third person plural suffix; *-[r]o'makoc* distant past time).

kiru'tikɛrɛka'ᵉʰᵉ They arrived for it *(kiru'-* for a purpose; *ti* to arrive there, having gone; *-kɛrɛ* third person plural; *-ka'ᵉʰᵉ* quotative)

kiru'wahic I have come after it *(kiru'-* purpose; *wa-* I; *hi* to arrive; *-c* ending addressing men)

ptį kiru'rahta go get the buffalo *(ptį-* buffalo; *kiru'-* purpose; *rah* from *dɛh* to go; *-ta* imperative addressing men)

111. *ɛreh*. — means to be "about to" or "just going to". This element is identical in form with the verb to want, wish, hope, intend, think. Examples are:

watɛ:'rɛrɛho`c I am about to die *(wa-* I; *tɛ:* to die; *ɛreh; -oc)*

o'ptikì`rɛrɛhki if it was just going to fall *(o'ptik* to fall; *ɛreh; -ki* subordinating suffix, "if")

mamakima'xaniɛ`rɛhini she was just going to ask me something and *(ma-* [for *wa-*] something; *ma-me; kima'xɛ* to ask; *-ni* see § 83; *ɛreh; -ni* general connective)

ini'siniɛrɛhą`ka as he was going to dip out *(iniɛ* to dip; *-ni* see § 83; *ɛreh; -hąk* refers to subject in a standing position)

waro'rɛrɛhki when I was about to speak *(wa-* I; *do* to speak; *ɛreh; -ki* subordinating suffix)

kana'rɛrɛhcka he was just going to sing, but *(kana'* to sing; *ɛreh; -cka* disjunctive)

112. *ici'*. — The independent verb *ici'*, to seem, is frequently used as a suffix with approximately the same meaning. It is similar to the evidential, but it does not necessarily refer to a completed action or the state resulting from a completed action. It may occur in any tense. Examples are:

wa:ka'kɛɛicì`k I must have met him *(wa:-* I contracted with initial, *a* of the stem; *a:'kakcɛ* to meet; *ici'; -k* past participle)

i'mahąpicì`c be seems to be lost *(i'mahąp* stem; *ici'* present tense)

ptį ici'c it looks like a buffalo *(ptį* buffalo; *ici'-* it seems to be; *-c* present tense)

kɛ'rɛhicì`c maybe he went home *(kɛ'rɛh* stem; *ici'; -c* present tense)

ma:'kanacicì`k it seemed easy *(ma:'ka* easy; *-nac* kind of; *ici'; -k* past participle)

wa:nu'mąkakizì`cic he does not seem to be human *(wa:-* negative prefix; *nu'mąkaki* human; *-xi* negative suffix; *ici' -c* present tense)

orarɛ'hicic maybe you'll go *(o-* future; *ra* from *da* you; *reh* from *dɛh* to go; *ici'; -c)*

113. *mi*. — The continuative aspect of the verb is expressed by the suffix *-mi*. Examples:

i'sɛka'mika'ᵉʰᵉ he kept doing it, it is said *(i'sɛk* to do; *-a* from *-ha; -mi* continuative; *-ka'ᵉʰᵉ* quotative)

pta'hami: continuing to run along *(ptah* from *ptɛh* to run; *-ha* durative; *-mi:* continuative)

tɛ:'harami`romakoc he continued to kill *(tɛ:* to die; *-hara* from *-hɛrɛ*, causative; *-mi* continuative; *-[r]o'makoc* narrative past)

i'sɛk o'mina keep on doing it! *(i'sɛk* to do; *o-* see § 98; *-mi* continuative; *-na* imperative, addressing women)

pe'hamika'ᵉʰᵉ yelled continuously it is said *(peh* to yell; *-ha* durative; *-mi* continuative; *-ka'ᵉʰᵉ* quotative)

ka'harami`kɛrɛka'ᵉʰᵉ they kept giving to them, it is said *(ka'hara* from *ka'hɛrɛ* to give to more than one; *-mi* continuative; *-kɛrɛ* third person plural; *-ka'ᵉʰᵉ* quotative)

Position

114. Continuous action, is often expressed by the elements considered here, if the durative suffix *ha* is used in conjunction with them. However, the morphemes, *hąk*, *nak*, and *mąk* refer to the position of the subject as standing, sitting, or lying, at the moment

he is conceived as performing the action. They might literally be translated, "in the act of".

115. *Standing*. — The suffix *-hqk* indicates that the subject is in a standing position. Examples are:

pta'hqkeka'ᵉʰᵉ he was running around *(ptah* from; *pteh* to run; *-hqk* standing; *-ka'ᵉʰᵉ-* quotative)

nu·mini'chahqkeka'ᵉʰᵉ he was circling around *(nu·mini'c-* stem; *-ha* durative; *-hqk* standing; *-ka'ᵉʰᵉ* quotative)

data'xini hq`keka'ᵉʰᵉ he was crying *(data'x* to cry; *-i* inserted between sonant and surd; *-ni* connective(?); *-hqk* standing; *-ka'ᵉʰᵉ* quotative)

kana'hqkeroc he was singing *(kana'* to sing; *-hqk* as above; *-roc* present, used as narrative past)

mana'pahqkekereroᵒmakoc they were dancing *(manapa-* from *ma'nape* to dance; *-hqk; -kere; -[r]o'-makoc* narrative past)

116. *Sitting*. — The suffix *-nak* refers to the subject in a sitting position. Examples:

nu'mqkeᵉna na'keroᵒmakoc a man was there (sitting) *(nu'mqk* man; *ε-* indefinite article; *-na* emphatic suffix; *-nak-* refers to the subject in a sitting position; *-[r]o'makoc-* narrative past)

mah i'sekanakeroᵒmakoc he was making an arrow *(mah* arrow; *i'sek-* to make; *-a* from *ha,* durative, the *h* being absorbed by the preceding *k; -nak* as above; *-[r]o'makoc* narrative past)

mihu'ps i'watara`kanakoc* she is sewing my moccasins *(mi-* my; *hup* moccasin; *s* definite article; *i'watara`k- to sew; *wa-* instrumental prefix, with a point; *-a-* from *-ha,* the durative; *-nak* refers to the subject in a sitting position; *-oc* present time)

do·ma'nakoc here I am (I sit) *(do·* here; *ma-* I; *-nak* to be sitting; *-oc* present tense)

117. *Lying*. — The suffix *-mqk* refers to the subject in a lying position. Example are:

mah ki'karamq`kakereroᵒmakoc they were looking for arrows *(mah* arrows; *ki'kara* to look for; *-mqk; -kere; [r]o'makoc)*

mini'xamqkeka'ᵉʰᵉ he was playing *(mini'x* to play; *-a-* from *-ha,* the durative, the *h* is lost in the preceding *x; -mqk* refers to the subject in a lying position; *-ka'ᵉʰᵉ-* the quotative)

du'tamqkahoᵒmakoc they were eating *(dut-* to eat; *-a* from *-ha,* the durative; *-mqk-; -hoᵒmakoc* narrative past)

du'piri`hmqkeki* when she was spreading it out *(du'piri` to spread; *-mqk; -ki* temporal subordination)

These elements also form independent verbs, and take the place of the verb to be or exist. Consequently, all objects are classified according to form. Tall objects stand, round objects sit, and flat or long objects lie. If the object is standing stationary *-te* is used. If moving *-hqk* is used.

we'rex nako'c a pot was there (sitting) *(we'rex* pot; *nak* to sit; *-oc* present tense)

mi'tixteᵒna te'romakoc there was a big village *(mi'ti* village; *-xte* big; *-na* emphatic; *te* to stand; *-[r]o'makoc-* narrative past)

ma·'ta mako'makoc the river was there *(ma·'ta* river; *mak; -o'makoc* narrative past)

wa hq'keka,ᵉʰᵉ something was there *(wa-* something; *hqk; -ka'ᵉʰᵉ* quotative)

REDUPLICATION

118. *Repetition*. — Reduplication of the verb stem (excluding prefixes) is used to express repetitive ideas. Possibly there are also bisyllabic stems, not analysable that repeat the second syllable. If the reduplicated monosyllabic stem consists of consonant or vowel; or consonant, consonant, vowel, the entire syllable is repeated; if, however, the syllable ends in a consonant, the final consonant is dropped. Examples are:

ma-tata'xka'ᵉʰᵉ   he tapped it, it is said
pa-skiski'homakoc   he made slight cuts
da'-titi'ka'ᵉʰᵉ   he stamped , it is said
tutu'ka'ᵉʰᵉ   there were here and there, it is said
xkaxka'hanista   shake ye it!
ka-wewe'ckereka'ᵉʰᵉ   they chopped it up, it is said
kiru'-ptapta'harata   paddle on both sides!
o-ka-cucu'karoᵒmakoc it was made to fall
i-ru-tkatka'homakoc   he streaked it

