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A GRAMMAR AND DICTIONARY
OF
TUTELO

by

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B.A., Université de Franche-Comté, 1987
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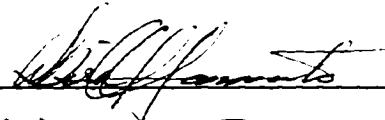
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ABSTRACT

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This thesis is a descriptive grammar and dictionary of Tutelo, an extinct Siouan language formerly spoken in the eastern United States. At the time of first contact with Europeans in the seventeenth century, the Tutelo people lived in western Virginia. From the eastern United States they migrated northward to Ontario, Canada, where they now live on the Six Nations Reserve near Brantford.

All the available data on the Tutelo language are gathered and analyzed, from placenames collected by the earliest explorers beginning in the seventeenth century to words collected by linguists in the twentieth century. Each source is described for content and accuracy of transcription. The grammatical description includes all aspects of the Tutelo language: phonology, morphology, and syntax. All morphemes and words are compiled in a detailed Tutelo to English dictionary with an English-Tutelo index.

To Mary Haas

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
A	actor
abs	absolute
adj	adjective
adv	adverb
alien	alienable possession
AR	Archaeological Report, Ontario, 1898
art	article
assert	assertive
aux	auxiliary verb
B	William Byrd
C	Wallace Chafe
caus	causative
conj	conjunction
D	James Owen Dorsey
dat	dative
def	definite
dem	demonstrative
desid	desiderative
det	determiner
dir	directional
disj	disjunctive pronoun
emph	emphatic

ext	root extension
F	John Fontaine
Fr	Leo Frachtenberg
H	Horatio Hale
hort	hortative
Hw	J. N. B. Hewitt
imper	imperative
indef	indefinite
instr	instrumental
inter	interrogative
interj	interjection
L	John Lederer
loc	locative
M	Marianne Mithun
Mo	James Mooney
midv	middle voice
N	- noun (grammatical category) - Nikonha, Hale's main consultant (in Hale's field in the dictionary)
NCR	North Carolina Records
neg	negative
NP	noun phrase
num	numeral
O	object
P	patient
pl	plural
poss	possessive

Postp	postposition
pot	potential
PP	postpositional phrase
pro	pronoun
prog	progressive
quant	quantifier
quot	quotative
redup	reduplication, reduplicated
refl	reflexive
reflp	reflexive/possessive
S	Edward Sapir
sg	singular
SOV	Subject-Object-Verb
Sp	Frank G. Speck
subj	subject
SVO	Subject-Verb-Object
temp	temperature
V	verb
VP	verb phrase
vert	vertitive
W	Major General Abraham Wood

CONVENTIONS

GLOSSES

' ' Gloss given by the scholars who have collected the data. In this case the gloss is followed by the abbreviation of their name in parentheses.

(' ') Gloss given by the author from the interpretation of the collected data as a whole when no gloss is provided by the collectors or when the gloss given appeared to be wrong after analysis.

CONSONANT ASPIRATION

p/t/č/k unaspirated stops and affricates;
p^h/t^h/č^h/k^h aspirated stops and affricates;
p̣/ṭ/č̣/ḳ stops and affricates whose quality, aspirated or unaspirated, cannot be determined beyond doubt.

ABLAUT

Citation forms of ablauting stems are marked with -E in the grammar and dictionary. Examples of these stems in phrases/sentences however are given with the actual vowel quality in that environment.

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CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

In the seventeenth century, at the time of first contact with Europeans, the Tutelo people and cognate tribes were living in western Virginia, on the eastern slopes of the Allegheny Mountains. At the end of the century, however, attacks from the Iroquois led them to move south to North Carolina. Around 1711, Governor Alexander Spotswood of Virginia offered them sanctuary, together with other native tribes of the area, at Fort Christanna, Virginia. They then returned to Virginia, and their presence at the fort is attested in 1716 when a word list was collected. Attacks from the Iroquois did not stop, however, until a treaty was signed in 1722. Later on, pressure from new White settlements led them to move north, following their friends and allies the Tuscaroras, first to Pennsylvania, then to New York. Their presence in various Pennsylvania settlements is attested by several Moravian missionaries from 1745 to 1748 (Heckewelder 1820:97, Edwards 1822:233, and De Schweinitz 1870:149). In 1753, they were adopted by the Six Nations of the Iroquois under the sponsorship of the Cayuga; and by the 1770's, they were living around Cayuga villages in the state of New York. During the Revolutionary War the Six Nations allied themselves with the British and, after the peace negotiations between the

Americans and the British, the Tuteloes, together with a group of mostly Mohawks and Cayugas, crossed the Canadian border and settled in the valley of the Grand River in southwestern Ontario. The Tutelo village was southwest of the present town of Brantford, and the area is still known today as Tutela Heights. But two epidemics of cholera in 1832 and 1848 killed most of them. The survivors moved to the Six Nations Reserve when it was created in 1847, and they were absorbed by the Cayugas by intermarriage. However, the Tuteloes have kept their separate identity until today.

The language of the Tutelo people is a Siouan language. Due to the location of the tribe in the eastern United States, away from known Siouan-speaking peoples, and because of their association with tribes such as the Nanticokes and Delawares in Virginia and Pennsylvania, it was first assumed that Tutelo was an Algonquian language (Gallatin 1826). However, Horatio Hale demonstrated in 1883 (1883a and b) that Tutelo was a Siouan language by comparing it with Dakota and Hidatsa. The Siouan affiliation of Tutelo was later contested by Miller (1957) on non-linguistic grounds but, as was pointed out by Sturtevant (1958:741), "[n]onlinguistic considerations are irrelevant for the determination of linguistic relationships." Within the Siouan family, Tutelo is a member of the Ohio Valley sub-branch (Oliverio and Rankin 1994). The Ohio Valley subgroup

also includes other Siouan-speaking tribes of the eastern United States (see below), as well as Ofo and Biloxi, formerly spoken on the Lower Mississippi and around Mobile Bay respectively. All Ohio Valley Siouan languages are now extinct.

The other Siouan-speaking tribes of the eastern United States include the Saponies, the Nahyssan, the Occaneechi, the Moniton.¹ We know that the Saponies spoke a Siouan language from the word list collected at Fort Christanna in 1716 (Alexander 1971). For the other tribes, it can be inferred that they were Siouan-speaking from their names and statements made by explorers that they were speaking a language mutually intelligible with Saponi or Tutelo: "[T]he Sapponys, the Occaneches, and the Steukenhocks [] [were each] formerly a distinct Nation, or rather a Several clan or Canton of the Same Nation, Speaking the Same Language, and using the same Customs" (Byrd 1929:308 and 310). The name Nahyssan, /nahisá/, is comparable with Yesáŋg, /yesá/, the Tutelo name for themselves, and the name Moniton is segmentable as /mani:/ 'water' (cf. Saponi *money* (Alexander 1971), /moni:/) and /itá:/ 'great, large', as was recorded by Major General Wood in 1674: "Now ye king must goe to give ye monetons a visit [], mony signifying water and ton great in theire language" (Alvord and Bidgood 1912:221).²

The present thesis is a descriptive grammar and dictionary of the Tutelo language from all the available

sources. The corpus is comprised of all attested Tutelo and Saponi forms, including placenames from their homelands and names of people which are demonstrably Siouan in origin. It begins with a section describing the origin and nature of the sources. The grammar proper then follows, with discussions of the phonology, morphology, and syntax of Tutelo. The thesis also includes a detailed Tutelo-English dictionary comprised of all Tutelo and Saponi morphemes/words, followed by an English-Tutelo index. Unidentifiable data are gathered in appendix 3.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 1

1. There may have been other Siouan-speaking groups in the area but there is no definite proof.

2. It is impossible to estimate the degree of differentiation between Tutelo and Occaneechi and Moniton since all we know about these last two languages is these names.

CHAPTER 2

SOURCES

There are sources on the Tutelo language ranging from the time of first contact with Europeans in Virginia and North Carolina in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to 1981 when Mithun (1981) collected some data on the Six Nations Reserve in Ontario, Canada.

This chapter contains a chronological description of each source including the name of the researcher, the date and location of data collection, and an explanation of the transcription system used by each scholar.

The first reference to a source is followed by an abbreviation in parentheses that will be used to refer to this particular source in the remainder of the grammar and in the dictionary. Each abbreviation is composed of the initial(s) of the scholar who collected the data (see pp. viii-x for the complete list of abbreviations) and sometimes of a following date if there are several sources from the same researcher. When the latter is the case, the sources are ordered chronologically by date of collection.

2.1 EARLIEST EXPLORERS OF VIRGINIA AND NORTH CAROLINA

The earliest sources on the language spoken by the Tutelo and Saponi people come from early travels into Virginia and North Carolina. Most forms are placenames

(towns, rivers) or names of peoples. Sources include William Byrd (B) (Byrd 1929), John Lederer (L) (in Alvord and Bidgood 1912), Major General Abraham Wood (W) (in Alvord and Bidgood 1912), and the North Carolina Records (NCR). All these early attestations were written as perceived and 'transcribed' using English orthography.

2.2 JOHN FONTAINE

John Fontaine (F) came to Virginia from Ireland where his Huguenot family had settled after fleeing France. He kept a diary of his travels in which he recounts, among others, his 1716 trip to Fort Christanna where Governor Spotswood had given sanctuary to several native tribes including the Saponies (and Tuteloes). The diary contains a vocabulary of forty-six words, phrases, and sentences (Alexander 1971). Twenty-three of these (the first section of the vocabulary) are Siouan and thus Saponi. The words are written in English orthography.

2.3 HORATIO HALE

In 1856 Horatio Hale moved to Clinton, Ontario, where his wife had inherited land, and while living there worked on the ethnology of the Iroquois on the Six Nations Reserve near Brantford, Ontario (Hale 1963:x). There in 1870 he discovered the last full-blood Tutelo among the Cayugas. This man's Cayuga name was *Nikonha*, meaning 'mosquito' or 'little mosquito' in Cayuga. But

his Tutelo name was *Waskiteng*, of unknown meaning¹, and he was known by the Whites as *Old Mosquito*. Nikonha had not spoken Tutelo in many years, as he was married to a Cayuga woman and using her language, but he could remember his native tongue and Hale was able to retrieve a list of Tutelo words during two visits in 1870. But then Nikonha died in February, 1871 (he was said to be one hundred years old, and thought himself to be one hundred and six) (Hale 1883a:10). Hale was able to get additional data from two other consultants: Mrs. Christine Buck, "whose mother was a Tutelo," and who was "about seventy years old" in 1879 and had not spoken Tutelo for at least thirty years (Hale 1879:18), and her nephew Inebed or Tuebed² (1877b:3), the Tutelo Chief in the Six Nations Council. Their knowledge of Tutelo, however, was not as extensive as that of Nikonha so that most of Hale's information comes from him rather than from these two other consultants.

Unfortunately, Hale's notes are only available today through two publications and from letters he wrote to Albert S. Gatschet, Major J. W. Powell, and the Reverend James Owen Dorsey of the Bureau of American Ethnology (BAE). His notebooks contained more information, as the following remarks made by Hale in different documents demonstrate:

The list of words here given is extracted from a much larger collection contained in my note-books. (Hale 1878:6)

I return, by the same mail with this letter, the list of words which Mr. Dorsey sent me, with their equivalents, so far as I could obtain them. ... Besides the words in this list, I have a pretty long collection of phrases and forms obtained for the purpose of ascertaining the grammatical characteristics of the language. (Hale 1879:2-3)

But these notebooks have disappeared, probably in a fire that struck Hale's home.

The transcription system used by Hale "is based on the well-known system proposed by the Hon. John Pickering [...]. The modifications suggested for the Indian languages by Professor Whitney and Major Powell have been adopted" (Hale 1883a:14), "[The] consonants being in general sounded as in English, and the vowels as in Italian" (Hale 1878:5). However some special symbols are used and thus require an explanation. Long vowels are consistently transcribed with a macron over them. Other symbols, however, differ from document to document and their correspondence with modern phonetic symbols will be given within the description for each document.

Hale's letters are held by the National Anthropological Archives (NAA) at the Smithsonian

Institution in Washington, D. C. They constitute manuscript 4800:334 of the Dorsey Papers (Hale 1877a and b, 1878, 1879, 1880a and b).

The first letter (H1877a) is addressed to Gatschet. It compares Dakota and Tutelo verb forms and noun phrases given to support Hale's theory that Tutelo was a Siouan language. In this letter the only phonetic symbol requiring clarification is the use of [ŋ] to signify that the preceding vowel is nasalized.

The second letter (H1878) to contain data on the language is entitled 'Remarks on the Tutelo Vocabulary' and is addressed to Major Powell and Dorsey. Hale gives some Tutelo words in the letter itself to illustrate phonological processes such as allophonic variation and deletion, and to show the complexity of the "tense" (1878:3) system. But the main body of the data is to be found in a seven-page "Tutelo vocabulary" appended to the letter. Special symbols used are [kh] for modern [x] ("[the] German guttural ch (Spanish j)" (1878:5-6)), and [ñ] to represent nasalization of the preceding vowel.

In a third letter (H1879) addressed to Major Powell, Hale gave Tutelo equivalents for a list of English words provided by Dorsey. The list itself is seventeen pages long, with two columns on each page, but Hale was unable to give a Tutelo word for each item. The data in this letter are mainly from Mrs. Buck but Hale added some Tutelo equivalents from previously recorded data when

Mrs. Buck could not remember them. Special symbols used in this letter are [ç] for modern [š], [tç] for [č], [χ] and [q] for [x], [v] ("short u in but") for [ʌ], and to represent a nasalized vowel [ŋ] following it or a cedilla underneath it.

In a fourth letter (H1880a) addressed to Dorsey, Hale gives eighteen forms to illustrate Tutelo verb inflection. The only symbol requiring clarification in this letter is the use of [ñ] to signify that the preceding vowel is nasalized.

The fifth and last letter (H1880b), addressed to Dorsey, contains a few forms illustrating different verbal modes. In this letter both [ñ] and [ŋ] are used to represent the nasalization of the preceding vowel.

Based on all the data he collected on the language, Hale presented a paper entitled 'The Tutelo tribe and language' (H1883a) before the American Philosophical Society on March 2, 1883. This paper was published in the same year in the Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society, volume XXI, number 114. It includes an "outline of Tutelo grammar" (1883a:13) and a ten-page vocabulary (1883a:36-45). Hale describes the transcription system he uses in the paper and lists all the symbols that require clarification together with examples of the represented sounds in European languages (1883a:14-15).

Hale also presented some Tutelo words and phrases in another publication (H1883b), 'Indian migrations, as evidenced by language.' The Tutelo data are used to demonstrate the genetic relationship between Tutelo and the 'Dakota stock' (108-12). In this paper, nasalized vowels are shown by a following [ñ], long vowels with a macron, and accented syllables with an acute accent over the syllabic vowel.

2.4 JAMES OWEN DORSEY

After Horatio Hale's discovery of Tutelo speakers on the Six Nations Reserve, the Reverend James Owen Dorsey of the BAE was asked by Major Powell to visit this reservation in the summer of 1882. The result of this investigation is manuscript 4800:336 of the Dorsey Papers in the NAA (D1882) (Dorsey 1882).

Dorsey's main consultant was a Tutelo man named John Key (also referred to as John Buck later in the manuscript). But it seems that three other persons served as consultants although Dorsey's notes are not explicit on the matter: these persons are referred to in the following passage but never said to be his consultants: "Ino.³ Key's mother & maternal gr. & Mrs. Buck" (1882). The latter Mrs. Buck is probably Mrs. Christine Buck who had previously worked with Hale.

In this document, nasalized vowels are shown by a following [ñ] or [ñ̃], short vowels by a breve over them,

accented syllables by an accent over the appropriate vowel or following the syllable; [c] and [tc] are used for [š] and [č] respectively, [ç] for [š̄], [q] for [x], and [û] for [ə]. Some unaspirated stops are written with an x underneath the symbol, a diacritic used by Dorsey to indicate voiceless lenis sounds in many Siouan languages.

Dorsey later attempted to put together all the data collected on Tutelo by himself, Hale, and Hewitt. He finished compiling this Tutelo-English and English-Tutelo vocabulary in September 28, 1891. After close inspection of this vocabulary, however, it is apparent that not all of Hale's data were included. Furthermore, Dorsey interpreted and standardized Hale's and Hewitt's transcriptions and added some glosses after attempting a morphemic analysis, some of them erroneous due to the limited Tutelo data, the differences with Dhegiha languages (on which Dorsey relied heavily to interpret Tutelo forms), and the impossibility of checking meanings with speakers.

Dorsey also included some Tutelo kinship terms and numerals in his preface to Riggs's (1893) Dakota grammar but the data are from Hale and Hewitt and do not represent new forms.

The data presented in these last two documents are not included in the present dictionary since they represent retranscriptions of other, more original, sources.

2.5 J. N. B. HEWITT

In 1888 Dorsey sent a letter to J. N. B. Hewitt asking for Tutelo equivalents for a list of English words. Hewitt answered with a list of forms (Hw) that best matched Dorsey's request. Hewitt's letter constitutes manuscript 4800:337 of the Dorsey Papers in the NAA (Hewitt 1888).

Hewitt marks short vowels with a breve and long vowels with a macron, but not all vowels are marked for length. Vowel nasality is shown by a following [ⁿ] or [ñ]; and the nasal vowel [ą] is sometimes transcribed with the symbols [â] and [ä] instead of [a]. Stops and affricates are sometimes marked for aspiration or lack thereof, aspiration with an [h], unaspirated consonants with a cross underneath. The symbol [q] is used for [x]. Hewitt also marks with a turned apostrophe what he calls "an arrested sound [or] a trill," mostly word-finally. The exact phonetic value of this symbol is unknown; it may be some kind of word-final release or glottal stop, but no such thing was recorded by other scholars. For convenience of writing, [˘] is used for this symbol in the present work.

2.6 JAMES MOONEY

In his 1894 work, Mooney (Mo) collected all the information relevant to the history of the Tuteloes and other Siouan-speaking tribes of Virginia and North

Carolina. This included linguistic information, mostly placenames and names of people from early explorers.

2.7 ARCHAEOLOGICAL REPORT, ONTARIO, 1898

The 1898 Archaeological Report for Ontario (AR) contains several photographs of Tutelo people. One of them, plate XVIII B, is a picture of John Key with a Tutelo form in the caption: "[H]is Tutelo name is said to have been Nas-ta-bon, One Step."

2.8 LEO J. FRACHTENBERG

In July 1907, Leo J. Frachtenberg went to the Six Nations Reserve for the BAE and collected some more Tutelo words and phrases and a short song (Fr). This was published in 1913 in the *American Anthropologist* (15:477-9). His consultant was Lucy Buck, "an old Tutelo woman, who remembered only a few words and phrases" (1913:477), and who did not understand English so that Frachtenberg required the aid of a Cayuga interpreter, Andrew Sprague. In the introduction accompanying the 1913 publication, Frachtenberg mentions that "at the time this material was collected, only two Tutelo families survived, the Williams and Buck families." But only Lucy Buck and John Buck, "the head of her family" who was not living on the reservation at the time, remembered any Tutelo.

The special features of Frachtenberg's transcription system are as follows: a macron denotes long vowels, a

[ⁿ] or [^m] shows the nasalization of the preceding vowel, an apostrophe marks stress of the preceding syllable, stops are transcribed as voiceless or voiced (aspiration is marked only once), [c] and [tc] stand for [š] and [č] respectively, [t̥] stands for [θ] ("t̥ as in English "thin" (1913:479n)). Raised *i*'s are used in a few words ('four', 'eight', 'cattle', 'pig', and 'bread') (see dictionary), sometimes representing the remnant of a previously full syllable. In the word for 'up (river)', *ōtap'ai´*, the symbol [p´] is used. The reversed apostrophe denotes aspiration, as Hewitt's transcription of the word shows: *otaphaíq* (although Hewitt's gloss is 'down stream' rather than 'up (river)'). One symbol poses a problem of interpretation: In the word for 'yearling (deer)', *hē´kEruⁿská*, the symbol [E] is used with no explanation. And since Frachtenberg was the only scholar to give a Tutelo equivalent for this word, it is impossible to infer its exact pronunciation.

2.9 EDWARD SAPIR

Edward Sapir collected a few more Tutelo words and phrases in August 1911 on the Six Nations Reserve. His consultant was Andrew Sprague, the same Cayuga man who translated Lucy Buck's Tutelo to Frachtenberg. These data were published in 1913 (S) with a detailed '[p]honic [n]ote' explaining Sapir's system of transcription. Sapir's word list, however short, is of

great importance to the understanding of Tutelo phonology. He recorded aspiration in stops/affricates that other scholars before had mostly missed, and his transcriptions help demonstrate the phonemic status of aspiration in Tutelo (Rankin 1981).

2.10 FRANK G. SPECK

Frank Speck's 1942 publication (Sp) is an account of the Tutelo Spirit Adoption Ceremony which he witnessed and recorded in 1938-39. Notes on the 1933-34 ceremony by John Buck and other Tutelo ceremonies are also included. There are two types of Tutelo language data in this publication. First, Speck recorded a sentence said during the ceremony to the Adopted Person, with one term differing depending on the sex and age of the speaker, and the Tutelo name for the Adoption String. Secondly, there are two lists of personal names. The first list is from a manuscript giving the names of Tuteloes at Buffalo Creek, New York, in 1789. The names are written in English orthography and translated. The second list is comprised of personal names from the Tutelo oral tradition. They are transcribed in the "standard orthography employed by Americanists" with some modifications due to "typographical limitations" (Speck 1942:4n). Nasalization is marked with a diaeresis over the vowel, a nasalized and accented vowel with a caret over it. The glottal stop is represented by a question

mark, and aspiration by an exclamation point. Vowel length is shown by doubling the vowel.

2.11 WALLACE CHAFE

In 1961, at the Oklahoma Seneca-Cayuga Green Corn Dance, Wallace Chafe encountered a Cayuga woman named Jane Owl whom he had met in 1956 at the Cattaraugus Reservation, New York, while doing fieldwork. She had grown up on the Six Nations Reserve in Ontario, and was living there again in 1961. She had come down to Oklahoma for the Green Corn Dance and, in the course of her conversations with Chafe, gave him Tutelo numbers from one through ten (C) (Mithun 1981). Some of the numerals are identifiable as Tutelo, but with different values, while some others are not. The source of the latter numerals is unknown; they may be part of a stray number system. All the numerals were transcribed phonetically (Chafe, personal communication).

2.12 MARIANNE MITHUN

In 1981, while doing fieldwork on Iroquoian languages on the Six Nations Reserve, Ontario, Marianne Mithun (M) found a man named Albert Green who remembered some Tutelo words (Mithun 1981). He had not spoken the language since his childhood and thus his recollection was limited, and his pronunciation, especially of vowels, was influenced by Iroquoian. All the collected words

were transcribed phonetically (Mithun, personal communication).

This short word list is of great importance because Mithun recorded aspiration in stops/affricates, as did Sapir at the beginning of the century. Mithun's transcriptions help confirm the phonemic status of aspiration in Tutelo.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 2

1. Hale thought that it may actually have been a corruption of the English word 'mosquito' (1883:9).
2. The name is written in Hale's handwriting and the beginning of the word is not readable beyond doubt. It seems to be Inebed rather than Tuebed but this is not certain.
3. Ino. is an abbreviation used by Dorsey to mean John. It is also found in his notes on the Quapaw language (Rankin, personal communication). This same abbreviation for John is also used in a map of the Six Nations Reserve showing the owner of each parcel of allotted land.

CHAPTER 3
PHONOLOGY

Most of Tutelo phonology is typical of a Siouan language. Its sound system is comprised of five oral and three nasal vowels with distinctive length and a five-manner consonantal system. Other Siouan features found in Tutelo include final vowel ablaut, leftward nasalization, and a basic second syllable accent pattern.

Tutelo has innovated, however, in merging glottalized stops with plain unaspirated ones. Furthermore, most Tutelo forms have undergone simplification over time through the loss of final vowels and of certain unaccented vowels word-medially. These phenomena have transformed a simple Siouan CV syllable structure into more complex syllables which contain consonant clusters.

The chapter first describes the Tutelo sound system and phonotactics, followed by an account of the phonological rules at play in the language. The chapter concludes with a discussion of syllable structure and accent.

3.1 PHONEME INVENTORY

In order to ascertain what distinctions were phonemic in Tutelo, both transcriptions by collectors of the language and comparative Siouan data were used.

Minimal and near-minimal pairs are given where available to illustrate the contrasts. Minimal pairs could not be used alone due to their limited number.

Vowel phonemes are discussed first, together with their variants, followed by a description of consonant phonemes and their variants.

VOWELS

		front	central	back
<u>oral</u> :	high	i/i:		u/u:
	mid	e/e:		o/o:
	low		a/a:	
<u>nasal</u> :	high	ɨ/ɨ:		
	mid			ɔ/ɔ:
	low		ɔ̃/ɔ̃:	

Figure 1. Vowel phonemes.

minimal pairs:

phoneme	morpheme	
/i/	/i/	'directional'
/a/	/á/	'locative, on'
/o/	/o/	'locative, in'
/i:/	/hí:/	'arrive there'
/e:/	/hé:/	'say, speak'
/o:/	/ho:/	'mix'
/u:/	/hú:/	'come here'

/i/	/hí/	'hortative mode'
/i:/	/hí:/	'arrive there'
/o/	/ho/	'hawthorn'
/o:/	/ho:/	'mix'
/i/	/wi/	'1 singular patient pronoun, I, me'
/ị/	/wị/	'1 singular dative pronoun'
/a/	/wa/	'1 singular actor pronoun, I'
/ạ/	/wạ/	'1 plural actor pronoun, we'
/o:/	/ko:/	'that, there'
/ọ/	/kọ/	'cause, make'

Although length was not recorded consistently, there are long vowels in many Tutelo forms. Vowel length being a phonemic feature in most Siouan languages, and the fact that there are unaccented long vowels are evidence for the phonemic status of length in Tutelo. Furthermore, as shown in the examples above, there are a few minimal pairs contrasting short and long vowels.

There also seems to be an interaction between accent and vowel length.

variants:

phonemes	variants
/i/	[i, e, ə]
/e/	[e, ə, ε']
/a/	[a, æ, ə]
/o/	[o, u]
/u/	[u, o]

	/kasá:hka/ 'nine':	[kasá:ka] (H1883a)
		[sɛk ^h] (S)
		[šɛk ^h] (M)
/ɔ/	/kí:tɔ/ 'belong':	[ki:tɔ] (H1883a)
		[kitá] (D1882)
	/nɔ:pa:/ 'two':	[nɔ:pa:] (H1883a)
		[ny:pa] (H1883a)

The variant [æ] of the phoneme /a/ is only found in two words collected by Mithun in 1981, 'pepper' and 'grandfather'. Her consultant, Mr. Green, had not spoken Tutelo since his childhood and was using Cayuga and English in everyday life. This variant pronunciation is thus probably due to the influence of the Cayuga language. This is also probably the case for the variants [ɛ] (only found in Mithun's data) and [ɛ̃] of the phonemes [i] and [a].

The phoneme /i/ has an allophone [e], as is the case in Biloxi (Haas 1968:81). Haas's Biloxi data also show that Dorsey did not distinguish between [e] and [ɛ], and this may suggest that Tutelo /e/, as in Biloxi, may have an allophone [ɛ]. [ə] is a centralized variant of front and central non-nasal vowels, especially in unaccented syllables, and [ə̃] of nasal [a].

Cases of apparent overlap are almost always disambiguated by other transcriptions for the same morpheme/word. The only exception is the verb *ni:na-ki nə* 'live' transcribed with a final schwa in all three

attestations by Hale (see dictionary). Thus in this case, without other transcriptions enabling the identification of the underlying vowel, the schwa is maintained in the standardized transcription of that verb.

CONSONANTS

	labial	dental	palatal	velar	glottal
stops/affricates					
aspirated	p ^h	t ^h	č ^h	k ^h	
unaspirated	p	t	č	k	ʔ
nasal	m	n			
fricatives					
		s		x	h
lateral					
		l			
glides					
	w		y		

Figure 2. Consonant phonemes.

minimal pairs:

phoneme	morpheme	
/p/	/pi/	'desiderative mode'
/k/	/ki/	'vertitive'
/m/	/mi/	'but'
/l/	/lí/	'arrive here'
/w/	/wi/	'1 singular patient pronoun, I, me'
/y/	/yi/	'2 patient pronoun, you'

/p/	/pí:/	'good'
/n/	/ni:/	'leg'
/s/	/sí:/	'yellow'
/h/	/hí:/	'arrive there'
/t/	/té:/	'die'
/s/	/se/	'assertive mode'
/x/	/xe:/	'friend'
/h/	/hé:/	'that, there'
/l/	/lé:/	'this, here'
/k/	/kɔ/	'cause, make'
/ʔ/	/ʔɔ:/	'do, make'
∅	/ɔ:/	'progressive aspect'
/m/	/má:kE/	'lay down'
/l/	/lá:kE/	'sit'
/p/	/pa/	'instrumental, by pressure/pushing'
/p ^h /	/p ^h a/	'head'
/t/	/á:ti/	'father (referential)'
/t ^h /	/at ^h í:/	'house'

There are two series of stops and affricates, a plain unaspirated series, and an aspirated one. Even though most of the scholars who collected Tutelo data did not hear or transcribe aspiration, evidence for the aspirated series of stops/affricates is found in

transcriptions by Sapir and Mithun and in some by Hewitt, and it is strongly supported by comparative Siouan data (Rankin 1981). Furthermore, plain unaspirated stops/affricates have a voiced variant intervocally and sometimes word-initially (see p. 46 below). On the other hand, aspirated stops/affricates never voice.

<i>č^hǫ:ki</i> 'dog':	[ts ^h ʏk ^h] (S)
	[č ^h u], [č ^h ú:] (M)
<i>i:ka:t^he:ʔǫ:</i> 'kettle':	[i:ga:t ^h e:ʔǫ:] (S)
<i>o:tap^hái</i> 'down river':	[otap ^h ai] (Hw)
	[o:tap ^h ai] (Fr)
	[u:dap ^h ái] (S)
<i>p^hé:ʔi</i> 'fire':	[p ^h é:s] (M)

There is no glottalized series of stops, unlike some other Siouan languages such as Dakota. A few examples suggest that it has merged with the unaspirated series of stops² (although in Ofo (Swanton 1909, Dorsey and Swanton 1912) it merges with the aspirated series):

'die'	Tutelo:	té:
	Dakota:	tʔe
'give'	Tutelo:	kú:
	Dakota:	kʔu

The glottal stop is found only in the verb ʔǫ: 'do, make', where it matches /ʔ/ in numerous other Siouan languages, and in some derived forms.

The chart above also shows that there is only one series of fricatives. Voiced fricatives were not even

recorded as intervocalic variants of voiceless fricatives.

variants:

phonemes	variants
/p/	[p, b]
/t/	[t, d]
/č/	[č, ĵ, ts]
/k/	[k, g]
/s/	[s, š, θ]
/l/	[l, r, d ³ , δ ⁴ , n]
/w/	[w, m]

examples:

/p/	/pí:/ 'good':	[pí:] (H1883a)
		[bí:] (H1883a)
/t/	/-ta:ti/ 'father':	[ta:t] (H1883a)
		[da:t] (Hw)
/č/	/wačék/ 'stick':	[waĵék] (D1882)
	/čuča:ki/ 'finger-nail':	[čuča:k] (H1883a)
		[tsutsa:ki] (H1883a)
/k/	/kí:tq/ 'belong':	[ki:tq] (H1883a)
		[gi:tq] (H1883a)
/s/	/ské:/ 'hold':	[ske:] (H1883a)
		[šké] (D1882)
	/manisa:p/ 'ford' (Saponi):	
		[monise:p] (B)
		[monišap] (B)

	/ḿ̩:ś̩:/ 'knife':	[maś̩:]
		[ma:θ̩́] (S)
/l/	/ĺ̩:ni/ 'three':	[ĺ̩:ni] (H1883a)
		[ń̩:ni] (H1883a)
	/á̩:ko:h̩́le:/ 'shoe':	[á̩goh̩́le:] (H1883a)
		[a:go:ŕ̩e] (H1883a)
		[a:go:de:] ² (H1883a)
/w/	/ẃ̩ń̩:/ 'steal':	[ẃ̩ń̩] (D1882)
		[ḿ̩ń̩] (D1882)

The variant [š] of /s/ is only found in Dorsey. Dorsey always transcribed /s/ as [š] except word-initially where he sometimes wrote [s]. For instance, /ś̩tḱ̩/ 'younger brother' is transcribed with an [s] when no prefixes precede the root, but with an [š] when a prefix is attached:

[ś̩tḱ̩]	'younger brother' (D1882)
[mi-š̩́tḱ̩]	'my younger brother' (D1882)

The variant [θ] of /s/ is only found in Sapir's and Frachtenberg's transcriptions of the word for knife, /ḿ̩:ś̩:/.

/l/ and /w/ have the variants [n] and [m] respectively preceding or following a nasal segment (see below). *l* and *w* are used in the standardized phonemic transcriptions when there is evidence from an elicited form that the underlying segment is oral. However, when all attested forms were written with a nasal segment, *n* and *m* were kept in the standardized transcriptions.

3.2 PHONOTACTICS

This section describes the position that each consonant can fill in a morpheme/word and the possible combinations of consonants. As for vowels, the following statements can be made. All vowels can be used in all positions, i.e., word-initially, word-medially, and word-finally. The data also show that combinations of vowels are possible, but the lack of transcription of intervocalic glottal stops by collectors and the virtual non-existence of audio recordings or perceptual comments by transcribers do not permit further analysis (but see also the section on glide epenthesis below).

DISTRIBUTION OF CONSONANTS

Figure 3 below gives the distribution of consonants in Tutelo morphemes. All segments can occur word-initially and word-medially. However, the affricate /č/, the nasal stops /m/ and /n/, the glottal stop, and the glides /w/ and /y/ cannot occur word-finally.

	WORD-INITIAL	WORD-MEDIAL	WORD-FINAL
p	X	X	X
t	X	X	X
č	X	X	
k	X	X	X
ʔ	X	X	
m	X	X	
n	X	X	
s	X	X	X
x	X	X	X
h	X	X	X
l	X	X	X
w	X	X	
y	X	X	

Figure 3. Distribution of consonants.

CONSONANT CLUSTERS

The possible two-way consonant combinations are summarized in the table below. Examples for each consonant cluster are given following the table.

	p	t	č	k	ʔ	m	n	s	x	h	l	w	y
p		X		X			X	X			X		
t				X		X	X						X
č				X									
k	X	X	X			X	X	X		X	X	X	X
ʔ													
m									X				
n													
s	X	X		X			X						
x		X		X						X	X		
h		X		X			X				X		X
l		X							X				

Figure 4. Consonant clusters.

pt	<i>alupté</i>	'cross'
pk	<i>nahá:pki</i>	'tomorrow'
pn	<i>kanahá:pna</i>	'morning'
ps	<i>wihóxkupsua:</i>	'fishy smell'
pl	<i>happle:ha</i>	'thin'
tk	<i>stetka</i>	'long'
tm	<i>hiķaatmani:</i>	'Hyco River'
tn	<i>a:satnitkuax</i>	'icy'
ty	<i>tyaok</i> (Hw)	'under' < <i>tiyáok</i>

čk	<u>čké</u>	'scratch'
kp	<u>lakpé:</u>	'drink'
kt	<u>maḱtakí</u>	'wolf'
kč	<u>kčipá:i</u>	'pipe'
km	<u>wahukmí:</u>	'false face, mask'
kn	<u>kní</u>	'walk back'
ks	<u>maḱsí:</u>	'arrow'
kh	<u>ha-waḱ-he:-wa</u> < <u>ha-hé:</u> 'say' dem-lplA-say-real 'we say' (H1883a)	
kl	<u>klu:</u>	'thunder'
kw	<u>waḱ-wanḡ:-wa</u> < <u>wanḡ:</u> 'steal' lplA-steal-real 'we steal it' (H1878)	
ky	<u>waḱ-yaṭ-o-ste:ka</u> < <u>yaṭo-sté:kE</u> 'love' lplA-heart-loc-good 'we love him' (H1883a)	
mx	<u>ko:mḱa:</u> 'girl' (H1883a) < <u>ḱo:mihḱa:</u>	
sp	<u>spé:</u>	'cut'
st	<u>isti:</u>	'beard'
sk	<u>a:ska:i</u>	'near'
sn	<u>mosnuk^{he}</u>	'otter'
xt	<u>yéxta</u>	'nest'
xk	<u>to:xka:</u>	'fox'
xh	<u>yaxhe</u>	'that, thus'
xl	<u>xló:ṭE</u>	'scratched'
ht	<u>máhtiyi:</u>	'cow'
hk	<u>wa:hki</u>	'man, husband'
hn	<u>yíhni:</u>	'tobacco'
hl	<u>ḱ:ko:hle:</u>	'shoe'

hy -kihye 'step-child' (Hw) < -kihiyé
 lt i-kseh -ǝ -pu -l -t < i-ksé:hE
 ?-laugh-prog-2pl-assert2-pot 'laugh'
 ('you (pl) will be laughing') (H1878)
 lx yaxhe-l -x hihá -se < yaxhe 'that'
 that-dem-def scattered-assert1
 'the scattered men' (Hw)

There is only one example for most clusters beginning with /p/ or /t/, and for all those beginning with /m/ or /l/. These clusters may be the result of fast speech or improper learning. Similarly, there is only one example for most clusters ending with /s/⁵ or /y/, and for all those ending with /č/, /m/, or /x/.

There is one example of a cluster of three consonants:

kst akstá 'cheek'

This cluster is probably the result of vowel devoicing and deletion.

3.3 PHONOLOGICAL RULES

This section describes all phonological rules that can be identified from the available Tutelo data. Some rules are purely phonological while some others are morphophonemic in nature, i.e., they result from the interaction between morphemes.

Vowel ablaut is described first. Other phonological rules are then discussed; they include assimilation, glide epenthesis, lenition, strengthening, and deletion rules. Finally, two alternations that cannot be

explained but that are, nevertheless, systematic are described.

VOWEL ABLAUT

Tutelo features a variation in the final vowel of some verb stems and enclitics/suffixes. This process has been traditionally called vowel ablaut in Siouan linguistics. It is found in all Siouan languages and thus dates back to Proto-Siouan, where it was undoubtedly a purely phonological process. However, it seems that, in Tutelo, the phonological conditioning has been lost and has evolved into a purely morphological one. Thus, the following morpheme determines the quality of the stem final vowel.

Since historically most ablauting morphemes were verbs, ablauting suffixes and enclitics must have originally been verb stems. These were later grammaticized and placed after the main verb in the basic SOV Siouan word order. Some of these older verb stems are clitics today whereas some others seem to be suffixes, although the recorded data do not always permit us to distinguish clearly between the two.

Ablauting vowels alternate among /i/, /e/, and /a/ in Tutelo. As mentioned above, the following morphological environment determines the quality of the vowel. In citation forms, the final vowel is written as

-E to differentiate ablauting stems from non-ablauting ones (see below).

The relevant examples needed to show the vowel alternations in verb stems and enclitics/suffixes, and the environments triggering ablaut are given below. The section ends with a summary of the ablauting stems and clitics/suffixes, and of the ablauting environments.

verb stems:

lE: 'go there (motion underway)'

*l*a
go
'go' (H1883a)

*a-l*e:-wa
loc-go -real
'he is going' (H1880b) (H1883a)

*ki- wi-l*e:-pi -*na*
neg-1sgP-go -desid-neg
'I do not wish to come' (H1883a)

xá:ɕE 'see'

*o- wa-xa:ɕ*a
loc-1sgA-see
'I see it' (H1878)

*o- wa-xa:ɕ*i-ǝ -*wa*
loc-1sgA-see -prog-real
'1sg' (D1882)
('I see it')

*o-xaɕ*i-se
loc-see -assert1
'he sees' (H1879)

*o- wa-xa:ɕ*i-la
loc-1sgA-see -assert2
'I see' (H1879)

*o- wa-xá:ɕ*i-ta
loc-1sgA-see -pot
'1sg' (D1882)
('I will see it')

o-xaṭi-o:k^ha
loc-see -past2
'he saw it', 'he saw it formerly' (H1883a)

i-ya-xáṭe yuké-w -o
dir-2A-see past1-real-inter
'did you (sg) see it?' (D1882)

tikú:sE 'break, cut'

latkú:sE 'break/cut by hand'

ima latkúsa
3disj break
'3sg' 'break with hand' (D1882)
('he breaks it by hand')

ima i-latkúsi ta
3disj 3P-break pot
'3sg' 'break with hand' (D1882)
('he will break it by hand')

yi-tópa-yi yí-latkúsa-yí
2dat-four-imper 2P-break -imper
'you four you break it' (D1882)

lákatkú:sE 'break/cut by force/striking'

lakatku:sa
cut
'cut with knife' (H1883a)

lakatku:sí-se -l
cut-assert1-assert2
'he cuts it off with an axe' (H1883a)

lákE 'sit, stay'

á- wa-lákā
loc-lsgA-sit
'I sit on' (D1882)

mima á- wa-lákā haksí-k
ldisj loc-lsgA-sit stick-def
'I sit on stick' (D1882)

wiyá ya á- wa-lákā wi-latkúsa
tree emph loc-lsgA-sit lsgP-break
'I sit on tree and break' (D1882)

lu:tE 'eat'

luṭa
eat
'to eat' (H1883a)

sitṭle luṭi:-o:k^{ha}
yesterday eat-past2
'he has eaten (yesterday)' (H1879)

lu:ṭa-hla
eat-3pl
'they eat' (H1879)

lúse 'take, steal'

míma wi-lúsa
ldisj 1sgP-take
'I take it or steal it' (D1882)

ti-lúsi-hí iyanṭkoṭ
2P-take-hort chair
'take up chair' (D1882)

enclitics/suffixes:

helE '3 plural'

á-kaxlé:p-hlé-wa
loc-sweep -3pl-real
'3pl' (D1882)
('they sweep')

kitṭ-hle:-se -l [e] instead of [i]
belong-3pl -assert1-assert2
'it is theirs' (H1883a)

ki-ki:tṭ -hle:-na
neg-belong-3pl -neg
'it is not theirs' (H1883a)

lu:ṭa-hla
eat-3pl
'they eat' (H1879)

i-nṭa -hle-te -la [e] instead of [i]
dir-swallow-3pl-pot-assert2
'3pl' (D1882)
('they will swallow')

-nE 'negative mode'

k- o- wa-p^hé:-pi -n_a
neg-loc-1sgA-go -desid-neg
'I do not wish to go' (H1880b) (H1883a)

k- o-p^hé:-pi -n_i:-s_e
neg-loc-go -desid-neg-assert1
'he does not wish to go' (H1880b) (H1883a) (D1882)

ki-kihn_ite:-n_i -s_e
neg-hungry -neg-assert1
'he is not hungry' (H1879)

ki- wa- w_i-kin_o-n_i -ó^hk_a
neg-stem2-1sgdat-sick-neg-past2
'I was not sick' (H1880b)

ó:k^hE 'past2'

o-xa_i-o:k^h_a
loc-see -past2
'he saw it', 'he saw it formerly' (H1883a)

o-ya-xa_i-ok^h_e -w_a
loc-2A-see -past2-real
'you (sg) saw it' (H1883a)

tE 'potential aspect'

o- wa-xá:ti-t_a
loc-1sgA-see -pot
'1sg' (D1882)
('I will see it')

i-ná_ṭa -hlé-te -l_a [e] instead of [i]
dir-swallow-3pl-pot-assert2
'3pl' (D1882)
('they will swallow')

yuk^hE 'past1'

íma ó-lakpe yú_k_a
3disj loc-drink past1
'he did drink' (D1882)

í-ne yuk^h_e-w_a
3P-see past1-real
'he found it some time ago' (D1882)

The following list summarizes the verb stems and enclitics/suffixes that undergo ablaut:

Verb stems:

<i>čkí:hE</i>	'kill'
<i>hi-ntahE</i>	'run'
<i>kiko:hE</i>	'call'
<i>ksé:hE</i>	'laugh'
<i>lE:</i>	'go there (motion underway)'
<i>lǎkE</i>	'sit, stay'
<i>loxkáhE</i>	'tear'
<i>lúsE</i>	'take, steal'
<i>lu:ṭE</i>	'eat'
<i>mǎkE</i>	'lie, recline'
<i>nǎṭE</i>	'swallow'
<i>sté:kE</i>	'be good'
<i>tikú:sE</i>	'break, cut'
<i>xá:ṭE</i>	'see'
<i>xló:ṭE</i>	'scratched'

Enclitics/suffixes:

<i>hele</i>	3 plural
<i>-nE</i>	negative mode
<i>ó:k^hE</i>	past2
<i>tE</i>	potential aspect
<i>yukE</i>	past1

The lists show that there are three morphemes where the ablauting vowel is accented: *lE:* 'go there', *hele* '3 plural', and *yukE* 'past1'. The examples above also show

that the enclitics *helE* '3 plural' and *tE* 'potential aspect' never have an [i] variant. This is unexplained.

Vowel quality and ablauting environments are as follows:

ABLAUT VARIANT	ENVIRONMENTS
[e]	<i>-nE</i> negative mode
	<i>-pi</i> desiderative mode
	<i>wa</i> real aspect
	<i>yukE</i> past1
[i]	<i>-hí</i> hortative mode
	<i>-la</i> emphatic assertion
	<i>ó:k^hE</i> past2
	<i>-ǫ:</i> progressive aspect
	<i>-se</i> assertive mode
	<i>tE</i> potential aspect
[a]	citation form
	∅ (end of clause/sentence)
	noun
	verb
	<i>-helE</i> third person plural
<i>-í</i> imperative mode	

The underlying vowel is probably /e/ as in all other Siouan languages except Dakota. The upper case letter *E* is thus used to symbolize an ablauting vowel in the

grammar and dictionary. The use of this symbol to mark ablauting stems is required since there are non-ablauting stems ending in e or é. Similarly to Dakota however, the vowel /a/ has been generalized in citation forms and in forms not followed by a clitic/suffix, i.e., followed by a noun or verb.⁶ The reason for this generalization is not known at this time.

ASSIMILATION

Leftward nasalization

What is traditionally called leftward nasalization in Siouan linguistics is a regressive nasal assimilation rule. In Tutelo it affects the consonants /w/ and /l/ and vowels when they precede a nasal segment. As in other Siouan languages, this rule applies iteratively, and it does not apply across obstruents⁷.

w → m / ___ [+nasal] variably

l → n / ___ [+nasal] variably

V → [+nasal] / ___ [+nasal] variably

wanǫ: 'steal': [wanǫ] (D1882)

 [manǫ] (H1883a)

lá:ni 'three':

pre-Tutelo: */lá:l̥i/

Tutelo: /lá:ni/

 [la:ni] (H1883a)

 [na:ni] (H1883a)

púčka la:ni 'thirty': [pučka lani] (H1883a)
 [pučka nani] (H1883a)
 [pučką naní] (Hw)

It seems that some segments, especially in grammatical morphemes such as verb prefixes, do not undergo the leftward nasalization rule if its application makes a morpheme homophonous with another one. However, if there is additional information in the sentence enabling the identification of a morpheme as its true nature, even though it is homophonous with another morpheme after leftward nasalization, then the nasalization rule may apply.

i-ʔǫ: 'use'

/í- wa-ʔǫ-wa/
 [í- wa-ǫ -wa]
 instr-lsgA-do-real
 'I use' (D1882)

/míma masá i- wa-ʔǫ/
 [míma masá i- wa-ǫ]
 ldisj knife instr-lsgA-do
 ('I use a knife') (D1882)

/masá i- wá-ʔǫ-wa ḵohóç- wák-hiyé-ta húk/
 [masá i- ma-ǫ -wa ḵohóç- mák-hiyé-ta húk]
 knife instr-lplA-do-real hole-lsgA-caus-pot all
 'cut hole in wood with knife' 'we all make hole'
 (D1882)

In the first two examples, leftward nasalization does not apply on the first person singular actor pronoun *wa-* because it would yield *wá* or *má* (or its variant pronunciation *ma*) and thus be homophonous with *wá-* (or its variants *má* or *ma*), the first person plural actor

pronoun, and there is nothing else in the sentences to disambiguate the grammatical person involved.

In the following example, additional information on the grammatical person involved is provided somewhere else in the sentence and thus the nasalization rule can apply without causing ambiguity.

```

/míma maşá i- wa-ʔǝ-i wí-latkúsa/
[míma maşá i- ma-ǝ-i wí-latkúša]
ldisj knife instr-1sgA-do-indef 1sgP-break.hand
'Isg, cut with knife' (D1882)
('I cut it using a knife')

```

Progressive nasalization

There is also a progressive nasalization rule. It affects the same segments as the leftward nasalization rule described above, i.e., /w/, /l/, and vowels, and it is also variable. However, as opposed to regressive nasalization, this progressive assimilation rule seems to apply across obstruents, or at least across /h/ʔ.

```

w → m / [+nasal] ___ variably
l → n / [+nasal] ___ variably
V → [+nasal] / [+nasal] ___ variably

```

```

wanǝ: 'steal': /wanǝ-wa/
                [manǝ-ma]
                steal-real
                'he steals it' (H1878)

                /wanǝ-hle-se/
                [manǝ-ne -se]
                steal-3pl-assert1
                'they steal' (H1883a)

```

kí:tɔ 'belong': /ki-ki:tɔ -h̥le-na/
 [ki-gi:tɔ -h̥ne-n̩]

neg-belong-3pl-neg

'not theirs' (H1878)

('it is not theirs')

Voicing

Plain unaspirated stops/affricates are almost always voiced inter-vocally. They are sometimes voiced word-initially, but not consistently. This voicing is one of the factors that permits us to distinguish aspirated from unaspirated stops/affricates in Tutelo. The aspirated series never voices.

$$\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{-continuant} \\ \text{-sonorant} \\ \text{-aspirated} \end{array} \right] \rightarrow [+voice] / \left\{ \begin{array}{l} V \\ \# \end{array} \right\} \text{---} V$$

medially:

pí: 'good': /wɨ̄-pi: -wa/
 [mɨ̄-bi: -wa]

1sgdat-good-real

'I am good' (H1883a)

kí:tɔ 'belong': /h̩ksí-k wɨ̄-kitɔ/
 [h̩ks̩í-k mɨ̄-gid̩]

stick-def 1sgdat-belong

'my stick' (D1882)

w̩čék 'stick': [w̩č̩ék] (D1882)

kí:tɔ 'belong': /ki-ki:tɔ -na/
 [ki-gi:tɔ -n̩]

neg-belong-neg

'it is not his' (H1879)

tasu: 'eye': *tasu*:-i
 eye-indef (H1883a)

tasu:-y-i
 eye-y-indef (H1883a)

hkqspé: 'remember': *ya-hkqspe -pu -ok^{ha}*
 2A-remember-2pl-past2
 'you (pl) remembered it' (D1882)

ya-hkqspe -pu -y-ok^{ha}
 2A-remember-2pl-y-past2
 'you (pl) remembered it'
 (H1883a) (D1882)

The conditioning environments for these two rules are very similar but yield very different responses. The second rule is the pan-Siouan glide insertion rule. The glide *r, in this instance Tutelo y, is inserted between vowels. The causative morpheme *hiyé*, from Proto-Siouan *hi-e, shows that this rule, at least at one time, applied in more environments than that shown above. However, the available Tutelo data only exemplify the rule as stated above.

The following example may also be the result of y-insertion in a vowel cluster, with secondary nasalization:

tok^{hé}:nə 'how many': *tok^{hé}nə-n-ó*
 how.many-n-inter
 'how many?' (Hw)

LENITION RULES

In the first two lenition rules, the stops /t/ and /k/ become homorganic fricatives, /s/ and /x/ respectively, when they are the first segment in a

STRENGTHENING RULES

There are apparently two strengthening rules yielding the plain stop /t/. There are very few examples however, and only one for the second rule.

$n \rightarrow t / _ \#$ variably

lá:ni 'three': [la:ni] (H1883a)

[na:ni] (H1883a)

[na:n] (H1883a)

[la:t] (H1883a)

$y \rightarrow t / \# _$ variably

yi- '2 patient pronoun':

/yi-lúsE-hí íyanakóì/

[ti-lúsi-hí íyanakóì]

2P-take-hort chair

'take up chair' (D1882)

DELETION RULES

Unstressed short vowels are often deleted, especially word-finally. However, there seems to be a hierarchy involved: the high front vowel /i/ is almost always deleted, whereas there are only a few instances of the deletion of the mid-front vowel /e/, and even rarer examples of the deletion of the high back vowel /u/. Since instances of unstressed short /u/ are rare in the first place, the hierarchy may be based on vowel height.

$v \rightarrow \emptyset / \left[\begin{array}{l} -\text{stress} \\ -\text{length} \end{array} \right]$

lá:ni 'three': [na:n_i] (H1883a)
 [na:n] (H1883a)
sa:si 'bed': [sa:s_i] (H1883a)
 [sa:s] (H1883a)
ɕapuní:teka 'star': [ɕapuní:teka] (H1879)
 [ɕapuní:čka] (H1883a)
 [ɕapn_i:ska] (H1883a)

A sequence of identical vowels is simplified to a single vowel:

$V_1 \rightarrow \emptyset / \text{ ____ } V_1$

-á:ti 'father (referential)':

/ya-á:ti/
 [y-á:t]
 2A-father
 'your (sg) father' (H1883a)

-athí: 'house':

/e-ya-at^hi:/
 [e- y-a:t^hi]
 ?-2A-house
 'your (sg) house' (H1883a)

Word-initially, the glide /y/ is sometimes deleted:

$y \rightarrow \emptyset / \# \text{ ____ } \text{ variably}$

ni:na-ki nə 'live': /yi-ni:na-yi-ki nə-wa/
 i-ni:na-yi-gi nə-wa
 2P-alive-2P-alive-real
 'you (sg) are alive' (H1879)

The final /k/ of the morphemes *wək-* '1 plural actor' and *kohi:nək* in *kohi:nək-hi* 'strike' are deleted preceding all segments except /h/, /l/, /w/, and /y/.

$k \rightarrow \emptyset / \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{-continuant} \\ \text{+strident} \end{array} \right]$

wək- 'first plural actor':

o-phé: 'go': wək- o-phé:-wa
lplA-loc-go -real
'we go' (H1883a)

kikhqspé: 'remember':
wək-kikhqspe-o:k^ha
lplA-remember-past2
'we remembered it' (H1883a)

before /h/:

ha-hé: 'say': ha- wək-he:-wa
dem-lplA-say-real
'we say' (H1883a)

before /l/:

lu:ʔE 'eat': nahəpki wək-lu:ʔi-ta
tomorrow lplA-eat -pot
'we will eat' (H1879)

before /w/:

wanq̄: 'steal': wək-wanq̄:-wa
lplA-steal-real
'we steal it' (H1878)

before /y/:

yəto-sté:kE 'love':
wək- yət- o-ste:ka
lplA-heart-loc-good
'we love him' (H1883a)

kohi:nək-hi: 'strike':

[kohina- mi-hi: -wa]
kohina- wi-hi: -wa
?-1sgP-strike-real
'he struck me' (H1883a)

before /w/:

kohi:nək- wa-hi -q̄: -wa
?-1sgA-strike-prog-real
'I strike him' (H1879)

before /y/:

kohinaḡk-yi-hi: -se
?2P-strike-assert1
'he strikes you (sg)' (H1879)

kohinaḡk-ya-hi -wa
?redup-2A-strike-real
'you (pl) strike them' (H1879)

UNEXPLAINED ALTERNATIONS

Two other phonological alternations are presented together in this section. They are unexplained at this time, and the following describes the phenomena and only attempts to provide clues to possible explanations.

h/n

The first alternation is found in the following three words where /h/ alternates with /n/. Such a variation involving the sound /h/ is not found in any other context in the language; /h/ is never influenced by leftward nasalization for instance.

