missing pp 115-124

I now write lax p, t, č, k as b, d, ǰ, g to match pronunciation and past usage. That is, single unvoiced intervocalic p, t, č, k are b d ǰ g. Except in clusters w/ preceding s, š, x., eg- št, šk, xt, etc.

Transcription rule

John Koontz
16 May 1988

Preliminary Sketch of the Omaha-Ponka Language

John E. Koontz

Non-Native Language Paper

2 April 1984

University of Colorado/Boulder

Preface

This study of the Omaha-Ponka (OP) language is submitted in fulfillment of the requirement of the University of Colorado (Boulder) doctoral program in linguistics that the student demonstrate a knowledge of some language other than his or her native language. I have adopted the alternative of presenting a research paper on the structure of the given language, and under that alternative I am submitting the attached preliminary sketch of the OP language together with two short text analyses, constituting Appendix A of the sketch. This sketch is based entirely upon a study of the published and unpublished texts, grammatical and and phonological analyses, and lexicography of others, principally Franz Boas, James O. Dorsey, Nils Holmer, Francis LaFlesche, Robert Rankin, David Rood, Mark Swetland, and Allan Taylor. I have done no work directly with speakers of the Omaha-Ponka language.

Table of Contents

Abbreviations

The following abbreviations and symbols include only those which are not self explanatory, and which might be encountered away from their definitions in the text.

ACT	active
An	agent pronominal
AGT	agent
AL-POSS	alienable possessive
AN-AGT-MV	animate agent moving
AN-AGT-PL	animate agent plural
AN-AGT-SG	animate agent singular
AN-MV	animate (nonagent) moving
AN-PL	animate (nonagent) plural
AN-SIT	animate (nonagent) sitting
AN-STD	animate (nonagent) standing
AUX	auxiliary
Bn	benefactive pronominal
BEN	benefactive
CNAE VI	Contributions to North American Ethnology VI (Dorsey 1890)
COM	commitative
CUST	customary
Dn	dative pronominal
DAT	dative
DECL	declarative

DEM	demonstrative
DIR	directional
DITRANS	ditransitive
DUB	dubitative
EMPH	emphatic
EXCL	exclamation
FUT	future
GEN	generic
HOR	inaimate horizontal
IMP	imperative
IND-ART	indirect article
INDEF	indefinite (the wa indefinite marker)
INCL	inclusive (1p forms)
LFOD	LaFlesche (1932) Osage Dictionary
LOC	locative
MLT	inanimate multiple
NEG	negative
NOM	nominal
OP	Omaha-Ponka
OPL	Omaha and Ponka Letters (Dorsey 1891)
OPT	optative
PAT	patient
Pn	patient pronominal
PL	plural
POSS	possessive
QUANT	quantifier, quantity

QUEST	question
QUOTE	quotative
REF	referential
RFLX	reflexive
RND	inanimate round
STAT	stative
TRANS	transitive
TM	transitivity modifier
V	verb
VER	inanimate vertical
VERT	vertitive
WA	the wa P3p marker
Xn	possessive pronominal

In verb stems, a slash indicates the position at which the first person singular agent pronouns can be inserted in an active or transitive verb, or the first person singular patient pronouns in a stative verb.

1. Introduction

I have entitled this study a "Preliminary Sketch of the Omaha-Ponka Language" with a good deal of deliberation. In the absence of a published grammar of Omaha-Ponka, it seemed important to me to emphasize at the outset that this study does not aim to fill this gap. It is both preliminary and a sketch: preliminary in the sense that it is based on an initial and often perfunctory analysis of the available material on Omaha-Ponka, and, for this reason, may include many misleading and incorrect statements; a sketch in the sense that it is not comprehensive in coverage, and in many cases does not include an adequate justification of its claims. I hope that individuals who attempt to make use this study will keep in mind that claims made in this study may be suspect, and that these claims should be verified in the original materials before secondary use is made of them.

The remainder of this introduction serves to introduce the Omaha-Ponka (OP) language, and to describe the data upon which this study is based. The study itself consists of five parts. These are (1) phonology (section 2), (2) morphology (section 3), organized by form class, (3) sentences (section 4), and (4) semantic domains. To these four sections are appended two short analyzed texts (Appendix A).

1.1 The Omaha-Ponka Language in Context

Omaha-Ponka (OP) is the language of two of five closely connected tribes of Central Plains Indians. In the 18th and 19th Centuries the two tribes conducted their migrations in a region consisting of Northern Kansas and Missouri, Eastern Nebraska and Western Iowa, and the southern edge of South Dakota. Map 1 is taken from Dorsey (1884:212); map 2 from Fletcher & LaFlesche (1911:88). The central territory seems to have been roughly the region between the Nebraska Sand Hills and the Missouri River. The remaining three of the five connected tribes are the Osage, the Kansa, and the Quapaw, whose ranges were all further south. The Omaha and some of the Ponka still reside in Nebraska; the bulk of the Ponka were transfered to Oklahoma in the late 1870's, though some managed to return. The history of the early Omaha and Ponka is documented in Dorsey 1884, Fletcher & LaFlesche 1911, LaFlesche 1963, Green 1969, Wilson 1974, Cash & Wolff 1975, and Welsch 1981.

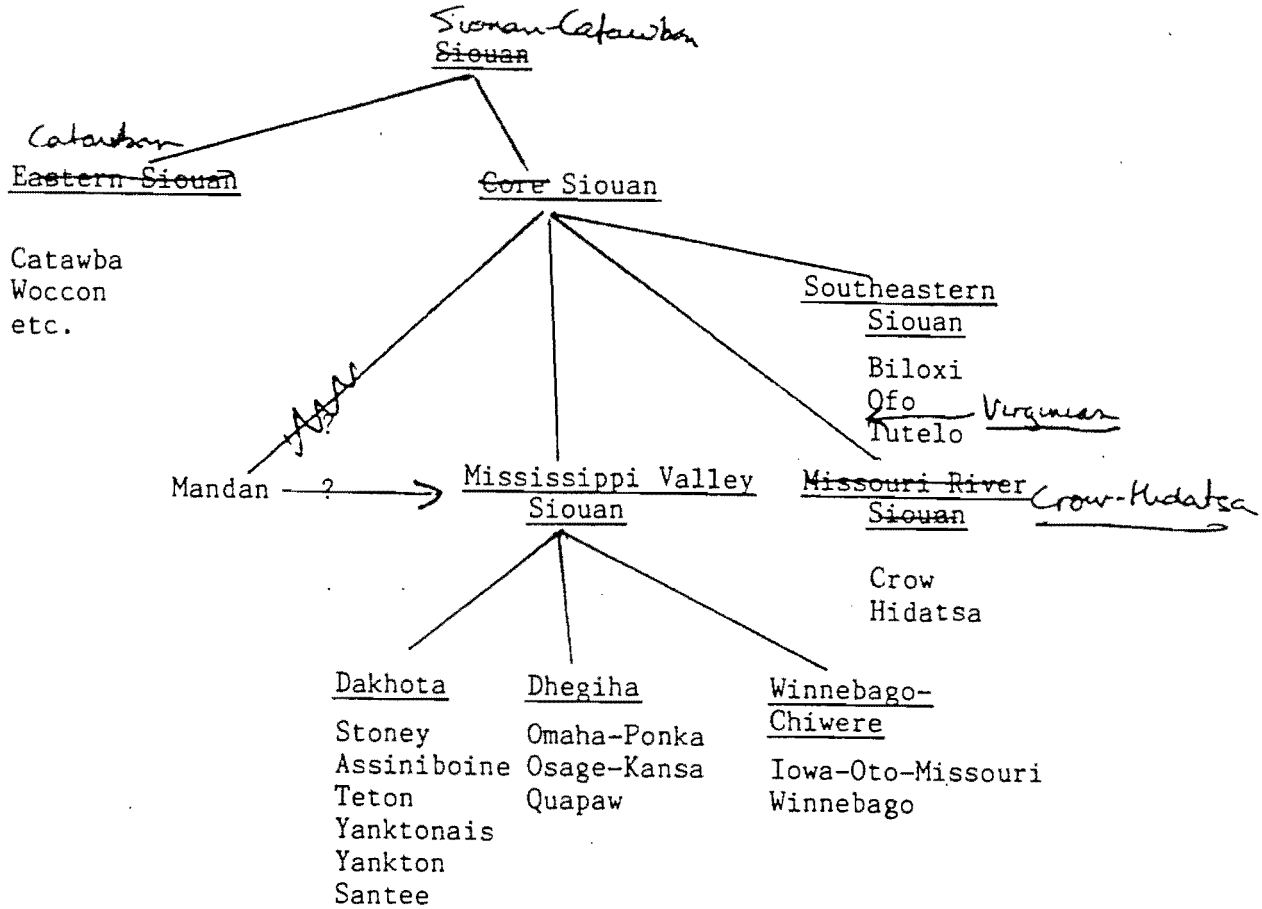
The five connected tribes speak roughly three languages, all closely related. The group as a whole is known as Dhegiha from the OP form of the word dékiha 'those on our side'. This term does not seem to have had any formal or recognized political meaning. It was applied to the group by Dorsey (1885), and has been retained principally as a term for the language family made up of the three

i.e. "thegiha"

languages that the group speak. These languages are Omaha-Ponka, spoken by the Omaha (umáha) and Ponka (ppákka), Osage-Kansa, spoken by the Osage (wažáže) and Kansa (kkáza), and Quapaw, spoken by the tribe of that name (ǔkáxpa). The dialects spoken by the Omaha and Ponka are indistinguishable, at least as recorded by Dorsey, who nevertheless indicates that the two tribes speak different dialects, perhaps based on slight differences in vocabulary (CNAE VI;xv). Osage and Kansa are distinguishable, but mutually intelligible (Wolff 1952:63) in very high degree. It might be added that many of the characteristics of Kansa were present in the speech of one of Wolff's Osage speakers (cf. Wolff 1952:64-66). Omaha-Ponka and Osage-Kansa are both partially intelligible to speakers of the other language. Quapaw diverges rather strongly from the other two languages.

The Dhegiha language family, or, as it might be more appropriate to say, dialect continuum, forms a subbranch of the Mississippi Valley Branch of the Siouan language family. The other two certain subbranches of this subfamily are Dakhota (actually a dialect continuum with some extremely divergent dialects and others more closely resembling each other) and Winnebago-Chiwere, made up of the Iowa-Oto-Missouri dialect continuum (Chiwere) and the more divergent Winnebago. A family tree diagram for the Siouan Language Family as a whole is given in table 1.1-1. For an examination of the details of the grouping scheme's basis see Rood 1979.

Table 1.1-1 The Siouan Language Family



Morphologically and phonologically the Dhegiha languages are perhaps intermediate between the Dakhota and Winnebago-Chiwere languages. For example, the degree to which Proto-Siouan *y and *r are merged seems to increase from Dakhota to Dhegiha to Winnebago-Chiwere. In their pronominal systems Dhegiha and Winnebago-Chiwere are virtually identical, and opposed to Dakhota; on the other hand, the morphology of the Dakhota and Dhegiha causatives is identical and opposed to that of Winnebago-Chiwere causatives. Since both pronominal and causative systems seem to involve a certain amount of reanalysis in either case, and in the absence of similar traits particularly linking Dakhota and Winnebago-Chiwere, we may deduce that the Dhegiha languages were once physically located between the Dakhota languages on the one hand and the Winnebago-Chiwere languages on the other, and that the subbranches were at this time sufficiently little differentiated that morphological innovations could be shared.

1.2 Database for the Study

This study is based entirely on published materials. No fieldwork has been done. The main source for textual material has been Dorsey's text collection The Ɛegiha Language (Contributions to North American Ethnology VI), referenced as CNAE VI below (Dorsey 1890). Dorsey also published a smaller collection, made up of a body of letters that he had been unable to finish editing in time to include in CNAE VI. This collection is entitled Omaha and Ponka Letters, and is referenced below as OPL (Dorsey 1891). Dorsey also intended to publish a grammar and a dictionary. The grammar exists as an unfinished manuscript (Dorsey ms), which is in usable form, though somewhat chaotic in cross referencing and incomplete or perfunctory in various sections. I have consulted a photocopy of the manuscript. In addition to Dorsey ms there are two sketches of OP morphology available, prepared by Boas (Boas 1907; Boas & Swanton 1911). Since these were based primarily upon CNAE VI, and not upon Dorsey's ms, they have a value as checks on the ms, aside from their own merits of thoroughness on most points and careful support through examples. Dorsey's dictionary seems also to exist, in the form of a slip file (Dorsey 1885). I have not attempted to consult this. In its stead I have relied primarily upon LaFlesche's Osage Dictionary (LaFlesche 1932), which is Osage to English and English to Osage, in fairly reliable notation, and includes partial paradigms for most verbs listed. I have

supplemented this with the English to Omaha list of Swetland (and Stabler) 1977, and lists in Say (in James 1828) and Fletcher & LaFlesche 1911.

Since I have not had available a concordance of the CNAE VI and OPL texts or any other source to facilitate the location of OP examples, I have on occasion made use of Osage examples of derivational and paradigmatic patterns, which are relatively easy to locate in LaFlesche 1932. I have not used material from that source for examples of phonological patterns, except where LaFlesche has added to the entry a notation "Om. same" (Omaha form is the same, or in some cases, evidently only analogous, with allowance for the Osage ~~assibilation~~ sib. affricate- of apical stops). Whenever I use Osage forms I mark them "(Os)."

In addition to this primary material, I have made use of some other material, including notes on OP prepared by Axelrod for a seminar presentation on OP, notes on Kansa prepared by Shea from lectures by Rankin, and Wolff's 1952 article on Osage phonology and morphology. Other materials specifically germain to OP or Osage are cited when used. Because of the similarities of the Mississippi Valley Siouan Languages, I have also been able to make use of several Dakhota grammars for background information, ready made solutions, and organizational ideas: Riggs 1893, because it was the organizational inspiration of Dorsey ms; Boas & Deloria

1941, as the most comprehensive morphological study of a Siouan language available; and Rood & Taylor ms, as the only modern grammar available for a Siouan language, and as the best available study of Siouan syntactic patterns.

2. Phonology

The following discussion of OP phonology is divided into five subsections, comprising (1) a discussion of the segmental and cluster systems, (2) a statement of the way in which the orthography of the published texts was mapped onto these systems, (3) an analysis of the probable phonetic qualities of the segments and clusters, (4) a discussion of OP canonical word and morpheme forms, with comments on the possible existance of vowel length and on the unpredictability and distinctiveness of stress, and (5) a summary of certain widespread but sporadic phonological changes.

Because this study was based on published texts which are known to be defective recordings of certain aspects of the OP sound system, it should be read with a good deal of skepticism. In addition, my grasp of the published data was ~~in~~not sufficient to make ~~any~~ formal statements of a ~~morphophonemic~~ phonological nature possible.

2.1 Segmental and Cluster Systems

The OP segments are given in table 2.1-1. However, as in other Siouan languages, a clearer view of the system is obtained when the clusters are considered as well. The full system, including the clusters, is set out in table 2.1-2. This analysis owes a debt to Rankin, who has written extensively on Dhegiha phonology (Rankin 1974, 1981, 1982), and who first explained to me LaFlesche's Osage notation (Rankin pc).[1] All OP studies based on text, as this one is, owe a further debt to Holmer, whose philological analysis first ~~accounted for~~ justified Dorsey's "sonant-surds" (tense stops) (Holmer 1945).

It will be noted in the tables that I treat tense, aspirated, and ejective stops, and ejective fricatives, as clusters. This has been done partly as a typographical convenience, but may also be justified on a basis of the fact that many instances of tense, aspirated, and ejective stops contain internal morpheme boundaries, e.g., (1), (2), and (3). The treatment of the ejective fricatives is by analogy with the treatment of the ejective stops.

(1) ppetha 'I fold it' < p Als + petha 'fold'

(2) phi 'I arrive there' < p Als + hi 'arrive there'

(3) nap'i 'wear on the neck' < nap 'neck' + 'i 'wear'

Table 2.1-2

Omaha-Ponka Segments and Clusters

Vowels

Oral	a	e	i	u
Nasal	ą		į	

Consonants and Clusters

Class	Labial	Apical	Alveopalatal	Velar	Glottal
Lax Stops	p	t	(č)	k	'
Tense Stops (Geminates)	pp	tt	(?)	kk	–
Aspirates (Lax Stop + h)	ph	th	(čh)	kh	–
Ejectives (Lax Stop + ')	p'	t'	(?)	–	–
Voiceless Fricatives	–	s ś	š š́	x	h
Voiced Fricatives	–	z	ž	ǧ	–
Oral Sonorants	w	ɖ	–	–	–
Nasal Sonorants	m	n	–	–	–
s + Lax Stop	sp	st	(?)	sk	s'
š + Lax Stop	šp	št	(šč)	šk	š'
x + Lax Stop	xp	xt	(xč)	(?)	–
Lax Stop + ɖ	pɖ	–	–	kɖ	–
Fricative + ɖ/n	–	sn	šn	xɖ	–

I would like to emphasize my belief that any typological study of OP should not treat it as lacking geminates (tense stops), aspirates, or ejectives on the strength of table 2.1-1.

The segmental and cluster systems of table 2.1-1 and 2.1-2 are a phonemic system, in the sense of functional contrast, as well as in a sense of underlying organization, with the exception of the alveopalatal stop and the clusters formed with it: č, čh, šč, and xč. These are only sporadically distinguished from the corresponding apical stops t, th, st, and xt. The alveopalatal forms occur as free variants, generally in the vicinity of the high vowels i, į, and u.

The phonemic status of the s∼z and x∼g oppositions is also somewhat uncertain. Dorsey ~~indicates~~ opposes ~~both~~ the voiceless and voiced alternants in similar contexts in all of his publications on OP (see the examples below), suggesting that the two alternants ~~are~~ ~~in~~ contrast. LaFlesche, however, never distinguishes s∼z or x∼g in either OP or Os (Fletcher & LaFlesche 1911:28 et seq.; LaFlesche 1932:2-3 et seq.), suggesting the contrary. It is known on the basis of comparative work that it is only necessary to assume *s and *x for Proto-Siouan (Matthews 1970), so that it is conceivable that the explanation for both Dorsey's and LaFlesche's practices is that the conditioning of voiceless and voiced allophones of s and x in OP is simply quite complex. I have certainly not

formulate the rule

been able to ~~detect it~~ myself. On the other hand, the š ~ ž contrast is agreed upon by both Dorsey and LaFlesche, and since ž derives from both some Proto-Siouan *š and from Proto-Siouan *y, the contrast is to be expected. As with s ~ z and x ~ g, the data seem to support it.

Examples of OP segments and clusters follow.

/a/ a 'arm'

ha 'skin'

/e/ e REF

he 'horn'

/i/ i 'mouth'

hi 'stem, stalk'

/u/ u- IN (N.B. u 'wound' in Osage)

hu hu 'fish'

/ą/ ą 'hazel nut'

hą 'night'

/į/ į 'wear'

hį 'body hair'

/p/ pa- TOOL

hípe 'moccasin'

pi- PRESS

/pp/ ppa 'head'

nąppe 'fear'

ppi 'be good'

/p'/ p'uđą 'steam'

wanąp'į 'necklace'

/ph/ ąpha 'elk'

phi 'I arrive there'

/w/ wa- INDEF

wi- AlsP2

wi IND-ART

thawá 'gens'

/m/ má- CUT

mi 'sun'

ma 'arrow'

mi- 'female'

/sp/ kaspé 'be transparent'

/šp/ kašpa 'soak'

/xp/ naxpéhi 'skin'

/pd/ pdáska 'be flat'

/t/ ta 'be frozen'

hité 'base'

ti LOC

/tt/ tte 'bison'

tta AL-POSS

nítta 'ear'

tti 'dwell'

/t'/ t'e 'be dead'

/th/ tha AN-STD

thi 'return here'

the VER

/s/ sápe 'be black'

sikđé 'trail'

kisį́ 'revive'

masá į 'on the other side' [masą̌į]

/đ/ đe THIS

đį AN-MOV

đą RND

đi- HAND

/n/ ne 'lake'

nu 'tuber'

nį 'water'

ną 'be adult'

/st/ wađistupe 'hands spread'

/št/ įšta 'eye'

-šti TOO ~-šťį

/xt/ paxtą 'spill'

/s'/ s'áđe 'be sour'

wés'a 'snake'

/sn/ snį 'be cold'

/č/ čúpa SOME ~tupa

/čč/ (no known examples)

/čh/ mąčhų́ 'grizzly'

įčhą 'now'

/č'/ (no known examples)

/š/ ši 'again'

še THAT

šį 'be fat'

/z/ zaní 'all'

ppizá 'sand'

ékazeze 'in a row'

/ž/	ža 'doubt'
	ažį NEG
	ža 'wood'
/šč/	(no known examples)
/šč/	maščíke 'rabbit'
/xč/	-xčį VERY
	xčáde 'admire'
/s'/	iš:ake 'old man'
/šn/	šna 'be smooth'
/k/	ka YON
	žeká 'thigh'
	ki 'come back here'
/kk/	kkáge 'crow'
	kkį WHEN
	kke 'turtle'
	nikkašika 'person'
/kh/	khe HOR
	khį 'arrive back there'
/x/	xúpe 'holy'
	wáxe 'white person' [χ]
/g/	gaké 'cry'
	mage 'sky' → sound about the same — very close.
/sk/	ska 'be clear'
/šk/	ška 'be active'
/xk/	(no known examples)

/kɘ/	kɘéze 'be striped'
	ákɘi 'chair'
/xɘ/	xɘi 'mucus'
	xɘi 'pus'
	xɘapé 'tree'
	ikáxɘa 'wife'
/'/	'íde 'say'
	na'á 'hear'
/h/	ha 'skin'
	hi 'stem'
	áha 'yes'
	ppáhe 'hill'

2.2 Relation of the Segmental System to the Source Transcription

Since this study is based on texts, the phonological forms are the result of analysis of earlier transcriptions, not of oral forms in the first place. (In fact, I have never heard OP spoken.) The transcription of the original sources is a phonetic (usually broad phonetic) transcription developed by Dorsey under the influence of early BAE practices, and applied by him and subsequently by LaFlesche to the transcription of OP and other Siouan languages. There are some internal inconsistancies, between Dorsey's earlier work, later work, and posthumous publications; or between Dorsey's work, LaFlesche's work with Fletcher, and LaFlesche's noncollaborative work; but by and large the system is constant, and differences are notational, or result from omission of certain diacritics, generally the diacritics marking the aspirates and tense stops, or the vowel quality diacritics. LaFlesche also does not distinguish s~z or x~g, though Dorsey does.