The following words are exceptions to the above rule in that they do not drop the final consonant of the repeated syllable.

ka-tqxtq'xomakoc   he hammered it
du-skopsko'pomakoc   he bent it in several places
ka-taxta'xka'ᵉʰᵉ   he notched it

119. *Distribution*. — Several neutral verbstems are reduplicated to convey a distributive idea. Example are:

kxa'kxe   spotted
pu'pus   striped
pu'pux   speckled

wa-coco'thuc there were white spots
sq'kaka a few here and there *(sq'ka* a few)
sa'sap rough (like sand paper)
tka'tka streaked
ko'kop knicked

VERBS OF MOTION

120. Mandan possesses eight stems, indicating motion. They are:

dɛh   to go
hu   to come
ke'rɛh to go back
kuh   to come back
ti   to arrive, having gone
hi   to arrive, having come
kiri'   to arrive, having gone back
kih   to arrive, having come back

With these verbs, and others such as *do'pxɛ*, to enter, *suk*, to go out, *si*, to travel, etc. the prefixes *a-*, *tu-*, and *kiru-* are used in a special sense, which has been discussed in §§ 34, 109, 110.

HABITUAL ACTION

121. Habitual action is expressed idiomatically by the use of the stem with *si'hoc*, to be strong. Examples are:

warɛ'h wasi'hoc I go habitually *(wa-* I; *dɛh* to go; *wa-* I; *sih* indicates habitual action; *-oc* present tense)

ma'nanɥ dasi'hoc you are always stealing *(manɥ'-* stem; *na-* from *da-* you, infixed; *sih* habitual action; *-oc* present tense)

a.'kana`k si'hoc he is always riding *(a.'kana`k* stem; *si'hoc* as before)

nukiki'ro nusi'hoc we always talk to each other *(nu-* we; *kiki-* reciprocal; *do* stem; *nu-* we; *sihoc* as above)

SOUND SYMBOLISM

122. A number of words show sound symbolism analogous to that of Dakota.[1]

s and x
dusa'p to pull a little   duxa'p to tear
sɛ'ro to jingle   xɛ'ro to rattle
du'tɛro to ring a bell   du'xɛro to ring a handbell

[1] See Franz Boas and Ella Deloria, Notes on the Dakota, Teton Dialect; International Journal of American Linguistics VII, Nos. 3—4, p. 112.

sa'sap rough, like a file   xa'xap rough, like sandpaper
pus striped   pux flecked
kakɛ's to shave with knife kakɛ'x to scratch with knife
                            (kako'x to scrape with knife)

c and x
pu'cqk coarse sand   pu'xqk fine sand
cot white   xot grey
na'rec hot   na'rex lukewarm

c and s
sq'si smooth, like ice   cq'ci smooth, like skin

The following seem to be related but do not show a regular sound symbolism:

katq'x to strike   kata'x to rap or knock
ka'siri`k to shatter by    ka'siri`x to splash
  striking
kapci'k to knock down   kapci' to fell, to knock
  something in motion   down
cok a pile   cop a steep pile
na'sɛ red hot   na'stɛ warm

Some of these may contain fossilized affixes.

INTERJECTIONS

123. The following interjections are in use:

i'ckaha:`   now I remember (woman speaking)
kahq'ro'os „ „   „   „   „
coki'cka   „ „   „   (man speaking)
ana:'   expression of disgust (woman speaking)
cok   „   „   „   (man speaking)
pxok   how silly!
hihihe: exclamation of surprise or delight
kakta'cka   what of it!

In the above examples, when the sex of the speaker is not given, either may use the word.

Word Order

124. The normal order of words in a Mandan sentence is subject, object, verb. The verb is generally the final element in the sentence, although for emphasis the subject may be placed in final position, followed by the emphatic *ɛ'na*.

Subordinate clauses always precede the main clause, the verb with the subordinating suffix being the last element in the dependent clause.

Syntactic Uses

125. The suffix -na (see § 97) is in practically all sentences suffixed to the subject, and never used with the object. It is not grammatically incorrect to reverse this usage, since test sentences so formed evoked no criticism from my informants, but it is never so used by the native speakers of the language.

TEXT

ki'rapuska[1]   ha:[2]   a:'kita[3]   na'kɛka-
Kirapuska   sky   above   was living (sitting)

ᵓᵉʌᵗ⁴.   wa'ᵓoni`nɛ[5]   mi'kini[6]   ta'mi-
it is said.   Game   there was none   and   on his

mina`kt[7]   na'kini[8]   waɛ'-
stone mound   he was sitting and   something he heard

ka'ᵉʌᵗ⁹   ptį:[10]   ota'xɛna[11]   ɛ'ka'ᵉʌᵗ12.
it is said   buffalo   roars   he heard it is said.

o'tewɛta[13]   o'rɛ[14]   ihą'xika'ᵉʌᵗ15.
In which direction   sound   he knew not it is said.

ANALYSIS

[1] Proper name "Burned himself in Streaks"; ki- reflexive, § 28; ra from na, instrumental prefix, §§ 32, 12; pus stem; -ka past.

[2] Stem.

[3] a:'ki stem; -ta locative suffix, § 89.

[4] nak -stem to sit, used in the sense of the verb "to be", § 116; -ka'ᵉʌᵗ quotative, § 57.

[5] wa- something; o- nominalizing prefix, § 39; ni stem; -ɛ indefinite article, § 96; the n is derived from the r, § 17, inserted between two vowels in affixation.

[6] mik- stem; -i- inserted between sonant and surd, § 16; -ni connective, § 82.

[7] ta- possessive pronoun, § 99; mi stem, stone, reduplicated to indicate collectivity; nak indicates form as round, § 116; -t directional, § 90.

[8] See note 6 for -ini.

[9] wa- something; ɛ stem; -ka'ᵉʌᵗ quotative, § 57.

[10] stem.

[11] o'tax stem; ɛ- indefinite article, § 96; -na emphatic, § 97.

[12] See note 9.

[13] ǫ- locative prefix, § 37; tɛ'wɛ interrogative stem, § 104; -ta directional suffix, § 89.

[14] o're.

[15] i'hąxi irregular negative form of i'hɛk; -ka'ᵉʌᵗ quotative, § 57.

3

ų'ckanaka[16]   ikų:'ha[17]   sik[18]
It continuing that way   far off   he wandered

mi'kka'ᵉʌᵗ19.   o:'harani[20]   tami-
there was nothing it is said.   From then on   right on

na'kso[21]   na'kini[8]   ptį:[10]   o'taxs[22]
his mound   he sat and   buffalo   roars the

a:'ni[23]   ta'mina`ks[24]    iru'taktahɛ`rɛka'ᵉʌᵗ25.
he heard and   his mound the   he removed it is said.

i'mapet[26]   hɛ'ka'ᵉʌᵗ27   ktɛk[28]   ptį:'rɛ[29]
Downward   he looked it is said.   And   buffalo

wa'xtɛka'ᵉʌᵗ30.   mini'   ikiru'xkaha[31]
were great it is said.   Water   moving about

ni:'na[32]   hɛrɛka'ᵉʌᵗ33   ktɛk[34]   ha:'ni[35]
walking   they caused it is said.   And   he looked

na'kini[8]   "warɛ'htc"[36]   ɛ'rɛhka'ᵉʌᵗ37.
and sat and   "I'll go"   he thought it is said.

[16] ų'cka "that way"; nak, § 116; -a from ha, the durative, § 65, the h being absorbed by the preceding k.

[17] ikų:'ha.

[18] si stem; -k past participle, § 72.

[19] See notes 6, 4.

[20] Conjunction, "from then on".

[21] ta- possessive pronoun, § 99; mi'nak, as in note 7; -so definite locative suffix, § 91.

[22] o'tax- stem; s- definite article, § 95.

[23] a from ɛ, stem, to hear, the ɛ to a, § 15, before ni- connective, § 82.

[24] ta- possessive; -s definite article.

[25] i- locative prefix, § 35; ru- from du-, § 12, instrumental prefix, § 32; tak stem; -ta locative suffix, § 99; -hɛrɛ causative, § 108; -ka'ᵉʌᵗ- quotative, § 57.

[26] i- locative prefix, § 35; mape stem; -t directional suffix, § 90.

[27] See note 9.

[28] Conjunction.