'axe, hatchet' *hisé:pi*

nisé:pi

Ofo: *ḡf^hépi*

Biloxi: *ḡsépi*

'squirrel' *hista:xkai*

nista:xkai

Ofo: *tóstaki*

Biloxi: *nasaki*

'stone, rock, island' *histé:ki*
 nisté:ki

Cognates for the word 'axe, hatchet' in the other Ohio Valley Siouan languages have initial /ą/, and the Biloxi cognate for 'squirrel' also has a nasal segment in its first syllable. These cognates suggest that the explanation for this alternation lies in the history of the Ohio Valley languages, with the existence of a now-opaque nasal environment. They do not however permit a full understanding of the phenomenon.

It is interesting to note that all three forms begin with the syllable *hi/ni* where the alternation occurs. This syllable could be an identical morpheme that was segmentable at one stage of the language.⁸

l/n

Another unexplained alternation is found in the following word where /l/ alternates with /n/, with no apparent nasal environment.

'tongue' *le:či:*
 ne:či:
Ofo: *iléči, ilečí*
Biloxi: *yečí*

In this case, cognates from other languages do not give any clues as to the conditioning environment or historical explanation for the alternation.

3.4 SYLLABLE STRUCTURE

The most common syllable in Tutelo is the typical Siouan CV structure. However, the deletion of unstressed vowels and of final vowels has created more complex syllables with up to two consonants in the onset and up to one consonant in the coda. The possible Tutelo syllables can thus be summarized as follows:

$$C_0^2VC_0^1$$

examples:

V	á-	'locative, on'
CV	la-	'instrumental, by hand'
CCV	čké	'scratch'
VC	ak-stá	'cheek'
CVC	hú:k	'all'
CCVC	čkjk	'squeeze, crush'

3.5 ACCENT

Accent is one of the things that was poorly recorded. This makes it difficult to understand the Tutelo accentual pattern. The following comments make best use of the available accentual data and probably represent all that can be said about accent in Tutelo.

A lot of Tutelo words, including inflected forms, are accented on the second syllable counting from the beginning of the word. This pattern being typical of Siouan languages, it can be assumed that, at least at one

time, this second syllable accentual pattern was the rule in Tutelo.

However, several phenomena have modified this original second syllable accentual pattern. First of all, some disyllabic verb stems, accented on the second syllable as expected, lost the unaccented vowel of the first syllable, yielding a monosyllabic accented stem. These stems seem to keep their accent even when inflected. Secondly, some grammatical morphemes are inherently accented, such as *á-* 'locative, on', *-ǫ:* 'progressive aspect', or *-pú* '2 plural'. Thus when they are combined with stems and other morphemes in a word, accent necessarily falls on the inherently accented affix/clitic, and as a consequence makes the accent of the other morphemes shift or disappear altogether.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 3

1. The symbol [ɛ] is only found in Hewitt's data. Hewitt always wrote [ɛ] for /e/ in Tutelo forms, and, in English words, for the graph {e}. Thus the use of [ɛ] in Hewitt's transcriptions may actually not reflect a phonetic variation.

2. This is also the case in Biloxi, whereas in Ofo the glottalized series has fused with the aspirated series (Swanton 1909, Dorsey and Swanton 1912).

3. The variant [d] of the phoneme /l/ is only found in one of the transcriptions of the word *ə:ko:hle:* 'shoe' given by Hale (1878, 1879, and 1883a).

4. The variant [δ] of /l/ is only found in Dorsey, especially in his transcriptions of the verb *i-ʔǝ:* 'use':
i- wa-ǝ -δa
 with-1sgA-do-assert2
 'I use' (D1882)

The position and shape of the last morpheme only leave two possibilities for its identity, either *wa* 'real aspect' or *-la* 'assertive mode'. Furthermore, we know from Dorsey's transcriptions of other languages, especially Dhegiha Siouan languages, that he had some problems hearing the difference between [l] and [δ]. The last morpheme in the word above is thus *-la*, and it can be inferred that [δ] is an allophone of /l/.

5. Although the cluster /ps/ is unusual in Tutelo, the other possible cluster using /s/, /ks/, is very common.

6. One form of the verb *lE:* 'go there' collected by Fontaine in 1716 displays a final *-e* preceding a noun:

Saponi	<i>hodke</i>	<i>tock</i>	<i>i-re</i>	<i>chunkete</i>	<i>posse</i>
Tutelo	<i>/hətkox</i>	<i>tok^he</i>	<i>i-le</i>	<i>č^hǝ:kitə</i>	<i>pasu:/</i>
	road	how	dir-go	horse	head
	'is this the way to the horse head'				

This may suggest that the generalization of /a/ is a late development due to language obsolescence.

7. Tutelo /h/ is an obstruent. Leftward nasalization never applies across it.

8. The physical resemblance of the graphs *h* and *n* is another possible explanation for this alternation. In fast and/or careless writing, an *h* can be easily misinterpreted as an *n*.

CHAPTER 4
MORPHOLOGY

As is the case for all other Siouan languages, the Tutelo language displays morphological features consistent with the active/stative type. G. A. Klimov (1977, and in Nichols 1992:9-10) describes the typical features of active/stative languages under his 'active' type. His terms 'active' and 'inactive' refer to active and stative respectively.

The following is a list of the features described by Klimov that are found in Tutelo. Some features are grouped together to reflect their treatment in this chapter. (The reader is reminded here that the available data on Tutelo are limited and that as a result there are sometimes 'traces' of features and that other features of the language may not be identified at all.):

- the verb is much more richly inflected than the noun;
- binary division of verbs into active and inactive; two series of personal affixes on the verb: active and inactive;
- third person often has zero affix;
- verbs have aspect rather than tense;
- classificatory verbs;
- adjectives are actually intransitive verbs;
- category of number absent or weakly developed;

- singular-plural lexical suppletion in verbs;
- no copula;
- the noun has possessive affixes; alienable-inalienable possession distinction; inalienable possessive affixes and inactive verbal affixes are similar or identical;
- no noun cases for core grammatical relations.

These features, and others found in Tutelo, are described in this chapter in the following order: the verb system, the noun, independent pronouns, interrogative pronouns, demonstratives, adverbs, conjunctions, and numerals. Determiners other than demonstratives are discussed in the section on the noun since they are suffixed to it. In order to understand Tutelo morphology better than what the sometimes limited data permit, comparative Siouan data are often relied upon, and parallels or differences with other Siouan languages are mentioned as often as possible.

4.1 VERB

Tutelo verb morphology is similar to that of most other Siouan languages in its general characteristics, but the form and function of specific morphemes are sometimes different.

Its Siouan characteristics are an active/stative verbal system with actor and patient pronominal prefixes, three persons in the singular and a first person plural,

the marking of mode and aspect, rather than tense, with affixes and clitics, locative and instrumental prefixes, and other prefixes such as dative/possessive, reflexive, and vertitive for verbs of motion.

Some features of Tutelo however are different from other Siouan languages. These include, for example, the grammaticalization of the verb ʔó: 'do' to mark progressive aspect, the use of both a prefix and a suffix for negation, distinct suffixes marking plurality in the second and third persons, and a few enclitics whose function is still unclear.

This section describes the function and placement of the different affixes and clitics associated with the Tutelo verb. Due to the limited amount of data however, not all affixes/clitics have been identified, nor are all possible combinations of these morphemes attested.

Prefix placement in the Tutelo verb system is summarized in the form of a chart at the end of this section (p. 125). Charts summarizing the placement of suffixes and enclitics are placed after the sections that discuss these elements.

ACTIVE/STATIVE SPLIT

Tutelo is an active/stative language, i.e., true semantic roles (agent and patient) are encoded in the verb. This is different from nominative-accusative languages in which syntactic roles are encoded, and also

from ergative languages in which a true agent performing the action expressed by an intransitive verb is encoded with patient morphology (i.e., absolutive).

The semantic roles of agent and patient are traditionally called 'actor' and 'patient' respectively in Siouan linguistics. Actor and patient pronominal prefixes are thus used in Tutelo to divide verbs into two categories: 'active' verbs, felt to denote actions, and 'stative' verbs, felt to express states. For transitive verbs, these different sets of pronominal affixes enable the speaker to mark the opposition between subject and object. However, patient pronouns are further divided into two sets, a patient, and one specifically for dative/possessive semantic roles, marked by nasalization of the vowel. Furthermore, as in other active/stative languages, the split does not accurately correspond to an action/state split. Some Tutelo verbs denoting actions take patient pronouns and some verbs denoting states actor pronouns. Some other verbs can appear with either: *latkú:sE* 'break/cut by hand'

ya-látkusi ta
2A-break pot
('you (sg) will break it by hand')
(D1882)

yim yi-latkúsi-ta
2disj 2P-break -pot
'2sg' 'break with hand' (D1882)
('you (sg) will break it by hand')

According to Mithun (1991), the split between active and stative verbs differs among languages of the active/

stative type. She showed that the features that can play a role in active/stative splits are agency (volition, control, and performance/effect/instigation), affectedness, and aspect. And she demonstrated that in Lakhota performance/effect/instigation is the feature dividing active verbs from stative ones. Lakhota active verbs denote events that are performed, effected, instigated by the participant, whereas stative verbs denote events/states that are not performed, effected, instigated by the participant. Thus for instance, 'sneeze' is an active verb in Lakhota since the event of sneezing is performed/effected/instigated by the participant, even though the person who sneezes does not have any control over the event. Lakhota being a Siouan language, it is probable that the Tutelo split between active and stative verbs is based on the same features, although the two languages may have evolved differently over time. Thus volition and control, features also related to agency, may also play a role. However, the limited data on the Tutelo language and identical glosses given for both active and stative morphology do not permit more than speculation. Furthermore, it seems that some reinterpretation of the active/stative system took place, probably as a result of the limited use of the language and semi-fluency of most speakers at the time of collection, and from the probable use of Tutelo as a trade language. Thus for instance some verbs of motion,

denoting events performed, effected, and instigated, and typically controlled, by the speaker, take stative pronominal prefixes, not the expected active morphology.

lE: 'go there (motion underway)'

wi-le:-ta i-at^{hi}:
1sgP-go -pot dir-house
'I am going to the house' (H1883a)

hí: 'arrive there'

wi-hi: -ok, hiyaka
1sgP-arrive-past2, sleep
'I came, he was asleep' (H1883a)

Interestingly enough, these 'stative' verbs take active morphology when the vertitive prefix *ki-* is also present (see p. 104).

Even though the features determining the use of actor or patient pronouns cannot be identified with certainty and the Tutelo system seems to be divergent from a pure active/stative split, active/stative terminology will still be used here to categorize Tutelo verbs for lack of a better descriptive framework.

Appendix 2 (p. 336) lists Tutelo verbs by type, active or stative.

PRONOUNS

As mentioned above, there is a total of three sets of pronominal prefixes: actor pronouns (A), patient pronouns (P), and patient pronouns with a dative/possessive meaning which I will call dative pronouns (dat). An active verb will have an actor

pronoun to mark its subject, and if it is transitive its object will be marked with a patient or dative pronoun. The subject of a stative verb will be marked with a patient or dative pronoun.

For all sets of pronouns, the first persons, singular and plural, and the second person singular are marked by a prefix whereas the third person singular is marked only in the patient set.¹ The plurality of the second and third persons is marked with a suffix (see p. 79).

Actor pronouns

Singular	1st person	wa-
	2nd person	ya-
	3rd person	∅
Plural	1st person	wąk-/wą-

Figure 5. Actor pronominal prefixes.

lakpé: 'drink'

o- wa- la-kpé: ta
 loc-1sgA-instr-drink pot
 '1sg' (D1882)
 ('I will drink')

o-yá- la-kpé: ta
 loc-2A-instr-drink pot
 '2sg' (D1882)
 ('you (sg) will drink')

o-∅- la-kpé: ta
 loc-3-instr-drink pot
 '3sg' (D1882)
 ('he will drink')

wą- o- la-kpé: ta
 1plA-loc-instr-drink pot
 '1pl' (D1882)
 ('we will drink')

yāto-sté:kE 'love'

yāt- o- wa-ste:ka
heart-loc-1sgA-good
'I love him' (H1883a)

yāt- o-ya-ste:ka
heart-loc-2A-good
'you (sg) love him' (H1883a)

yāt- o-∅-ste:ka
heart-loc-3-good
'he loves him' (H1883a)

wāk- yāt- o-∅-ste:ka
1plA-heart-loc-3-good
'we love him' (H1883a)

kiḵo:hE 'call to'

wa- yi- ki-ḵo:ha
1sgA-2dat-dat-call
'I call to you (sg)' (H1883a)

kilE: 'go back/home'

wa- k-le ta
1sgA-vert-go.home pot
'I will go home' (Hw)

kité: 'kill'

ki- wa-kté -na
neg-1sgA-kill-neg
'I did not kill him' (H1880b)(H1883a)

hkḵspé: 'remember'

wa- hk-ḵspé:-wa
1sgA-refl-know -real
'I remember it' (H1883a) (D1882)

ya- hk-ḵspé:-wa
2A-refl-know -real
'you (sg) remember it' (H1883a) (D1882)

∅- hk-ḵspé:-wa
3-refl-know -real
'he remembers it' (H1883a) (D1882)

lā́kE 'sit'

á- *wa-lā́ka*
loc-1sgA-sit
'I sit on' (D1882)

wiyā́-ya *wā́-* *i-lā́ka* *wi-latkúsa*
wood-emph 1plA-with-sit 1sgP-break
'a tree-object sign?|we sit|break',
'break branch by weight' (D1882)
('we break the branch by sitting on it')

ha-hé: 'say'

ha- *wa-he:-wa*
dem-1sgA-say-real
'I say' (H1883a)

ha- *wā́k-he:-wa*
dem-1plA-say-real
'we say' (H1883a)

As can be seen in the examples, the pronouns *wa-*, first person singular, and *ya-*, second person singular, precede the basic root of the verb (stem 1), instrumental prefixes, and the dative/possessive, vertitive, and reflexive markers. But they follow any locative, the prefix *i-* 'with', the secondary stem of a compound verb (stem 2), and the negative prefix. The unmarked third person probably occupies the same slot as the first singular and second person pronouns, but it cannot be determined with certainty.

The pronoun *wā́k-*, first person plural, precedes every prefix and stem 2 except the demonstrative prefix *ha-* and probably the negative marker. There is no example in the data of the use of the negative prefix with a first plural actor pronoun, but we know that this form of negation, using both a prefix and a suffix, is a

later innovation in Tutelo, also found in Biloxi. This negative prefix would then have been attached to the exterior of the already possible combinations of morphemes, i.e., before the first plural pronoun. Furthermore, there is an example of a first plural dative pronoun (of identical shape and probably of same origin as the actor pronoun *wək-*) combined with the negative prefix and the latter precedes the former:

kí:tq 'belong'

ki- *wə-kí:tq -na*
 neg-1pldat-belong-neg
 'it is not ours' (H1879)

Nasal stems

Nasal stems are stems beginning with a nasalized vowel, sometimes preceded by a glottal stop. There are two examples of nasal stems in Tutelo (*ʔq̃:* 'do' and *q̃spé* 'know'), both active stems, and they take different pronomial affixes from other active verbs in the first and second persons singular.

		NASAL	REGULAR
Singular	1st person	<i>m-</i>	<i>wa-</i>
	2nd person	<i>y-</i>	<i>ya-</i>

Figure 6. Nasal stem pronominal prefixes.

The same phenomenon is found in Dakota active verbs where nasal stems (stems beginning with *y* or *ʔ* and a nasalized vowel) take the prefixes *m-* and *n-* in the first and second persons singular respectively.

ʔǝ: 'do'

waxú:-k m-ǝ -wa
string-def lsgA-do-real
'I am making' (D1882)
('I am making a string')

waxú:-k y-ǝ-wa
string-def 2A-do-real
('you (sg) are making a string') (D1882)

waxú:-k ǝ-wa
string-def do-real
('he is making a string') (D1882)

waxú:-k wǝ-ǝ -la
string-def lplA-do-assert2
'we twist' (D1882)
('we are making a string')

but i-ʔǝ: 'use'

míma mǝsǝ-ya í- wa-ǝ -wa wí-latkúsa waxú:-k
ldisj knife-? loc-lsgA-do-real lsgP-cut string-def
'I cut string with knife' (D1882)

yíma mǝsǝ í-ya-ǝ -la yí-latkúsa waxú:-k
2disj knife loc-2A-do-assert2 2P-cut string-def
'you (sg) cut string with knife' (D1882)

ǝspé 'know'

ki- m-ǝspé-na tok^hé kǝtík nahǎp
neg-lsgA-know-neg how ? tomorrow
'I don't know how I may be tomorrow' (D1882)

ki- y-ǝspé-na tok^hé kǝtík nahǎp
neg-2A-know-neg how ? tomorrow
('you (sg) do not know how you may be tomorrow')
(D1882)

kí-ǝspé-na tok^hé kǝtík nahǎp
neg-know-neg how ? tomorrow
'he doesn't know how he may be tomorrow' (D1882)

kakís kí- wǝ-ǝspé-na tok^hé kǝtík nahǎp
? neg-lplA-know-neg how ? tomorrow
('we do not know how we may be tomorrow') (D1882)

The verb i-ʔǝ: 'use', shown above, is derived from

ʔǝ: 'do' but it takes the normal actor pronouns wa- and

ya- in the first and second persons singular even though it has a nasal stem. This must be the result of analogical change where the pronouns were regularized to follow the main pattern for active verbs.

There is also an unanalysable verb form in the data that does not fit any of the patterns described above but is supposed to be the first person singular form of a seemingly active verb:

opla:ṭi 'I run' (H1878: *oblāti*)

It is unknown however if this word actually contains a first person singular marker. It can only be said that the beginning of the form could be the sequence of the locative *o-* 'in' and a first person singular prefix of the shape *p-* (*b-*). There is no attestation of such a first person singular allomorph in Tutelo but it is found very productively in other Siouan languages.

Distribution of *wąk-/wą-* '1 plural actor'

The first person plural actor pronoun *wąk-* has an allomorph *wą-*. *Wąk-* occurs before {*h, l, w, y*} while *wą-* occurs everywhere else. (See also p. 51 in chapter 3, phonology, and p. 136 under noun possession in this chapter).

before h:

ha-hé: 'say'

ha- wək-he:-wa
dem-1plA-say-real
'we say' (H1883a)

hi-nta:hE 'run'

wək-hi:ta:ha
1plA-run
'we run' (H1878)

hiyé 'causative'

koħóç- wək-hiyé-ta húk
hole-1plA-caus-pot all
'we all make hole' (D1882)

before l:

lákačkí:hE 'kill (plural object)'

wək- laka-čkih-ç: -wa
1plA-instr-kill-prog-real
'we kill them' (H1879)
('we are killing them')

lu:ɬE 'eat'

nahəpki wək-lu:ɬi-ta
tomorrow 1plA-eat -pot
'we will eat' (H1879)

before w:

wanç: 'steal'

wək-wanç:-wa
1plA-steal-real
'we steal it' (H1878)

before y:

yəto-sté:kE 'love'

wək- yət- o-ste:ka
1plA-heart-loc-good
'we love him' (H1883a)

Patient pronouns

		PATIENT	DATIVE
Singular	1st person	wi-	wi-
	2nd person	yi-/hi-	yi-
	3rd person	i-/∅	∅
Plural	1st person	wai-	wak ⁻² /wə-

Figure 7. Patient and dative pronominal prefixes.

latkú:sE 'break/cut by hand'

mí:ma wí- *la-tkúsi-ta*
1disj 1sgP-instr-break-pot
'1sg' 'break with hand' (D1882)
('I will break it')

yí:ma yi- *la-tkúsi-ta*
2disj 2-instr-break-pot
'2sg' 'break with hand' (D1882)
('you (sg) will break it')

í:ma i- *la-tkúsi ta*
3disj 3P-instr-break pot
'3sg' 'break with hand' (D1882)
('he will break it')

wái- *la-tkúsi-ta*
1plP-instr-break-pot
'1pl' 'break with hand' (D1882)
('we will break it')

wa:-ki:č^hí: 'dance'

wa- *wi-kič^hi-wa*
abs-1sgP-dance-real
'I dance' (H1879)

kiko:hE 'call'

wi- *ki-ko:ha*
1sgP-dat-call
'I call to him' (H1883a)

yi- *ki-ko:ha*
2P-dat-call
'you (sg) call to him' (H1883a)

w_i- ki-ko_ha
1sgdat-dat-call
'he calls to me' (H1883a)

i- ki-ko_hi:-se
2dat-dat-call -assert1
'he calls to you (sg)' (H1883a)

wa- y_i- ki-ko_ha
1sgA-2dat-dat-call
'I call to you (sg)' (H1883a)

k_i:t_o 'belong'

ki- w_i- ki:-t_o -na
neg-1sgdat-reflp-belong-neg
'it is not mine' (H1883a)

ki- y_i- ki:-t_o -na
neg-2dat-reflp-belong-neg
'it is not thine' (H1883a)

ki- Ø- ki:-t_o -na
neg-3dat-reflp-belong-neg
'it is not his' (H1883a)

ki- w_a- ki:-t_o -na
neg-1pldat-reflp-belong-neg
'it is not ours' (H1883a)

wa-kin_o: 'sick'

wa- w_i-kin_o:-wa
stem2-1sgdat-sick -real
'I am sick' (H1878)

wa- y_i-kin_o:-wa
stem2-2dat-sick-real
'you (sg) are sick' (H1878)

wa- Ø-kin_o:-wa
stem2-3dat-sick-real
'he is sick' (H1878)

w_ak- wa-kin_o:-wa
1pldat-stem2-sick -real
'we are sick' (H1878) (D1882)

y_at_o-sté:kE 'love'

wai- y_at- o-ya-ste:ka
1plP-heart-loc-2A-good
'you (sg) loved us' (H1883a)

Patient/dative pronouns occupy the same slots as actor pronouns in the Tutelo verb template. The first person singular, second and third person patient/dative pronouns -- whether marking a grammatical subject or object -- follow the negative prefix and stem 2, and precede the dative, the reflexive/possessive, instrumentals, and the basic root. The verb *wa:-ki:č^hí:* 'dance' gives evidence for the placement of the absolutive prefix *wa:-* before the first person singular and second person pronouns. However, there is no example of a combination of a first plural pronoun with the absolutive. The first person plural pronoun follows the negative marker and precedes stem 2.

The difference between the second person patient prefixes *yi-* and *hi-* in the patient set is unknown. Glosses do not give any clue as to the motivation behind the use of one or the other pronouns:

kilá:kE 'tell'

yi-klák-o
2P-tell-interr
'did he tell you?' (D1882)

hi-klák-o
2P-tell-inter
'did he tell you?' (D1882)

It is only apparent that verb forms collected by Hewitt show *hi-* more often than *yi-*. One possible explanation that comes to mind when looking at all of the second person forms in the corpus is the replacement word-initially of the original *yi-*, the Proto-Siouan

form, by *hi-* through the loss of the initial glide. Furthermore, Biloxi has an allomorph *i-* for second person singular. The following sentences show that the deletion of the initial glide is common, due to the almost identical places of articulation of the glide /y/ and vowel /i/. (This phenomenon is also found in second person possessed nouns.)

ni:na-ki nə 'live'

wi-ni:na- wi-ki nə-wa
1sgP-alive-1sgP-alive-real
'I live' (H1879)

i-ni:na-yi-ki nə-wa
2P-alive-2P-alive-real
'you (sg) live' (H1879)

xa:ka 'weep'

wi-xa:ka
1sgP-weep
'I weep' (H1879)

i-xa:ka
2P-weep
'you (sg) weep' (H1879)

The shortened form *i-* is then homophonous with the third person patient prefix *i-* and an epenthetic /h/ would remedy this problem. /h/ was also used epenthetically in other Siouan languages such as Winnebago and Chiwere, so that the split in second persons may date back to Proto-Siouan. This is consistent with the fact that this *yi-/hi-* distinction is found in other Siouan languages.

Whereas the first person singular and second person patient and dative pronouns only differ by vowel quality

(non-nasal versus nasal respectively), the third person and first person plural are different. The prefix *i-* denotes third person in the patient set only (it is \emptyset in the dative set), and only when marking a grammatical subject:

né: 'see'

wi- \emptyset -né:-wa
 1sgP-3P-see-real
 obj
 'I see him' (H1883a)

wi- i-né:-wa
 1sgP-3P-see-real
 subj
 'he sees me' (H1883a)

wi- \emptyset -né -hla
 1sgP-3P-see-3pl
 obj
 'I see them' (H1883a)

wi- i-né -hla
 1sgP-3P-see-3pl
 subj
 'they see me' (H1883a)

This morpheme is the base for the independent pronouns *í:ma* '3 disjunctive, he, they' and *i:sá:* '3 emphatic, he/they himself/themselves, he/they alone'. (Compare with the corresponding first person pronouns *wí:ma* and *wi:sá:.*)

The dative third person \emptyset and first person plural *wək-* are the same as actor pronouns. Dative *wək-* 'first person plural' also has the allomorph *wə-*, with the same distribution:

wək- before w:

wa-kinō: 'be sick'

wək- wa-kinō:-wa
1pldat-stem2-sick -real
'we are sick' (H1878) (D1882)

The dative set of pronouns is used in two different contexts:

First, to express an indirect object, i.e., a person or thing different from the subject or object of the verb that is affected by the event denoted by the verb.

kiḵo:hE 'call'

wi- ki-ḵo:ha
1sgP-dat-call
'I call to him' (H1883a)

wi- ki-ḵoha
1sgdat-dat-call
'he calls to me' (H1883a)

kiloxko: 'let', 'allow'

wi- ki-loxko: wa-kte:-ta
1sgdat-dat-let 1sgA-kill-pot
'let me kill him (allow me, I will kill him)'
(H1883a)

kú: 'give'

wa- yi-ku:-wa
1sgA-2dat-give-real
'I give to you' (H1879)

māṣa: wi-kú
knife 1sgdat-give
'give me a knife' (H1883a)

In some instances, the indirect object is implicit through the presence of the dative prefix *ki-* in the verb but it is not expressed explicitly through dative pronouns. This is the case in some forms of the verb

kíko:hE 'call' shown above, and at all times for the verb
kilá:kE 'speak', 'tell', 'call' (see dictionary entry).

Second, it is used when the object of the verb is possessed by the subject. In this case the reflexive/possessive prefix *ki-* is always present.

kí:tq 'belong'

ki- wí- kí:-tq -na
neg-1sgdat-reflp-belong-neg
'it is not mine' (H1883a)

ki- yí- kí:-tq -na
neg-2dat-reflp-belong-neg
'it is not yours (sg)' (H1883a)

kité: 'kill'

i- wí- kí-kte:-ta
dir-1sgdat-reflp-kill-pot
'I kill myself' (H1879)
('I will kill myself')

wa-kinq: 'sick'

wa- wí-kinq:-wa
stem2-1sgdat-sick -real
'I am sick' (H1878)

wa- yí-kinq:-wa
stem2-2dat-sick-real
'you (sg) are sick' (H1878)

kí:hníté: 'be hungry'

wí-kí:hníte:-wa
1sgdat-hungry -real
'I am hungry' (H1879) (H1883a)

yí-kí:hníte:-wa
2dat-hungry -real
'you (sg) are hungry' (H1879) (H1883a)

It is not obvious from their meanings that the last two verbs *wa-kinq:* 'be sick' and *kí:hníté:* 'be hungry' do contain the reflexive/possessive prefix *ki-*, but the use

of dative pronouns and the fact that they do contain an initial syllable /ki/ support this analysis.

Combinations of pronominal affixes

When a verb is used transitively it will have two pronominal prefixes denoting its subject and its object. The question of the order of these prefixes then arises if they occupy the same slot relative to the verb and its other prefixes.

This is true of the morphemes marking the first, second, and third persons singular as they are all expressed in the same space (after stem 2, locative prefixes, *i-* 'with', and the absolutive *wa:-*, and before instrumentals, and the reflexive, vertitive, and dative markers).

kiḵo:hE 'call'

<i>wa- yḷ- ki-ḵo:ha</i>	
1sgA-2dat-dat-call	1sgA-2dat
'I call to you (sg)' (H1883a)	

kú: 'give'

<i>wa- yḷ-ku: -wa</i>	
1sgA-2dat-give-real	1sgA-2dat
'I give to you' (H1879)	

kohi:nḵ:-hi: 'strike'

<i>kohinḵ- wi-ya-hi wa</i>	
stem2-1sgP-2A-strike real	1sgP-2A
'you (sg) strike me' (H1883a)	

kité: 'kill, shoot'

<i>wá-yi-kte ta</i>	
1sgA-2P-kill pot	1sgA-2P
'I will shoot you (sg)' (D1882)	

<i>wa-yi-kte -ø: -wa</i>	
1sgA-2P-kill-prog-real	1sgA-2P
'I am killing you (sg)' (H1883a)	

né: 'see'

<i>wi- i-ne:-wa</i>	
1sgP-3P-see-real	1sgP-3P
'he sees me' (H1883a)	

<i>yi- i-ne:-wa</i>	
2P-3P-see-real	2P-3P
'he sees you (sg)' (H1883a)	

The first five examples show that first person singular pronouns always precede second person pronouns, whatever the type of pronominal prefix, actor, patient, or dative. The last two examples show that third person, when marked, follows first person singular and second person pronouns. Person then is the factor determining the placement of pronominal prefixes relative to each other, where first person comes first, followed by second person, followed by third person.

Verbs with pronouns of the same person -- two first persons or two second persons -- are reflexive by their very nature.

PLURALIZERS

Tutelo has developed two morphemes to denote plurality for the second and third persons: *-pú* and *hele* respectively. Person is the only relevant factor determining the use of these suffixes, syntactic function (subject or object), semantic role (actor or patient), or animacy are irrelevant. Furthermore if both the subject

and object are plural and of the same person, only one suffix/enclitic is attached to the verb (see 'call' in the examples given for *heE*). Context must be used to determine that both are plural. These plural morphemes are also used to denote plurality in possessed nouns (see noun possession below).

The third person plural enclitic *heE* has a probable Mandan cognate *-krE* 'third person plural'. The initial /k/ in Mandan does not seem to match, but compare Mandan *-kt* and Tutelo *tE* 'potential aspect'. Furthermore, as in Tutelo, this morpheme pluralizes any third person, subject or object, or both if both subject and object are third person plural.

-pú '2 plural'

kí:tq 'belong'

ki- yí-kitq -pu -na
 neg-2dat-belong-2pl-neg
 'it is not yours (pl)' (H1879)

kiko:hE 'call'

í-kiko-pu:-a
 2dat-call-2pl-real
 ('he calls to you (pl)') (H1883a)

í-kiko-pu -hle:-se
 2dat-call-2pl-3pl -assert1
 ('they call to you (pl)') (H1883a)

o-p^hé: 'go'

o-ya-p^he-pú:-a
 loc-2A-go -2pl-real
 'you (pl) go' (H1883a) (D1882)

o-ya-p^hé-te -pa
loc-2A- go-pot-2pl
'2pl future' (D1882)
'you (pl) will go'

ĩ-ksé:hE 'laugh'

k-*ĩ*-ya-kséh -pu -na
neg-?-2A-laugh-2pl-neg
'you (pl) are not laughing' (H1878)

ĩ-ya-ksé -pu -lá
?-2A-laugh-2pl-assert2
'you (pl) are laughing' (D1882)

ĩ-ya-kse:he-ta -pa
?-2A-laugh -pot-2pl
'you (pl) will laugh' (H1878)

ĩ-kseh -ǝ -pu -l -t
?-laugh-prog-2pl-assert2-pot
'you (pl) will laugh' (H1878)
'you (pl) will be laughing'

lakpé: 'drink'

mani ya-lakpa-pu:-se
water 2A-drink-2pl-assert1
'you (pl) drink water' (H1879)

hkǝspé: 'remember'

ya-hkǝspe -pu -ok^ha
2A-remember-2pl-past2
'you (pl) remembered it' (H1883a)

o-xá:ṭE 'see'

o-ya-xáṭe-ǝk^he -pú -a
loc-2A-see -past2-2pl-real
'2pl' (D1882)

The following table summarizes the placement of the different Tutelo suffixes/enclitics relative to the second person plural suffix -pú:

verb root	prog -ǝ:	2pl -pú	real wa	
	pot tE		neg -nE	
	past2 ǝ:k ^h E		past2 ǝ:k ^h E	
			3pl helE	assert1 -se
			assert1 -se	
			assert2 -la	pot tE

Figure 8. Placement of -pú '2 plural'

The table shows that the placement of the potential and past markers *tE* and *ǝ:k^hE* relative to the second person plural suffix -pú is different depending on the use of -la 'assertive' and wa 'real aspect' respectively. Without -la 'assertive', the potential marker precedes the suffix -pú, whereas it follows -pú when -la is present. Without wa 'real aspect', the past marker follows -pú, whereas it precedes -pú when wa is absent. Similar phenomena also occur with *helE*, third person plural (see below for discussion).

helE '3 plural'

lakpé: 'drink'

ima *o-lákpe-hlé-wa*
 3disj loc-drink-3pl-real
 '3pl' (D1882)
 ('they drink')

mani lakpe-hle-se
water drink-3pl-assert1
'they drink water' (H1879)

o-lákpe-hlé-te -la
loc-drink-3pl-pot-asset2
'3pl' (D1882)
('they will drink')

o-xá:ṭE 'see'

o-xaṭé-hla
loc-see -3pl
'they see it' (H1883a)

o-xáṭe-hlé se
loc-see -3pl assert1
'3pl' (D1882)
('they see it')

o-xaṭi-ḡ -hla
loc-see -prog-3pl
'3pl' (D1882)
('they are seeing it')

o-xaṭe-té-hla
loc-see-pot-3pl
'they will see it' (H1883a)

o-xaṭi-o:k^{he}-hla
loc-see -past2-3pl
'they saw it' (H1883a)

o-xáṭe-ók^{he} hlé-wa
loc-see -past2 3pl-real
'3pl' (D1882)
('they saw it')

kí:tḡ 'belong'

kitḡ-hle:-se -l
belong-3pl -assert1-assert2
'it is theirs' (H1883a)

ki-ki:tḡ -hle:-na
neg-belong-3pl -neg
'it is not theirs' (H1883a)

kikḡ:hE 'call'

kikḡha-hle:-se
call-3pl -assert1
'they call to them' (H1883a)

i-kiko-pu -hle:-se
 2dat-call-2pl-3pl -assert1
 ('they call to you (pl)') (H1883a)

kihqspé: 'remember'

kihqspe:-hela
 remember-3pl
 'they remember it' (H1883a)

kihqspe-hle-o:k^{ha}
 remember-3pl-past2
 'they remembered it' (H1883a)

kihqspe-hle-ó:k^{ha}
 remember-3pl-past2
 '3pl' (D1882)
 ('they remembered it')

The following table summarizes the placement of the different Tutelo suffixes/enclitics relative to the third person plural suffix *helE*:

verb root	2pl -pú	3pl helE	real wa	
	pot tE		pot tE	assert2 -la
	past2 ó:k ^{hE}		past2 ó:k ^{hE}	
	prog -ó:		assert1 -se	assert2 -la
			neg -nE	

Figure 9. Placement of *helE* '3 plural'

As is the case with the second person plural suffix *-pú*, the potential marker *tE* precedes *helE* 'third person plural' when *-la* is not used, but follows it when *-la* is present. The same phenomenon occurs with the placement of *ó:k^{hE}* 'past2' relative to *helE* 'third plural' and *-pú* 'second plural' when the enclitic *wa* 'real aspect' is

used or not. These two phenomena can be explained in a similar manner.

Usage must have made the sequences *tE-la* 'potential-assertive', *heleE-wa* '3plural-real', and *-pú-wa* '2plural-real' become fused to some degree so that when both morphemes were used in the same verb form speakers preferred that they be next to each other. The fact that *tE* and *heleE* are enclitics rather than suffixes supports this analysis. Thus *tE* 'potential' usually precedes *heleE* 'third plural', the latter morpheme being a later innovation in Tutelo and thus being placed on the outside of the already existing verb suffixes/enclitics. But when *-la* 'assertive' is used it pulls *tE* to the outside of *heleE* because of the fusion between the two morphemes and because *-la* marks the degree of assertion made by the speaker and thus has to be clause-final. Similarly, *wa* marks real aspect over the whole clause and has to be placed on the outside of other verb morphology (except assertion markers). The use of *wa* then pulls *heleE* and *-pú* outside of the enclitic *ó:k^{hE}* 'past2'.

However, one of the sequences with *heleE*, 3plural-potential-assertive, is different from the sequence found with *-pú* 'second plural': 2plural-assertive-potential:
lakpé: 'drink'

o-lákpe-hlé-te -la
loc-drink-3pl-pot-asset2
'3pl' (D1882)
('they will drink')

ĩ-ksé:hE 'laugh'

ĩ-kseh -ǫ -pu -l -t
?-laugh-prog-2pl-assert2-pot
'you (pl) will laugh' (H1878)
('you (pl) will be laughing')

The latter sequence is dubious however due to the role, and thus placement, of *-la* in the clause.

Furthermore, this is the only instance of this sequence in the whole Tutelo data and the sequence *-lt* in that example cannot be identified with certainty.

hú:k 'all'

The adverb *hú:k* 'all' is sometimes used in place of *-pú*, second person plural, and *helE*, third person plural, to mark plurality on the verb.

luká 'turn over'

huk yi-luká-hi ta
all 2P-turn-hort pot
'you (pl) will' (D1882)
('you (pl) will turn it over (hortative)')

wa:-ktá:ka: 'be a man'

hu:k-wakta:ka
all-man
'they are men' (H1883a)

né: 'see'

wai-né -wa hú:k
1plP-see-real all
'we did see (them) all' (D1882)

This usage of the adverb 'all' to mark plurality and the disappearance of verbal suffixes is consistent with the hypothesis that Tutelo, as well as Saponi, was used

as a trade language, and thus that the speakers were simplifying its complex verb morphology.

ABSOLUTIVE

The prefix *wa:-* is used to denote the indefinite object of a transitive verb or the indefinite subject of an intransitive verb. This morpheme is traditionally called 'absolutive' in Siouan linguistics.

kilumi:ha > *wa:klumih̄ta* 'buy' (transitive)

wa:-klumih-īta
abs-buy -?
'buy' (H1883a)
('buy something')

ki:č^hí: > *wa:ki:č^hí:* 'dance' (intransitive)

wa-kič^hi
abs-dance
'dance' (H1883a)
('somebody dances')

The following example shows that the absolutive prefix precedes the first person singular patient pronoun *wi-*. There are no instances, however, of combinations of the absolutive with prefixes found further on the left in the Tutelo verb template. Its placement relative to these other prefixes thus cannot be determined.

wa:-ki:č^hí: 'dance'

wa- wi-kič^hi-wa
abs-1sgP-dance-real
'I dance' (H1879)

The absolutive prefix is also used to derive nouns from verbs (see p. 145).

INSTRUMENTAL PREFIXES

Instrumental prefixes express the way in which the action denoted by the verb is performed. Ten such prefixes can be found in Tutelo³:

la- 'by mouth, teeth, speaking'

la-ské: 'bite'

<i>ó-</i>	<i>wa-</i>	<i>la-ské:</i>	
loc-1sgA-	instr-	hold	1sg-instr-root
'I bite into' (D1882)			pro

la-kpé: 'drink'

<i>wa-</i>	<i>lá-kpe</i>	<i>-ta:</i>	
1sgA-	instr-	drink-pot	1sg-instr-root
'I drink' (H1878)			pro

la-pe:ta 'drink'

la-ksé:hE 'laugh'

kilá:kE 'speak, tell, call'

<i>ki-</i>	<i>lá:-kE</i>	
dat-	instr-	tell
		dat-instr-root

la-tkú:sE 'cut with the teeth', 'bite off'

lu- 'by hand, by pulling'

o-lu-ské: 'claw'

<i>o-</i>	<i>lu-ské:</i>	
loc-	instr-	hold
		loc-instr-root

lu:-pét 'open'

lu-plax 'rip, tear'

lu:-čkép 'twist, wring'

lu-ní 'twist'

lu-čkík 'wrench'

lu-tí 'pull'

lu-ká 'turn over'

míma wi- lu-ká
l_{disj} l_{sgP-instr}-turn l_{sg-instr-root}
'I turn it over' (D1882) pro

lú-sE 'take', 'steal'

míma wi- lu-sa
l_{disj} l_{sgP-instr}-take l_{sg-instr-root}
'I take it or steal it' (D1882) pro

la- 'by hand'

la-tkú:sE 'break with the hands'

wi- la-tkú:sa
l_{sgP-instr}-break l_{sg-instr-root}
'I break it with my hands' (D1882) pro

o-la-spé: 'cut off a piece by hand'

o- wa- la-spe
loc-l_{sgA-instr}-cut l_{sg-instr-root}
'I cut off a piece' (D1882) pro

la-čkí:hE 'kill (plural object) by hand'

wi- la-čki:ha
l_{sgP-instr}-kill l_{sg-instr-root}
'I kill them' (H1879) pro

la-tkóĵ 'use'

There are no forms cognate with *la-* 'by hand' in other Siouan languages. However, the different examples given above, especially the ones that contrast with uses of the same stems with other instrumental prefixes (*tkú:sE* 'break', *spé:* 'cut off a piece', and *čkíhE* 'kill'), and the compound nature of the disyllabic instrumental prefix *láka-* 'by force/striking' (see below) are evidence of its existence in Proto-Siouan. Tutelo is the only language known to have preserved this morpheme

as a productive instrumental prefix, in parallel with the use of *lu-* also meaning 'by hand'.

ka- 'by striking'

ka-xlé:pi 'sweep'

<i>míma</i>	<i>wá-</i>	<i>ka-xlé:p</i>	
ldisj	lsgA-instr-sweep		lsg-instr-root
('I sweep')	(D1882)		pro

ká-thi 'cut'

<i>míma</i>	<i>wi-</i>	<i>ká-thi ta wiyá</i>	
ldisj	lsgP-instr-cut	pot wood	lsg-instr-root
('I will cut wood')	(D1882)		pro

láka- 'by force, by striking'

láka-sa:se 'cut repeatedly, in several places by force/striking'

láka-spé: 'cut off a piece by force/striking'

láka-tíhą 'cut by force/striking'

láka-pí 'emit an odor'

láka-plék 'sweep'

láka-čkí:hE 'kill (plural object) by force/striking'

<i>wąk-</i>	<i>laka-čkih-ɔ:</i>	<i>-wa</i>	
lplP-instr-kill-prog-real			lpl-instr-root
'we kill them'	(H1879)		pro

láka-tkú:sE 'break, cut by force/striking'

This instrumental is a compound of two other instrumental prefixes: *la-* 'by hand' (only preserved in Tutelo) and *ka-* 'by striking'. Cognates are found in Biloxi (*daka-*), and Crow and Hidatsa (*dak-* and *raka-* respectively).

And again, Tutelo seems to be the only language to have preserved two instrumental prefixes with similar or identical meanings: *ka-* and *láka-*.

pa- 'by pressure, by pushing'

pa-he: 'pound'

This verb is the only one with the instrumental *pa-* 'by pressure/pushing'. The noun *pasahé* 'hoop', 'mound' may also contain this instrumental.

nā- 'by foot'

nā-tkú:sE 'break with the foot'

<i>yima</i>	<i>yí-</i>	<i>nā-tkúsi-ta</i>	
2disj	2P-instr-break-pot		2-instr-root
'you (sg) will break it with the foot' (D1882)			pro

nā-ko:kisek 'stamp with the foot'

ko-nā-xló:ṭE 'scratch with the foot'

<i>k-</i>	<i>o-</i>	<i>nā-xló:ṭi</i>	<i>-se</i>	<i>-l</i>
midv-loc-instr-scratched-assert1-assert2				
'scratch with the foot' (H1883a)			loc-instr-root	
'he scratches it with the foot'				

This instrumental is also found in the personal name *nāstapq* meaning 'One Step'.

la- 'by foot'

la-čké 'scratch with the foot'

<i>wí-</i>	<i>la-čké</i>	<i>-wa</i>	
1sgP-instr-scratch-real			1sg-instr-root
'I scratch with the foot' (D1882)			pro

la-tkú:sE 'break with the foot'

<i>isí</i>	<i>ya</i>	<i>i-</i>	<i>wa-ḡ</i>	<i>-wa</i>
foot	emph	with-1sgA-do-real		
'using my foot'				

wí- la-tkúsa	
lsgP-instr-break	lsg-instr-root
I break it')	pro
(D1882)	

This prefix is a denasalized form of the other more common instrumental meaning 'by foot': n̄a-. Ofo and Mandan, as well as Catawba, have a non-nasal instrumental 'by foot' (la-, ra-, and da:- respectively). This split evidently dates back to Proto-Siouan and cannot be explained at this time. However, Tutelo seems to be the only language to preserve both variants n̄a- and la-.

na- 'by extreme of temperature'

na-xló:ʔE 'blistered', 'chafed'

wí- na-xló:ʔa	
lsgP-instr-scratched	lsg-instr-root
'I am blistered (as feet or hands)'	pro
(D1882)	

k- ó- na-xló:ʔa	
midv-loc-instr-scratched	loc-instr-root
'blister (or chafe)' (D1882)	

i-na-usíka: 'burn'

i- na-usíka:	
loc-instr-burn (H1883a)	loc-instr-root

ala- 'by extreme of temperature'

This other instrumental prefix meaning 'by extreme of temperature' is not found with verbs in the available data. It is only found in one noun: ala-pok 'ashes'.

It is interesting to note here that the languages that have a disyllabic instrumental for 'extreme of temperature' are the same ones that also have a

disyllabic instrumental for 'force/striking'. These languages are Tutelo (*ala-/láka-*) and Biloxi (*adá-/daka-*) in Ohio Valley Siouan and Crow (*alá-/dak-*) and Hidatsa (*ará-/raka-*) in Missouri River Siouan. (Ofo has a disyllabic *ata-* 'by extreme of temperature' but a monosyllabic *ka-* 'by striking'. However, there is evidence for a Proto-Ohio Valley Siouan disyllabic instrumental 'by force/striking' and Ofo may have lost it, or this instrumental is absent from the available data due to their very limited scope.)

The abbreviations in bold-face next to the examples above show that instrumental prefixes come right before the verb root, and after locatives, first singular and second person pronouns, and a dative or reflexive prefix. For *pa-* 'by pressure/pushing', and *ala-* 'by extreme of temperature' only found in a nominal, it is impossible to tell where they would be placed relative to other verbal prefixes. For *láka-* 'by force/striking', it can only be said that it follows the first person plural prefix. However, the *pa-* and *láka-* are inner prefixes in other Siouan languages and it can thus be assumed that they immediately precede the verb root and follow any other verbal prefix.

Some verb roots are found with only one instrumental prefix whereas some others are attested with different instrumentals. The latter are listed below:

LOCATIVE PREFIXES

Some other prefixes give further information as to how the action/state denoted by the verb is realized. They are traditionally called locative prefixes in Siouan linguistics as they express location or direction. These prefixes are *á-* 'on', 'onto', *o-* 'in', 'inside', 'into', and *i-* 'directional'. Locative prefixes precede first person singular and second person pronominal prefixes and instrumentals, and they follow first person plural pronominal prefixes, stem 2, the middle voice prefix *ki-*, and the negative *ki-*.

á- 'on'

The prefix *á-* denotes that the action/state expressed by the verb is performed on something or at a location.

á:-kalí 'go up'

ohék- á:-kalí -wa
hill-loc-go.up-real loc-root
'to go up a hill' (Hw)

a-kine:se 'be on'

a-ka:t^{he}, a-ka:t^{he}ka 'be hot, warm on'

a-ka:t^{he}-ka
loc-hot -ext

á-kaxlé:pi 'sweep'

íma á- ka-xlé:p
3disj loc-instr-sweep
'3sg' (D1882)
('he sweeps')

a-phé 'go'

sux a-phé-se
hill loc-go -assert1
'go up stream, on land' (Hw)

a-láke 'sit on'

á- wa-láka
loc-1sgA-sit
'I sit on' (D1882)

loc-1sg-root
pro

o- 'in'

The prefix o- denotes that the action/state expressed by the verb is performed into or inside something.

o-laské: 'bite into'

ó- wa- la-ské ta kohóç-hiyé-yux
loc-1sgA-instr-hold pot hole-caus-past loc-1sg
'1sg' 'bite (when) make a hole (cause)' pro
'I make a hole by biting' (D1882)

wá- o- la-ske
1plA-loc-instr-hold
'1pl' (D1882)
'we bite into'

1pl-loc-instr-root
pro

o-luské: 'claw'

o-laspé: 'cut off a piece by hand'

ó- wa- la-spé wa
loc-1sgA-instr-cut real
'1sg' (D1882)
'I cut off a piece'

loc-1sg-instr-root
pro

wá- o- la-spé wa
1plA-loc-instr-cut real
'1pl' (D1882)
'we cut off a piece'

1pl-loc-instr-root
pro

o-lakpé: 'drink'

mima *ó-* *wa-* *la-kpé* *ta*
ldisj loc-1sgA-instr-drink pot loc-1sg-instr-root
'1sg' (D1882) pro
('I will drink')

wá- *o-* *la-kpé* *ta*
lplA-loc-instr-drink pot lpl-loc-instr-root
'lpl' (D1882) pro
('we will drink')

o-phé: 'go'

o- *wa-phé:-wa*
loc-1sgA-go -real loc-1sg-root
'I go' (H1883a) pro

k- *o-* *wa-phé:-pi* *-na*
neg-loc-1sgA-go -desid-neg neg-loc-1sg-root
'I do not wish to go' (H1883a) pro

wá- *o-phé:-wa*
lplA-loc-go -real lpl-loc-root
'we go' (H1883a) pro

mąkle *o-phé-se*
wind loc-go -assert1
'go against, versus the wind'
(= 'go into the wind') (Hw)

o-ktáhą 'go into a lodge'

yáto-sté:kE 'love'

yát- *o-sté:kE*
heart-loc-good stem2-loc-root
(= 'be good in the heart')

kónaxló:ṭE 'blister, chafe'

k- *ó-* *na-xló:ṭE*
midv-loc-instr-scratched midv-loc-instr-root

o-khú 'put into'

i- directional

The prefix *i-* indicates that the action denoted by the verb is performed towards a certain direction.

xá:ṭE 'see'

<i>i-ya-xá:ṭe yuké-w -o</i>	
dir-2A-see past-real-inter	dir-2-root
'did you (sg) see it?' (D1882)	pro

lE: 'go there'

<i>i-lE:</i>	
dir-go.there	dir-root
'go towards' (F)	

INSTRUMENTAL PREFIX 'WITH'

This prefix of the shape *i-* denotes that the action/state expressed by the verb is performed with something, or that the action itself is the means used to perform another action. It is also used prefixed to the verb *ṛṓ:*, 'do', to mean 'use'. This prefix occupies the same slot as the locative prefixes described above.

kílatkú:sE 'break/cut by hand'

<i>mṣá i-yá-klatkú:sa</i>	
knife with-2A-cut	with-2-root
'2sg' 'cut with knife' (D1882)	pro
('you (sg) cut with a knife')	

lṓkE 'sit'

<i>wiyá-ya wá- i-lṓka wi-latkúsa</i>	
wood-emph lplA-with-sit lsgP-break lpl-with-root	
'break branch by weight' (D1882)	pro

laské: 'bite'

i-yá-laské ta kohóč-hiyé-yux
with-2A-bite pot hole-caus-past with-2-root
'you bite (when) you make a hole pro
(cause)' (D1882)
('you (sg) make a hole by biting')

i-naxló:ṭE 'blistered, chafed'

i- na-xló:ṭE
with-instr-scratched with-instr

i-nausíka 'burn'

i- na-usíka
with-instr-burn with-instr

ṛṛ: 'do'

í- wa-ṛ la
with-1sgA-do assert2 with-1sg-root
'I use' (D1882) pro

wá- i-ṛ la
1plA-with-do assert2 1pl-with-root
'we use' (D1882) pro

DATIVE-REFLEXIVE PREFIXES

This section deals with prefixes of the shape (h)ki- that have dative, and/or possessive, and/or reflexive meanings. Similar shapes and close meanings make it difficult to distinguish these morphemes.

The following analyses are the best that could be done with the available Tutelo corpus and Siouan comparative data. (Siouan comparative data are not as useful here as in other sections since the problems encountered in Tutelo with these prefixes are also found in other Siouan languages.)