While the Dorsey-LaFlesche transcription is very nearly phonologically adequate, it is not biunique. Some symbols have multiple uses, and the particular use at hand must be determined from context. An example is p, which records /p/ in clusters, but /ph/ (and sometimes, erroniously, /pp/) otherwise. Another example is ʻ, which marks aspiration when following a stop, but indicates a glottal stop at word margins or between vowels or after a fricative.

In other cases, single phonemes or features of phonemes have multiple symbols or diacritics. For example, /th/ is represented by both t and t$^{\epsilon}$, while vowel nasalization is marked variously with a superscript ^{n}, or m (/__ p), n (/__ t), or $\tilde{n}$ (/__ k), according to the context. In some cases nasalization is unmarked after n or m, particularly by Dorsey. LaFlesche always marks nasalization with a superscript ^{n}, ~~if he marks it at all.~~ when he marks it.

The conversion algorithm used to produce the transcription in phonemic notation used in this study are given in table 2.2-1. The general approach is taken from Beilharz & Koontz 1983.

In a few circumstances the Dorsey-LaFlesche notation is not phonemically adequate. I am not certain, for example, that glottal stop is ever adequately transcribed. I mark it wherever it is indicated in the source, but suspect that it is considerably more prevalent, both initially and between vowels.

The most serious inadequacy in the source transcription is the inconsistancy with which the tense stops (geminate clusters) are distinguished from the aspirate stops (Ch clusters). To some extent, the problem is such that earlier analysts ~~were~~ are justified in claiming that there is no contrast (cf. Matthews 1958:10-11). In Dorsey's case the explanation is straightforward, For even if it is assumed that he was able eventually to hear the contrast con-

sistantly. He recorded most of his text and vocabulary material in the periods 1871-1873 and 1878-1880, before he could distinguish the two series. The first indication of his awareness of the distinction is in Dorsey 1885, based on a paper read in 1882. Even assuming that he had become aware of the distinction ~~during~~ in the course of 1878-1880, it is likely that much of his material ~~had the tense stops marked in it~~ he made the distinction in retroactively and inconsistently, based on memory of sound; knowledge that certain words had the sound, because later work showed this; or perhaps on reelicitation of texts during the period 1889-1890, when he worked with several Omahas hired to work as consultants in Washington. In addition, during the period 1881-1910 Francis LaFlesche was generally in Washington as an employee of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and from 1881 until Dorsey's death in 1895 there must have been occasions on which Dorsey could consult with LaFlesche. This presumably accounts for the volume of LaFlesche's comments in CNAE VI, though there is evidence that LaFlesche did not approve of Dorsey's practice of publishing letters that the latter had transcribed/translated for various Omahas and Ponkas with whom he had had contact (Judd 1967:52), and that LaFlesche was unwilling to participate fully in the work of publishing them.[2]

In LaFlesche's case, variability seems to have had a rather different explanation. In his collaboration with Fletcher, for example, he states clearly that "there is a consonant kindred to d and t, but distinct from either, and another similarly related

to b and p." (Fletcher & LaFlesche 1911:606) The fact that g and k are not mentioned might suggest that the ejectives are refered to, since OP has no ejective k. However, LaFlesche has just indicated that p, t, and k may sometimes be "exploded," i.e., presumably ejective. In spite of this statement the third class of stop is generally not represented in the examples of OP given in the text of the work. This is presumably the result of an editorial decision, perhaps to eliminate diacritics, since diacritic marks on the letters p, t, and k were the usual means of indicating tense stops in the Dorsey-LaFlesche system. The elimination of tense stops has not been absolute, however, since one is marked in an example on p. 606. This example is reproduced in (4).

(4) Mo^{n}ke bpixo^{n} ha.

mą́ khe p- pi- xą́ ha

arrow the Als PRESS break DECL

"I broke the arrow by the weight of my body."

The phonemic transcription and morpheme by morpheme rendition (the two middle lines) are my own. Otherwise the material is taken verbatim from Fletcher & LaFlesche. The probable explanation for the marking of the tense stop in this one case is that it occurs in a sequence of first person examples including such forms as "bthixo^{n}" pdixą́ 'I broke it with my hands'. The sequence bp entered by accidental analogy, and, not involving diacritics, passed without modification.

Regretably this simple device was not extended!

Since LaFlesche's Osage Dictionary has been used extensively in this study, in lieu of an actual OP-English dictionary, it is also worth noting causes for some of LaFlesche's inconsistancies in recording the tense/aspirate distinction in that language. In this publication, for whatever reason, he evidently made it his goal to mark the distinction throughout. However, the results do not match well, comparatively, with Dorsey's OP materials.[3] To some extent this must have been due to differences in phonetic detail between Osage and OP. OP tense stops are voiceless, unaspirated, and geminate (cf. Rankin 1974). Osage tense stops are voiceless and preaspirated (cf. Rankin 1974; Wolff 1952:64). In addition, Osage aspirates have a velar quality ([C^{x}]), and before front vowels this velar aspiration assumes a palatal quality ([$C^{\check{x}}$]) (Rankin pc). LaFlesche may have found these differences mildly confusing. Thus his Dictionary lists both "ki" and "kshi" for /khi/ 'return home'. In other cases, typographical errors may be at work, as when expected "tsi" 'arrive here' is entered as "t̤si", but appears as "tsi" in the body of the entry (OP /thi/). Other entries seem simply to be in error, e.g., "p̤eto^{n}" 'crane', implying /ppetta/, when "p̤eto^{n}", for /ppetha/, would be proper, as evidenced by Dorsey's "ḏet‘a" for OP and "ḏetqa^{n}" for Os (note Osage velar aspiration) (Dorsey 1885:927).

In presenting examples in this study, I have used only re-transcribed forms in the body of the work. In the texts in Appendix A I have included the original notation as well. Examples extracted from text (except some vocabulary or paradigmatic forms) are always marked to indicate the work, page, and line where the original may be found.

Table 2.2-1

Algorithm for Retranscribing the Dorsey-LaFlesche Notation

Original Notation	Retranscription
b	p
p	p /clusters
	ph /elsewhere[4]
p̣, ɖ	pp
p‘	ph
p’, p̣’	p'
d	t
t	t /clusters
	th /elsewhere[4]
ṭ, ʇ	tt
t‘	th
t’, ṭ’	t'
dj, d‘	č
tc, ch	č /clusters
	čh /elsewhere
ṭç, ʇ’	čč
g	k
k	k /clusters
	kh /elsewhere[4]
ḳ, ʞ	kk

k‘	kh
k’, ķ’	k'
s, ç (LaFlesche)	s
ş	s
s‘	s'
z, ç (LaFlesche)	z
c, sh	š
ɔ	š
c‘	s'
j, zh	ž
q, x	x
q‘, x’ (LaFlesche)	x'
x	g
h	h
‘ , ’ (LaFlesche)	'
w	w
ð, ȼ, ç (Boas), th (LaFlesche)	đ
m	m
n	n
i	i
e	e
a	a
u	u
i~ u, iu	ü

a, o, u	ą /nasality marking
i	į /nasality marking

Nasality marking is a following ^{n}, or m, n, or $\tilde{n}$ before another consonant.

Nasality marking is eliminated after having been coded as ˛.

Vowels following m or n that do not correspond to Osage b or d in LaFlesche's Osage Dictionary are also marked nasal.

Vowel diacritics to indicate quality or rhetorical length are eliminated.

All stress marks after the first in a word are eliminated.

Conjunctions which Dorsey fuses with the verb are separated (chiefly this affects eka˛).

2.3 Suppositions on Phonetics

The articulatory positions for the OP segments, and their supposed articulations are as follows (cf. tables 2.1-1 and 2.2-2): labial, with bilabial approximation or closure; apical, with approximation or closure of the tip of the tongue to the teeth (and not the alveolus); alveopalatal, with approximation of the upper surface of the tongue tip to the alveolus; velar, with approxmation or closure of the upper back surface of the tongue to the velum; glottal, with glottal closure or friction.

The supposition of a dental as opposed to alveolar quality for the apicals is based upon the treatment that s, z, and ɘ receive in transcription. Dorsey and LaFlesche both describe the last of these segments as approximately English [ɘ] (edh) (CNAE VI.5; Fletcher & LaFlesche 1911:28, 606), a description which they also apply to the corresponding segment in Osage (Dorsey 1885; LaFlesche 1932:3). Dorsey represented the segment as ð in manuscript and as ¢ in printed material. The latter graph became ç in Boas 1907. LaFlesche used the digraph th. This last usage is also adopted by Swetland 1977. In the early vocabulary list of Say (James 1823), the letter r is used instead, and Wolff, investigating Osage in 1951 described ɘ as "a voiced fricative with apico-dental to apico-alveolar articulation; it is never

interdental." (Wolff 1952:64) Since the pronunciation of inter-dental fricatives in some English dialects is essentially a dental tap with an optional fricative release, we may assume that Dorsey had ~~this value~~ in mind, and not the interdental value that his pronunciation key might suggest to some readers. The two fricatives s and z are represented with those graphs by Dorsey (CNAE VI.6). Though he makes no explicit statement regarding point of articulation, he does go to the trouble of including German and French examples (sauce, zele), in addition to English ones (sauce, zones), something that he does not do for his c (š). This may, then, imply that he was aware of a dental quality to s and z, without attaching much importance to it. LaFlesche lists s and z as sounds of OP (Fletcher & LaFlesche 1911:606), but the graph which he actually almost always uses in forms where Dorsey has s or z is ç, which is described as having "the sound of th in thin." (28) He follows this practice both in Fletcher & LaFlesche 1911 and in LaFlesche 1932. Wolff says of s only that it is an "apical ... fricative" (1952:64), but he adds in a footnote that no Osage speaker with whom he dealt had ever heard a "dental voiceless fricative θ" (1952:64n6) as a pronunciation of the sound. It appears that LaFlesche must again have chosen the analogy with an English interdental in order to emphasize the dental quality of the segment.

Adjacent to i, į, and u, OP apical stops tend to receive a pronunciation as apico-alveopalatal affricates, e.g., [č]úpa 'some', ma[čh]ú 'bear', maš[č]íke 'rabbit', -x[č]i VERY, į[čh]áka 'mouse', wa[čh]iška 'creek', but also x[č]áde 'admire'. Forms like túpa, -xti, or įthą 'now' appear both with and without the affrication, showing that it is of a secondary and noncontrastive character. It should be noted that a similar affrication exists in Osage, apart from the characteristic Osage sibilant affrication of all apical stops before front vowels i, e, and Ü. Forms which receive the alveopalatal affrication, e.g., įčha 'now' (LFOD 75) or įčháska 'ermine' (LFOD 75), are exempted from the sibilant affrication, exemplified by cci 'dwell' (LFOD 162), cce 'bison' (LFOD 157), jille 'ripe' (LFOD 39). This pattern suggests that the OP affrication is older than the separation of OP and Osage-Kansa.

A discussion of articulatory manner in OP must treat both the simple segments and the clusters. The stop/cluster manners are lax (simple), tense (geminate), ejective, and aspirate. The lax, or simple, stops are represented by Say, Dorsey, and LaFlesche as voiced stops. I assume accordingly that they are voiced, at least in the perceptions of speakers of American English. This voicing occurs in initial prevocalic and medial intervocalic environments, and before ɬ, as illustrated in (1), using Dorsey's notation.

(5) 38.11 bas'íⁿ /pas'í/ 'upside down'

39.17 dádaⁿ /tátą/ 'what'

14.2 gañkí /kakkí/ 'and'

13.3 íbahaⁿ /ípahą/ 'know'

13.10 mánde-kaⁿ /mátekka/ 'bow-string'

13.5 égiće /ékiḍe/ 'finally'

13.6 bće /pḍe/ 'I go there'

15.4 gćíza-bi /kḍízapi/ 'he took his own'

It does not occur after s, š, and x, or ł at least Dorsey did not note it.

(6) 14.4 tucpaćaⁿ /ttúšpaḍa/ 'grandchild'

13.17 ctewáⁿ /štewą́/ 'notwithstanding'

13.1 mactciñge /mašč́íke/ 'rabbit'

13.16 ckáxe /škáge/ 'you make'

The OP tense stops are voiceless unaspirated geminates, as stated in section 2.2 (Rankin 1974, 1981). Presumably they differ from the lax stops in environments in which length is imperceptible by virtue of their voicelessness, and from the aspirates by virtue of their lack of aspiration. In other environments, length must also be a factor. In some cases this length seems to have been perceived as a word break. For example, Dorsey always writes the future/unreal marker ttE as a separate word following the verb, though the marker is in fact probably a postclitic, and most postclitics, except articles, are written by Dorsey as part of the main word, with at most an intervening hyphen. A similar effect can be observed in the Swetland Omaha Dictionary, which places a word boundary between kki RFLX (written "ki") and preceding morphemes. In addition, many words like ẍatta 'be forked' are written with a word break before the tense stop, which is, again, written with an English voiceless stop letter (cf. Swetland 1977:80).

The ejectives are probably post-glottalized. This is consistant with Dorsey's and LaFlesche's description of them as "exploded," (CNAE VI.5-6; Fletcher & LaFlesche 1911:606) and LaFlesche's decision in his Osage Dictionary to combine the effects of the glottal stop and ejectives and speak only of "exploded vowels" (LaFlesche 1932:2-3).

2.4 Canonical Form, Stress, and Vowel Length

The canonical form of all words and most morphemes in OP is (7).

(7) $(C_0^2 \ V)_1^n$

In (2) C_0^2 is either no consonant at all, or a valid cons. segment or cluster from table 2.1-2. A number of morphemes existing only as bound forms have the form (8).

(8) (V) C

These include ak Alp and p Als (syncopated form).

The constraint that all words must end in a vowel has some orthographical exceptions. Whenever two orthographic words which are pronounced as one word (e.g. a verb and a following conjunction) happen, the first of them to end in a vowel, the second of them to begin with a vowel, the optional rule of vowel elision can result in the deletion of the final vowel of the first orthographic word. In fact, however, there is no violation of the constraint, only an orthographic appearence of one.

There are two questions regarding OP phonology which, if answered, might have the affect of considerably complicating the relatively simple picture of canonical shape drawn above. The two questions concern the status in OP of vowel length and stress, pitch accent??

Rankin has stated that long vowels are phonemic in Kansa and in other Dhegiha languages, but that these are perceptible only in slow speech (Rankin, comments at 3rd Siouan Conference). While Dorsey is on record as having said also that vowel length is significant in Dhegiha (Dorsey 1885:921), it appears from his transcriptional practices that he was refering in this statement to differences in vowel timbre analogous to those of what are called long and short vowels in traditional English dictionary pronunciation keys. While it is quite conceivable that his usage in this regard may conceal at least a partial en-coding of vowel length proper, I have assumed for the present that it does not. It is also important to note in this context that Dorsey frequently marks more than one stress in a word. I have assumed that all but the first are secondary stresses, based on the tendency to second or third syllable main stress observed in other Siouan languages. It is conceivable, though, that these multiple stresses reflect vowel length in some fashion. For the moment, then, no note of vowel length has been taken in this study. But in spite of this, the question should be regarded as open.

Stress is contrastive in OP. Dorsey cites as examples of minimal pairs [he does not use the term]:

(9) máze 'iron, metal' mazé 'female's breasts'

(10) máhi 'knife' mahí 'weed sp.'

Dorsey ms (5-7) also discusses placement of stress, but without arriving at any general rules. Even a cursory examination of the problem on the basis of the available paradigmatic materials in LaFlesche's Osage Dictionary (Dorsey ms seldom marks stress, unfortunately) suggests that stress placement at any level of prediction, whether universal or paradigmatic, is fairly complex. Example sets (11) to (17), from the Osage Dictionary, show at least some of the patterns observed.

(11) (Os) Fixed Initial Stress

	appatha	'I pushed on'
	aspatha	'you pushed on'
	apathai	'he pushed on'
	akapathai	'we pushed on'
but:	akápaštai	'we cut our hair'

(12) (Os) ~~Fixed~~ Regular Second Syllable Stress

asápe	'I am cautious'
dasápe	'you are cautious'
sapái	'he is cautious'
asápai	'we are cautious'

CVCV́ root

Stem is? sabé

(13) (Os) Fixed pá CUT Stress

cf. Om má

Stressed Outer Instr. má

páapdase	'I cut open'
pádapdase	'you cut open'
pápdasai	'he cut open'
páapdasai	'we cut open'
note: apáskepai	'we shaved it'

(14) (Os) ~~Fixed~~ Regular Second Syllable Stress

ppanísuje	'I mashed it'
spanísuje	'you mashed it'
panísujai	'he mashed it'
apánisujai	'we mashed it'

j>c

CVCV́ root?

(15) (Os) Mixed First and Second Syllable Stress

ppátha	'I pushed'
spátha	'you pushed'
pathái	'he pushed'
apáthai	'we pushed'
but: páttopai	'he sliced'

This pattern with ba-, bi-, ǰa-, ǰi- inner instrumentals

(16) (Os) Receding First Person Stress

heáci	'I sneeze'
hédaci	'you sneeze'
hécii	'he sneezes'

(17) (Os) Fixed Root Stress

ahíxa	'I felicitate'
dahíxa	'you felicitate'
híxai	'he felicitates'
ahixai	'we felicitate' (stress unknown)

Under the circumstances, I mark stress, but for the moment do not attempt to predict it.

In spite of this variability, there do seem to be some rules. The morphemes ma CUT (Os pa CUT), mu SHOOT (Os pu SHOOT), ki POSS, and many instances of a ON, i WITH seem to be automatically stressed. The placement of stress in certain ki DAT and i + ki BEN paradigms also seems to be regular, as does the stress in at least some ka STRIKE instrumental paradigms. It is also possible to predict a phonological process of k-lenition (elision) on the basis of stress (see section 3.6.3).

2.5 Phonological Rules

None of the rules suggested below is exceptionless. Several are distinctly sporadic. All of them, however, seem to be general tendencies in OP, and are not restricted to a particular paradigm. Rules which are particular to certain verb paradigms are discussed in section 3.6.3.

RULE 1 h-Loss

(18) h -> Ø / V (#) __ V

This is a regular feature of the verbs hi 'come here' and e/hÉ 'say'. One example involving root-internal h in a stative verb is known, too.

(19) I.7 wapakeeze ikhida ka
letter make it come here to him IMP

(20) ai 'he said' < e + Ø + ha + i
say PL

cf. ehe 'I said' < e + (p) + he

where the p Als pronominal is regularly lost in the OP sound shift *ph > h.

(21) pái 'sharp' (Swetland 1977:155)

cf. Os pahí 'sharp' (LFOD:125)

RULE 2 Loss of Intervocalic Stops

(22) C (C) -> Ø / V́ __ V

This change is definitely sporadic at best. Most of the known examples are in Osage.

(23) níkkašika~níašika 'person'

(24) (Os) šápe~šáe 'black'

(25) (Os) ttáka~ttaa 'large'

RULE 3 Affrication of Apicals

In certain words in which t or a cluster with t is adjacent to a high vowel (i, į, and u), t is affricated always or sometimes to č. See section 2.3 for examples and discussion.

RULE 4 Vowel Elision

(26) $V_1 V_2 \rightarrow V_2$

Elision occurs in many contexts, particularly in verb inflection and in addition of postclitics. It appears that elision always occurs according to the rule of (26) when vowels are in the same word, with certain exceptions in verbs where a + i becomes e, or where i or u insert ɛ or w between themselves and an adjacent vowel. These changes are discussed in section 3.6.3, and are probably very old, highly morphologized features of Siouan verb morphology. In a few other cases, two adjacent vowels come together in a word without elision when both are adverbial morphemes (see section 3.6.1), or when one is a pronominal morpheme and the other is a preceding vowel-final derivational morpheme (see (13) and (16) above for examples). Some words seem to have fixed internal vowel sequences, like šaą 'Dakhota'. I suspect that some of the exceptions involve unwritten glottal stops, while others involve a secondary rule restraining elision if the resulting form would be ambiguous (as in the cases where a derivational morpheme precedes a pronominal morpheme). A final source of exception may be that some postclitics may optionally form separate words, instead of cliticizing.

Notes to Section 2

[1] Rankin should not be held responsible for the ways in which I have applied or presented his ideas.

[2] The dates for Dorsey's career as a student of OP are from Hinsley 1981. The inferences regarding sonant-surd marking are my own.

[3] Dorsey's own OP and Os sonant-surd recording does not match because he used his sonant-surd symbols to record not etymological tense stops (as LaFlesche did), but unaspirated voiceless stops. Since the lax stops of Osage are voiceless, Dorsey records both the lax and the tense stops as sonant-surds in Os. He sporadically records tense stops (which are preaspirated in Os) as ʰC.