[29] ptį stem; -ɛ indefinite article, § 96; -r- inserted between two vowels in affixation, § 17.

[30] wa- something; xtɛ adjectival stem, "big", and used in a general sense like English "very"; -ka'ᵉʌᵗ quotative, § 57.

[31] i- locative prefix, § 35; ki- reflexive, § 28; ru'xka stem (duxka), § 12; -ha durative suffix, § 65.

[32] ni stem; -na present participle, § 71.

[33] hɛrɛ causative, § 108; -ka'ᵉʌᵗ quotative, § 57.

[34] Conjunction.

[35] ha stem from hɛ, § 15; -ni connective, § 82.

[36] wa- pronoun, § 21; rɛh stem (dɛh), § 12; -to intentive, § 58.

[37] See note 9.

"*ko'tɛwɛ*[38] *i'warɛ`hki*[39] *ci'ɛcka*[40]"   *ɛ'rɛh-*
"Which one if I go as will it be good" he thought
ka[ɛʌɛ37].   *kani'*[41] *kima'hihɛ`rɛka*[ɛʌɛ42].
it is said. And himself into an arrow he made it is said.
tama'hɛ[43] *i'hi*[44] *kiru'hanahini*[45] *kima'hi-*
His arrow feather   he tore off and   himself into
    h'arani[46]   *hu:'ka*[ɛʌɛ47].   *hu:'ni*[48]
arrow he made and   he came it is said.   Coming
   kamini'camika[ɛʌɛ49].   *ki'pxɛka*[ɛʌɛ]
he was circling around it is said. He landed it is said
  napu'sɛ[49a]   *tami'tisɛ`ro*[50]. *o:'harani*[51] *o:kạ-*
Charred in Streaks   his village at.   Then   there he
  kạkini[52]   *o'kisu`kɛxika*[ɛʌɛ53].   *o''rɛ-*
got stuck and he could not get out it is said. A prairie
na[54]   *ti'ni*[55]   *napupu'shɛrɛka*[ɛʌɛ56].
fire   arrived and   it burned him in streaks it is said.

[38] Interrogative pronoun, § 104.
[39] *i-* prefix, § 35; *wa-* pronoun, § 21; *rɛh* stem, see note 39; *-ki* subordinating suffix, § 66.
[40] *ci* stem, good; *-ɛcka* suffix tending to make stem more vague in meaning, § 77.
[41] Conjunction.
[42] *ki-* reflexive, § 28; *mah* stem, arrow; *i-* prefix into, § 35; *hɛrɛ* causative, § 108; *-ka*[ɛʌɛ] quotative, § 57.
[43] *ta-* his; *mah* arrow; *-ɛ* indefinite article.
[44] *i'hi* feather.
[45] *ki-* prefix, indicating that object is possessed by the subject, § 29; *ru'hanah* stem from *du'hanah*, as in § 12; *du-* instrumental prefix, § 32; *-i-* inserted between sonant and surd, § 16; *-ni* connective, § 82.
[46] see note 46; *hara* from *hɛrɛ*, § 15; *-ni* connective, § 82.
[47] *hu*, § 120.
[48] *hu: ni*, §§ 120, 82.
[49] *ka'minic* stem; *-a* from *-ha*, durative, § 65, the *h* being absorbed by the preceding *c*; *mi* continuative, § 113; *-ka*[ɛʌɛ] quotative, § 57.
[49a] *na-* by fire; *pusɛ* to be streaked.
[50] *ta-* possessive pronoun, § 99; *mi'ti* tem; *-ɛ* definite article, § 95; *-ɛro* locative suffix, § 92.
[51] *o:harani*.
[52] *o-* locative prefix, § 37; *kạ'kạk-* stem; *i-*, as in § 16; *ni-* connective, § 82.
[53] *o-* locative prefix, § 37; *ki-* reflexive, § 28; *suk* stem; *-xi* negative suffix, § 79; *-ka*[ɛʌɛ] quotative, § 57.
[54] *o* stem; *-r-* inserted between vowels, § 17; *-ɛ* indef. article § 96; *-na* emphatic, § 97.
[55] *ti* stem, to arrive here, § 120; *-ni* connective, § 82.
[56] *na-* instrumental prefix, § 32 (4); *pus* stem, reduplicated, § 119; *hɛrɛ-* causative, § 108; *-ka*[ɛʌɛ] quotative § 57.

ktɛk[34]   *na'kini*[48]   "*o'manakhạ`kɛro*[57]
And   he sat and   "At this spot where I sit
   mana'hiniki"[58]   *ɛrɛhka*[ɛʌɛ37].
if there were but a spring"   he thought it is said.
  iru'xkahanakɛ`ka[ɛʌɛ59].   *kisu'kka*[ɛʌɛ60].
He swayed to and fro it is said. He got out it is said.
o:'harani[51] *na'kini*[8]   "*mi*[61] *i'xarɛk*[62] *xi'kək*"
Then   he sat and   "I being alone   is bad"
ɛ'rɛhka[ɛʌɛ37].   *kani*[41]   "*ptami'ti*[63] *tu'ki*[64]
he thought it is said.   And   "my village if there is
    oci'at"[65]   *ɛ'rɛhka*[ɛ9ʌ37].   *tama'hɛ*[43]
it would be good" he thought it is said.   His arrow
    i'si[44]   *nu:p*   *kiki'kụhɛ`rɛka*[ɛʌɛ66].
(def.) feather two   he joined to each other it is said.
kani'[41]   *i'hi*   *ma'xana*   *ima'hskikụ'-*
And   feather   one   to arrow he joined
hɛrɛka[ɛʌɛ67].   *cuho'kaskɛs*[68]   *ma:hi'piks*
it is said.   The sinew   to arrow head
kikụ'hɛrɛka[ɛʌɛ67].   *tama'na iru`pa cuho'kaskɛ*
he joined it is said.   His bow   sinews
nu'pcaska[69]   *kikụ'hɛrɛka*[ɛʌɛ].   *na'kini mi'ti*
both   he joined, it is said.   Sitting village
   i'sɛka[ɛʌɛ]   *o:'harani ma:'ni'*   *i'tɛs*[71]
he made it is said.   Then   hunting what he liked

[57] *o-* locative prefix, § 39; *ma-* pronoun with neutral verb, § 24; *na'khạk* stem; *-ɛro* locative suffix, § 92.
[58] *ma'nahini* stem; *-ki* subordinating suffix, § 66.
[59] See note 25.
[60] *ki-* reflexive, § 28; *suk* stem; *-ka*[ɛʌɛ] quotative, § 57.
[61] independent personal pronoun, § 21.
[62] *i'xa* stem; *-rək* past participle, § 72.
[63] *pta-* possessive pronoun, § 99; *mi'ti* stem.
[64] *tu* stem; *ki-* subordinating suffix, § 66.
[65] *o-* future tense, § 38; *ci* stem; *-at* conditional suffix, § 63.
[66] *kiki-* reciprocal, § 28; *kụh* stem; *hɛrɛ* causative, § 108; *-ka*[ɛʌɛ] quotative, § 57.
[67] *i-* locative prefix, § 35; *mah* stem; *-ɛ* definite article; *ki-* reflexive, § 28; *kụh* stem; *hɛrɛ-* causative, § 108; *-ka*[ɛʌɛ] quotative, § 57.
[68] *cuho'-* unanalyzable; *kaskɛ* to tie; *-ɛ* definite article, § 95.
[69] *nup-* stem "two"; *ca-* suffix indicating the total number, § 107.
[71] *i'tɛ-* stem; *ɛ-* definite article, here used in a nominalizing sense.

i'kahekkana`cka'ɛʌɛ72   tasu'knumạks73   ma:'ni'
he had plenty it is said.   His young men   hunting

si'ni   ica'k   maca'peckahe`rekereka'ɛʌɛ74.
went and   they too   enjoyed themselves it is said.

tanu'mạkcikeres75   napu'se   o'tixtehe`-
Their chief   Charred in Streaks   (his) lodge

reka'ɛʌɛ76.   mi'tina`ta   ica'k
big he made it is said,   In center of village   himself

kụ'he   mi'kka'ɛʌɛ77.   o:'harani51   ma'ạk
wife   was none it is said.   Then   Ground

numa'kci   ti'ka'ɛʌɛ.   ti'ni
Chief   arrived it is said.   He arrived and

"micụ'ka78   wa:xta'ni79   ni'ta-
"My younger brother   something great and   your

mi'ti80   cixte'c"81   ɛ'heka'ɛʌɛ.   "kani'
village   is very good,"   he said it is said.   "And

wa'ataka125   su'knumạ`k   cix-
to a great extent   young men   are good

ta'ni   kụ'he mika`82   na'keca"?83
(looking) and   wife without   can they live (sitting)?"