Dative

The prefix *ki-* has a dative meaning, it expresses an indirect object, i.e., a person or thing different from the subject or object of the verb that is affected by the event denoted by the verb. The dative prefix follows the negative prefix, locatives, the first person singular and second person pronouns, and it precedes instrumental prefixes and the basic root of the verb.

kiloxko: 'let', 'allow'

<i>wi-</i>	<i>ki-loxko:</i>	<i>wa-kte:-ta</i>	
1sgdat-dat-let	1sgA-kill-pot		1sg-dat-root
'let me kill him			pro
'(allow me, I will kill him)' (H1883a)			

kiḳo:hE 'call'

<i>wa-</i>	<i>yḷ-</i>	<i>ki-ḳo:ha</i>	
1sgA-2dat-dat-call			1sg- 2 -dat-root
'I call to you (sg)' (H1883a)			pro pro

<i>wi-</i>	<i>ki-ḳo:ha</i>	
1sgP-dat-call		
'I call to him' (H1883a)		

<i>wḷ-</i>	<i>ki-ḳoha</i>	
1sgdat-dat-call		
'he calls to me' (H1883a)		

kilā:kE, o-klā:kE 'speak, tell, call'

<i>o-</i>	<i>wa-</i>	<i>k-</i>	<i>la:-ka</i>	
loc-1sgA-dat-instr-speak				loc-1sg-dat-instr
'I speak' (H1883a)				pro

<i>k-</i>	<i>o-</i>	<i>wa-</i>	<i>k-</i>	<i>la:-k</i>	<i>-na</i>	
neg-loc-1sgA-dat-instr-speak-neg						neg-loc-1sg-dat
'I do not speak' (H1883a)						pro

Reflexive/possessive

Another prefix of the shape *ki-* has a reflexive possessive meaning: the object of the verb belongs to its subject. The reflexive/possessive prefix occupies the same slot as the dative prefix, it follows the negative prefix, locatives, stem 2, and personal pronouns, and it precedes the verb root.

kí:tɔ 'belong'

<i>wɨ-</i>	<i>ki:-tɔ</i>	
1sgdat-reflp-belong		1sg-reflp-root
'it is mine' (H1883a)		pro

<i>ki-</i>	<i>yɨ-</i>	<i>ki:-tɔ</i>	<i>-na</i>	
neg-2dat-reflp-belong-neg				neg-2-reflp-root
'it is not yours (sg)' (H1883a)				pro

kité: 'kill'

<i>i-</i>	<i>wɨ-</i>	<i>ki-kte:-ta</i>	
dir-1sgdat-reflp-kill-pot			dir-1sg-reflp-root
'I kill myself' (H1879)			pro
('I will kill myself')			

wa-kinɔ: 'sick'

<i>wa-</i>	<i>wɨ-</i>	<i>ki-nɔ:</i>	<i>-wa</i>
stem2-1sgdat-reflp-sick-real			
'I am sick' (H1878)			

<i>wa-</i>	<i>yɨ-</i>	<i>ki-nɔ:</i>	<i>-wa</i>
stem2-2dat-reflp-sick-real			
'you (sg) are sick' (H1878)			

kí:hnɨté: 'be hungry'

<i>wɨ-</i>	<i>ki:-hnɨte:-wa</i>	
1sgdat-reflp-hungry-real		
'I am hungry' (H1879) (H1883a)		

<i>yɨ-</i>	<i>ki:-hnɨte:-wa</i>	
2dat-reflp-hungry-real		
'you (sg) are hungry' (H1879) (H1883a)		

agent/subject' (Hollow 1965:447). The first two examples below based on the verb stem *xló:ṭE* 'scratched' do fit the description given for intransitive verbs, and they do contain the middle voice prefix. However, the derivation from the transitive verb *ʔṭ:* 'do' does not correspond to the Mandan use, and the examples given below show different placements of this morpheme between *xló:ṭE* 'scratched', and *ʔṭ:* 'do': For the former verb stem, the prefix *ki-* comes before the locative *o-* 'in', whereas for the latter it follows a first person singular pronoun, a morpheme that follows locative prefixes. It is unknown if this is due to the fact that there are actually two different morphemes of the same shape but of different functions, or if the examples reflect uses at two different stages of derivation. Another possible explanation could be that the prefix used with the verb *ʔṭ:* 'do' below is cognate with yet another prefix of the shape *ki-* found in Dakota: the inceptive prefix.

xló:ṭE 'scratched' > *konaxló:ṭE* 'scratch with the foot'

k- o- na-xló:ṭi -se -l
 midv-loc-instr-scratched-assert1-assert2
 'scratch with the foot' (H1883a)

xló:ṭE 'scratched' > *kónaxló:ṭE* 'blister'

wí- na-xlóṭa
 1sgP-instr-scratched
 'I am blistered (as feet or hands)' (D1882)

k- ó- na-xlóṭa
 midv-loc-instr-scratched
 'blister (or chafe)' (D1882)

φ: 'do', 'make' > kφ 'cause', 'make'

wa- k-φ -ta o-p^he:-ta
lsgA-midv-do-pot loc-go -pot
'I will make him go (I cause him he will go)'
(H1883a)

VERTITIVE

Another prefix with the shape *ki-* has a vertitive meaning, i.e., the prefixation of this morpheme to a verb 'to x' yields the meaning 'to x back', 'to x back again'. It is found only with verbs of motion. The examples below show that the vertitive prefix follows pronominal prefixes. Furthermore, it shifts a stative verb using patient pronouns to an active one with actor morphology.

'go' lE: > kilE:

wi-le:-ta i-at^hi:
lsgP-go -pot dir-house
'I am going to the house' (H1883a)

wa- k-le:-ta i-at^hi:
lsgA-vert-go -pot dir-house lsg-vert-root
'I am coming from the house' pro
(H1883a)

wā- k-le-wa
lsgA-vert-go-real
'I going homeward' (Hw)

wá:- k-le-ta
lsgA-vert-go-pot
'I will go home' (Hw)

'come' lí > kilí

wá- k-li -wa
lsgA-vert-come-real
'I come back' (Hw)

laka- wa- k-li -ta:
sit-lsgA-vert-come-pot
'reach there or home, again' (Hw)

'come here' *hú:* > *kihú:*

wi-hu: -ta
1sgP-come-pot
'I will come' (H1883a)

ki-hu -wa:
vert-come-real
'one coming home, one on his way home' (Hw)

'walk' *n̄* > *kn̄*

he:k- a- *wi-* *ya-n̄*
hill-loc-1sgP-prog-walk
'Treading on a Mountain' (Sp)

ne *ā-* *wá-* *k-n̄* -ta -*lé*
dem ?-1sgA-vert-walk-pot-assert2
'I will pass on my way back' (Hw)

ASPECT/MODE

Real aspect

The enclitic *wa* denotes real aspect. It marks the action/state expressed by the verb as real to the speaker, i.e., as an event that has already occurred in the past or is occurring in the present.

kité: 'kill'

wa-kte:-wa
1sgA-kill-real
'I kill him', 'I killed him' (H1883a)

wa-kte -ø: -wa
1sgA-kill-prog-real
'I am killing him' (H1883a)

ya-kte -ø -w -o
2A-kill-prog-real-inter
'are you (sg) killing him?' (H1883a)

ya-kte:-w -o
2A-kill-real-inter
'did you (sg) kill him?' (H1883a)

o-xá:ɬE 'see'

o-xaɬe-ok^hé-wa
loc-see -past-real
'did see (man) some time ago' (D1882)

o-xáɬe ók^he hlé-wa
loc-see past 3pl-real
'3pl' (D1882)

o-ya-xáɬe-ók^he-pú -a
loc-2A-see -past-2pl-real
'2pl' (D1882)

né: 'see'

í-ne yuḱé -wa
3P-see past1-real
'he found it some time ago' (D1882)

verb root	prog -ǝ:	2pl -pú	real wa	inter -o
	past2 ó:k ^h E	3pl hele		
	past1 yuḱE			

Figure 10. Placement of *wa* 'real aspect'.

Progressive aspect

-ǝ:

The suffix *-ǝ:* denotes that the action/state expressed by the verb is in progress, it is happening over an extent of time. The shape of this suffix suggests that its origin lies in the verb *ǝ:* 'do', 'make'.

kité: 'kill'

wa-kte -ǝ: -wa
1sgA-kill-prog-real
'I am killing him' (H1883a)

ki- wa-kte -ǝ: -na
neg-1sgA-kill-prog-neg
'I am not killing him' (H1883a)

ya-kte - ϕ -w -o
 2A-kill-prog-real-inter
 'are you (sg) killing him?' (H1883a)

kite- ϕ -se-l
 kill-prog-assert1-assert2
 'he is killing them' (H1883a)
 ('he is killing him')

o-xá:tE 'see'

o-xa $\dot{\iota}$ i- ϕ -hla
 loc-see -prog-3pl
 '3pl' (D1882)
 ('they are seeing it')

$\dot{\iota}$ -ksé:hE 'laugh'

$\dot{\iota}$ -kseh - ϕ -pu -l -t
 ?-laugh-prog-2pl-assert2-pot
 'you (pl) will laugh' (H1878)
 ('you (pl) will be laughing')

verb root	prog - ϕ :	real wa	inter -o	
		neg -nE		
		assert1 -se	assert2 -la	
		3pl hele		
		2pl -pú	assert2 -la	pot tE

Figure 11. Placement of - ϕ : 'progressive aspect'.

ya-

The prefix *ya-* is used only with motion verbs and *nəhé:* 'stand'. It seems to give a sense of duration to the action/state denoted by the verb, thus the label 'progressive'. There is a possible cognate *ra-* in Crow and Hidatsa, also used with motion verbs. Its exact function has not been identified, however.

As shown below, the prefix *ya-* follows pronominal prefixes.

lÉ: 'go there'

a-lé-wa
loc-go-real
'he is going' (H1880b) (H1883a)

ya-le:-wa
prog-go -real
'walk' (H1883a)

hú: 'come here'

hu-wa
come-real
'to come' (H1883a)

ya-hú: -wa
prog-come-real
'he is coming' (H1880b) (H1883a)
'one is coming' (Hw)

ki- ya-hu: -na
neg-prog-come-neg
'he is not coming' (H1883a)

nĭ 'walk'

ne ǎ- wá- k-nĭ -ta -lé
dem ?-1sgA-vert-walk-pot-assert2
'I will pass on my way back' (Hw)

he:k- a- wi- ya-nĭ
hill-loc-1sgP-prog-walk
'Treading on a Mountain' (Sp)

nǎhé: 'stand'

ne- wi-nǎhe:-wa
dem-1sgP-stand-real
'I stand' (H1879)

hewa-nǎhe:-wa
dem-stand-real
'he stands' (H1879)

he- ya-nǎhé -s
dem-prog-stand-def
'standing man' (Hw)

Potential aspect

The enclitic *tE* marks actions, states that may or will occur in the future. It is cognate with Dakota *-kta*.

kité: 'kill'

ya-kte:-ta
2A-kill-pot
'you (sg) will kill him' (H1883a)

ya-kte:-t -o
2A-kill-pot-inter
'will you (sg) kill him?' (H1883a)

o-phé: 'go'

o-phé-te:-se
loc-go-pot-assert1
'he is going', 'he will go' (H1883a)

o-ya-phé-te -pa
loc-2A- go-pot-2pl
'2pl future' (D1882)
('you (pl) will go')

i-ksé:hE 'laugh'

i-kseh -ǫ -pu -l -t
?-laugh-prog-2pl-assert2-pot
'you (pl) will laugh' (H1878)
('you (pl) will be laughing')

verb root	prog -ǫ:	pot tE'	inter -o
			assert1 -se
			2pl -pú

verb root	prog -ǫ:	2pl -pú	assert2 -la	pot tE'
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Figures 12 and 13. Placement of *tE* 'potential aspect'.

li- 'if'

Hale (H1883a) gives the prefix *li-* 'if' with two examples of its use:

li-hi: -ok, wa-kila:ki-ta
if-come-past2, 1sgA-tell -pot
'if he comes, I will tell him' (H1883a)

wi-hu: -ta, Jan li-hi -o:k
1sgP-come-pot, John if-come-past2
'I will come if John comes' (H1883a)

It should be noted that the enclitic $\acute{o}:k^{hE}$ is sometimes used to give a conditional meaning (see the next section), and that 'if' may not be the exact meaning of *li-*.

yukE, $\acute{o}:k^{hE}$ 'past'

The enclitics *yukE* and $\acute{o}:k^{hE}$ are described together in this section because their exact functions are difficult to identify but similar in some aspects.

YukE seems to denote past events. The first four examples below signal completion of past events or events occurring over a period of time in the past. The last two examples do not seem to express past events, however, since the first verb in each sentence is in the potential aspect. However, in order for the action expressed in the second clause containing *yukE* to be completed (past), the action in the first clause has to be performed. Thus the only common meaning between all the examples of uses of *yukE* is past. Using comparative data, we find that Biloxi has a cognate morpheme *yukE*, an auxiliary denoting

duration of an accompanying stem (Einaudi 1976:152). Considering that Dorsey's gloss for *yukE* is 'distant past', this morpheme must express past events that occurred a long time before the present (duration from the present), or also perhaps over a long period of time in the past (duration in the past).

o-lakpé: 'drink'

íma ó-lakpe yúka
3disj loc-drink past1
'he did drink' (D1882)

né: 'see'

í-ne yuké -wa
3P-see past1-real
'he found it some time ago' (D1882)

o-klá:kE 'speak'

o-kláka yuké wa
loc-speak past1 real
'they were speaking together' (D1882)

o-kláka yuké w-o
loc-speak past1 real-inter
'were they speaking together?' (D1882)

hiyé 'causative'

íma ó-laské-ta kohóç-hiyé-yux
3disj loc-bite -pot hole-caus-past1
'3sg' 'bite (when) make a hole (cause)' (D1882)

xéçako-hiyé-ta naháp
make?-caus-pot tomorrow

kohóç-hiyé-yúx maşá i-ó -wa
hole-caus-past1 knife with-do-real
'he will cut hole tomorrow' (D1882)

verb	past1	real	inter
root	<i>yukE</i>	<i>wa</i>	<i>-o</i>

Figure 14. Placement of *yukE* 'past1'.

The enclitic $\acute{o}:k^hE$ is mostly used to denote past events, and it is described by Hale and Dorsey as 'distinctive past/preterite' and 'distinct past' respectively. This definition does not explain all uses of this morpheme however.

In the last two examples with the verb $h\acute{i}$: 'arrive there', $\acute{o}:k^hE$ seems to denote a condition. As was the case with some of the uses of yuk^hE above, the completion of the action expressed in the clause containing $\acute{o}:k^hE$ ('if he/John comes') is necessary in order for the action expressed in the main clause ('I will tell him'/'I will come') to be performed.

$lu:\acute{t}E$ 'eat'

$sit\phi le \quad lu\acute{t}i:-o:k^ha$
 yesterday eat-past2
 'he has eaten (yesterday)' (H1879)

$kikh\phi sp\acute{e}$: 'remember'

$kikh\phi spe \quad wa$
 remember real
 'he remembers it' (H1883a)

$kikh\phi spe:-ok^ha$
 remember-past2
 'he remembered it' (H1883a)

$kikh\phi spe-hle-o:k^ha$
 remember-3pl-past2
 'they remembered it' (H1883a)

$hk\phi sp\acute{e}$: 'remember'

$ya-hk\phi spe \quad -pu \quad -ok^ha$
 2A-remember-2pl-past2
 'you (pl) remembered it' (H1883a)

o-h_ihné 'kick', 'stamp', 'thrust', 'push'

ó- wa-h_ihné-wa
loc-1sgA-kick -real
'I kick, stamp, thrust' (D1882)

míma ó- wa-h_ihne ók^{ha}
ldisj loc-1sgA-kick past2
'I used to push' (D1882)

né: 'see'

wi-ne -o:k^{ha}
1sgP-see-past2
'I saw him', 'I saw him (formerly)' (H1878)

i-né-wa
3P-see-real
'he finds' (D1882)

í ne ók^{ha}
3P see past2
'he found it' (D1882)

o-xá:ɬE 'see'

o-xaɬi-o:k^{ha}
loc-see -past2
'he saw it', 'he saw it formerly' (H1883a)

o-xaɬi-ók^{ha}
loc-see -past2
'3sg in past' (D1882)
('he saw it')

o-xáɬe-ok^{hé} -wa
loc-see -past2-real
'did see (man) some time ago' (D1882)

o-xáɬe ók^{he} hlé-wa
loc-see past2 3pl-real
'3pl' (D1882)
('they saw him')

o-ya-xáɬe-ók^{he} -pú -a
loc-2A-see -past2-2pl-real
'2pl' (D1882)
('you (pl) saw him')

hí: 'arrive there'

wi-hi: -ok, *hiyaka*
 1sgP-arrive-past2, sleep
 'I came, he was asleep' (H1883a)

li-hi: -ok, *wa-kila:ki-ta*
 if-arrive-past2, 1sgA-tell -pot
 'if he comes, I will tell him' (H1883a)

wi-hu: -ta, *Jan li-hi:* -ok
 1sgP-come-pot, John if-arrive-past2
 'I will come if John comes' (H1883a)

verb root	past2 ó:k ^h E'	3pl he ^l E	real wa
		2pl -pú	

verb root	3pl he ^l E	past2 ó:k ^h E'
	2pl -pú	

Figures 15 and 16. Placement of ó:k^hE 'past2'.

A Mandan cognate to the Tutelo enclitic ó:k^hE may exist in the verbal suffix *-ahka* described by Kennard (1936:23). Similarly to ó:k^hE, *-ahka* is used in two different ways that do not seem compatible. The first use is described by Kennard as 'indicat[ing] the ability or capacity to perform an action' with such examples as 'if we can eat' or 'as much as he could fit'. This usage is similar to the 'conditional' usage of ó:k^hE. The second use is said to 'limit the action in a temporal sense' with such examples as 'just as he said' or 'the moment he arrived there'. This second usage is parallel

to the use of $\acute{o}:k^hE$ to denote past completed events, but the Mandan morpheme adds a sense of punctuality in time.

Negative mode

Negation in Tutelo is achieved with both a prefix and a suffix attached to the verb. Both elements seem to be obligatory at all times. There is however one single instance in the data of a negative form with the suffix alone (see last example below). The prefix has the shape *ki-*, the suffix, *-nE*.

kí:tq 'belong'

ki- wá-ki:tq -na
neg-1pldat-belong-neg
'it is not ours' (H1879)

ki- yí-ki:tq -pu -na
neg-2dat-belong-2pl-neg
'it is not yours (pl)' (H1883a)

ki-ki:tq -hle-na
neg-belong-3pl-neg
'it is not theirs' (H1883a)

o-p^hé: 'go'

k- o- wa-p^he:-pi -na
neg-loc-1sgA-go -desid-neg
'I do not wish to go' (H1883a)

k- o-p^he:-pi -ni:-se
neg-loc-go -desid-neg-assert1
'he does not wish to go' (H1883a)

qspé: 'know'

kí- wá-qspé-na
neg-1plA-know-neg
'1pl' (D1882)
('we do not know')

wa-kinǝ: 'be sick'

ki- wa- wǝ-kinǝ-ni -ǝk^{ha}
neg-stem2-1sgdat-sisk-neg-past
'I was not sick' (H1880b)

hú: 'come here'

ki- ya-hu: -na
neg-prog-come-neg
'he is not coming' (H1883a)

ya-hú -na
prog-come-neg
'he is not coming' (H1880b)

As shown in the examples, the prefix *ki-* is attached outside all other verbal prefixes. This is due to the fact that this prefix is an innovation in Tutelo and had to be attached to the already existing morphology, i.e., on the outside⁵.

The suffix *-nE* is found in only a limited number of combinations with other suffixes/enclitics in the data. It is probable that more combinations are possible but were not elicited. The attested combinations are summarized in the following table:

verb root	desid -pi	neg -nE	assert1 -se
	2pl -pú		past2 ǝ:k ^{hE}
	3pl he1E		

Figure 17. Placement of *-nE* 'negative mode'.

Interrogative mode

The interrogative mode is marked with the suffix *-o* in Tutelo. It is used both in yes/no questions and with question words. It is the rightmost morpheme in the verb, and it seems incompatible with the assertive and negative modes.

o-klá:kE 'speak'

o-yá-klaká
loc-2A-speak
'you (sg) speak' (D1882)

yi-klák -o
2P-speak-inter
'did he tell you (sg)?' (D1882)

o-kláka yuké w-o
loc-speak past1 real-inter
'were they speaking together?' (D1882)

tok^hénə 'how many'

tok^hénə -nó
how.many-inter
'how many?' (Hw)

kité: 'kill'

ya-kté:-wa
2A-kill-real
'you (sg) killed him' (H1878)

ya-kté:-w -o
2A-kill-real-inter
'did you (sg) kill him?' (H1878)

ya-kte -o -w -o
2A-kill-prog-real-inter
'are you (sg) killing him?' (H1883a)

ya-kté:-ta
2A-kill-pot
'you (sg) will kill him' (H1878)

ya-kté:-t -o
2A-kill-pot-inter
'will you (sg) kill him?' (H1878)

verb root	prog -ǝ:	real wa	inter -o
	past2 yukE	pot tE	

Figure 18. Placement of -o 'interrogative mode'.

There are no instances of combinations of the interrogative suffix with second and third person plural suffixes.

Imperative mode

The imperative mode is marked by the suffix -í. It must be used strictly for orders since there are other means to denote entreaty (see hortative mode below).

káthi 'cut'

wiyá káti-í
wood cut-imper
'cut wood, imperative' (D1882)
('cut wood! ')

latkú:sE 'break/cut with the hand'

yí-tópa-yí yí-latkúsa-yí
2dat-four-imper 2P-break -imper
'you four you break it' (D1882)

yima yí-latkúsa yí
2disj 2P-break imper
'2' (D1882)
('you break it! ')

íma í-latkúsa yí
3disj with-break imper
'3' (D1882)

wái-latkúsa yí
1plP-break imper
(D1882)
('let's break it! ')

The examples above show that there is an epenthetic glide after a dissimilar vowel.

Hortative mode

Hortative mode denoting entreaty can be marked with two different suffixes, *-í* (only differing from the imperative suffix *-í* by nasality), and *-hí*. The latter suffix has cognates throughout Siouan (Ofo, Biloxi, Hidatsa, and Chiwere), all of the shape *hi* and denoting hortative mode.

-í

o-lakpé: 'drink'

ehí, o-lákpe-yí
now, loc-drink-hort
'now drink' (D1882)

-hí

lúsE 'take'

ti-lúsi-hí iyanąkoj
2P?-take-hort chair
'take up chair' (D1882)

Causative mode

The verb *hiyé* 'cause' is also used as a causative suffix.

sí: 'yellow'

si-hiyé-se
yellow-caus-assert1
'make yellow' (Hw)

ákaxlé:pi 'sweep'

íma á- ka-xlé:p
3disj loc-instr-sweep
'3sg' (D1882)
('he sweeps')

á- ka-xlé:p-hiyé
loc-instr-sweep-caus
'3sg' (D1882)
('he makes somebody sweep?')

Desiderative mode

The desiderative mode is expressed by the suffix *-pi*. All the examples are in the negative form. It is unknown if this morpheme can be used in a declarative sentence. The desiderative suffix *-pi* immediately follows the verb stem, and precedes the negative suffix *-nE*.

xekǫ 'so', 'such' (uninflected for person)

mi:ma k- á-xekǫ-pi -na
ldisj neg-loc-so -desid-neg
'I cannot be so', 'I don't wish' (D1882)

o-p^hé: 'go'

k- o- wa-p^he:-pi -na
neg-loc-1sgA-go -desid-neg
'I do not wish to go' (H1883a)

k- o-p^he:-pi -ni:-se
neg-loc-go -desid-neg-assert1
'he does not wish to go' (H1883a)

lE: 'go there'

ki- wi-le: -pi -na
neg-1sgP-come-desid-neg
'I do not wish to come' (H1883a)

kité: 'kill'

ki- wa-kte:-pi -na
neg-1sgA-kill-desid-neg
'I do not wish to kill him' (H1883a)

verb root	desid -pi	neg -nE	assert1 -se
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Figure 19. Placement of *-pi* 'desiderative mode'.

Assertive mode

Two morphemes in Tutelo are related to the marking of assertions: *-se* and *-la*. Using comparative data, especially that gathered by Sistrunk (1991), it is possible to infer that *-se* denotes a basic assertion or oral period and that it is not gender-based. On the other hand, *-la* is cognate with Dakota *-ye* marking an emphatic or stronger assertion. Furthermore, the latter morpheme is gender-based in Dakota: it is used by male speakers. This is consistent with the fact that most of the Tutelo informants, including Nikonha, the last fluent speaker, were men.

The morphemes *-se* and *-la* marking statements as assertions, they are the rightmost elements in the verb. The gender-based suffix *-la* follows *-se*.

REDUPLICATION

Reduplication occurs in stative verbs to mark plurality. The accented syllable of the shape CV(C) is reduplicated. Accent then falls on the second of the identical syllables.

asá: 'white'

athí: *asá:*
house white
'white house'

athí: *asásá-se* -1
house white-assert1-assert2
redup
'white houses'

itá: 'large, great'

athí: *itá:-i*
house great-indef
'great house, large house'

athí *itátá-i*
house great-indef
redup
'great houses, large houses'

athí *itátá-se* -1
house great-assert1-assert2
redup
'great houses, large houses'

ku:čka 'small'

athí: *kučka*
house small
'small house'

athí: *ku:čkučka-í-se* -1
house small -?-assert1-assert2
redup
'small houses'

okha:yí:khi 'ugly'

athí: *okha:yí:khi*
house ugly
'ugly house'

athí: *okhayíyi:khi-se* -1
house ugly -assert1-assert2
redup
'ugly houses'

(a-)pí: 'good'

athí: apí:-se
house good-assert1
'good house'

athí: apipí-se-l
house good-assert1-assert2
redup
'good houses (those are good houses)'
'good houses or there are good houses'

sui, yɔp^hɔka 'long'

athí: sui
house long
'long house'

athí: yɔp^hɔkačka-í-se-l
house long -?-assert1-assert2
redup
'long houses'

(H1877a) (H1878) (H1883a) (D1882)

lɔkE 'sit'

ta:xka:-lɔki-se
forest-sit -assert1
'the clump of trees' (Hw)

maxhíka-lɔlɔki-se
tree-sit -assert1
redup
'the clumps of trees' (Hw)

SUMMARY OF VERBAL PREFIX PLACEMENT

All the verbal prefixes described above are summarized in figure 20 below. If a box is attached at both ends to the rest of the table, the placement of the morpheme in this box is certain relative to both preceding and following morphemes. However, if a box is attached only on one side, the placement of the specific morpheme is certain only relative to the morphemes on the

other side of the link to the table. Placement relative to other prefixes in the template is unknown.

On the last row, there is a bar on the left from the instrumental *láka-*. This signifies that this prefix occurs after the first person plural pronoun, but its placement relative to other prefixes in between is unknown.

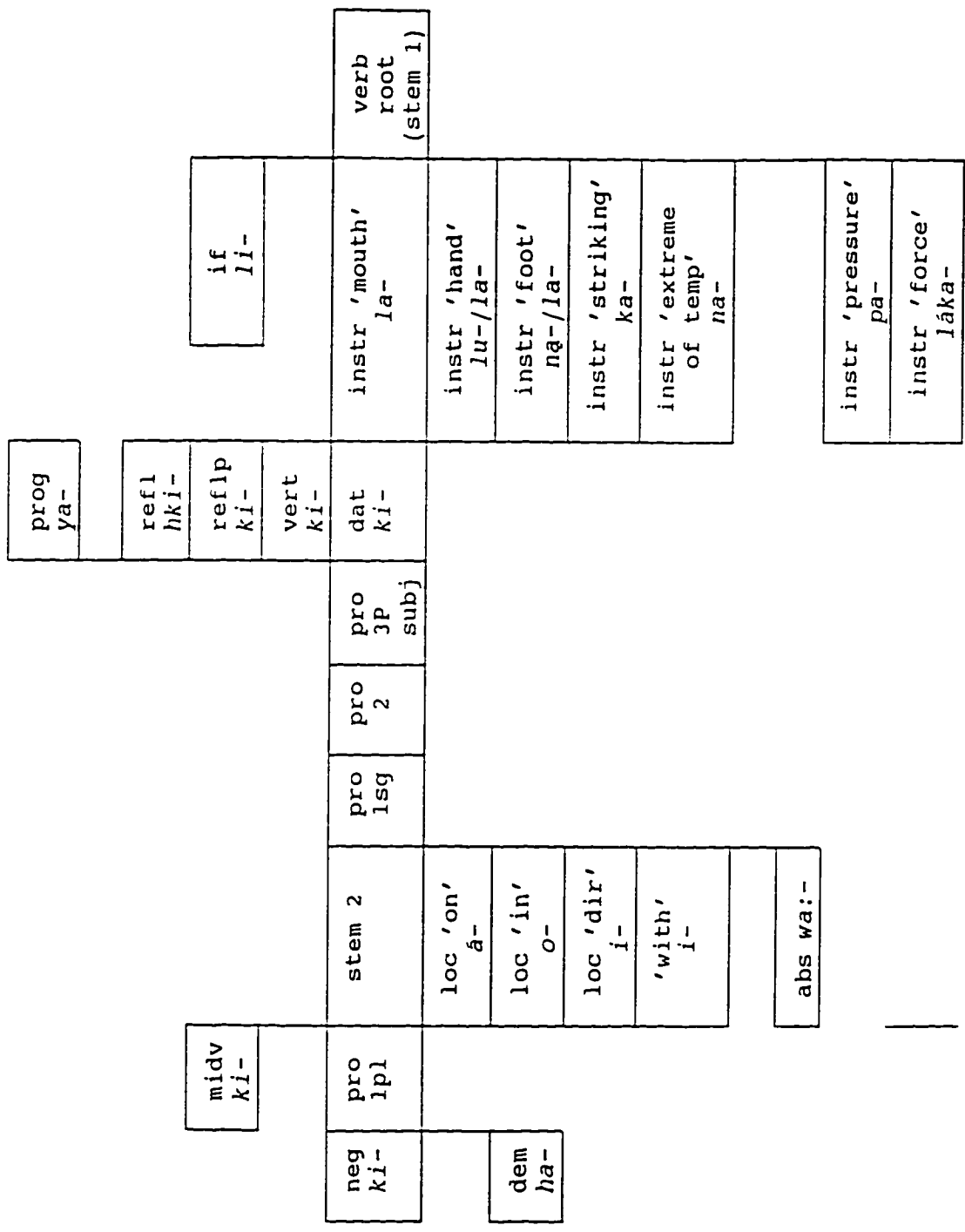


Figure 20. Summary of verbal prefix placement.

4.2 NOUN

Tutelo nouns are marked for definiteness, emphasis, and possession. Unlike other Siouan languages, there is no distinction based on animacy or position (i.e. sitting, standing, or lying).

This section first describes the marking of the above-mentioned features; a discussion of noun stems showing reduplication then follows; and the section ends with a description of deverbal nouns.

DEFINITENESS

There are three suffixes in Tutelo to mark definiteness on the noun: *-i* 'indefinite', *-ki/-kɨ* and *-se* 'definite'.

A lot of the nominal forms collected end with an /i/ or a /k/, with no indication in the glosses as to the nature of these final segments: a part of the stem or some kind of suffix. However, the use of derived forms and comparative data show that most of the time these segments are suffixes. The following examples from Tutelo and cognates in other languages demonstrate this point. (All relevant examples for the three suffixes are given together, not separately by morpheme, since the comparison of several forms with identical glosses is sometimes the only way to demonstrate the existence of these morphemes and their shapes.)

waxú: 'string', 'cord'

waxo-peni
string-twist
'twist a string'

waxú-k m-ó -wa
string-def lsg-make-real
'I am making' (D1882)
'I am making a string'

ta:kse: 'river'

ta:kse:-i
river-indef
'river' (H1879)

takse-se
river-def
'the river' (Hw)

mąksi: 'arrow'

mąksi: (H1879)
mąksi:-i (H1879)
mąksi:-k (D1882)

pah̄i 'basket'

Biloxi: pah̄i 'sack'⁶

pah̄i-k -ya o-kh̄ú-se
basket-def-emph loc-put-assert1
'put in a receptacle, a basket' (D1882)

nah̄á:pi 'day'

nah̄á:p-ki
day-def
'tomorrow' (H1879)

nah̄á:p-le -k̄i
day-dem-def
'today'

né: 'this'

ne:-i-k̄i
dem?-def
'this' (H1883a)

Further comparative data enables the identification of *-ki/-kɨ*, and *-se* as definite articles, and *-i* as an indefinite marker.

Dakota has *kɨ* as a postposed definite article, often pronounced *ki*. The nasalized suffix is only found in the two examples given above ('today', and 'this'), both involving the use of a demonstrative.

From the example above with 'river' it can be inferred that the suffix *-se* is a definite marker, and there is a Mandan cognate *-s* 'definite article' which 'indicate[s] a single specific member of the class of things named by the noun' (Hollow 1965:478). The origin of *-se* is probably the marker for assertive mode *-se* in the verb, through deverbal nouns (see also below under 'deverbal nouns'):

lɛkE 'sit'

ta:xka:-lɛki-se
forest-sit -assert1
'the clump of trees' (Hw)

Finally, the suffix *-i* must be an indefinite article. Mandan also has a vocalic indefinite article of the shape *-ɛ* (Kennard 1936:26), and most elicited nouns were given with this suffix, as consultants can be expected to answer, for instance, 'a bear' to the question 'how do you say 'bear?'. As a result however, without other suffixed forms or cognates it is impossible to know for some nouns in the data if a final /i/ is the indefinite suffix or actually part of the stem itself.

Readers are thus cautioned when looking up nouns in the Tutelo dictionary, since some final i's may not be part of the stem but had to be included in the entry for lack of evidence as to their status.

If a noun phrase contains more than a noun, the definite and indefinite suffixes are attached to the whole noun phrase:

-at^hi: 'house'

at^hi: nɔ:sá:-i
house one-indef
'one house' (H1878) (H1883a)

wa:ku:čka: 'child'

wa:kučka-i
child-indef
'child' (H1883a)

wakučka w_i-kítɔ -wi'
child lsgdat-belong-indef
'my child' (H1879)

i-ʔɔ: 'use'

míma mɔsá í- wa- ɔ-i wí-latkúsa
ldisj knife with-lsgA-do-indef lsgP-cut
'lsg' 'cut with knife' (D1882)
'I cut it using a knife'

o-ki 'meet'

o- wa-ki -o:k^ha wakta:ka nikás mihá nɔpa le-k
loc-lsgA-meet-past2 man and woman two dem-def
'I met a man and two woman' (H1883a)

EMPHATIC

A suffix -ya is sometimes attached to nouns but the glosses given by the scholars who collected the data do not permit an interpretation of the function or meaning

of this morpheme. As the following sentences show, the suffix can be present or absent and apparently not affect the basic meaning of the sentence:

hąksí-k wĭ-ki:tō
 stick-def lsgdat-belong
 'my stick' (D1882)

hąksí-k -ya wĭ-ki:tō
 stick-def-ya lsgdat-belong
 'my stick' (D1882)

Dorsey suggested two possible interpretations for the use of *-ya*: either an 'object sign' or a form meaning 'when'. The former analysis is not substantiated by the data since *-ya* is not obligatory and thus must have a specific meaning. The latter analysis is based on sentences with the verb *i-?ō*: 'use' that Dorsey interpreted as meaning 'when using x'. This analysis is not supported by the data either, where sentences with other verbs do not allow this reading:

wiyā ya á- wa-lāka wĭ-latkūsa
 tree ya loc-lsgA-sit lsgP-break
 'I sit on tree and break it' (D1882)

pahĭ-k -ya o-k^hū-se
 basket-def-ya loc-put-assert1
 'put in a receptacle, a basket' (D1882)

Using comparative data, it can be inferred however that this suffix is an emphatic marker cognate with Dakota *č^ha* 'emphatic topic'. This analysis is consistent with the fact that in all the sentences containing this suffix only one such morpheme is found.

As seen in the examples above, *-ya* is affixed at the rightmost edge of the word, after the suffix *-ki* 'definite'.

The following is the list of nouns used with the emphatic suffix *-ya*. Complete sentences can be found under these entries in the dictionary.

'basket'	<i>pah̄i</i>
'bow'	<i>hinó:si:</i>
'foot'	<i>isí</i>
'gun'	<i>m̄i:kté:</i>
'hand'	<i>-há:ki</i>
'knife'	<i>m̄a:s̄á:</i>
'stick'	<i>h̄aksí</i>
'stone'	<i>histé:k̄i</i>
'wood'	<i>wi:ȳá</i>

POSSESSION

As in other Siouan languages, nouns are either inalienably or alienably possessed. Inalienable possession reflects a relationship felt as permanent or necessary between the possessor and the possessed, whereas alienable possession reflects a temporary or unnecessary relationship.

The patterns used to mark possession and the list of nouns following each pattern are given below. There is one pattern (and two sets of prefixes) for inalienable possession, but three different patterns for alienable

possession. The section then ends with the list of nouns for which the pattern used to show possession is not exemplified in the data. These nouns are probably alienably possessed, but it is impossible to know which pattern is used with these terms.

Inalienable possession

Nouns that are inalienably marked in Tutelo include most kinship terms and body parts, and 'house':

kinship terms:

'brother-in-law'	- <i>ṭahən</i>
'daughter, son's wife'	- <i>ohá:ke</i>
'elder brother'	- <i>ṭal, ṭásk, -wahiyik</i>
'elder sister'	- <i>nõx</i>
'father'	- <i>á:ti, -ta:ti</i>
'father-in-law, mother-in-law'	- <i>tõt</i>
'grandfather'	- <i>kõ:, -toḱáx</i>
'grandmother'	- <i>kõ:</i>
'mother'	- <i>hi:ná:, hõ:ni:</i>
'nephew'	- <i>tóska</i>
'niece'	- <i>tosjik</i>
'son'	- <i>háke</i>
'son, daughter'	- <i>té:ka</i>
'step-daughter'	- <i>ohaxkihiyé</i>
'step-son'	- <i>haxkihiyé</i>
'uncle (mother's brother)'	- <i>né:k</i>
'younger brother'	- <i>no:na, -sõtka</i>

body parts:

'arm'	-histó:
'ear'	-naxu:x
'eye'	-tasu:
'face'	-t̄é
'forehead'	p ^h ania -t̄e
'hair'	-n̄aṭ̄ō:
'hand, finger'	-há:ki
'head'	-p ^h a, -p ^h asu:
'index finger'	-ha:k opu:sk̄a
'leg'	-ni:
'little finger'	-ha:k ḹ:s
'middle-finger'	-ha:k aȳa:tohl̄a
'neck'	-t̄ase:i
'thumb'	-ha:k ^h o:hka:i

other inalienable noun:

'house'	-at ^h í:
---------	---------------------

Inalienable possession is marked by prefixing patient pronouns to the noun. Second and third person plural are marked with the suffixes -pú and -hel̄E respectively, the same suffixes found in the verbal system.

There seems to be a split however between kinship terms, using standard patient prefixes, and body part terms, using dative prefixes. Such a split between kinship and body part terms in the marking of possession

is found in other Siouan languages, although the split is not between patient and dative prefixes, but rather between different patient prefixes in Dakota (*ma-/mi-*⁸), and between inalienable and alienable marking in Dhegiha.

		kinship	body part
		PATIENT	DATIVE
Singular	1st person	<i>wi-</i>	<i>wɨ-</i>
	2nd person	<i>yi-/hi-</i> ⁹	<i>yɨ-</i>
	3rd person	∅	
Plural	1st person	<i>wai-/wək-</i>	

Figure 21. Inalienable possessive prefixes.

kinship terms:

-sɔ̄tka 'younger brother'

wi-sɔ̄tk
1sgP-younger.brother
'my younger brother'

hi-sɔ̄tk
2P-younger.brother
'your (sg) younger brother'

e-sɔ̄tka *-i*
?-younger.brother-indef
'his younger brother'

wai-sɔ̄tka *-i*
1plP-younger.brother-indef
'our younger brother'

yi-sɔ̄tka *-pu -i*
2P-younger.brother-2pl-indef
'your (pl) younger brother'

e-sɔ̄tka *-i*
?-younger.brother-indef
'their younger brother' (H1878)

-té:ka 'son'

wi-té:ka-i
1sgP-son -indef
'my son'

yi-té:ka-i
2P-son -indef
'your (sg) son'

e-té:ka-i
?-son -indef
'his son'

e-wək-té:ka-i
?-lpl-son -indef
'our son'

yi-té:ka-pu:-i
2P-son -2pl-indef
'your (pl) son'

e-té:ka-hle:-i
?-son -3pl -indef
'their son' (H1878) (H1883a)

body parts:

p^hasu: 'head'

wi-p^hasu:-i
1sgdat-head -indef
'my head'

yi-p^hasu:-i
2dat-head -indef
'your (sg) head'

e-p^hasu:-i
?-head -indef
'his head'

e-wək-p^hasu:-i
?-lpl-head -indef
'our head'

e- yi-k-p^hasu:-pu -i
?-2dat-?-head -2pl-indef
'your (pl) head'

e-p^hasu:-le -i
?-head -3pl-indef
'their head' (H1878) (H1883a)

The presence of *e-* in some examples is unexplained. A possible origin may be from Proto-Siouan *ʔe·, a generic demonstrative (Rankin, personal communication).

The distribution of *wək-* 'first plural actor' is of special interest since it does not correspond to its distribution in the verbal system. Here it only occurs before non-nasal stop consonants:

wai-

-sōtka 'younger brother'

wai-sōtka -i
1plP-younger.brother-indef
'our younger brother' (H1878)

-né:k 'uncle'

e-wai -né:k
?-1plP-uncle
'our uncle' (H1878) (H1883a)

wək-

-té:ka 'son'

e-wək-té:ka-i
?-1pl-son -indef
'our son' (H1878) (H1883a)

p^hasu: 'head'

e-wək-p^hasu:-i
?-1pl-head -indef
'our head' (H1878) (H1883a)

The words for 'house' and 'father (referential)' are two of three vowel-initial inalienable nouns. While the third noun, *-ohā:ke* 'daughter', follows the regular pattern described above for kinship terms with patient

prefixes, the nouns 'house' and 'father (referential)' use the set of actor prefixes. The final vowel /a/ of the actor pronouns coalesces with the initial /a/ of the nouns. The unidentified prefix e- mentioned above is also present in most forms.

-á:ti 'father (referential)'

/ya-á:t/
 [y-á:t]
 2A-father
 'your (sg) father'

e:-á:ti
 ?-father
 'his father'

e-wą:-a:ti
 ?-1pl-father
 'our father'

/e:-ya-a:t -pu -i/
 [e:- y-a:t -pu -i]
 ?-2A-father-2pl-indef
 'your (pl) father'

e:-a:ti
 ?-father
 'their father' (H1878) (H1883a)

-athí: 'house'

/e- wa-athí/
 [e- w-a:thí]
 ?-1sgA-house
 'my house'

/e-ya-athí/
 [e- y-a:thí]
 ?-2A-house
 'your (sg) house'

e-a:thí
 ?-house
 'his house'

/e- wə-at^{hi}/
 [e- w-ə:t^{hi}]
 ?-1plA-house
 'our house'

/e-ya-at^{hi} -pu:-i/
 [e- y-a:t^{hi}-pu:-i]
 ?-2A-house-2pl-indef
 'your (pl) house'

e-a:t^{hi}-le -i
 ?-house-3pl-indef
 'their house' (H1878) (H1883a)

Some of the inalienable nouns listed above were also given as independent nouns in the data. These nouns only include body part terms and the word for 'house':

'the head' p^hasu:-i
 head-indef (H1879)

'the hair' nət̚o:-i
 hair-indef (H1879)

'the eye' tasu:-i
 eye-indef (H1879)

'the ear' naxu:x (H1879)

'a finger' há:ki (H1879)

'house' at^hí:

at^hi: nəsá-i
 house one-indef
 'one house' (H1878) (H1883a)

at^hi: it̚a:-i
 house large-indef
 'large house' (H1878) (H1883a)

The use of inalienable possession marking by the speaker must denote that he/she is referring to his/her own finger, or house, etc., whereas the use of alienable marking denotes that he/she is talking about a finger, or a house in general. This type of distinction however

departs from Siouan usage where inalienable nouns have to be marked as such at all times and cannot be used alienably. This phenomenon in Tutelo may be a result of confusion and attrition from the lack of use of the language by formerly fluent speakers and the imperfect learning of semi-speakers, from which most of the Tutelo data were collected.

ko:- indefinite possessor

Mandan has a third person possessive prefix *ko-/ku-* used with some kinship terms (see dictionary entry for more cognates). There is one such example in Tutelo, although the gloss given does not express possession:
mihá: 'woman'

ko:-mihá:
poss-woman
'girl' (H1883a)

Alienable possession

Alienable possession can be marked in three different ways: the prefixation of both patient pronouns and *ta:-*, the use of the verb *kí:tq* 'belong, be one's own', or the use of the verb *o-hkíp^{hi}* 'own' with the word for 'dog'.

pro-ta:-N

For the following nouns, alienable possession is expressed by prefixing patient pronouns (as described above for inalienable possession) and *ta:-*:

'husband'	<i>wą:hki</i>	(poss + 'man')
'wife'	<i>mihā:</i>	(poss + 'woman')
'child'	<i>(wa:)ku:čka:</i>	
'friend'	<i>xa:, xe:</i>	

wą:hki 'man'

wi- ta:-wą:hki
1sgP-alien-man
'my husband'

yi- ta:-wą:hki
2P-alien-man
'your husband'

e- ta:-wą:hki
?-alien-man
'her husband'

Possession of the nouns *(wa:)ku:čka:* 'child', and *mihā:* 'wife' (from 'woman'), however, can also be expressed with the verb *kí:tq* 'belong' (see following section):

(wa:)ku:čka: 'child'

wi- ta:-ku:čka:-i
1sgP-alien-child -indef
'my son' (H1879)

wakučka wı-kítq -wi
child 1sgdat-belong-indef
'my child' (H1879)

mihá: 'woman'

wi- ta:-mihá -i
lsgP-alien-woman-indef
'my wife' (H1879) (H1883a)

mihá mima wí-kitq (Saponi)
woman ldisj lsgdat-belong
'my dear wife' (F)

It is not known whether the patterns denote different kinds of relationship between the possessor and the possessed. The above examples are the only instances of the use of two different patterns with the same noun.

N *kí:tq*

For the following nouns, possession is marked with the verb *kí:tq* 'belong', 'be one's own' following the possessed noun:

'axe', 'hatchet'	<i>hisé:pi</i>
'bed'	<i>sa:si</i>
'foot'	<i>isí:</i>
'handkerchief'	<i>mihásá</i>
'stick'	<i>hąksí</i>

hisé:pi 'hatchet'

hisé:p wí-ki:tq -wi
hatchet lsgdat-belong-indef
'my hatchet'

hisé:p yí-ki:tq -wi
hatchet 2dat-belong-indef
'your (sg) hatchet'

hisé:p kí:tq -wi
hatchet belong-indef
'his hatchet'

hisé:p wə-ki:tɔ -wi
hatchet 1pldat-belong-indef
'our hatchet'

hisé:p yɨ-ki:tɔ -pu:-i
hatchet 2dat-belong-2pl-indef
'your (pl) hatchet'

hisé:p ki:tɔ -hle:-i
hatchet belong-3pl -indef
'their hatchet' (H1878)

As seen in the examples above, and for every instance of possessed nouns with the verb *kí:tɔ*, the indefinite suffix *-i* is always present. The whole phrase is thus treated as a noun phrase, not a verb phrase.

'dog': *o-hkíp^{hi}*

Finally, the word for 'dog' *č^hɔ:kɨ* follows yet another pattern with the use of the active verb *o-hkíp^{hi}* 'own'. This verb is not used with any other noun in the available data.

č^hɔ:kɨ 'dog'

č^hɔk o- wə-hkíp^{hi}
dog loc-1sgA-own
'my dog'

č^hɔk o-ya-hkíp^{hi}
dog loc-2A-own
'your (sg) dog'

č^hɔk o-hkíp^{hi}
dog loc-own
'his dog'

č^hɔk wə- o-hkíp^{hi}
dog 1plA-loc-own
'our dog'

č^hɔk o-ya-hkíp^h-u:i
dog loc-2A-own-2pl
'your (pl) dog'

č^hɔk *o-hkɨp^hi-la*
dog loc-own -3pl
'their dog' (H1878) (H1883a)

Nouns of unknown type for possession

The marking of possession for the following kinship and body part terms was not elicited. They are probably alienable nouns but it is impossible to know what pattern would be used to show possession. It is interesting to note that some of these nouns begin with the syllable /ta/ or /ɬa/, which may actually be the alienable possession prefix *ta:-*.

kinship terms:

'aunt'	<i>ɬomɨ:, waɬemai</i>
'sister'	<i>wine:k</i>
'younger sister'	<i>tahək</i>

body parts:

'face'	<i>ɬalu:kena, ɬalu:pna</i>
'nose'	<i>p^ha:x^ti:</i>
'pupil'	<i>su:</i>

There are also nouns for objects in the data for which the marking of possession is unknown. As for the nouns listed above, they are probably alienable nouns. They are not given here but the reader is referred to the dictionary for the complete listing of these other nouns.

REDUPLICATION

There is no evidence that reduplication was a productive process in Tutelo nouns at the time the data was collected, but some nouns show reduplication of part of the stem:

'island'	<i>sté:ki</i> <i>stesté:ki</i>
D1891:	"probably islands"
'berry'	<i>hasi</i>
'raspberry'	<i>hasisia:</i>
'hand', 'finger'	<i>-ha:ki</i>
Ofo:	<i>ičáki</i> 'hand',
Biloxi:	<i>ča:ki</i> 'hand'
'finger-nail'	<i>çuča:ki</i>
H1878, H1883a:	'finger-nails'
'toe'	<i>atkasusai</i>
H1879, H1883a:	'toes'
'lightning'	<i>koṗa:ksekse:i</i>

The pattern of reduplication seems to be similar to that found in stative verbs (see p. 121) in which the accented syllable is reduplicated and the process marks plurality of arguments. As some of the glosses given for these reduplicated forms refer to plural entities, it may be assumed that reduplication denotes plurality in nouns as well. These reduplicated noun stems could actually be stative verbs.

The form for lightning (*koṗa:ksekse:i*) however may not denote plurality of lightning bolts, but rather reflect another use of reduplication in Siouan languages where it marks intensity. Without further instances of

reduplicated noun stems however, nothing more can be said on the use of reduplication in Tutelo nouns.

DEVERBAL NOUNS

Nouns can be derived from verbs in four ways, each with a different function and/or resulting meaning.

Absolutive wa:-

The absolutive prefix *wa:-* derives deverbal nouns with the meaning:

1. person/object with the characteristics denoted by the verb:

sí: 'yellow'

wa:-sí
abs-yellow
'yellow'
('yellow object')

ku:čka: 'small'

wa:-ku:čka:
abs-small
'child'

2. person/object undergoing the action denoted by the verb:

lu:ṭE 'eat'

wa-lu:ṭi
abs-eat
'food'

3. object resulting from performing the action denoted by the verb:

pahe: 'pound'

wa:-pahé
abs-pound
'powder', 'flour'

Assertive -se

The suffix *-se* marking assertive mode on verbs is also used to derive nouns having the characteristics expressed by the verb. All examples of deverbal nouns formed with *-se* are derived from positional verbs.

lăkE 'sit'

ta:xka:-lăki-se
forest-sit -assert1
'the clump of trees' (Hw)

năhé: 'stand'

he- ya-năhé:-s
dem-prog-stand-assert1
'standing man' (Hw)

waha:-măkE 'lie, recline'

waha:-măki -se
stem2-recline-assert1
'reclining man' (Hw)

This use of the assertive suffix is probably the origin the definite article *-se* found in Tutelo nouns.

i- 'with'

Nouns can be derived from verbs with the instrumental prefix *i-* 'with'. The derived noun denotes the object used to perform the action expressed by the verb. This derivation process is also found in Lak^hota instrumental nouns (cf. Boas and Deloria (1939:125)).

ka:t^he 'be hot'

i:-ka:t^he:-ʔǝ:
with-hot -do
'kettle' (S) (Fr)
= object you make things hot with

i-to:káya 'door'

i-to:káya
with-?
'door' (D1882)
= object you close a house with?

cf. Tutelo: *tokai* 'in the house'
cf. Chiwere: *č^híoge* 'door'

lákE 'sit'

/í- a-lák-ǝǝ/
í- ya-nák-ǝǝ
with-loc-sit-?
'chair' (D1882)
= object you use to sit on

Locative o-

The locative prefix *o-* 'in' is also used to derive nominals from verbs. The resulting nouns denote mostly 'containers' of some kind, i.e., objects in which you put things or you do things.

o-k^hú 'put into something'

o-k^hú
loc-put
'box' (Hw)
= object you put things in

opok^he (Saponi) 'coat'

o-pok^he
loc-?
= object you keep warm in?

Rankin (1980): cf. Ofo *puké* 'it is warm'

óknasí 'stick'

ó-kna-sí
loc-set-?
= stick you set upright in the ground, upright stick

cf. Quapaw: *aknā* 'set something'
akdē 'stand something up'

cf. Tutelo: *óknasí* 'stick'
hąksí 'stick'
mąksí: 'arrow'
hinó:sí 'bow'

4.3 INDEPENDENT PRONOUNS

There are three types of independent pronouns: basic disjunctive pronouns, emphatic pronouns, and restrictive pronouns. The two latter types are comprised of a first, second, and third person singular, and a first person plural. The set of disjunctive pronouns however does not include a separate first person plural form. Since first person plural pronouns are a late innovation in Siouan, this must reflect the older existence of disjunctive pronouns and a relatively newer creation and use of emphatic and restrictive pronouns.

DISJUNCTIVE PRONOUNS

In parallel with pronominal affixes on the verb itself, disjunctive pronouns can be used. Basic disjunctive pronouns are formed from the set of verbal patient prefixes with a suffix *-ma*. The origin of this morpheme is unknown.

There are three disjunctive pronouns, one for each person (first, second, and third) where number is irrelevant¹⁰:

- | | |
|---|--------------------------------------------|
| 1 | <i>wí:-ma</i>
1sgP-
'I, we' |
| 2 | <i>yí:-ma</i>
2P-
'you' |
| 3 | <i>í:-ma</i>
3P-
'he, she, it, they' |

These disjunctive pronouns can also be used as independent verbs:

i:ma-he:-se
3disj-3pl-assert1
'it is them'

Disjunctive pronouns precede the verb and are always placed at the beginning of the clause/sentence. Thus if there is also an adverb or an object noun phrase modifying the meaning of the verb, the adverb and the noun phrase precede the verb and follow the disjunctive pronoun.

lakpé: 'drink'

ima o-lákpe-hlé-wa
3disj loc-drink-3pl-real
('they drink') (D1882)

ima hu:k ó-lakpe:-hlé-wa
3disj all loc-drink -3pl-real
('they all drink') (D1882)

latkú:sE 'break/cut by hand'

míma mąsá í- wa- ǫ-i wí-latkúsa
ldisj knife with-lsgA-do-indef lsgP-cut
'lsg' 'cut with knife' (D1882)
('I cut it using a knife')

EMPHATIC PRONOUNS

Emphatic independent pronouns with the meaning 'I myself', etc., are also based on the set of verbal patient prefixes. The suffix *-sá:* gives the emphasis: 'the termination *sái* or *sāni*, giving the sense of "alone," or rather perhaps "self"' (Hale 1883a:21-22).

1 singular	<i>wi:-sá:</i> lsgP-self 'I myself, I alone'
2	<i>yi:-sá:</i> 2P-self 'you yourself, you alone'
3	<i>i:-sá:</i> 3P-self 'he himself, he alone'
1 plural	<i>wai:-sá:</i> lplP-self 'we ourselves, we alone'

RESTRICTIVE PRONOUNS

Restrictive pronouns with the meaning 'I alone', etc., are formed by prefixing the morpheme *ikhá-* 'only', 'alone' -- also used with numerals-- to emphatic pronouns:

1 singular	<i>ikhá-wisá:</i> restr-lsg.emph 'I alone'
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2	<i>ikhá-yisá:</i> restr-2emph 'you alone'
3	<i>ikhá-isá:</i> restr-3emph 'he alone'
1 plural	<i>ikhá-waisá:</i> restr-1pl.emph 'we alone'

4.4 INTERROGATIVE PRONOUNS

Attested interrogative pronouns in Tutelo are as follows:

'what'	<i>a:k̄a</i> <i>k̄a:k̄a</i>
'which'	<i>e:ṭuk</i>
'how', 'which'	<i>tok^hé:</i>
'which'	<i>tók^haxéṭo</i>
'how many'	<i>tok^hé:-n̄a</i> -quant
'how much'	<i>tok^he n̄a-tak^hiḱawa</i>
'when'	<i>tok^hé:na:x</i>
'where'	<i>tó:k^ha:</i>
'who'	<i>he:to:wa:</i> <i>ḱeto:wa</i>
'whose'	<i>ṭewa</i>

Except for the first three above, all interrogative pronouns are based on the Siouan interrogative morphemes *to* or *wa*, or both. 'How many' and 'how much' also incorporate the quantifier *n̄a*.