[4] The letters p, t, and k (unmodified) are also retranscribed as pp, tt, or kk when comparative evidence, or other instances in text, suggests that these are the proper values.

3.6 Verbs

The OP verb is a difficult subject to discuss, partly because of its morphological and phonological complexity, and partly because the several subdivisions of the discussion are so interdependent that it is difficult to know where to begin. It seems best, however, to start with an abstract overview, before elaborating in turn upon the derivational structure, the pronominal system, and the paradigmatic patterns. In this fashion the reader is introduced to the organization of the overall system without getting lost in ~~the~~ a welter of morphemes and the frequent phonological irregularities.

While an OP verb form is often quite simple in derivational form, it has the potential to become quite complex. Disregarding for the moment the issue of pronominalization, the verb stem may contain, in addition to the root, any of the following:

1) incorporated nominals or demonstratives;
2) adverbials, morphemes indicating the existance of certain types of oblique complements or adverbial modifications;
3) instrumentals, or incorporated particles indicating that an action involves a certain body part of the agent, or was accomplished by means of a member of

certain classes of tools or actions;

4) transitivity modifiers, morphemes indicating reflexive/reciprocal, dative, benefactive, and possessive relationships;

5) auxiliaries, some of which are essentially empty, while while others perform such functions as producing a causative derivative; and

6) modal particles, indicating the unreality, desirability, etc. of an action or state.

This general picture is complicated somewhat further by the question of the order in which the various morphemes occur with respect to each other and with respect to the pronominal affixes. The derivational morphemes are catalogued and their ordering discussed in section 3.6.1. Their interrelationships with the pronominals are addressed in sections 3.6.2 and 3.6.4.

The general character of the pronominal system of OP verbs is determined by two factors. First, OP has an active/stative concord typology (cf. DeLancey 1981:629). This means that transitive verbs agree with both their agents and their patients, using distinct agent and patient concord sets, and that intransitives divide into two groups, one of which uses the agent concord set - the active intransitives - while the other uses the patient concord set -

the stative intransitives. In OP intransitives must belong to one group or the other. There are no intransitives which shift from one to the other to indicate the extent to which the subject is acting under its own volition, as in Batsbi and Eastern Pomo (DeLancey 1981:651).

Active verbs include the verbs of motion and other verbs such as /t'E 'die' or /kɬi 'sit'; in fact, most verbs which would be intransitives in typical European languages like English. Stative verbs include the analogues of adjectives in these same European-type languages, for example /ttáka 'be big' or /sápE 'be black'. Numerals and nouns are also potential stative verbs, when used in the sense of 'be (a) ___'. Transitive verbs can be either simple, like /'i 'give' or /kágE 'do, make', or derived, like t'é/ɬE 'kill' or á/kɬi 'sit on'.

The second factor in the general character of the pronominal system is the use in both the agent and patient pronominal sets of a minimal/augmented person-number system (cf. Dixon 1980:352). Both sets have been reanalyzed in identical ways as standard matrix person-number systems. In a minimal/augmented system the minimal person categories are 1 [+ speaker, - hearer], 2 [- speaker, + hearer], 12 [+ speaker, + hearer], and 3 [- speaker, - hearer], each of which is realized with a separate morpheme. Any of these categories can be augmented to indicate the presence of additional

[- speaker, - hearer] persons. This augmentation is accomplished with a separate augment morpheme. Systems of precisely this type exist in OP's relatives, the Winnebago-Chiwere languages. In OP, though the same basic pattern exists in the morphology as in the Winnebago-Chiwere languages, the situations in which the augment can be used have been restricted in a manner which yields a set of combinations that map onto the familiar first, second, and third persons singular and plural matrix of languages like those in Europe. What happens is that the 1 forms (agent and patient) may only occur without the augment, while the 12 forms may only occur with it, yielding, respectively, first persons singular and plural. The 2 and 3 forms may occur both without and with the augment, yielding the second and third persons singular and plural.

Apart from these two basic typological characteristics of the OP pronominal system, there are some other, more idiosyncratic characteristics that help produce the distinctive quality of the OP system. Most of these characteristics are shared in some degree by other Siouan languages. One characteristic assymmetry is the realization of all third persons by zero (with or without the augment/plural) except the third person plural patient with transitive verbs, which has a special concrete morphological realization. Another shared characteristic is the existance in some agent pronominal categories of an opposition between full CV shapes and reduced or syncopated C shapes, the latter used only with certain

verbs. The choice of affected verbs was probably once determined by the nature of the segment following the pronominal slot in the verb. In modern OP, the syncopated forms have developed into a variety of minor conjugations as a result of phonological changes, and the conditioning of membership in these conjugations is mostly morphological. (see 3.6.4.1)

The actual positions of the pronominal morphemes in the stem with respect to each other and the rest of the stem are governed by complicated and sometimes contradictory rules. A consequence of this is that certain classes of verb stem have multiple instances of the same pronominal category. It is quite common also for pronominals to be inserted in the middle of the verb stem, or even of the verb root; ~~and~~ different members of the pronominal sets may be inserted in different places in the stem.

Pronominal morphemes and their mutual and external ordering constraints are discussed in sections 3.6.2 (morphemes and ordering constraints) and 3.6.4 (selected paradigms).

The last set of points to be addressed in this overview concern phonology, specifically, morphophonemic alternations, as opposed to segmental phonology, canonical form, etc. I have already noted that the OP agent pronominals preserve morphologized traces of

a full~ syncopated alternation in certain categories. A similar phenomenon affects the dative prefix. Other phonological changes of a similar degree of morphologization are:

1) the lenition (loss) of morpheme initial /k/ in some, but not all verb roots and derivational morphemes (e.g., in ki DAT, but not in ki POSS), with concommittant vowel contraction in some cases;

2) the insertion of a glide /ɘ/ (historically Proto-Mississippi Valley Siouan *r from Proto-Siouan **y) between certain high vowels and other adjacent vowels;

3) the reduction of some /i/ vowels to /ɘ/ intervocalically; (not treated below)

4) the assimilation of vowels across such inserted or reduced /ɘ/.

Clearly, these patterns could be reduced to rules using the mechanics of generative phonology. However, I have not felt it possible to do that in the present context, and it is not clear to me that it is necessary to do so for OP outside of a historically motivated grammar or a comparative study. i.e. the rules are so restricted that it is undoubtedly more accurate to regard the affected forms as irregular

The preceding phonological processes affect the ~~front end~~ initial sequences of the verb: the root and morphemes that precede it, and the morpheme boundaries between these morphemes. One final phonological process of note affects final /e/ vowels of the root and of the unreal modal ttE. The affected vowels are marked /E/ in citations. These vowels appear as /a/ before certain following morphemes and otherwise as /e/. All /e/ final roots noted to date undergo this alternation, so that the use of /E/ as a diacritic is not strictly necessary. However, I have retained /E/ as a precaution, in case exceptions should be found, and to conform with the similar (and more necessary) use of /E/ or /A/ in other Siouan language

grammars (cf. Rood & Taylor ms:27).

Phonological processes are treated in section 3.6.3.

The OP verb has been treated more extensively in the available material than most aspects of OP grammar. I have consulted Boas (1907:327-337), Boas & Swanton (1911:903-904, 914-921, 931, 935-936), and Dorsey ms (9-11, 16-17, 25-29, 40-94, 117-121, 129-132, 136-142, 152-153). The Boas material is restricted to personal paradigms and morpheme lists, but is quite valuable for these and for examples, though all examples should be examined in the original source (CNAE VI), since some are taken out of context. Dorsey's own ms material is rather ill-organized, and lacks many details, as must be expected of an unfinished product, but it is extremely valuable, since it treats many aspects of the morphology that Boas neglects. In addition to Boas and Dorsey, I have consulted La Flesche's Osage Dictionary (1932), which includes partial paradigms for most of the verbs that it lists, and often lists derived stems as separate entries. Forms such as the i + ki benefactives, overlooked by Boas, as well as other oddities of dative inflection, can all be confirmed with Osage parallels from LaFlesche's Dictionary.

3.6.1 Derivational Structure

The general formula for the derivational structure of the OP verb is given in (1).

(1) NOM + OIN + ADV + TM + IIN + ROOT + AUX + MODAL

The only detail which this formula introduces over the general picture of the overview (section 3.6), aside from order, is the division of the general category of instrumentals into two groups occupying different slots, the outer instrumentals (OIN) and the inner instrumentals (IIN).

This formula (1) is misleading in several respects.

1) It fails to indicate that multiple instances of some morpheme classes exist in some verbs. In essence, multiple instances amount to treatment of derived forms as roots. In other words, multiple instances of particular morpheme classes in derived forms draw attention to the fact that (1) does not contain any recognisation of the fact that some derivatives are lexical items to a degree that others are not.

2) Formula (1) also implies that forms with all slots filled exist, whereas, if they do, they are unknown to me, and are probably vanishingly rare. In fact, (1) is nothing more than a convenient shorthand for a series of subrules like those in (2).

(2) NOM + OIN + ROOT

NOM + IIN + ROOT

OIN + ADV + ROOT

etc.

The memberships of all eight morpheme classes in (1), except the class ROOT, are summarized in tables 3.6.1-1 through 3.6.1-7. Examples of derivations follow.

Table 3.6.1-1 Nominals (NOM)

wa INDEF

demonstratives, e.g., e REF

nouns, e.g., ɣ̌e 'flesh', ɣ̌a 'wood, tree', kka 'rope, sinew', ni 'water', hi 'feather', hu 'voice', ɣ̌u 'body'

initials of infixing verbs, where these initials are not presently analyzable, e.g., ma in ma/đi 'walk' or ma/đa 'steal'

Table 3.6.1-2 Outer Instrumentals (OIN)

má	CUT (= Os pá)
mú	SHOOT (= Os pú ~ pó)
(ná ?)	HEAT, SPONTANEOUS (= Os tá)

N.B. Status of ná is hard to determine, since the principal means of distinguishing outer instrumentals is their position relative to the pronominals or transitivity modifiers, which in ná derivatives are apparently always attached to a causative auxiliary.

3.6.1-6 Auxiliaries (AUX)

Table 3.6.1-3 Adverbials (ADV)

á ~ a	ON
í ~ i	WITH
u ~ ú	IN
uđ + u	ABOUT

Table 3.6.1-4 Transitivity Modifiers (TM)

kki	RFLX (reflexive/reciprocal)
kí	POSS (possessive)
ki	DAT (dative)
i + ki	BEN (benefactive)

Table 3.6.1-5 Inner Instrumentals (IIN)

pa	TOOL (with a long tool, or by pushing)
pi	PRESS (by pressing)
ka	STRIKE (by violent action) by wind
na	FOOT
đa	MOUTH
đi	HAND

Table 3.6.1-6 Auxiliaries (AUX)

a	USE
ɖE~ khiɖE	CAUSE
ɖa	AUX (apparently empty)
ɖi	AUX (apparently empty)

J. some -la in Da. (not the demon)

probably 'move'

Table 3.6.1-7 Modals (MODAL)

ttE	FUT (future, irrealis)
eka	OPT (optative)
ttattE	FUT (future of certainty)
tteikhe	FUT (used only with first person)
tteithe	POSSIBILITY
eithe	POSSIBILITY
ttatteithe	POSSIBILITY
ethe	OBLIGATION
etheka	INCLINATION
theka	INCLINATION
-ta-	(?)

Sub-analyses are obvious, but meaning of constituents not clear

as indicated are: (Os)(clasf.)

Examples

NOM + ROOT

(3) wa/mí 'bleed'

(4) wa/kázE 'teach', cf. /kázE 'pretend, demonstrate'

(5) wa/ɬáthE 'eat things (Intrans.)', cf. /ɬáthE 'eat (Trans.)'

(6) e/[h]É 'say' = /e/ e REF + ... 3rd pers

(7) é/ɬE 'think' e REF + ɬE [illegible] CAUSE?

(8) kká/tha 'bridle' (= kka 'sinew' + tha 'contact')

(9) žé/kɬa 'broil meat' (= že 'flesh' + kɬa 'broil')

NOM + OIN

(10) žáma/xa 'whittle' (ža 'wood' + má CUT + xa (?))

NOM + IIN

(11) wa/pahi 'graze' (wa INDEF + pa TOOL + hi (?))

NOM + ADV

(12) žaa/pasate 'push against a tree' (ža 'wood' + a ON + pa TOOL + satE 'hold')

NOM + NOM

(13) (Os) wawe/paha 'be a witness; know something for someone' wa INDEF + wa INDEF + i/paha 'know')

OIN + ADV

(14) (Os) táa/makka 'be patient, endure' (ta SPONTANEOUS + a ON + makka (?))

OIN + IIN

probably just pize 'dry'

(15) (Os) tápize/kagE 'dry clothing' (ta HEAT + pi PRESS + ze (?) + kagE 'make, do')

(16) (Os) pa/paxE 'cut cord or rope with knife' (pa CUT + pa TOOL + xE (?))

ADV + ROOT

(17) (Os) a/tapE 'watch over' (a ON + tapE 'see')

(18) (Os) itape /kagE 'imitate' (i WITH + tapE 'see' + kagE 'make, do')

(19) (Os) utape đakđi 'pleasing to look at' (u IN + tapE 'see' + đakđi 'good')

(20) (Os) uđu/tapE 'give thought to' (uđu ABOUT + tapE 'see')

ADV + IIN

(21) a/pitha 'touch with palm' (a ON + pi PRESS + tha 'contact')

ADV + TM

(22) (Os) a/kitapE 'watch over one's own' (a ON + ki POSS + tapE 'see')

ADV + ADV

(23) (Os) iđapasu 'point at with finger' (i WITH + intrusive đ + a/pasu 'point at')

(24) (Os) iúkɗakhi 'moisten finger in mouth' (í WITH + u IN + k POSS + ɗa MOUTH + khi (?))

(25) (Os) uikɗana 'cause offence' (u IN + ikɗana 'commit crime') ki ?

(26) (Os) ŭatasake 'scab' (u IN + a ON + ta HEAT + sakE 'harden, form crust?')

TM + IIN

(27) (Os) /kiɓazi 'drive one's own horses' (ki POSS + pa TOOL + zi (?))

IIN + IIN

pize 'dry

(28) (Os) kapízE 'dry by action of wind' (ka STRIKE + pi PRESS + zE (?))

(29) (Os) /paáze 'repel' (pa TOOL + ka STRIKE + zE (?), cf. kazE 'cut with a blow')

(30) (Os) /piɗítha 'straighten by hand pressure' (pi PRESS + ɗi HAND + tha 'contact', cf. ɗitha 'touch')

ROOT + AUX

(31) /ká/ɗa 'desire' (? ka THUS + ɗa AUX)

(32) (Os) éki/pi/a 'be accustomed to'

(33) t'é/ɗE 'kill' (t'E 'die' + ɗE CAUSE)

(34) (Os) /ná/ɗi 'fail to understand'

ROOT + MODAL

(35) ɗi'átte 'will fail, may fail' (ɗi'a 'fail' + ttE FUT)

(36) /ká/ɗ eka 'desire + OPT' = 'would like'

3.6.2 Pronominalization

This discussion of the pronominalization of the OP verb is divided into five subsections:

1) the pronominal morphemes;
2) the rules governing the relative order of the pronominal morphemes with respect to each other;
3) the rules governing the insertion of the pronominal morphemes within the verb stem;
4) the rules governing the use of the plural marker; and
5) formation of the imperative.

3.6.2.1 Pronominal Morphemes

Pronominals are divided into two basic types - patient and agent. Each of these types has two subtypes. In the patient pronominals the basis of the division is semantic. The first subtype, patient pronominals proper, are used to mark patient concord in stative and transitive verbs. The second subtype are the dative pronominals. These are used to mark patient concord in special groups of derived verbs that show patient concord with an affected dative instead of a patient proper. These derived verbs all contain the TM morpheme ki DAT. Examples of dative derivatives are u/ ixpaɛ́E 'be lost to one' (< u/xpaɛ́E 'be lost, grope'), kípa 'summon, invite' (< pa 'shout'), kiáɛE 'make for one' (<káɛE 'make, do'). Historically the dative pronominals are contractions of the patient pronominals proper with a following ki DAT. In fact, it is still the case that ki always disappears following a dative pronominal. However, at present the dative pronominals take thesame form even when other morphemes intervene between them and ki, as for example in the pronominal-dative fragment iɛ́e D1sA2 + DAT 'you to me' < iɛ́a D1sA2 + kí DAT. In other words, the contractions of the patient pronominals with following ki DAT have been generalized to replace all patient pronominals in dative verbs, creating a special set of dative pronominals. The patient and dative pronominals are listed in table 3.6.2.1-1.

Table 3.6.2.1-1 Patient Pronominals (P)

	Patient	Dative
P1s	a	i
P2	đi	đi
P3	-	(ki)
P1p	wa + (a)[1]	wi + (a), we + (a)
P3p	wa[2]	we

[1] wa + a > wa except in combination with ki DAT, i WITH, or u IN, all of which are inserted between wa and a.

[2] wa is used only in transitive verbs.

Table 3.6.2.1-2 Agent Pronominals (A)

	Full Set PS		Full Set O	Syncopated Set PS		Syncopated Set O
A1s	*wa	>	a	*w	>	p (p ~ t ~ k ~ Ø ~ m)[1]
A2	*ya	>	đa	*y	>	š (š ~ h ~ Ø ~ ž)[2]
A3	-		-	-		-
A1p	*wak	>	ak ~ a[3]	*wak	>	ak ~ a[3]

[1] Variants dependent on the stem class: t in t-stems, k in one type of k-stems, Ø in some h-stems, m in '-stems, p otherwise.

[2] š ~ h ~ Ø as alternants in đ-stems; ž in '-stems; š otherwise.

[3] The ak alternant occurs only before the adverbials a ON and u IN.

Agent pronominals are divided into full and syncopated sets. The latter set is actually several closely related sets which I treat together as a convenience. The two sets differ in their A1s and A2 forms and share a common A1p form. There is no difference in meaning between the two sets; they are simply used with different groups of verbs. The full ~ syncopated alternation derives from Proto-Siouan (cf. Koontz 1983), in which the A1s and A2 full pronominals were *wa and *ya, respectively, while the corresponding syncopated forms were *w and *y, which seem to have been used only before certain consonants in the stem. While *wa and *ya have given rise to the OP full forms a A1s and ɖa A2, the developments of *w and *y are generally more complex and various, and lose the obvious parallelism with the full forms that existed in Proto-Siouan. In addition, the conditioning of the use of the syncopated pronouns has become largely a matter of the identity of the following root or other morpheme (cf. section 3.6.4.1). The forms of the agent pronominals are given in table 3.6.2.1-2.

In most cases in transitive verbs the agent and patient pronominals coexist when necessary. There is one exception to this rule, in the form of the special portmanteau morpheme wi A1P2, which is used whenever the A1s and P2 categories co-occur. This portmanteau is probably the development of earlier syncopated *w A1s + *yi P2, where *yi is the ancestor in Proto-Siouan of OP ɖi P2 (Koontz 1980ms; Carter MSS).

When the agent pronominals or the portmanteau wi precede the dative marker ki, they may contract with it. This never happens with the possessive marker ki. As stated above, contractions of the patient pronominals with dative ki are automatic, and the resulting forms have been generalized to replace all patient pronominals in derived dative verbs. The conditioning of the agent pronominals and ki DAT is discussed in section 3.6.3, under the rule of k-Lenition. The contractions that occur between pronominals and ki are summarized in table 3.6.2.1-3.

Note that the ki's are reversed in morphophonemic behavior in Dakota. The universal form is probably innovated in each case. i.e. in PS there was not POSS:DAT opposition...

reword. this is vacuous

Contractions between ki DAT and agent pronominals ~~can~~ only occur when the agent pronominals in question are full forms, and As it happens, only full forms of the agent pronominals can occur before ki DAT. In the case of verbs whose underlying stem uses the syncopated forms, the dative derivatives actually have two sets of agent pronominals: the full set before the dative marker, and the syncopated set before the underlying stem's initial. The details of such patterns are given in section 3.6.2.3, which deals with the rules governing the insertion of pronominals into the verb stem. Section 3.6.4.1 gives a synopsis of the forms of the dative stems and their pronominalization patterns.

Table 3.6.2-3 Dative Contractions

A1s	+ P3	+ DAT	a	+	Ø	+	kí		=	é
A2	+ P3	+ DAT	đa	+	Ø	+	kí		=	đé
(A3	+ P3	+ DAT	Ø	+	Ø	+	ki		=	ki)
A1p	+ P3	+ DAT	a̲	+	Ø	+	kí		=	í
A1P2		+ DAT	wi	+	Ø	+	kí		=	wí
A3	+ P1s	+ DAT	Ø	+	a̲	+	ki		=	i̲
A3	+ P2	+ DAT	Ø	+	đi	+	ki		=	đi
(A3	+ P3	+ DAT	Ø	+	Ø	+	ki		=	ki)
A3	+ P1p	+ DAT	Ø	+	wa	+	ki	+ a	=	we + (a) ~ wi + (a)
A3	+ P3p	+ DAT	Ø	+	wa	+	ki		=	we

3.6.2.2 Pronominal Ordering

The agent and patient pronominals co-occur in transitive verbs, as stated in the overview. Transitive verbs include for present purposes not only strictly transitive verbs, simple or derived, but also appropriate dative verbs. Note that reflexive and possessive TM-morpheme derived stems do not have separate agent and patient, while it appears that benefactive derivatives, which might be expected to have full paradigms, have only forms with third person (i.e., zero) patients. (At any rate, no other forms have been noted, and these are all that Dorsey ms (139) gives.)