ɛ'heka'ɛʌɛ.   "dɛ'ta84   a'kahạ`ka
he said it is said.   "At this place   in the south

mi'naki konu'hạk85   mihci'xtani86
Sun's daughter   being a very beautiful woman

na'kɛc"83   ɛ'heka'ɛʌɛ.   hạkte'k87   na'-
lives (sits)",   he said it is said.   And so   Charred

puse`na88    "ta'cka wa'herero`xereca?"89
in Streaks (dem.)   "How   am I to do it?"

ɛ'heka'ɛʌɛ.   hạkte'k87   ma'ạk   numa'kcina
he said it is said.   And so   Ground   Chief (dem.)

"ta'cka ɛ'ca   dara'hini90   i'rakiru:`ktoc"91
"In some way   you go and   you will court her

ɛ'heka'ɛʌɛ.   "i'raru`cani92   napa'sasuni93
he said it is said.   "Embrace her   and strip her

arakxụ:'htoc"94   ɛ'heka'ɛʌɛ.   hạkte'k
and you will lie with her,"   he said it is said.   And so

ki'rapuse   dɛ'hka'ɛʌɛ.   "ma'tewe
Charred in Streaks   went it is said.   "What if

mi:'keki95   cikte'k"96   ɛ'rehka'ɛʌɛ.
I impersonate   would be good,"   he thought it is said.

kani'   kima:'si   i'hereka'ɛʌɛ42.
And   himself into eagle   he changed it is said.

kani'rehka'ɛʌɛ.   mih   ikiru'ki91
He soared it is said.   Woman   to court

hi'ni   o'tikere   a:'tit   nu:mini'-
he arrived and   lodge their   above   he was

cahạ`kɛka'ɛʌɛ97.   ica'k96   sukmi'he
circling it is said.   Herself   young woman the

---

72 i'kahekkanac.

73 ta- possessive pronoun, § 99; suk adj. stem; numạk noun stem; -s- definite article, § 95.

74 maca'pecka- stem; here- causative, § 108; kerɛ- third person plural suffix, §45; ka'ɛʌɛ- quotative, § 57.

75 ta- possessive pronoun, § 99; nu'mạk- stem, man; ci- good, hence chief; kerɛ- third person plural, § 45; s- definite article, § 95.

76 o'ti stem; xte big; -here causative, § 108; -ka'ɛʌɛ quotative, § 57.

77 mik nothing.

78 mi- possessive pronoun used for parts of the body and some kinship terms, § 100; cụ'ka- stem.

79 wa- something, § 105; xte very; -ni and.

80 nita- possessive pronoun, § 108; mi'ti- stem.

81 ci good; xte very; -c present, addressed to men, § 47.

82 kụh- stem; ɛ- indefinite article, § 96; mik- "nothing" negative, § 81.

83 nak- stem; c- present tense, addressing men, § 47; a- interrogative mode, § 62.

84 dɛ this, § 102; -ta locative; § 89.

85 § 100.

86 mih- woman; ci good; xte very; -ni and.

3*

87 See note 34.

88 See note 49a, s'na demonstrative.

89 wa- pronoun, § 24; here causative, § 108; -roxere dubitative, § 54; c- addressing men, § 47; a- interrogative mode, § 62.

90 da- pronoun, § 21; rah stem, the r from d, § 12, and the a from ɛ, § 15; i- inserted between surd and sonant, § 16; ni- connective, § 82.

91 i- locative prefix, § 35; ra- pronoun, § 21, the r from d, § 12; i'kiru: stem; -ktoc future tense to men, § 50.

92 i- locative prefix, §35; ra- see note 91; ruca' stem, to take, the r from d, §12 and the a from ɛ, §15; du- instrumental prefix, §32; ni- connective, §82.

93 napa'sasu- stem; ni- connective § 82.

94 a- prefix with verbs of motion, § 34; ra- see note 91; kxụh stem; toc- future tense, § 50, k drops out between two consonants.

95 mi:- contraction of pronoun ma and i of stem, § 24; ike stem; -ki subordinating suffix, § 66.

96 ci stem; -ktec subordinate future, § 50.; -k past participle, § 72.

97 nu'minic- stem; a- from ha, the durative, § 65; hạke indicates position of subject as standing and moving, § 115; -ka'ɛʌɛ- quotative, § 57.

98 See § 21.

mi''naki a:'kereski`t⁹⁹ ta:'pe kihq:'-
sun side facing lice was looking

nakeka'ᶜʰᶜ¹⁰⁰. kihq:'nakha¹⁰¹ a:'-
for (sitting) it is said. While looking sun

kereskes⁹⁹ i'wahinu`kinite`ka'ᶜʰᶜ¹⁰². i'akit¹⁰³
beam the was shadowed it is said. Upward

he'ki na'puse i'kxahq-
when she looked Charred in Streaks was laughing

keka'ᶜʰᶜ¹⁰⁴. o:'harani²⁰ pa'xeruks
(standing) it is said. Then Paxeruks

ta'werex¹⁰⁵ kiru:'cani¹⁰⁶ mini'-
her pail took her own and water went

rehka'ᶜʰᶜ¹⁰⁷. hqkte'k na'puse'na mi''
for it is said. And so Charred in Streaks stone

rexe`na¹⁰⁸ o:'hara paro'tkika'ᶜʰᶜ¹⁰⁹. pa'ka-
translucent with head hit it is said. He cut

na`naka'ᶜʰᶜ¹¹⁰.  kani'  mihs  a:'kaxta`ni¹¹¹
her up it is said. And the woman he covered and

u:'pa kxu'hka'ᶜʰᶜ. ma'kini kina'-
with her he lay it is said. He lay and got up

tani¹¹² ke'rehka'ᶜʰᶜ¹¹³. ki'hək¹¹⁴
and returned it is said. Having arrived

ma''qk numq'kcina "ta'cka ε'ca mi''h
Ground Chief (emph.) "How was it to

ikiru`ki⁹¹ dare'hs¹¹⁵?" ε'heka'ᶜʰᶜ. "wa:-
court your trip?" he said it is said. "You

ara'kirixi`c¹¹⁶" ε'heka'ᶜʰᶜ. hqkte'k
did not bring her back" he said it is said. And so

"ni'ona¹¹⁷ napa'sasuni a'ra-
"You are the one who stripped her and you

kxu`htoc"  "ε'tek¹¹⁸  i'wase`kini¹¹⁹
lay with her." "What you said I did and

waku'hoc"¹²⁰ ε'heka'ᶜʰᶜ. "e:
I came home." He said it is said. "(disgust)

wa:'xte i'resekoc¹²¹ na'puse"
something great you did Charred in Streaks,"

ε'heka'ᶜʰᶜ. ma''qk numq'kcina "i'raru'-
he said. Ground Chief. "Embrace

cani⁹² nu'hini¹²² a'raku`htoc 'u'cka
her and marry her and bring her home that way

wo'wakec¹²³" ε'heka'ᶜʰᶜ. na'pu-
is what I meant," he said it is said. Charred in

se`na "usta 'q'ska ε'tektoc¹²⁴"
Streaks "First this way you should have said"

ε'heka'ᶜʰᶜ. o:'harani mq'kakere-
he said it is said. Then they lived there (lying)

ka'ᶜʰᶜ. mq'kha ma'atu`nacək¹²⁵
it is said. Living (lying) several seasons later

[99] -t direction towards § 90.
[100] ki- indicates that object is possessed by the subject, § 29; hq: stem; nake- subject in a sitting position, § 116; -ka'ᶜʰᶜ quotative, § 57.
[101] See note 100; -ha, § 65.
[102] i'hinu`k- to disappear; i'wahinu`kinite`- derivative, to be cast in shadow; ka'ᶜʰᶜ, quotative.
[103] i- locative prefix, § 35; aki stem; -t directional suffix, § 90.
[104] i'xa stem; hqke- indicates subject standing and moving, § 115; -ka'ᶜʰᶜ quotative, § 57.
[105] ta- possessive pronoun, § 99; we'rex stem;
[106] ki- object possessed by subject, § 29; ru:ca see note 92; -ni connective, § 82.
[107] mini water; deh to go.
[108] dex translucent, ena.
[109] pa head; do'tki; -ka'ᶜʰᶜ quotative.
[110] pa- instrumental prefix, § 32; kana- stem; reduplicated as in § 118; -ka'ᶜʰᶜ quotative.
[111] a:'kaxta`ni; a:'kaxte to cover.
[112] ki- repetitive, § 30; nata stem, the a from ε, § 15; -ni connective.
[113] ke'reh- stem to return, § 120; -ka'ᶜʰᶜ quotative.
[114] kih- stem, § 120; -ək past participle, § 72.