Interrogative pronouns are placed at the beginning of the clause¹¹:

tok^hé: 'how, which'

ki- m-ɔspé-na tok^hé kɔtík naháp
neg-1sgA-know-neg how ? tomorrow
'I don't know how I may be tomorrow' (D1882)

tok^hé nənāhe-w -ó
how tall-real-inter
'how tall?' (Hw)

tok^hé:nə 'how many'

tok^hé nə-w -ó
how.many-real-inter
'how many?' (Hw)

tó:k^ha: 'where'

to:k^ha: ya-tí: -w -o
where 2A-live-real-inter
'where do you (sg) live?' (H1878) (H1880b)

ɬewa 'whose'

ɬewa-ki:tɔ -wa
whose-belong-real
'whose is it?' (H1883a)

This last interrogative pronoun *ɬewa* 'whose' is always used in combination with the verb *kí:tɔ* 'belong'.

There is one example of an interrogative pronoun used as a verb:

kəkə 'what'

kəkə:-wa
what-real
'what is that?' (H1883a)

This is the only instance of a verbal usage of an interrogative pronoun, but other interrogative pronouns can probably be used in this manner.

4.5 ADVERBS

Adverbs are invariant in Tutelo. They can be divided into adverbs of location, time, quantity, quality, and 'yes' and 'no'.

<u>location:</u>	<i>to:kai</i>	'in the house'
	<i>oni:i</i>	'at the prairie'
	<i>o:tap^hái</i>	'down river'
	<i>ta:patá:</i>	'up river'
<u>time:</u>	<i>naháplekí</i>	'today'
	<i>nahá:pki</i>	'tomorrow'
	<i>sitó:le</i>	'yesterday'
	<i>íkí (Saponi)</i>	'presently'

Some of the demonstratives described in the next section refer to both location and time, and they can also be used as adverbs.

There are also two adverbs glossed as 'near': *a:ska:i* and *ikte:i*. There is no example of usage for either one of them, however. It is therefore not known if they refer to location or time, or both. Considering that some demonstratives denoting relative proximity to the speaker refer to both location and time, these two adverbs may also be used for both. But the fact that there are two different adverbs 'near' may also suggest that they have distinct reference, one of location and one of time.

<u>quantity:</u>	<i>oho:teka</i>	'many, much'
	<i>ohq:</i>	'many, much'

	<i>ṭṭaṭka</i>	'many'
	<i>hú:k</i>	'all'
	<i>o:kahu:k</i>	'all'
<u>quality:</u>	<i>a:satnitkuáx</i>	'icy'
	<i>nɔxlupa</i>	'icy'
	<i>ḱak^heḱ</i>	'inclined'
<u>'yes'/'no':</u>	<i>ahá</i>	'yes'
	<i>awa:xa</i>	'yes'
	<i>iha:o</i>	'no'
	<i>yahá</i>	'no'

Adverbs occur at the beginning of the clause containing the verb it modifies, following disjunctive pronouns:

húk maşá wái-latkóḱ wái-latkusi ta
 all knife lsgP-use lsgP-cut pot
 ('we all cut using a knife') (D1882)

mima huk wái-hihné wa
 ldisj all lsgP-push real
 'we all push or thrust' (D1882)

wa-kté -wa huk wa-ktamá-wa
 lsgA-shoot-real all lsgA-break-real
 'I shot, all I broke in pieces' (D1882)

nahapki wi-lu:li-ta
 tomorrow lsgP-eat -pot
 'I will eat (tomorrow)' (H1879)

They also sometimes occur at the end of the clause:

wa- i-né -wa hu:k
 lsgA-3P-see-real all
 'we did see (them) all' (D1882)

kí-ɔspé-na tok^hé ḱotík naháp
 neg-know-neg how ? tomorrow
 'he doesn't know how he may be tomorrow' (D1882)

4.6 DEMONSTRATIVES

Tutelo has a system of demonstratives similar to other Siouan languages where deictics refer to both location and time, with a three-way distinction: close to the speaker, away from the speaker but not too far, and far away:

'this, here'	close distance	<i>lé:, né:</i>
'that, there'	middle distance	<i>hé:</i>
'yon, yonder'	long distance	<i>ka, ko:</i>

From this basic set of demonstratives two types of derived forms are also found. The first type derives nominals with *-i* 'indefinite' or *-ki/-kj* 'definite':

<i>lé:</i>	<i>lé:-ki</i>
<i>né:</i>	<i>né:-i</i>
	<i>né:-ki</i>
	<i>né:i-kj</i>
<i>hé:</i>	<i>hé:i-ki</i>

The example of derivation from *lé:* 'this' with definite marking is equivalent to *-ki* 'definite' used with a noun phrase ending with the demonstrative *lé:*, as shown in the sentence below:

o- wa-ki -o:k^ha wakta:ka nikás mihá nqpa le-k
loc-1sgA-meet-past2 man and woman two dem-def
'I met a man and two woman' (H1883a)

The second type of derivation makes stative verbs out of basic demonstratives with the verbal enclitic *wa* 'real aspect':

lé: *lé:-wa*
 dem-real
 'this is it' (D1882)

hé: *hé:-wa*
 dem-real

ko: *ko:-wa*
 dem-real

There are also three other demonstratives elicited in the Tutelo data. They are all translated 'that'.

'that' *ena:*
 yax *yax-hená-se*
 dem-far -assert1
 'that, thus far' (Hw)

yuká:

Except for *yax*, no example of usage is given, and it is thus impossible to know what the exact function and meaning of the other demonstratives are. *Ena:* however may be cognate with Dakota *éna* 'right there'.

4.7 INTERJECTIONS

Only one interjection was elicited, *ehí* 'now (hortative)', found in the following sentence:

ehí, o-lákpe-yí
 now loc-drink-hort
 'now drink' (D1882)

4.8 NUMERALS

Five types of numerals are attested in Tutelo: cardinal, ordinal, adverbial, distributive, and restrictive. Except for adverbial numerals, all forms and patterns required to count were elicited.

Except for restrictive numerals, most of the data presented here result from previous analyses which can be found in Oliverio 1993a and 1993b. These papers also contain more comparative data on Siouan numerals.

CARDINAL NUMERALS

The numerals 'one' through 'ten' are the basis for all cardinal numerals. They are as follows:

'one'	<i>nḡ:sa:</i>
'two'	<i>nḡ:pa:</i>
'three'	<i>lá:ni</i>
'four'	<i>tó:pa</i>
'five'	<i>kisā:ha</i>
'six'	<i>akā:spe:, aka:spé:</i>
'seven'	<i>sa:kó:m̄:</i>
'eight'	<i>palá:ni</i>
'nine'	<i>kasāhka</i>
'ten'	<i>pú:čka</i>

Of special interest is the numeral 'eight': it is based on the numeral 'three' with the addition of the prefix *pa-*, a pattern also found in Ofo (*pétani* 'eight' from *tá:ni* 'three'). The origin of the prefix is unknown. It may be related to the instrumental *pa-* 'by pressure/pushing'. However, a similar pattern is found in Dhegiha languages for 'seven' and 'eight' (based on 'two' and 'three' respectively) and the Dhegiha prefix *ppé-* is not cognate with Tutelo and Ofo *pa-*, and it is

different from the instrumental 'by pressure/pushing' in these languages.

Numerals in the teens are formed by prefixing *aki-* to the appropriate numeral from 'one' through 'nine'. The word for 'ten' is always omitted. The prefix *aki-* means 'being on' from the locative *á-* 'on' as in the verb *akine:se* 'to be on'. 'Eleven' then is 'one being on ten' where the word for 'ten' is omitted.

	<i>aki-</i> numeral being on-
'eleven'	<i>aki-nḡ:sa:</i>
'twelve'	<i>aki-nḡ:pa:</i>
'thirteen'	<i>aki-la:ni</i>
'fourteen'	<i>aki-to:pa</i>
'fifteen'	<i>aki-ki:sá:ha</i>
'sixteen'	<i>aki-aka:spe</i>
'seventeen'	<i>aki-sako:mḡ</i>
'eighteen'	<i>aki-pala:ni</i>
'nineteen'	<i>aki-ḡasá:hka</i>

The same pattern and cognate prefix (*áki-*) are also used in Mandan for teen numerals, and similar patterns are found in most other Siouan languages.

The prefix *aki-* 'being on' is also used to form numbers within decades ('decade +' numerals). Thus, as shown below, 'twenty one' is 'one being on twenty':

	decade	<i>aki-</i> numeral
'twenty one'	<i>pučka nḡpa</i>	<i>aki-nḡsa</i>

The prefix *aki-* is also found in the form *akí-keneska* 'one half'. The function of *aki-* in this form is unexplained; the rest of the form is cognate with Quapaw *mjdénaska* 'half this size', and *oskáska* 'half'.

Decade numerals are formed by juxtaposing *pú:čka* 'ten' and the appropriate numeral for the desired decade:

10 numeral

'twenty' *pú:čka nq:pa:*

'thirty' *pú:čka la:ni*

'forty' *pú:čka to:pa*

The same pattern is used for hundreds and 'one thousand', from *uk^hiní:* 'hundred':

100 numeral

'one hundred' *uk^hini: nq:sa:*

'two hundred' *uk^hini: nq:pa:*

...

'thousand' *uk^hini: pučka*

Cardinal numerals are sometimes used in conjunction with nouns. The numeral then follows the noun it modifies:

athí: 'house'

athí: nq:sá:-i
house one-indef
'one house' (H1878) (H1883a)

athí: nq:pa:-i
house two-indef
'two houses' (H1878) (H1883a)

ORDINAL NUMERALS

Ordinal numerals, such as 'second', 'third', are formed with the prefix *j*- and the appropriate numeral:

	<i>j</i> -numeral
'second'	<i>j-nɔ:pa:</i>
'third'	<i>j-la:ni</i>
'fourth'	<i>j-to:pa</i>

The ordinal 'first' does not follow the pattern described above however:

'first'	<i>et^ha:hni</i>
---------	----------------------------

This form has cognates in Biloxi (*tɔni*) and Dhegiha (Omaha-Ponca: *itɔδj*, Quapaw: *ettɔni*).

ADVERBIAL NUMERALS

Only one adverbial numeral, such as 'once', 'twice', was elicited:

'once'	<i>enɔx</i>
--------	-------------

This form is cognate with Quapaw *nɔxti* 'once'.

DISTRIBUTIVE NUMERALS

Distributive numerals, such as 'one apiece', 'one to each', are formed with the suffix *-lale*. This suffix makes the accent of the numeral shift to the syllable immediately preceding it.

numeral-lale

- 'one apiece' *nɔ:sá:-lale* ('one' *nɔ:sa:*)
'two apiece' *nɔ:pá:-lale* ('two' *nɔ:pa:*)
'three apiece' *la:ní-lale* ('three' *lá:ni*)

These pattern and suffix have cognates in Mississippi Valley Siouan (cf. Tutelo-English dictionary).

RESTRICTIVE NUMERALS

Restrictive numerals, meaning 'only one', 'only two', are formed with the prefix *ik^ha-* This is the same morpheme used to form restrictive pronouns from basic disjunctive pronouns.

*ik^ha-*numeral

- 'only two' *ik^ha-nɔ:pa:*
'only three' *ik^ha-la:ni*

NUMERALS USED AS VERBS

Numerals can also be used as stative verbs. The resulting meaning is probably, from the example below, 'to be four' from the numeral 'four'.

tó:pa 'four'

yí-tó:pa-yi *yí-latkúsa-yí*
2sgdat-four -imper 2sgP-break -imper
'you four you break it' (D1882)

The literary meaning of *yító:payi* is probably 'your four' since one of the uses of dative pronouns is to denote possession of the object of the verb by the

subject. Such a possessive construction is used in many languages to say 'the four of you'.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 4

1. In other sections an unmarked third person will be omitted from interlinear transcriptions as its exact placement cannot always be inferred due to its (lack of) shape.
2. An intrusive /h/ appears in some instances of first person plural dative pronouns (see *kí:hníté:* 'hungry' and *kí:tə* 'belong' in the dictionary). The presence of this /h/ is unexplained.
3. When there are several forms of a verb with an instrumental prefix in the data, the ones relevant to show the placement of the instrumental prefixes relative to other verbal prefixes are also given. If no other form is attested, the example written is the only one found in the data.
4. See the section on pluralizers for a discussion of the different placements of *tE* 'potential aspect' and *ó:k^hE* 'past' relative to the second and third person plural suffixes.
5. However, there are no examples in the data of combinations of the negative prefix with the demonstrative *ha-* or *ki-* 'middle voice', both morphemes being found on the outside of locatives and stem 2, and outside of first person plural pronouns in the case of *ha-*.
6. The Biloxi form is given here as further proof for the shape of the Tutelo noun stem *pah̄i* 'sack' since all instances of this noun are with suffixes.
7. The [w] in the indefinite suffix *-i* is epenthetic. It only occurs following /q/ and preceding /i/ (see p. 47 in the phonology chapter). The resulting surface form [wi] is not related to the articles of the shape *wi/mi* found in several Mississippi Valley Siouan languages.
8. In Dakota, *mi-* is used with all kinship terms. Body part terms are split between *mi-* and *ma-*. This split can be different between Dakota dialects; Boas and Deloria (1941:128) define the split for Teton as 'parts of the body which are conceived as particularly subject to will-power' taking *mi-*, other body part terms taking *ma-*.
9. See the discussion on verb patient pronouns for the *yi-/hi-* distinction (p. 73).

10. Sapir gives another disjunctive pronoun, *hení:ku* 'I', but it does not follow the pattern described here and no cognate form has been found in any other Siouan language.

11. The examples listed here are all the instances of interrogative pronouns used in combination with other words in a clause or sentence. If no example is given for a specific pronoun it means that it was only elicited in isolation.

CHAPTER 5

SYNTAX

The Tutelo corpus only includes individual sentences; there are no texts or stories. And most sentences consist of only one clause, although a few are made of two clauses. The study of Tutelo syntax is thus limited to the structure of phrases and sentences, and word order.

Subject-Object-Verb (SOV) seems to be the basic word order, as is expected in a Siouan language. However, some sentences display a different, SVO, word order. This is probably due to the use of Tutelo as a trade language, and perhaps also to the limited command of the language by semi-speakers.

The chapter first deals with phrases and their constituents. Simple and complex sentences are then discussed, followed by a description of word order.

5.1 PHRASES

Three types of phrases are exemplified in the corpus: noun phrases, verb phrases, and postpositional phrases. Phrase structure rules are given whenever they can be inferred from the available data.

NOUN PHRASES

The following two examples illustrate the possible structures of noun phrases in Tutelo:

wakta:ka nikás mihá nqpa le-k
man and woman two dem-def
'a man and two women' (H1883a)

pahj-k -ya okhú-se
basket-def-emph put.in-assert1
'put in a receptacle, a basket' (Hw)

The phrase structure rule for Tutelo noun phrases is thus as follows:

NP --> N (num) (dem) (det) (emph)

The first example above is one of only two attestations of the conjunction *nikás* 'and, also'. In both instances, it is used to join noun phrases:

lupu:s nikás maşá
hat and knife
'a hat and a knife' (H1883a)

POSTPOSITIONAL PHRASES

There is only one instance of a postposition in the whole corpus, *tiyaok* 'under':

mixhaïhot tiyaok ląki-se
blanket under sit-assert1
'put something under a blanket' (Hw)
('he put it under a blanket')

This example within a sentence shows that Tutelo has postpositions rather than prepositions, as expected in a language with basic SOV word order. The structure rule for postpositional phrases is as follows:

PP --> NP P

VERB PHRASES

The following examples illustrate the various verb phrase constituents:

wiyá ya á- wa-láka wi-latkúsa
tree emph loc-1sgA-sit 1sgP-break
'I sit on tree and break' (D1882)
('I sit on the tree and break it')

waxú-k ó-wa
string-def do-real
'3sg' 'string' 'twist with hand' (D1882)
('he is making a string')

nahápi wi-lu:li-ta
tomorrow 1sgP-eat -pot
'I will eat (tomorrow)' (H1879)

kí-ospé-na tok^hé kótík naháp
neg-know-neg how ? tomorrow
'he doesn't know how he may be tomorrow' (D1882)

wa-kté -wa huk wa-ktamá-wa
1sgA-shoot-real all 1sgA-break-real
'I shot, all I broke in pieces' (D1882)

mixháhot tiyaok láki-se
blanket under sit-assert1
'put something under a blanket' (Hw)
('he put it under a blanket')

The examples show that an NP object or a postpositional phrase precedes the verb, as expected in an SOV basic word order, and that adverbs can occur at the beginning or end of a verb phrase. The placement of postpositional and noun phrases relative to each other cannot be inferred, since the last example is the only instance of a postpositional phrase in the data and there is no overt NP object in the sentence. As a result, the structure of Tutelo verb phrases cannot be summarized in

a single phrase structure rule. The following two rules can be given:

VP --> (Adv) (NP) V (Adv)¹
VP --> (PP) V

5.2 SENTENCES

Most sentences in the corpus are simple sentences made up of only one clause. There are, however, some instances of complex sentences made of two clauses.

SIMPLE SENTENCES

The following are examples of simple sentences:

i- wa-ǝ -la
with-1sgA-do-assert2
'I use' (D1882)
('I use it')

sitǝle luṭi-o:k^ha
yesterday eat-past2
'he has eaten (yesterday)' (H1879)

ima luṭa
3disj eat
'he eats' (H1879)

č^hǝ:kitǝ hinta:hi-se
horse run-assert1
'the horse runs' (H1879)

Since main arguments can be marked on the verb itself with pronominal prefixes, an overt noun phrase subject is optional. The phrase structure rule for Tutelo sentences is as follows:

S --> (NP) VP

COMPLEX SENTENCES

Very few complex sentences were elicited. Most of them involve the juxtaposition of two clauses, a few involve subordination, and one the use of the conjunction *mi* 'but'. Although there are instances of coordination with *nikás* 'and' within noun phrases, there are no such examples with clauses.

Juxtaposition

Most complex sentences involve two juxtaposed clauses. The order of the clauses (and thus of the denoted events) and/or the use of certain aspect/mode markers enable interpretation.

wa-kté -wa huk wa-ktamá-wa
lsgA-shoot-real all lsgA-break-real
'I shot, all I broke in pieces' (D1882)

wi-kiloxko: wa-kte:-ta
lsgdat-allow lsgA-kill-pot
'let me kill him (allow me, I will kill him)'
(H1883a)

isí ya i- wa-ǫ -wa wí-latkúsa
foot emph with-lsgA-do-real lsgP-break
'I break it using my foot' (D1882)

Coordination

There is only one instance of coordination of two clauses, with *mi* 'but':

k- o- wi-ne:-na, mi Ja:n hi-ne:-ka
neg-loc-lsgP-see-neg, but John ?-see-?
'I did not see him, but John saw him' (H1883a)

This example is the only attestation of the conjunction *mi* 'but'.

Subordination

The following examples are instances of subordination with the morpheme *li-* 'if'.

li-hi: -ok, wa-kila:ki-ta
if-come-past2, 1sgA-tell -pot
'if he comes, I will tell him' (H1883a)

wi-hu: -ta, Jan li-hi -o:k
1sgP-come-pot, John if-come-past2
'I will come if John comes' (H1883a)

The enclitics *yukE* and *ó:k^hE* may also be involved in subordination (see p. 110), and perhaps also the verb suffix *-kə*, of uncertain meaning, which may be related to a Biloxi morpheme used in subordination and switch reference. However, the data are too scant and the translations mostly unreliable to permit more than speculation.

5.3 WORD ORDER

Although syntactical data are limited, what is available shows that Tutelo, like other Siouan languages, is an SOV language. Aside from the placement of object noun phrases before the verb, several features given by Greenberg (1963) as typologically characteristic of an Object-Verb language are found in Tutelo:

-- the genitive precedes the noun. In Tutelo, possession is marked with prefixes on the noun (see the section on noun possession above).

-- postpositional rather than prepositional phrases (see p. 166 above).

-- auxiliary verbs follow the main verb. Tutelo enclitics/suffixes with an ablauting final vowel are historically derived from verbs. From independent verbs they evolved into auxiliaries following the main verb, then into enclitics, and for some of them, into suffixes.

-- subordinate verbs precede the main verb (see the previous section).

The data also contain sentences with an SVO word order, however:

wa-klumi:ha lupu:s nikás maşá
1sgA-buy hat and knife
'I bought a hat and a knife' (H1883a)

There are two possible sources for this shift in word order. First of all, we know that Saponi and Occaneechi were used as trade languages. Saponi guides were hired as guides by early explorers such as William Byrd; and in 1705, Robert Beverley wrote about Virginia tribes: "[T]hey have a sort of general Language [] which is understood by the Chief men of many Nations, as *Latin* is in most parts of *Europe*, and *Lingua Franca* quite thro the *Levant*. The general Language here us'd, is said to be that of the *Occaneeches*, tho they have been but a small Nation" (Alexander 1971:309). And Hale's main

consultant, Nikonha, said that Tutelo was mutually intelligible with Saponi: "The Saponies and Tuteloes [] could understand one another's speech" (Hale 1883a:10). Thus Tutelo itself may also have been used as a trade language, which would explain a shift to an SVO word order. Secondly, the language was mostly recorded from semi-speakers who may have shifted to an SVO sentence structure.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 5

1. Sentences with a non-basic SVO word order have a different phrase structure rule for verb phrases (see the discussion on word order):
VP --> V (NP)

APPENDIX 1
TUTELO DICTIONARY

The dictionary is made of two parts, a detailed Tutelo to English dictionary and an English to Tutelo index. It contains all the available Tutelo and Saponi data with an identifiable meaning. Unsegmentable forms and the ones with no known meaning are not included here but can be found in Appendix 3.

The first part, Tutelo to English, contains all individual words as well as other morphemes identified after analysis and/or with the help of comparative Siouan data. The Tutelo forms are organized alphabetically as follows:

a, a:, á, á:
 ā, ā:, ā̇, ā̇:
 ċ, ċ̇, ċ^h
 e, e:, é, é:, E, Ê
 h
 i, i:, í, í:
 ĭ, ĭ:, ĭ̇, ĭ̇:
 k, k̇, k^h
 l
 m
 n
 o, o:, ó, ó:
 ȝ, ȝ:, ȝ̇, ȝ̇:
 p, ṗ, p^h
 s
 t, ṫ, t^h
 u, u:, ú, ú:
 w
 x
 y
 ?

For vowels, accent, length, and capitalization (to mark ablaut) are not used to alphabetize. Similarly, dotted consonants are treated the same as the ones without dots. Aspirated consonants (p^h, t^h, ċ^h, k^h) are alphabetized as the sequence consonant-h. Nasal vowels follow the corresponding oral vowels.

The following describes what can be found in each entry and explains conventions in use:

on the first line:

-- Tutelo entry in standardized transcription:

This transcription results from the analysis of all relevant forms, and sometimes the use of comparative

Siouan data. Accent is only marked when there is enough evidence for determining its exact placement.

Bound morphemes start or end with a hyphen (suffixes and inalienable nouns, prefixes). Some verb forms contain hyphens showing the placement of pronominal prefixes for first person singular and second person.

-- English translation(s):

The translations come mostly from the glosses given by the different scholars who collected the data. If however the glosses were erroneous or none was provided the English translation is the result of comparison and analysis with the whole Tutelo corpus.
on the second line:

-- grammatical category:

If the data permit, the type of pronominal prefixes taken by the verb is indicated (sets A or B).

hereafter:

-- data from the different scholars who worked on Tutelo, in their own transcription systems. The data are given in chronological order of collection as follows:

John Lederer (L)
Major General Abraham Wood (W)
William Byrd (B)
North Carolina Records (NCR)
John Fontaine (F)
Horatio Hale (H)
James Owen Dorsey (D)
J. N. B. Hewitt (Hw)
James Mooney (Mo)
Archaeological Report of Ontario (AR)
Leo J. Frachtenberg (Fr)
Edward Sapir (S)
Frank G. Speck (Sp)
Wallace Chafe (C)
Marianne Mithun (M)

Each set of data from each scholar is marked with a bullet and ends with the appropriate abbreviation for that person in parentheses (see above). For Hale and Dorsey, a date follows the letter abbreviation in order to differentiate between several documents available from these scholars (see chapter 2).

If the forms given in this section have the exact same gloss(es) as the English translation(s) given on the first line, the gloss(es) is/are not repeated.

-- cognates:

Cognates from other Siouan languages, as well as Catawba, are included. Cognates from Ofo and Biloxi, the languages most closely related to Tutelo, are always

given if available. Other cognates are sometimes listed if none is found in Ofo or Biloxi and/or when the forms in other languages help explain the Tutelo forms.

As for the section listing the different attested forms, the gloss(es) is/are not repeated if they are exactly the same as the English translation(s) given on the first line.

Biloxi and Ofo cognates are from Dorsey and Swanton (1912), Crow from Gordon and Graczyk (ca. 1988), Dakota from Buechel (1970) and Williamson (1992), Winnebago from Miner (1984), Chiwere from Good Tracks (1992), Kansa from Rankin (1987), Quapaw and from Rankin (1991), Catawba from Shea (1984). Other cognates not found in the above-mentioned sources, Hidatsa cognates, and Dhegiha reconstructions come from Carter et al. The Biloxi and Ofo transcriptions, as well as the Dakota forms from Williamson (1992) are standardized for the reader's convenience (for instance the symbol [ə] representing a schwa used by Dorsey and Swanton is replaced by [ə]). Transcriptions from other sources are kept unchanged since they are modern linguistic transcriptions and they represent traditions of representation for each language.

-- comments:

Comments include derivations, related forms, synonyms, forms following a similar pattern, and relevant comments by the collectors of the data and the author.

Comments are introduced with the symbol ►.

The second part of the dictionary is an English to Tutelo index. It includes all the translations found in the Tutelo-English dictionary with the corresponding Tutelo forms. All personal pronouns are listed first under the person (1, 2, or 3).

TUTELO-ENGLISH

DICTIONARY

- á- locative, on
 V prefix
 Ofo: á-
 Biloxi: a-
 Dakota: a-
- açotate brown
 V
 •a-tco-ța-țe; a-tco-ța-țe hi-yé-se 'to brown' (Hw)
 Dhegiha: *šó:te 'brown, muddy'
 ▶see açotatehiyé 'make something brown'
- açotatehiyé make something brown
 causative V
 •a-tco-ța-țe hi-yé-se 'to brown' (Hw)
 ▶açotate 'brown' + -hiyé 'caus'
- açu:ti red
 V
 •atsūti, atshūt (H1878); atsūti, atçūt (H1879);
 atsūti, atçūti, atçūt (H1883a)
 •ã-tcuțq; a-tcu-t|hi-ye-se 'reddden' (Hw)
 Ofo: ăchúti, čhúti; pa:čhúti 'red-headed'
 Biloxi: čtí, ăču:t-ka
 Dhegiha: *žü':te
 ▶see açu:tihiyé 'reddden'
- açu:tihiyé reddden
 causative V
 •a-tcu-t|hi-ye-se (Hw)
 ▶açu:ti 'red' + -hiyé 'caus'
- ahă yes
 adverb
 •ahắ (H1878); ahá (H1879); ahá, ahán (H1883a)
 Biloxi: ą '(used by females)'; ąhă '(used by
 males)'
 Dakota: ha
 ▶see also awa:xa 'yes'
- aķáklăķĒ go back out, come back out
 V
 •a-kák-něň-gí-se 'to go out of a lodge'; miní
 a-kak-něň-gí-se 'to come up out of a stream' (Hw)
 Ofo: áxnaki, axnaka 'go out of, rise'
 Biloxi: hákanăkí, akánăki 'emerge, come forth, come
 out'

►a:ka ? + ki- 'vert' + lăkE 'sit'; see also
a:kałakE 'go out'

a:kałakE 'go out'

V

•a-kák-něñ-gí-se 'to go out of a lodge'; miní
a-kak-něñ-gí-se 'to come up out of a stream';
ā-kěⁿ-něⁿ-k 'go out (begone!)' (Hw)
►a:ka ? + lăkE 'sit'; see also a:káklakE 'go back
out', 'come back out'

á:kalí go up

V

•o-he-gā́ ka-lí-wa 'to go up a hill' (Hw)
►ohe:ki 'hill'; á- 'loc, on'

aká:spé:, aka:spé: six

cardinal numeral

•agás, akás, akáspē, agaspekḥ; agegaspe,
agiasaspekḥ ? 'sixteen' (H1878); akaspé, agvs,
akās (H1879); agūs (N), agās, akás, akásp, akásp,
akáspe, akáspē, akaspé, akáspei, agespeq;
agegaspe, agegáspe, akikaspei 'sixteen' (H1883a);
akáspe (H1883b)

•ā-gā́sp; a-gas-pe` 'sixth'; a-gi-gās-pé`
'sixteen' (Hw)

•akás, bŭz (sic), niswā́ (sic) (Fr)

•agás (S)

•bŭts (sic) (C)

Ofo: akəpé

Biloxi: akəxpé

►see also akiaka:spé 'sixteen'

aka:t^heka hot, warm

V

•akāteka 'warm' (H1878); akāteka 'warm (persons)'
(H1879); akāteka 'warm' (H1883a)
►á- 'loc, on' + ka:t^he 'be hot' + -ka 'ext'; see
also aka:t^he 'hot', 'warm'

aka:t^he hot, warm

V

•akātia 'warm (persons)' (H1879); akātia 'warm'
(H1883a)

►á- 'loc, on' + ka:t^he 'be hot'; see also aka:t^heka
'hot', 'warm'

ákaxlé:pi sweep

active V

•íma ákaqlḗp '3 sg'; ákaqlḗp-hléwa, ákaqlḗp-hiyé
'3 pl' (D1882)

►á- 'loc, on' + kaxlé:pi 'sweep'; see also lákaplék
'sweep'

•vkstéh, vkstéŋ (H1879); ùkstéh (H1883a)

akwaḵuḵ lăkE, uhukwaḵuḵ lăkE hide

V

•a-kwa-kuk nē`n-gī-se 'to hide'; u-hu-kwa-kuk
nēn-gī-se 'hide many things' (Hw)
►from lăkE 'sit'

ala- instrumental, by extreme of
temperature

N prefix

Ofo: ata-

Biloxi: adá-

Crow: alá-

Hidatsa: ará-

►see alapo:ḵ 'ash'; see also na- 'by extreme of
temp'

alapo:ḵ ash

N

•alapōk 'ashes' (H1883a)

►ala- 'instr, by extreme of temp'

a-lăkE sit on

active V

•áwanánga 'I sit on'; mima áwanánga hankcík 'I sit
on stick'; miyéñ ya áwanánga wilatkúca 'I sit on
tree & break' (D1882)

►á- 'loc, on' + lăkE 'sit'

a-lE: go there (motion underway)

stative V

•aléwa 'he is going'; toka aléwo 'where is he
going?' (H1880b); aléwa 'he is going'; toka alewo
'where is he going?' (H1883a)

•o-ṭa-phai`q a-le-se 'down stream, on land' ? (Hw)

►lE: 'go there (motion underway)'; a- may be the
locative 'on', but in Mississippi Valley Siouan the
a- found with verbs of motion is different from
locative á- (Rankin, personal communication)

alupté cross, go across

V

•a-lup-ṭé-se 'to cross a stream'; aⁿ-ko-la-há-pi
a-lup-ṭe-se 'to cross a stream in boat'; māñ-gre`
a-lup-ṭé-se ? 'to go across the wind' (Hw)

Biloxi: ákiduxté 'cross' (from akida 'across')

►á- 'loc, on' + lu- 'instr, by hand/pulling'?

amá: land, earth, world

N

•amāi (H1878); amāñi, amāi (H1879); amāñi, amāni,
amāi (H1883a); amáñi (H1883b)

- a-ménⁿ sā'-p' 'level land' (Hw)
- matcigoⁿyón 'salt' (Fr)
- matsigôyô 'salt' (S)
- Ofo: á:mą 'land, country, ground'
- Biloxi: amá, hama 'ground'
- 'salt' = 'earth' + 'sweet' in Tutelo, Biloxi, and Ofo; see maḱlé: 'wind'

ap^haṭu pokso (Saponi) hat
 N
 •apato bokso (F)
 ►á- 'loc, on' + p^ha 'head' + ?; see also ɔṭupús, lupú:s 'hat'

a-p^hé: go
 active V
 •miawapena 'I go' (H1879)
 •su`q a-pé-se 'go up stream, on land' (Hw)
 ►á- 'loc, on' + p^hé: 'go'

apí: good, handsome
 stative V
 •apī (H1879); ati api 'good house'; ati apipisel 'good houses (those are good houses) (H1883a)
 •atí apí 'good house'; atí apipísel 'good houses or there are good houses' (D1882)
 ►á- 'loc, on' + pí: 'good'

a:satnitkuáx icy
 adverb
 •ā-sāṭ-niṭ-ku-ēⁿ`q '(i.e. by snow)' (Hw)
 ►see also nɔxlupa 'icy'

asá: white
 stative V
 •asāi, asāñi; atī asañ 'white house'; atī asañsañsel 'white houses' (H1878); asāi, asáñi, asēi (H1879); asai, asāi, aseí, asēi, asūñi (N), asūñi, asañi, asāñi, asāñi; ati asañ 'white house'; ati asañsañsel 'white house, plural' (H1883a); asāñi (H1883b)
 •asūⁿ-i, asāⁿ-i, a-sá-i; atí asāⁿ 'white house'; atí asāⁿsaⁿsel 'white houses' (D1882)
 •a-sēⁿ-i; a-sēⁿ-hi-yé-se 'to whiten' (Hw)
 Ofo: afhá
 Biloxi: sá
 ►see asá:hiyé 'whiten'; see also wá:hkanáḱka 'white', 'white man'

asá:hiyé whiten
 causative V
 •a-sēⁿ-hi-yé-se (Hw)
 ►asá: 'white' + -hiyé 'caus'

'ugly house'; atī okayeyēkesel 'ugly houses'; atī gutska 'small house'; atī kōtskutskaisel 'small houses'; atī asañ 'white house'; atī asañsañsel 'white houses'; atī bīse 'good house'; atī abīsēl 'good houses' (H1878); atī; tokā atīwa 'where is the house?'; tokā atīwa 'where are the houses? (no plural)' (H1879); atī, atī (N); ewāti 'my house'; eyāti 'thy house'; eāti 'his house'; emānti 'our house'; eyātipūi 'your house'; eāti-lei 'their house'; atī noñsai 'one house'; atī noñbai 'two houses'; atī laniq 'three houses'; atī api 'good house'; atī apipisel 'good houses (those are good houses)'; atī itāñi 'large house'; atī itañtañsel 'large house, plural'; atī okayēke 'bad house'; atī okayeyēkesel 'bad house, plural'; atī asañ, atī asañ 'white house'; atī asañsañsel 'white house, plural'; atī kutska 'small house'; atī kotskutskaisel 'small house, plural'; atī sui 'long house'; atī yumpañkatskaisel 'long house, plural'; wilēta iatī 'I am going to the house'; waktlēta iatī 'I am coming from the house' (H1883a)
 •atī apī 'good house'; atī apipisel 'good houses or there are good houses'; atī tāñi, atī itāñi 'large house'; atī tañtañsel 'large houses'; atī okayēke 'bad house'; atī okayeyēkesel 'bad houses'; atī asāñ 'white house'; atī asāñsañsel 'white houses'; atī kutska 'small house'; atī kotskuts-kaí-sel 'small houses'; atī su-i 'long house'; atī yum-pañ-katskaí-sel 'long houses' (D1882)
 Ofo: athí
 Biloxi: tí, atí
 Hidatsa: atí
 ▶see yapatoko 'Beaver Creek', hiḡaatmani: 'Hyco River', 'Hycootee River'

-á:ti father (referential)
 N
 •yāt 'thy father'; ēāti, ēāt 'his father'; emāāti 'our father'; ēyāti 'your father'; ēāti 'their father' (H1878); eāt 'thy father'; yāt 'his father' (H1879); āti, eāti, yāt (N); yā't 'thy father'; eā't 'his father (or their father)'; emaā't 'our father'; eyātpui 'your father' (H1883a)
 •yaṭ, yāṭ 'thy father'; e-āṭ 'his father'; e-mā-āṭ 'our father (incl, excl)'; e-yāṭ-pu`q 'your father'; e-aṭ 'their father' (Hw)
 •eyá:t^hih 'father' (M)
 Ofo: athí
 Biloxi: adi
 Mandan: at
 ▶see also -ta:ti 'father (of the speaker/vocative)'

č^hq:ki

dog

N

•tshōnge, tshonki; tshoṅgebīse 'good dog';
tshoṅgebihlēse 'good dogs'; tshongo wakímpi,
tshongo wahkímpi 'my dog'; tshongo yakímpi, tshongo
yahkímpi 'thy dog'; tshongo okímpi, tshongo
eohkímpi 'his dog'; tshongo mahkímpi, tshongo
maohkímpi 'our dog'; wiahkimpui tshongi 'your dog';
tshongo kímpena 'their dog' (H1878); tçũnki
(H1879); tçuñki, tcuñki, tçoṅ (N), tçoñk, tçoṅgo,
tçoṅgo, tçonki, tçoñki; tcoñk nosāh 'one dog';
tcoñk nombaq 'two dogs'; tçoṅgo wahkímpi, tçongo
wahkímpi 'my dog'; tçoṅgo yahkímpi 'thy dog';
tçoṅgo eohkímpi 'his dog'; tçongo maokímpi, tçongo
mahkímpi 'our dog'; tçongo yahkimpūi 'your dog';
tçoṅgo kímpena 'their dog'; tçonk epīsel 'good
dog'; tçoṅge bise 'good dog (or, it is a good
dog)'; tço ṅge bihlēse 'good dog, plural'; kité
tçoñki, kitē tçoñki, tçoñk' kité 'kill the dog';
tçoñko miṅgō 'give me a dog'; wagelākiok tçoñk,
kihūna 'I called the dog, he came not' (H1883a)
•tconggo, tcuñkí; tcoṅge bīse 'it is a good dog';
tcoṅge bihlēse 'they are good dogs' (D1882)
•tsoⁿk (Fr)
•ts'ungk' (S)
•tš^hu, tš^hú: (M)
Ofo: ač^húki
Biloxi: čúki
Dakota: šúka
►see also č^hq:ti 'dog'; see č^hqkí:we 'wolf',
č^hq:kitá 'horse', č^hq:kitá:yik 'colt'

č^hq:kitá:yik

colt

N

•tsōṅgidā'yenk (Fr)
►č^hq:kitá 'horse' + yiki 'young', 'little'

č^hq:kitá

horse

N

•hodke tock ire chunkete posse 'is this the way to
the horse head' (F)
•sūṅgitéṅ; sūṅgitéṅ hvndāhise 'the horse runs'
(H1879)
•tsoṅgidén; tsōṅgidā'yenk 'colt' (Fr)
•ts'unggidé'^c '(literally, "big dog")' (S)
►č^hq:ki 'dog' + itá: 'big, great, large'; see
č^hq:kitá:yik 'colt'

č^hqkí:we

wolf

N

•ts'ungíwe' (literally, "like a dog")' (S)
•(tš^hú:gí:we) (M)
►from č^hq:ki 'dog'; see also maḱto:xka:, maḱtakí

- há:ki hand, finger
 N
 •hāki, hāg´, āk 'hand'; hāk 'finger' (H1878); hāk, hāki 'hand'; hāk, hāki 'a finger'; hakhōhkāi 'thumb'; hak obūskeŋ 'fore-finger'; hak ayāndohleŋ 'middle-finger'; hāk īns 'little finger' (H1879); āk, hāg (N), hāki 'hand'; hāk 'finger' (H1883a)
 •ehákya iyaóⁿza ilatkúcidáq 'don't break it with your hand' (D1882)
 Ofo: ičáki 'hand, finger'
 Biloxi: čá:ki 'hand, finger'
 ▶see -ha:k ayā:tohlā 'middle-finger', -ha:k^ho:hka:i 'thumb', -ha:k ĭ:s 'little finger', -ha:k opu:skā 'index', 'fore-finger'
- ha:k ĭ:s little finger
 N
 •hāk īns (H1879)
 ▶from -há:ki 'finger'
- ha:k opu:skā index, fore-finger
 N
 •hak obūskeŋ (H1879)
 ▶from -há:ki 'finger'
- hakúč^hikq:yq: salt
 N
 •hagútšigq:yq, hagútš^higq:yq: (M)
 ▶from č^hikq:yq 'sweet'; see also mač^hikq:yq 'salt'
- ha-lE: go there
 stative V
 •qala 'go'; hawilewa 'I come' (H1883a)
 ▶ha- 'dem' + lE: 'go there (motion underway)'
- hamq:thi bear
 N
 •hamú:thih (M)
 Ofo: ū^hthi
 Dakota: ma^hthó 'grizzly bear'
 ▶see also mq:ti 'bear, black bear', yú:tkayé:k 'black bear'
- happle:ha: thin
 V
 •ha-blē-hā (Hw)
 Biloxi: hadéhi
 Dhegiha: *bréhka; Kansa: blékka
- hasi berry
 N
 •hasisiāi 'raspberry'; haspahínuk 'strawberry'

(H1883a)
Biloxi: así
Dakota: háza
►see hasisia: 'raspberry', haspahínąk 'strawberry'

hasisia: raspberry
N
•hasisiāi (H1883a)
►from hasi 'berry'; see haspahínąk 'strawberry'

haspahínąk strawberry
N
•haspahínuk (H1883a)
►hasi 'berry' + pa 'bitter' + ?; see hasisia:
'raspberry', hohinąk 'cranberry'

haták cousin
N
•hadák^h (M)
►see also wąki:tá 'cousin'

-hąke son
N
•mi-hāñq-gi-hye` 'my step son'; e-hoñ-hye gi-hye`
'thy step son' (Hw)
►see -ohą:ke 'daughter', -hąxkihiyé 'step-son',
-ohąxkihiyé 'step-daughter'

hąksí stick
N
•hankcík; hankcík migidaⁿ, hankcíkya migidáⁿ 'my
stick'; hankcíkya 'stick-object'; mima wilatkúca
hankcík 'lsg' 'break with hand, stick'; latkúcita
hankcík ('he will break the stick by hand') (D1882)
►see hinó:si: 'bow', małsi: 'arrow', óknasí 'stick';
see also óknasí, wąček 'stick', yąhé: 'lacrosse
stick'

hąniłahá:p board
N
•hěⁿ-ni-ka-hā`p (Hw)

hątá run
V
•hantá (N) (H1883a)
•hěñ-děⁿ-he-se 'running man' (Hw)
►see also hi-nta, hi-nta:hE 'run'; see hątáhe
'running man', hątisono:i 'shoe'

hątáhe running man
N
•hěñ-děⁿ-he-se 'running man' (Hw)
►from hątá 'run'

- h̄atisono:i shoe
 N
 •handisonōi 'shoes' (N) (H1883a)
 ▶h̄atá 'run' + isi: 'foot' + ono:i 'wear'
- h̄atkóx road, path
 N
 •hodke tock ire chunkete posse 'is this the way to the horse head' (F)
 •hē^{n̄}ṭ-ko`q 'the road'; hēñ-ṭkó`q hoñ-pése 'to go along a path' (Hw)
 Ofo: nək^hóhi 'trail, road'
 Biloxi: nətcohí 'path, road, street'
 Mandan: r̄áku
 Winnebago: n̄a:gú 'road'
- h̄ato:i rattle snake
 N
 •handōi (H1879)
 ▶see also moḁa, wa:keni: 'snake'
- h̄axkihiyé step-son
 N
 •mi-hāñq-gi-hye` 'my step son'; e-hoñ-hye gi-hye` 'thy step son' (Hw)
 ▶-h̄aḁe 'son' + -kihiyé 'step-child'; see also -teḁakihiyé 'step-son, step-daughter', -oh̄axkihiyé 'step-daughter'
- hé: hoof, horn
 N
 •hē`kEru^{n̄}ská 'yearling (deer)' (Fr)
 Ofo: ahé, ahí 'horn'
 Biloxi: he, ahé, ahí 'hoof'
 ▶see hé:kelḁská 'deer yearling'
- hé: say, speak
 V
 •hawahewa 'I say'; hayihewa 'thou sayest'; hahewa 'he says' (H1877a); hawahēwa 'I say'; hayihēwa 'thou sayest'; hahēwa 'he says'; hamañkhewa 'we say'; hayihētepa 'ye say'; hahéhla 'they say' (H1878); hahēwa 'say' 'speak'; hawahewa, hawahēwa 'I say'; hayihēwa 'thou sayest'; hahewa, hahēwa 'he says'; hamankhewa, hamañkhewa 'we say'; hayihēpua 'ye say'; hahéhla 'they say' (H1883a)
 Ofo: he 'say'
 Biloxi: E 'say'
 ▶see ha-hé: 'say, speak'; see also kilá:kE 'speak, tell, call', nisa, sa:h̄i: 'speak', kiḁo:hE 'call'

- hé: that, there
 demonstrative (middle distance)
 •hewanihēwa 'he stands' (H1879); hēwa, heiki 'that' (H1883a)
 •he-ya-nēⁿ-hés 'standing man' (Hw)
 Biloxi: he
 Dakota: hé
 ▶see hé:wa, hé:iki 'that'; see also lé: 'here, this', ka, ko: 'that, there'; see also ena:, yax, yuká: 'that'
- hé:iki that
 demonstrative
 •heiki (H1883a)
 ▶hé: 'that, there + -ki 'def art'; see also lé:iki 'this'
- he:istá: duck
 N
 •hēistān (H1878); heistān (H1879); heistañ (H1883a)
 ▶see also i:stai 'duck', mane:asá: 'goose, duck'
- he:kawiyani Treading on a Mountain
 personal name
 •Haykawyenin (Sp)
 ▶he:ki 'hill', 'mountain' + á- 'loc, on' + wi 'lsgP' + ya- 'prog' + ni 'walk'
- hé:kelqská deer yearling
 N
 •hē^ˈkEruⁿská 'yearling (deer)' (Fr)
 ▶hé: 'hoof, horn' + ? + hqská 'small'
- he:ki hill, mountain
 N
 •wahēki 'hill' (H1878); wahēki 'hill'; ohēki 'mountain' (H1879); ohēki 'mountain' (H1883a)
 •o-he-gā^ˈ ka-lí-wa 'to go up a hill' (Hw)
 •Haykawyenin 'Treading on a Mountain' (Sp)
 Ofo: éki 'cliff', 'hill'
 ▶see ohe:ki 'mountain', wahe:ki 'hill', he:kawiyani 'Treading on a Mountain'; see also sú:xi 'hill, mountain'
- helÉ: 3 plural
 V suffix, N suffix
 •lei (H1883a)
- hená far, long
 V
 •tok|hé na-mū^ˈ? 'how far?'; yaq-he-nēⁿ-se 'that, thus far'; to-k|hé na-mū^ˈ? 'how long?'; ne-hnēⁿ-m

Biloxi: ih̄i 'hair'
▶see istihio:i, ye:hi: 'beard'; see also -naṭṭō:
'hair'

-hi hortative mode
V suffix
Ofo: hi 'hortative'
Biloxi: hi 'hortative', hi ko 'deferential imper ?'
Hidatsa: hi
Chiwere: hi
▶see also -ī 'hortative mode'

hi- 2 patient pronoun, you,
2 possessive, your
V prefix, N prefix
•hi 'thee, objective, affixed or incorporated
pronoun'; hi 'thee' (H1883a)

hi:eha: boil
V
•hīehā 'to boil' (H1883a)

hihnéṭa paper, blank paper
N
•léwa hihnéṭa 'of paper clean' (D1882)

hiḱa buzzard
N
•Hico-ottomony Creek, Hyco-ote Creek, Hicootomony
'Turkey-Buzzard River', Hico-River, Hico-ott-mony
Creek 'Hyco River', 'Hycootee River' (B)
Ofo: ésk^ha
Biloxi: exka, héxka
Dhegiha: heká
▶see hiḱaatmani: 'Hyco River, Hycootee River'

hiḱaatmani: Hyco River, Hycootee River
N
•Hico-ottomony Creek, Hyco-ote Creek, Hicootomony
'Turkey-Buzzard River', Hico-River, Hico-ott-mony
Creek (B)
▶Rankin: hiḱa 'buzzard' + athí: 'house' + mani:
'water'

-hi:ná: mother (of the speaker/vocative)
N
•īnā, henā (H1878); hinā, henún, hený (H1879);
henā, henūn, henūn, ina, īnā (N) (H1883a)
•hi-nēⁿ, he-nēⁿ 'my mother'; i-hēⁿ 'thy
mother'; e-hēⁿ 'his mother', 'her mother' (Hw)
•hīnā 'my mother (?)' (Fr)
Mandan: rā 'mother (vocative)'
Dakota: ina 'my mother'

►see also -hɔ:ni: 'mother (referential)'

- hinó:si: bow
N
•inōsik (H1878); enōsik (H1879); inōsik, inōsek (N) (H1883a)
•hinócik; hinocíkya 'bow-with or when' (D1882)
►see haksí, óknasí 'stick', mąksí: 'arrow'
- hi-nta run
active V
•hėwandahenta 'I run'; hiwandāha 'I run'; hiyandāha 'thou runnest'; hindahīsel 'he runs'; mankindāha 'we run'; hiyandāhapusėk 'ye run'; hindanėsel 'they run' (H1878); hiwandaha, hiwandahenta, himantahenta 'I run'; hiyandāhise, hiyandāha 'thou runnest'; hindāhise, hindahīsel 'he runs (a man)'; sūngitėj hvndāhise 'the horse runs' (H1879); hinda (H1883a)
Biloxi: heyāhıtá 'go there' (hėyą 'there', 'in that place'); ıdāhı 'hunt', 'seek'
►see also hi-nta:hE, hıtá 'run'
- hi-nta:hE run
active V
•hiwandāha 'I run'; hiyandāha 'thou runnest'; hindahīsel 'he runs'; mankindāha 'we run'; hiyandāhapusėk 'ye run' (H1878); hiwandaha 'I run'; hiyandāhise, hiyandāha 'thou runnest'; hindāhise, hindahīsel 'he runs (a man)'; sūngitėj hvndāhise 'the horse runs' (H1879)
►from hi-nta 'run'
- hisé:pi, nisé:pi axe, hatchet
N
•nisḗp; hisép mikıtowi, hisép migıtowi 'my hatchet'; hisép ińgıtowi, hisép yingıtowi 'thy hatchet'; hisép gıtowi 'his hatchet'; hisép mahgıtówo 'our hatchet'; hisép ingıtombūi 'your hatchet'; hisép gitohnėi 'their hatchet' (H1878); hisēpi, nisḗp; tokā nisép 'where is the ax, (saw etc.)? (same in plural)' (H1879); nisēp (N), hisép, hisēpi, hisépi; hisép mińgitowe, hisḗp migıtowi, hisḗp mikıtowi 'my axe'; hisḗp yingıtowi 'thy axe'; hisḗp gıtowi 'his axe'; hisḗp mahgıtowi 'our axe'; hisḗp ińgıtombūi 'your axe'; hisḗp gitohnėi 'their axe' (H1883a)
•hicḗp migídaⁿ iwaóⁿza wılatkúca 'cut with ax' (D1882)
Ofo: ąfhépi 'axe'
Biloxi: ąsépi 'axe'

- hista:xkai, nista:xkai squirrel
 N
 •nistākhkai (H1878); histāhkai '(red)';
 nistāḡkai (H1879); nistāḡkai (H1883a)
 Ofo: tóstəki
 Biloxi: nasəki
- histé:ḡi, nisté:ḡi stone, rock, island
 N
 •histēk 'island'; nistēk, histēki 'stone, rock'
 (H1878); histēk 'island'; nistēk, histēki
 'stone'; histēki 'rock' (H1879); histēk
 'island'; histēki, nistēk 'stone' (H1883a)
 •istíkyā 'stone-with or when, object sign' (D1882)
 ▶see also sté:ḡi, stesté:ḡi 'island'
- histí spring (small river)
 N
 •histín 'a spring' (H1879)
 ▶see also ta:kse: 'river, stream', taksi:ta 'river'
- histó: arm
 N
 •histō, hāstōi (H1878); hvstōi 'an arm';
 mihastōi 'my arm' (H1879); hūstōi, histō, hiḡto
 (N), histo (H1883a)
 •hū'sto-i, hi-stó (D1882)
 Dakota: istó 'lower arm'
- hitḡ, hatḡ sing
 V
 •dokalidö he?idö, dokalidö idö 'Grandparent (male or
 female not distinguished), I am now singing';
 kowahadónan 'lead her to where the singer is
 sitting'; wayowáh yaléwa kowahadónan 'Man go after,
 lead him to where the Singer is sitting'; miihē
 yaléwa kowahadónan, miihē? yaléwa kowahadonan 'Woman
 go after, lead her to where the Singer is sitting'
 (Sp)
 Ofo: ətḡhi 'sing'
 Hidatsa: itú: 'his song'
 ▶see also ya:mḡ:, ya:mḡhiye: 'sing'
- hi:yata sleep
 active V
 •hīyān (N), hianta; wihīok, hiañka 'I came, he
 was asleep' (H1883a)
 Ofo: əbaiyāte 'a dream'
 Biloxi: iyāte, íyātí
 Crow: hiráwi, iháwi 'dream', 'sleep'
 Hidatsa: hiráwi, ihá:wi 'dream', 'sleep'
 Mandan: hrḡʔr
 Dakota: čḡ

►see also hi:yątkape: 'sleep'

hi:yątkape: sleep
active V
•yantkāpe 'I sleep' (H1878); wahivntkāpewa,
yantkāpe 'I sleep'; yāhintkāpewa ? 'thou
sleepest'; hiantkapewa 'he sleeps' (H1879);
hiantkapewa; wahiantkapēwa 'I sleep';
yahiantkapēwa 'thou sleepest'; hiantkapēwa 'he
sleeps' (H1883a)
•nonī`k wax`ē`n dahē`wa 'all people go to bed' (Fr)
•wāk`nįendabēwā 'I'm going to bed' (S)
►from hi:yąta 'sleep'; forms from Frachtenberg and
Sapir not fully analysable

hiyé cause, causative
active V, V suffix
•causative endings: wahiyéyuq '1sg'; yahiyéyuq
'2sg'; hiyéyuq '3sg'; -mánk-hiyé-yuq ? '1pl';
-yáye-bú-yuq '2pl'; hiye-hlé-yuq ? '3pl'; 'cut
hole in wood with knife': macé`n iwaó`nča
kohótcáwayéyu(q) '1sg'; macé`n ió`nča kohótc
hiyeyúq '3sg'; macé`n imaó`nča kohótcmañkhiyéta húk
'we all make hole'; macé`n iyaó`nča kohótcyáye
búyuq 'you 3 make a hole'; macé`n iyaó`nča
kohótcayé` 'imperative'; 'bite (when) make a hole
(cause)': ówalacké ta kohótcwahiyéyuq '1sg'; (o)
iyálacké ta kohótcyahiyéyuq '2sg'; ima ólackéta
kohótc hiyéyuq '3sg'; máolackéta kohótc
mank hiyéyuq '1pl'; míma qékegówahí wa
oknacík 'I did put it (of stick)'; yima
qékegóyahí wa '2sg'; ima qékegóhí wa '3sg';
'will cut hole tomorrow': míma kohótcwahi
yéta nahánp, míma qékagówahiyéta kohótc
macé`nya iwaó`nča nahánp '1sg'; yíma
qekagoyahiyeta kohótc macé`nya iyaó`nča
naha`np '2sg'; ima kohótc-hiyéta nahá`np
macé`nya ió`nča, qékagohiyéta nahá`np
kohótc hiyeyúq macé`n ió`nča '3sg'; hū`k
kohótcmankhiyéta nahánp macé`nya wáió`nča,
hū`k qekagomankhiyéta kohótc nahánp
macé`nya wáió`nča '1pl'; 'sweep':
ákaqlē`p-hiye '3pl' (D1882)
•a-tco-ṭa-ṭe hi-yé-se 'to brown'; ā-sep` hi-yé-se
'blacken'; si-hi-yé-se 'make yellow';
o-ḍo-la-k|ho`n-hi-ye-sé 'make green';
a`-so-ṭ|hi-yé-se 'make blue'; a-tcu-ṭ|hi-ye-se
'redden'; a-sē`n-hi-yé-se 'to whiten' (Hw)
Biloxi: yE 'cause'
Mandan: hrE 'causative'

hįhá scattered
V
•yaq-helq-hi`n-há-se 'the scattered men'; mi-e`n`
i`n-ha-se 'the scattered trees (one here, one there)'
(Hw)