In order to discuss the relative ordering of pronominals in transitive verbs, it is necessary to distinguish four classes of pronominals, as given in table 3.6.2.2-1. Note that of these classes, class A' is actually a subclass of class A. Except when it co-occurs with WA, A' behaves ~~as a member~~ like of A. In terms of the four classes, the ordering of the pronominals with respect to each other can be stated as in (37).

(37) INCL > WA > A, except WA = we > INCL

A' > WA

Within A, 1s > 2, when they are not merged as a portmanteau.

Table 3.6.2.2-1 Pronominal Classes for Order

Class	Membership
A	A2 ɗa P2 ɗi, D2 ɗi All syncopated agent pronominals for A1s and A2. The second morpheme a in wa + a P1p, and we~wi + a D1p. Class A' when class WA does not co-occur.
A' (Subset of A used when WA ~~does not~~ co-occurs)	A1s a P1s a̱, D1s i̱
INCL	A1p a̱k~a̱ The first morpheme wa in wa + a P1p, and we~wi + a D1p.
WA	P3p wa (and also other occurences of wa as INDEF or root initial morpheme) D3p we

This ordering scheme may otherwise be stated as a matrix of ordering relations, per table 3.6.2.2-2.

The portmanteau wi A1P2 could be regarded as a member of A (but not A') for present purposes, based on its ordering behavior. However, for a reason which will become obvious in section 3.6.2.3, I would like to treat wi as a morpheme introduced secondarily whenever A1s and P2 co-occur. Since these two categories never appear together on the surface in a verb realized with two distinct morphemes not including wi, we cannot say what order A1s and P2 occur in with respect to each other. For convenience we may assume the order A1s + P2, since this was probably the historical order of the Proto-Siouan morphemes which coalesced to form wi, cf. section 3.6.2.1.

Examples of conjugated verb forms may be found in section 3.6.2.3. Sample transitive paradigms are included in section 3.6.4.2.

Table 3.6.2.2-2 Pronoun Ordering Matrix

P / A	1s	2	3s	3p	1p
1s	-	=	Ø	>	-
2	<	-	Ø	<	<
3	Ø	Ø	Ø	Ø	Ø
1p	-	>	Ø	>/<	-

Key

Ø	No combination, since 3s is Ø.
-	Combination does not occur.
>	A precedes P.
<	P precedes A.
>/<	Situation varies: A > P, but A < Dative P.
=	A and P represented by a portmanteau form.

3.6.2.3 Pronominal Positioning

The rules for the placement of pronominals in OP verb stems are complex. To account for the patterns observed, it is necessary to distinguish the same set of pronominal classes distinguished in discussing pronominal order (see table 3.6.2.2-1), with the addition of one more, A", consisting of the A1s and A2 agent pronominals, full and syncopated. The class A" is again a subclass of A. A" must be distinguished because there are certain positions within verb stems which receive secondary echo copies of agent A pronominals that appear in the main A position. The portmanteau wi is not included in any of the pronominal sets, but is introduced after pronominalization to replace appropriate P2 di and D2 di pronominals.

In addition to the pronominal classes, it is necessary to distinguish six classes of verb stem constituents. These are given in table 3.6.2.3-1. The form of the verb stem in terms of these constitutents is given in (38).

$$(38) \qquad (Y) + (Y') + \left\{ \begin{matrix} & \text{BASE} \\ \text{TM} + & \text{BASE}' \end{matrix} \right\} + (Z)$$

That is, verb stems may contain initial preverbs, nonmoveable or moveable, followed by a required base, which must be either

Table 3.6.2.3-1 Verb Stem Constituent Classes for Pronominalization

Class	Description
Y	Nonmoveable Preverb
Y'	Moveable Preverb
TM	Transitivity Modifier
BASE	Base
BASE'	Syncopating Base
Z	Auxiliary

a nonsyncopating base or a TM consituent followed by a syncopating base, and the whole may be followed by a auxiliary constituent. All of these constituents are defined in ways specific to the present discussion. That is, though the derivational morphemes of verb stems can be mapped onto the stem constituent types in the fashion described below, the stem constituent classes are not the basic elements of verb stem derivation, but are only relevant to pronominalization.

Preverbs are morpheme sequences which precede the main stem and can be separated from it by pronominals. There are two classes of preverbs, moveable and nonmoveable. The nonmoveable preverbs (Y) precede all members of the pronominal classes INCL and A. In contrast, the moveable preverbs (Y') precede A pronominals but follow INCL pronominals. The term moveable is intended to suggest this variability in position relative to the pronominal slot, though the term moveable is not particularly apt in the context. Nonmoveable preverbs comprise:

1) incorporated nominals (NOM), including wa,
2) outer instrumentals (OIN),
3) the subsequence ud of the udu ABOUT adverbial,
4) subordinated verbs and adverbs used with the dE ~ khidE causative or kaeE causative, and
5) some initial sequences of infixing roots, like na of ná/ppE 'fear'; and
6) sequences of the foregoing.

Moveable preverbs are a much smaller set, comprising only:

1) the á ON, u IN, and í WITH adverbials (when last in a sequence of adverbials, or when alone),
2) the final u of the udu ABOUT adverbial (historically a special case of a final adverbial in a sequence).
3) initial i of the i + ki BEN TM morpheme, and
4) some initial sequences of infixing roots, like ma in ma/dí 'steal'.

Transitivity modifier constituents (TM) are:

1) kki RFLX and ki´ POSS with syncopating p-, t-, and k-stems, and
2) ki DAT and the ki of i + ki BEN with all syncopating stems.

All other TM morphemes fail to form TM consituents, and form part of the base.

Bases (BASE and BASE') comprise:

1) sequences of TM + IIN + ROOT in which TM is not defined as a TM constituent per the preceding,
2) sequences of IIN + ROOT otherwise, and
3) auxiliary ɬE~khiɬE and kaɮE causatives.

The base constituents must be subdivided into two subtypes: syncopating bases (BASE'), which are bases that are preceded by a TM constituent, and nonsyncopating bases (BASE), which are bases not preceded by a TM constituent, even if the base actually follows the syncopating paradigm. The BASE or TM + BASE' sequence is the central portion of the verb stem, before which the primary group of A pronominals are positioned.

Auxiliary or Z constituents follow the base. The auxiliary constituents are:

1) đa AUX,

2) đi AUX, and

3) a + ži NEG, in respect of its first person forms only.

Given the defined classes of pronominals and verb stem constituents, the positioning of the pronominals in the verb stem can be described with (39).

$$(39) \qquad A' + WA + (Y) + INCL + (Y') + \cancel{INCL} + \begin{Bmatrix} A + TM + A'' + BASE \\ A + \qquad\quad BASE \end{Bmatrix} + (A'' + Z)$$

Recall that A' and A'' are (overlapping) subsets of A, and that A' is only separate from A when WA pronominals co-occur, while A'' consists only of agent pronominals copying agent pronominals in A. Note that (39) contains no statement of the form of the A pronominals. Before TM BASE', syncopating conjugation BASE, and Z the agent pronominals are taken from the syncopated set. Otherwise they are taken from the full set. Patient pronominals come from the dative set in dative derivatives, and from the patient pronominals proper otherwise. In addition, the form of some pronominals before or after Y' may be altered by virtue of the use of the ak alternate of a ~ ak Alp before the a ON and u IN adverbials (which are Y' forms), or the insertion of glide đ or w

between some Y' and some A pronominals.

There is one serious drawback in (39). A comparison of (39) and (38) will reveal an inconsistancy. This inconsistancy is that formula (38) asserts the order INCL > WA (i.e., Alp a precedes P3p wa, but not D3p we), while formula (39) asserts that WA > Y > INCL in all cases. Thus (38) says that INCL > WA, while (39) says that WA > INCL. The assertion that WA > Y > INCL is based on the observations that WA > Y and Y > INCL. Since it is potentially possible for WA, Y, and INCL to co-occur, this leads to the prediction of (39). It appears that this awkward contradiction is inherent in the language. Because of holes in my data, I do not actually know what happens when WA, Y, and INCL co-occur. There is a somewhat similar problem in Dakhota which is resolved variably by either violating one of the rules or duplicating the Y in different positions (Rood & Taylor ms:95).

Another minor difficulty arises from the existance of a few exceptions to the A' > WA rule, as in (40) and (41).

(40) (Os) wa + á + a + kkippa -> wáakkippa 'I meet them'
P3p ON Als meet (á/kkippa 'meet')

Here the expected form would be *áwakkippa.

(41) (Os) wá + a + nąk'ą ~ á + wa + nąk'ą
P3p A1s hear A1s P3p hear
'I hear them' 'I hear them'

These forms are from LaFlesche (1932:182, 192, 197).

In a few cases, INCL form ą A1p precedes an OIN morpheme which it should theoretically follow, on the basis of the claims made in (39). For an example, see (43) below.

Examples

(42) A' > WA: (Os) awak'i 'I give something'

(Os) awapi 'I bleed' (wa/pi)

(Os) awakhice 'I missed hitting them'

(Os) awakkapda 'I raided them' (kka/da)

(43) WA > Y: (Os) wanaappe 'I am frightened' (na/ppE)

(Os) wamaxeade 'I cheat them' (maxe/dE)

(44) Y > INCL: (Os) paažattai 'we slit it' (pa/žattE 'slit with knife')

but apažakai 'we enlarged it' (pa/žakE 'enlarge with knife')

(45) INCL > Y': (Os) akatapai 'we watched over him' (a/tapE 'watch over')

(46) Y' > A: (Os) attape 'I watched over him' (a/tapE)

(Os) aace 'I embraced him' (a/cE 'embrace')

(Os) adace 'you embraced him'

(47) A > TM > BASE': (Os) dakištape 'you look at your own' (/ki/tapE 'look at one's own < /tapE 'see')

(48) A + BASE + A" + AUX: (Os) kkápɬa 'I desire it'

(/ka/ɬa)

(Os) škášna 'you desire it'

I stated above that wi A1P2 must be introduced into the already pronominalized verb stem later, replacing appropriate instances of P2 đi or D2 đi. The rule for this introduction is that it occurs in any verb stem which also has an A1s pronominal (full or syncopated) in it. If the A1s pronominal adjacent to wi is the full A1s pronominal a, then it is deleted. Example (49) shows wi in a nonsyncopating form; example (50) in a syncopating form, accompanied by a syncopated A1s pronominal p.

(49) (Os) wiápđa 'I beat you in a contest' (/á/đa 'abandon')

(50) (Os) wittápe 'I see you' (/tápE 'see')

3.6.2.4 The Plural Marker and Its Substitutes

The OP pronominal system's plural marker (a reanalyzed augment morpheme, per the overview) is i~pi. This morpheme is suffixed to the verb base or conjugated auxiliary. The same marker is used in both the agent and patient plural, and, in fact, the marker may only occur once, even if both the agent and patient are plural. The rules governing the presence of the plural marker are:

1) It never appears for A1s or P1s or D1s pronominals.
2) It always appears for A1p, P1p, or D1p pronominals.
3) It appears for A2, P2, D2, and A3 pronominals (including A3 Ø), if the referent is to be marked plural.
4) It never appears for P3 Ø marking singular.
5) It never appears for P3p wa marking plural third person patient (presumably because it would be superfluous).

These basic rules are subject to several additional constraints. First, plurality of third persons is never marked in the verb if explicitly indicated by a quantifier.

(51) I.2.a šáke įwįxpad éte nąpá wépahą

horse ~~they are~~ it is lost to me TOPIC two he knew them

he knew two horses which I had lost (were lost to me)

(52) II.1 šaą́ tupa ttí am áma

Dakhota SOME they camped EXIST QUOTE

There were some Dakhotas camping.

It appears that the plurality of inaimates is also not marked with the plural marker.

(53) 559.11 ékide kkątehi akhá maą́ khetta

finally plum trees the cliffs at the

ákappamuxti ídistaxti

weighted with fruit adhering in clusters

nąži akh áma

they stood PROGR QUOTE

As you'd expect, there were plum trees standing on the cliff, weighed down with clusters of fruit.

(53) 559.13 kkąte ke dise

plums the he was pulling off

He was stripping down plums.

Neither kkątehi 'plums tree(s)' in (52), nor kąte ke 'the (collective) plums' in (53) govern a plural in their respective verbs.

Under conditions which I do not fully understand, plurality is attributed to third person singular agents, and in such cases the plural marker accompanies the verb. According to Dorsey (1891:29), the same conditions that govern the use of the agent forms of the animate gender definite articles also govern the use of attributed plurality. Agents not attributed plurality use the nonagent forms of the articles. See section 3.7.3.2 for extracts of Dorsey's informants' comments. Essentially, they (the inf.) suggested that deliberate action and visibility might be involved. Visibility, relative to the speaker and hearer both, does seem to be one element in the conditioning. Text I (see Appendix A) discuses extensively the individual Henry Rice, who is not visible to either the speaker (letter writer) or hearer (letter receiver). Nowhere is Henry Rice attributed plurality. It is perhaps consistant with this that singular agents in Text II (see Appendix A) are not attributed plurality in scene-setting sentences (54), but do receive it afterward (55).

(54) II.3 ... wį ukáša ɬé ...
one wander he went there
one of them went wandering

(55) II.4 khi ... t'éɬai
and ... he killed him

Though (54) follows (53) immediately, and has the same agent, the agent is plural in (54) and singular in (53).

The i~pi marker appears as i under normal circumstances. However, under certain morphological conditions pi appears instead. The conditions identified so far are:

1) before the quotative ama;

(56) II.2 wahąšną hekapažipi ama
restless he was not a little QUOTE
he was not a little restless

2) before the conjunctions eka SINCE and kki WHEN;

(57) II.14 "hį" api eką
"hį" he said it SINCE
having said "hį"

(58) II.2 uíhapi kki
he joined them WHEN
(even) if he joined them

3) before the negative postclitic (a) + ži.

The use of pi in negatives is illustrated in (56) in hékapaži, where the p in -paži is probably from pi. Since two instances of pi appear in this form if this pi is counted, it is probable that speakers do not see this pi as a real one, but only as part the peculiar mørphology of the negative.

4) Pi also appears in songs, as in (59).

(59) 358.6 "Naha' niašikapi ehe'." (sung)
Oh mother, they are men, I said.

N.B. Stress pattern disrupted by meter.

This can be compared with the version in the text discussing the song.

(60) 358.2 naha' deama niašikai ha
oh mother, these the they are men DECL
Oh mother, these are men

In verbs of motion plurality is marked either secondarily or solely with the a' ON adverbial, evidently in a commitative sense.

(61) II.5 waha aɖai (a + ɖE + i)
move camp he went ON go PL

(62) II.7 ɖe waha aɖe (a + ɖE) akha
THIS move camp he went ON go the
this one who moved camp

These two examples also show that the a plural acts as an attributed plural just as the i ~ pi plural does.

3.6.2.5 Imperatives

Imperative verbs use the stem of the verb, without second person pronominals. The postclitic particles of the imperative, ka (male speaker) and a (female speaker), are appended to the stem.

(63) II.9 khi wa'u akha, "ttiati maqdi a"
and woman the to the tent get back! IMP
And the woman [said], "Get back to the tent!"

3.6.3 Phonological Rules Affecting Verbs

The following notes on OP phonological rules affecting verbs are extremely preliminary. The rules indicated are restricted to those whose influence in verbal forms is most obvious and most nearly regular and widespread. An examination of the paradigms in section 3.6.4 will show that other rules could certainly be adduced. All of the rules below have analogies in closely related Siouan languages and are evidently the morphologized descendents of automatic phonetic processes in ancestral forms of Siouan. Reduction of the remnants to a rigorous set of rules would require a better grasp of OP data than I can presently claim.

RULE 1 Glide-ɖ Insertion

This rule reflects original epenthetic *y inserted between a front vowel and an adjacent vowel in another morpheme. The original *y was later rhotacized, and the resultant *r appears in OP as ɖ.

(64) V_1V_2 -> V_1ɖ V_2, if *V_1 = i or e, or *V_2 = i or e

Examples

(65) i WITH + a Als -> iɖa

(66) i WITH + a ON -> iɗa

(67) *i WITH + u IN -> uɗu ABOUT

(68) a Alp + i WITH -> aɗa

Examples (67) and (68) show that the original conditioning of the rule can be obscured, in this case by the operation of Rule 3 Vowel Assimilation. Rule 1 does not affect the output of Rule 2 k-Lenition or the adverbial sequences á ON + í WITH or u IN + í WITH. Nor does it affect all í WITH + u IN sequences, cf. Os iúkɗakhi 'moisten fingers in /the mouth'.

RULE 1a Glide-w Insertion

An analogous rule of insertion affects some sequences of u and another vowel.

(69) V_1V_2 -> V_1 w V_2, if *V_1 = u, or *V_2 = u

Examples

(70) uɗu ABOUT + a Als -> uɗuwa

The fact that ~~this~~ the same pattern is not listed by Dorsey ms (137) for the first person of u IN adverbial stems is probably an orthographical convention, since LaFlesche (1932) lists the first persons of such forms in Osage as in (71).

(71) (Os) u IN + a Als -> uwa

RULE 2 k-Lenition

(72) k -> Ø / V# __ V́

In practice this rule affects only the following sequences.

(73) $\left\{\begin{matrix}\text{PRO}\\ \text{ADV}\end{matrix}\right\} + \left\{\begin{matrix}\text{kí DAT}\\ \text{ká STRIKE}\end{matrix}\right\} + \text{BASE}$

ki DAT + kágE 'make, do'

i + PRO + kí BEN + BASE

Examples

(73) a Als + kí DAT + p Als + kágE 'make, do'
-> éppagE 'I make for him' (via a + íppagE)

(74) a Als + ká STRIKE + ka -> áka 'I chop' (via aáka)

(75) u IN + kí DAT + ha -> uíha 'he joined'

(76) a ON + ká STRIKE + ka -> áka 'he slices for drying'

(77) ki DAT + káge 'make' -> kiáge 'he makes for him'

N.B. LaFlesche lists the corresponding Osage form as kšíge or kčíge. ie. khíge ?

(78) i + a Als + kí BEN -> idé (via idaí)

The sequence PRO + kí POSS is not affected; nor are the few additional k-initial verb roots of OP, like kázE 'immitate, demonstrate, etc.' In addition, ki DAT and ka STRIKE are only affected if the stress falls on them, as (79) and (80) demonstrate.

(79) u IN + á Als + ka STRIKE + ta ->
uákata 'I pound it in'

(80) u IN + á Als + k + naži 'stand' -> uákinaži 'I follow someone'
uwá...?

RULE 2a e-Formation

(81) aí -> e, when aí results from a + ki

This affects the sequences of (82).

(82) { a Als / đa A2 / wa (in wa + a P1p) / wa P3p / a ON } + { kí DAT / ki in i + ki BEN }

Examples

(83) (Os) / a ON + kí DAT + đaska 'be of a size' ->
é/đaska 'fit one'

See also table 3.6.2.1-2, and examples (73) and (78).

RULE 3 Vowel Assimilation

(84) V [weak] is assimilated to V [strong] across đ or w

This process has been exemplified above in (67) and (68).

It appears that nasal vowels are relatively stronger than oral vowels a, i, and u, but not e, and that oral vowel u is stronger than i, but not other oral vowels or nasal vowels.

RULE 4 Ablaut

(85) E -> a/ ___ pi~i PL
ka~a IMP
dikhE PROGR
(a) + ži NEG

-> e/ elsewhere

It appears that verb root final /e/ and final /e/ of ttE, the unreal condition/future postclitic are all E. No exception to the rule that stem final e is an E is known at present. It may be that OP ablaut can be accounted for by positing a special morpheme a that intervenes between the verb and certain following morphemes, causing replacement of final underlying e by virtue of the usual rule of reduction of two vowel sequences ($V_1 + V_2$ -> V_2). The details of this have not been examined. It has already been suggested that a-grade vowels before reflexes of Proto-Siouan *pi PL can be accounted for by assuming instead Proto-Siouan *api (Rood 1983:27-28).

3.6.4 Paradigms

This section consists of two subsections. The first is a conspectus of the agent inflection and TM-stem formation patterns of OP. The second is a collection of basic intransitive and transitive paradigms, presented as fully as possible. The pronominal paradigms presented in these sections are in principle predictable on the basis of the discussion in sections 3.6.2 and 3.6.3. In practice it is easier to consult the tables in this section and treat the material in the other two as a commentary upon them. The addition of the TM-stem formation information in the first subsection constitutes material not prefigured in earlier sections.

3.6.4.1 Conspectus of Agent Inflection and TM-Stem Formation

OP active and transntive verbs can be divided into six paradigms based on the forms of the agent pronominals that they take; whether these are full or syncopated, and, if the latter, which forms these take. The resulting classes correlate with those arrived at independently on a basis of the patterns of TM-stem formation, and of the conjugational form of these TM stems. They also correlate largely, but not entirely, with a classification of stems by their initial segment. This initial segment is the base initial segment (cf. section 3.6.2.3), not the initial segment of the whole derived form, or of the root.

It appears that any verb stem can be classified when its A1s and A3 (Ø inflected) forms are known, and that the other inflected forms of the verb can be predicted from the resultant classification. The A1s forms must be known in order to distinguish between, e.g., ḋE CAUSE, with A1s form aḋe, and ḋE 'go there', with A1s form pḋe, or between /ká/ḋa 'desire', with A1s kkápḋa, and /kágE 'make, do', with A1s ppágE. The A3 forms must be known to distinguish between, e.g., kágE and (Os) paxí 'rouse from sleep', both of which have first persons in ppa ...

The six paradigms are presented in tables 3.6.4.1-1 to 3.6.4.1-6.

In each paradigm or subparadigm is indicated:

1) the A1s, A2, A3, and A1p (where known) forms;
2) the productivity, closure, and size (major, minor, or irregular) of the paradigm;
3) the forms of the TM stems (if any) and their paradigms; and
4) the initial base segments associated with the paradigm.