[115] da- pronoun, § 21; deh to go; -s definite article nominalizing, § 95.
[116] wa:- negative prefix, § 79; a- prefix with verbs of motion, § 34; da- pronoun; kiri' stem; -xi negative suffix, § 79; -c ending addressing men, § 47.
[117] ni- independent personal pronoun, § 21; ona- emphatic suffix, § 21.
[118] ε'te second person of irregular stem, § 27; -k past participle, § 72.
[119] i'sek stem; wa- I, § 21; -i- between sonant and surd, § 16; -ni connective, § 82.
[120] wa- I, § 21; kuh stem, § 120; -oc present tense to men, § 47.
[121] i'sek stem; re- pronoun from da-, as in §§ 12, 14; -oc present tense to men.
[122] nu'h your wife.
[123] wo'ke- stem; wa- pronoun, infixed; -c suffix addressing men.
[124] ε'te see note 118; -ktoc future tense to men, § 50.
[125] ma''ohi- season; ma''a- reduplicated "several seasons"; tu- to exist; nac- § 78; -ək past participle.)

ta′mina‵kta[7]   na′kka[ꞋꞫɅꞫ].   hɑktɛ′k   te′pa-
his mound at   he sat it is said.   And so   Meadow

sira‵hkana   e′na   "wa:hu:′na[126]   ni′ųta[127]
Lark   it was who,   "Something lots   you to

ni:′kɛrɛc   na′pusɛ."   "mana′-
they are travelling Charred in Streaks."   "Embank-

kini   to′pha[128]   i′sɛkta[129]"   e′heka[ꞋɅꞫ].
ment   four   make,"   he said it is said.

hɑktɛ′k   na′tani[130]   kɛ′rɛhka[ꞋɅꞫ].
And so, he got up and   went back it is said.

ka′rahami:‵[131]   ki′hini   ′ų:c
Going along home   he got back and   instantly

ikihɑ′xika[ꞋɅꞫ15].   ina′k   ′ų:′kanacək na′kini
forgot it is said.   Again   after a time   sitting

mi‵nakta[7]   dɛ′hka[ꞋɅꞫ].   ki′kana‵kkana‵k-
mound to   he went it is said.   He was sitting down

ka[ꞋɅꞫ132].   ina′k   te′pasira‵hkana   hi′ni
it is said.   Again   Meadow Lark   arrived and

ina′k   e′heka[ꞋɅꞫ].   "mana′kinirɛ‵na
again   said it is said.   "An embankment

ɛ′pɛsoc[133]   na′pusɛ   wa:hu:′na[126]   ni′′ųt[127]
I said   Charred in Streaks many   you to

ni:′kɛrɛc"   e′heka[ꞋɅꞫ].   ′ųckanaka
are travelling,"   he said it is said.   After a while

ito′pha[128]   mi‵nakta   dɛ′hək[134]
the fourth time   mound to   when he had gone

te′pasira‵hkasɛ‵na   e′heka[ꞋɅꞫ].   "mana′kini
Meadow Lark   said it is said.   "Embankment

e′na   e′pɛsoc   tihu′roc.   wacɛ′rɛkki[135]
I   spoke of   is approaching.   Some noise

tu′ki[136]   ka′rɛ   su′kta[137]"   e′heka[ꞋɅꞫ].
if there is   don't   go out,"   he said it is said.

na′tani[130]   xa′xa   hɑ‵ckana   duca′ni
He got up and   grass   tall   he took and

o′kika[ꞋɅꞫ].   o:′kini   ka′-
stuck in his head it is said.   He wore it and   going

rahami:‵[131]   ki′hini   ′ųc   ikihɑ′-
along home   he arrive and   at once   forgot it,

xika[ꞋɅꞫ15].   hɑktɛ′k   "ma′′ɑk   numɑ′kci
it is said.   And so,   "Ground   Chief

wa:′ickaxi‵c[138]"   e′heka[ꞋɅꞫ].   "wo′raki[139]
is not ordinary,"   he said it is said.   A plume

tuc[136]"   e′heka[ꞋɅꞫ].   "mana′kini i′sɛki-
there is,"   he said it is said.   "Embankment build

nista′′"[140]   sheka[ꞋɅꞫ].   "hɑktɛ′k numɑ′kini
ye!"   he said it is said.   "And so   men and

mi‵hini   a:′we   ohana′nitana[141]"   e′he-
women and   all   join in,"   he said it

ka[ꞋɅꞫ].   ica′k   na′pusɛ   e′hɛni[142]
is said.   They too,   Charred in Streaks   and

ma′′ɑk   numɑ′kci   ma:h   i′sɛkamɑ‵kɛ-
Ground   Chief   arrows   making they were

kɛrɛka[ꞋɅꞫ143].   wa′ra   iru′pani   i′sɛka[ꞋɅꞫ].
it is said.   And   a bow   he made it is said.

hɑktɛ′k   ma′′ɑk   numɑ′kci   i′kacɛ‵cɛka   hų:
And so   Ground   Chief   buck brush   stem

wa′ra   acu:′st   dɛ′harani[144]   kiru′canakɛ-
    live coal   he put on and   took back

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[126] wa:- something; hu many; -na present participle, § 71.
[127] ni- independent pronoun, § 21; -ų′ta post position of direction, § 87.
[128] top four; -ha suffix "times", § 107.
[129] i′sɛk stem; -ta imperative mode to men, § 60.
[130] natɛ.
[131] ka′rah- stem from kɛ′rɛh, § 15; -ha durative, § 65; mi continuative, § 113.
[132] ki′kanak stem; reduplicated, § 118; -ka[ꞋɅꞫ] quotative.
[133] ɛ′pe I said, § 27; -soc preterite, § 51.
[134] dɛh- stem; ək- past participle, § 72.
[135] wa- something; cɛ′rɛk stem; -ki subordinating suffix, § 66.

[136] tu to be; -ki, § 66.
[137] Prohibitive particle ka′rɛ with the imperative mode,§ 80; § 60.
[138] wa:- negative prefix, § 79; i′cka stem "ordinary, for nothing"; -xi negative suffix, § 79; -c present tense to men, § 47.
[139] wo- contraction of wa- something and o- of stem; oki stem; ra- pronoun; -r- inserted between two vowels, § 17; -ɛ indefinite article, § 96.
[140] i′sɛk stem; -(i)nista- imperative plural, § 60.
[141] ohana stem; -nita from -nit, second person plural suffix, § 44; the ɛ to a, § 15; -na imperative to women, § 60.
[142] conjunction.
[143] i′sɛkɔ stem; -a from -ha, durative, § 65; mɑk- position of subject lying, § 117; -kɛrɛ third person plural, § 45; -ka[ꞋɅꞫ] quotative.
[144] dɛh stem, to go; -hara from hɛrɛ causative, § 108; ɛ to a, § 15; -ni connective, § 82.

*ka'*ᵉᵏᵉ145.   *mahi:' sɛkini*   *si'pucka*
it is said.   Arrows he made and   prairie chicken

i'si   *ihi'hɛrɛka'*ᵉᵏᵉ.   *mą'*-
feathers   arrow feathers he made it is said.   While

kaha   *cɛ'rɛka'*ᵉᵏᵉ.   *mą'kaha*
so doing   there was a noise it is said.   Meanwhile

numą'kcis   *o'ti*   *waro'pxɛktɛk*146   *ɛ'hɛkɛ'*-
the chief   lodge   might enter   they said

*rɛka'*ᵉᵏᵉ.   *suko'na*147   *cɛ'rɛkha*148   *wa:'xkaha*-
it is said.   Children   noisily   were chasing

*namą'kaha'*ᵉᵏᵉ149.   *'ᵤc*   *do'pxani*
something it is said.   Thus,   he entered and

ma'hisɛks   *'ᵤc*   *dapį't*-
the arrows made   so   he scattered them with his

*ka'*ᵉᵏᵉ.   *hąktɛ'k*   *'ᵤc*   *na'pusɛ*
foot it is said.   And that   way Charred in Streaks

*pa'taro*150   *ni'na*   *ᵤ'pat*
head even   he shot at   from place to place

*karo'skɛka'*ᵉᵏᵉ151.   *oma'papi'rək*   *si:'rɛna*
he descended it is said.   Weasel   yellow