Winnebago: hoočáke 'cranberry'
▶see hohinąk 'cranberry'

ho: mix
V
•mampamasawohōka 'churn' (H1883a)
Dakota: hohó 'move back and forth'
Osage: hōe 'mortar'
▶see maḡ^hamasawoho:ka 'churn'

ho:aka: old, aged
V
•hōakai (H1878); hōhka, hōakai (H1879); hōhka,
hōakāi (H1883a)
•Onteoghkau 'Old Town' (Sp)
▶see -ha:k^ho:hka: 'thumb', q̄tehoaka: 'Old Town'

hohiho: snow
V
•hohiōwa (H1878); hohīwa, hohiōwa (H1879)
▶hohi: 'snow' (N) + hú: 'come here (motion
underway)'

hohi: snow
N
•hohiēi (H1878)
Ofo: a:s^hó:hi 'rain'
Biloxi: xohi 'rain'
▶see also hohiho: 'snow' (V)

hohinąk cranberry
N
•hohnùnk (H1883a)
▶from ho 'hawthorn'; see haspahínąk 'strawberry'

ho:ix swamp, bog
N
•hōx, hōix (H1879)

honis (Saponi) stocking
N
•honis 'stockings' (F)
▶from ono:i 'wear'

-hq:ni: mother (referential)
N
•ihūḡ, ihvḡ 'thy mother'; ehūnī 'his mother'
(H1879)
•ē^honⁿ, éhuⁿ (Fr)
Ofo: q̄ni
Biloxi: q̄ni
Mandan: hūr 'mother (referential)
Dakota: hūku 'his mother'

Winnebago: hiʔyɛnɪ 'his mother'
▶see also -hi:ną: 'mother (of the speaker/vocative)'

hɔp^hé go along
V
•hēñ-ɬkó`q hoñ-pése 'to go along a path' (Hw)
▶from p^hé: 'go'

hɔská small
V
•hē`kEruⁿská 'yearling (deer)' (Fr)
•Tahöská? 'a chief's name, said to belong to the Bear sib' (Sp)
•(m)ɔskah 'child' (M)
Ofo: hōška 'child'; ąkhó:ška 'baby'
▶see hé:kelɔská 'deer yearling', mɔska 'child', ɬahɔská; see also ku:čka 'small', ni:ská 'child'

hɔska child
N
•(m)ɔskah (M)
▶from hɔská 'small'; see also ku:čka:, wa:ku:čka:, ni:ská, -té:ka, wa:kasí:k 'child'

hú: come here (motion underway)
stative V
•hohiōwa 'snow' (H1878); hohiwa, hohiōwa 'snow' (H1879); yahówa 'he is coming'; yahóna 'he is not coming' (H1880b); howa 'to come'; wāgelākiok ɬɔoñk, kihūna 'I called the dog, he came not'; wihūta, Jan lihiōk 'I will come if John comes'; yahūa 'come'; yahōwa 'he is coming'; kiahōna 'he is not coming' (H1883a)
•ya-hu-wā` 'one is coming' ?; kī-hu-wā 'one coming home, one on his way home' (Hw)
Biloxi: hú 'come'
Mandan: hūr 'come'
▶see kihú: 'come back here (motion underway)', yahú: 'come here (motion underway)'; 'snow' (V) = 'snow' (N) + hú: 'come here'

hú:k all
adverb
•hūk (H1878); hōk 'all (of them)'; hukwatā kai 'they are Indians' (H1879); hūk, hōk; hūkwahtā kai 'they are men' (H1883a)
•yimahūk yákaqlēp-búa ('you (pl) all sweep'); huk yilukā`hi ta ('you (pl) all will turn it over'); wainéwa hūk 'we did see (them) all'; húk macéⁿ wāelatkóiⁿ wāelatkuci ta; húk macéⁿya máemaóⁿwa waⁿjék wāelatkúci ta 'we all using knives cut stick(s)'; waktéwa huk wakta máⁿwa 'I shot, all I broke in pieces'; mima huk wāehiⁿhné wa 'we all

push or thrust'; 'cut hole in wood with knife':
 macēⁿ imaóⁿéa kohótcmañkhiyéta húk 'we all make
 hole'; 'will cut hole tomorrow': hū^k
 kohótcmañkhiyéta nahánp macēⁿya wáióⁿéa, hū^k
 gekagomankhiyéta kohótc nahánp macēⁿya wáióⁿéa
 'lpl' (D1882)
 •bīlā^hhuk^h 'thank you!' (S)

- i- 3 patient pronoun, he/she/it,
 him/her/it
 V prefix, N prefix
 •e, ei, i 'him, objective, affixed or incorporated
 pronoun'; i 'he'; e, ei, i 'him' (H1883a)
 Biloxi: i-, hi- 'him'
 ▶see also í:ma '3 disj, he/she/it, they', i:sá: '3sg
 emph, he himself, he alone', ik^háisá: '3sg restr,
 he, she alone'
- i- directional
 V prefix
 Biloxi: i-
 Dakota: i-
 ▶see i-lÉ: 'go towards'
- i- with
 V prefix
 ▶see i-lákE 'sit', deverbal nouns i:ka:t^he:ʔó:
 'kettle', ito:káya 'door', íyanąkóį 'chair'
- í imperative mode
 V suffix
 •'break/cut with the hand': yima yílatkúca yí '2';
 íma ílatkúca yí '3'; wáílatkúca yí; yíndúbayi
 yílatkúca yí 'you four you break it'; yíndúbayi
 hiñ/ilatkucayí; kílatkúca yí 'they break it'; 'cut
 wood': miyēⁿ kátií 'imperative' (D1882)
 ▶with gliding rule > -yí
- i indefinite article
 N suffix
 ▶see also -ki, -kį, -se 'def art'
- ia:p bison, buffalo
 N
 •iāp 'bison' (H1878); iāp 'buffalo (generic)'
 (H1879); iap 'buffalo' (H1883a)
 ▶see also maṗ^hatahka:i 'buffalo'
- iha:o no
 adverb
 •ihāo (H1879); ihao (H1883a)
 ▶see also yahá 'no'

- ik^háisá: 3 restrictive, he alone,
they alone
pronoun
•ekaisāa 'he alone' (H1879)
•ek-há` i-sēⁿ-se 'the man (subject of a free
action)' (Hw)
▶ik^há- 'restr' + i:sá: '3 emph, he himself/alone,
they themselves/alone'
- ik^hala:ni only three
restrictive numeral
•ikanāniḡ 'only three' (H1879)
▶ik^ha- 'restr numeral formative' + lá:ni 'three'
- ik^hanq:pa: only two
restrictive numeral
•ikanomba 'only two' (H1879)
▶ik^ha- 'restr numeral formative' + nq:pa: 'two'
- ik^háwaisá: 1 plural restrictive, we alone
pronoun
•ekamaisāa 'we (plural)' (H1879)
▶ik^ha- 'restr' + wai:sá: 'lpl emph, we ourselves, we
alone'
- ik^háwisá: 1 singular restrictive, I alone
pronoun
•ekamisāa (H1879)
▶ik^ha- 'restr' + wi:sá: '1sg emph, I myself, I
alone'
- ik^háyisá: 2 restrictive, you alone
pronoun
•ekayisāa 'thou alone' (H1879)
▶ik^há- 'restr' + yi:sá: '2 emph, you yourself, you
alone'
- í-klatkú:sE break, cut by hand
active V
•macéⁿ iyáglatkúca '2sg' 'cut with knife'; waktéwa
íglatkúca waqúk 'I break cord by shooting' (D1882)
▶i- 'instr' + kílatkú:sE 'break, cut by hand'
- i:kola:k adhere to
V
•masīgorāk 'iron' (H1878); masīgorāk 'iron'
(H1879); masīgorāk 'iron' (H1883a)
Dakota: máza ikoyaka 'iron' (V); ikoyaka 'adhere
to', 'stick to'
▶see maḡsi:kola:k 'iron'
- i-laské: bite
active V

•(o) iyálacké ta kohótchiyéyuq '2sg' 'you bite
(when) you make a hole (cause)' (D1882)
►i- 'instr' + laské: 'bite'

i-lĒ: (Saponi) go towards
stative V
•hodke tock ire chunkete posse 'is this the way to
the horse head' (F)
►i- 'dir' + lĒ: 'go there (motion underway)'

i-lâkE sit
V
•miyénya máinánga wilatkúca 'break branch by weight'
'a tree-object sign?|we sit|break' (D1882)
►i- 'instr' + lâkE 'sit'

í:ma 3 disjunctive, he/she/it, they
pronoun, V
•im (?) 'he', 'they' (H1878); imagigitona 'it is
not his'; imanuta 'he eats'; imahēse 'he, she,
it'; imahēse 'they' (H1879); im, imahēse 'he or
they, separate pronoun'; im 'he'; imahese 'they'
(H1883a)
•íma ákaqlē'p ('he sweeps'); íma naⁿtkúca ('he
breaks it with the foot'); ima 'lukā' ('he turns it
over') (D1882)
►from i- '3P, he/she/it'

ínase swim
V
•mí-ni í-na-se (Hw)
►mani: 'water'

inausíka: burn
V
•inausíngā (H1883a)
Biloxi: unási 'parch', 'fry'
►na- 'instr, by extreme of temp'

ipi: good, handsome
V
•ipikh, ipih', ipīwa 'good' (H1878); ipī; ipīwa
'good'; ipīwa níngā 'good weather' (H1879); ebī
(N), ipī 'good'; ipī 'handsome'; ebīse 'he is
good'; ebilēse 'they are good'; ebikōa 'he was
good' (H1883a)
►from pí: 'good'; see ipi:k^hą 'handsome'

ipi:k^hą handsome
V
•ipīkañ (H1878); ipīkaṅ (H1879); ipīkam (H1883a)
►from ipi: 'good, handsome'; see also pi:k^hą
'good, fine' from pí: 'good', uḁa:yi:kik^hą 'bad,

coarse' from ok^ha:yí:k^hi 'bad, ugly'

i:sá: 3 emphatic pronoun, he himself/
alone, they themselves/alone
pronoun
•isāñī, iseñ 'he alone'; īsān 'they alone (same as
he)' (H1878); īsāñī, esai 'he alone'; īsāñ,
esái 'they alone' (H1879); esāi, isāi, isāñī 'he
himself (or he alone)'; esái, isāñī 'himself'
(H1883a)
•ek-há` i-sēⁿ-se 'the man (subject of a free
action)' (Hw)
►i- '3P' + -sá: 'self'; see also ik^háisá: '3 restr,
he alone, they alone'

isi: foot
N
•isī; isī migītowi 'my foot'; isī yingītowi 'thy
foot'; isī gītowi 'his foot' (H1878); isī (H1879);
iči (N), isi, isī (H1883a)
•isi; icí yī iwaóⁿwa wílatkúca ('I break it using
my foot') (D1882)
Ofo: if^hí
Biloxi: isí
Hidatsa: icí
Dakota: sí

isi: bad, evil
V
•isīka 'evil spirit' (H1878); mampa isī 'bad
spirit' (H1879); māmpā isī 'devil (evil spirit)'
(H1883a)
•Papacik 'Devil' (Sp)
Ofo: čí:f^hehi 'dangerous'
Hidatsa: išía 'bad'
Dakota: síčA 'bad'
►see isi:ka 'evil spirit', ma:pa: isi: 'devil, evil
spirit, bad spirit', papasik 'Devil'; see also
ok^ha:yí:k^hi 'bad, ugly'

isi:ka evil spirit
N
•isīka (H1878)
►from isi: 'bad, evil'; see also ma:pa: isi:
'devil, evil spirit, bad spirit'

isipa elbow
N
•isibai (H1879)
Dakota: išpa

i:stai duck
N

•içtai (N) (H1883a)
▶see also he:istâ: 'duck', mane:asâ: 'goose, duck'

istakonı̇ pocket

N

•is-ta-go-niñ nok-nēñ-gi-se 'put anything in the pocket' ? (Hw)

i:stapi lip

N

•İstablaksik (H1879)

Ofo: ičâpi 'lip'

Biloxi: ihıyapı 'lip' (ihı = 'mouth')

Dakota: išti 'lower lip'

▶see isti: 'beard'; see also i:staplaksi:k 'lip'

i:staplaksi:k lip

N

•İstablaksik (H1879)

▶i:stapi 'lip' + la- 'instr, by

mouth/teeth/speaking' + ksi:k 'diminutive'

isti: beard

N

•istı̇ (H1879)

Dakota: išti 'underlip'

▶see also istihio:i, ye:hi: 'beard', maosti 'turkey cock beard'; see i:stapi 'lip'

istihio:i beard

N

•istihioi (H1878); istihioi (H1879); istihioi (H1883a)

▶isti: 'beard' + hi: 'hair'; see also ye:hi: 'beard'

iṭa:i strong

V

•itāi (H1883a)

▶see also so:ṭi, wa:yupa:ki 'strong'

itâ: big, great, large

stative V

•ton 'great'; moneton, monyton 'Monitâ' (W)

•atı̇ tañi 'great house'; atı̇ tañtañi 'great houses' (H1877a); itāñ, itāi 'great'; atı̇ itāñi, atı̇ itāi 'large house'; atı̇ itāñtañsel 'large houses'

(H1878); itāñ, itāi 'large' (H1879); itāñi (N),

itāñ 'great'; atı̇ itāñi 'large house'; atı̇

itāñtañsel 'large house, plural' (H1883a)

•atı̇ tāñi, atı̇ itāñi 'large house'; atı̇ tantāñsel 'large houses' (D1882)

Ofo: it^hô 'big, large'

Biloxi: tã, tanã, nitã, nitãni, nitãni 'big, large'

ito:kãya door

N

•dõgã'ya (D1882)

Chiwere: č'híoge

►see ɬokai 'in the house'

i-xá:ɬE see

active V

•iyaqáte yukéwo 'did ye see it' (D1882)

►i- 'dir' + xá:ɬE 'see'

íyanãkõj chair

N

•íyanagóin 'a chair'; tilúcihí iyanangoin 'take up chair'; léwa nantcékita iyanangóin; gudébihiyé íyanangóin ('fold the chair') (D1882)

►i- 'instr' + á- 'loc, on' + lãkE 'sit' + ?

i-ɔ́: use

active V

•iwaón'ca, íwaón'ca, iwaón'ca, íwaón'ca 'I use' 'I used'; míma macéⁿ ewaonⁿ ('I use a knife'); 'cut with knife': míma macéⁿ ímaóiⁿ wílatkúca '1sg'; yíma macéⁿ íyaóiⁿ yílatkúci ta '2sg future'; íma macéⁿ íaóiⁿ ilatkuci-ta '3sg future'; húk macéⁿya máemaón'wa waⁿjék wáelatkúci ta 'we all using knives cut stick(s)'; ici yi iwaón'wa wílatkúca ('I break it using my foot'); ehákya iyaón'ca ilatkúcidáq 'don't break it with your hand'; 'cut hole in wood with knife': macéⁿ iwaón'ca kohótcáwayéyu(q); macéⁿ ión'ca kohótcchiyeyúq; macéⁿ imaón'ca kohótcmañkhiyéta húk 'we all make hole'; macéⁿ iyaón'ca kohótcyáyebúyuq 'you 3 make a hole'; macéⁿ iyaón'ca kohótcayé 'imperative'; 'cut string, cord/paper with knife': míma macéⁿya ímaón'wa wílatkúca waqū'k/minak' '1sg'; yíma macéⁿ íyaón'ca (sg) yílatkúca waqū'k/minak', yíma macéⁿ íyaón'ca (pl) yílatkúca waqū'k/minak' '2sg'; íma macéⁿ íyaón'ca ilatkúcita '3sg'; 'will cut hole tomorrow': míma qékagówahiyéta kohótc macéⁿya iwaón'ca nahánp '1sg'; yíma qekagoyahiyeta kohótc macéⁿya íyao'ca nahánp '2sg'; íma kohótc-hiyéta nahánp macéⁿya ión'ca, qékagohiyéta nahánp kohótcchiyeyúq macéⁿ ión'ca '3sg'; hū'k kohótcmañkhiyéta nahánp macéⁿya wáión'ca, hū'k qekagomankhiyéta kohótc nahánp macéⁿya wáión'ca '1pl'; hicē'p migídaⁿ iwaón'ca wílatkúca 'cut with ax' (D1882)

►i- 'instr' + ɔ́: 'do', 'make'; see also latkó 'use'

- ȷ- ordinal numeral formative
 numeral prefix
 •einombai 'twice'; eināni 'thrice'; eintōpai 'four times' (H1879); einombai 'twice'; eināni 'thrice'; eintōpai 'four times' (H1883a)
 Dakota: i-
 Dhegiha: í-
 ▶Hale (1883a): 'In Tutelo I received [adverbial meanings]. This rendering was given by the interpreter, but the true meaning was probably the same as in the Dakota and Hidatsa[: ordinal numerals]'; see ȷnq:pa: 'second', ȷla:ni 'third', ȷto:pa 'fourth'; see also et^ha:hni 'first'
- ȷ hortative mode
 V suffix
 •ehíⁿ, olákpeyēⁿ 'now drink' (D1882)
 ▶with gliding rule > -yȷ; see also -hi 'hortative mode'
- ȷ-kinq̄:pa: brother, elder brother,
 younger brother
 N, active V
 •wākenūmbai 'brother'; iñwa ginumbái 'my brother'; iñya ginumbai 'thy brother'; iñgiginumbai 'his brother'; maiiñginumbai 'our brother'; iñyaginumbabūi 'your brother'; iñgiginúbai 'their brother' (H1878); wakenumbai 'my elder brother'; einginombai 'his elder brother'; einginvmbai 'her younger brother' (H1879); iñginumbai, iñginumbāi, iñkinumbāi, niwāgenúmpai (N) 'brother'; iñwaginumbāi 'my brother'; iñyaginumbāi 'thy brother'; ingiginumbāi 'his brother'; maiiñginumbāi 'our brother'; iñyaginumbabūi 'your brother'; iñgiginumbāi 'their brother' (H1883a)
 ▶see also o-kinq̄:pa:; see also no:n, -sōtka 'younger brother', ȷal 'woman's elder brother', ȷask 'elder brother', wahi:yik 'man's elder brother'
- ȷkȷ (Saponi) presently
 adverb
 •inking (F)
 ▶see ȷkte:i 'near'
- ȷ-ksé:hE laugh
 active V
 •mi iseha, iñwaksēha 'I laugh'; iyaseho, iñyakseha 'thou laughest'; hiinkséh, iñksēha 'he laughs'; waiñkseha, maiñkseha, maiñksēha 'we laugh'; iñkse yelāp, niyaksēho 'ye laugh'; iñksahanēwa enā, iñksēha nese 'they laugh'; keñwākséhna 'I am not laughing'; keñyakséhna 'thou art not laughing'; kiñkséhna 'he is not laughing'; kimaenkséhna 'we

are not laughing'; kiñyakséhpuna 'ye are not laughing'; kinkséhanēna 'they are not laughing'; iñwaksēha 'I laughed'; iñyaksēha 'thou laughedst'; iñksēha 'he laughed'; maiñksēha 'we laughed'; iñyaksēha 'ye laughed'; iñksēhana 'they laughed'; iñwaksēhēta 'I shall laugh'; niaksēhēta, iñyaksēhēta 'thou wilt laugh'; iñksēhēta 'he will laugh'; maiñksēhēta 'we shall laugh'; niyaksēhēdāpa, inksehómbolt 'ye will laugh'; iñksehanese, iñksehetéhela 'they will laugh'; wakónta iñksehéta 'I made him laugh'; wakónta iñksehetēla 'I made them laugh'; wakóntēla iñksetéhēla 'I will make them laugh' (H1878); niisēka, iñwaksēha 'I laugh'; iyāseha, iyāksēha 'thou laughest'; hiñkséh, iñksēha 'he laughs' (H1879); iñksēha 'he laughs'; kiñkséhna 'he does not laugh' (H1880a); inksēha, iñkçē (N); iñwaksēha 'I laugh'; kiñwahsehna, 'I do not laugh'; kiñwakséhna 'I am not laughing'; iñyaksēha 'thou laughest'; kiñyakséhna 'thou art not laughing'; iñksēha, iñkseha 'he laughs' 'he is laughing'; kinkséhna 'he does not laugh'; kiñkséhna, kiñksehna 'he is not laughing'; maiñksēha, waiñksēha 'we laugh'; kimaēñkséhna 'we are not laughing'; kiñyakséhpuna 'ye are not laughing'; kiñksehanēna 'they are not laughing' (H1883a)
 •iñkcéha; iyakcé-pulá 'you are laughing';
 kínyakcépiná 'ye did not laugh' (D1882)
 Biloxi: iñkxihí
 ▶from kséhE 'laugh'

- iñkte:i near
 adverb
 •iñktēi (H1879); iñktēi (H1883a)
 Biloxi: iñkçahí 'next to'
 ▶see mañiñkte 'river bank', iñki 'presently'; see also a:ska:i 'near'
- iñla:ni third
 ordinal numeral
 •eināni 'thrice' (H1879); eināni 'thrice' (H1883a)
 ▶iñ- 'ordinal numeral formative' + lá:ni 'three'
- iñnq:pa: second
 ordinal numeral
 •einombai 'twice' (H1879); einombai 'twice' (H1883a)
 ▶iñ- 'ordinal numeral formative' + nq:pa: 'two'
- iñpo: (Saponi) sword
 N
 •impough (F)
 ▶Rankin: possible cognates: Biloxi iñpudahí

- 'protect', Ofo: ɔp^hi 'sharp'
- ɪti- reflexive
 V prefix
 •indikteyīse 'thou killest thyself'; indikteyīse 'he kills himself' (H1879)
 Ofo: -ɪti
 Biloxi: ɪti, inflected to mark separate pronouns
- ɪtkús straight
 V
 •in-ṭkū's ('not notched') (Hw)
 ▶see tikú:sE 'break, cut straight, evenly'
- ɪto:pa fourth
 ordinal numeral
 •eintōpai 'four times' (H1879); eintōpai 'four times' (H1883a)
 ▶ɪ- 'ordinal numeral formative' + tó:pa: 'four'
- ka that
 demonstrative
 ▶see kanahą:pną 'morning'; see also ena:, hé, ko:, yax, yuká: 'that'
- ka- instrumental, by striking
 V prefix
 Ofo: ka-
 Dakota: ka-
 Mandan: ka-
 ▶see á:kalí 'go up', ká^hi 'cut by striking', kaxlé:pi, ákaxle:pi 'sweep'; see láka- 'instr, by force/striking'
- ka root extension
 ▶see maṗ^hamasawoho:ka 'churn'
- kaɪsta:kai crane
 N
 •kainstākai (H1883a)
- kaḳą what
 interrogative pronoun
 •kaka; kakānwā 'what is that?' (H1883a)
 Biloxi: kaká
 ▶see also a:ką 'what'
- kaḳékwehé tell
 V
 •ka-ké-kwe-hé ta, ka-ké-kwe-hé-ta 'I will have to tell' (D1882)
 ▶see hé: 'say', 'speak'?

- ka:t^{he} hot
 V
 ▶see aka:t^{he}, aka:t^{he}eka 'hot, warm', i:ka:t^{he}:ʔó:
 'kettle'
- kát^{hi} cut by striking
 stative V
 •'cut wood': kátitehléwa '3pl aorist?'; míma
 mikáti ta miyěⁿ '1sg'; yima yikáti ta miyěⁿ
 '2sg'; yukáti to '2sg' 'will you'; ima kati ta
 miyěⁿ '3sg'; máisáⁿ wákátita hléwa '1pl'; miyěⁿ
 kátíí 'imperative' (D1882)
 Dhegiha: kat^{hé}
 ▶ka- 'instr, by striking'; see also sa:se 'cut
 repeatedly, cut in several places', spé: 'cut off a
 piece', tîhą 'cut', tikú:sE 'break, cut straight,
 evenly'
- ka:xi crow
 N
 •kāhi (H1883a)
 Osage: hká:ye
- kaxlé:pi sweep
 active V
 •míma wákaqlḗp '1sg'; yíma yakaqlḗp '2sg'; íma
 ákaqlḗp '3sg'; máíⁿtkaqlḗpi-ta 'we will sweep';
 máíⁿtkaqlḗp-wa 'we (now) sweep'; yimahūk
 yákaqlḗp-búa '2pl'; ákaqlḗp-hléwa, ákaqlḗp-hiyé
 '3 pl' (D1882)
 ▶ka- 'instr, by striking'; see also ákaxlé:pi
 'sweep', lákaplék 'sweep'
- ḡayuk^{he} corpse
 N
 •ka-yuk-he 'dead body of person'; wa'-ṡa-ka`
 ka-yuk-hé sa-lé-ṡi-se 'the pile of men's bodies'
 (Hw)
 ▶from yu: 'body'; see also te:si: 'body, corpse'
- ḡa past (?)
 V suffix
 •kaⁿ, -kaⁿ; mī^m miyahá-kaⁿ '1sg'; yahá kaⁿ 'it
 was not so'; yahákan 'it did not occur' (D1882)
- kč̣ipá:i pipe
 N
 •kcimbaī́; kcimbaī́ nonḗ 'tobacco' (Fr)
 •kc'embái'; kcémbāi nḡní' 'tobacco' (S)
 •tshḡembá:i, ktshḡembá:it (M)
 ▶see also yiḥi:stik 'pipe'

- ʔe:kisahą́ą ugly
 V
 •kēgisahañka (H1878)
 ▶see also ok^ha:yí:k^hi 'bad, ugly'
- ʔeto:wa who
 interrogative pronoun
 •ketōa (H1879); ketao (H1883a)
 ▶to 'interrogative' + wa 'interrogative'; see also
 he:to:wa: 'who'
- ki- dative possessive
 V prefix
 ▶see hki- 'refl', -kihiyé 'step-child', kiḵo:hE
 'call', kilá:kE, o-klá:kE 'speak, tell, call',
 kiloxko: 'let, allow', kí:tḵ 'belong, one's own';
 verbs with dative prefix require dative pronouns
- ki- vertitive
 V prefix
 Ofo: ki-
 Biloxi: ki-
 ▶see kihú: 'come back here (motion underway)', kilE:
 'go/come back, go/come home (motion underway)', klí
 'go/come back, go/come home (arriving motion)', knḵ
 'walk back'; changes a stative verb into an active
 one
- ki- middle voice
 V prefix
 •konaqlōtisel 'scratch with the foot'; konta
 'cause', 'make'; wakonta opēta 'I will make him go
 (I cause him he will go)' (H1883a)
 •kónaqlóta 'blister (or chafe)' (D1882)
 Mandan: ki-
 ▶see kónaxló:tḵE 'blister, chafe', konaxlo:tḵE
 'scratch with the foot', kḵ 'cause, make'; changes
 a stative verb into an active one
- ki definite article
 N suffix
 Biloxi: -k
 ▶see lé:ki 'this', héiki 'that'; see also -kḵ, -se
 'def art', -i 'indef art'
- ki-...-nE negative mode
 V affixes
 •"prefixed k or ki, with the particle na suffixed,
 or inserted near the end of the word" 'negative
 form' (H1880b); "prefixing k or ki to the
 affirmative and suffixing na" 'negative form'
 (H1883a)
 Ofo: (ki-)...-ni, níki

Biloxi: (ku-)...-ni

ki:č^hí: dance
stative V
•wakētshi 'I dance' (H1878); wawegitsiwa, wagitsi,
wawekitshita 'I dance'; waigitsise 'thou dance';
wagitsise 'he dances' (H1879); kitci 'to dance';
ketçi, wagitçi (N) (H1883a)
•moⁿgitcī́, wagitcī́ (Fr)
•wāgētś'í' 'to dance' (S)
Ofo: líč^hi
Biloxi: dič^í
Dakota: wač^hí
▶see also wa:-ki:č^hí:

-kihiyé step-child
N suffix
•mi-hāñq-gi-hye` 'my step son'; e-hoñ-hye gi-hye`
'thy step son'; ʔe-ka-gi-hye` his step son';
mi-o-hāñq-gi-hye` 'my step-daughter';
i-o-hāñq-gi-hye` 'thy step-daughter';
e-o-hāñq-gi-hye` 'his step-daughter' (Hw)
▶ki- 'dat' + hiyé 'caus'; see -tekakihiyé
'step-son, step-daughter', -haxkihiyé 'step-son',
-ohaxkihiyé 'step-daughter'

kikhq̄spé: remember
active V
•kikonspewa 'he remembers it'; makikoñspēwa 'we
remember it'; kikoñspēhēla 'they remember it';
kikoñspēoka 'he remembered it'; makikoñspeōka 'we
remembered it'; kikoñspeleōka 'they remembered it'
(H1883a)
•kikoⁿ; kiqkoⁿspe 'to remember'; kikoⁿspé-se
'3sg'; makikoⁿspé-wa '1pl'; kikoⁿspéhēlei '3pl';
kikoⁿspe-ōka '3sg'; makikoⁿspe-ōka '1pl';
kikoⁿspele-ōka '3pl' (D1882)
▶hkq̄spé: 'remember, think' + secondary
reduplication

kí:hñité: hungry
stative V
•mikihnindēwa 'I am hungry'; ikihnindēwa 'thou
art hungry'; kihnindēwa 'he is hungry';
māhkihnindēwa 'we are hungry'; ikihnindēpua 'ye
are hungry'; kihnindēse 'they are hungry';
kimihkīnindēnanin 'I am not hungry';
kinihkīnindēna 'thou art not hungry';
kikihnindēnise 'he is not hungry' (H1879);
kihnindēwa 'hunger (v)'; mikihnindēwa 'I am
hungry'; yikihnindēwa 'thou art hungry';
kihnindēwa 'he is hungry'; mahkihnindēwa 'we are
hungry'; kihnindēpua 'ye are hungry'; kihnindēse

'they are hungry' (H1883a)
 •mikíhnindéwa '1sg'; yikíhnindéwa '2sg';
 kíhnindéwa 'hungry' '3sg'; mah-kihnindéwa '1pl';
 kíhnindé-púa '2pl'; kíhnindé-se '3pl' (D1882)
 •mi-gi-nín-de-hwā́ 'I am hungry' (Hw)

kihú: come back here (motion underway)
 active V
 •kihoe 'come here' (F)
 •kī-hu-wā́ 'one coming home, one on his way home'
 (Hw)
 Ofo: kiú
 ▶ki- 'vert' + hú: 'come here (motion underway)'

kiḵo:hE call
 active V
 •kikōha; waingikōha (for wayingikōha) 'I call to
 thee'; wigikōha 'I call to him'; yigikoha 'thou
 callest to him'; miñgikoha 'he calls to me';
 iñgikohīse (for yingikohīse) 'he calls to thee';
 gikōha, kikōha 'he calls to him'; iñgikopolēse
 'he calls to you'; ingikopūa 'they call to you';
 gikohanēse 'they call to them' (H1883a)
 Ofo: kōhi 'shout, call out'
 ▶ki- 'dat'; see also kilá:kE 'speak, tell, call'

kiḵsu:x vomit
 V
 •kik-sū`q, kik-su`(`i)q 'I vomit'; kik-su`q-ḵa-se
 'one vomits' (Hw)

kilá:kE speak, tell, call
 active V
 •miowaklāka 'I speak'; imayaklāka 'thou speakest';
 ima oklāka 'he speaks'; koaklākna 'I did not speak'
 (H1879); owaklāka 'I speak'; kowaklākna 'I do not
 speak' (H1880b); gelāki 'call'; oaklaka 'speak',
 'tell'; owaklāka 'I speak'; kowaklākna 'I do not
 speak'; wāgelākiok tḵoñk, kihūna 'I called the
 dog, he came not'; lihīok, wāgelāgita 'if he
 comes, I will tell him' (H1883a)
 •owaklā-ka⁽ⁿ⁾, owāḵlacáwa, owāḵla cáwa o-wá-ḵla-qá
 '1sg'; íma owaklāqá 'I spoke to him'; oyaklā-ka⁽ⁿ⁾,
 oyá-ḵla-qá '2sg'; oyaklā cáwo 'were you speaking
 together'; oḵlaqá '3sg'; oḵlá-ka⁽ⁿ⁾ 'he told him';
 owaklākaⁿ 'I have told him'; o yaklākaⁿ 'you have
 told him'; oḵlákaⁿ 'he has told him'; míma
 oḵlá-kaⁿ 'he told me' 'he has told me'; owaklāqáhi
 ta '1sg'; oyaklāqáhi ta '2sg'; oḵlaqáhi ta '3sg';
 yiklāḵo, hiklāḵo 'did he tell you?'; hiklāḵo 'did
 he speak to you?'; oḵlácá yuké wa 'they were
 speaking together'; oḵlácá yuké wo 'were they
 speaking together'; oḵlá-ca|yukéwa 'they were

- kisá: wooden spoon
 N
 •gisā´ (Fr)
- kisá:ha five
 cardinal numeral
 •kisē, kisāhai, kisāñ, kisañha; agegisai, agigisánakh ? 'fifteen' (H1878); kisahai, kisāháñi, kisē (H1879); kasā (N), kisē, kisañ, kisāñ, kisāhi, kisāhai, kisāháñi; agegisai, akekisāi, akikisāhai 'fifteen' (H1883a); kisahāñi (H1883b)
 •gī-sāñ, gī-sāñ; gī-sāñ-ai` 'fifth'; gī-sāñ-se 'five apiece'; a-gi-gi-san-aí` 'fifteen' (Hw)
 •kiséⁿg, kisén 'two' (sic); nī'swa (sic) (Fr)
 •bī (sic) (S)
 •nīswa? (sic) (C)
 Ofo: kifā
 Biloxi: ksā, ksāni
 ▶see also akiki:sá:ha 'fifteen'
- ķisé irrealis?
 V enclitic
 •nahanp minaqłō`t kicé 'I blister perhaps' (D1882)
 ▶see ķisónik 'irrealis'?
- ķisónik irrealis?
 V enclitic
 •mai nō`m kicónik nahánp 'I may be sick tomorrow' (D1882)
 ▶from ķisé 'irrealis'?; see also ķotík 'may'
- kité: kill, shoot, beat
 active V
 •tshitēwa 'I kill'; waktewa, waktēwa 'I killed him'; yaktēwa 'thou killedst him'; yaktewo 'did you kill him?'; wakteta 'I shall kill him'; wakteoma, wakteōma 'I am killing him'; yakteōma 'thou art killing him'; wakiteōma 'thou art killing us'; yakteōmo 'are you killing him?'; mikteōma 'he is killing me'; kiteoñsel 'he is killing them'; wakiteōma 'he is killing us'; waikteōma 'ye are killing us'; waktēta 'I shall kill him'; yaktēta 'thou will kill him'; yakteto 'will you kill him?' (H1878); waktēwa 'I kill him'; yaktēsel 'thou killedst him'; kitēse 'he kills him'; imingiktēta 'I kill myself'; indikteyīse 'thou killest thyself'; indikteyīse 'he kills himself' (H1879); waktēwa 'I killed him'; kiwaktēna 'I did not kill him'; yaktēwa 'thou killedst him'; yaktewo 'did st thou kill him'; yakteōma 'thou art killing him'; yakteōmo 'art thou killing him'; yaktēta 'thou wilt kill him'; yakteto 'wilt thou kill him'

(H1880a); yaktéwa 'thou killedst him'; yaktéwo 'didst thou kill him?'; yakteóma 'thou art killing him'; yakteómo 'art thou killing him?'; yaktéta 'thou wilt kill him'; yaktéto 'wilt thou kill him?'; waktéwa 'I killed him'; kiwakténa 'I did not kill him'; wakteóma 'I am killing him'; kiwakteóna 'I am not killing him'; waktéwa '(aorist), I kill (or killed) him'; kiwakténa 'I do not (or did not) kill him'; kiwatébina 'I do not wish to kill him' (1880b); kitē (N), ktē, ktéwa, kitése, kitésel 'kill'; waktéwa, waktewa 'I kill him, or killed him'; kiwakténa 'I did not kill him'; kiwaktébina 'I do not wish to kill him'; yaktéwa 'thou killedst him'; yaktéwo 'didst thou kill him?'; kitése, kitesel 'he kills him'; kité tçoñki, tçoñk' kité 'kill the dog'; waikteóma, wayikteóma 'I am killing thee'; wakteóma 'I am killing him'; kiwakteóna 'I am not killing him'; yakteoma, yakteóma 'thou art killing him'; yakteómo 'art thou killing him?'; mikteóma 'he is killing me'; kiteóñsel 'he is killing them'; waktéta 'I will kill him'; yatéta 'thou wilt kill him'; yaktéto 'wilt thou kill him?'; miñgiloqkō waktéta 'let me kill him (allow me, I will kill him)' (H1883a); kte 'kill'; waktéwa 'I kill him, I killed him'; waktéóma 'I am killing him'; waktéta 'I shall kill him'; waktéwa 'I killed him'; kiwakténa 'I did not kill him'; yaktéwa 'thou killedst him'; yaktéwo 'didst thou kill him?' (H1883b)

•waktéwa 'I kill(ed) him'; waktéwa íglatkúca waqúk 'I break cord by shooting'; waktéwa huk wakta máⁿwa 'I shot, all I broke in pieces'; wakteóma 'I am killing him'; waktéta, wakté te 'I will shoot' 'I will shoot at' 'I will kill him'; wáyikte ta 'I will shoot you'; mayikteta yīⁿ '(I will kill you)' 'you shoot me'; wáyikte ta yiṭé ta 'I will shoot you you will die'; waktéta kohótc 'I will shoot a hole in'; yíma yaktéta kohótc '2sg'; íma kitéta kohótc 'he will shoot a hole in'; kíte oⁿzééé 'he did beat him?' (D1882)

Ofo: kt^hé 'kill'

Biloxi: kité 'hit, shoot at'

►see also čkí:hE 'kill (plural object)'

kí:tq

belong, be one's own

stative V

•mihu mima mikito 'my dear wife' (F)

•mīmigītowe 'mine'; kimigītonañ 'not mine';

yīngītowe 'thine'; kiñyigitonañ 'not thine';

iñgītowe 'his'; kigītonañ 'not his'; mahgītowe

'ours'; kimahgītonañ 'not ours'; yingītambūi

'yours'; kiñyigitombonañ 'not yours'; gitoññesel

'theirs'; kigītohnēnañ 'not theirs'; hisēp mikītowi, hisēp migītowi 'my hatchet'; hisēp iñgītowi, hisēp yingītowi 'thy hatchet'; hisēp gītowi 'his hatchet'; hisēp mahgītōwi 'our hatchet'; hisēp ingītombūi 'your hatchet', hisēp gitohnēi 'their hatchet' (H1878); migītowe 'mine'; mimigtowe 'it is mine'; mīgi migītona, kimingītonañ 'it is not mine'; imayigītowe, yingītowe 'thine'; imayingītona, kinyingītonañ 'it is not thine'; awagītoma, ingītowe, gītowe 'his'; imagigītona, kigītonañ 'it is not his'; maḡgītowe 'ours'; kimaḡgītonañ 'it is not ours'; yingītambūi 'yours'; kinyingitambonañ 'it is not yours'; gitonñesel 'theirs'; kigītoḡnēnañ 'it is not theirs'; wagutska migītowe 'my child' (H1879); migītowe, miñgītowe, migītowi, mikītowe, mikītowi, mimigītōwi, mimigītowe 'mine, or, it is mine'; kimigītonañ, kimikītonañ 'it is not mine'; yiñgītowe, yingītowe, yiñgītowi, yiñkītowi 'thine, or, it is thine'; kiñyingītonañ 'it is not thine'; iñgītowe, iñgītowi, iñkītowi 'his, or, it is his'; kigītonañ 'it is not his'; maḡgītowe, mahgītowe, maḡgītowi, mahkītowi 'ours, or, it is ours'; kinaggitonañ 'it is not ours'; yingītombūi, yiñgītambūi, yiñkitombui 'your (plural)' 'yours, or, it is yours'; kiñyingītombōnañ 'it is not yours'; gitonnēsel, gitoññesel, kitoññesel 'their' 'theirs, or, it is theirs'; kigītoqnēnañ 'it is not theirs'; tewakītūnwa, tewagītūnwa 'whose'; tewakītūnwā 'whose (is it)?'; hisēp miñgītowe, hisēp' migītōwi, hisēp' mikītowi 'my axe'; hisēp' yiñgītowi 'thy axe'; hisēp' gītowi 'his axe'; hisēp' mahgītowi 'our axe'; hisēp' iñgītombūi 'your axe'; hisēp' gitohnēi 'their axe'; sās miñgītowi 'my bed'; sas yingītowi 'thy bed'; sas gītowi 'his bed' (H1883a)

•hankcík migídaⁿ, hankcíkya migidáⁿ 'my stick'; miha^{ncā} migídaⁿ kodébehíyí 'fold my handkerchief'; hicē^p migídaⁿ iwaóⁿča wílatkúca 'cut with ax' (D1882)

Biloxi: towe, kitowe 'swap'

►ki- 'dat'; see also o-hkíp^{hi} 'own'

-kĭ definite article

N suffix

Dakota: kĭ

►see lé:ikĭ 'this', naháplekĭ 'today'; see also -ke, -se 'def art', -i 'indef art'

kle: awake

V

•kiklēse (H1883a)

►see hkikle: 'awake'

- klu: thunder
 V
 •tūhāgrūa 'thunder' (H1879); tūhangrūa 'thunder' (H1883a)
 Kansa: lo, glo
 ▶see ʔu:hą:klu: 'thunder'
- knį walk back
 active V
 •ne ēⁿ-wák-ni-ʔa-ré` 'I will pass on my way back' (Hw)
 ▶ki- 'vert' + nį 'walk'
- ko: that, there
 demonstrative (long distance)
 •kōwai 'there' (H1879); kowai 'there' (H1883a)
 •ku-we-ya huk-ʔēⁿ-hēⁿ 'reach there (not his home)' (Hw)
 •kowahadónan 'lead her to where the singer is sitting'; wayowáh yaléwa kowahadónan 'Man go after, lead him to where the Singer is sitting'; miihē yaléwa kowahadónan, miihē? yaléwa kowahadonan 'Woman go after, lead her to where the Singer is sitting' (Sp)
 Biloxi: ko 'that'
 Dhegiha: *ko: 'distant demonstrative'
 ▶see ko:wa 'that, there'; see also lé: 'this', here', hé, ka 'that, there'; see also ena:, yax, yuká: 'that'
- ko:- indefinite possessive
 N prefix
 •kōmqān 'girl' (N) (H1883a)
 Ofo: sųtkaku 'Saturday' (sųtka = 'younger brother')
 Mandan: ko-, ku- '3 poss with some kinship terms'
 Dakota: -ku '3 poss with some kinship terms'
 ▶used with kinship terms only (see cognates); only one example in Tutelo: ʔo:- + mihá: 'woman' = 'girl'
- kohi:ną:k-hi: strike
 active V
 •kohinvųkwahiōma 'I strike him'; kohinaņkihiwa 'thou strikest me'; kohinaņmihīwa 'he strikes me'; kohinaņkyihīse 'he strikes thee'; kohinvųmakihīōma 'we strike them'; kohinaņkwiahīwa 'ye strike me'; kohinaņnaņkiahiwa 'ye strike them' (H1879); kohinūnhiwa; kohinañwahīwa 'I struck him'; kohinañkwiyahewa, kohinañkwiyahīwa 'thou struckest me' 'me-thou-struckest'; kohinañyahīwa 'thou struckest him'; kohinañmihīwa 'he struck me'; kohinañkyihīwa 'he struck thee'; kohinañhiwa 'he struck (or strikes) him'; kohinañmañkihiwa 'we

struck him' (H1883a)
Ofo: ahíti 'kick'

koḥóḥe hole

N
•kohotce; waktéta kohótc 'I will shoot a hole in';
yíma yaktéta kohótc '2sg'; íma kitéta kohótc 'he
will'; 'cut hole in wood with knife': macēⁿ
iwaóⁿéa kohótcáwayéyu(q) '1sg'; macēⁿ ióⁿéa
kohótchiyeyúq '3sg'; macēⁿ imaóⁿéa
kohótcmañkhiyéta húk 'we all make hole'; macēⁿ
iyaóⁿéa kohótcyáyebúyuq 'you 3 make a hole';
macēⁿ iyaóⁿéa kohótcayē 'imperative'; 'bite
(when) make a hole (cause)': ówalacké ta
kohótcwahiyéyuq '1sg'; (o) iyálacké ta
kohótcyahiyéyuq '2sg'; ima ólackéta kohótchiyéyuq
'3sg'; máolackéta kohótcmanh iyéyuq '1pl'; 'will
cut hole tomorrow': míma kohótcwahiyéta nahánp,
míma qékagówahiyéta kohótc macē^{nya} iwaóⁿéa nahánp
'1sg'; yíma qekagoyahiyeta kohótc macē^{nya} iyaoⁿéa
nahánp '2sg'; íma kohótc-hiyéta nahánp macē^{nya}
ióⁿéa, qékagohiyéta nahánp kohótchiyeyúq macēⁿ
ióⁿéa '3sg'; hū^k kohótcmanhkiyéta nahánp macē^{nya}
wáióⁿéa, hū^k qekagomankhiyéta kohótc nahánp
macē^{nya} wáióⁿéa '1pl' (D1882)
Mandan: kóh 'hollow, vacant, empty'

ko:miḥá: girl

N
•kōmqāñ (N) (H1883a)
►ko:- 'indef poss' + miḥá: 'woman'

kónaxló:ṭE blister, chafe

V
•kónaqlóta 'blister (or chafe)' (D1882)
►ki- 'midv' + o- 'loc, in' + naxló:ṭE 'blistered,
chafed'

konaxlo:ṭE scratch with the foot

V
•konaqlōtisel (H1883a)
Dakota: naxlatA, onaxlatA 'scratch with the toes'
►ki- 'midv' + o- 'loc, in' + na- 'instr, by foot' +
xló:ṭE 'scratched'

konokauna No Wish

personal name
•Konokauney (Sp)
►k-...-nE 'neg'

koḥa:ksekse:i sheet lightning

N
•kopākseksēi (H1879)

Mandan: kšǵkše 'strip lightning'
▶see also ʔapuni:čkai 'lightning', ʔu:hi 'thunder, lightning'

kotépe-híye fold
causative V
•minák kodébehíyi 'fold paper'; mihaⁿcā́ migídaⁿ
kodébehíyi 'fold my handkerchief'; mihaⁿcā́ migídaⁿ
kodébehíyi '1sg'; mihaⁿcā́ migídaⁿ kodéya híyita
'2sg'; kodébehíyi ʔa '3sg'; míma kodébe
waha híyedébuá '1pl'; gudébihíyé íyanangóiⁿ ('fold the
chair' ?); gudébihíyé nantcék (D1882)
▶kotépe ? + híyé 'caus'

koʔupús hat
N
•kotubós (N) (H1883a)
Biloxi: akué 'hat'
▶see also lupú:s, ap^haʔu pokso 'hat'

ko:wa that, there
demonstrative, V
•kōwai 'there' (H1879); kowai 'there' (H1883a)
•ku-we-ya huk-ʔéⁿ-héⁿ 'reach there (not his home)'
(Hw)
•kowahadónan 'lead her to where the singer is
sitting'; wayowáh yaléwa kowahadónan 'Man go after,
lead him to where the Singer is sitting'; miihë
yaléwa kowahadónan, miihë? yaléwa kowahadónan
'Woman go after, lead her to where the Singer is
sitting' (Sp)
▶ko: 'that, there' + wa 'real'; see lé:wa 'this',
hé:wa 'that'

kowahatóna lead to where the Singer is
sitting
•kowahadónan 'lead her to where the singer is
sitting'; wayowáh yaléwa kowahadónan 'Man go after,
lead him to where the Singer is sitting'; miihë
yaléwa kowahadónan, miihë? yaléwa kowahadónan
'Woman go after, lead her to where the Singer is
sitting' (Sp)
▶phrase used during the Adoption Ceremony; ko:wa
'there' + hitō 'sing'

kq cause, make
active V
•konta; wakonta opēta 'I will make him go (I cause
him he will go)' (H1883a)
▶ki- 'midv' + ʔq 'do', 'make'

-kq: grandmother
N

•higūŋ 'my grandmother' (H1879); higūñ (H1883a)
 •hiⁿ-goñ 'my grandmother'; i-goñq 'thy
 grandmother'; e-gonq 'his grandmother' 'her
 grandmother' (Hw)
 Ofo: ikóni
 Biloxi: kqkq
 Dakota: k^hú
 ▶see -kq: 'grandfather'

-kq: grandfather
 N
 •higūŋ 'my grandfather'; igūŋ 'thy grandfather';
 ekuŋi, egūñi 'his grandfather' (H1879); ekuñi,
 higūñ (H1883a)
 •kukä`k' (S)
 •kúkæk^h 'grandpa' (M)
 ▶see -kq: 'grandmother'; see also kqkák, kqkák,
 -toqáx 'grandfather'

kqkák grandfather
 N
 •kukä`k' (S)
 •kúkæk^h 'grandpa' (M)
 ▶see -kq:, toqáx 'grandfather'

kqkák grand
 V
 •kónkenk (Fr)
 ▶erroneous gloss? see 'grandfather' above

kqti:k may (?)
 V
 •kimoⁿcpéna toké kondík nahánp 'I don't know how I
 may be tomorrow'; kiyóⁿcpéna toké kondík nahánp
 '2sg'; kíóⁿcpéna toké kondík nahánp 'he doesn't
 know how he may be tomorrow'; kakíc kíwaoⁿcpéna
 toké kondík nahánp '1pl' (D1882)
 ▶see also kisé, kisónik 'irrealis'?

ksé:hE laugh
 active V
 Ofo: as^hehi
 Biloxi: ikxihí
 Mandan: kxah
 ▶see i-ksé:hE, laksé:hE 'laugh'

ksi:k diminutive
 V
 •i:stablaksik (H1879)
 Winnebago: ksik
 ▶see i:staplaksi:k 'lip'

- ktamá break in pieces
active V
•waktéwa huk wakta máⁿwa 'I shot, all I broke in pieces'; hankcíkya wáktamáⁿ'wa, mima wáktamáⁿwa hankcík 'I broke stick in pieces' (D1882)
- kú: give
active V
•maingūwa 'I give to you'; owagōwa 'I give to them'; amigūwa 'he gives to me' (H1879); ŋgō 'to give'; maingōwa 'I give to you'; owagōwa 'I give to them'; masā mingō 'give me a knife'; tçoŋko miŋgō 'give me a dog' (H1883a)
Ofo: k^hú:, ək^hú:
Biloxi: kú
Dakota: kʔu
►see a-kú:, o-kú: 'give'
- ku:čka small
stative V
•kūtskai; atī gutska 'small house'; atī kōtskutskaisel 'small houses' (H1878); kūtskai, gūtska (H1879); kutçkai (N), kūtskai, kotskai; ati kutska 'small house'; ati kotskutskaisel 'small house, plural' (H1883a)
•atī kutska 'small house'; atī kotskuts-kaí-sel 'small houses (D1882)
Ofo: əkhó:ška 'baby'
►see ku:čka:, wa:ku:čka: 'child, infant'; see also hōská 'small'
- ku:čka: child, infant
N
•wagūtshkái 'boy'; wagūtshka mihāñ 'girl'; witāgūtshkai 'son' (H1878); wagutska mihén, wāgotškāi 'girl'; wagutska 'infant'; wagutska migítowe 'my child'; witāgūtçkai 'my son' (H1879); wagutska, wāgotškāi 'child'; gūtskai, wagūtçkāi 'boy'; qūtçkai, tāgūtçkai 'son'; witagūtçkāi 'my son (i.e. my boy)' (H1883a)
•wagutska (D1882)
•wa-kotc-kēⁿ-hēⁿñk 'handsome girl' (Hw)
Ofo: əkhó:ška 'baby'
►from ku:čka 'small'; see also wa:ku:čka:; see also hōska, ni:ská, -té:ka, wa:kasí:k 'child'
- kuksą curved
V
•ta'-kai` ku-ksēⁿ 'the curvilinear forest' (Hw)
Dakota: yukšą, owokšą 'curve'
- kuwı:xe, kúwı:xe wrench
V

•ku-wíⁿīq, kú-wiⁿ-xe (Hw)

la- instrumental, by
mouth/teeth/speaking

V prefix

•la 'action with the mouth' (H1883a)

Ofo: ta-

Biloxi: da-

Dakota: ya-

►see lakpé:, o-lakpé: 'drink', laksé:hE 'laugh',
lape:ṭa 'drink', laské:, i-laské:, o-laské: 'bite',
latkú:sE 'cut with the teeth, bite off',
i:staplaksi:k 'lip'

la- instrumental, by hand

V prefix

►see lačkí:hE 'kill by hand', o-laspé: 'cut off a
piece by hand', latkō 'use', latkú:sE 'break, cut by
hand', kilatkú:sE, i-klatkú:sE 'break, cut oneself,
one's own by hand'; see láka- 'instr, by
force/striking'

la- instrumental, by foot

V prefix

Ofo: la-

Mandan: ra-

Catawba: da:-

►see lačké 'scratch with the foot', latkú:sE 'break
with the foot'; see also na- 'instr, by foot'

-la mild assertion

V suffix

Dakota: ye

lačké scratch with the foot

stative V

•mílatckéwa 'I scratch with foot'; yílatckéwa
'2sg'; ílatckéwa '3sg'; máináⁿ wáelatckéwa '1pl'
(D1882)

►la- 'instr, by foot'; see also konaxlo:ṭE 'scratch
with the foot'

lačkí:hE kill by hand

stative V

•wilatskihe 'I kill them'; wilatskiha 'thou killest
them' (H1879)

►la- 'instr, by hand' + čkí:hE 'kill (plural
object)'; see also lákačkí:hE 'kill by
force/striking'

laho:ni black

V

•rahōni (H1878)

►from Mohawk (Six Nations dialect) lah̄:tsi; see also asé:pi 'black'