A paradigm is <u>productive</u> if new forms can be added; <u>closed</u> if unproductive or if all new forms are produced by use of the same finite set of base-initial derivational morphemes (e.g., the inner instrumentals). An example of a productive but closed paradigm is 5a (table 3.6.4.1-5), which contains a few p-initial roots, plus all derivatives formed with the productive inner instrumentals <u>pa</u> TOOL and <u>pi</u> PRESS. Paradigms are <u>major</u> if there are many members; <u>minor</u>, if few; <u>irregular</u>, if very few (one or two), and if the pattern of the conjugation is not parallel to any other paradigms. Thus, 5b (table 3.6.4.1-5) is minor, though it has only one member, because the pattern of 5b parallels those of the other paradigm 5 verbs (5a, 5c, and 5d). Obviously the size evaluations are somewhat arbitrary.

Table 3.6.4.1-1 Paradigm 1

Subparadigm 1a: Regular

Status: Productive, open, major

Initials: Vowels, fricatives, clusters, nasal sonorants, ka STRIKE and ki DAT derivatives when not subject to lenition, kki RFLX and kí POSS derivatives.

1s	a-	RFLX	(1a) + kki +
2	đa-	POSS	(1a) + kí +
3	Ø-	DAT	(1b) + (k)i +
1p	a-	BEN	i + (1i) + (k)i +

Subparadigm 1b: Regular Leniting

Status: Productive, closed, major

Initials: ka STRIKE and ki DAT derivatives when subject to lenition.

1s	a-(k)V́	RFLX	(1a) + kkikđ + V
2	đa-(k)V́	POSS	(1a) + kíkđ + V
3	Ø-kV	DAT	(1b) + (k)i + (k)V
1p	a-(k)V́	BEN	i + (1i) + (k)í + kV

N.B. /kđ/ < ki + (k)V́ with lenition of k.

Subparadigm 1c: Causative ɬE

Status: Productive, closed, major

Initials: Restricted to ɬE CAUSE derivatives; behavior unusual for a ɬ initial stem.

1s	a-ɬE	RFLX	(1a) + kki + ɬE
2	ɬa-ɬE	POSS	(1a) + kí + ɬE
3	Ø-ɬE	DAT	(1a?) + k + hiɬE
1p	(ą...Ø-ɬE?)	BEN	i + (1i) + k + hiɬE

Subparadigm 1d: á Adverbials

Status: Productive, closed, major

Initials: Used when á ON precedes a 1a or 1b form.

1s	á-a-	RFLX	á + (1a) + kki +
2	á-ɬa-	POSS	á + (?) + kí +
3	á-Ø-	DAT	á + (1b) + (k)i +
1p	ąk-á	BEN	i + á + (1b) + (k)i

Subparadigm 1e: u Adverbials

Status: Productive, closed, major

Initials: Used whenever u IN precedes a 1a or 1b form.

1s	u-a-	RFLX	?

2	u-ɗa-	POSS	u + (?) + ki +
3	u-Ø-	DAT	u + (1b) + (k)i +
1p	ąk-u	BEN	?

Subparadigm 1f: i Adverbial

Status: Productive, closed, major

Initials: Used whenever i WITH precedes a 1a or 1b form.

1s	iɗa-	RFLX (Os)	i + (1f) + kki +
2	iɗa-	POSS (Os)	i + (1f) + ki +
3	i-	DAT (Os)	i + (1f) + ki +
1p	aɗa-	BEN	?

Subparadigm 1g: uɗu Adverbial

Status: Productive?, closed, minor?

Initials: Used whenever uɗu ABOUT precedes a 1a or 1b form.

1s	uɗuwa-	RFLX	?
2	uɗuɗa-	POSS	?
3	uɗu-	DAT	uɗu + (1h) +
1p	aɗaku-	BEN	?

Table 3.6.4.2-4 Regular Reflexive Personal Paradigm

A1s	a-kkí
A2	ɗa-kkí
A3	Ø-kkí
A1p	a-kkí
	ɪ

Table 3.6.4.2-5 Regular Possessive Personal Paradigm

A1s	a-kí
A2	ɗa-kí
A3	Ø-kí
A1p	a-kí
	ɪ

Table 3.6.4.2-6 Regular Benefactive Personal Paradigm

A1sB3	iɗé
A2B3	íɗa
A3B3	íki
A1pB3	aɗáki
	ɪ ɪ

Table 3.6.4.2-7 Regular Transitive Personal Paradigm

	P1s	P2	P3	P3p	P1p
A1s	---	wi	a	a-wa	---
A2	a-đa	---	đa	wa-đa	wa-đa
A3	a	đi	Ø	wa	wa
A1p	---	a-đi	a	a-wa	---

Table 3.6.4.2-8 Regular Dative Personal Paradigm

	D1s	D2	D3	D3p	D1p
A1s	---	wi	e	ewe	---
A2	i-đe	---	đe	we-đe	we-đe
A3	i	đi	(ki)	we	we
A1p	---	i-đi	i	we-a	---

3.7.5.2 Noun Clauses

Noun clauses (or subject clauses) are essentially similar in form to relative clauses, except that the matrix clause does not share an NP with the noun clause. Rather, the noun clause as a whole serves as the agent of the transitive verb or active intransitive verb, or as the patient of the stative intransitive verb. Two examples of noun clauses have been noted, (116) and (117). In both cases the verb is probably stative, and the clause marker is ete REF + TOPIC.

(116) 477.9 šíkažika wiwítta wakhék ete ppíaži

child	mine	he is sick	REF-TOPIC	it is not good

My child's illness is severe.

(117) 475.10 wikíttape et ekamázi

I see you my own REF-TOPIC it is not likely

I'm not likely to see you, my kin.

3.7.5.3 Complement Clauses

Certain transitive verbs generally take as patient an embedded clause, realized in nominalized form. In most cases, it appears that persons coreferential between the main or matrix clause and the embedded clause are marked pronominally in the embedded clause verb. In addition, it appears that in most cases the embedded clause is not followed by a specifier. Some apparent counterexamples exist, however for both generalizations. At present lack of (located and analyzed) data makes it impossible to decide whether these exceptions are regular features of the affected verbs, or whether there are larger considerations, applying to all verbs that take complement clauses.

Examples

/ká/ða 'want, desire'

(118) I.5.a / wakazuxti íðamąge kką́pða
very honestly ~~one~~ you interrogate him I desire it
I want you to interrogate ~~[this] very honest man~~ him thoroughly

N.B. I have corrected iðámąge 'I interrogate' to íðamąge 'you interrogate' in this example, based on context.

(119) I.6 anáʼa kkapɬ éka

I hear it I desire it OPT

I would like to hear it

(120) 475.1 wittápe kkápɬa

I see you I desire it

I want to see you

ʼí/ɬE 'promise'

(121) 476.4 uxɬéxči kɬí ʼídaɬe

very soon arrive back here you promise it

wíkkapɬa

I desire you

I want you to promise to come back very soon

N.B. Note that kɬi, governed by ʼiɬe, is without a second person pronoun (expected *ɬakɬi) here. An example of ʼiɬe from the texts is (122). However, it does not permit a decision on person marking, since the main clause verb is a third person with zero marking, and the embedded verb might have either no marking or zero third person marking.

(122) I.3.b uɬúkkie žuákɬ ʼíɬe

he speaks with him he with me he promised it

He promised to speak with them [pl. in context]

along with me.

wa/khE 'mean, refer to'

(123) 482.9 awą́xpani the áwakhe
I am poor VER I mean it
I refer to my poverty

N.B. Example (123) contains an embedded clause followed by an article, as does (124).

/áda 'discard, abandon'; e/E 'say'

(124) 487.17/488.1 nį́kkašika ukhéedį the
person common (=indian) VER
kiáda ka ehámąži
abandon your own! IMP I did not say
I did not say to give up being an indian

N.B. The article the VER, which is inanimate in gender, cannot apply in (124) to nį́kkašika ukhéedį as an animate noun. It must apply to it instead as a stative verb 'being an indian'. That is, nį́kkašįka ukhéedį the is an embedded clause. In that event, however, it lacks a pronominal inflection for the second person. It is quite possible to inflect a noun N to derive a form meaning 'be an N' in OP. Dorsey ms (141) lists the inflected form of nį́kkašika as nį́kkadišįka for the second person. Without additional

examples, it is not possible to determine whether the lack of inflection in nikkašika ukhedi here is due to the fact that the governing verb is aḍa 'discard, abandon', or to the fact that this verb appears here as an uninflected imperative, or is due to some other factor entirely.

3.7.6 Possession

Possession is expressed partly in NPs, partly in associated verbs. The expression in NPs employs four morphosyntactic devices: possessive pronouns prefixed to nouns, and the /ɬE, /tta, and a/ɬi constructions. The choice of device, and whether or not some expression of the possessor is mandatory with all occurences of the noun, are functions of both the particular possessed noun and of the communicative intent.

Possessive constructions in OP have been discussed in Boas 1907:327, Boas & Swanton 1911:947-948, and Dorsey ms (24-25, 26, 112-114). Boas's treatments (the two are identical) are restricted to prefixal pronominal possessors and /tta constructions. Dorsey adds the /ɬE construction.

3.7.6.1 Prefixed Pronominal Possessors

The set of pronouns used in prefixed pronominal expression of possession are given in table 3.7.6.1-1.

Examples

(125) 9.3 wikkáʔ 'my grandmother'

(126) 10.15 ɬinéki 'your mother's brother'

(127) 348.13 ikáxɬąʔ 'his wife'

There does not seem to be a special form for the first person plural to parallel the forms in other pronominal paradigms. All instances in the CNAE VI texts in which such form might appear use wi, ɬi, or i instead.

(128) 220.2 ittą́ke waɬíkaiʔ
one's sister is lacking to us
We have no sister.

(129) 81.4 ziʔɬéha, wittą́keʔ xaké akínąʔa
oh older brother, my sister crying I heard my own
Oh older brother, I heard our sister crying

Table 3.7.6.1-1 Possessive Pronominal Prefixes

X1	wi
X2	đi
X3	i

Table 3.7.6.1-2 Exceptional Prefixing Paradigms

tati~ati 'father'		naha~ha 'mother'	
X1	itati	X1	inaha
X2	điati	X2	đihą
X3	iđati	X3	ihą
Voc	tatiha	Voc	naha

All of the nouns noted to follow the prefixal pattern of possession marking are kin terms, though there are a few kin terms, like nú́ʒika 'boy, son' which follow other patterns, in this case the /tta pattern.

Special subvariants of the prefixing pattern occur with two kin terms: -á́ti~tati 'father' and há́~naha 'mother'. The paradigms for these are given in table 3.7.6.1-2. As indicated, these two nouns have special vocative forms, the stems of which are also used in the first person singular possessive form. There are no known first person plural forms, consistant with the pattern found elsewhere in the prefixing possessive paradigm. According to G.H. Matthews (1959:254-257) the OP vocative and first person stems of these two nouns derive from special vocative stems in Proto-Siouan, *tatí 'father' and *iná́ 'mother', used in contrast with the referential stems *atí 'father' and *hú 'mother'. Dorsey ms (113) suggests that the unusual form of the first person possessive prefix with these two terms, i, is to be accounted for by identifying it with the dative contraction i 'to me' (= a Als + ki DAT). This would mean that the vocative stems are functioning in these forms as dative verbs. That is, itati is 'he is a father to me'.

Note that the form idáti < i X3 + ati 'father' has an intrusive glide d, analogous to that which appears in similar contexts

in verbal morphology.

According to Dorsey ms (114-115),

> "A man in speaking of his child (either son or daughter) when present says winisi ['my offspring'] , to his child, nisi ha! O! my child! [nisiha 'oh child']. But if the child be absent he must speak of núžika witta my boy; or, mížíka witta my girl [examples retranscribed JEK]."

As this remark has no parallel in Riggs's corresponding article §69 (Riggs 1893:43-44), I assume that it derives from Dorsey's personal observations and is essentially correct.

3.7.6.2 The /dE Possessive Construction

Possession is also expressed by means of the /dE causative auxilliary. In such constructions the possessum functions as a stative verb, or perhaps incorporated noun. The possessor is realized as the transitive agent of the causative construction. The paradigm is given in table 3.7.6.2-1.

In /dE possessives the possessum is always a kin term or demonstrative; however, the resultant form in /dE need not be used functionally as a kin term.

Examples

(130) I.1 idátiɖai 'they make one their father' = 'their reservation's agent'

(131) 501.5 ihą́awaɖeští 'I make them my mothers, too' = 'my [adoptive?] mothers, too'

(132) 220.2 ittą́keaɖettai 'let us make her to be our sister' = 'our future sister'

(133) 501.3 éawaɖe 'I make them that' = 'my relatives'

Table 3.7.6.2-1 /ɗE Possessive Paradigm

	Singular Possessum	Plural Possessum
X1s	N-aɗe	N-awaɗe
X2	N-ɗaɗE	N-waɗaɗE
X3	N-ɗE	N-waɗE
X1p	N-aɗai	N-awaɗai

3.7.6.3 The /tta Possessive Construction

The /tta possessive is used with nouns that do not follow the prefixing or /dE patterns. The /tta possessive paradigm is given in table 3.7.6.3-1.

Examples

(134) 633.11 núžįka wítta 'my boy (son)'

(135) 485.2 waɗáthe ɗítta 'your food'

(136) 642.2 mąčhúnąži thąwakɗą etta ɗąti
Standing Bear gens his RND-LOC
in Standing Bear's gens

(137) 16.18/19 nįkkakahi akúttai 'our chief'

(138) 675.3 íe ettaí 'their word'

The /tta paradigm consists of the independent pronouns for the first person singular, first person plural, and second person, and of the demonstrative e REF in the third person, plus a particle tta. This tta is identical in form and in position relative to the pronoun to the tta GOAL postposition. Conceivably it

Table 3.7.6.3-1 /tta Possessive Paradigm

X1s	wítta	X1p	akúttai
X2s	dítta	X2p	díttai
X3s	etta	X3p	ettai

is the tta GOAL postposition. The use of a dative construction to indicate possessor is common crosslinguistically.

The forms wiwítta and dídítta are common as alternatives to wítta and dítta. Their difference from these latter forms is not clear, though they may be contrastive.

Examples

(139) 492.12 šíkažíka wiwítta 'my (own) child'

N.B. The 'own' of the translation is present in the original.

(140) 495.8 thąwakéą dídítta éą
gens yours RND
your gens

Within Dorsey's CNAE VI texts /tta possessives seem always to follow the possessum. This is in contrast with the behavior of the cognate /tha(wa) possessive of Dakhota (cf. Rood & Taylor ms:59-61), which can precede or follow the possessum (/tha before the possessum; /thawa after). However, Dorsey ms (112) gives an example of preposing, see (141).

(141) itikađai ettanį[kk]ašįka

their grandfather (= the President) his man

the employee of the President

It is possible that this example was concocted under the influence of Dakhota examples in the corresponding sections of Riggs (1893: 15, 56, cf. Dorsey ms:26, 112).

The postposed <u>/tta</u> form in OP behaves essentially as if it were a stative verb (however, it does not follow the usual stative paradigm); that is, the possessum possessor-<u>tta</u> syntagm may be treated in some degree as a sort of clause.

3.7.6.4 The a/ɖí Possessive Construction

The a/ɖí construction uses the verb a/ɖí 'have' in a nominalized clause which has the possessor as agent and the possessum as patient. The paradigm for a/ɖí is given in table 3.7.6.4-1.

Examples

(142) 501.1 wamúske apɖí pɖúkaxti inaɖík
wheat I have it quite all of it destroyed
eka
for me by fire since
as all of my wheat has been burned up

(143) 485.7 mąžą́ ɖą apɖí ɖąti iɖéwaškaxti
land the I have it in the you made great
efforts for me
you worked very hard for me on my land

(144) 399.12 etątą aɖíi ke kiąɖapi
what they had it the they abandoned it
amá, pɖúkaxti
QUOTE quite all of it
they abandoned everything that they had

Table 3.7.6.4-1 The a/ɗi Possessive Paradigm

X1s	apɗi	X1p	akaɗíi
X2s	asni	X2p	asníi
X3s	aɗi	X3p	aɗíi

N.B. These are the forms for a singular possessum (patient).

A/ɗi has the full transitive paradigm for ɗ-stems.

(145) 399.14/400.1 ninípa adí kkípaxda
pipe he had it they faced each other
akí amá; mazá útą kąge
QUOTE;
he came back land good he makes
adí kí amá
it he had it he came back QUOTE
he was returning facing them with his pipe; he was returning with it to make peace

(146) 374.11 ká akádi akákdai.
and we had him we went back there
And we carried him [our companion] home.

(147) 380.14 wádį ahíi
they had them they went there
they pursued them (went along with them)

Examples (145) to (147) show that a/dí can have a commitative sense as well or in addition to its possessive sense. As a commitative it signifies that the accompanying object or person(s) have no control over the accompaniment.

3.7.6.5 Choice of Possessive Construction

Most kin terms in OP take the prefixed pronoun possessive construction. It is not clear whether any other nouns follow this pattern. A few kin terms use the /tta possessive construction, like nužika 'boy, son', and mížika 'girl, daughter', when used in their second senses, or the /dE construction, like é/(ki)dE 'kin'. Those in the first category are presumably neologisms, since they have transparent analyses (nu 'male' + žíka 'small'; mí 'female' + žíka 'small'), and are secondary to the etymologically original terms ižíke 'one's son' and ižáke 'one's daughter'. The second category seem to express social extensions to biological fact (for example, adoption), and to supply the general cover term for kin. The first subcategory is exemplified in (130), (131), and (132); the second, in (133). It appears that all kin terms (and social extensions to the kin system) require expression of the possessed status, whichever of the three constructions, prefixation, /tta, or /dE is used. Nouns which require expression of a possessor may be termed lexically inalienable.

A class of nouns which might be expected on semantic grounds to appear among the lexically inalienable nouns is the class of nouns refering to body parts. The general behavior of body

parts with respect to possession is not known. It appears, though, that animal body parts tend to appear in $NOUN_{MODIFIER}$ $NOUN_{MODIFIED}$ compound form, for example tteha 'buffalo hide' tte 'buffalo' + ha 'hide'.

Alienable possession (possession the expression of which is optional) is expressed with the /tta and a/ɖį́ constructions. The opposition between the two is not completely clear to me at the moment. In my limited sample, some nouns appear with either one, others with both. From the general definition of a/ɖį́ as 'have', and from its commitative uses, I believe that it expresses control over the possessum, particularly in situations where this control is unexpected, or is having attention focussed upon it. By contrast /tta may express simple ownership of an expected and unfocussed nature. Example (148) illustrates use of two different possessives with mažá 'land'.

(148) 485.7 mažá ɖą apɛ́ɛ́ ɖą́ti
land the I have it in the
in my land, in the land which I have

678.1 mažá akúttai the
land ours the
our land

Examples (149) and (150) show uses of a/ɖį́ in which the unexpected quality of a/ɖį́ possession is perhaps clear.

(149) 635.4 mą́zeska ɖítta apɖį́
money yours I have it
I have your money

(150) 501.1 įš'áka, wamúske apɖį́ – pɖúkaxti =
elder, wheat I have it quite all of it
įnaɖík ɛ̀kǫ́,
is destroyed for me by fire since
ɖanǫ́'attai epɖ ɛ́kǫ́,
you will hear it I think since
šǫ́ waxíha šuɖé.
and letter it goes thither
Elder, all my wheat [which you couldn't be expected to know about] has been burned up, and I think you will hear this, but I'm writing to you.

3.7.6.6 A Note on Verb Encoding of Possession

Possession is expressed in the verb in two ways. First, stative verbs agree with the possessor of a patient in preference to the patient itself, as exemplified in (151).

(151) 630.8 wí nąxíte ąskáxti (ą -ska -xti);
I ears I am very clear (P1s-clear-very);
My ears are very good; ...

Second, if the transitive agent possesses the transitive patient, then the verb must be in the possessive form, as in example (152).

(152) 45.15 Ną! žiɬéha, hépe akí'i
Why! oh elder brother, piece I carry my own
kkąpda, ...
I desire it, ...
Why, elder brother, I want to carry my own piece, ...

Petition your older brother or sister's son on my behalf!

(157) OPL 95.3 mítape satta šappe tašteą, machunąži

hour five six or Standing Bear

ttápe et éką

I see him wrt like

I am likely to see Standing Bear at five or six.

3.8 Adverbs and Adverbial Clauses

The following discussion of adverbial forms is divided into two main parts: primitive adverbs, or forms with no apparent use other than as adverbs; and derived adverbs (including adverbial clauses). For convenience derived adverbs are divided into NP-derived time adverbs, forms derived from NPs with postpositions, and forms derived from verbs. It should be noted that many of the locative and directional forms (and examples), are properly complements of the verb, in that they expand some notion inherent in the verb, rather than supplying gratuitous information.

The only existing discussion of OP adverbs is that in Dorsey ms (34-36, 122-132), modeled on corresponding sections of Riggs's Dakota Grammar.

3.7.5 Nominalized Clauses

A nominalized clause consists of a sentence, without either introducers or terminators, used as a noun. Generally it is followed by a specifier, which serves to indicate its nominal status, as well as possessing with respect to the nominalized clause those relations which it would normally possess with respect to any noun. Note that many of the patterns of derived nouns described above in section 3.7.2.2 may be interpreted as lexicalized uses of nominalized clauses. Aside from underlying many lexical nouns, nominalized clauses serve in OP to realize the equivalents of relative clauses (nouns with sentential modifiers), and as noun clauses and noun complement clauses. These three uses are described below. Nominalized clauses are also used as adverbs, when marked with appropriate derivational morphology (see section 3.8).