ɛ'na   *na'tka*   *dukci'cka'*ᵉᵏᵉ152.   *hąktɛ'k*
that one   worried   him it is said.   And then

te'pasira'hkana   *wa:'ɛhɛs*153   *ikihą'xika'*ᵉᵏᵉ.
Meadow Lark's   saying   he forgot it is said.

kani'   *wa'ra iru'pana*   *duca'ni*   *xka'*-
And   a bow   he took and   chased him

*hɛrɛka'*ᵉᵏᵉ.   *do'tkini ɛ'rɛhini*154   *"tima*-
it is said.   To hit him as he was about to. "Center

*na'cina'rɛ*155   *a'sukta"*156   *ɛ'hɛka'*ᵉᵏᵉ.
post   take out,"   he said it is said-

"*na'pusɛ*   *te'manaha'rani*   *ɛ'rɛhni'*-
"Charred in Streaks   to kill me you   really

*mikoc*157.   *ni'tami'tis*156   *ki'hata"*159   *ɛ'hɛ*-
want.   Your village   look at,"   he said

*ka'*ᵉᵏᵉ.   *hąktɛ'k*   *tami'tis*   *pi:'i'hana'k*-
it is said.   And then   his village   was (sat) in smoke

*ka'*ᵉᵏᵉ160.   *o:'harani*   *ma'papi'rəksɛ'na*   *ma'*-
it is said.   Then   weasel the (emph.)   to

*naxtɛt*161   *aki'hka'*ᵉᵏᵉ162   *na'pusɛ.*
woods   brought back   Charred in Streaks.

hąktɛ'k   "*ko'tɛwɛ*163   *i'warɛhki*39   *ciktɛ'k*"
And so,   "Which   if I go as   will it be good"

*ɛ'rɛhka'*ᵉᵏᵉ.   "*waki'hoc*"   *ɛ'rɛh*-
he thought it is said.   "I arrived,"   he thought

*ka'*ᵉᵏᵉ.   *'ᵤc*   *ki'hək*164   *ma'qk*
it is said.   That way   when he got back   Ground

numą'kci   *data'xini hą'kɛka'*ᵉᵏᵉ.   "*ptu'*-
Chief   was crying (standing) it is said.   "My

*hąxka*165   *tami'ti*   *ci'soc*"   *ɛ'hɛka'*ᵉᵏᵉ.
nephew   his village   was good,"   he said it is said.

ma'pahɛ'kini   *istᵤ'harɛhək*166   *data'x*   *ki*-
He mourned and   night toward   crying   he

ha'pini   *woru'tisɛ'kini*167   *wa'kirut*-
stopped and   something to eat made and   they were

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144 *ki*- iterative prefix, § 30; *duca* to take; *nakɛ* position sitting, § 116; *-ka'*ᵉᵏᵉ quotative.

145 *wa*- something; *do'pxɛ* stem; *-ktɛk* "might", future dubitative.

146 *suk*- stem; *ona*- emphatic, § 98.

147 *cɛ'rɛk* stem; *-ha* adverbial suffix, § 106.

148 *wa:'xka-hanamą'kɛ.*

149 *pa* stem; *-taro* noun suffix, § 94.

150 *karo'skɛ.*

151 *natka* heart; *du*- instrumental prefix, § 32; *dukci'c* "to bother"; *-ka'*ᵉᵏᵉ quotative.

152 *wa*- something; *ɛ'hɛ* he said; *-s* definite article, § 95, nominalizing in function.

153 *ɛ'rɛh*, § 111.

154 *timana'cina'rɛ.*

155 *a*- prefix with verbs of motion, § 34; *suk* stem; *-ta* imperative mode to men, § 60.

157 *tɛ* stem, to die; *mana*- pronouns, § 25; *-hara* from *hɛrɛ*, causative, § 108, the *ɛ* to *a*, § 15; *-ni* connective, § 82; *-ɛrɛh*- see note 154; *ni*- pronoun, § 21; *mik* negative, § 81; *-oc* present tense ending.

158 *nita*- possessive pronoun, § 99; *miti* stem; *-s* definite article, § 95.

159 *ki*- object possessed by subject, § 29; *ha* stem from *hɛ*, § 15; *-ta* imperative to men, § 60.

160 *pi:*- smoke; *iha* in midst of; *nak*- stem to be sitting, § 116; *-ka'*ᵉᵏᵉ quotative.

161 *mana* wood; *-xtɛ* big; *-t* directional suffix, § 90.

162 *a*- prefix with verbs of motion, § 34; *kih*- stem, § 120; *-ka'*ᵉᵏᵉ quotative.

163 interrogative pronoun, § 104.

164 *kih*- stem; *ək*- past participle, § 72.

165 *ptu*- contracted from *pta*- possessive pronoun and *u* of stem.

166 *istᵤ'h* night; *-arɛh* toward; *-ək* past participle, § 72.

167 *wo*- contraction of *wa*- something and *o*-nominalizing prefix, § 39; *dut*, stem; *i'sɛk* stem; *-i*- inserted between surd and sonant, § 16; *-ni* connective, § 82.

mą`kakɛreka'ɛʌɛ168.	*o:'harani*	*ma''ąk* *numą'kci*
eating it is said.	Then	Ground Chief
i'kahɛ`kka'ɛʌɛ.	*ko'tamihs*	"*mu'-*
he remembered it is said.	His sister	"A big
xoxi`kɛna169	*te:'waha`rani*	*ma'sakɛna*
cellar	I will kill him and	rawhide
i'wa:ka`xtɛktoc"170	*ɛ'hɛka'ɛʌɛ.*	*da'-*
I will cover him,"	he said it is said.	They
hini	*hɛ'kɛreka'ɛʌɛ171.*	*ki'kana-*
went and	looked it is said.	He was sitting
kana`kka'ɛʌɛ132.	*ku'cta*	*kiru'cani*
it is said.	Inside	they took him and
kaku'hkɛreka'ɛʌɛ172.	*ko'tamihs*	*duhį'-*
brought him home it is said.	His sister	tanned
tini *hų'cini* *i'sɛkini* *wa:a'we*		*i'sɛkaka`-*
and leggings made and everything		she did for
hɛreka'ɛʌɛ173,	*huptaro174.*	*ma''ąk*
him it is said,	even to his moccasins.	Ground
numą'kci *ų'pa* *o'tis*		*i'kihɛka'ɛʌɛ.*
Chief with him house the		watched it is said.
o'hiki	*hųk*	*na'-*
When he arrived	there being plenty	Charred
puse *ma:'ni* *dɛ'htiki*		*'ų'cka*
in Streaks hunting when the went		that way
mą'kaha *ma''ąk* *numą'kci*		*ica'k*
while living Ground Chief		too
warɛ'h	*i'teka'ɛʌɛ.*	"*mi:'cak*
something to	go he wanted it is said.	"I too
wara'hini *ptami'hs* *wasɛ'hą:* *oru'tini*		*wa'-*
I'll go and my sister entrails edible		some

wakɛ`kaktoc175.	*waku'hki*	*oci'c"*
I'll get.	If I come back	it will be good",
ɛ'hɛka'ɛʌɛ.	*hąktɛ'k* *ma:'ni*	*ų'pa*
he said it is said.	And so hunting	with him
dɛ'hka'ɛʌɛ.	*ko'tamihs176*	*wasɛ'hą:*
it is said he went.	His sister	entrails
oru'tini *ke'ka177*	*ku'ka'ɛʌɛ.*	*'ų'cka*
edible he had	for her it is said.	That way
mą`kakɛreka'ɛʌɛ168.	*ina'k*	*ma:'ni*
they were living it is said.	Again	hunting
inu'pcackan178 *dɛ'hkɛreka'ɛʌɛ.*		*ku'h-*
both went it is said.		When they got
kɛreki *ko'tami`hkɛres* *matį'ta179* *i'kxaha180*		
back home their sister outside laughing		
te'ka'ɛʌɛ.	*hąktɛ'k* *ma''ąk*	*numą'kci*
stood it is said.	And then Ground	Chief,
"*ha'ta"181*	*ɛ'hɛka'ɛʌɛ.*	"*ptami'hs* *i'kxaha*
"Look,"	said it is said.	"My sister laughing
tec"	*ɛ'hɛka'ɛʌɛ.*	"*wa'ksahini-*
stands,"	he said it is said.	"What could have
ku`k182"	*ɛ'hɛka'ɛʌɛ.*	*kikiri'kɛrek183*
happened,"	he said it is said.	When they got back
kotami`hkɛres *te:'ni*	*te'ka'ɛʌɛ.*	*ka'wao`-*
their sister dead	stood it is said.	Giant
xokana	*ti'ni* *tik*	"*ta'taxihɛ`*
arrived and having arrived, "Grandfather		
ma'tɛwe *daru'toca"184*	*ɛ'hɛka'ɛʌɛ.*	*sukmi'hs*
what do you eat?"	said it is said	the young

168 *wa-* something; *ki-* object possessed by subject, § 29; *dut* to eat; *mąka* lying, § 117; *-kɛre* third person plural; *-ka'ɛʌɛ* quotative.