- láka-** instrumental, by force/striking
V prefix
•lak, laka 'cutting, pushing, or impulsive prefix' (H1883a)
Biloxi: daka-
Crow: dak-
Hidatsa: raka-
►la- 'instr, by hand' + ka- 'instr, by striking'; see lákačkí:hE 'kill by force/striking, lákapí 'emit an odor', lákaplék 'sweep', lákasa:se 'cut by force/striking', lákaspé: 'cut off a piece by force/striking', lákatíh̄ 'cut by force/striking', lákatkú:sE 'break/cut by force/striking'
- lákačkí:hE** kill by force/striking
active V
•lakatskīhisel 'he kills them'; mvklakatskihōma 'we kill them'; mvklakatskīhita 'ye kill them' (H1879)
►láka- 'instr, by force/striking' + čkí:hE 'kill (plural object)'; see also lačkí:hE 'kill by hand'
- lákapí** emit an odor
V
•la-ka-píⁿ, la-ka-píⁿⁱ (Hw)
►láka- 'instr, by force/striking' + pí 'smell'; see also uwalaháha: 'smell', wihóxkupsua: 'fishy smell'
- lákaplék** sweep
V
•lakaplék; lakapleh 'to sweep the floor' (H1883a)
►láka- 'instr, by force/striking'; see also kaxlé:pi, ákaxlé:pi 'sweep'
- lákasa:se** cut repeatedly, in several places by force/striking
V
•lakasāse 'chop' (H1883a)
Biloxi: daksádi 'cut with knife'
►láka- 'instr, by force/striking' + sa:se 'cut repeatedly', 'cut in several places'
- lákaspé:** cut off a piece by force/striking
active V
•lakaspēta 'to cut off in pieces' (H1883a)
►láka- 'instr, by force/striking' + spé: 'cut off a piece'

- laṭa:hkoi prairie
 N
 •latahkoi, latāhkoi (H1883a)
 Ofo: akhóhi
 Biloxi: takohó
 ▶maybe from Shawnee la:ta'w'škote (C. F. Voegelin
 ms. n.d.)
- latkó use
 stative V
 •húk macéⁿ wáelatkóiⁿ wáelatkuci ta 'lpl' 'cut with
 knife' (D1882)
 ▶la- 'instr, by hand'; see also i-ṭó: 'use'
- latkú:sE cut with the teeth, bite off
 stative V
 •latkūsisel 'to bite off' 'he bites it off'
 (H1883a)
 ▶la- 'instr, by mouth/teeth/speaking' + tikú:sE
 'break, cut straight, evenly'; see also laské:
 'bite'
- latkú:sE break, cut by hand
 stative V
 •wílatkúci ta, wílatkucita 'I will break';
 yalátkuci ta '2sg'; (wá)latkuci ta ? '3sg'; 'cut
 with knife': míma macéⁿ wílatkuca, míma macéⁿ
 ímaóiⁿ wílatkúca 'lsg'; yíma macéⁿ íyaóiⁿ yílatkúci
 ta '2sg future'; íma macéⁿ íaóiⁿ ilatkuci-ta '3sg
 future'; húk macéⁿ wáelatkóiⁿ wáelatkuci ta 'lpl';
 húk macéⁿya máemaónⁿwa waⁿjék wáelatkúci ta 'we all
 using knives cut stick(s)'; 'break with hand,
 stick': míma wílatkúca hankcík 'lsg';
 latkúcitahankcík '3sg'; 'break with hand, cord':
 míma wílatkuci-ta waqū^k 'lsg'; 'cut string,
 cord/paper with knife': míma macéⁿya ímaónⁿwa
 wílatkúca waqū^k/minakⁱ 'lsg'; yíma macéⁿ íyaónⁿéa
 (sg) yílatkúca waqū^k/minakⁱ, yíma macéⁿ íyaónⁿéida
 (pl) yílatkúca waqū^k/minakⁱ '2sg'; íma íyaónⁿéa
 ilatkúcita waqū^k/minakⁱ '3sg'; 'break with hand':
 yim yílatkúca '2sg'; íma latkúca '3sg'; míma
 wáe-latkúca 'lpl'; míma wílatkúci-ta, míma
 wílatkúci-la 'lsg'; yíma yílatkúci-ta, yíma
 yílatkúci-la '2sg'; íma ílatkúcita, íma ílatkúci ta
 '3sg'; wáe latkúci-ta 'lpl'; yíma yílatkúca yí '2';
 íma ílatkúca yí '3'; wáílatkúca yí; yíndúbayi
 yílatkúca yí 'you four you break it'; yíndúbayi
 hiñ/ilatkucayí; nahá^{np} yílatkúci-ta nahá^{np} íma
 ílatkúci-ta; ehákya íyaónⁿéa ilatkúcidáq 'don't break
 it with your hand'; hicé^p migídaⁿ iwaónⁿéa
 wílatkúca 'cut with ax' (D1882)
 ▶la- 'instr, by hand' + tikú:sE 'break, cut
 straight, evenly'; see kílatkú:sE, í-klatkú:sE

'break, cut by hand'

latkú:sE break with the foot
•icí yi iwaóⁿwa wílatkúca ('I break it using my foot') (D1882)
►la- 'instr, by foot' + tikú:sE 'break, cut straight, evenly'

lâkE sit, stay

V

•mahamináñka 'I sit down'; mahayináñka 'thou sittest down'; māhanáñka 'he sits down'; mañkmahanáñka 'we sit down'; mahanañknese 'they sit down' (H1878); lewayinañtika 'thou sittest'; imane hanáñka 'he sits'; mahamináñka 'I sit'; mahayináñka 'thou sittest'; mahanáñka 'he sits' (H1879); nañka; mahanañka 'to sit, remain', 'sit'; mahamináñka 'I sit down'; mahayináñka 'thou sittest down'; mahanáñka 'he sits down'; mañkmahanánka 'we sit down' (H1883a)
•miyéñ ya áwanáñga wilatkúca 'I sit on tree & break'; miyénya máinañga wilatkúca 'break branch by weight' 'a tree-object sign?|we sit|break'; léwa nañketa loboc' 'of hat' (D1882)
•ma-hēñ-nēñ-gī 'sitting man'; ṭāq-ka-lēñ-gi-se 'the clump of trees'; maq-hí-ga-nēñ-nēñ-gi-se 'the clumps of trees'; nēñ-ka-wa-gri-dā 'I reach there or home, again'; is-ta-go-niñ nok-nēñ-gi-se 'put anything in the pocket' ?; miq-haiⁿhot ṭya`ok nēñ-gi-se 'put something under a blanket'; a-kwa-kuk nēñ-gi-se 'to hide'; u-hu-kwa-kuk nēñ-gi-se 'hide many things'; wīk-nēñ-gé-wā 'put or lay down'; a-kák-nēñ-gi-se 'to go out of a lodge'; miní a-kak-nēñ-gi-se 'to come up out of a stream'; ā-kēⁿ-nēⁿ-k 'go out (begone!)' (Hw)
Ofo: nōki 'sit'
Biloxi: nāki 'sit'
Dakota: yākA 'sit'
►see also a-lâkE 'sit on', i-lâkE 'sit', wa:ha-lâkE 'sit, remain'; see also monoñisnoḵ 'stay', íyanākóḵ 'chair'

lE: go there (motion underway)

stative V

•hodke tock ire chunkete posse 'is this the way to the horse head' (F)
•aléwa 'he is going'; toka aléwo 'where is he going?' (H1880b); la 'go'; yaléwa 'walk'; hawilewa 'I come'; kiwilēbina 'I do not wish to come'; aléwa 'he is going'; toka alewo 'where is he going?'; wilēta iatī 'I am going to the house'; waktēta iatī 'I am coming from the house' (H1883a)
•wā-gle-wa 'I going homeward'; wā-gle-ḍa 'I will

go home'; gí-le-da-sé 'one will go home' (Hw)
 •hadit kilḗda 'he went home' (Fr)
 •hadit'gilḗda 'he's gone home'; gwA'gilída 'I must go home' (S)
 •wayowáh yaléwa kowahadónan 'Man go after, lead him to where the Singer is sitting'; miihē yaléwa kowahadónan, miihē? yaléwa kowahadonan 'Woman go after, lead her to where the Singer is sitting' (Sp)
 Ofo: té
 Biloxi: dE 'go, depart'
 Dakota: yĀ
 ▶see i-lE: 'go towards', kilE: 'go/come back, go/come home', yalE: 'walk, go'

lé: this, here
 demonstrative (close distance), V
 •lewayinaṅtika 'thou sittest' (H1879); owakiōka waktāka nigās mihēñ nomba lek 'I met a man and two women' (H1883a)
 •léwa 'this' 'this is it'; léwa hihnéta 'of paper clean'; léwa nañketa lobóc 'of hat'; léwa nantcékita íyanangóiⁿ; léwa hi mánki ta 'this, lay it down' (D1882)
 •le ní's-ka 'so large, that large' (Hw)
 Ofo: lemōti 'here, this'
 Biloxi: de 'this'
 Dakota: le
 ▶see lé:ki, lé:wa 'this'; see also né: 'this, here', hé:, ka, ko: 'that, there'

le:çi:, ne:çi: tongue
 N
 •netshī, letshī, letshi (H1878); nētsi, letçi (H1879); letci, letçi, lētçi, netçi, nētçi, netsi, nētsi (H1883a)
 Ofo: iléçi, ilečí
 Biloxi: yečí
 Kansa: léze, yéze

lé:ki this
 demonstrative
 •owakiōka waktāka nigās mihēñ nomba lek 'I met a man and two women' (H1883a)
 ▶lé: 'this, here' + -ki 'def art'

lé:wa this
 demonstrative, V
 •lewayinaṅtika 'thou sittest' (H1879)
 •léwa 'this' 'this is it'; léwa hihnéta 'of paper clean'; léwa nañketa lobóc 'of hat'; léwa nantcékita íyanangóiⁿ; léwa hi mánki ta 'this, lay it down' (D1882)
 ▶lé: 'this, here' + wa 'real'; see né:wa 'this',

- hé:wa, ko:wa 'that'
- lí arrive here
 V
 wá-gri-wa 'I come back' ?; něñ-ka-wa-gri-dā 'I reach there or home, again'; •o-he-gā ka-lí-wa 'to go up a hill' (Hw)
 •máⁿgelí^ˊda 'let us go home' (Fr)
 •wet^ˊgilí^ˊda 'let's go home' (S)
 Mandan: rhí 'arrive here'
 ▶see kilí 'go/come back, go/come home (arriving motion)'
- li- if
 conjunction
 •li; lihīok, wāgelāgita 'if he comes, I will tell him'; wihūta, Jan lihiōk 'I will come if John comes' (H1883a)
- lono:te (Saponi) breeches
 N
 •lonoughte (F)
 Biloxi: du 'tie', 'wrap around'
 ▶Rankin: lo- possibly related to o-lohi: 'tie',
- loḡóki curse, bewitch
 V
 •wa-|lo-pó-ki-ṭā 'to curse, bewitch, rather (I think)'; me-lo-pó-kī-sē 'bewitch one (1sg I think)' (Hw)
- lo:ṭi throat
 N
 •lōti (H1879); lōti, loti (H1883a)
 Ofo: ičóti
 Biloxi: dódi
 Dakota: loté
- loxkáhE tear
 stative V
 •míma wíloqkáha 'I tear (paper)'; yima yíloqkáha '2sg'; ima loqkáha '3sg'; wáeloqkáha '1pl'; yima yíloqkáhiyí '2pl'; íma loqkáha-wá '3sg'; imaloqkáhiyi 'they (may) tear'; wíloqkáhi-ta '1sg'; yíloqkáhiyitá, yíloqkáhiwitá '2pl' (D1882)
- lu- instrumental, by hand/pulling
 V prefix
 Ofo: tu-
 Biloxi: du-
 Dakota: yu-
 ▶see lučkīk 'wrench', lutí 'pull', luplax 'rip, tear', lusĚ 'take, steal', lu:čkep 'twist, wring',

lu:ní 'twist', lu:pəṭ 'open, as a book', o-luské:
'claw', ulučíx 'cork up a bottle', luḱá 'turn over'

lu:čkép twist, wring
V
•lū|tc-kép 'twisted, wrung' (Hw)
►lu- 'instr, by hand/pulling'; see also lu:ní 'be
twisted', lučkíḱ 'wrench'

lučkíḱ wrench
V
•lu|tc-kiñk; mi u-l|u|tc-kiñk 'I wrench' (Hw)
Ofo: tuškíki 'wring (as clothes)'
Biloxi: dučičkí 'squeeze, wring out, as wet
clothing'
►lu- 'instr, by hand/pulling'; see also lu:ní
'twist', lu:čkép 'twist, wring'

luḱá turn over
stative V
•eluká' 'turn over, as sleeve or blanket'; míma
wiluká' '1sg'; yima yiluká' '2sg'; ima 'luká'
'3sg'; wáeluká'hi ta 'we will'; huk yiluká'hi ta
'ye will' (D1882)
►lu- 'instr, by hand/pulling'

lu:ní twisted
V
•lū-ní' 'twisted, as tree' (Hw)
Biloxi: duní
Mandan: i-wrī 'be twisted'
►lu- 'instr, by hand/pulling'; see also lu:čkép
'twist, wring', lučkíḱ 'wrench'

lu:pəṭ open, as a book
V
•lū-pét (Hw)
►lu- 'instr, by hand/pulling'

luplax rip, tear
V
•lu-blāq (Hw)
Dakota: yumna 'rip'
►lu- 'instr, by hand/pulling'

lupú:s hat
N
•lubūs; waklumīha lubūs niḡás maséñ 'I bought a
hat and a knife' (H1883a)
•lobóc (D1882)
►see also ʔoṭupós, ap^haṭu pokso 'hat'

lúšE take, steal
 stative V
 •tilúcihí iyanangoiⁿ 'take up chair'; mima wiloca,
 míma wilóca 'I take it or steal it' (D1882)
 Biloxi: dusE 'take' 'seize' 'hold'
 Mandan: rušE 'take'
 ▶lu- 'instr, by hand/pulling'; see also manq̄:,
 ma-nq̄tá:i 'steal'

lu:ṭE eat
 stative V
 •walūti 'I eat'; warūti-ta 'I eat' (H1878);
 wiluta, wārūti, walutita, wawelutīta 'I eat';
 luta (?) 'thou eatest'; imanuta 'he eats';
 mimagwalūta 'we eat (plural)'; magwalulutita 'we
 eat (dual)'; walū^{tp} 'ye eat'; lūtana 'they
 eat'; nihamp welūlita, nihampke welūlita 'I will
 eat'; nihampke yilūtita 'thou wilt eat'; nihampke
 ilūtīta 'he will eat (tomorrow)'; nihamp
 manklūtita, nihampke manklūtita 'we will eat
 (plural)'; nihampke maṅklūtita 'we will eat
 (dual)'; nihampke ilūlitipūa 'ye will eat';
 nihampke ilūtita 'they will eat'; setoṅle
 wailutiōka 'thou hast eaten'; setoṅle lutiōka,
 setoṅle lutiōkha 'he has eaten (yesterday)';
 walū^t 'eat thou'; walū^{tp} 'eat ye' (H1879);
 lūti; luta 'to eat' (H1883a)
 •wā-lū^t 'eat thou' (Hw)
 •walūt 'to eat'; wālūt maksapā^h 'eat bread!,
 come to dinner!'; walūt waksaksí 'take some
 soup!' (Fr)
 •wālūt mā^hksāpā^h 'eat bread' (S)
 •walú:t^h (M)
 Ofo: atúti
 Biloxi: áduti 'be hungry'
 Dakota: yútA
 Mandan: rūt
 ▶see also wa:lu:ṭE 'eat something', walu:ṭi 'food'

lutí pull
 V
 •lu-ḍí', lu-dí^h' (Hw)
 ▶lu- 'instr, by hand/pulling'

m- 1 singular actor pronoun, I
 V prefix
 ▶only with nasal stems; see also wa- '1sgA'

mač^hikq̄:yq̄ salt
 N
 •matcigo^{nyón} (Fr)
 •matsiq̄yq̄ (S)
 hagútšiq̄:yq̄, hagútš^hiq̄:yq̄: (M)

Ofo: aməskúwe
►amá: 'earth' + čhikq:yq 'sweet'; see also
hakúčhikq:yq: 'salt'

mahauk^{hi:wah} fog
N
•maháú^{hi:wah} (M)
►see also manotihu:a 'fog'

mahé: woman
N
•mahēi, mahéi (H1878); mahēi (H1883a)
►see mī:mahé: 'moon'; see also wa:lewá:, mihá:
'woman'

mahikt (Saponi) powder
N
•mahinkt (F)
►Rankin: from amá: 'earth' (Saponi form ma)

máhtiyi: cow
N
•máhtiyē: (M)
►máhti ? + yiki 'little'; see also má:p^{hayik} 'cow,
ox, cattle'

makasq̄s (Saponi) shoe
N
•makasoons 'shoes' (F)
►from Algonquian or English

makneto tufas (Saponi) wig
N
•machneto dufas (F)
►Rankin: wək-nəto 'our hair' + dufas: see Ofo tufí
'buy'; see nətq̄:i 'hair'

mamaqlé: wind
N
•ma-māⁿ-klé`, ma-māⁿ-kleĩ` (Hw)
►amá: 'earth' + maqlé: 'wind'; see also maniaqlé:
'wind', omaqlé: 'be windy'

mani: water
N
•mony; moneton, monyton 'Monita' (W)
•Tewaw-hommini Creek, Tewakominy, Tewahominy,
Tewa-ho-mony Creek, Teewawho Creek 'Tuscarooda
Creek'; Mony shap Ford, Moniseep, Moni-seep
'Shallow Water'; Ohimpa-moni, Ohimpamony Creek,
Uhimpamory Creek, Ohimpa Creek, Ohimpa-mony Creek,
Ohimpanny Creek, Ohimpa Mony 'Jumping Creek',
'Fishing Creek'; Hico-ottomony Creek, Hyco-ote

Creek, Hicootomony 'Turkey-Buzzard River';
Hico-River, Hico-ott-mony Creek 'Hyco River',
'Hycootee River'; Massamoni, Massamony, Massamony
Creek, Mossamory Creek, Maussa Creek 'Paint Creek'
(B)

•money (F)

•manī (H1878); manī; mani walākpewa 'I drink
water'; mani yalakpese 'thou drinkest water'; mani
lakpese 'he drinks water'; mani malakpewa 'we drink
water'; mani yalakpapūse 'ye drink water'; mani
lakpelese 'they drink water' (H1879); manī (N)
(H1883a); māni (H1883b)

•mī-nī sā-p' 'level water'; mī-nī í-na-se 'swim';
miní a-kak-nēñ-gí-se 'to come up out of a stream'
(Hw)

•menī́katéonⁿ, meniīgotóⁿ 'bottle, kettle, vessel
(for water)' (Fr)

•meni'īgāt ē'āⁿ 'kettle (evidently contains meni-
"water")'; meni'īgōdō 'jug, jar, glass, bottle
(dit.)' (S)

Ofo: á:ni, aní

Biloxi: aní, ni

Mandan: wrí

Dakota: mni

►see manitā 'Moniton', tewahomani: 'Tuscarooda
Creek', manisa:p 'ford', ohipamani: 'Jumping Creek,
Fishing Creek', hikaatmani: 'Hyco River, Hycootee
River', masamani: 'Paint Creek', maniaqlé: 'wind',
mañikte 'river bank'

maniaqlé: wind

N

•maniañklēi, mamiñkrē (H1878); mamīñkrē (H1879);
maniñkiē (N), mamīñkrē (H1883a)

►mani: 'water' + maqlé:; see also mamāqlé: 'wind',
omaqlé: 'be windy'

máni ínase swim

V

•mī-ni í-na-se (Hw)

►mani: 'water'

manisa:p (Saponi) ford

N

•Mony shap Ford, Moniseep, Moni-seep 'Shallow Water'
(B)

►mani: 'water' + sá:p 'flat, level, shallow'

manotihu:a fog

N

•manotihūa (H1883a)

Biloxi: ayu, ayudí 'dew'

Mandan: warú 'vapor', wá:rú:xtuk 'fog'

►see also mahauk^{hi:wah} 'fog'

ma-ṇṭá:i steal
stative V
•maminundāme 'I steal'; mayinundāṅi 'thou stealest'; manundāṅi 'he steals' (H1879);
maminundame 'I steal'; mayinundāñi 'thou stealest'; manundāñi, manondañi 'he steals' (H1883a)
•maminundame '1sg'; mayinundáⁿⁱ '2sg'; manun-dáⁿⁱ '3sg' 'steal' (D1882)
►see also wanṭ: 'steal', lusE 'take, steal'

masa breast
N
•mampamasawohōka 'churn' (H1883a)
Dakota: aze
Mandan: wāška
Osage: mṭóé
►see maṭ^hamasawoho:ka 'churn'

masté: spring (season)
N
•mastē (H1878); mastē (H1879); mūstē, maste, mastē (H1883a)
•mū^{ste}, ma-sté (D1882)
Dakota: aṭetu mašte 'warm weather' (aṭetu 'day');
Omaha-Ponca, Quapaw: mašté 'hot' (weather)
►see also wehaéhīpne: 'spring'

má-wahá: man, be a man
N, stative V
•má-mi-wā-hā[´] 'I am a man! (bragging)' (Hw)
►see also mihā:istík, no:na, yu:xka, wa:-ktá:ka:, wa:iyú:wa:, waiwa:x, waḱi, wa:hki, yaxhelx 'man'

maxhíka tree
N
•maq-hí-ga-něñ-ně[´]ñ-gi-se 'the clumps of trees' (Hw)
►see also wi:yá, oni: 'tree'

maxo:si: cloud
N
•mahosī, maṭosī (H1879); maṭōsi (H1883a)
Ofo: as^hóhi 'rain'
Biloxi: xohi 'rain'

mā game bird
N
Ofo: amā 'turkey'
Biloxi: ma, mani 'turkey'
►see māne:asā: 'goose, duck', māosti 'turkey cock beard', māstetkaí 'pheasant', mā:yḱ:ki 'bird',

- mą:ta:hka:i 'turkey'
- mąkE lay down
 stative V
 •léwa hi mánki ta 'this, lay it down' (D1882)
 Ofo: mǒki 'lie down', mąki 'sleep'
 Biloxi: mąki 'lie, recline'
 ▶see also waha:-mąkE 'lie, recline'
- mąki: (Saponi) shot
 N
 •mankey (F)
 Dakota: wą 'arrow'
 ▶see also mą:ko:i, mąksi: 'arrow'
- mąklé: wind
 N
 •omaklēwa (H1879); omaklēwa (H1883a)
 •ma-māⁿ-klé', ma-māⁿ-klei''; māñ-gre` o-pé-se 'to go against, versus the wind'; māñ-gre` e-hu-yá` o-pé-se 'to go with the wind'; māñ-gre` a-lup-ṭé-se ? 'to go across the wind' (Hw)
 ▶from amą: 'earth' + kilE 'go back'?; see also mamąklé:, maniąklé: 'wind', omąklé: 'be windy'
- mą:ko:i arrow
 N
 •māñkōi (N) (H1883a)
 Dakota: wą 'arrow'
 ▶see also mąksi: 'arrow', mąki: 'shot'
- mąksí: arrow
 N
 •mañksīn (H1878); mañksīi, mañksīn (H1879); mañksīi (H1883a)
 •mañk-cík (D1882)
 Ofo: ǒfhi
 Biloxi: ąksí 'arrow, gun, carbine, lead'
 Dakota: wą 'arrow'
 ▶see hañksí 'stick'; see also mą:ko:i 'arrow', mąki: 'shot'
- mąksu:i bag
 N
 •mañksūi (H1883a)
 ▶see mąksi: 'arrow'; see also mįktoke 'shot bag'
- mąktakį wolf
 N
 •mùñktagín (N) (H1883a)
 ▶see also mąkto:xka:, č^hókíwe 'wolf'

- mą̀kto:xka: wolf
 N
 •maktukai (H1878); maktukāi, mv̄ntokāi (H1879);
 maktukai, m̀nktōkāi (H1883a)
 ▶from to:xka: 'fox'; see also mą̀ktakı̄, čʰokı̄we
 'wolf'
- mą̀ne:asą̀: goose, duck
 N
 •manēasañ 'goose' (H1878); māneasēi 'duck';
 manēasāñ 'goose' (H1879); manēsēi 'duck'; manēasān
 'goose' (H1883a)
 Ofo: amą̀ 'turkey'
 Biloxi: ma, ma:ni 'turkey'
 ▶from mą̀ 'game bird' + ? + asą̀: 'white'; see also
 i:stai, he:istą̀: 'duck'
- mą̀ņikte river bank
 N
 •mēⁿ-niñ`-kte o-pé-se 'go bank stream' (Hw)
 ▶mani: 'water' + įkte:i 'near'
- mą̀osti turkey cock beard
 N
 •maosti (Mo)
 ▶mą̀ 'game bird' + isti: 'beard'
- mą̀:pa: spirit (?)
 N
 •mampa isı̄ 'bad spirit' (H1879); māmpā isı̄ 'devil
 (evil spirit)' (H1883a)
 ▶see mą̀:pa: isi: 'devil, evil spirit, bad spirit'
- mą̀:pa: isi: devil, evil spirit, bad spirit
 N
 •mampa isı̄ 'bad spirit' (H1879); māmpā isı̄ 'devil
 (evil spirit)' (H1883a)
 ▶from isi: 'bad, evil'; see also isi:ka 'evil
 spirit'
- mą̀^ha cow (any bovine)
 N
 Mandan: úpa 'elk'
 Dakota: ıp^hą̀ 'female elk'
 ▶see mą̀:p^hayı̄k 'cow, ox, cattle', mą̀^hą̀tahka:i
 'buffalo', mą̀^hamasawoho:ka 'churn'
- mą̀^hamasawoho:ka churn
 N
 •mampamasawohōka (H1883a)
 ▶mą̀^ha 'cow (any bovine)' + masa 'breast' + o-
 'loc, in' + ho: 'mix' + -ka 'ext'

- mā:p^hayík cow, ox, cattle
 N
 •monpáⁿ, mā^ˈpaye^{ng} 'cattle'; no^mpayéⁿ 'cow'
 (Fr)
 •mā^ˈp^ˈayeŋk^ˈ (S)
 Dakota: ʊp^há 'elk'
 Dhegiha: ɔp^hɔ, óp^há 'elk'
 ▶māp^ha 'cow (any bovine)' + yíki 'little'; see also
 máhtiyi: 'cow'
- māp^hatahka: buffalo
 N
 •mampaŋdahkái 'buffalo (generic)' (H1879);
 mampañdahkai (H1883a)
 ▶māp^ha 'cow (any bovine)' + ta:xka: 'forest' =
 'wild cow' (cf. Ofo 'opossum' feskə-čáki = feská
 'hog' + čáki 'forest'); see also ia:p 'bison',
 'buffalo'
- mā:pi: town, village
 N
 •māmpī 'town' (H1878); mām̄bī, māmpī 'village'
 (H1879); mām̄pī, mām̄bī 'town' (H1883a)
 ▶see also ɔte 'town'
- mā:s iron
 N
 •Massamoni 'Paint-Creek', Massamony, Massamony
 Creek, Mossamory Creek, Maussa Creek (B)
 •mas, mañs (H1878); mas, maŋs (H1879); mās, mañs
 (H1883a)
 Ofo: amɔfi
 Biloxi: masa 'iron'; ąks ámasí '"gun iron", a gun
 barrel' (ąsí 'gun')
 ▶see also māsi:kola:k 'iron'; see mā:sá: 'knife',
 māsamani: 'Paint Creek'
- māsamani: Paint Creek
 N
 •Massamoni 'Paint-Creek', Massamony, Massamony
 Creek, Mossamory Creek, Maussa Creek (B)
 ▶Byrd: "Massamoni, Signifying, in their Language,
 Paint-Creek, because of the great Quantity of Red
 ochre found in its banks"; mā:s 'iron' + mani:
 'water'; Rankin: alternative analysis: amā:
 'earth' (Saponi form ma) + sa 'red' (Dakota ša
 'red', wasé 'red earth')
- mā:sá: knife
 N
 •masāi (H1878); māsēŋi, masēi, masai (H1879);
 masēñi, maséñi, maseñi, masāi (N), masēi, masā;
 masā mingó 'give me a knife'; waklumīha lubūs nigás

maséñ 'I bought a hat and a knife' (H1883a); masáñi (H1883b)

•macaⁿ; míma macéⁿ ewaoⁿ ('I use a knife'); míma macéⁿ ímaóiⁿ wílatkúca '1sg' 'cut with knife'; húk macé^{nya} máemaó^{nwa} waⁿjék wáelatkúci ta 'we all using knives cut stick(s)'; macéⁿ ión^{éa} kohótchíyeyúq 'cut hole in wood with knife'; míma macé^{nya} ímaó^{nwa} wílatkúca waqū^k/minakⁱ 'I cut string, cord/paper with knife'; 'will cut hole tomorrow': íma kohótc-hiyéta nahá^{np} macé^{nya} ión^{éa}, qékagohiyéta nahá^{np} kohótchíyeyúq macéⁿ ión^{éa} '3sg' (D1882)

•maṭéⁿ (Fr)

•māṭé^{'c} (S)

►from ma:s 'iron'

maṣi:kola:k iron

V

•masīgorāk (H1878); masīgorāk (H1879);

masīqorāk (H1883a)

Dakota: máza ikoyaka 'iron' (V); ikoyaka 'adhere to, stick to'

►ma:s 'iron' + i:kola:k 'adhere to'

maṣtetkaí pheasant

N

•mas-ṭeṭ-kaí` (D1882 from Hw)

►from ma 'game bird' + tetka 'long'; see wustetkai 'partridge'

ma:ta:hka: turkey

N

•māndāhkai (H1878); māndāhkai (H1879);

māndāhkāi, māndūhkāi (H1883a)

►ma 'game bird' + ta:xka: 'forest' = 'wild bird'

(cf. Ofo 'opossum' feskə-čáki = feská 'hog' + čáki 'forest')

maṭamaṣ pumpkin

N

•mandamaṣ; mandumaṣ yilīp 'squash' (H1879)

Ofo: ṡt^hṡ 'pumpkin'; ṡtaf^hṡhi 'watermelon'

Biloxi: ṡta aḥṡni 'crook-necked squash ("pumpkin with rind bent"?)'

►see maṭamaṣ yilīp 'squash', ma:ta:xé: 'maize, corn'

maṭamaṣ yilīp squash

N

•mandumaṣ yilīp (H1879)

►from maṭamaṣ 'pumpkin'

- ma:ta:xé: maize, corn
 N
 •mātākhe, mandāhē 'maize' (H1878); mātāxē,
 mandāxai, mandaxéi 'corn' (H1879); mandaqēi,
 mātāqē (N) 'maize' (H1883a)
 Ofo: ɔt^hə 'pumpkin'; ɔtaf^həhi 'watermelon'
 Biloxi: ʔta ahōni 'crook-necked squash ("pumpkin
 with rind bent"?)'
 Dhegiha: *wathā:se
 ▶see maṭamaṭ 'pumpkin'
- ma:tó: sky, heaven
 N
 •matōi, matoñi 'sky' (H1878); māṅtoi, matōi,
 matōṅi 'heaven' (H1879); matōi, matoñi, matōñi,
 mantōi, mañtoi, mañtōi (H1883a)
 •man-ʔoⁿ`q 'the sky' (Hw)
- ma:yı:ki bird
 N
 •māyīnk; mayīnk pōs 'egg' (H1878); māyīnk;
 māyīnk pōs 'egg' (H1879); māyīnk; mayeṅgiéqta
 'bird's nest' (H1883a)
 Dhegiha: wažıka
 ▶ma 'game bird' + yıki 'young, little'; see yéxta
 'nest', po:s 'egg'
- mi but
 conjunction
 •mi; kuminēna, mi Jān hinēka 'I did not see him,
 but John saw him' (H1883a)
- mihá: female person, woman, wife, girl
 N
 •mihu mima mikito 'my dear wife' (F)
 •mihēi, mihāñi, mihāñi 'woman'; wagūtshka mihāñ
 'girl' (H1878); mihéṅ, mihāṅi, mihai 'woman';
 wagutska mihéṅ 'girl'; wimihéṅ, wiḍamihái,
 witāmihaṅ 'my wife'; yitamihéṅ 'thy wife' (H1879);
 mihañ (N), mihāñi 'woman'; mihañi 'wife';
 witāmiheñ 'my wife (i.e. my woman)'; yitāmiheñ
 'thy wife'; mihañ nosā, mihāñ noñsa, mihañ noñsāi
 'one woman'; owakiōka waktāka niḡás mihéñ nomba
 lek 'I met a man and two women'; kōmqāñ 'girl'
 (N) (H1883a)
 •wi-tá-mi-hēⁿ` 'my spouse'; hi-ta-mi-hēⁿ` 'thy
 spouse'; e-ta-mi-hēⁿ` 'his spouse'; ʔa-mi-hūñ-sē
 'take a wife' (Hw)
 •mihāⁿ` 'man' (Fr)
 •miháⁿ-(i)stik` 'man' (S)
 •miihē? 'woman'; miihē yaléwa kowahadónan, miihē?
 yaléwa kowahadonon 'Woman go after, lead her to
 where the Singer is sitting' (Sp)

Biloxi: háxti 'woman'; hayá 'person, man (object of an action)'
 Hidatsa: mia 'woman'
 Mandan: wíh 'female'; wí, wíhe 'woman'
 ▶'girl' = 'child' + 'woman'; 'wife' = 'poss' + 'woman'; see also mahé:, wa:lewá: 'woman', ʔo:mihá: 'girl'

- mihá: man
 N
 •mihāⁿ (Fr)
 ▶probably 'woman'; see mihá: 'woman'
- mihá:istík man
 N
 •mihāⁿ(i)stík' (S)
 ▶from mihá: 'woman'?; see also ma-waha:, no:na, yu:xkə, wa:-ktá:ka:, wa:iyú:wa:, waiwa:x, wəki, wə:hki, yaxhelx 'man'
- mihásá handkerchief
 N
 •mihanⁿcā' migídaⁿ kodébehíyi 'fold my handkerchief' (D1882)
- mi:hástí:k fire
 N
 •mihanⁿstīⁿk (Fr)
 ▶see also phé:ʔi 'fire'
- mika raccoon
 N
 •mika (Hw)
 Ofo: iyá
 Dakota: wičha 'raccoon'; Dhegiha: *mihká
 ▶see also wihá, ʔanulə nixa ni:sə 'raccoon'
- miná:ki book, paper written on
 N
 •minagi 'book' (H1883a)
 •minák' 'of paper written'; minák kodébehíyi 'fold paper'; míma macēⁿya ímaóⁿwa wílatkúca minak' 'I cut paper with knife' (D1882)
 •mi-nāk' 'book' (Hw)
- mixhahot blanket
 N
 •mi-qaíⁿ-hot'; mi-hqāⁿ-hot o-lo-baí 'blanket spread out'; miq-haíⁿ-hot' ʔya`ok nēn-gī-se 'put something under a blanket' (Hw)
 Mandan: wíʔhE
 Osage: mi 'blanket', mī 'robe', míhašide 'robe worn with the hair outside'

- mį: sun
 N
 •my 'the sun' (F)
 •mī (H1878); mī (H1879); mī, mi, mīe (N), mīn (N) (H1883a)
 Ofo: íla 'luminary'
 Biloxi: iná
 Dhegiha: mį
 ▶see mį:mahé:, mį:no:sá: 'moon'
- mįhą wą:hkanąhka white man
 N
 •mįhą mą'ganą'ga'' (S)
 ▶from wą:hkanąhka 'white, white man'
- mį:kila:çah ice
 N
 •mińgirātshah (H1878); mįngirātçah (H1879); mįngiratçah (H1883a)
 ▶see also nq:xi 'ice'
- mįkolahá:pi canoe, boat
 N
 •mińkolhāpi (H1878); meńkolahāpi, mińkolhāpi 'boat (canoe)' (H1879); mińkolhāpi, meńkolahāpi 'canoe' (H1883a)
 ▶see also aķolahá:pi 'boat'
- mį:kté: gun
 N
 •mikta (F)
 •mīnktē (N) (H1883a)
 •minktéya, miⁿktékya 'gun-with or when' (D1882)
 ▶see mįktoķe 'shot bag'
- mįktoķe (Saponi) shot bag
 N
 •miktoke (F)
 ▶Rankin: mį:kté: 'gun' + o- 'loc, in' + ki 'carry', 'pack'
- mį:mahé: moon
 N
 •mīmahē (H1878); mi-mahei (H1879); mimahēi (H1883a)
 •mi-mēⁿ-hé` 'the moon' (Hw)
 ▶mį: 'sun' + mahé: 'woman'; see also mį:no:sá: 'moon'
- mį:no:sá: moon
 N
 •mīnōsā` (N) (H1883a)
 ▶mį: 'sun' + osi: 'night'; see also mį:mahé:

- 'moon'
- moka (Saponi) snake
 N
 •moka (F)
 Ofo: ɔktéfi 'striped snake'
 ▶see also ha:to:i, wa:keni: 'snake'
- monita Moniton
 N
 •moneton, monyton (W)
 ▶Virginia Siouan-speaking people; mani: 'water' + itá: 'big, large, great'
- monotisnoḵ (Saponi) stay
 V
 •monotisnock (F)
 ▶see also lăkE 'sit', 'stay'
- mosnukhe (Saponi) otter
 N
 •mosnukhe (F)
 ▶it is unknown what sound(s) was represented by kh in Fontaine's writing
- mɔ:ti bear, black bear
 N
 •mūnti 'bear' (H1878); mūnti, mōṅdi 'bear (black)' (H1879); monti, mūnti (N), mōnti, moṅdi 'bear'; monti 'a bear'; mont nosā, mont nōsāh 'one bear'; mont nombah 'two bears' (H1883a)
 Biloxi: ɔti
 Crow: bu:ší
 Chiwere: múje
 ▶see also hamó:t^{hi} 'bear', yú:tkayé:k 'black bear'
- mukta:ki grass
 N
 •muktāgi (H1883a)
 ▶see also sɔkta:ki, oto: 'grass'
- muna:xka beaver
 N
 •munākhka (H1878); munāḵka (H1879); munaḵka (H1883a)
 Biloxi: xanaxka, cínaxka 'otter'
 ▶see also yá:pa, ɕuṭa:yi 'beaver'
- na- instrumental, by extreme of temperature
 V prefix
 Dakota: na-
 ▶see inausíka: 'burn', naxló:tE 'blistered,

chafed', kónaxló:ʔE 'blister, chafe'; see also
ala- 'by extreme of temp'

nahisaꞤ Nahyssan

N

- Nahyssan (L)
- Virginia Siouan-speaking people, possibly also Tutelo; see also yesá 'Tutelo people'

nahâ:pi day

N

•nahâmbi; nahâp nosâi 'one day'; nahâp nombai 'two days'; nahâp lâli 'three days'; kanahâbnen 'morning'; nahâmblekén 'today'; nahâmpk 'tomorrow' (H1878); nahâmp, nahâp; nahâmbe; kanahâmpnai, kanahâbnen 'morning'; nahâmblekén 'today'; nahâmp, nahâmpk 'tomorrow'; nihamp welûlita, nihampke welûlita 'I will eat (tomorrow)'; nihampu kayêk 'bad weather' (H1879); nahâp, nahâbi, nahâñp, nahâmp, nahamp, nahambi, nahambe, nahañpe, nahâmbi, nahâñbi, nihâmpi, nihâñpi; nahâmp nosâh 'one day'; nahamp nombai 'two days'; nahâp lâli, nahâmp lâni, nahâmp lâli, nahamp lâniq 'three days'; kanahâmpuai, kanahâbnen 'morning'; nahâmblekén 'today'; nahampk 'tomorrow' (H1883a); nihâñpi (H1883b)

•nahâ^{np} yilatkúci-ta; nahâ^{np} îma ʕlatkúci-ta; mai nṓm kicónik nahânp 'I may be sick tomorrow'; kíó^{ncpéna} toké kondík nahânp 'he doesn't know how he may be tomorrow'; qékagohiyéta nahâ^{np} kohótchiyeyúq macéⁿ ión^{ʔa} 'he will cut a hole tomorrow' (D1882)

Ofo: nōpi

Biloxi: nâpi

Mandan: hâp

Osage: hōpa

►see also kanahâ:pna 'morning', nahâ:pke 'tomorrow', nahâplekí 'today', nahâp ok^{hayi:k^{hi}} 'bad weather'

nahâ:pki tomorrow

adverb

•nahâmpk (H1878); nahâmp, nahâmpk; nihamp welûlita, nihampke welûlita 'I will eat (tomorrow)' (H1879); nahampk (H1883a)

•mai nṓm kicónik nahânp 'I may be sick tomorrow'; kíó^{ncpéna} toké kondík nahânp 'he doesn't know how he may be tomorrow'; qékagohiyéta nahâ^{np} kohótchiyeyúq macéⁿ ión^{ʔa} 'he will cut a hole tomorrow' (D1882)

►nahâ:pi 'day' + -ki 'def art'

nahâplekí today

adverb

•nahâmblekén (H1878); nahâmblekén (H1879); nahâmblekén (H1883a)

- ▶from nahá:pi 'day' + lé: 'this' + -k̄i 'def art'
- nahap ok^hayi:k^hi bad weather
 N
 •nihampu kayēk (H1879)
 ▶nahá:pi 'day' + ok^ha:yí:k^hi 'bad'
- naxló:ṭE blistered, chafed
 stative V
 •mínaqlóta 'I am blistered (as feet or hands)';
 yínaqlóta '2sg'; inaqlóta '3sg'; máenaqlóta '1pl';
 inaqlótahnéwa '3pl'; nahamp mínaqló^t kicé 'I
 blister perhaps'; kónaqlóta 'blister (or chafe)'
 (D1882)
 ▶na- 'instr, by extreme of temp' + xló:ṭE
 'scratched'
- naxu:x ear
 N
 •nahō (H1878); nahūh 'the ear'; menahōx 'my ear';
 nahuh nombai 'ears (pair)' (H1879); naqōq (N),
 nahūh (H1883a)
 Ofo: nas^húsi
 Biloxi: nixúxwi
- nạ quantifier
 V
 Biloxi: -nạ
 Dakota: -na
 ▶see henạ 'far, long', o-nạhé:, yanạhé: 'stand',
 nạnạhe 'tall', tok^hé:nạ 'how many'
- nạ- instrumental, by foot
 V prefix
 Biloxi: na-
 Dakota: na-
 ▶see koṇaxlo:ṭE 'scratch with the foot', nạko:kisek
 'stamp with the foot', nạtkú:sE 'break off with the
 foot', nạstapq 'One Step'
- nạčéki sit (?)
 V
 •léwa nantcékita íyanangóiⁿ; gudébihiyé nantcék
 (D1882)
 ▶nạ- 'instr, by foot'?
- nạhé: stand
 stative V
 •neminahēwa 'I stand'; newayīnahet 'thou
 standest'; hewanihēwa 'he stands' (H1879)
 •he-ya-nēⁿ-hés 'standing man' (Hw)
 Chiwere: nạhe 'be sitting'
 Quapaw: aknạ 'set something'

►from ną 'quantifier'; see yanąhé: 'stand'; see also o-níhé 'stand', nąnáhe 'tall'

- nąkičq erect on the ground
V
•pa-sa-hé` nūñ-gi-tchoñ 'erect a hoop on the ground' (Hw)
►ną- 'instr, by foot'
- nąko:kisek stamp with the foot
V
•nañkōkisek (H1883a)
►ną- 'instr, by foot' + ko:k 'make a hollow sound' ?
- nąnáhe tall
V
•to-k|hé nēⁿ-nēⁿ-he-wú? 'how tall'; neⁿ nēⁿ-nēⁿ-he-sé 'that, thus tall' (Hw)
►from nąhé: 'stand'
- nąstapq One Step
N
•Nas-ta-bon (AR)
Kansa: nąstá 'kick someone'; ánąsta 'step on'
►John Key's Tutelo name; ną- 'instr, by foot'
- nątE swallow
stative V
•mima miná^{nt}, mi-na^{nt}títa '1sg'; yima yiená^{nt}, yiená^{nt}títa '2sg'; íma iná^{nt}, ina^{nt}títa '3sg'; huk máenán^{ca}, mima máenán^{nt}títa (yapaqyúq) '1pl'; yiená^{nte}-búa '2pl'; huk inánthnéwa, iná^{nt}ta-hléte-la, iná^{nt}ta-ne-te la '3pl' (D1882)
- nątkú:sE break with the foot
stative V
•nantkūsisel 'he breaks it off with the foot' (H1883a)
•íma na^{nt}tkúca ('he breaks it with the foot'); yima yina^{nt}tkúcita ? ('you (sg) will break it with the foot') (D1882)
►ną- 'instr, by foot' + tikú:sE 'break, cut straight, evenly'
- nątq: hair
N
•natoi, nañtói (H1878); nañtōi 'the hair'; menañtōi 'my hair' (H1879); nañtói, natōi, natónwe (N) (H1883a)
Ofo: nět^{hu} 'brain'
Biloxi: natq 'brain'
Dakota: natú 'brain'
►see also hi: 'hair'

- né: see, find
 V
 •minēwa, minēwa 'I see him'; mineoka 'I saw him'; mineōka 'I saw him (formerly)'; mineta, minēta 'I shall see him' (H1878); inēwa; minēwa 'I see', 'I see him (qu. m'inēwa, for ma-inēwa)'; mayinēwa, mayinēwa 'I see thee' 'I-thee-see'; minēwa 'I see him'; minéhla 'I see them'; miinēwa 'he sees me'; yiinēwa 'he sees thee'; inēwa 'he sees him (or he saw him)'; miinéhla 'they see me'; minēwa waiwāq 'I see a man (I see him a man)'; miinēwa waiwāq 'the man sees me (he sees me the man)'; kuminēna, mi Jān hinēka 'I did not see him, but John saw him' (H1883a)
 •inēwa 'he finds, discovers, as knife, pipe'; mayinéwa 'I see you'; yīne wo? 'do you see it?'; yiīne wó 'do you see me?'; wainēwa hūk 'we did see (them) all'; íne óma 'he is seeing/continues to see (almost every day)'; íne oⁿcééce 'he says he did see it'; í ne óka 'he found it'; íne yukéwa 'he found it some time ago'; minēwa waqtákai, míinēwa waqtákai 'the man sees me' (D1882)
 Biloxi: háne, ané 'find'
- né: this, here
 demonstrative (close distance), V
 •neke 'this' (H1878); nēi; nēikiŋ 'this'; néke 'this' 'that'; neminahēwa 'I stand'; newayīnahet 'thou standest'; nei; nēikiñ 'this' 'that'; néke, nēke 'this' 'that' (H1883a)
 •néwa óknacíke ta '1sg'; ne ya óknacíke ta '2sg'; (íma) ne óknacíke ta '3sg' (D1882)
 •ne' nēⁿ-néⁿ-he-sé 'that, thus tall'; ne-hnēⁿ-m 'that, so long'; ne ēⁿ-wák-ni-ṭa-ré 'I will pass on my way back' (Hw)
 Biloxi: né 'this, that'
 Dakota: ye
 ▶see né:i 'this, here', né:ikḷ, né:ki, né:wa 'this'; see also lé: 'this, here', hé:, ka, ko: 'that, there'
- né:i this, here
 demonstrative
 •nēi (H1879); nei (H1883a)
 ▶né: 'this, here' + -i 'indef'
- né:ikḷ this
 demonstrative
 •nēikiŋ (H1879); nēikiñ 'this' 'that' (H1883a)
 ▶from né: 'this, here'; see also heiki 'that'
- né:k uncle, mother's brother
 N

•minē`k 'my uncle'; yinē`k 'thy uncle'; einē`k 'his uncle'; emainē`k 'our uncle'; einēkpui 'your uncle'; einē`k 'their uncle' (H1878); minēk 'my mother's brother'; yinēk 'his mother's brother' (H1879); minē`k 'my uncle'; yinē`k 'thy uncle'; einē`k 'his uncle'; emainek 'our uncle'; einēkpui 'your uncle'; einék, einék-lei 'their uncle' (H1883a)
 •mi-nēk 'my uncle'; hi-nēk 'thy uncle'; e-nēk 'his uncle' (Hw)
 Dakota: lekši 'uncle'

né:ki this
 demonstrative
 •neke (H1878); néke 'this' 'that' (H1879); néke, nēke 'this' 'that' (H1883a)
 ▶né: 'this, here' + -ki 'def art'

né:wa this
 demonstrative, V
 •newayīnahet 'thou standest' (H1879)
 ▶né: 'this, here' + wa 'real'; see lé:wa 'this', hé:wa, ko:wa 'that'

-ni: leg
 N
 •minī 'my leg (entire)' (H1879); minī 'my leg' (H1883a)
 ▶see also yeksa: 'leg'

ni: alive
 stative V
 •enī (H1878); inī, enī; minīnawigi nwa 'I live'; inīnayigi nwa 'thou livest'; inīnagi nvsei 'he lives' (H1879); inī, enī, inīna (H1883a)
 Dakota: ni
 ▶see also ni:na 'alive', ni:na-ki nə 'live'

nihāčkahək dizzy man
 N
 •niḥētsgahək' (S)
 ▶see tahāčkiḥ:k 'dizzy man', niyaku:čkahək 'dizzy woman'

niḡahe: young
 V
 •wakhtāgunikahē (H1878); nikahē (H1879)
 ▶see also yīki 'young', 'little'

nikás and, also
 conjunction
 •niḡás; waklumīha lubūs niḡás masēn 'I bought a hat and a knife'; owakiōka waktāka niḡás mihēn

►see he:kawiyani 'Treading on a Mountain', kni 'walk back', yani 'walk'

nika: ?

N

- ipīwa ningā 'good weather' (H1879)
- ipi: 'be good'

nokna_{KE} put, set

V

- is-ta-go-niñ nok-nēñ-gi-se 'put anything in the pocket' ? (Hw)
- from lā_{KE} 'sit'

-no:na younger brother

N

- minōn 'my younger brother' (H1879); minōn 'my younger brother' (H1883a)
- from no:na 'male, man'; see also i-kinō:pa:, o-kinō:pa:, -sōtka 'younger brother'

no:na male, man

N

- nōna 'man' (H1878); nōna 'man (homo)' (H1879); nōna 'man' (H1883a)
- Ofo: itó:(-ki)
- Biloxi: do(-ki)
- Dakota: bloká 'male'
- see also ma-waha:, mihá:istík, yu:xkə, wa:-ktá:ka:, wa:iyú:wa:, waiwa:x, wəki, wə:hki, yaxhelx 'man'

nōní: tobacco

N

- kcimbaí nonē (Fr)
- kcémbāi nōní (S)
- Osage: nōníhi 'white man's tobacco'
- see also yíhni:

nō:pa: two

cardinal numeral

- nomp, nombāi, noñmbai; agenombai, aginōmbakh 'twelve'; pútshka nombai, putskakh nombakh 'twenty'; atinombai, atinómba 'two houses'; nahāp nombai 'two days' (H1878); numbā'i, nomp, nombai; nahuh nombai 'ears (pair)'; tasui nombai 'eyes (pair)'; aginombai, akinombāi 'twelve'; putskanumbai, putçkkanombāi 'twenty'; okini nombai 'two hundred'; einombai 'twice'; ikanomba 'only two' (H1879); nomp (N), nombā, noñpa, nūmba, noñmbai, nombāi, numbāi, nōmbāh, nombāq; agenomba, agenombai, aginombai, akinombai 'twelve'; putçka nombā, putska nombā, putçka nombai, putska nombai 'twenty'; einombai 'twice'; mihañ nombāq 'two'

women'; tcoñk nombaq 'two dogs'; mont nombah 'two bears'; nahamp nombai 'two days'; atī noñbai 'two houses'; owakiōka waktāka nigās mihéñ nomba lek 'I met a man and two women' (H1883a)

•noñp; nóⁿpa-se 'second'; noⁿ-pá-la-le-se 'two apiece'; a-gi noñ-paí` 'twelve';

putc-kä`ñ-noñ-paí` 'twenty'; putc-käⁿn-noñ-paí` a-gi-noⁿ-saí` 'twenty one' (Hw)

•kiséⁿg (sic), kiséⁿ (sic), no^mp (Fr)

•nōs (sic) (S)

•nəsəŋ (sic) (C)

Ofo: nūpha

Biloxi: nōpá, nōpa

►see also akinō:pa: 'twelve', púčka nō:pa: 'twenty', uk^hini: nō:pa: 'two hundred', ñnō:pa: 'second', nō:pá:lale 'two apiece', ik^hanō:pa: 'only two'

nō:pá:lale two apiece

distributive numeral

•noⁿ-pá-la-le-se (Hw)

►nō:pa: 'two' + -lale 'distr numeral formative'

nō:sa: one

cardinal numeral

•nōs, nosāi, noñs, noñsāi; āgenōsai, aginoñsankh 'eleven'; akeni nōsā 'one hundred'; atinoñsāi, atinosāi 'one house'; nahāp nosāi 'one day' (H1878); noséŋ, nusé` , nōs, nosai; aginosai, akinosāi 'eleven'; nosā 'only one' (H1879); nōs, noñs, noñç (N), noñs, noñsa, noséñ, nuseñ, nōsāñ, nosāi, noñsai, noñsāi, nōsāh, noñsah; agenosai, agenōsai, āgenōsai, aginosai, akinosai 'eleven';

ukenī nōsā 'hundred'; mont nosā 'one bear'; mihañ nosā, mihañ noñsa, mihañ noñsāi 'one woman'; tcoñk nosāh 'one dog'; mont nōsāh 'one bear'; nahāmp nosāh 'one day'; atī noñsai 'one house' (H1883a); nóñsa (H1883b)

•noⁿs; noⁿ-sā`ⁿ-la-le-se 'one apiece'; a-ginoⁿ-saí` 'eleven'; putc-käⁿn-noñ-paí` a-gi-noⁿ-saí` 'twenty one' (Hw)

•noⁿs (Fr)

•blōs; nōs 'two' (S)

•nas; nəsəŋ 'two' (C)

Ofo: nūfha, nūfhá; amos tá:nuf^há 'one dollar'

Biloxi: sōsá

►see also akinō:sa: 'eleven', uk^hini: nō:sa: 'one hundred', nō:sá:lale 'one apiece'

nō:sá:lale one apiece

distributive numeral

•noⁿ-sā`ⁿ-la-le-se (Hw)

►nō:sa: 'one' + -lale 'distr numeral formative'

- nɔx elder sister
 N
 •mi-noñ`q 'my older sister'; hi-noñ`q 'thy older sister'; e-noñ`q 'his older sister' (Hw)
 Biloxi: inɔni 'her elder sister', tado noxti 'her elder brother'
 ▶see also wine:k 'sister', tahax 'younger sister'
- nɔ:xi ice, hail
 N
 •nōkh 'hail' (H1878); nūx̄, nōḡhi 'ice'; nōx 'hail' (H1879); noñhi 'ice'; nōq 'hail' (H1883a)
 ▶see also m̄:kila:çah 'ice'
- nɔxlupa icy
 adverb
 •nāñq-lu-bā, nāñq-lu-bā ((Hw)
 ▶from nɔ:xi 'ice'; see also a:satnitkuax̄ 'icy'
- o- locative, in/into/inside
 V prefix
 Ofo: o-
 Biloxi: o-, u-
 Dakota: o-
- o interrogative mode
 V suffix
 •o 'interrogative form' (H1878); o 'interrogative meaning' (H1880b); o 'interrogative form' (H1883a)
 Biloxi: wo (male speaker)
 Dakota: hwo (male speaker)
 ▶Hale's consultant was a man; see also to, wa 'interrogative'
- oçq̄ka die
 V
 •otshōñkanēse 'they are dead' (H1878)
 ▶from çq̄ka 'die'
- oh̄a:k̄e daughter, daughter-in-law
 N
 •wiohāñke (H1878); m̄iohāñk, w̄iohāñke 'my daughter' (H1879); wiohāñke, miohāñk 'my daughter' (H1883a)
 •mi-ohēñk 'my son's wife'; hi-ohēñk 'thy son's wife'; e-ohēñk 'his son's wife'; mi-o-hāñq-gi-hye` 'my step-daughter'; i-o-hāñq-gi-hye` 'thy step-daughter'; e-o-hāñq-gi-hye` 'his step-daughter' (Hw)
 ▶from -h̄a:k̄e 'son'; see -ohaxkihiyé 'step-daughter'
- ohaxkihiyé step-daughter
 N

•mi-o-hāñq-gi-hye` 'my step-daughter';
 i-o-hāñq-gi-hye` 'thy step-daughter';
 e-o-hāñq-gi-hye 'his step-daughter' (Hw)
 ▶-ohā:ḱe 'daughter' + -kihiyé 'step-child'; see
 also -haxkihiyé 'step-son', -teḱakihiyé 'step-son,
 step-daughter'

ohē:ki hill, mountain

N

•ohēki 'mountain' (H1879); ohēki 'mountain'
 (H1883a)

•o-he-gā́ ka-lí-wa 'to go up a hill' (Hw)

▶from he:ki 'hill', 'mountain'

ohiki fallen (?)