3.7.5.1 Relative Clauses

Relative clauses allow a speaker to modify an NP in a given clause with a thought expressed by another clause involving the same NP. The first clause is known as the matrix or main clause; the second, with the modifying thought, is the modifying or relative clause. The shared NP is the head NP. The relative clause construction of OP is quite different from that in English. In English there are two techniques which are generally used for forming relative clauses. First, there is the relative clause construction proper, which is illustrated in (94).

(94) Matrix clause: He knows the Winnebago_s.

Modifying clause: The Winnebago_s stole them.

Relative_clause_proper: He knows the Winnebago_s who stole them.

In this form of relative clause, the modifying clause version of the head NP assumes the form of a special relative pronoun who, and the modifying clause is inserted into the matrix clause immediately after the matrix clause version of the head NP. The other technique in English uses a participial construction. This is exemplified in (95), for the same matrix and modifier.

(95) He knows the Winnebago_s stealing them.

In the participial relative clause the modifying clause version of the head NP is deleted entirely, and the modifying clause verb is replaced by its participle. Note that this construction is not a precise equivalent of that in (94), since the participle implies that the action of the modifying clause contemporary with the action (state) of the matrix clause, whereas the example chosen involves an action in the modifying clause which precedes that in the matrix clause.

In OP the technique for forming relative clauses involves substituting for the head NP in the matrix clause the entire modifying clause, with its own version of the head NP intact. The substituted modifying clause is treated as if it were the head NP of the matrix clause which it replaces. This process is illustrated in (96).

(96) Matrix clause: níkkašika húttąka đákhá wépahą.
Winnebago‿s AN-SIT he knows them
Modifying clause: níkkašika húttąka amá
Winnebago‿s AN-AGT-PL
wamą́đąi.
they stole them.
Relative construction: [níkkašika húttąka wamą́đą]
Winnebago‿s they stole them
đákhá wépahą.
AN-SIT he knows them

Note that the plural marker of the verb in the modifying clause is lost when it is embedded, since the plurality of nikkašika húttaka 'the Winnebago_s' is adequately indicated by the use of the P3p marker wa with the verb í/paha 'know' of the matrix clause (wa + í/paha = wépaha). Note also that the article ama of the embedded modifying clause is eliminated in favor of the article đakha of the matrix clause, and that this article follows the entire embedded clause.

The rules for OP relative clause formation are the following.

(97)
1. Delete the nominal in the head NP in the matrix clause, and substitute for it the entire body of the modifying clause.
2. Delete the article following the head NP in the modifying clause.

There are also several important constraints on the structure of the modifying and matrix clauses.

(98)
1. The head NP must be initial in the modifying clause, or must be zero.
2. The head NP must have an article (or te) in the matrix clause.

In the world's languages, the usual restrictions on relativization are based on the grammatical role of the head NP in the modifying clause. For this reason the following examples are organized by that role.

Examples

Relativization on agent of transitive verb.

(99) I.4.a [níkkašika huttąka wamáéą] éąkhá
Winnebagoes they stole them AN-SIT
wépahą
he knows them
He knows the Winnebagoes who stole them

(100) 407.1/2 [umáhą šąke-akéipažį] ma
Omahas horse-they do not sit on AN-PL
áhiki šénawaéai
many that many they did it to
They did it to those Omahas who were unmounted
(they did it to as many Omahas as were unmounted)

Relativization on agent of active verb

(101) II.13 ékiȩe [ní[kk]ašika t'e] khe
finally person dead HOR
then, the man who was dead

N.B. t'E 'be dead, die' is active in OP (and OS), even though it is stative in Dakhota and Winnebago.

(102) 400.3/4 umáha akhá [Ø ninípa adí ki]
Omaha AN-AGT-SG pipe he has it he returns
thá mátehi iž́ahápi
AN-STD spear he thrust at him with
the Omaha thrust with a spear at he
who returned with the pipe

ie. semantically "headless"...

N.B. In (102) the head NP takes the form zero.

(103) 277.5/6 ékiȩe [Ø kátta kúatha a[h]í]
finally YON-GOAL YONDER-SOURCE he came
akhá éti ahípi
AN-AGT-SG REF-LOC he arrived there
then he who approached thither from thence
arrived there

(104) II.7 ékidé ... ttíi the ha,

finally ... he camped PAST DECL

dé [waha adé] akha

THIS move out he goes AN-AGT-SG

then ... he who had moved out camped

Relativization on patient of stative verb

(105) 231.19 [máze názite] dékhe

iron it is fire reddened THIS HOR

'u the ippistasta

wound VER I press with it repeatedly

I thrust into the wound repeatedly with

this iron which is red hot.

Relativization on patient of transitive verb

(106) II.13 [Ø kaxdii] khé

they killed him HOR

he whom one had killed (he who was killed)

(107) 399.13 [etata adii] ke kiadapi ...

WHAT they had it MLT they abandoned

their own ...

they abandoned what was theirs ...

Relativization on an incorporated patient in a lexicalized
$N + V_{TRANS}$ construction

or unexpressed DAT?

(108) I.1 [húttąka idátidai] nįkhé
Winnebagoes their father they make A2s-AN-SIT
Oh you whom the Winnebagoes count a father
(Dear Winnebago agent)

N.B. This construction (NP + CAUSE) is regularly used as a possessive construction for kin-by-courtesy. Considered as such, this is a case of relativization on the possessum.

Relativization on possessum

(109) I.1 [nį́kkašįka didítta] wį ąwą́kkie
person X2-AL-POSS IND-ART he spoke with me
A charge of yours (a man who is yours) spoke with me

(110) 629.2/3 [waxé ma úšką ettaí] khe
whites AN-PL habits X3p-AL-POSS HOR
the habits of the whitemen (which they have)

Relativization on agent of dative verb

(111) I.2 [sáke iwíxpade] éte napá

horses they are lost to me REF-TOPIC two

two horses which had disappeared on me

Relativization on patient of dative verb

(112) 628.4 [wekáðai] ke pdúkaxti ðiké

he made it for us MLT all-VERY it lacks

everything which he made for us is gone

(113) 628.5/6 [waníttा weákiuta] ...

animals they are good for us ...

pdúkaxti múðikai

all-VERY they are shot to extermination

all the animals which were good for us have been exterminated with guns

Relativization on head noun of existential construction

(114) 399.14 [umáhahepe am(a)] éte

part Omaha ~~EXIST~~ PROGR REF-TOPIC

this one who was part Omaha

no, PROGR!

Relativization on dative of dative verb

(116) II.5 đe [ní[kk]ašįka wahą́ kiutą]
THIS person move out it was good to him
akhá ... wahą́ ađaí
AN-AGT-SG ... he moved out
this person to whom it was pleasing to break camp broke camp ...

Previously published remarks on OP relative clauses are restricted to those in Dorsey ms (30, 146-147). These are largely patterned on those in Riggs (1893:17, 60), which recognize as relative clauses only relative clauses in which the head NP is an indefinite, this indefinite being a pronoun which is used also as an interrogative (cf. section 3.7.1.2). It is obvious that this misconception is the result of a false analogy with modern and classical languages in Europe, where the indefinite, interogative and relative pronouns are often related to each other or identical. In this respect Dorsey actually improves upon Riggs, since he states clearly that "'Which' is expressed by the article-pronoun [i.e. definite article] after the qualified clause; as xđape uazi the 'the tree which I planted' [example retranscribed]." (30) Unfortunately, he seems to have doubted this perfectly correct analysis after writing it, since it, and the surrounding remarks on indefinite pronouns as relative pronouns, are all crossed out. Rankin, dealing with the related Kansa, has also analyzed the

relative clause construction as formed with the articles (fide Shea, in passing). The system is essentially similar in the more remotely related Dakhota language (cf. Rood & Taylor ms:61-67).

3.8.1 Primitive Adverbs

The forms exemplified in this section are known only as adverbs. Some of them are morphologically complex, in the sense that they involve reduplication of another adverb. Others may be complex in additional ways. The list below is exemplificatory, of course, and not exhaustive.

TIME

íčha ~ ítha 'now'

(1) 399.2/3 khi déma sétha tíge íčha kiní

and these that far smallpox now they were

the

recovered the

were

and when these now to that extent/recovered

from smallpox

LOCATION/DIRECTION

máthe 'inside'

ási 'out'

(2) 396.16/17 ppáđį amá <u>mą́the</u> uną́žį amá

Pawnees the inside they stood in the

<u>áši</u> ą́ha ađápi té,

out they fled they went there TOPIC

the Pawnees who ~~were~~ had been standing inside who

fled away outside

<u>ppamú</u> 'downhill'

(3) 373.16 ppamú ąkáđai

downhill we went

CIRCUMSTANCE

<u>šą</u> 'completely'; <u>šą́šą</u> 'fully'

(4) 405.5 <u>šą́</u> pđúkaxti wášapi amá

completely quite all they made them abandon QUOTE

they made them abandon absolutely everything

(5) 490.10 <u>šą́šnąkạ</u> tą́ta waxcá

generally completely like what vegetables

ąkúžii ke útąi ha.

we planted the they are good DECL

Usually absolutely whatever vegetables we plant

are good.

(6) II.14 šašą t'api ama

fully he was dead QUOTE

he was quite dead [i.e., not wounded, as t'E sometimes means]

ši 'again'

(7) 405.7 ši wadistupe adį

again they spread hands before them they have them

a[h]ipi ama

they come here QUOTE

They were again coming here with their hands spread before them.

3.8.2 Time Adverbs

The following patterns of derived time adverbs have been noted. It must be emphasized that the meanings attributed are impressionistic at best.

NP kki = NP WHEN = 'when NP occurs'

(8) 394.8 t'aˌ kki 'at harvest'

(9) 394.14 háˌ kki 'when it was night'

(10) 395.11 /athaˌ kki 'at what future time?'

(11) 468.13 etí kki
REF-LOC WHEN
in that case

(12) 394.6 ékasaɨ kki 'the next day'

(13) I.3.b šuphí kki 'if I should come thither'

(14) I.7 ékaˌxti kkíži
just so if not
if it isn't so

(15) II.2 uíhapi kki '(even) if he joined them'

(16) II.13 nákka kágapi kki
light he made it WHEN
when he had made a light

(17) II.18 kákki t'é khé watápapi kki
and dead the she saw them WHEN
and when she saw the dead men

(18) 395.8/9 nínipa kákhe, ppádi wákakhidattaithe
shall
pipe YON-the Pawnees we/take vengeance
ídanahii kki, danái
on them you approve it WHEN put it to
ka ha.
your lips IMP DECL
That pipe, if you are willing that take vengeance on the Pawnees, smoke it!

NP da ti = NP RND -LOC = 'at the instant of NP'

(19) (deleted)

(20) 394.12/13 "Wakkáta ...," ápi ama',
God ... he said it QUOTE
gakéšnapi ɬáti
he usually cried out RND-LOC
"Oh God, ...," he said, each time he
cried out.

NP the ti = NP VER-LOC = 'during the period of NP'

(21) 394.16/17 gakápi théti, wakkáta ɬikhe
he cried out VER-LOC God the
ɬahá gakápi ama
he implored him he cried out QUOTE
While he was crying out, he cried out implor-
ing God.

(21) 372.1 ázika théti 'when I was young'

(22) 628.6/629.2 ppahąka theti [... we lived by killing
first VER-LOC
the masterless bison ...],
khi ičhą theti [... we have to forget
and now VER-LOC
about that ...]
Once ... but now ...

NP = (generalized time?)

(23) 372.1 ppahąkaxči 'at the very first'

(24) 396.3 ąpa de
day this
today

(25) 395.12 nuke dešną awądathettai
summer THIS-CUST we will eat
we will eat for just as long as this summer

(26) 395.17/18 ni[kk]ašika tupa ąpa ke wadąthapaži
men four days the they ate things
the four men ate only during the day

3.8.3 Postpositional Forms

The following postpositions have been noted: (a)ti LOC, ɖu LOC, (a)tta GOAL, titha SOURCE, (a)tha EXTENT, (a)ta REASON, ka THUS. The parenthetical a is inserted whenever the postposition follows a word ending in /i/, and also in some other contexts not presently understood. The differences between the two LOC forms are not understood. The (a)ti form is much more common than ɖu, however. Some of the postpositions can be made into adverbial-clause-marking-conjunctions by prefixing a demonstrative. The demonstrative is presumably present to mark the nominalization of the clause. Examples are eka SINCE and ata BECAUSE. A form which appears only as a conjunction is ɖaža THOUGH.

NP + (a)ti = 'at, in, etc. NP' (with verbs not of motion)

(27) II.19 etíxti attíi éte ka
REF-LOC-VERY we camped REF-TOPIC and
and it was right where we camped

(28) 393.1 tháwani khéti kɖípi ama
Village Creek the-LOC they sat QUOTE
they were camping at Village Creek

NP + (a)ti = 'to, up to, etc. NP' (with verbs of motion)

(29) II.9 "ttíati makéi a"

to the tent get you back! IMP

"Go back to the tent!"

(30) 395.19 akéipi ama, thawa ɖati

they came back there QUOTE village the-LOC

NP + ɖu = 'in, etc. NP' (with verbs not of motion)

(31) OPL /20.3/4 mažá ɖeɖuati etáta wéthexi

land THIS-LOC-LOC what it is hard for us

ke nikkašika wi weápahai éka

the person (one) a he knows about us since

since there is one who knows the things that

are difficult for us in this land

N.B. Example (31) shows both (a)ti and ɖu co-occuring.

NP + ɖu = 'to, etc. NP' (with verbs of motion)

(32) OPL 14.3/4 khi šéɖu ihe šakhítta

and THAT-LOC passing by that way I will be

mikhé

returning thither PROGR

And I'll be passing along that way on my

way back there.

NP + (a)tta = 'to, at NP' (with verbs not of motion)

(33) 421.3 ppahatta pduka akkikdi
all all
to (at) the hill they/sat on it with each other
all
(when they got to) the hill, they/sat down together

(34) 427.18 udusiatta šaą napa t'ewadai
toward the front Dakhotas two they killed them
Two Dakhotas were killed at the front.

NP + (a)tta = 'toward NP' (with verbs of motion)

(35) II.11 ttiatta akdai
toward the tent he went back there
he headed back over to the tent

(36) 405.6 khi wašuše idati akha ppąkka amatta
and Wašuše his father the Ponkas the-GOAL
ahipi eką
he arrived there since
coming
And Wasuse's father up on the Ponkas

NP + títha = 'from NP'

(37) II.3 khi ɬé šaá tti ma etítha wi
and these Dakhotas camp the REF-SOURCE one
ukášą ɬé
wander he went
and from these Dakhotas who camped one went
wandering

N.B. It is alternatively possible that etítha functions as a verb e/títha 'be from' here. In that event the proper translation is (37)'.

(37)' And one who was from these Dakhotas who camped went wandering.

NP + (a)tha = 'to the extent of NP'

(38) 399.2/3 khi ɬéma sétha tíge íčha kiní
and these that far smallpox now they were
the
recovered the
and when these now to that extent ~~were~~
were recovered from smallpox

(39) 70.7 eátha atá masníazi a

REF-EXTENT because you walk not QUEST

Why therefore don't you do the same?

NP + ta = 'because of NP'

(40) I.5.a éte éskana épa áta,

wrt OPT you call to him GEN-REASON

in that regard, hopefully because you call him in, ...

(41) 81.8 e'á akágai atá, akáizettai

how we do it GEN-REASON we will take our own

etá

REF-REASON

because we have acted how are we therefore to regain our (sister)?

[What can we do because of which we can consequently get her back?]

NP + ka = 'like, so, thus, etc. NP'

(42) 373.2 daná'a theka, uwípda

you hear it VER-THUS I tell you

so/since you hear it, I tell it to you

(43) 629.1 nú ékaxti ąmáɬii

men REF-THUS-VERY we walked

we acted just like men

(44) 399.3 ukkíkɬi'ake éka mąɬíi

they bore themselves lazily REF-THUS they walked

they were somewhat indisposed

(45) I.5.a wákazuxti íɬamage kkapɬ ékąɬ

very honestly you enquire of him I desire it REF-THUS

I would like you to interrogate him thoroughly

(46) I.4.b éte ieśka ąɬík ekąɬ, supɬámąɬži

wrt translator I lack him REF-THUS I do not go there

ékąɬ, wapákɬeze wippage ha.

REF-THUS letter I make it to you DECL

In that regard,

/I'm writing you a letter, since I'm not going

there, since I don't have a translator.

NP đaža = 'though NP' (where NP is, in fact, a clause without overt nominalization)

(47) OPL 20.6/8 khi nįkkašika ukheđi ąkađi pđukaxti

and 'indians we-the quite all

ušką khenį weąpahąi ęka,

ways the-QUANT he knows us since

weđitha šuđaí

he works for us he goes thither

đaža, ešnį kki, ękiđe đi'atte

though REF-CUST when finally he may fail
(he alone)

ha.

fail DECL.

And, if he is alone, he may ultimately fail, though knowing the various ways of all us indians, he has gone there to work for us.

3.8.4 Deverbative Adverbs

Several adverbial formants have come to my attention that seem to apply to verbs to form adverbs. The first of these is the suffix ha. This is reported in Dorsey ms (124). Example set (48) is from this source.

(48)	ahiki 'be much'	ahikiha 'frequently'
	ttaka 'be great'	ttakaḍeha 'greatly'
	uta 'be good'	utaḍeha, utatheha 'well'
	wia 'first'	wiaha 'firstly'
	napa 'second'	napaha 'secondly'

The identity of the inserted morphemes ḍe and the are probably dE CAUSE or ḍe THIS and the VER (an article). The only example noticed found in text is (49).

(49) 119.16, 235.4 akkiḍaha 'apart, aside'

The root kkiḍa ~~rot~~ appears, e.g., in (Os) pakkiḍa 'push apart', with the pa PUSH instrumental.

The other derivatives are all adverbial numerals derived from the simple numerals. The three which I have noted are the distributive, in suffixed ɬaɬa; the multiplicative, in suffixed a; and the ordinal, in prefixed we. Examples are given in (50).

(50) nápa 'two' nápaɬaɬa 'two each' nápa 'twice'
wénapa 'second'
ɬapɬi 'three' ɬapɬiɬaɬa 'three each' ɬapɬia 'thrice'
wéɬapɬi 'third'

3.9 Vocative Phrases

Vocative phrases consist of a noun phrase refering to the hearer. When the vocative phrase is a kin term, it is followed by a particle ha. Since this ha is used by both men and women, it is not the declarative particle ha (male)~he (female). Some vocative phrases are followed by še THAT. This may be a mark of formal speech, since it appears in samples of oratory (CNAE VI:628) and in formal letters (CNAE VI:762-763).

Examples

(1) I.1 huttaka idatidai nikhe
Winnebago their agent you the
Dear Winnebago agent

(2) 628.1 ni[kk]asika ma še
people the THAT
Oh ye people

(3) 763.1 wakkata wadaha ma še
God you pray to him the THAT
Oh you who pray to God

(4) 9.3 nekiha wittimi m eka
oh mother's brother my father's sister the THUS
Oh mother's brother, likewise my father's sister

4. Sentences

The following sections describe the manner in which the various elements in section 3 are combined to form sentences. The first section gives an inventory of sentence types; the second discusses two types of serial verb construction.

4.1 Basic Sentence Types

An informal first statement of OP sentence structures is given in (1).

(1) S' -> (INTRODUCER) (ADVERB) S (TERMINATOR)

S -> (NP_{AGT}) (NP_{PAT}) (NP_{LOC}) V_{TRANS}

-> (NP_{AGT}) (NP_{DAT}) (NP_{PAT}) (NP_{LOC}) $V_{DITRANS}$

-> (NP_{AGT}) (NP_{LOC}) V_{ACT}

-> (NP_{PAT}) (NP_{LOC}) V_{STAT}

-> NP EXIST

INTRODUCER (see section 3.3)

ADVERB (see section 3.8)

TERMINATOR (see section 3.2)

NP_{AGT}, NP_{PAT}, NP_{DAT} (see sections 3.6 and 3.7)

NP_{LOC} (see section 3.8)

EXIST amá, akhá

V_{TRANS}, V_{ACT}, V_{STAT}, $V_{DITRANS}$ (see section 3.6)

Examples

(2) 409.1 wáxehepe akhá ppą́kka wa'ú wakéą́i.

part white the Ponka woman he married her

NP_{AGT} NP_{PAT} V_{TRANS}

The half-white married a Ponka woman.

(4) II.3 khi de šaą́ ttí ma etítha wį

and THIS Dakhota they dwell the from one

INTRODUCER NP_{AGT} (relative clause)

ukášą de the ha

wander he went PAST DECL

V_{ACT} TERMINATOR

And one from the Dakhotas who were camping went wandering.

(5) 405.6 khi Wašúše iáti akhá ppą́kka amátta

and Wašúše his father the Ponkas toward

INTRODUCER NP_{AGT} NP_{LOC}

ahípi ekáą́...

he arrived there since

V_{ACT} having

and Wašúše's father/come up on the Ponkas...

(6) 219.1 ukkíkkiži tupápi ama

brothers they were four QUOTE

NP_{PAT} V_{STAT} TERMINATOR

There were four brothers.

(7) 60.1 zizika túpa etí am áma hékaštewąži

turkey SOME there EXIST QUOTE not few soever

NP ADV EXIST TERMINATOR QUANT

There were some turkeys, by no means few.

The summary offered in (1) is inadequate on several accounts. One difficulty is its implication that sentences are as likely to contain all potential NPs as any. In fact, examples of sentences with all NPs present are quite rare, to the extent, at least, that it is difficult to find examples at random. A formula like (NP_{AGT}) (NP_{PAT}) (NP_{LOC}) V_{TRANS} must actually be interpreted to mean that a class of sentences of the sorts listed in (8) are often encountered.