169 *mu'xoxik.*

170 *i-* locative prefix, § 35; *wa-* pronoun, § 21; *kaxte* stem; *-ktoc* future tense to men, § 50.

171 *dah* stem from *dɛh*, as in §§ 12 and 15; *-i-* inserted between surd and sonant, § 16; *hɛ* stem; *-kɛre* third person plural; *-ka'ɛʌɛ* quotative.

172 *ka-* contraction of *ki-*, § 30 and *a-* prefix with verbs of motion, § 34; *kuh* stem; *-kɛre-* as in note 171; *-ka'ɛʌɛ* quotative.

173 *i'sɛk* stem; *ka'hɛre* to give to more than one, here used as indirect object, § 84; *-ka'ɛʌɛ* quotative.

174 *hup* stem; *-taro* nominal suffix, § 94.

175 *wa-* some; *wa-* I; *ke'ka* stem; *-ktoc* future tense, to men.

176 third person of kinship term which is irregular, § 100; *s-* definite article.

177 *ka'ka.*

178 *i-* prefix; *nup* stem; *-ca* suffix indicating total number, § 107.

179 *matį't* stem; *-ta* locative suffix, § 89.

180 *i'kxa* stem; *-ha* durative, § 65.

181 *ha* stem from *hɛ*, § 15; *-ta* imperative to men, § 60.

182 *waksah* stem; *-i-* inserted between sonant and surd; *-nikuk*, § 59.

183 *ki-* iterative prefix, § 30; *kiri'* stem, § 108; *-kɛre* third person plural; *-k* past participle, § 72.

184 *da-* you; *dut* to eat; *-oc* present tense to men; *a-* interrogative mode, § 62.

ε'na.	hǫktε'k	"e'xisih	nasεrε'-
woman (emph.).	And so	"stomach fat	when

phε'rεki[185]	waru'tkarε[186]	mih	e'xixtε[187]
cooked	I always eat.	Woman	pregnant

a.'kiha	dε'hktiki	waru'tkarε." "hǫ"
above	when she had put it	I always eat." "Yes,"

ε'hεni	i'sεka'ᵋʰᵋ.	si'hs	nasεrε'p-
she said	and did it it is said.	The fat	she put

ha'rani[185]	i'nasit[188]	kxǫ'ha[189]	e'xi
on fire	and beside it	lying	stomach

a.'kiha	dεhhεrεka'ᵋʰᵋ[190].	hǫktε'k ka'wao'x-
above	she put it it is said.	And so Giant

kana	du'tini	sukmi'hs	e'xi
	ate and	the young woman	stomach

nuhu'xtka'ᵋʰᵋ.	ka'wao'xokana	te.'harani
clawed it is said.	Giant	killed her and

i.'h	wasi'hini[191]	ma'na iwasi'hini	na'tha[192]
mouth	filled and	sticks put in and	standing

tε'harani[157]	dε'hka'ᵋʰᵋ.	sukmi'hs
placed her and	went it is said.	The young woman

e'xixtε'k[193]	tasu'k	ma'xana
having been pregnant	her child	one

duca.'ni	ma'nahini'ta[194]	i.'kǫtε'ka'ᵋʰᵋ.
he took and	spring to	he threw it it is said.

ina'k	ma'xana	duca'ni	tihǫ'cta
Again	one	he took and	wall against

i.'tkika'ᵋʰᵋ.	dε'hka'ᵋʰᵋ.	ko-
he slammed it it is said.	He went it is said.	The

cǫka'kεres kara'taxamǫ'kakεrεka'ᵋʰᵋ[195].	ki-
brothers were crying (lying) it is said.	They

[185] na- instrumental prefix, § 32; sεrε'p stem; -hεrε causative, § 108; -ki subordinating suffix, § 66.

[186] wa- I; dut to eat; karε- customary action addressing woman, § 55.

[187] e'xi stomach; xtε big.

[188] i- locative prefix, § 35; nasi stem; -t directional suffix, § 90.

[189] kxǫh- stem; -ha durative, § 65.

[190] dεh stem; -hεrε causative, § 108; -ka'ᵋʰᵋ quotative.

[191] wasi'h stem; -i- inserted between surd and sonant; -ni connective, § 82.

[192] nat stem; -ha durative, § 65.

[193] e'xi stem; xtε big; -k past participle, § 72.

[194] ma'nahini stem; -ta locative suffix, § 89.

[195] ka- inceptive, § 31; data'x stem; mǫka- position lying, the a from -ha durative, § 65; -kεrε third person plural; -ka'ᵋʰᵋ quotative.

xe.'ni	ma''ǫk	numǫ'kci	"mi-
stopped and	Ground	Chief	"My

cǫ'ka	na'pusε	ma'xiru'hahε
younger brother	Charred in Streaks	creeping things

ma''ǫk	miko'c"	ε'hεka'ᵋʰᵋ. "xa'-
on earth	there are none,"	he said it is said. "Even

macka[196]	te.'nik	xi'cka	te.'nik
little ones	will die	even old ones	will die

numǫ'kaki	wa.'ihǫ'cka	ina'k	ma'xa
people	even in big families	too	just

nakεrε[197]	ka'pεc"	ε'hεka'ᵋʰᵋ.	kota-
one	will remain,"	he said it is said.	The

wa'ratos	εna	ε'hεka'ᵋʰᵋ.
elder brother	was the one who	said it it is said.

wo'rut i'kisεks	wakiru'tamǫ'kakεrε-
Food prepared	some they were eating (lying)

ka'ᵋʰᵋ[168].	hǫktε'k ma''ǫk numǫ'kci	"wa.'ra-
it is said	And then Ground Chief,	"something

ε'ca ?"[196]	ε'hεka'ᵋʰᵋ	kocǫ'kasεna.
did you hear ?"	said	the younger brother.

hǫktε'k "miko'c"	ε'hεka'ᵋʰᵋ.	inu'phǫk[199]
And then, "No"	he said it is said.	Second time

ε'kεrεka'ᵋʰᵋ.	inu'pcacka[70]	suk
they heard it it is said.	Both did it is said	Child

data'x ε'na.	"o.'harani pta'mihε	e'xixtε's[193]
crying it was.	"Over there my sister	pregnant

wa.'ksa ici'c[200]"	ε'hεka'ᵋʰᵋ
something must have happened"	he said it is said

na'tosε'na.	o.'harani	ma'na	duckǫ'hini[201]
the elder one.	Then	wood	he split and

i'rεxha'rani	ti'hǫcta	kikara'kεrε-
light and made	house	against they searched

[196] xa'ma stem; -cka contracted from εcka.

[197] ma'xana stem; -kεrε nominal suffix, § 46.

[198] wa- something; da- you; ε stem; -c present tense to men, § 48; -a interrogative mode, § 62.

[199] i- forms ordinal number; ha- suffix indicates "times" with numerals, § 107; k- past participle, § 72.

[200] wa.- something; ksa stem; ici', § 112; -c present tense to men, § 48.

[201] du- instrumental prefix, § 32; ckǫh stem; -i- inserted between surd and sonant; -ni connective.

ka'ᵉᴧᵉ. *suks* *oki'kanapka'rani²⁰²* *kara'-*
it is said.   The child   they found and   they were

tahamą'kakereka'ᵉᴧᵉ¹⁹⁵. *o.'harani* *mi'ni*
praying for him it is said.   Then   they bathed

karo'pxɛha'rani *na'tosɛna* *ɛ'hɛka'ᵉᴧᵉ.*
him and   elder brother   said it is said.

"*dɛ'cka* *nu'hąki* *oxi'koc²⁰³*" *ɛ'hɛka'ᵉᴧᵉ.*
"This way if we stay will be bad," he said it is said.