V

•mi-ēⁿ` o-hi-gī-se 'fallen tree' (Hw)

o-hìhné kick, stamp, push, thrust

active V

•ówahiⁿhnéwa 'I kick, stamp, thrust'; owahiⁿhnéwa
 'I thrust at'; yíma óyahiⁿhnéwa '2sg'; íma
 ohíⁿhnéwa '3sg'; míma huk wáehiⁿhné wa 'we all push
 or thrust'; míma ówahiⁿ'hne óma '1sg'; míma
 ówahiⁿ'hne óka 'I used to push' (D1882)

▶o- 'loc, in' + hìhné 'push, thrust'

ohìpamani: (Saponi) Jumping Creek, Fishing Creek

N

•Ohimpa-moni 'Jumping Creek', Ohimpamony Creek
 'Fishing Creek', Uhimpamory Creek, Ohimpa Creek,
 Ohimpa-mony Creek, Ohimpanny Creek, Ohimpa Mony (B)
 ▶o- 'loc, in' or 'fish' (wihó:)? + hìpa 'fall'? (see
 hìp^hé 'fall down') + mani: 'water'

ohíta go down

V

•o-hín-da (Hw)

▶o- 'loc, in' + hi-nta 'run' ?

o-hkìp^hi own

active V

•tshongo wakímpi, tshongo wahkímpi 'my dog';
 tshongo yakímpi, tshongo yahkímpi 'thy dog';
 tshongo okímpi, tshongo eohkímpi 'his dog'; tshongo
 mahkímpi, tshongo maohkímpi 'our dog'; wiahkimpui
 tshongi 'your dog'; tshongo kímpena 'their dog'
 (H1878); tḱoñgo wahkímpi, tḱoñgo wahkímpi 'my dog';
 tḱoñgo yahkímpi 'thy dog'; tḱoñgo eohkímpi 'his
 dog'; tḱoñgo maokímpi, tḱoñgo mahkímpi 'our dog';
 tḱoñgo yahkimpūi 'your dog'; tḱoñgo kímpena 'their
 dog' (H1883a)

▶used only with 'dog'; see also kí:tḱ 'belong,

one's own'

- oho:ṭeha marry
V
•ohōteha (H1883a)
▶from ohq: 'marry'
- oho:ṭeḡa many, much
adverb
•ohōtēka 'many' (H1878); ohōteka 'much, many'
(H1879)
▶from ohq: 'many', 'much'
- ohq: marry
V
•ohōn (H1883a)
▶see oho:ṭeha 'marry'; see also tamāḡqse: 'take a
husband', tamihqse: 'take a wife'
- ohq: many, much
adverb
•ohō 'many' (H1878); ohō 'much, many' (H1879);
ohō, ohōn 'many' (H1883a)
▶see oho:ṭeḡa 'many', 'much'; see also ṭatka 'many'
- o:ḡahu:ḡ all
adverb
•okahōk (H1878); kahōk 'all (of them)' (H1879);
okahōk, ōkahōk (H1883a)
▶from hú:ḡ 'all'
- ok^ha:yí:k^hi bad, ugly
stative V
•okāyík 'bad'; ukāyik 'ugly'; atī okāyeke 'ugly
house'; atī okayeyēkesel 'ugly houses' (H1878);
okāyík, ukayik 'bad'; ukāyik 'ugly, loathsome';
nihampu kayēk 'bad weather'; wahtakai kaiikise 'I
am bad (qu. he?)'; wahtakai yenkaiiks 'thou art
bad' (H1879); okāyek (N), okāyik, ukāyik 'bad';
ukāyik 'ugly'; atī okayēke 'bad house'; atī
okayeyēkesel 'bad house, plural' (H1883a)
•atī okayéke 'bad house'; atī okayéyokesel 'bad
houses' (D1882)
▶see ok^ha:yí:k^hikh^hḡ 'bad, coarse'; see also isi:
'bad, evil', ḡe:kisahḡa 'ugly'
- ok^ha:yí:k^hikh^hḡ bad, coarse
stative V
•okā yīkika 'bad' (H1878); okā yīkika 'bad' (H1879)
•o-ka-e-kī`k-hēñ 'coarse' (Hw)
▶from ok^ha:yí:k^hi 'bad, ugly'; see also pi:k^hḡ
'good, fine' from pí: 'good', ipi:k^hḡ 'handsome'
from ipi: 'good, handsome'

- ó:k^hE past (?)
 V enclitic
 •oka 'distinctive preterite' (H1878); ōka
 'distinctive past' (H1883a); ōka 'distinctive
 past' (H1883b)
 •óka 'distinct past' (D1882)
- ok^hú put into something
 V
 •o-ku`q uk-hu-se 'put in a box'; pa-hiñ-gya`
 uk-hú-se 'put in a receptacle, a basket' (Hw)
 Ofo: čotkukúso 'bucket'
 ▶o- 'loc, in'; see ok^hú 'box'
- ok^hú box
 N
 •o-ku`q uk-hu-se 'put in a box' (Hw)
 ▶from ok^hú 'put into something'
- o-ki meet
 active V
 •oaki; owakiōka waktāka niḡás mihéñ nomba lek 'I
 met a man and two women' (H1883a)
 Biloxi: ókxipa
 Dakota: akipa
- okičākaí forked out, spread out
 V
 •o-gi-tcēñ-kaí` 'forked out'; wai-u-gēñ`
 o-gi-tcēñ-kai` 'spread out roots' (Hw)
 Biloxi: čāxkḡni 'be forked'
- o-kinḡ:pa: brother, elder brother,
 younger brother
 N
 •ohenopse 'brother' (F)
 •wākenūmbai 'brother' (H1878); wakenumbai 'my
 elder brother' (H1879); niwāgenūmpai (N) 'brother'
 (H1883a)
 •mima owāginūnbā`h 'my elder brother' (D1882)
 ▶see also ḡ-kinḡ:pa:; see also -no:n, sḡtka
 'younger brother', -ḡal 'woman's elder brother',
 -ḡāsk 'elder brother', -wahiyik 'man's elder
 brother'
- o-klá:kE speak, tell, call
 active V
 •miowaklāka 'I speak'; ima oklāka 'he speaks';
 koaklākna 'I did not speak' (H1879); owaklāka 'I
 speak'; kowaklākna 'I do not speak' (H1880b);
 oaklaka 'speak', 'tell'; owaklāka 'I speak';
 kowaklākna 'I do not speak' (H1883a)
 •owaklā-ka⁽ⁿ⁾, owākḡlacāwa, owākḡla cáwa o-wá-ḡla-ḡá

'1sg'; íma owaklaqá 'I spoke to him';
 oyaqlá-ka⁽ⁿ⁾, o yá-qlá-qá '2sg'; oyaqla cáwo 'were
 you speaking together'; oqlaqá '3sg'; oqlá-ka⁽ⁿ⁾ 'he
 told him'; o waklákaⁿ 'I have told him'; oyaqlákaⁿ
 'you have told him'; oqlákaⁿ 'he has told him';
 míma oqlá-kaⁿ 'he told me' 'he has told me';
 owaklaqáhi ta '1sg'; oyaqlaqáhi ta '2sg'; oqlaqáhi
 ta '3sg'; oqlá cá yuké wa 'they were speaking
 together'; oqlácá yuké wo 'were they speaking
 together'; oqlá-ca|yukéwa 'they were speaking (sic)
 together (= oklaqa yukewa ?)'; oqla-cawa (D1882)
 ▶o- 'loc, in' + kilá:kE 'speak, tell, call'

o-knaho: work, make
 stative V
 •omíhnaohōma 'I work'; momihnahoma 'thou workest';
 mohnahōse 'he works (or makes)' (H1879); oknahō
 'work' (H1883a)
 Ofo: oktati 'work'

óknasí stick
 N
 •'leaning, future': néwa óknacíke ta '1sg'; ne ya
 óknacíke ta '2sg'; (íma) ne óknacíke ta '3sg';
 míma qékegówahí wa oknacík 'I did put it (of
 stick)' (D1882)
 ▶see haqsí 'stick', hinó:si: 'bow', maqsí: 'arrow';
 see also haqsí, wačék 'stick', yaḥé: 'lacrosse
 stick'

oktáḥa go into a lodge
 V
 •ok-těⁿ-hěⁿ-se 'to go into a lodge'; ku-we-ya
 huk-těⁿ-hěⁿ 'reach there (not his home)' (Hw)
 ▶o- 'loc, in' + ktáḥa 'go'

o-kú: give
 active V
 •owagōwa 'I give to them' (H1879); tçoñko miñgō
 'give me a dog' (H1883a)
 ▶from kú: 'give'

o-lakpé: drink
 active V
 •olākpē 'I drink' (H1878); olākpē 'I drink' (H1879)
 •mima ówalakpé wa/ta '1sg'; yima oyálakpé wa/ta
 '2sg'; íma olakpé wa/ta '3sg'; máolakpé wa/ta
 '1pl'; huk oyalákpebú?, huk oyalakpēt-bu-á '2pl';
 íma olákpehléwa, íma hūk ólakpē hlé wa,
 olákpe-hléte-la '3pl'; ówalákpeóma 'I am drinking
 or my drinking'; oyalákpe óma '2sg'; olakpe óma
 '3sg'; íma ólakpe yúka 'he did drink'; ehiⁿ,
 olákpeyěⁿ 'now drink' (D1882)

- o- 'loc, in' + lakpé: 'drink'
- o-laské: bite
active V
•ówalacké ta kohótchiyéyuq '1sg'; (o) iyálacké ta kohótchiyéyuq '2sg' 'you bite (when) you make a hole (cause)'; ima ólackéta kohótchiyéyuq '3sg'; máolackéta kohótcmanh hiyéyuq '1pl' (D1882)
►o- 'loc, in' + laské: 'bite'
- o-laspé: cut off a piece by hand
active V
•ówalacpé wa '1sg'; oyalacpé wa '2sg'; olacpé wa '3sg'; máolacpé wa '1pl'; oyálacpe-búa '2pl'; olácpe hléwa '3pl'; ówalacpé ta 'I will cut off a piece'; oyalacpé ta '2sg'; olacpé ta '3sg'; maolacpé ta '1pl'; yima oyálacpēt-buá '2pl'; olácpe-hléte la '3pl' (D1882)
►o- 'loc, in' + la- 'instr, by hand' + spé: 'cut off a piece'
- o-lohi: tie
active V
•owalohiwa 'I tie him' (H1878); olohī (H1883a)
►o- 'loc, in'
- olopaí spread out
V
•mi-hqāⁿ-hoṭ o-lo-baí 'blanket spread out' (Hw)
►o- 'loc, in' + lu- 'instr, by hand'?
- o-luské: claw
active V
•oluskēse (H1883a)
►o- 'loc, in' + lu- 'instr, by hand/pulling' + ské: 'hold'
- omaḳlé: windy
V
•omaklēwa 'wind' (H1879); omaklēwa 'wind' (H1883a)
►o- 'loc, in' + maḳlé: 'wind'
- onihé stand
V
•mi-ēⁿ` o-niⁿ-hé` 'standing tree' (Hw)
Dhegiha: *rihe 'be moving'
►o- 'loc, in'; see also naḳhé: 'stand'
- oni: tree
N
•onī (H1879); onī (H1883a)
►see also wi:yā, maxhíka 'tree'

oni:i at the prairie
 adverb
 •onīi (H1883a)
 ▶from oni: 'tree'?

ono:i wear
 V
 Biloxi: ɔni
 ▶see haṭisono:i 'shoe', honis 'stocking'

onoyekeneq Murdering
 N
 •Onoyegeneon (Sp)
 ▶personal name; -ǫ: 'prog'

opaṭaṣel shoot off
 V
 •opatañsel (H1883a)

opemi:ha think
 V
 •opemīha (H1883a)
 ▶see also hkṣpé: 'remember, think'

o-p^hé: go, enter
 active V
 •opedēse 'he goes' (H1879); owapēwa 'I go (or was going)'; kowapēbina 'I do not wish to go'; opetēse 'he is going'; kopebenīse 'he does not wish to go' (H1880a); owapéwa 'I go'; kowapéwa 'I do not go'; kowapébina 'I do not wish to go'; opetése 'he is going'; kopebenīse 'he does not wish to go' (H1880b); opa, opewa, opēwa 'go'; owapēwa 'I go'; kowapēbina 'I do not wish to go'; oyapēwa 'thou goest'; opewa, opēwa 'he goes' 'he went'; maopēwa 'we go'; oyapepūa 'ye go'; opehéhla 'they go'; owapēta 'I will go'; oyapēta 'thou wilt go'; opeta, opēta 'he will go'; opetése 'he is going, or will go'; kopēbenīse 'he does not wish to go'; maopēta 'we will go'; oyapétépa 'ye will go'; opehéhla 'they will go'; wakonta opēta 'I will make him go (I cause him he will go)' (H1883a); owapéwa 'I go'; oyapéwa 'thou goest'; opéwa 'he goes, he went'; maopéwa 'we go'; oyapepūa 'ye go'; opehéhla 'they go'; opa 'to go'; owapēwa 'I go'; kowapēbina 'I do not wish to go' (H1883b)
 •opa 'go from' 'go homeward'; owapé-wa '1sg'; oyapé-wa '2sg'; opé-wa '3sg'; ma-opé-wa '1pl'; oyape-púa '2pl'; owapé ta '1sg future'; oyapé-ta '2sg future'; opé-te(se) '3sg future'; maopéta '1pl future'; oyapétépa '2pl future'; opetéhla '3pl future'; k-owapé-bi-na 'I don't wish to go'; k-oyapé-bi-na '2sg'; kopé-bení(se) '3sg' (D1882)

•o-pé-se 'to go'; mēⁿ-niñ`-kṭe o-pé-se 'go bank stream'; ṭa-pa-ṭa`q o-pé-se 'go up stream, on water'; māñ-gre` o-pé-se 'go against, versus the wind'; māñ-gre` e-hu-yá` o-pé-se 'go with the wind' (Hw)
 Ofo: óp^{he} 'come inside'
 ▶o- 'loc, in' + pHé: 'go'

oplá:ta light, daylight, moonlight
 N
 •oplāta 'light' (H1878); oplā`t 'moon-light';
 uplāt, oplāta 'daylight' (H1879)

opla:ṭi I run
 V
 •oblāti (H1878)
 ▶see also ḥatá, hi-nta 'run'

opokhe (Saponi) coat
 N
 •opockhe (F)
 ▶it is unknown what sound(s) was represented by kh in Fontaine's writing; Rankin: perhaps related to Ofo puké 'it is warm' + o- 'loc, in'; see opokhe hasa 'shirt'

opokhe hasa (Saponi) shirt
 N
 •opockhe hasa (F)
 ▶from opokhe 'coat'; Rankin: possibly ha 'hide', 'skin' + asá: 'white', also possibly from Algonquian -assay- 'skin', 'pelt'

ohsi: night
 N
 •osī (H1878); usī, osī (H1879); usī, osī (H1883a)
 Ofo: upófi
 Biloxi: pusí
 Crow: óotchia 'darkness'; Hidatsa: ó:kcia 'night, darkness'

ohsi:ha darkness
 N
 •osīha (H1878); usīhaa, ohsīha (H1879); usīhaa, ohsīha (H1883a)
 Proto-Winnebago-Chiwere: o-...zi
 ▶from ohsi: 'night'

ohsi:hiṭe evening
 N
 •osihitewa (H1878); usīitei, osihitewa (H1879);
 osihitewa (H1883a)
 ▶from ohsi:ha 'darkness'

o:tap^{hái} down river
adverb
•o-ṭa-phai`q 'down stream, on water'; o-ṭa-phai`q
a-le-se 'down stream, on land' ? (Hw)
•ōtap`ai´ 'up (river)' (Fr)
•ūdaphái`i 'up river' (S)
▶see ta:patá: 'up river'

oto: green, leaf, grass
N, V
•otōi 'leaf' (H1878); otōi 'leaf' (H1879); otōi,
otōq (N) 'leaf'; otōi 'grass'; otō (N) 'green'
(H1883a)
Ofo: it^{hóhi} 'green, blue'
Biloxi: tohí, tóhi 'green'
Dakota: thó 'green'
▶see also mukta:ki, sḡkta:ki 'grass'

otó:lak^{hḡ}: green
V
•otolakōi (H1878); otōlakōi (H1879); otolakōi
(H1883a)
•o-ḡo-la-k|hóⁿ`; o-ḡo-la-k|hoⁿ-hi-ye-sé 'make
green' (Hw)
▶from oto: 'green, leaf, grass'

oto:lak^{hḡ}:hiye make something green
causative V
•o-ḡo-la-k|hoⁿ-hi-ye-sé (Hw)
▶otó:lak^{hḡ}: 'green' + -hiyé 'caus'

o-xá:tE see
active V
•oahātita 'I see'; owahāta 'I see it'; oyahāta
'thou seest it'; ohāta 'he sees it'; owahatiōka 'I
saw it'; oyahatiōka 'thou sawest it'; ohatiōka 'he
saw it'; owahāteta 'I shall see it'; oyahāteta
'thou will see it'; ohāteta 'he will see it'
(H1878); oahātila 'I see'; oyāhvt'a 'thou seest';
ohatise 'he sees' (H1879); ohāta 'he sees it';
ohatéhla 'they see it'; ohatiōka 'he saw it';
ohatēta 'he will see it' (1880a); ohāta; owahāta
'I see'; owahata 'I see it'; oyahāta 'thou seest';
oyahata 'thou seest it'; ohāta 'he sees'; ohata,
ohāta 'he sees it'; maohata 'we see' 'we see it';
oyahatbua 'ye see it'; ohatéhla 'they see it';
owahatiōka 'I saw it'; oyahatiōka 'thou sawest it';
ohatiōka 'he saw it' 'he saw it formerly';
maohatioka 'we saw it'; oyahatiokewa 'ye saw it';
ohatiokehla 'they saw it'; owahatēta 'I shall see
it'; oyahatēta 'thou wilt see it'; ohatēta 'he
will see it'; maohātēta 'we shall see it';
oyahātetbūa 'ye will see it'; ohatetéhla 'they

- ɔ̄te town
 N
 •Ontehoghkau (Sp)
 ▶see ɔ̄tehoaka: 'Old Town'; see also ma:pi: 'town, village'
- ɔ̄tehoaka: Old Town
 N
 •Ontehoghkau (Sp)
 ▶personal name; ɔ̄te 'town' + ho:aka: 'old'
- ɔ̄xiya:ya valley
 N
 •oŋqyāyvŋ (H1879); oŋqyāyũñ (H1883a)
- pa bitter
 stative V
 •haspahínuk 'strawberry' (H1883a)
 ▶see haspahínq̄k 'strawberry'
- pa- instrumental, by
 pressure/pushing
 V prefix
 Ofo: pa-
 Biloxi: pa-
 Dakota: pa-
 ▶see pahe: 'pound', pasahé 'hoop, mound'
- pahe: pound
 V
 •pahē (H1883a)
 Dakota: paha 'a pile'
 ▶pa- 'instr, by pressure/pushing'
- pah̄i basket, container
 N
 •pa-hiñ-gya` uk-hú-se 'put in a receptacle, a basket' (Hw)
 Biloxi: pah̄i, p̄ah̄i 'sack'; anípah̄i 'a barrel' (aní = 'water')
- palá:ni eight
 cardinal numeral
 •palán, palāni, palanikh; agepalali, agi palanikh 'eighteen' (H1878); palani, palán (H1879); pālán (N), palāni, palāli, palāniq; agepalāni, agepalāli, akipalāni, akipalali 'eighteen' (H1883a)
 •pā-lan; pa-la-ni` 'eighth'; a-gi-pa-lan-ai` 'eighteen' (Hw)
 •balán, yawinō`ⁿ (sic), nihilī` (sic); balán 'four' (Fr)
 •pelá`k` (S)
 •hyáwenq̄h (sic); bəl̄é:ŋ 'four' (C)

•bil'á:kʰ, bilǎ:kʰ (M)
 Ofo: pětani
 ▶pa- ? + lá:ni 'three'; see also akipala:ni
 'eighteen'

- papasik Devil
 N
 •Papacik (Sp)
 ▶Sam John's father's Tutelo nickname; from isi:
 'bad, evil'; see isi:ka 'evil spirit'
- papó:skɔ buck, male deer
 N
 •babō'skoⁿ (Fr)
 •babō'sqɔ'^o (S)
 •babaskó'q̣:nǎ', babásko'q̣:nǎ' 'buck' (M)
 ▶see also çinǒkehe 'buck, male deer'
- pasahé hoop, mound
 N
 •pa-sa-hé` nūñ-gi-tchoñ 'erect a hoop in the ground'
 (Hw)
 ▶pa- 'instr, by pressure/pushing'
- paxtakǒse long line of men
 N
 •paq-ṭa-kóⁿ-se 'the long line of men' (Hw)
 ▶see also henǎ 'far, long', stetka, sui, yapóske,
 yɔp^hǎ 'long'
- peni twist
 V
 Ofo: ap^héni 'fold'
 Biloxi: apéni, apení 'go around an object'
 ▶see waxopeni 'twist a string'; see also lu:čkép
 'twist, wring', lu:ní 'be twisted'
- penihé:i copper
 N
 •penihēi (H1878); penihéi (H1879); penihēi
 (H1883a)
 ▶probably from English 'penny'
- pé:pahé pepper
 N
 •pebahē` (note: 'Probably English') (Fr)
 •bēbahé'^f (S)
 •pé:bǎhǎ' (M)
 ▶from English 'pepper' and/or pahe: 'pound'
- pexhɔ blow
 V
 •be-qhūⁿ (Hw)

Kansa: biyá 'blow on a fire to make it burn'

p^ha

'head'

N

•hodke tock ire chunkete posse 'is this the way to the horse head' (F)

•pasūi 'head'; pāhtēi 'nose' (H1878); pasui 'the head'; mimpasūi 'my head'; pasui 'thy head'; impasui 'his head'; paṣtei 'his nose' (H1879); pasūye (N), pasūi 'head'; mimpasūi 'my head'; yiñpasūi 'thy head'; epasūi 'his head'; emañkpasūi 'our heads'; eyiñkpasūpui 'your heads'; epasūi-lei 'their heads'; pania minte 'forehead'; pāqtē, paṣti 'nose' (H1883a); pasūi 'head'; mimpasūi 'my head'; yiñpasūi 'thy head'; epasūi 'his head'; emañkpasūi 'our heads'; eyiñkpasūpui 'your heads'; epasūi-lei 'their heads' (H1883b)

Ofo: ap^há; pa:č^húti 'red-headed'; ap^há alahí 'scalp'

Biloxi: pa:

Dakota: p^ha

►see p^hania -ṭe 'forehead', p^hasu: 'head', p^ha:x^ti: 'nose'

p^hania -ṭe

forehead

N

•pania minte (H1883a)

Ofo: i^th^é

Biloxi: ité 'face, forehead'

►p^ha 'head' + ? + -ṭé 'face'; see also ṭiḵo:i 'forehead'

p^hasu:

head

N

•hodke tock ire chunkete posse 'is this the way to the horse head' (F)

•pasūi (H1878); pasui 'the head'; mimpasūi 'my head'; pasui 'thy head'; impasui 'his head' (H1879); pasūye (N), pasūi; mimpasūi 'my head'; yiñpasūi 'thy head'; epasūi 'his head'; emañkpasūi 'our heads'; eyiñkpasūpui 'your heads'; epasūi-lei 'their heads' (H1883a); pasūi; mimpasūi 'my head'; yiñpasūi 'thy head'; epasūi 'his head'; emañkpasūi 'our heads'; eyiñkpasūpui 'your heads'; epasūi-lei 'their heads' (H1883b)

►p^ha 'head' + su: 'seed, pupil'

p^ha:x^ti:

nose

N

•pāhtēi (H1878); paṣtei 'his nose' (H1879);

pāqtē, paṣti (H1883a)

Mandan: páxu

Dakota: paxte 'forehead (brow)'

►p^ha 'head' + -xti 'augmentative'

p^hé: go, walk

active V

•wapēta 'I walk' (H1878); miawapewa 'I go';

yapedese 'thou goest' (H1879)

•hēñ-ṭko`q hoñ-pése 'to go along a path'; su`q

a-pé-se 'go up stream, on land' (Hw)

Dhegiha: p^he 'step, tread'

►see also a-p^hé:, o-p^hé: 'go', hq^hé 'go along'

p^hé:ṭi fire

N

•pēti, pēte (H1878); pēt, pēti (H1879); pītç (N),

pēti, pētç (H1883a)

•p^hé:iš, p^hé:s (M)

Ofo: ap^hé:ti, ap^hi:ti

Biloxi: pēti

Dakota: p^héta

►see also mi:hąstí:k 'fire'

pí: good

stative V

•piwa 'good'; wahtāki bī 'good man'; wahtāki

bilīse 'good men'; wahtaka mimbīwa 'I am a good

man'; wahtaka yimbīwa 'thou art a good man';

wahtaka bīwa, wahtaka bīua 'he is a good man';

atī bīse 'good house'; atī a bīsēl 'good

houses'; tshoñgebīse 'good dog'; tshoñgebihlēse

'good dogs' (H1878); bīwa; wahtākai mimbīwa 'I am

good'; wahtāki yimbīwa, yuxkāhiembīwa 'thou art

good'; wahtākai bīse, wahtaka bīwa 'he is good';

wahtakai maiimbīwa 'we are good'; yuxkahibihlēse

'ye are good'; wahtākai bihla, wahtākai bihlēse

'they are good' (H1879); bi, bī, pī, bīwa 'good';

mimbīwa 'I am good'; yimbīwa 'thou art good';

biwa, bīwa 'he is (or was) good' 'he (or she) is

good'; kebīna yehō 'she is sewing badly, i.e. she

does not well in sewing (or is not good at sewing)';

wahtáke bi, wahtake bī, wahtáke pī 'good man';

wahtáke biwa, wahtáke bīse 'he is a good man';

wahtáke bīhla, wahtáke bihlēse 'they are good men';

tçonk epīsel 'good dog'; tçonge bīse 'good dog

(or, it is a good dog)'; tçonge bihlēse 'good dog,

plural' (H1883a)

•wahtáke bi 'good man; wahtáke biwa, wahtáke bīse

'he is a good man'; wahtáke bīhla, wahtáke bihlēse

'they are good men'; tcoñge bīse 'it is a good

dog'; tcoñge bihlēse 'they are good dogs' (D1882)

•bī`wa 'nice, good; also "thank you"' (Fr)

•bī`wā 'good' (S)

•bī:wah 'thank you' (M)

Biloxi: pī

►see also pi:k^hą 'good, fine', ipi: 'good, handsome', pile: 'handsome'

-pi desiderative mode
V suffix
•bi 'desiderative form' (H1880b); bi, be 'desiderative form' (H1883a)
Ofo: -be 'future'
►maybe from pí: 'good'; Hale: 'inserted before the negative suffix na'

pi:k^hą good, fine
V
•ipikañ 'handsome' (H1878); ipikaŋ 'handsome' (H1879); ipikam 'handsome' (H1883a)
•bík-hēⁿ 'fine, good (not coarse)' (Hw)
►from pí: 'good'; see also ipi:k^hą 'handsome' from ipi: 'good, handsome', uka:yi:kik^hą 'bad, coarse' from ok^ha:yí:k^hi: 'bad, ugly'

pi:láhuk thank you
•bilahéⁿk (Fr)
•bīlā'huk' 'thank you!' (S)
►from pí: 'good'; see also pi:wa 'thank you'

pile: handsome
V
•pirē (N) (H1883a)
Catawba: pī:rɛ', pihere 'good'
►from pí: 'good'

pi:ká fish
N
•bisōká (Fr)
►see also wihó: 'fish'

pi:wa thank you
•bī'wa 'nice, good; also "thank you"' (Fr)
•bī:wah (M)
►from pí: 'good'; see also pi:láhuk 'thank you'

pí smell
V
•la-ka-pín', la-ka-píniⁿ (Hw)
►see lákapí 'emit an odor'; see also uwalaháha: 'smell', wihóxkupsua: 'fishy smell'

po:s egg
N
•mayiñk pōs (H1878); māyīnk pōs (H1879); mayiñk pōs (H1883a)
►see ma:yiki 'bird'

-pú 2 plural
V suffix, N suffix
•pui (H1883a)

pú:čka ten
cardinal numeral
•bū'tshk, butshkai, pūtsk, putskañ; pútshka nombai, putskakh nombakh 'twenty'; pútshka nāni 'thirty'; ukenī putskai 'thousand' (H1878); putskai, putskáyī, bū'tçk; putskanumbai, putçkkanombāi 'twenty'; putskanani, putçka nāni 'thirty'; putskatobai 'forty'; okini butskai 'thousand' (H1879); pōtsk (N), putsk, putçk, butçk, bū'tçk, putskai, butçkai, putskañ, putskañi; putçka nomba, putska nomba, putçka nombai, putska nombai 'twenty'; putska nani, putçka nani, putçka lani 'thirty'; putska tobai 'fourty'; okeni butskai, ukenī putskai, ukenī mbutskai 'thousand' (H1883a)
•putck, putc-kai`, putc-kaiⁿ; putc-kā`ñ-noñ-paí` 'twenty'; putc-kāⁿn-noñ-paí` a-gi-noⁿ-saí` 'twenty one'; putc-kāⁿn na-nī` 'thirty' (Hw)
•butsk, gwīs (sic), gwī (sic); būz 'six' (Fr)
•bitská` (S)
•kwih (sic); buts 'six' (C)
►see also púčka nq:pa: 'twenty', púčka la:ni 'thirty', púčka tó:pa 'forty', uk^hini: pučka 'thousand'

púčka la:ni thirty
cardinal numeral
•pútshka nāni (H1878); putska nani, putçka nani, putçka lani (H1883a)
•putc-kāⁿn na-nī` (Hw)
►pú:čka 'ten' + lá:ni 'three'

púčka nq:pa: twenty
cardinal numeral
•pútshka nombai, putskakh nombakh (H1878); putçka nomba, putska nomba, putçka nombai, putska nombai (H1883a)
•putc-kā`ñ-noñ-paí`; putc-kāⁿn-noñ-paí` a-gi-noⁿ-saí` 'twenty one' (Hw)
►pú:čka 'ten' + nq:pa: 'two'

púčka tó:pa forty
cardinal numeral
•putska tobai (H1883a)
►pú:čka 'ten' + tó:pa 'four'

pus round, globular
V
•bū'sh 'round'; būc 'globular' (Hw)
►see also waliķaskq̄x 'round, globular'

(Hw)
Biloxi: xapká, xyapká 'low, flat'
►see manisa:p 'ford'

- sa:se cut repeatedly, in several places
V
•lakasāse 'chop' (H1883a)
Ofo: túfəf^ha 'tear'
Biloxi: dusasádi 'tear often or in many places';
daksádi 'cut with knife'
Dakota: záza 'cut'
►see lákasa:se 'cut repeatedly, in several places by force/striking'; see also kát^hi 'cut by striking',
spé: 'cut off a piece', tîhą 'cut', tikú:sE 'break, cut straight, evenly'
- sa:si bed
N
•sās, sāsi; sās miŋgītowi 'my bed'; sas
yingītowi 'thy bed'; sas gītowi 'his bed' (H1883a)
- sâ: emphatic, self
pronominal suffix
►H1883a: sái or sâni, giving the sense of "alone," or rather perhaps "self"; see wi:sâ: '1sg emph, I myself, I alone', ik^hawisâ: '1sg restr, I alone',
yi:sâ: '2 emph, you yourself/selves, you alone',
ik^hayisâ: '2 restr, you alone', i:sâ: '3sg emph, he himself, he alone', ik^haisâ: '3sg restr, he alone',
wai:sâ: '1pl emph, we ourselves, we alone',
ik^hawaisâ: '1pl restr, we alone'
- sâtése bury
V
•sûntése (H1883a)
- sâyâtí put something between tent pole and skin
V
•sēⁿ`-yēⁿ-đī[`] (Hw)
►from yą:t 'be in the middle'
- se assertive/quotative mode
V suffix
•se '(they say)'; íne oⁿcééé 'he says he did see it'; kíte oⁿcééé 'he did beat him?' (D1882)
- se definite article
N suffix
Mandan: -s
►used with deverbal nouns; see also -ki, -kį 'def art', -i 'indef art'

- se:maṭa abdomen
 N
 •sēmenta (H1879)
- sí: yellow
 V
 •sīi (H1878); sīi (H1879); sīi, wāsi (H1883a)
 •si` ; si-hi-yé-se 'make yellow' (Hw)
 Ofo: fhí:
 Biloxi: sí
 Dakota: zí
 ▶see sihiyé 'make something yellow'
- sihiyé make something yellow
 causative V
 •si-hi-yé-se (Hw)
 ▶sí: 'yellow' + -hiyé 'caus'
- sitō:le yesterday
 adverb
 •sitōl (H1878); sitōl; setoŋle wailutiōka 'thou
 hast eaten'; setoŋle lutiōkha 'he has eaten
 (yesterday)' (H1879); sitō (H1883a)
 •citóre (D1882)
- ské: hold
 active V
 •oluskēse 'claw' (H1883a)
 •ówalacké ta kohótchiyéyuq '1sg'; (o) iyálacké ta
 kohótchiyéyuq '2sg' 'you bite (when) you make a hole
 (cause)'; ima ólackéta kohótchiyéyuq '3sg';
 máolackéta kohótcmanh hiyéyuq 'lpl' (D1882)
 ▶see laské:, i-laské:, o-laské: 'bite', o-luské:
 'claw'
- so:ṭi strong
 V
 •sōti (H1879); soti (H1883a)
 Dakota: sutá
 ▶see also iṭa:i, wa:yupa:ḳi 'strong'
- sōkta:ki grass
 N
 •suñktāgi (H1878); suñktāgi (H1879); sùñktāki
 (N) (H1883a)
 ▶see also mukta:ki, oto: 'grass'
- sōt tail
 N
 •wayā`suṅtka 'pigeon' (Fr)
 Mandan: šūt 'tail'
 ▶see wayá:sōtka 'pigeon'

-sõtka younger brother
 N
 •wisúñtk 'my younger brother'; hisúñtk, yisúñtk 'thy younger brother'; esúñtkai, eisuntkai 'his younger brother'; maisúñtkai 'our younger brother', yisúñtkapui 'your younger brother'; eisúñtkai 'their younger brother (same as his)' (H1878); wisúñtk 'my younger brother'; yisuntk 'thy younger brother' (H1879); suntka, súntka; wisúñtk, wisúñtk 'my younger brother'; yisúñtk 'thy younger brother'; esúñtkai, esúñtkai 'his younger brother'; maisúñtkai 'our younger brother'; yisúñtkapui 'your younger brother'; eisúñtkai 'their younger brother' (H1883a)
 •suntka; mima micũñtk 'my younger brother' (D1882)
 •wi-són-ṭk 'my younger brother'; hi-son-ṭk 'thy younger brother'; e-son-ṭk 'his younger brother' (Hw)
 Ofo: əkif^hũtku 'Saturday'
 Biloxi: sōtkáka
 Dakota: sũka
 ▶see also ĩ-kinó:pa:, -no:n, o-kinó:pa: 'younger brother'

spé: cut off a piece
 active V
 •lakaspēta 'to cut off in pieces' (H1883a)
 •ówalacpé wa '1sg'; oyalacpé wa '2sg'; olacpé wa '3sg'; máolacpé wa '1pl'; oyálacpe-búa '2pl'; olácpe hléwa '3pl'; ówalacpé ta 'I will cut off a piece'; oyalacpé ta '2sg'; olacpé ta '3sg'; maolacpé ta '1pl'; yima oyálacpēt-buá '2pl'; olácpe-hléte la '3pl' (D1882)
 Ofo: ófpəki 'split, chop, cut'
 ▶see lákaspé: 'cut off a piece by force/striking', o-laspé: 'cut off a piece by hand'; see also kát^{hi} 'cut by striking', sa:se 'cut repeatedly, cut in several places', tĩhə 'cut', tikú:sE 'break, cut straight, evenly'

sté:kE good
 V
 ▶see yáto-sté:kE 'love'

sté:ki island
 N
 •stēk (H1878); stestēki, stēk (H1879); stēk, stestēki (H1883a)
 ▶see also histe:ki 'stone, rock, island'

stesté:ki island
 N
 •stestēki (H1879); stestēki (H1883a)

- reduplicated form of sté:ki 'island'
- stetka long
 V
 Ofo: ftétka 'tall'
 ►see məstetkaí 'pheasant', wustetkai 'partridge';
 see also hená 'far, long', sui, yapóske, yop^hə
 'long', paxtakóse 'long line of men'
- su: seed, pupil
 N
 Ofo: íf^hu 'seed'
 Biloxi: su 'seed', 'pupil of the eye'
 Dakota: su 'seed'; ištasu 'eyeball', 'pupil' (išta
 'eye')
 ►see p^hasu: 'head', tasu: 'eye'
- sui long
 V
 •sui (H1879); sui; ati sui 'long house' (H1883a)
 •atí su-i 'long house' (D1882)
 ►see also hená 'far, long', stetka, yapóske, yop^hə
 'long', paxtakóse 'long line of men'
- sú:xi hill, mountain
 N
 •shūkhe, sūhi 'mountain' (H1878); sūi, çuxə
 'mountain' (H1879); çūqe, sūhi 'mountain'; sūi
 'hill'; sūi aginēse 'he is on the hill' (H1883a)
 •suq 'the hill'; su`q a-pé-se 'go up stream, on
 land' (Hw)
 ►see also he:ki 'hill, mountain'
- ta:- alienable possession
 N prefix
 Ofo: t^ha-
 Dakota: t^ha-
- taháčkiha:k dizzy man
 N
 •dahátskihę:k^h (M)
 ►see niháčkahək 'dizzy man', niyaku:čkahək 'dizzy
 woman'
- tahaḵ younger sister
 N
 •tahañk (H1883a)
 •wi-ṭa-hěñk 'my younger sister'; hi-ta-hěñk 'thy
 younger sister'; e-tahěñk 'his younger sister' (Hw)
 ►see also wine:k 'sister', -nɔx 'elder sister'
- ṭahani brother-in-law
 N

•wi-ta-hěñ`n 'my brother in law' (Hw)
 Biloxi: taháni 'wife's brother'
 Dakota: t^hąhą 'man's brother-in-law'

- ṭahqská personal name
 •Tahöská? (Sp)
 ▶Speck: "[A] chief's name, said to belong to the Bear sib." see hqská 'small'
- ṭahqṭane:ki have
 V
 •tahoñtanēki (H1883a)
- takiḱú tear into pieces
 V
 •dagikú 'to tear into pieces' (Fr)
- ta:kse: river, stream
 N
 •tāksēi 'river' (H1879)
 •ṭāk-se-se 'the stream' (Hw)
 ▶see also taksi:tą 'river', histĭ 'spring'
- taksi:tą river
 N
 •taksīta (H1878); taksitai (H1879); taksīta, taksītai (H1883a)
 ▶ta:kse: 'river' + itą: 'big, great, large'; see also histĭ 'spring'
- ṭal woman's elder brother
 N
 •wital 'my elder brother' (H1883a)
 Crow: isaalí 'woman's older brother'
 Hidatsa: itá:ru 'woman's older brother'
 ▶see also ĭ-kinq̄:pa:, o-kinq̄:pa:, -ṭąsk 'elder brother', -wahiyik 'man's elder brother'
- ṭalanq̄ho hurry up and come
 V
 •da-la-noⁿ-ho (Hw)
- ṭalu:kena ? face
 N
 •talūkna (H1878); talukni 'the face'; mentalōken 'my face' (H1879); talūkna; mentalōken 'my face' (H1883a)
 ▶see also ṭalu:pna, -ṭé 'face'
- ṭalu:pna face
 N
 •tarūbna (H1878); tarūbna (H1883a)
 ▶see also ṭalu:kena, -ṭé 'face'

►see also ɬu:hi 'thunder, lightning', ɣopa:ksekse:i
'lightning'

ɬapuni:teka star

N

•tabunitshka (H1878); tapniṅskai, tabuniṅteka
(H1879); tabuniṅɬkai (N), tapniṅskai (H1883a)
Biloxi: ɬtka, ɬtká

-ɬase:i neck

N

•tasēi (H1878); tasei; mintasei 'my neck'
(H1879); tasēi; mintasēi 'my neck' (H1883a)

ɬa:skaho:i oak

N

•taskahōi (H1878); tāskahōi (H1879); tāskahōi,
taskahūi (N) (H1883a)

tasu: eye

N

•tasūye, tasūi (H1878); tasui 'an eye'; mentasūi
'my eye'; tasui nombai 'eyes (pair)' (H1879);
tasūi, tasūye (N); mentasūi 'my eye' (H1883a)
►su: 'seed, pupil'

-ta:ti father (of the speaker/vocative)

N

•tāt; tāt 'my father'; itāti 'thy father'; ewā
itāt 'our father' (H1878); tāt 'my father'; tāt 'O
father (said by son and daughter)' (H1879); tāt
(N); tāt 'my father'; itāti 'thy father' (H1883a)
•ɬaɬ, dāɬ 'my father' (Hw)
Biloxi: táta 'masc voc for father'
Mandan: taté 'vocative form'
►see also -á:ti 'father (referential)'

ta:xka: forest

N

•māndāhkai 'turkey' (H1878); māndāhkai 'turkey';
mampaṅdahkai 'buffalo (generic)' (H1879); tāhkai;
tāhkai 'woods'; tāhkai aḡinēse 'he is in the
woods'; māndāhkai, māndūhkai 'turkey';
mampaṅdahkai 'buffalo' (H1883a)
•ɬa^h-kaí yu-phēⁿ-skye^h 'the rectilinear forest';
ɬa^h-kaí ku-ksēⁿ 'the curvilinear forest';
ɬaḡ-ka-lēⁿ-gise 'the clump of trees' (Hw)
►see maḡ^hɬatahka: 'buffalo' (maḡ^ha 'cow (any
bovine)' + ta:xka: 'forest' = 'wild cow'),
maḡ:ta:hka: 'turkey' (maḡ 'game bird' + ta:xka:
'forest' = 'wild bird'); cf. Ofo 'opossum'
feska-čáki = feská 'hog' + čáki 'forest'

Biloxi: ité 'forehead, face'
Dakota: ite
▶see also ʔalu:kena, ʔalu:pna 'face'; pʰania -ʔe
'forehead'

tE potential aspect
V enclitic
•eta 'future' (H1878); ta, ēta 'future' (H1883a);
ta, ēta 'future' (H1883b)
•ta, éta 'future' (D1882)
Biloxi: tE 'optative mode'

te:ka dead
stative V
•tēka (H1878); tēka (H1879); tēka (H1883a)
▶from té: 'die'

-té:ka child, daughter, son
N
•witēkai; witékai 'my son'; yitékai 'thy son';
etékai 'his son'; emañktekai 'our son'; yitekabui
'your son'; etekahlei 'their son' (H1878);
witēkai 'my son' (H1879); tēkai; witēka (N),
witéka, witékai 'my son'; yite:ka, yitékai 'thy
son'; etéka, etékai 'his son'; mañktéka,
emañktékai 'our son'; yitékabūi 'your son';
etéka, etekahlēi 'their son'; witēka 'my
daughter' (H1883a)
•ri-ʔe-kā`-ī` 'my child'; hi-ʔe-kā`-ī` 'thy child';
e-ʔe-kā`-i` 'his child'; ʔe-ka-gi-hye` 'his step
son' (Hw)
▶see -teḳakihyé 'step-son, step-daughter'; see
also ku:čka:, wa:ku:čka:, hōska, ni:ská, wa:kasík
'child', -ohá:ḳe 'daughter', -hą:ḳe 'son'

-teḳakihyé step-son, step-daughter
N
•ʔe-ka-gi-hye` 'his step son' (Hw)
▶-té:ka 'son, daughter' + -kihiyé 'step-child'; see
also -hąḳkihiyé 'step-son', -ohąḳkihiyé
'step-daughter'

te:ola:ha die
stative V
•witē-olāha 'I die'; hitē-olāha 'thou diest';
tēolāha 'he dies' (H1879); tēolāha (H1883a)
▶from té: 'die'

te:si: body, corpse
N
•tesi (H1878); tēsī (H1879); tēsi (H1883a)
•wa`-ʔa-kā`-ʔe-se 'the dead body of a man' (Hw)
▶from té: 'die'

- ɬewa whose
 interrogative pronoun
 •tewakītūnwa, tewagītūnwa; tewakītūnwā 'whose
 (is it)?' (H1883a)
- tewahomani: (Saponi) Tuscarooda Creek
 N
 •Tewaw-hommini Creek, Tewakominy, Tewahominy, Tewa-
 ho-mony Creek, Teewawho Creek (B)
 ▶Byrd: "this last stream receiv'd its Appellation
 from the Disaster of a Tuscarora Indian," "because
 one of that Nation had been kill'ed thereabouts, and
 his Body thrown into the Creek"; té: 'die' + wa
 'real aspect' + o- 'loc, in' + mani: 'water'
- ɬí: live, reside, dwell
 active V
 •toka yatiwo 'where do you live?' (H1878); yatíwa
 'thou residest'; toka yatíwo 'where dost thou
 reside?' (H1880b); yatíwa 'thou dwellest'; toka
 yatiwo 'where dost thou dwell?' (H1883a)
 Biloxi: ti, atí 'dwell'
 ▶see athí: 'house'
- tikáhku chief
 N
 •Teká?ku, Dikáhku 'a chief's name, said to belong to
 the Deer sib' (Sp)
 ▶Speck: "[John Buck] was until his death the tribal
 chief and Tutelo representative in the Six Nations
 Council, holding the name-title Dikáhku [] which,
 he understood, denoted "chief" in the Tutelo tongue"
- ɬiko:i forehead
 N
 •tikōi (H1878); tikōi 'his forehead' (H1879);
 tikōi (H1883a)
 ▶see also p^hania -ɬe 'forehead'
- tikú:sE break, cut straight, evenly
 stative V
 •kusa 'root signifying separation'; tikūsisel 'he
 breaks it off by pushing' (H1883a)
 Ofo: atutkáfi 'break'; utkúsi 'cut (with
 scissors)'
 Biloxi: ksE 'break'
 Dakota: tkúza
 Winnebago: hakirúcgus
 ▶see lákatkú:sE 'break, cut by force/striking',
 latkú:sE 'break, cut by hand', kílatkú:sE,
 í-klatkú:sE 'break, cut oneself, one's own by hand',
 latkú:sE 'cut with the teeth, bite off', latkú:sE,
 naṭkú:sE 'break with the foot'; see ɬtkus

'straight'; see also káthi 'cut by striking', sa:se 'cut repeatedly, cut in several places', spé: 'cut off a piece', tǐhǎ 'cut'

tiyaok under
postposition
•mǐq-haíⁿ-hot' tya`ok něn-gǐ-se 'put something under a blanket' (Hw)

tǐhǎ cut
v
•mi-ěⁿ`la-ka-tǐⁿ-hěⁿ-se 'fallen tree' ? (Hw)
▶see lákatǐhǎ 'cut by force/striking'; see also káthi 'cut by striking', sa:se 'cut repeatedly, cut in several places', spé: 'cut off a piece', tikú:sE 'break, cut straight, evenly'

to interrogative
interrogative pronoun
Biloxi: tu
▶see tok^hé: 'how, which', tó:k^ha: where', he:to:wa:, k̄eto:wa 'who'; see also wa 'interrogative', -o 'interrogative mode'

tokai in the house
adverb
•tokai (H1883a)

-tokǎx grandfather
N
•to-kěñ`q; hi-to-kěñ`q 'thy grandfather'; e-to-kěñ`q 'his grandfather'; e-měⁿ-kto-kěñ`q 'our grandfather (incl, excl)'; e-to-kěñ`q-pu`q 'your grandfather'; e to-kěñ`q 'their grandfather' (Hw)
•dokalidö he?idö, dokalidö idö 'Grandparent (male or female not distinguished), I am now singing' (Sp)
Ofo: etikáso
Biloxi: ikǎxó
▶see also -k̄o:, k̄o:k̄ak, k̄o:k̄ak 'grandfather', tokalit̄o 'grandparent'

tó:k^ha: where
interrogative pronoun
•toka yatiwo 'where do you live?'; tōkā (H1878); toka; tokā atīwa 'where is the house?'; tokā atīwa 'where are the houses? (no plural)'; tokā nisép 'where is the ax, (saw etc.)? (same in plural)' (H1879); toka yatiwo 'where dost thou live?'; toka aléwo 'where is he going?' (H1880b); tokā; toka yatiwo 'where dost thou dwell?'; toka alewo 'where is he going?' (H1883a)
▶to 'inter'

- tókhaxéto which
interrogative pronoun
•tókagéto 'which?' (D1882)
▶to 'inter'; see also tókha: 'where'; see also tokhé 'how, which', e:tuḵ 'which'
- tokhé: how, which
interrogative pronoun
•hodke tock ire chunkete posse 'is this the way to the horse head' (F)
•kimoⁿcpéna toké kondík nahánp 'I don't know how I may be tomorrow'; kiyonⁿcpéna toké kondík nahánp '2sg'; kíonⁿcpéna toké kondík nahánp 'he doesn't know how he may be tomorrow'; kakíc kíwaoⁿcpéna toké kondík nahánp 'lpl' (D1882)
•to-k|hé nēⁿ-nēⁿ-he-wū? 'how tall?'; to-k|hé na-mū? 'how far?'; tok|hé na-mū? 'how long?'; to-k|hé nis-ka-k|hó? 'how large?' (Hw)
▶to 'inter'; see also tókⁿaxéto, e:tuḵ 'which'
- tokhé:na:x when
interrogative pronoun
•tokēnāq (H1883a)
▶from tokhé: 'how, which'
- tokhé:nā how many
interrogative pronoun
•tokēnuḡ, tokēnvḡ (H1879); tokēnuñ, tokēnũñ (H1883a)
•to-k|hé nēⁿ-nũ? (Hw)
▶tokhé: 'how, which' + nā 'quantifier'
- tok^he natak^hiḵawa how much
interrogative pronoun
•to-k|he nan-dak|hi-kāwā? (Hw)
▶from tokhé:nā 'how many'
- tom̄i: aunt, father's sister
N
•tom̄in 'my father's sister' (H1879); tom̄in (H1883a)
Biloxi: tōni 'father's elder sister'
Dakota: t^huwi
▶see also waṭemai 'aunt'
- tó:pa four
cardinal numeral
•tōp, topai, topa; agetōba, agitopakh 'fourteen'; atitōba, atitōbai, ati-topa 'four houses' (H1878); toba, tobai, tōp; putskatobai 'forty'; eintōpai 'four times' (H1879); tōp (N), toba, tōpa, topai, topāi, topah; agetoba, akitopa, akitōpa 'fourteen'; putska tobai 'fourty'; eintōpai 'four times' (H1883a)

•yiⁿdúbayi yílatkú cayí 'you four you break it';
 yiⁿdúbayi hiñ/ilatkucayí (D1882)
 •tob; ʔó-pa-se 'fourth' 'four apiece';
 a-gi-ʔo-pai` 'fourteen' (Hw)
 •tup, balá'n (sic) (Fr)
 •tū (S)
 •bəlǎ:ŋ (sic) (C)
 Ofo: tópa
 Biloxi: topá, tópa
 Dakota: tópa
 ▶see also akito:pa 'fourteen', púčka to:pa 'forty',
 ʔto:pa 'fourth'

-tosɨk niece
 N
 •wi-ʔo-siñk 'my niece' (Hw)
 Biloxi: tusɨki 'elder sister's daughter'

-tóska nephew
 N
 •wi-ʔo-skai`, wi-ʔó-skai` 'my nephew'; hi-ʔó-skai`
 'thy nephew'; e-ʔó-skai` 'his nephew' (Hw)
 Biloxi: túksiki 'man's sister's son'
 Dakota: thóška 'woman's brother's son'; thųšká
 'man's sister's son'
 ▶other gloss: "petit fils" 'grandson'

to:xka: fox
 N
 •tōkhkái (H1878); tōxkai (H1879); tohkai
 (H1883a)
 Ofo: athóska 'skunk'
 Biloxi: tox 'fox'; toxká 'fox', 'gray fox'
 ▶see mahto:xka: 'wolf'; see also wihá 'raccoon,
 fox'

-tɔt father-in-law, mother-in-law
 N
 •e-mi-ɖont` 'my father in law'; hi-ɖont` 'thy father
 in law'; e-ɖont` 'his father in law'
 '(mother-in-law, like father in law)' (Hw)

ʔu:hǎ:klu: thunder
 V
 •tūi 'thunder', 'lightning' (H1878); tui; tūhāgrūa
 (H1879); tūi; tūhangrūa (H1883a)
 Dakota: wignųke 'rainbow'
 Chiwere: grųgrų 'thunder'
 Kansa: glo 'thunder'
 ▶ʔu:hi 'lightning, thunder' + ? + klu: 'thunder'