(8) NP_{AGT} (NP_{LOC}) V_{TRANS}

NP_{PAT} (NP_{LOC}) V_{TRANS}

...

V_{TRANS}

The frequent realization of NP_{AGT} and NP_{PAT} as zero elements is a function of the fact that verbs show both agent and patient concord, making the zero realization of the NP the usual means of indicating that the agent or patient receiving that realization is already known to the hearer from context. Since most NPs in sentences in connected discourse will refer to identifiable entities, nonzero NPs are comparatively rare in general, and sentences which refer to a full set of unidentifiable entities are extremely rare.

It appears also that not all of the types of sentences (the alternate forms under S in (1)) are equally frequent. In particular, sentences with existentials are comparatively rare, and so are sentences with stative main verbs. It is not clear why the latter should be the case. One possible explanation is that the CNAE VI corpus contains primarily narrative and correspondance. There are no descriptions of items or practices, except as incidentals to other purposes. In addition, stative verbs may be a more restricted class in OP than in some related languages. For example, the cognate of the OP active verb /t'E 'die' in both Dakhota and Winnebago is a stative verb 'be dead'.

Other problems with (1) arise from the impression it gives that OP word order is fixed. In fact, the order of the NPs of a sentence with respect to each other and with respect to the verb is quite variable. For example, (1) suggests that V_{TRANS} sentences are rigidly AGT PAT V in order (what might be called SOV). Though I cannot at present offer statistics on the frequency of the various orders that occur, there are certainly a relatively large number of examples of all of the orders PAT AGT V, V PAT, PAT V AGT, and even a few of V AGT PAT (what might be called OSV, VO, OVS, and VSO).

Examples discussion and examples [illegible] suffixes to show that it is also not [illegible]

(9) II.8 kąkki ttí wa'ú akhá kągai the ha.
and tent woman the she made it PAST DECL
PAT AGT V

(10) 406.15 wénagiđapi amá umąhą ma.
they attacked them QUOTE Omahas the
V_{TRANS} PAT

(11) 10.4/5 ékiđe ní[kk]ašįka túpa wéđapi amá
finally person some he found them QUOTE
PAT V_{TRANS}
mašćįkéį amá
Rabbit the
AGT

(12) 393.8 t'éwađe kąđapi amá
they kill them they wished it QUOTE
V_{TRANS}
ppáđį amá umąhą đakhá
Pawnees the Omahas the
AGT PAT

The discussion and examples of adverbs in section 3.8 suffices to show that it is also not the case that adverbial constituents are placed rigidly at the head of the sentence (before the main clause, per the statement of the form of S' in (1)). Other common positions are following the NPs and preceding the verb (e.g., examples (1), (2), (18), (26), etc. in section 3.8), and following the verb (e.g., example (30), in section 3.8).

4.2 Serial Verb Constructions

This section presents two categories of serial verb construction, constructions in which one clause has more than one verb. The multiple verbs are refered to below as coverbs. The conditions under which the serial verb constructions discussed are actually used have been only partially determined, and the conclusions reached should be regarded as preliminary. The two construction types presented are 1) commitative coverb constructions, and 2) serial constructions with motion verbs, of the form verb + motion verb.

4.2.1 Commitative Coverb Construction

The commitative coverb is <u>žú/kɘE</u> 'be with', which is a regular (paradigm 1a) transitive verb. When used to render 'X is with Y', X is the agent; Y is the patient. The <u>žú/kɘE</u> coverb may either precede or follow the other verb that it is paired with.

(1) II.19 nú žuákɘe pɘé étekạ

male I with him I went wrt and

and I went with this man

(2) 13.1 ttíkɘe žúkikɘapi amá

he dwelt in a lodge he with his own QUOTE

... he was living with his relative.

Its position in the following construction is regular enough to require remark, though I am not sure of the significance of the parallel.

(3) I.3.b uɘúkkie žuạkɘ

he speaks with him about it he with me

'íɘe

he said

he said that he speak with him about it with me

(4) 140.4/5 deáma wachíkage žudíkd 'idai
these ones to dance they with you they say
these speak of dancing with you

It is also possible for žú/kdE to act as a verb by itself.

(5) II.6 wa'úšna wiáxti žúkdai the ha
woman usually one alone she with him PAST DECL
There was usually one woman with him.

As a commitative form žú/kdE is in opposition with a/dí 'have'. Žú/kdE is used when the accompanier procedes on his own volition, while a/dí is used when the accompanier procedes involuntarily or with assistance (see section 3.7.6.4).

4.2.2 Verb + Motion Verb Constructions

Motion verbs are used as coverbs in serial constructions. In such constructions the motion verbs is always the second verb, though the first verb may also be a motion verb, one which indicates the manner of the motion as opposed to the direction and arrival status (see section 5.1).

Three classes of motion verb construction have been identified on the basis of the behavior of the English translation. In type 1 the first verb is a motion verb which could receive a participial translation in English, as in examples (6) and (7).

(6) II.3 ukáša đé

he wandered he went there

he went wandering

(7) II.5 wahą́ adaí

pack up and move out he went there

he went moving camp

In such constructions the second, directional motion verb may serve to introduce the deictic elements characteristic of it, but not of the companion verb.

In type 2 the first verb constitutes a purpose clause, as in examples (8) and (9), and the second verb is a motion verb.

(8) II.15 nąkką škąge đakđe đąšti

light you made it you went back there the too
also
the light which you/went back there to make

(9) II.20 tąpe ahípi kki

they see it they arrived there when

when they arrived there to see it

In type 3 the first verb may be any verb, and the second verb is a motion verb. The translation is "(subject) (verb 1) and then (verb 2)." Both the examples in the texts (Appendix A) have vertitive motion verbs. These examples appear in (10) and (11).

(10) I.1 awąkkie šukđe

he spoke with me he went back there

he spoke with me and went back there

(11) II.18 tti the ąđa akđapi

tent the she abandoned it she went back there

she abandoned the tent and went back there

Constructions like those in (10) and (11) are reminiscent of the ventive verb forms of Chadic languages, except that the Chadic forms are distinct verb tenses, while the OP forms are constructed with a vertitive motion verb as coverb.

Boas & Deloria (1941:75) report Dakhota parallels for both type 2 and type 3. Dakhota type 3 verbs require a vertitive form of the motion verb.

3. Morphology

The following discussion of OP morphology and phrase structure is divided into nine parts; dealing with minor form classes: (1) interjections (section 3.1), (2) sentence terminators (section 3.2), (3) subordinating conjunctions (section 3.3), (4) sentence introducers (section 3.4), (5) postclitics (section 3.5); dealing with major form classes and their associated morpheme classes: (6) verbs (section 3.6), (7) noun phrases (including independent pronouns, nouns, modified nouns, relative clauses) (section 3.7), (8) adverbials (including adverbial clauses and locative-directional phrases) (section 3.8); and, finally, (9) vocative phrases (section 3.9).

3.1 Interjections

The following interjections have been noted.

(1) II.14 hi (startlement)

(2) 166.6 na 'fie!' ; 166.7 ena 'fie!'; 166.7 thena 'why!'

(3) 81.4 hau 'ho!'; ahau 'oho!'

(4) 229.4 a (noise of grunting)

(5) 232.6 x̌hu (noise of sizzling)

(6) 550.3 ci! ci! ci! (chipmunk's call)

(7) 550.6 heeeiši 'alas!' (chagrin)

(8) 259.12 xeí 'alas!' (pain, mourning)

(9) 559.5 wuhuuu 'oh!' (exasperation);

(10) 235.7 ḫuuu (disgust at smell)

(11) 525, n10.18 áha 'yes' (simple assent); aha 'yes' (consent)

This list is by no means exhaustive. Other lists may be found in Dorsey ms (134-135) and in Say (vol. 2, p. xxxiii). The most interesting form in the latter list is (12).

(12) zt~zt-o-dah (admiration of trinket by male)

I suspect that this is a rendition of zut~zut alors, which would be a borrowing from French-speaking traders, presumably learned in the context in which it is reported as used. Otherwise of interest is (13).

(13) Da-dansh-ta-a 'alas!'

This seems to be a rendition of tátašna a < tata WHAT + šna CUST + a QUEST (or perhaps only šna drawn out?), i.e., approximately 'so it goes'.

3.2 Sentence Terminators

Sentence terminators are particles used to mark a sentence end. I can offer no rigorous criteria at present for distinguishing them from the various postclitics that can follow the verb. The forms in table 3.2-1 may not be a complete list of those that exist, but probably are, however, with the exception of any forms that may ultimately be included from among those which I presently treat as postclitics of the verb.

Examples

(1) I.2.b adawakkie ha.
he spoke to me about it DECL (male speaking)

(2) 771.9 madičhakki t'e [e]e he.
Mądičhakki he is dead wrt DECL (female speaking)
It's M. who died.

(3) II.2 wahąšną hekapažipi ama
an habitual camp mover he was not a little QUOTE
he (was said to be) {not a little} restless.

(4) II.4 t'edai the ha
he killed him PAST DECL

Table 3.2-1 Sentence Terminators

ha	assertion of fact (male speaker)	DECL
he	assertion of fact (female speaker)	DECL
the ha	past experience (male speaker)	PAST DECL
the he	past experience (female speaker)	PAST DECL
amá	reported statement	QUOTE
ka	imperative (male speaker)	IMP
a	imperative (female speaker)	IMP
a	question	QUEST
a	emphasis (male)	EMPH
e	emphasis (female)	EMPH
ahá	exclamation (male)	EXCL
eha	exclamation (female)	EXCL

3.3 Subordinating Conjunctions

Subordinating conjunctions in OP always follow the subordinated clause. The following conjunctions have been noted: kki WHEN, eka SINCE, ata BECAUSE, and ɬáža THOUGH.

Examples

(1) I.4.b šupɬámąži ɬéka,
I am not going thither SINCE
since I'm not going there

(2) I.6 wákazuxti uɬíɬa kki,
honestly he tells you WHEN
if/when he tells you honestly

(3) I.5.a ɬéte éskaną ɬépą ɬáta, ...
wrt OPT you call to him because
in that regard, ... because you call him

(4) 568.5/6 áwikažatetta mįkhé ɬáža,
I will be stepping over you THOUGH
ɬat'éttathé ha
it may be you who die DECL
[Coyote to rattlesnake with whom he is disputing:] though I step over you, it may be you who die!

3.5 Sentence Introducers

Clauses may be introduced by one of the particles in table 3.4-1. The basis for selecting among them is not clear to me, though the table incorporates my hypotheses. Dorsey ms (133) claims that ka AND is Omaha, and khí AND is Ponka, but Omaha and Ponka speakers all appear to use both in the CNAE VI texts, with ka perhaps the least frequent of the two.

Examples

(1) II.2 Khi šaą́ wį et uíhapi kki,
and Dakhota a wrt he joined them if
And there was a Dakhota who, if he joined them,

(2) II.11 Ka ttíatta akéaí nú akhá.
and toward the tent he went back there man the
And the man went back toward the tent.

(3) II.8 kąkki ttí wa'ú akhá kágai the ha.
and tent woman the make PAST DECL
And the woman put up the tent.

(4) I.3.a khi kąkki ípą ha.
and and he called to me DECL
And he summoned me.

Table 3.4-1 Sentence Introducers

khi	and
ka	and
kákki	and (marks significant development?)
khi kákki	and thus (?)
áska	by the way (marks random thought)
ékide	finally (expected development)
ši	again (marks repetition)

(5) 487.10/11 ąska Frank wa'u mikęą

by the way woman he married her

ęte t'ę [t]e ha, nukeati. -ʔe emph

wrt she is dead wrt DECL last summer

By the way, the woman that Frank married

died last summer.

(6) II.7 Ekiǫe hą ukąhąnąppaxexti

finally night it got very dark

In the end the evening came completely on

(7) 405.5/6 Ši wąǫistupe akípi amą.

again they spread their hands they came back QUOTE

Again they came back with hands spread.

The introducer ka is used clause-finally throughout one lengthy sentence in the texts (II.19). It is not clear whether this is an aberration of the original, or the proper position of ka, noted orthographically only in this set of instances.

3.5 Postclitics

There are five postclitics which may be attached to a variety of constituents with adverbial force. These are listed in table 3.5-1.

Conjunction + Postclitic

(1) I.7 kkiži 'if not'
393.10 kkište 'even if'
628.1 kki[š]na 'when regularly'

NP + Postclitic

(2) II.6 wa'ušna 'usually a woman'
405.5 šákešti 'ponies, too'
405.1 umáha amášti 'the Omahas, too'
II.5 ppázexti 'very much evening'
II.4 ní[kk]ašika áži 'enemy; not a person'

N.B. II.4 is conceivably to be regarded as a relative clause 'one who was not a person', in which ní[kk]ašika serves as a verb.

Table 3.5-1 Postclitics

xti	VERY
šti	TOO
šte	EVEN
šna ~ šta	CUST (customarily)
(ل)-ži	NEG

Quantifier + Postclitic

(3) II.6 wíaxti 'only one'

628.4 péukaxti 'quite all'

Adverb + Postclitic

(4) II.19 etíxti 'right there'

I.7 ékaxti 'just so'

N.B. Both examples under (4) can be regarded as relative clauses, in which eti is a verb 'be there' and eka is a verb 'be such'.

Verb + Postclitic

(5) II.2 wahášna 'habitually packing up and moving'

II.13 madíkexti 'it had really been cut out'

I.4.b šupéámaži ' I am not going thither'

5. Semantic Domains

This sections presents inventories of two systematically organized portions of the OP vocabulary: directional motion verbs and positional verbs.

5.1 Motion Verbs

OP has eight contrasting motion verbs which form a system with three dimensions of contrast and two opposed values on each dimension. The three dimensions are direction, completion, and vertitivity. The dimensions and their opposed values are summarized in (1).

(1)

Direction	+	Motion toward deictic reference
	−	Motion away from deictic reference
Completion	+	Mover arrives
	−	Mover does not arrive
Vertitivity	+	Vertitive (motion is back to starting point)
	−	Nonvertitive (motion is not back to starting point)

The three dimensions with their several binary oppositions require eight forms for complete realization of all combinations. These forms are listed in table 5.1-1.

The direction and completion dimensions' oppositions are marked by four contrasting stems, thi 'arrive here', hi 'arrive there', hi 'come here', and ɬE 'go there'. The two hi forms are homophonous, but derive from different Proto-Siouan roots, and

Table 5.1-1 Basic Motion Verbs

Stem	Gloss	Direction	Completion	Vertitivity
thi	arrive here	+	+	-
hi	arrive there	-	+	-
hi	come here	+	-	-
ɖE	go there	-	-	-
kɖi	arrive back here	+	+	+
khi	arrive back there	-	+	+
ki	come back here	+	-	+
kɖE	go back there	-	-	+

Table 5.1-2 Motion Verbs in ɣ̌u

Stem	Gloss	Direction	Completion	Vertitivity
ɣ̌u/hí	arrive where you are	ɣ̌u	+	-
ɣ̌u/ɖé	go where you are	ɣ̌u	-	-
ɣ̌u/khí	arrive back where you are	ɣ̌u	+	+
ɣ̌u/kɖé	go back where you are	ɣ̌u	-	+

have somewhat different phonological behavior. The verb hi 'arrive there', from Proto-Siouan *hi 'idem', always retains its h in the third person, and has an aspirated vertitive stem, while hi 'come here', from Proto-Siouan *hu 'idem', tends to lose its h in the third person, and has an unaspirated vertitive stem. The four basic stems supply the nonvertitive forms for the vertitive dimension of opposition, and the vertitive forms are derived from them by prefixation of k. This prefixation causes certain unusual phonological changes in the form of the root, in the case of the motion-toward deictic reference ('here') forms.

The direction dimension, specifying only two directions, is at odds with the three term system of the demonstratives (cf. section 3.7.3.1), which distinguishes speaker, hearer, and other locations. It is perhaps a consequence of this that OP makes extensive use of compounds of šu THERE with the direction forms for motion away from the deictic reference ('there' forms). In effect, the presence or absence of šu allows a subdivision of the away forms into hearer-direction and other-direction forms in contrast to the toward or speaker-direction forms. The additional forms are listed in table 5.1-2.

The OP verbs of motion have been described in Taylor 1976, as part of a general survey of Siouan motion verbs. The preceding

3.4. Positional verbs

discussion is based largely on that source, with some modification of terminology, and the addition of the Su forms.

5.2 Positional Verbs

OP contains several families of positional verbs derived from the inanimate articles. No forms have been found for the inanimate article ke refering to multiplicities. The present discussion is based only on positional verbs with the form (1).

(1) i + (k) + ART + CAUSE

The causative verb used is ɗE~khiɗE CAUSE. Forms with the optional morpheme k before the article mean 'to place X on something'. Forms without the k mean 'to put X down/away'. Table 5.2-1 present the forms observed. Of particular interest is the fact that the khe HOR article is revealed to be a k prefix form, in contrast to the the VER and ɗa RND articles. The significance of this is unknown.

Examples

(2) 245.18/9 žá wi ɗizápi eká, ppáxti ɗa
wood a he took it since right on head the
ihéɗapi eká, kaxɗípi amá héka ɗí
he laid it since he broke it QUOTE buzzard the
having taken a piece of wood, he hit Buzzard
right on the head, and broke it in

(3) 13.10/11 mátekka da ukhínaške kagápi amá

bowstring the noose he made it QUOTE

kki, síkde désna

when trail it usually went there

the éti ídadapi amá.

the there he put it down QUOTE

When he had made the bowstring into a noose,

he set it in the trail where it habitually went.

(4) 559.3/4 mikkáha ppiaži ke ithéd́apia

raccoon skins not good the he put down

he laid down the vile raccoon skins

p. 141 ex (19) i/kda put on
p 141 ex (20) i/hedE put away

Table 5.2-1 Positional Verbs

Stem	Gloss	k	ART
ithé/ɗE	put upright object down or away	–	the VER
ikɗé/ɗE	put upright object on something	+	the VER
ihé/ɗE	put horizontal object down or away	–	khe HOR
ikhé/ɗE	put horizontal object on something	+	khe HOR
iɗá/ɗE	put round object down or away	–	ɗa RND
ikɗá/ɗE	put round object on something	+	ɗa RND

Appendix A

This appendix comprises two short texts selected from among those in CNAE VI. Each text in presented in the following format.

1) Background information, including a synopsis of the contents;

2) The text, sentence by sentence, in an interlinear format:
   - Line 1, Dorsey's original transcription,
   - Line 2, my phonemic retranscription,
   - Line 3, a literal word for word translation,
   - Line 4, a unit by unit breakdown of the sentence,
   - Line 5, glosses of the units;

3) A close translation of the text into English, constructed to parallel as closely as possible the constructions of the original.

The units of the unit by unit breakdown of the sentence are generally morphemes, but for certain verbs whose roots have uncertain meanings, or whose senses are more than the sum of their parts, the verb stem is used rather than a morpheme by morpheme breakdown of it. For example, i/paha 'know' can be analyzed as i WITH + paha (?, perhaps paha 'pound corn' or 'raise by pushing'), but

rather than do this, I have listed it as i/paha.

In the unit by unit breakdown, infixed morphemes which are extracted from other units are represented with a plus between the extracted morphemes and the form from which the infix was extracted. For example, awakkie 'he spoke with me', underlyingly u + a + kkie, or u/kkie 'speak with' with infixed a Pls, is represented as a Pls + u/kkie 'speak with'.

Morphemes in the unit by unit line that can be analyzed as contractions of two underlying morphemes are so analyzed in parentheses. For example, i Dls. which can be analyzed as a Pls + ki DAT, is represented as i Dls (= a Pls + ki DAT).

Phonemes which seem to have been elided in the original Dorsey transcription are restored in square brackets in the phonemic retranscription.

p. 245 missing

Notes

1. "[I have known the Ponkas since 1871], whereas I did not become acquainted with the Omahas until 1878." (CNAE VI,3) Thus, this letter was written early in Dorsey's experience with transcribing Omaha.

2. "Two Crows ... says just what he thinks, going directly to the point. He is regarded as the speaker of the purest Omaha, and one has no difficulty in understanding him!" (CNAE VI.3)

3. "The Winnebago agent was Howard White. Two Crows, or Kaxe ¢a^{n}ba /kkáge ėą́pa/, is a leading man of the Omaha Hanga /hą́ka/ gens." (CNAE VI.647)

4. "Henry Rice, a half-breed Winnebago," had learned where two horses stolen from Two Crows by Winnebago raiders were hidden. (CNAE VI.647)

1. Hutanga i¢adi¢ai ninke,

huttaka iđatiđai nikhé,

Winnebago their agent you the

hu ttáka i đati đE i (2s) + đikhÉ

fish big X3 father CAUSE PL AN-SIT

- níkacinga ¢i¢íta win

níkkašika điđítta wi

person yours a

níkka šika đi đi tta wi

~~person~~ human (?) X2 X2 AL-POSS IND-ART

- anwañkie cug¢e.

awákkie šukđe.

he spoke with me he went back there

a + u/kkie šu k đE

P1s speak with THERE VERT go there

2.a Cáñge i^{n}wí^{n}xpa¢é-de   na^{n}bá

šą́ke į wį́xpađ   éte nąpá

horse they are lost to me wrt two

šą́ke į (= ą + kí)   + u/xpą́đE e   te

horse D1s (= A1s + DAT)   lost   REF TOPIC,

– wébaha^{n},   ubésni^{n} ée   hă,

wépahą   upésnį   é[t]e ha;

he knew them he found out wrt   DECL

wa í/pahą u/pésnį   e   te   ha

P3p know   find out REF TOPIC DECL

2.b a^{n}¢á^{n}wañkié   hă.