"*ohį'kuroc*"   *ɛ'hɛka'ᵉᴧᵉ.*   "*haki*
"It will be hard,"   he said it is said.   "And

istų'hmąk²⁰⁴ *do:'kata* *suk* *kiru'ta²⁰⁵.*
tonight   here keep   it child   eat.

nu'hąki *oci'c*"   *ɛ'hɛka'ᵉᴧᵉ.* *hąktɛ'k*
If we stay it will be good," he said it is said. And so

      na'pusɛ'na   "*koni:'ni'nato'roc²⁰⁶*
Charred in Streaks he, "You, you are the elder

ni̮ *u̮tɛka* *i'sɛkta*"   *ɛ'hɛka'ᵉᴧᵉ.*   *hąktɛ'k*
you   first   do it,"   he said it is said.   And so

ma'ʾąk *numą'kci* *kotu'hąxkas²⁰⁷* *duca:'ni*
Ground   Chief   nephew   took and

wo'ara'kini *kahį'kharani²⁰⁸* *duwi'ka*
smudged him and smoked him   and lifted him

a:'kiha *waki'kanani* *kixe:'ni* *na'-*
over   sang and   stopped and Charred in

pusɛ   *ku'ka'ᵉᴧᵉ.*   *ica'k* *du-*
Streaks   gave him to it is said.   He too took

ca:'ni *wo'ara'kini* *waki'kanani* *kotu'-*
him and smudged him and sang and   his

hąxkas *duxo'kka'ᵉᴧᵉ.*   "*ti'hųt i'tki*
nephew   lifted it is said.   "Slammed Against Wall

dɛ'hkaroc"²⁰⁹   *ɛ'hɛka'ᵉᴧᵉ.*
this (tall) will be," he said it is said.

²⁰² *o-* locative prefix, § 37; *ki-* object possessed by subject, § 29; *o'nap* stem; *-kara* from *-kɛrɛ* third person plural; *-ni* connective.

²⁰³ *o-* future tense, § 38; *xik* bad; *-oc* ending addressing man.

²⁰⁴ *istų'h* night; *mąk* lying, § 117.

²⁰⁵ *ki-* object possessed by subject, § 29; *dut* to eat; *-ta* imperative mode to men, § 60.

²⁰⁶ *ko-* nominal prefix, selective and emphatic, § 41; *ni-* independent personal pronoun, § 21; *nat* stem; *-oroc-* present tense to men, § 48.

²⁰⁷ Third person of kinship terms which are irregular, § 100.

²⁰⁸ *ka-* inceptive, § 31; *hįk-* to be smoky; *-hɛrɛ* to cause, § 108; *-ni*, § 82.

²⁰⁹ *dɛh-* demonstrative; *ka-* § 55; *-roc-* indicative, addressing men § 47.

Free Translation

Kirapuska was living up above in the sky it is said. There was no game and he was sitting on his stone mound and heard something it is said. He heard buffalo roars. He did not know in which direction the sound was. It continued like that. He wandered far off (but) there was nothing. Then he sat right on his mound and heard the buffalo roars and removed his mound it is said. He looked down. Buffalo were great things. Walking they caused the water to move about, it is said. So he looked and sat and "I'll go," he said. "Whom will it be good for me to impersonate?" he thought. And he made himself into an arrow, it is said. His arrow feather he tore off and made himself into an arrow and came it is said. Coming he was circling around it is said. He landed right at Charred in Streak's village. Then he got stuck there and could not get out. A prairie fire arrived and burned him in streaks. And he sat and "At this spot where I sit, if there were only a spring," he thought. He swayed to and fro, he got out. Then he sat and "My being alone is bad," he thought. And "If I had a village it would be good," he thought. Two of his arrow feathers he joined to each other. And one feather he joined to the arrow. The sinew to the arrow head he joined. He sat and made a village. From then on, he hunted what he liked and had plenty. His young men went hunting and they too enjoyed themselves. Their chief, Charred in Streaks made a big village. In the center of the village (living) he himself had no wife. Then Ground Chief arrived. He arrived and, "My younger brother it is great, and your village is very good," he said. "And mostly the young men are good looking and how can they live (sit) without wives?" he said. "At this place in the south Sun's daughter, a very beautiful woman lives (sits)," he said. And so Charred in Streaks said "How can I (possibly) do it?" And so Ground Chief said "In someway you will go and court her."

"Embrace her, and strip her and lie with her," he said. And so Charred in Streaks went. "What would it be good for me to impersonate?" he thought. And he made himself into an eagle. He soared. He arrived to court the woman and was circling above their lodge. The young woman herself, facing the sun side was (sitting) looking for lice. While she was looking the sun's beams were shadowed for a moment. When she looked up Charred in Streaks was (standing) laughing. Then Paxe ruks took her pail and went for water. And so Charred in Streaks hit her on the head with a translucent stone. He cut her up. And he covered the woman and lay with her. He lay and got up and returned. Having arrived, Ground Chief said, "How was your courting trip?" "You did not bring her back," he said. And then "You are the one who stripped her and lay with her." "What you said, I did and came home," he said. "e: something great you did, Charred in Streaks," said Ground Chief. "Embrace her and marry her and bring her home; that is the way I meant," he said. "You should have said it this way first," said Charred in Streaks.

From then on, they lived (lying) there. While living there, several seasons later he was sitting at his mound. And so it was Meadow Lark who said, "Lots of something are travelling to you, Charred in Streaks." "Build four embankments," he said. And then he got up and went back. He was going along home and the moment he arrived he forgot it. Again after a time he went to the mound and sat. He was sitting down. Again Meadow Lark arrived and again he said, "An embankment I said, Charred in Streaks. Many are travelling to you," he said. After a while, when he had gone to the mound a fourth time Meadow Lark said, "An embankment I spoke of. It is approaching. If there is some noise, don't go out," he said. He got up and tall grass he took and stuck it in his head. He wore it and went along home, and the moment he arrived, he forgot. And then "Ground Chief is unusual," he said. "There

is your plume," he said. "Build an embankment," he said. "And so men and women and everyone join in," he said. Charred in Streaks and Ground Chief, also, were making arrows. And he made a bow. And then, Ground Chief put a live coal on a buck brush stem and took it back. He made arrows and from prairie chicken feathers he made arrow feathers. While so doing, there was a noise. Meanwhile, "Something might enter the Chief's lodge," they said. The children were noisily chasing something. Then, he entered and scattered the arrows with his foot. And then Charred in Streaks shot at his head (when) he descended from place to place. That yellow weasel worried him. And then he forgot what Meadow Lark said. And he took a bow and chased him. As he was about to hit him, "Take out the center post," he said. "Charred in Streaks, you really want to kill me. Look at your village," he said. And then his village was (sat) in smoke. And then weasel took Charred in Streaks back to the woods. And so, "Which one will it be good to go as," he thought. "I arrived," he thought. So, when he got back Ground Chief was (standing) crying. "My nephew's village was good," he said. He mourned and toward night he stopped crying, and fixed something to eat and they were eating. Then, Ground Chief remembered. "In his sister's big pit I will kill him and cover him with a rawhide," he said. They went and looked. He was sitting down. They took him inside and brought him home.

His sister tanned and made leggings and did everything for him, even to his moccasins. Ground Chief with him watched the house. When he arrived there, there was plenty and when Charred in Streaks went hunting, so living, Ground Chief also wanted to go for something. "I, too, I'll go and get some edible entrails for my sister. If I come back it will be good," he said. And so he went hunting with him. He got edible entrails for his sister. That's the way they were living. Again both of them went hunting. When

they returned their sister stood outside laughing. And then, Ground Chief said, "Look." "My sister stands laughing," he said. When they got back their sister was standing there dead. Giant came and when he had arrived, "Grandfather, what do you eat?" said the young woman. "I always eat the fat around the stomach when cooked. When she puts it over a pregnant woman, I always eat it." "Yes" she said and did it. The fat she put on the fire and beside it lying she put it on her stomach. And then he ate and clawed the young woman's stomach. Giant killed her and filled her mouth and put sticks in and placed her standing up and went. The young woman, having been pregnant, he took one child and threw it into the spring. Again he took the other and slammed it against the wall. He went.

The brothers were crying (lying). They stopped and Ground Chief said, "My younger brother, Charred in Streaks, there are no creeping things on earth. Even little ones will die, even old ones will die, even people of large families just one will live." The elder brother was the one who said this. They were eating some food (which had been) prepared. And then, "Ground Chief, did you hear something?" said the younger brother. And, "No," he said. A second time they heard it. Both did. It was a child crying. "Over there something must have happened to my pregnant sister," he said, the elder one did. Then he split wood and made a light and they searched next to the house. They found the child and they were praying for him. Then they bathed him and the elder brother said, "If we continue this way it will be bad," he said. "And so tonight if we keep the child here, eat it. If we go on, it will be good," he said. And so Charred in Streaks said, "You, you are the elder, you do it first." And then, Ground Chief took his nephew and smudged him and smoked him and lifted him over and sang and stopped and gave him to Charred in Streaks. He too took him, smudged him, sang, and lifted up his nephew. "Slammed Against the Wall will be this (tall)," he said.