ʔu:hi thunder, lightning
 N

•wa-, ma- 'I (inseparable)' (H1879); ma, wa 'I, nominative, affixed or incorporated pronoun'; ma 'I' (H1883a)
Ofo: ba-
Dakota: wa-
▶see also m- '1sgA'

wa:- absolute
V prefix, N prefix
▶used as the indefinite object of a transitive verb (see wa:klumih̄ta 'buy'), as the indefinite subject of a stative verb (see wa:-ki:č^hí: 'dance'), and with deverbal nouns

wa real aspect
V enclitic
•ewa or iwa 'aorist or indefinite tense'; oma 'distributive present' (H1878); ēwa 'aorist, or rather [] indefinite sense'; ōma 'distinctive present'; oma 'distinctively present tense' (H1883a); ewa 'aorist or rather [] indefinite meaning'; ōma 'distinctive present' (H1883b)
•wa, -wa 'aorist'; óma 'distinct present' 'continuous' (D1882)

wa interrogative
interrogative pronoun
Biloxi: wa 'interrogative'
▶see he:to:wa:, keto:wa 'who', 'ṭewa 'whose'; see also to 'interrogative', -o 'interrogative mode'

wa:ha-l̄kE sit, sit down, remain
stative V
•mahamināñka 'I sit down'; mahayināñka 'thou sittest down'; māhanāñka 'he sits down'; mañkmahanāñka 'we sit down'; mahanañkese 'they sit down' (H1878); mahamināñka 'I sit'; mahayināñka 'thou sittest'; mahanāñka 'he sits' (H1879); mahanañka 'to sit, remain' 'sit'; mahamināñka 'I sit down'; mahayināñka 'thou sittest down'; mahanāñka 'he sits down'; mañkmahanāñka 'we sit down' (H1883a)
•ma-hēñ-nēñ-gī 'sitting man' (Hw)
▶wa:ha- ? + l̄kE 'sit'; see waha:-m̄kE 'lie, recline'

waha:-m̄kE lie, recline
V
•ma-hā-mēñ-gi-se 'reclining man' (Hw)
Biloxi: m̄ki 'lie' 'recline'
▶waha: ? + m̄kE 'lay down'; see also wa:ha-l̄kE 'sit'

- wahe:ki hill
 N
 •wahēki (H1878); wahēki (H1879)
 wa:- 'abs' + he:ki 'hill, mountain'
- wahiye open out
 V
 •wā-hi-yé (Hw)
- wahiyyik man's elder brother
 N
 •wahīik 'my elder brother' (H1879); wahīik 'my elder brother' (H1883a)
 •wa-hyek 'my older brother'; hi-wa-hyek 'thy older brother'; e-wa-hyek 'his older brother' (Hw)
 Crow: i:kā 'man's older brother'
 Hidatsa: iʔakā 'man's elder brother'
 ▶see also i-kinq̄:pa:, o-kinq̄:pa:, -ṭāsk 'elder brother', -ṭal 'woman's elder brother'
- wa:hu: bone
 N
 •wāhūi (H1878); wahoi, wahūi (H1879); wahōi, wahūi (H1883a)
 Ofo: á:ho
 Biloxi: ahó, ahú
 Mandan: wahú:
 Chiwere: wahú
- wahukmí: false face, mask
 N
 •wahukmī́ 'falseface (mask)' (Fr)
 •wahok'mé'' 'false face' (S)
- wai- 1 plural patient pronoun, we,
 1 plural possessive, our
 V prefix, N prefix
 •mae, mai, wae, wai 'we, nominative, affixed or incorporated pronoun'; mae, mai, wae, wai 'us, objective, affixed or incorporated pronoun'; mae, wae 'we' 'us' (H1883a)
 ▶see also wai:sá: '1 pl emph, we ourselves, we alone', ik^háwaisá: '1 pl restr, we alone'
- wai:sá: 1 plural emphatic,
 we ourselves, we alone
 pronoun
 •maēsáñ 'we'; maīsāñi 'we alone' (H1878); maēsáñ, maesái 'we (plural)'; maīsāñi 'we alone' (H1879); maesái, maesáñi 'we ourselves (or we alone)' 'ourselves'; māesáñ 'we' (H1883a)
 ▶wai- '1 pl P' + -sá: 'self'; see also ik^háwaisá: '1pl restr, we alone'

- waitiwa boy
 N
 •waitiwa (H1883a)
 ▶see also wa:iyú:wa: 'boy, man'
- waiwa:x man
 N
 •waiwaq; minēwa waiwāq 'I see a man (I see him a man)'; miinēwa waiwāq 'the man sees me (he sees me the man)' (H1883a)
 ▶see also ma-waha:, mihá:istík, no:na, yu:xkə, wa:-ktá:ka:, waḱi, wa:iyú:wa:, wə:hki, yaxhelx 'man'
- wa:iyú:wa: boy, man
 N
 •waiuwa (H1878); wayúwa 'man (homo)'; wayúwa (H1879); wāiyū (N), waiyúwa (H1883a)
 •wayowáh yaléwa kowahadónan 'Man go after, lead him to where the Singer is sitting' (Sp)
 ▶from yu: 'body'; see also ma-waha:, mihá:istík, no:na, yu:xkə, wa:-ktá:ka:, waiwa:x, waḱi, wə:hki, yaxhelx 'man'; see also waitiwa 'boy'
- wa:kasí:k child, infant
 N
 •wakasík 'boy'; wākasik 'girl' (H1878); waḡasík, wakasík, wāḡvsík 'boy' (H1879); wakasík 'child'; wakasík (N) 'boy'; wāgatç (N), wakasík 'girl' (H1883a)
 •wa-ka'-sī'k 'infant' (Hw)
 •wā'kasī'k 'girl' (Fr)
 •wākasik 'child' (Sp)
 ▶see also ku:čka:, wa:ku:čka:, hōska, ni:ská, -té:ka 'child'
- wa:keni: snake, serpent
 N
 •wageni 'snake' (H1878); wagenī 'serpent' (H1879); wāgenī 'snake' (H1883a)
 ▶see also moḡa 'snake', haḡo:i 'rattle snake'
- wakesa:kwa:i bread
 N
 •wagesākwāi (H1878); wagesākwāi (H1883a)
 ▶see also wá:ksa:kpá: 'bread'; see waksaksí 'soup'
- waḱi man, acting by command
 N
 •wa-kī'-se wa-kī'-le-se 'the man (one) (acting by command etc.) (probably two ideas)'; tāñ-ṭka wa-kī'-se wa-kī'-le-se 'the man (many) (acting by command etc.) (probably two ideas)' (Hw)
 ▶see also ma-waha:, mihá:istík, no:na, yu:xkə,

wa:-ktá:ka:, wa:iyú:wa:, waiwa:x, wə:hki 'man'

wa:-ki:č^hí: dance
stative V, N
•wakētshi 'I dance' (H1878); wawegitsiwa, wagitsi, wawekitshita 'I dance'; waigitsise 'thou dance'; wagitsise 'he dances' (H1879); wagitçi (N) (H1883a)
•moⁿgitcī́, wagitcī́ (Fr)
•wāgētš'í' 'to dance' (S)
►wa:- 'abs' + ki:č^hí: 'dance'

wa-kinō: sick
stative V
•wameginoma, wameginōma 'I am sick'; wayinginōma 'thou art sick'; waginōma 'he is sick'; waṅgwaginōma 'we are sick'; wayinginōmpo 'ye are sick'; waginoñhna 'they are sick'; wameginonoaka 'I was sick' (H1878); wameginoma 'I am sick'; kiwameginóna 'I am not sick'; wameginonoaka 'I was sick'; kiwameginonióka 'I was not sick' (H1880b); waginōma; wameginōma 'I am sick'; kiwameginōma 'I am not sick'; wayiñginoma 'thou art sick'; waginōma 'he is sick'; maṅgwaginōma 'we are sick'; wayiñginómpo 'ye are sick'; waginónhna 'they are sick' (H1883a); wameginōma 'I am sick'; wayinginōma 'thou art sick'; waginōma 'he is sick'; maṅgwaginōma 'we are sick'; wayinginōmpo 'ye are sick'; waginónhna 'they are sick' (H1883b)
•waméginóma, waméginoma '1sg'; wayiñginóma, wayiñginoma '2sg'; waginóma 'he is sick'; maṅgwaginóma '1pl'; wayiñginómpo '2pl'; waginónhna '3pl'; maínginoma; mai nṓm kicónik nahánp 'I may be sick tomorrow' (D1882)

wa:klumihíta buy
V
•wāglumihínta 'buy' (H1883a)
►wa:- 'abs' + kilumi:ha 'buy' + ?

wá:ksa:kpá: bread
N
•wāksākpāi (H1883a)
•wākcapā́, wāksākpá'; wālút maksapā́ 'eat bread!, come to dinner!'; ksapū́ne 'where is our bread?' (Fr)
•mā́ksāpà'ª; wālút' mā́ksāpà'ª 'eat bread' (S)
•makšá:bak, mákšaba: (M)
►see also wakesa:kwa:i 'bread'; see waksaksí 'soup'

waksaksí soup
N
•walút waksaksí 'take some soup!' (Fr)
►see also wo:hé 'soup'; see wakesa:kwa:i,

wá:ksa:kpá: 'bread'

wa:-ktá:ka:

man, Indian

N, stative V

•wahtākai, wakhtākai; wakhtāgunikahē 'young';
wamihtakwa 'I am a man'; wayihtakwa 'thou art a
good man'; wahtāki bī 'good man'; wahtāki bilēse
'good men' wahtaka mimbīwa 'I am a good man';
wahtaka yimbīwa 'thou art a good man'; wahtaka
bīwa, wahtaka bīua 'he is a good man' (H1878);
wāhtāqāi, wāhtākai 'man (vir)'; wahtākai 'Indian';
wahtākai mimbīwa 'I am good'; wahtāki yimbīwa
'thou art good'; wahtākai bīse, wahtaka bīwa 'he is
good'; wahtakai maiimbīwa 'we are good'; wahtākai
bihla, wahtākai bihlēse 'they are good'; wahtakai
kaiikise 'I am bad (qu. he?)'; wahtakai yenkaiiks
'thou art bad'; wamihtākai 'I am an Indian';
wayihtakai 'thou art an Indian'; wahtakai 'he is an
Indian'; mīwanuhtākan 'we are Indians'; iṅwahtākai
'ye are Indians'; hukwatākai 'they are Indians'
(H1879); wahtahka, wahtāka, wahtakai,
wahtākai; wamihtākai 'I am a man' 'I am an Indian';
wamihtakāwa 'I am (or was) a man'; wayihtākai 'thou
art a man' 'thou art an Indian'; wayihtakāwa 'thou
art (or wast) a man'; wahtākai 'he is a man' 'he is
an Indian'; wahtakāwa 'he is (or was) a man';
miwamihtākai 'we are men'; iṅwahtākai 'ye are men';
hūkwahtākai 'they are men'; wahtāke bi, wahtake
bī, wahtāke pi 'good man'; wahtāke biwa, wahtāke
bīse 'he is a good man'; wahtāke bihla, wahtāke
bihlēse 'they are good men'; owakiōka waktāka
nigás mihēn nomba lek 'I met a man and two women'
(H1883a)
•wamihtākai '1sg'; wayihtākai '2sg'; wahtākai
'3sg' 'to be an Indian'; wahtāke bi 'good man';
wahtāke biwa, wahtāke bīse 'he is a good man';
wahtāke bihla, wahtāke bihlēse 'they are good men';
minēwa waqtākai, mīnēwa waqtākai 'the man sees me'
(D1882)
•u-gré-se ma'-kṭā-ga` 'to float, man'; wa'-ṭa-kā`
ṭe-se 'the dead body of a man'; wa'-ṭa-ka`
ka-yuk-hé sa-lé-ṭi-se 'the pile of men's bodies'
(Hw)
▶see also ma-waha:, mihá:istík, no:na, yu:xka,
wa:iyú:wa:, waiwa:x, waḱi, wə:hki, yaxhelx 'man'

wa:ku:čka:

child, infant

N

•wagūtshkāi 'boy'; wagūtshka mihán 'girl' (H1878);
wagutska mihén, wāgotškāi 'girl'; wagutska
'infant'; wagutska migítowe 'my child' (H1879);
wagutska, wāgotškāi 'child'; wagūtčkāi 'boy'
(H1883a)

•wagutska (D1882)
 •wa-kotc-kēⁿ-hě[˘]ñk 'handsome girl' (Hw)
 ▶wa:- 'abs' + ku:čka: 'child, infant'; see also
 ni:ská, hōska, -té:ka, wa:kasí:k 'child'

wa:ku:čkəḥək handsome girl

N
 •wa-kotc-kēⁿ-hě[˘]ñk (Hw)
 ▶from wa:ku:čka: 'child'

wa:lewá: woman

N
 •wariwā[˘] (Fr)
 •wārewá[˘] (S)
 ▶see also mahé:, mihá: 'woman'

waliḱaskōx round, circular

V
 •wa-li-kās-|kúñq (Hw)
 ▶see also pus 'round, globular'

wa:lu:ṭE eat something

stative V
 •walūti 'I eat'; warūti-ta 'I eat' (H1878);
 wārūti, walutita, wawelutīta 'I eat'; mimagwalūta
 'we eat (plural)'; magwalulutita 'we eat (dual)';
 walū[˘]tp 'ye eat'; setoḅle wailutiōka 'thou hast
 eaten'; walū[˘]t 'eat thou'; walū[˘]tp 'eat ye'
 (H1879)
 •wā-lū[˘]t 'eat thou' (Hw)
 •walút 'to eat'; wālút maksapā[˘] 'eat bread!,
 come to dinner!'; walút waksaksí 'take some
 soup!' (Fr)
 •wālút[˘] mā[˘]ksāpā[˘] 'eat bread' (S)
 •walú:t^h (M)
 Ofo: atúti 'eat'
 Biloxi: áduti 'be hungry'
 ▶wa:- 'abs' + lu:ṭE 'eat'

walu:ṭi food

N
 •walūti (H1883a)
 Biloxi: adutí
 ▶wa:- 'abs' + lu:ṭE 'eat'

wa:ná: winter

N
 •wānē (H1878); wāneḅi, waneḅi, wānē (H1879);
 wānē, wāneḅi, wāneḅi, wāneḅi (H1883a);
 wāneḅi (H1883b)
 Ofo: a:nó 'north, winter'
 Biloxi: aná
 Mandan: wāra

- wanač̣i: ghost (of deceased)
 N
 •wanvntč̣ī (H1879); wanùntč̣ī 'ghost' (H1883a)
 •wanúhtṣ̌i: 'ghost' (M)
 Ofo: ič̣onáč̣i 'ghost, spirit, soul of the dead' (ič̣o
 'body, corpse')
 Biloxi: anač̣í
- wanač̣á braid, make a rope
 V
 •wa-něñ-tcūⁿ 'make rope (braid it)' (Hw)
- wanō: steal
 V
 •mamanōma 'I steal it'; yimanōma 'thou stealest
 it'; manōma 'he steals it'; mañkmanōma 'we steal
 it'; yimanompūa 'ye steal it'; manōñnēse 'they
 steal it' (H1878); mamanōma 'I steal'; yimanma
 'thou stealest'; manoma 'he steals' (H1879);
 manoñ, manōma, manūma; mamanōma 'I steal';
 yimanōma 'thou stealest'; manōma, manūma 'he
 steals'; mañkmanōma 'we steal'; yimanompūa 'ye
 steal'; manoñnese 'they steal' (H1883a)
 •mamanóma '1sg'; yi'manóma '2sg'; manúⁿma, manóma
 '3sg' 'steal'; mank wanóⁿma, mañk manóma '1pl';
 yi'manompúa '2pl'; himanoⁿ(ne se) hléwa '3pl';
 manoⁿ-hlése 'tis said they stole'; yimanóⁿhlése
 'they say you stole' (D1882)
 Mandan: warú
 Dakota: maní
 ▶see also ma-nōtá:i 'steal', lusE 'take, steal'
- wa:pahé powder, flour
 N
 •wā-ba-he`, wā-ba-hé-(ī); wā-ba-he`=uēⁿ`q,
 wā-ba-he`=uēⁿq 'he makes powder' (Hw)
 ▶wa:- 'abs' + pahe: 'pound'
- wa:saksé shorts in grinding corn
 N
 •wāsaksé'' (S)
- wa:si yellow object
 N
 •wāsi 'yellow' (H1878)
 ▶wa:- 'abs' + sí: 'yellow'
- wa:sti: pine-tree
 N
 •wāsti (H1878); wāstī 'pine' (H1879); wāstī,
 wāste (N) (H1883a)
 Dakota: wazí
 Winnebago: wa:zí

- wą:hkanąhka:sít black man
 N
 •māxkanakā'sít 'negro' (Fr)
 •mą'ganą'kasít' 'negro' (S)
 ▶from wą:hki 'man', wą:hkanąhka 'white man'; see
 also wą:hkanąhkesup 'black man'
- wą:hkanąhkesúp black man
 N
 •ma'-kēⁿ-na-ke-súp 'negro' (Hw)
 ▶from wą:hki 'man', wą:hkanąhka 'white man'; see
 also wąhkanąhka:sít 'black man'
- wą:hki man, husband
 N
 •witāmāŋki 'my husband'; yitāmāŋki 'thy husband';
 etāmāŋki 'her husband' (H1879); māŋki 'husband';
 witāmaŋki 'my husband'; yitāmaŋki 'thy husband';
 etāmaŋki 'her husband' (H1883a)
 •ṭa-maⁿ-kuñ-sē 'take a husband'; ma'-kēⁿ-na-ke-súp
 'negro' (Hw)
 •wā'xkanaka, waxkanáka 'white man';
 māxkanakā'sít 'negro' (Fr)
 •mą'ganą'ga'' 'white'; mįhą mą'ganą'ga'' 'white
 man'; mą'ganą'kasít' 'negro' (S)
 Ofo: ákwa 'man', ákó:ška 'baby'
 ▶'husband' = 'poss' + 'man'; see wą:hkanąhka
 'white, white man', wą:hkanąhka:sít,
 wą:hkąnahkesup 'black man'; see also ma-waha:,
 mįhą:ístík, yu:xką, wa:-ktá:ka:, wa:iyú:wa:,
 waiwa:x, wąki, yaxhelx 'man'
- wąk- 1 plural actor pronoun, we
 V prefix
 •man, maŋk 'we, nominative, affixed or incorporated
 pronoun'; mañ 'we' (H1883a)
 ▶wąk- before {h, l, w, y}, wą- elsewhere
- wąki:tá cousin
 N
 •mima owágidā^h 'connected cousin (idea of
 seniority)' (D1882)
 •mankídá 'my cousin' (Fr)
 •maŋgidá 'my cousin'; ungidá 'his cousin' (S)
 •ų:gidáh 'his cousin' (M)
 ▶see also haták 'cousin'
- wą:sko:ló: pig, hog
 N
 •was-ko-ló' 'hog' (D1882 from Hw)
 •mōⁿskuló, moskulūⁱ 'pig' (Fr)
 •mąsgōló' 'pig' (S)
 •há:skò:la? 'pig' (M)

- wehaéhįpne: spring (season)
 N
 •wehahempnēi (H1879); wehahempēi, wehaéhimpē (H1883a)
 Dakota: wehą
 ▶see we:he: pi:wa 'summer'; see also masté: 'spring'
- we:he: pi:wa summer
 N
 •wēhe piūa (H1878); wehe piūa (H1879); wēhē piwa (H1883a)
 ▶we:he: ? + pi:-wa 'be good'-'real aspect'
- wi- 1 singular patient pronoun, I, me, 1 singular possessive, my
 V prefix, N prefix
 •wi 'me, objective, affixed or incorporated pronoun'; wi 'me' (H1883a)
 Ofo: i-
 Hidatsa: wi:-
 ▶see also wí:ma '1 disj, I, we', wi:są: '1sg emph, I myself, I alone', ik^háwisą: '1sg restr, I alone'
- wihá raccoon, fox
 N
 •wi-hâaí' 'fox' (D1882 from Hw)
 •wi-ha' 'raccoon' (Hw)
 Ofo: iyá 'raccoon'
 Dakota: wič^ha 'raccoon'
 ▶see also ąanuló nixa ni:só, mika 'raccoon', to:xka: 'fox'
- wihó: fish
 N
 •wihōi (H1878); wihoi (H1879); wihoi (N) (H1883a)
 •wī-ho`q-gup-su-ā 'fishy smell' (Hw)
 Ofo: ho
 Biloxi: ó
 ▶see also piso:ká 'fish'; see ohįpamani: 'Jumping Creek, Fishing Creek'?
- wihóxkupsua: fishy smell
 N
 •wī-ho`q-gup-su-ā (Hw)
 ▶from wihó: 'fish'; see also pı́, uwalaháha: 'smell'
- wikłąkE put down, lay down
 V
 •wīk-nēñ-gé-wā 'put or lay down' 'put down'; kak-hek wik-nēñ-ge-wa 'put down a thing inclined, to incline it' (Hw)
 ▶from ląkE 'sit'

- wí:ma 1 disjunctive, I, we
 pronoun, V
 •mihu mima mikito 'my dear wife' (F)
 •mim (H1878); mīm 'I (seperate)'; mīm 'I myself';
 mīm 'we (plural)'; mīm 'our (dual), our (plural)'
 (H1879); mīm 'I or we, separate pronoun'; mīm 'I'
 'we' (H1883a)
 •mima wiloca 'I take it'; mima wákaqlḗp ('I
 sweep'); mima wiluká́ ('I turn it over'); mima
 kodébewa híyedébuá 'lpl' ('we will fold it'); mima
 micū^{ntk} 'my younger brother' (D1882)
 ▶from wi- '1sgP'
- wine:k sister
 N
 •minēk (H1878); minēk (N) (H1883a)
 •dawinā́k (Fr)
 Mandan: wīh 'sister, man speaking'
 ▶see also -nōx 'elder sister', taḥaḥ 'younger
 sister'
- wi:sá: 1 singular emphatic,
 I myself, I alone
 pronoun
 •mīsēñ, misāñi 'I alone' (H1878); miséñ, misáñi,
 misai 'I alone' (H1879); misāñi, misāñi, misūñi 'I
 alone'; misāi, misāñi 'I myself or I alone'
 (H1883a)
 ▶wi- '1 sg P' + -sá: 'self'; see also ik^háwisá:
 '1sg restr, I alone'
- witá: deer
 N
 •witāi (H1878); witāi (H1879); witāi (H1883a)
 •witāñē 'Deer Clan' (D1882)
 •wi-ḡá`, wi-ṭá`; u-ḡré-se wi-da` 'to float, deer'
 (Hw)
 Ofo: i:txa:
 Biloxi: tá, íta
 ▶see witāe 'Deer Clan'
- witāe Deer Clan
 N
 •witaⁿē (D1882)
 ▶from witá: 'deer'
- wi:yá tree, wood, log, branch
 N
 •miēñ, miēi, mién 'tree' (H1878); miyeñi, miyei
 'wood'; miéñ 'tree' (H1879); wiéñ (N), miéñ
 'tree'; miyei, miéñ, miyeñi 'wood' (H1883a)
 •'cut wood': ima kati ta miyēⁿ '3sg'; miyēⁿ

kátií 'imperative'; miyéñ ya áwanánga wilatkúca 'I sit on tree & break'; miyénya máinaŋga wilatkúca 'break branch by weight' 'a tree-object sign?|we sit|break' (D1882)

•mi-ěⁿ` o-niⁿ-hé` 'standing tree'; mi-ěⁿ` o-hi-gī-se 'fallen tree'; mi-ěⁿ` la-ka-ṭíⁿ-hěⁿ-se 'fallen tree' ?; mi-eⁿ` íⁿ-ha-se 'the scattered trees (one here, one there)'; mi-ěⁿ` sa-le-de-se (saléṭise) 'the pile of logs'; u-gré-se mi-ũⁿ` 'to float, log' (Hw)

Ofo: ičá 'tree, wood'

Biloxi: ayá 'tree, wood, stick'

Dakota: čá

►see also oni:, maxhíka 'tree'

wi- 1 singular dative pronoun, I, me

V prefix

•mī- 'I (inseperable)' (H1879); mi 'I'; mi 'me'; mi 'me, objective, affixed or incorporated pronoun' (H1883a)

wo:hé soup

N

•wōhē' (S)

►see also waksaksí 'soup'

wolaxkai emit a light at night as a firefly (as a wizard does)

V

•wo-laq-kai` (Hw)

wustetkai partridge

N

•wustetkai (H1878); wustetkai (H1879); wustetkai (H1883a)

►from stetka 'long'; see maṣtetkaí 'pheasant'

xa: friend

N

•witaqā (H1883a)

►see also xe: 'friend'

xa:ka weep

stative V

•wiṣāka 'I weep'; iṣāka 'thou weepst'; ṣāka 'he weeps' (H1879); qaka (H1883a)

Biloxi: áxakōní

Winnebago: yá:k; Dhegiha: *ya:ké

►see also xa:xise 'cry'

xa:pi bark

N

•khāpi (H1878); ṣāpi (H1879); qāpi (H1883a)

►see also yohí 'bark'

xá:ʔE see
active V
•wahvt'a, wahēta 'I see' (H1879)
►see i-xá:ʔE, o-xá:ʔE 'see'

xa:wo: rain
N
•hawō (H1878); xāwō (H1879); qawōi (N), qawō
(H1883a)
►see also xa:wo:ha: 'rain'

xa:wo:ha: rain
N
•hawōha (H1878); hawōhā (H1879); qawōqa, hāwōhā
(H1883a)
►from xa:wo: 'rain'

xa:xise cry
V
•qāqise (H1883a)
►see also xa:ka 'weep'

xé: friend
N
•witāhe (H1878); witāhe 'a friend'; witaxēi 'my
friend' (H1879); witāhe (H1883a)
•wi-dā-qhe` 'my friend'; hi-dā-qhe` 'thy friend';
e-dā-qhé` his friend'; āⁿ-dāq, āⁿ-tāq 'my friend'
(Hw)
►see also xa: 'friend'

xéḵakó make, put?
•míma qékegówahí wa oknacík 'I did put it (of
stick)'; yíma qékegóyahí wa '2sg'; ima qékegóhí wa
'3sg'; 'will cut hole tomorrow': míma
qékegówahiyéta kohótc macéⁿya iwaóⁿča nahánp
'1sg'; yíma qekagoyahiyeta kohótc macéⁿya íyaoⁿča
naha^{np} '2sg'; qékegohiyéta nahá^{np} kohótchiyeyúq
macéⁿ ióⁿča '3sg'; hūk qekagomankhiyéta kohótc
nahánp macéⁿya wáióⁿča '1pl' (D1882)

xekó be so, be such
V
•mím^a káqekóⁿbi-na 'I cannot be so' 'I don't wish';
yím^a káqekóⁿbi-na '2'; ím^a káqekóⁿbi-na '3';
qekún-bi-na (D1882)
►no pronominal affixes on the verb, disjunctive
pronouns; all forms are in the desiderative mode
(-pi); see also áxekó

xló:ʔE scratched

?'; hankcíkya 'stick (obj)', 'with stick';
 'dōgā́ya; húk macéⁿya máemaóⁿwa waⁿjék wáelatkúcita
 'we all using knives cut stick(s)'; ehákya iyaóⁿča
 ilatkúcidáq 'don't break it with your hand';
 hankcíkya wáktamáⁿwa 'I broke stick in pieces'
 (D1882)
 •pa-hiñ-gya` uk-hú-se 'put in a receptacle, a
 basket' (Hw)
 Dakota: č^ha 'emphatic topic marker' (follows the
 noun it modifies)

yahá not to be so, not to occur
 stative V
 •mí^m míyahá wa 'I'm not so'; yīm yiyahá wa 'you are
 not so'; im yaháwa '3sg'; yahá wa 'it is not';
 yaha wó 'was it not so' 'did it not'; mī^m
 miyahá-kaⁿ '1sg'; yahákan 'it did not occur'; yahá
 kaⁿ 'it was not so' (D1882)
 ▶see yahá 'no'

yahá no
 adverb
 •ñahán (H1878); yahán (H1879); yahan (H1883a)
 ▶see yahá 'not to be so', 'not to occur'; see also
 iha:o 'no'

yahú: come here (motion underway)
 stative V
 •yahówa 'he is coming'; yahóna 'he is not coming'
 (H1880b); yahūa 'come'; yahōwa 'he is coming';
 kiahóna 'he is not coming' (H1883a)
 •ya-hu-wā́ 'one is coming' ? (Hw)
 ▶ya- 'prog' + hú: 'come here'

yalE: walk, go
 stative V
 •yalēwa 'walk' (H1883a)
 •yaléwa 'go after'; wayowáh yaléwa kowahadónan 'Man
 go after, lead him to where the Singer is sitting';
 miihē yaléwa kowahadónan, miihē? yaléwa kowahadonan
 'Woman go after, lead her to where the Singer is
 sitting' (Sp)
 ▶ya- 'prog' + lE: 'go there (motion underway)'

ya:mą: sing
 V
 •yāmā 'I sing' (H1878)
 ▶see also ya:mąhiye:, hitó 'sing'

ya:mąhiye: sing
 V
 •yāmūñiyē (N) (H1883a)
 ▶yamą: 'sing' + -hiyé 'caus'; see also hitó 'sing'

- yanǎhé: stand
 V
 •he-ya-něⁿ-hés 'standing man' (Hw)
 ▶ya- 'prog' + nǎhé: 'stand'
- yanǐ walk
 stative V
 •Haykawyenin 'Treading on a Mountain' (Sp)
 ▶ya- 'prog' + nǐ 'walk'; see he:kawiyani 'Treading on a Mountain'
- yá:pa beaver
 N
 •Yapateo Creek, Yapatoco, Yaypatsco, Yapatsco 'Beaver Creek' (B)
 •Yapatio 'Beaver Creek' (NCR)
 •yāop (N) (H1883a)
 Mandan: wrap
 Dakota: čhápa
 Winnebago: rá:p
 ▶see yapatoko 'Beaver Creek'; see also muna:xka, čuṭa:yi 'beaver'
- yapatoko Beaver Creek
 N
 •Yapateo Creek; Yapatoco, Yaypatsco, Yapatsco 'Beaver Creek'; Yatapasco (B)
 •Yapatio (NCR)
 ▶from yá:pa 'beaver'; Byrd: "the Beavers had damned up the water"; Rankin: ya:pa 'beaver' + at^hi: 'house' + ?
- yapóske long
 V
 •yapóske (N) (H1883a)
 ▶see also henǎ 'far, long', stetka, sui, yop^hǎ 'long', paxtaḱǒse 'long line of men'
- yax that, thus
 demonstrative
 •yaq-he-něⁿ-se 'that, thus far' (Hw)
 Biloxi: yahé 'this'
 ▶see also ena:, hé, ka, ko:, yukǎ: 'that'
- yaxhelx man
 N
 •yaq-helq-hiⁿ-há-se 'the scattered men' (Hw)
 ▶see also ma-waha:, mihǎ:istík, no:na, yu:xkǎ, wa:-ktá:ka:, wa:iyú:wa:, waiwa:x, waḱi, wǎ:hki 'man'
- yaḱhé: lacrosse stick

N

•ye^{nhē} (Fr)

•yāhē' (S)

Dakota: ča 'stick'

►see yehe:ti 'club'; see also haḡsı́, óknası́, wačék 'stick'

yą:t be in the middle

V

•hak ayāndohleḡ 'middle-finger' (H1879)

Biloxi: nāte 'middle'

Mandan: rāt 'be in the middle, center'

►see ha:k ayą:tohle 'middle-finger'

yą:ti heart

N

•yanti (H1878); yānti, yāti (H1879); yānti (N), yanti (H1883a)

•Yenyahkeya 'No Heart' (Sp)

Ofo: ičāti

Biloxi: yāti

►see also ɬa:pi: 'heart'; see yāto-sté:kE 'love'

yāto-sté:kE love

active V

•miandestagōnwa 'I love'; maiiāndostéka 'I love thee'; yandoyestékā 'thou lovest him'; waiyāndoyestékā 'thou lovest us'; yandomistéka 'he loves me'; yandoyistéḡise 'he loves thee'; yāndostegise 'he loves him'; waiyāndostegise 'he loves us'; maigiāndostegise 'we love thee'; maigiāndostekā 'we love him'; maigiāndostékanése 'we love them'; yāndomistékhanā 'they love me'; yāndoyistékhanā 'they love thee'; yandostekanése 'they love them' (H1878); wiandosteka 'I love'; yandoyastegise 'thou lovest'; yandostékise 'he loves' (H1879); yandowasteka; yandowastēka 'I love him'; yandoyastēka 'thou lovest him'; waiyandoyastēka 'thou loved us'; yandomistéka 'he loves me'; yandoyistéka 'he loves thee'; yandostēka 'he loves him'; yandostekanése 'he loves them (or they love him)'; waiyandostēka 'he loves us'; mankiāndostēka (qu. maikiandoyistéka) 'we love thee'; maihiandostekanése 'we love them'; yandomistékana 'they love me' (H1883a)
►yą:ti 'heart' + o- 'loc, in' + sté:kE 'good'

yąyahkeya No Heart

N

•Yenyahkeya (Sp)

►personal name; see yą:ti 'heart'

yehe:ti club

- N
 •yehēti (H1883a)
 ▶see yāhé: 'lacrosse stick'
- ye:hi: beard
 N
 •yēhī (H1879); yēhī (H1883a)
 ▶from hi: 'hair'; see also isti:, istihio:i 'beard'
- yeksa: leg
 N
 •yeksāi, ieksā (H1878); yeksāi 'leg (entire)' (H1879); yeksā (N), ieksā, yeksāi (H1883a)
 ▶see also ni: 'leg'
- yesá Tutelo people
 N
 •Yesāng, Yesáh (H1883a)
 •Ye-sāñq 'Tutelo' (Hw)
 ▶see also nahisá 'Nahyssan, Virginia Siouan-speaking people'
- yesĩ:k kettle
 N
 •yesĩnk (H1878); yesĩñk (H1879); yesĩnk (H1883a)
 Biloxi: yeskəsá 'tin bucket'
 Dakota: čhėja
 ▶see also mani i:ka:thē:ʔó: 'kettle'
- ye:tá: sea, lake
 N
 •yētai, yētañi 'sea' (H1878); yētañi, yetai 'sea'; yetéñ, yetai 'lake' (H1879); yetañi, yetāi, iētañ (H1883a)
 Ofo: áni thō 'ocean' (áni = 'water')
 Biloxi: aní nitá 'ocean' (aní = 'water')
 ▶from itá: 'big, great, large'
- yéxta nest
 N
 •mayerñgiéqta 'bird's nest' (H1883a)
 ▶see ma:yı:ki 'bird'
- yi- 2 patient pronoun, you,
 2 possessive, your
 V prefix, N prefix
 •yi 'thee, objective, affixed or incorporated pronoun'; yi 'thee' (H1883a)
 Ofo: či-
 Biloxi: yi-
 ▶see also yi:sá: '2 emph, you yourself/selves, you alone', ik^háyisá: '2 restr, you alone'

- yihĩ:stik pipe
 N
 •ihĩstik (H1878); ihėnstek, ihĩstek (H1879);
 yehĩnstik (N), ihĩrtik, iheĩstek '(qu,
 "mouth-stone")' (H1883a)
 ▶from yĩhni: 'tobacco'; see also kčĩpá:i 'pipe'
- yĩhni: tobacco
 N
 •yėhni (H1878); yihni, yėhni (H1879); yėhni,
 yihni (H1883a)
 ▶see also nqni: 'tobacco'
- yilana:ha count, read
 V
 •yilanāha (H1883a)
- yĩ:ma 2 disjunctive, you
 pronoun, V
 •yim ?, ĩm 'thou'; yim ?, im 'ye' (H1878); ĩm
 'thou'; ĩmayigĩtowe 'thine'; ĩmayĩgĩtona 'it is
 not thine'; ĩm 'ye' (H1879); yĩm 'thou or ye,
 separate pronoun'; yĩm 'thou'; yim 'ye' (H1883a)
 •yĩma yakaqlė́p ('you (sg) sweep'); yimahũk
 yákaqlė́p-búa ('you (pl) sweep'); yima
 oyálapė́t-buá ('you (pl) will cut off a piece');
 yima yĩnaⁿtkúcita ('you (sg) will break it with the
 foot'); yima yiluká ('you (sg) turn it over')
 (D1882)
 ▶from yi- '2P'
- yi:sá: 2 emphatic, you yourself/selves,
 you alone
 pronoun
 •yisėn, yisānĩ 'thou alone'; yisėn 'ye alone (same
 as thou)' (H1878); yisėn, yisānĩ, yisai 'thou
 alone'; yisėn, yesái 'ye alone' (H1879); yisāi,
 yesānĩ 'thou thyself (or thy alone)'; yisái, yesānĩ
 'thyself' (H1883a)
 ▶yi- '2P' + -sá: 'self'; see also ik^háyisá: '2
 restr, you alone'
- yĩ- 2 dative pronoun, you
 V prefix
- yĩki young, little
 V
 •māyĩnk 'bird'; mayĩnk pōs 'egg' (H1878); yėnkĩ
 'young'; māyĩnk; māyĩnk pōs 'egg' (H1879); yėnki
 'young'; māyĩnk; mayėngiė́qta 'bird's nest'
 (H1883a)
 •tsōⁿgidāⁿyeⁿk 'colt' (Fr)
 Ofo: čĩki 'little, small'

Biloxi: yíki 'small, young of any animal'
 Mandan: rík 'son, little one'
 ▶see also níkahe: 'young'; see č^hq:kitá:yík 'colt',
 ma:yì:ki 'bird'

- yohí bark
 N
 •yohín (H1879); yohiñk (H1883a)
 ▶see also xa:pi 'bark'
- yosaqlota cherry
 N
 •yosañkrota (H1883a)
- yop^hą long
 V
 ▶see yop^hąka, yop^hąkačka 'long', yop^hąskiye
 'rectilinear'
- yop^hąka long
 stative V
 •yumpańka (H1879); yumpańkatska; ati
 yumpańkatskaisel 'long house, plural' (H1883a)
 •atí yum-pañ-katskaí-sel 'long houses' (D1882)
 ▶from yop^hą 'long'; see also heną 'far, long',
 stetka, sui, yapóske 'long', paxtaqóse 'long line of
 men'
- yop^hąkačka long
 V
 •yumpańkatska; ati yumpańkatskaisel 'long house,
 plural' (H1883a)
 •atí yum-pañ-katskaí-sel 'long houses' (D1882)
 ▶from yop^hąka 'long'
- yop^hąskiye rectilinear
 V
 •ta'-kaí yu-phēⁿ-skye` 'the rectilinear forest' (Hw)
 ▶from yop^hą 'long'
- yu: body
 N
 Ofo: ičo 'body', 'flesh', 'corpse'
 Biloxi: yó 'body', 'fruit'
 Crow: ilúka
 Hidatsa: irú
 Dakota: č^hó 'kernel, core'
 ▶see yu:xte:hi, yu:xteli, yu:xtéki 'body',
 wa:yu:xtéki 'flesh', kayuk^{he} 'corpse', wa:iyú:wa:
 'boy, man'
- yuká: that
 demonstrative

•yukān (H1878); yukān (H1879); yukān (H1883a)
▶see also ena:, hé, ka, ko:, yax 'that'

yukE distant past (?)

V enclitic

•yukéwa, yuké-wa; íne yukéwa 'he found it some time ago'; íma ólakpe yúka 'he did drink'; 'bite (when) make a hole (cause)': íma ólackéta kohótchíyeyuq '3sg'; 'cut hole in wood with knife': macēⁿ ióⁿǵa kohótchíyeyúq '3sg'; qékagohiyéta naháⁿp kohótchíyeyúq macēⁿ ióⁿǵa 'he will cut hole tomorrow'; 'remember': yáqkoⁿcpéyuké wa '2sg' (D1882)

Biloxi: yukE 'duration' (aux)

yútalése go across by a near way, "short cut"

V

•yú-ǵa-lé-se (Hw)

yú:tkayé:k black bear

N

•yū^ttkayē^k (Fr)

▶see also mǵ:ti 'bear, black bear', hamǵ:t^hih 'bear'

yu:xkǵ man

N

•yuhkañ (H1878); yuxkāhiembīwa 'thou art good'; yuxkahibihlēse 'ye are good' (H1879); yuhkañ; yūhkañ (H1883a)

▶from yu: 'body'; see also ma-waha:, mihǵ:istík, no:na, wa:-ktá:ka:, wa:iyú:wa:, waiwa:x, waḵi, wǵ:hki, yaxhelx 'man'

yu:xte:hi body

N

•yuhtēhi (H1878)

▶yu: 'body' + -xti 'augmentative'; see also yu:xteli, yu:xtéḵi 'body'

yu:xtéḵi body

N

•wayūkhtik 'flesh' (H1878); wāyuxtéki, wayūxtik 'flesh'; mīyuhtéki 'my body' (H1879); wāyuxtéki, wayūqtik 'flesh'; yūqtéki 'body' (H1883a)

▶yu: 'body' + -xti 'augmentative'; see wa:yu:xtéḵi 'flesh'; see also yu:xte:hi, yu:xteli 'body'

yu:xteli body

N

•yūxteli (H1879)

▶yu: 'body' + -xti 'augmentative'; see also

yu:xte:hi, yu:xtéki 'body'

ʔǫ:

do, make

active V

•aōma, aōñ 'make' (H1883a)

•'string' 'twist with hand': waqúk móma '1sg' 'I am making'; waqúk yóma '2sg'; waqúk óma '3sg'; maonⁿá '1pl' 'we twist'; waqúk oⁿ 'imperative' (D1882)

•wā-ba-he`=uěⁿ`q, wā-ba-he`=uěⁿ´⁽ⁱ⁾q 'he makes powder' (Hw)

Biloxi: ǫ

Dakota: ʔy

►see aʔǫ: 'do, make', i-ʔǫ: 'use'

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spirit (?)	mą:pa:
spoon	kisá:
spread out	okičąkaí, olopaí
spring (season)	masté:, wehaéhįpne:
spring (small river)	histí
squash	mątamaj yili:p
squeeze	čkįk
squirrel	hista:xkai
stamp	nąąo:ąiseą, o-hįhné
stand	nąhé:, onįhé
star	ąapuní:ąąa
stay	ląkE, monoąisnoą

steal	lúsE, wanǫ:, ma-nǫtǎ:i
Step, One	nǫstapǫ
step-child	-kihiyé
step-daughter	-ohǫkhihiyé, -teǫkhihiyé
step-son	-hǫkhihiyé, -teǫkhihiyé
stick	hǫksí, óknasí, wǫčék, yǫhé:
stocking	honis
stone	histé:ǫi
straight	ǫtkús
strawberry	haspahínǫk
stream	ta:kse:
strike	kohi:nǫ:k-hi:
string	ǫanokwíya, waxú:
strong	ǫta:i, so:ti, wa:yupa:ǫi
such	xekǫ, áxekǫ
sugar	wa:te:wí:
summer	we:he: pi:wa
sun	mǫ:
swallow	nǫtǫE
swamp	ho:ix
sweep	kaxlé:pi, ákaxlé:pi, lákaplék
sweet	č ^h ikǫ:yǫ
swim	ínase, máni ínase
sword	ǫpo:
tail	sǫt
take	lúsE

take a husband	tamaḡḡose:
take a wife	tamihḡose:
tall	naḡaḡhe
tear	loḡkáhE, luplax, takikú
teen numeral formative, decade + numeral formative	aki-
tell	ḡaḡékwehé, kilá:kE, o-klá:kE
ten	pú:čka
thank you	pi:láhuk, pi:wa
that	ena:, hé:, hé:iki, hé:wa, ka, ko:, ko:wa, yax, yuká:
there	ena:, hé:, ka, ko:, ko:wa
thin	happle:ha:
think	hkḡspé:, opemi:ha
third	ḡla:ni
thirteen	akila:ni
thirty	púčka la:ni
this	lé:, lé:ki, lé:wa, né:ikḡ, né:ki, né:wa
thousand	uk ^h ini: pučka
three	lá:ni, ik ^h ala:ni
three apiece	la:nílale
throat	lo:ḡi
thrust	o-hḡhné
thumb	-ha:k ^h o:hka:
thunder	klu:, ḡu:hḡ:klu:, ḡu:hi
thus	yax
tie	o-lohi:

tobacco	nɔní:, yíhni:
today	naháplekí
toe	atkasusai
tomorrow	nahá:pki
tongue	le:çi:
tooth	ihi:
town	mą:pi:, ɔtehoaka:
Treading on a Mountain	he:kawiyenĭ
tree	max ^h íka, oni:, ɬa:skahu:i, wa:sti:, wi:yá
turkey	mą:ta:hka:
turkey cock beard	mąosti
turn over	luká
Tuscarooda Creek	tewahomani:
Tutelo people	yesá
twelve	akinɔ:pa:
twenty	púčka nɔ:pa:
twist	lu:čkép, p̄eni, waxopeni
twisted	lu:ní
two	nɔ:pa:, ik ^h anɔ:pa:
two apiece	nɔ:pá:lale
two hundred	uk ^h ini: nɔ:pa:
ugly	ok ^h a:yí:k ^h i, ɬe:kisahąka
uncle	-né:k
under	tiyaok
up river	ta:patá:
use	i-ɔ́:, latkó

winter	wa:nā:
Wish, No	konoḡauna
with	i-
wolf	č ^h oḡkí:we, maḡtakí, maḡto:xka:
woman	mahé:, mihá:, niyaku:čkahḡk, wa:lewá:
wood	wi:yā
wooden spoon	kisá:
work	o-knaḡo:
world	amā:
wrench	ḡuwí:xe
wrench	lučkíḡ
wring	lu:čkéḡ
yearling, deer	hé:kelḡská
yellow	sí:, wa:si
yellow, make	sihiyé
yes	ahá, awa:xa
yesterday	sitḡ:le
young	niḡahe:, yíki

APPENDIX 2

ACTIVE/STATIVE VERB LIST

Verbs listed in the dictionary but not in this appendix were not elicited with overt pronouns. Their type, active or stative, is thus unknown.

A. Verbs inflected with actor pronouns.

č̣ọka	'die'
hi-nta, hi-nta:hE	'run'
hi:ỵata, hi:ỵatka:pe:	'sleep'
hiyé	'cause'
hihné, o-hihné	'push, thrust'
hḳospé:, kihḳospé:	'think, remember'
i-ʔ̣:	'use'
ḷ-kiṇọ:pa:	'brother'
kaxlé:pi, ákaxlé:pi	'sweep'
kihú:	'come back here'
kiko:hE	'call'
kilá:kE, o-klá:kE	'speak, tell, call'
kílatkú:sE, í-klatkú:sE	'break, cut by hand'
kilE:	'go/come back/home'
kilí	'go/come back/home'
kilumi:ha	'buy'
kité:	'kill, shoot, beat'
kṇi	'walk back'
kohi:ṇak-hi:	'strike'
ḳo	'cause, make'
ksé:hE, ḷ-ksé:hE, laksé:hE	'laugh'
ktaṃá	'break in pieces'
kú:, a-kú:, o-kú:	'give'
lákačkí:hE	'kill'
lakpé:, o-lakpé:	'drink'
laské:, i-laské:, o-laské:	'bite'
ḷákE, a-ḷákE	'sit'
o-hḳip ^{hi}	'own'
o-ki	'meet'
o-lohi:	'tie'
o-luské:	'claw'
ọspé:	'know'
phé:, a-phé:, o-phé:	'go'
ské:	'hold'
spé:, lákaspé:, o-laspé:	'cut off a piece'
ṭí:	'live, reside, dwell'
xá:ṭE, i-xá:ṭE, o-xá:ṭE	'see'
ỵáto-sté:kE	'love'
ʔ̣:, aʔ̣:	'do, make'

B. Verbs inflected with patient or dative pronouns.

čké, lačké	'scratch'
čkí:hE, lačkí:hE	'kill'
hí:	'arrive there'
hú:, yahú:	'come here'
káthi	'cut by striking'
ki:čhí:, wa:-ki:čhí:	'dance'
kí:hníté:	'hungry'
kí:tq	'belong'
latkq	'use'
lE, a-lE:, i-lE:, yalE:	'go there'
loxkáhE	'tear'
luká	'turn over'
lúSE	'take, steal'
lu:tE, wa:lu:tE	'eat'
ma-nqtá:i	'steal'
má-wahá:	'man'
máKE	'lay down'
nahé:	'stand'
náttE	'swallow'
ni:, ni:na, ni:na-ki nə	'alive'
nı, yanı	'walk'
ok ^{ha} :yí:khi	'bad, ugly'
ok ^{ha} :yí:k ^{hik} ha	'bad, coarse'
o-knaho:	'work, make'
pí:, apí:	'good, handsome'
sa:hı:	'speak'
té:, te:ka, te:ola:ha	'die, dead'
tikú:sE, latkú:sE, natkú:sE	'break, cut'
wa:ha-láhE	'sit, remain'
waha:-máKE	'lie, recline'
wa-kinq:	'sick'
wa:-ktá:ka:	'man, Indian'
xa:ka	'weep'
xló:tE, naxló:tE	'blistered, chafed'
yahá	'not to be so, not to occur'

C. Uninflected verbs.

xekq, áxekq	'be so, such'
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APPENDIX 3

UNIDENTIFIABLE TUTELO DATA

Names, phrases, and sentences are first given in standardized transcription, then in the collectors' transcriptions. Relevant comments, if any, are then reproduced exactly.

A. Personal names and place names

Some of the names given by Speck are Iroquoian terms and are not listed in the dictionary or this appendix.

káhpokáhtatiyi Tutelo name of Chief John Buck
 •Ga!poga!tadyi, Gá!pogá!tadyi, Ga!pogá!tadyi
 ▶Speck: "name-title [] handed down from early times"

kaşsoleakt
 •Kansoreakt (Sp)
 ▶Wolf tribe

ki:st Ladle
 •Keest 'Ladle', 'a ladle' (Sp)

køhe Nikonha's Tutelo name
 •Gøhe 'John Tuteli or "Old Mosquito"
 ▶Speck: "may be compared with Cayuga, Gahe, "Panther"'

køhe
 •Køhe (Sp)

mahløkuṭi
 •Mahlonguti (Sp)
 ▶Snipe tribe

nehkweksaṭi Ball
 •Nehqueksati 'Ball', 'a ball' (Sp)

nuyakø John Hoskins's Tutelo name
 •Nuyågø (Sp)

ohiyokéwaṭ John Buck's paternal grandfather
 •Ohyogéwan (Sp)

onuso:wa Nikonha's father's name
 •Onusōwa (H1883a)

D. Songs collected by Frank G. Speck and George Herzog
The numbers and the names of the songs refer to the ones used in Speck (1942). The texts, calls, and comments about meaning are reproduced exactly. Words marked with a following star are also found in the dictionary.

1. Muskrat Hunting Formula
Text: yégiwano yégiwano
No meaning assigned.
2. Adôwa song
[M]eaningless cries wo ha.
Text: kakôwak taáni! kakôwak taáni!
Call: wo ha
Meaning not known as the words are in the Tutelo language.
3. Adôwa song
Text: dokalidö* he?idö* dokalidö* idö* (bis)
Meaning "Grandparent (male or female not distinguished), I am now singing." This sentence is in the Tutelo language.
- 4a. Adôwa, "I love all the living people"
Text: yatanene ho o neda no ho
 honiya danene e dano hanehe
Call: koa
Meaning, if any, not known, but thought to be Tutelo.
- 4b.
Text: townune howede no ho
 (h)oniya henñneye yegeno haneye
Call: wo woho
Meaning not known.
5. Adôwa
Text: ye taya ye i de ye yetaya ye i de eye ide
 ye ide ye
Meaning not known if any, as syllables supposed to be in Tutelo language.
Call: woa
6. Adôwa
Text: (a/2) yan kuna hagi yan kuna hagi
 (a) (ha) yowiena heinei neiye yñwina
 hagi ya(n) kuna hagi
 (b) oha yogwe ne ude yo gigene he he yën
 wige hagi yën kuna hagi
Meaning not known as the words are in the Tutelo language.
Call: ya wa ye

13. Adoption Ceremony

The introductory call, given four times, is on the syllables *hu hya ha hu*. The syllables given are *wi ne wi ne howehona* are repeated for the text.

16. Adoption Ceremony

Text: (a³) taha weyiya hñyiya ho (b) hñyiya ho
(a²) hñyiya ho (b) hñyiya ho
No meaning was given for these syllables.

17. Adoption Ceremony

Text: (a¹) ta hñ tayuane tayuana
((a²) ta hñ tayuane tayuane
(b) tahiyo taha huhuhuhu tahu u
(c) hñhiya tahuu huhuhu u tahu u
No meaning given for these syllables.

18. Adoption Ceremony

Text: (a) iyo hwiya ho huna (b) ho hi ya ho hu
(a) we u hiya ho huna (b) ho hi ya ho hu
(c¹) hñ hñ ya na hi hiyana hi (t)ahñ
yñhuna
((c²) hñ hñ ya na hi hiyana hi
No meaning given for these syllables.

19. Adoption Ceremony

First version:

Text: (a) hewayo hewayo (b) hewayo hewayo
(c) hewayo ñ (k)i (t)e wayo
No meaning given for these syllables.

Second version:

Text: awiyo ehayo nidñni ehayo
The text of *b* occasionally has one of the following forms:
hehayoe hñhayoo (or:) ehayo ideyo
No meaning given for these syllables.

20. Bean Dance (Four Nights Ceremony)

Text: iyo had'ine yoho had'ine yo had'ine
wo had'ine yo had'ine

Call: hña hña

No meaning given for these syllables.

21. Bean Dance

Text: (a) yo yohuine i ha
(b) yoo yo ?ine i ha
(c) yo yo ?ine i ha
(b) yo yo ?ine i ha

Call: hña hña

No meaning given for these syllables.

22. Bean Dance

Text: (a) yo ho naniyo hayiniha
 (b) yo hañ naniyo hayiniha (bis)
 (a) yo ho naniyo hayiniha (bis)

Call: hña hña

No meaning given for these syllables.

23. Bean Dance

Text: (a) yutaha ? ihñ hayi ya
 (b) yutalñ ahyutalñ hiyñ hayi ya
 (c) ? ? inñ hayi ya

Call: hña hña

No meaning given for these syllables.

24. Bean Dance

Text: (a) ai hai huya ne (bis)
 (b) nayu wa^dne (bis) (c) ai hai huya ne (bis)
 (d) nayu wa^dne (bis) (c) ai hai huya ne (bis)

Call: hña hña

No meaning given for these syllables.

25. Bean Dance

Text: wñ hiiyñ hñ hñle wula ne
 wñ iyo ho hñle wula ne
 wña hiyo ho hñle wula ne

No meaning given for these syllables.

26. Bean Dance

Text (of a¹ only): yahe nodale ledae yana he i ya

Call: hoa hoa

No meaning given for these syllables.

27. Bean Dance

Text: widehñ ideyo

Call: hña hña

No meaning given for these syllables.

Four Nights Songs (Speck 1942:119 (Appendix 1))

Text:

yu wi da ni na yu wi da ni da
 yu we ha ni wa yo he wa yu hu ine
 we ho ho wi ya he we ho nu wi ya he he
 yo ho wi ne we ho he ne ho wi ne
 we ho dji wa da he
 we ho dji wa da he
 we ho yu na he he
 wi ya he ha wi ya
 ha wa yo gi na we
 ha wa yo hi la we

Meaningless syllables constitute the burdens.

(Note, the w is pronounced as a weak bilabial)

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