ą̨đą́wąkkie   ha.

he spoke with me about it DECL

ą   + uđú/kkiE   ha

P1s   speak with about DECL

3.a kǐ gañḳi í^{n}ba^n hă;

khi kákki ípa ha;

and and he summoned me DECL

khi ka kki i (= a + kí) pa ha

AND THUS WHEN D1s (= P1s + DAT) call DECL

3.b cupí ḳi, u¢úkie

šuphí kki, uđúkkie

I go there if he speaks with him about it

šu p hi kki uđú/kkiE

THERE P1s arrive there WHEN speak with about

– juáñg¢ 'í¢ĕ hă.

žuákđ 'íđe ha.

he with me he said it DECL

a + žú/kđE 'í/đE ha

P1s with say DECL

4.a Nikaci^{n}ga Hutaⁿga wamaⁿ¢aⁿ ¢añka

nikkašika huttaka wamaɖa ɖakhá

person Winnebago they stole them they the

nikka šika hu ttaka wa ma/ɖa (3p) + ɖikhE

human (?) fish big P3p steal AN-SIT

wébaha^{n} éĕ hă;

wépaha é[t]e ha.

he knows them wrt DECL

wa i/paha e te ha

P3p know REF TOPIC DECL

4.b éde iéska a^{n}¢íñgega^{n}, cub¢á-majĭ éga^{n},

éte iéska aɖík eka, šupɖámažĭ éka,

wrt translator it lacks/ me since I do not go there since

e te íe ska a ɖíkE e ka šu p ɖE

REF TOPIC speak clear P1s lack REF THUS THERE A1s go there

ma žĭ e ka

1s NEG REF THUS

– wabágɛeze wípaxe hă.

wapákɛeze wíppage ha.

letter I make to you DECL.

wa pa k ɛéze wí (= wî + kí) p kágE ha

INDEF TOOL DAT tongue A1sD1s (= A1sP1s + DAT) A1s make DECL

5.a. Ede éskana ¢eba^{n} ada^{n}

éte éskana ɖepa ata,

wrt OPT you call to him because

e te e ska na ɖe (= ɖa + ki) pa a ta

REF TOPIC REF DUB QUANT A2D3 (= A2 + DAT) call GEN REASON

- wágazuqti i¢ámaxe

wákazuxti iɖámage [sic, for ɖamage]

very honestly I [sic, for you] inquire of him

wa kazu xti a [sic, for ɖa] i/magE

INDEF (?) VERY Als [sic, for A2s] inquire

- ka^{n}b¢éga^{n},

kkapɖ éka;

I desire it OPT

p ka p ɖa e ka

Als THUS Als AUX REF THUS

5.b Si waninde ee hă.

siwanite é[t]e ha.

S. [Henry Rice] wrt DECL

si wanite e te ha

wild rice (?) REF TOPIC DECL

6. Wágazúqti uɕíɕa ki,
wákazuxti uɗíɗa kki,
very honestly he tells you when

wa kazu xti ɗi + u/ɗa kki'
INDEF (?) VERY P2 tell WHEN

- aná'a^{n} ka^{n}bɕéga^{n} hă.
aná'ą kkąpɗ éką ha.
I hear it I desire it OPT DECL

a na'á p ką p ɗa e ką ha
Als hear Als THUS Als AUX REF THUS DECL

7. Ega^{n}qti kiǰi, Uma^{n}ha^{n} iɕadiɕai ɕinke

ekaxti kkiǰi, umaha iɖatiɖai ɖikhe

just so if not Omahas their agent he the

e ka xti kki ǰi umaha i ɖati ɖE i (3s) + ɖikhE

REF THUS VERY WHEN NEG Omahas X3 father CAUSE PL AN-SIT

– wabaɡɕeze ikiɕa-ga.

wapakɖeze ikhiɖa ka.

letter send it to him! IMP

wa pa k ɖeze [h]i k hiɖE ka

INDEF TOOL DAT tongue come here DAT CAUSE IMP

Close Translation

[Oh] Winnebago agent,

One of your people has spoken with me and returned to where you are. In regard to two horses which I have lost, he found out that he recognized them; he spoke with me about it. In fact, he made me an offer: he told me that he would speak to them with me, if I went back there were you are. The Winnebago thieves, whom he knows, that is. However, lacking a translator [presumably for English? JEK], I'm not going there where you are, and so I'm writing a letter. The upshot of this is that I would like you to interrogate him thoroughly, having called him in. Siwanite [Henry Rice], that is. If he speaks honestly, I would like to hear it. And if not, send a letter here to the Omaha agent.

Text II

Title: The Dakota Who Was Scared to Death by a Ghost

Speaker: Išta Maza [Iron Eye, or Joseph La Flesche, Jr.]

Date: unknown.

Genre: Vivid Story.

Source: CNAE VI.362-363.

Synopsis: A Dakhota of a restless disposition leaves a larger camp late in the evening, accompanied by one woman. They make camp in the dark. When the man is making the fire, the light shows him the corpse of another man who was killed earlier. This sight kills the first man in turn. The woman eventually discovers this, and seeing the two corpses, returns to the main camp in some excitement. She bursts out with the story, which a visit to the camp next day confirms to be the truth.

Notes

1. This text was probably recorded in the period 1878-1880, during which Dorsey was doing fieldwork at the Omaha Reservation in Nebraska.

2. "Joseph La Fleche [sic] is a gentleman to whom I am indebted, not only for myths in Ɛegiha and Tciwere, but also for a knowledge of the latter tongue, a collection of ethnological notes, etc. I regard him as my best authority. By birth he is a Ponka [probably actually an Omaha, as which, at any rate, he was raised, cf. Green 1969:2-4], but he has spent most of his life among the Pawnees, Otos, and Omahas. He has acquired a knowledge of several Indian languages, and he also speaks Canadian French [as well as a little English, cf. Green 1969:55]." (CNAE VI.1)

1. Caa^{n} dúba tí amáma.

šaą túpa tti am áma.

Dakota some dwell there were QUOTE

PROG?

šaą túpa tti amá amá

Dakota SOME dwell EXIST QUOTE

2. KI Caa^{n} wi^{n} ed-uíha-bi kí,

khi šaą wį et uíhapi kki,

and Dakota a wrt he joined them if

khi šaą wį e te ki + u/hE pi kki

AND Dakota IND-ART REF TOPIC DAT join PL WHEN

– waha^{n}-cta^{n} hegabají-biamá.

wahąšna hékapažípi amá.

habitually pack up and move camp he was not a little QUOTE

wa/há šną héka p ažį pi amá

pack up and move camp CUST be little PL NEG PL QUOTE

3. Kĭ ¢é Caá^{n} ṭi-má edita^{n} wi^{n} ugáca^{n} ¢e

khi đe šaą́ tti ma etítha wi ukášą đe

and this Dakota dwell the from there one wander he went there

khi đe šaą́ tti ma e titha wi u/kášą đE

AND THIS Dakota dwell AN-PL REF SOURCE ~~be~~ one wander go there

- téĕ hă.

the[~~x~~]e ha.

PAST ~~x~~t DECL

emph.

the te ha

PAST ~~TOPIC~~ DECL

4. Kĭ níaci^{n}ga áji nudá^{n} ákipaí ḳĭ, t'é¢ai

khi ni[kk]ašika ážį nutą́ ákkippai kki, t'éđai

and person not war he met him when he killed him

khi nikka šika ažį nutą́ á/kkippE i kki t'E đE i

AND human (?) NEG war meet PL WHEN die CAUSE PL

– tĕ há.

the ha.

PAST DECL

the ha

PAST DECL

5. Kĭ ¢é níaci^{n}ga wahá^n ģíuda^n

khi đé ní[kk]išįka wahą́ kíutą

and this person pack up and move camp it is good to him

khi đe níkka šíka wa/hą́ ki útą

AND THIS human (?) pack up and move camp DAT be good

– aká ṗázĕqtci hí kĭ,

akhá ppázexti hí kki,

the very much evening arrive when

akhá ppáze xti hi kki

AN-AGT-SG evening VERY arrive there WHEN

wahá^{n} a¢aí tě hǎ.

wahá adaí thě hǎ.

pack up and move camp he went PAST DECL

wa/há a dE ' i the ha

pack up and move camp COM go there PL PAST DECL

6. Wa'ú-hna^{n} wi^{n}áqtci júg¢ai tě hǎ.

wa'úšna wiáxti žúkdai the ha.

woman usually one only she with him PAST DECL

wa'ú šna wi a xti žú/kdE the ha

woman CUST ~~be~~ one GEN VERY with PAST DECL

7. Égi¢e há^{n}, ugáhanapazěxti, tíi te ha

ékide há ukáhanappazexti, ttíi the ha

finally night very dark he dwelled PAST DECL

ékide ha u ka ha na ppáze xti tti i the ha

finally night IN STRIKE night (?) evening VERY dwell PL PAST DECL

¢é wahaⁿ a¢é aká.

đé wahá adé akhá.

this pack up and move camp he had gone the

đe wa/há a đE akhá

THIS pack up and move camp COM go there AN-AGT-SG

8. Gañki tí waᶜú aká gáxai tĕ hă.

kákki ttí wa'ú akhá kágai the ha.

and tent woman the she made it PAST DECL

ka kki tti wa'ú akhá kágE i the ha

THUS WHEN dwell woman AN-AGT-SG make PL PAST DECL

9. Ki waᶜú aká, tíadi mañg¢íⁿ-ă.

khi wa'ú akhá, "ttíati makđí a."

and woman the "to the tent get back IMP"

khi wa'ú akhá tti ati k + ma/đí a

AND woman AN-AGT-SG dwell LOC VERT walk IMP

10. Náka^n gáxa-ǎ hě, á-bíamá.

"nákka kága a he," ápi ... amá.

"light make it! IMP DECL" she said it QUOTE

nákka kágE a he e/E amá

light make IMP DECL (fem) say QUOTE

11. Ga^n tíata ag¢aí nu aká.

ka ttíatta akđaí nú akhá.

and to the tent he went back there man the

ka tti atta a k đE i nu akhá

THUS dwell DIR COM VERT go there PL male AN-AGT-SG

12. Ga^n péde nú aká gáxai tě hǎ.

ka ppéte nú akhá kágai the ha.

and fire man the he made it PAST DECL

ka ppéte nu akhá kágE i the ha

THUS fire male AN-AGT-SG make PL PAST DECL

13. Naka[n] gaxa-bi ki, egiče niaci[n]ga t'e ke,

nąkką kągapi kki, ekiđe ni[kk]ašika t'e khe,

light he made it when finally person dead the

nąkką kągE pi kki ekiđe nikka šika t'E khe

light make PL WHEN finally human (?) be dead HOR

- najiha mačingeqtia[n]-bikeama

nažiha mađikexti ąpi khe amą

hair it had really been cut away he was used the QUOTE

nažiha ma đikE xti ą pi khe amą

head hair CUT lack VERY USE PL HOR QUOTE

- gaqčii ke, da[n]bai tě hą.

kaxđii khe, tąpai the ha.

killed in war the he saw him PAST DECL

ka xđi i khe tąpE i the ha

STRIKE (?) PL HOR see PL PAST DECL

14. Na^{n} pa-bi ega^{n}, Hi^{n}! a-bi ega^{n}, ca ca^{n}

nappapi eką, "hi!" api eką, šašą

he was afraid since "hi!" he said it since permanently

naą/ppE pi e ką hi e/E pi e ką šą šą

be afraid PL REF THUS oh! say PL REF THUS complete complete

– t'a-biama.

t'api ama.

he was dead QUOTE

t'E pi ama

be dead PL QUOTE

15. Nąka^{n} ckaxe ¢ag¢e ¢a^{n}cti

'nąkką škage đakđe đąšti,

light you make it you went back there the too

nąkką š kągE đa k đE đą šti

light A2 make A2 VERT go there RND TOO

\- ać̸aáⁿ ă, á-biamá wa'ú aká.

ádaą a?" ápi amá wa'ú akhá.

you set the fire QUEST she said it QUOTE woman the

da + á/ą a e/E pi amá wa'ú akhá

A2 lay on QUEST say PL QUOTE woman AN-AGT-SG

16. íaji egáⁿ, ědi akí-bi egaⁿ,

íaži eką́ éti akhípi eka,

he did not speak since there she arrived back there since

í/E aži e ką e ti a k hi pi e ką

speak NEG REF THUS REF LOC COM VERT arrive there PL REF THUS

\- ¢it'áⁿ-biamá.

dithą́pi amá.

she felt him QUOTE

di thą́ pi amá

HAND contact PL QUOTE

17. Gaⁿ nákaⁿ gáxa-biamá.

ka nákka kágapi ama.

and light she made it QUOTE

ka nákka kágE pi amá

THUS light make PL QUOTE

18. Gáñki t'e ké wadáⁿba-bi ki,

kákki t'é khé watápapi kki,

and dead the she saw them when

ka kki t'E khe wa tápE pi kki

THUS WHEN be dead HOR P3p see PL WHEN

\- cañge wíⁿ káⁿtaⁿ-bi egáⁿ, tí tĕ áⁿ¢a

šáke wí kkáthapi eká, ttí the áda

horse a she bridled it having tent the she discarded it

šáke wi kka tha pi e ka tti the áda

horse IND-ART sinew contact PL REF THUS dwell VER discard

- agȼá-biamá wa'ú aká.

akđápi amá wa'ú akhá.

she went back there QUOTE woman the

a k đE amá wa'ú akhá

COM VERT go there QUOTE woman AN-AGT-SG

19. Gáⁿ akí-bi egáⁿ,

ka akhípi eká

and she arrived there when,

ka a k hi pi e ka

THUS COM VERT arrive there PL REF THUS

- Nú juágȼe bȼé édegaⁿ,

"nú žuákđe pđé éteka,

man I with him I went there wrt and

nu a + žú/kđE p đE e te ka

male Als with Als go there REF TOPIC THUS

- níacinga win gaq¢íi kédegan,
  ní[kk]ašika wi kaxdíi khéteka,
  person a he was killed in war wrt the and

  níkka šíka wi ka xdi i khe te ka
  human (?) IND-ART STRIKE (?) PL HOR TOPIC THUS

- ědíqti antíi édegan,
  etíxti attíi éteka,
  right there we dwelled wrt and

  e ti xti a tti i e te ka .
  REF LOC VERY A1p dwell PL REF TOPIC THUS

- nánpe t'ée hě, á-biamá.
  náppe t'é ~~[t]~~e he," ápi amá.
  he feared it he was dead ~~wrt~~ emph DECL she said it QUOTE

  ná/ppE t'E ~~t~~e he e/E pi amá
  be afraid be dead ~~TOPIC~~ DECL (fem) say PL QUOTE

20. Égásání kǐ, nú amá dáⁿbe ahí-bi

ékasai kki, nú amá tápe ahípi

the next day when man the they see it they arrived there

e kasai kki nu amá tápE a hi pi

REF morrow WHEN male AN-AGT-PL see COM arrive there PL

kǐ, ékiçe t'é cáⁿcaⁿ ke ama

kki, ékide t'é šášą khé amá.

when finally dead permanently the QUOTE

kki ékide t'E ša šą khe amá

WHEN finally be dead complete complete HOR QUOTE

Close Translation

Some Dakhotas were camping. And there was a particular Dakhota who, if he joined them, has nevertheless a reputation for being not a little restless.

One of the camping Dakhotas has gone off wandering, and meeting a man not of the tribe he killed him.

When it was late in the evening the restless man moved out. As usual, he had only one woman with him. He ended up pitching camp in complete darkness, this restless one. The woman erected the tipi, and then she said, "Get back over to the tipi and make a light." The man went back to the tent, and he made fire.

When he had some light, of course he saw the corpse with its scalp all cut away, the outsider who had been killed. Frightened, he exclaimed "Hi!" and fell dead.

"The light that you also went back there to make [sarcasm? JEK]," the woman said, "Did you make it?" When he didn't say a word, she went back there and felt him. She made a light. When she saw the two corpses, she bridled a horse, and abandoning the tipi she returned [to the main

camp].

When she got there, she said, "I left with this man, and there was this person who had been scalped, and it was right where we camped, and hedied of fright." The next day, when the men went to see, he was quite dead.

References

Axelrod, M. 1980 ms. Handout for introductory seminar presentation on Omaha-Ponka.

Beilharz, S.C., and J.E. Koontz. 1983 ms. A proposal for computerized study of Dorsey's Omaha-Ponca texts.

Boas, F. 1907. Notes on the Ponca grammar. Papers of the International Congress of Americanists 15/2:317-337.

Boas, F. and E. Deloria. 1941. Dakota grammar. Memoirs of the National Academy of Sciences 23, Part 2.

Boas, F. and J.R. Swanton. 1911. Siouan (Dakota). BAE-B 40:875-965 (Handbook of American Indian Languages, I).

Carter, R.T. 1974. Teton Dakota phonology. University of Manitoba Papers No. 10.

DeLancey, Scott. 1981. An interpretation of split ergativity and related patterns. Language 57:626-657.

Dorsey, J.O. 1884. Omaha sociology. BAE-AR 3:211-368.

_____. 1885. On the comparative phonology of four Siouan languages. SI-AR 1883:919-929.

_____. 1890. The Ɋegiha language. Contributions to North American Ethnology VI.

_____. 1888. Osage Traditions. BAE-AR 6:373-397.

_____. 1891. Omaha and Ponka Letters. BAE-B 11:1-127.

_____. ms. A grammar and dict[ionary] of the Ponka language prepared by the Rev. J. Owen Dorsey, etc. 4800 Dorsey Papers

Ponca (3.2.1.2).

Green, N.K. 1969. Iron Eye's family: the children of Joseph LaFlesche. Lincoln, Nebraska: Johnson Publishing Co.

Hinsley, C.M., Jr. 1981. Savages and scientists: the Smithsonian Institution and the development of American anthropology 1846-1910. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press.

Holmer, N.M. 1945. Sonant-surds in Ponca-Omaha. IJAL 11:75-85.

James, E. 1823. Account of an expedition ...

Judd, N.M. 1967. The Bureau of American Ethnology: a partial history. Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press.

Koontz, J.E. 1883 ms. Unaspirated stops and sonorants in Proto-Mississippi Valley Siouan: a morphological reassessment. Paper read at the 3rd Siouan Conference, 20-22 May 1883, Rapid City, SD.

_____. 1883 ms. Draft outline of JOD's "A Grammar ... (= Dorsey ms)."

_____. 1983. Siouan syncopating *r-stems. Napao 13:11-23. Proceedings of the Second Siouan Languages Conference, 1982.

LaFlesche, F. 1963. The middle five: indian schoolboys of the Omaha tribe. Madison, Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press.

LaFlesche, F. 1932. A dictionary of the Osage language. BAE-B 109.

Matthews, G.H. 1958. Handbook of Siouan languages. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania.

_____. 1959. Proto-Siouan kinship terminology. American Anthropologist 61:252-278.

_____. 1970. Some notes on the Proto-Siouan continuants. IJAL 36:98-109.

Powell, J.W. 189 . James Owen Dorsey. SI-AR for 1895:53-54. Obituary notice.

Rankin, R.L. 1974. Observations on Dhegiha (Siouan) phonetics and phonology. Paper read at the Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association, Mexico City.

_____. 1977. From verb to auxiliary to noun classifier and definite article: grammaticalization of the Siouan verbs 'sit', 'stand', and 'lie'. Proceedings of the 1976 Mid-America Conference. Minneapolis, Minnesota: University of Minnesota Department of English.

_____. 1982. A Quapaw vocabulary. Kansas Working Papers in Linguistics 7:125-152.

_____. 1981. Dhegiha Siouan stop consonant correspondences and their sources. Paper read at the 1st Siouan Conference, Boulder, CO.

_____. 1982 ms. Notes on interpreting LaFlesche's transcription in the Osage Dictionary. Personal communication.

S.R. 1893. Dakota grammar, texts, and dictionary. Contributions to North American Ethnology IX.

Rood, D.S. 1979. Siouan. In: L. Campbell & M. Mithun. The languages of North America: historical and comparative assessment, pp. 236-298. Austin and London: University of Texas Press.

Rood, D.S. and A.R. Taylor. ms. Lakhota Sketch for Handbook of North American Indians/ Languages.

Shaw, P.A. 1980. Theoretical issues in Dakota phonology and morphology. New York and London: Garland Publishing, Inc.

Shea, K. ms. Notes on R.L. Rankin lectures on Kansa.

Swetland, M.J., comp. 1977. Umo^{n}ho^{n} iye of Elizabeth Stabler: a vocabulary of the Omaha language. Winnebago, Nebraska: Nebraska Indian Press.

Taylor, A.R. On verbs of motion in Siouan languages. IJAL 42: 287-296.

Wilson, D.C. 1974. Bright Eyes: the story of Susette LaFlesche, an Omaha indian. New York, etc.: McGraw-Hill Book Co.

Welsch, R.L. 1981. Omaha Tribal Myths and Trickster Tales. Chicago: Sage Books, Swallow Press.

Wolff, H. 1952. Osage I. IJAL 18:63-68; Osage II. IJAL 18: 231-237.

Zeyrek, D. and R.L. Rankin. 1982. A comparison of Siouan counting systems and numerals from 'one' to 'ten'. Paper read at the Mid-America Conference, October 22, 1982.

Ommissions above:

Cash, J.H. with G.W. Wolff. 1975. The Ponca People. Phoenix: Indian Tribal Series.

Fletcher, A.C. and F. LaFlesche. 1911. The Omaha Tribe. BAE-AR 27.

Orion 1980 Lgs of Australia