Comparative Siouan Dictionary

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1

1st inclusive actor prefix

pronoun n/a

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **wąk-* ~ **wą•k-* , **ų-* RR

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **wą(•)k-*

Proto-Dakota **ųk-*

Lakota *ųk-* ~ *ų-* ‘12Act’

Dakota *ųk-* ~ *ų-* ‘12Act’

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *hį•-* ‘12Act’ RR

Hoocąk *hįį-* ‘we’ KM:1142 , *hį-* ‘inclusive patient’ AS:104 , *wąąg-* , *wąąga-; wąąkha-*

Proto-Dhegiha **ąk- /_V; *ą- /_C* RR

Omaha-Ponca *ąg-* ~ *ą-*

Kanza/Kaw *ǫg-* ~ *ąg-, ǫ-* ~ *ą-* ‘12Act’ RR

Osage *o^{n}g-, o^{n}-* , *†ǫk-, †ǫ* ‘12Act’ LF , *ąk-, ą-* , *†ǫk-, †ǫ* ‘12Act’ CQ

Quapaw *ǫk-* ~ *ąk-, ǫ* ~ *ą* ‘12Act’ RR, JOD

Proto-Southeastern **wąk-*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **ąk-*

Biloxi *ûñk-, ñį̀k-* , *†ąk-* [with plural marker *-tu*] D&S:239a

Ofo *ǫ-* , *†ą-*

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *mañk-, man-* , *†wąk-* ‘incl. actor’ H

General comment

Proto-Siouan was **wąk-* or **wą•k-* but with the original meaning 'man, person (1)', q.v., not an inclusive prefix. Languages that use this morpheme for 'inclusive actor', 'inclusive patient' or both tend to replace the original 'man, person' term with a neologism. Note that there is no corresponding inalienable possessor prefix. Nor is this morpheme found in Crow/Hidatsa. Cf. '1st plural (exclusive?)'.

The original Proto-Siouan prefix may have been **ʔų-*, matching Yuchi *ʔǫ-* '12Act', and retained as the only '12Act' allomorph in Ofo (which lacks any trace of *k*). More recent forms with reflexes of **wąk-* would be reanalyses in terms of 'man, person (1)'. Crow *woo* 'let's' apparently is an inflected suffix. Hidatsa indicates 'let's' with the suffix *ʔo*, perhaps cognate with the Crow *oo*; but Hidatsa does not inflect this. These may possibly be related to '12Act' in the rest of Siouan, but this is unclear, since Crow and Hidatsa lose all vowel nasalization.

Hoocąk *hį•-* and *wą•g-* may possibly be doublets, *hįį-* coming from **wą•-*. Alternatively, it could also come from **mį•* which has the same sporadic outcome. Note that 1st singular patient **wą-* has (as expected) lost its labial and that the remaining **ą- > į-* irregularly; cf. 'crayfish'. (The *h-* is semi-regularly epenthetic in both Chiwere and Hoocąk.) The same irregular **ą- > *į-* change applied to the 1st person inclusive **ą•-* would also yield *hį•-*, thus making *wąąg-* and *hįį-* historically allomorphs. Since the *ą > į* change is very restricted, this may just be another way of saying that the 1st singular patient has been analogically extended.

hįį is actually probably cognate with *mį* in other languages < **wį*. It is strictly 'dual' in Hoocąk. It is an actor pronominal, whereas *wą•ga* is a patient pronominal. (RR) (Helmbrecht, PC)

1st inclusive disjunctive pronoun

pronoun n/a

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **wą•k-ʔ*

Proto-Dakota *ųkí-ʔe* or: **ųkí-re*

Dakota *ųkíye*

Proto-Dhegiha **ąkóe* < ***ąkó-ʔe (?)* RR

Omaha-Ponca *ągó* JEK

Kanza/Kaw *ągé* RR

Osage *o^{n}gúe* , *†ąkó-e* 'we' LF:122a

Quapaw *ǫkówe* [possibly plural with *-we*] JOD, RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *ñ̨kíxtu* , *†ąkíxtu* 'we' D&S:239a

General comment

Quapaw may be analyzed as showing the plural *-we* or the *w* may analyzed as a late glide replacing the *ʔ* of the demonstrative, *ʔe•*. Given the other DH forms, we tend toward the latter explanation, but cf. Biloxi. Tutelo *mim* (cf. 1Act) (also *maesą́i* H.) is not cognate but is comparable to Chiwere *hį•ne*. General lack of close agreement among the subgroups strengthens our belief that inclusive person represents an innovation which spread within Siouan. Biloxi *-tu* marks 'pl' here. Mandan *rų-* may be non-cognate and related to one of the Catawba inclusive affixes (which also has a Yuchi analog).

1st inclusive patient prefix

pronoun n/a

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **wa- -wa*

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **(wa-) -wa*

Chiwere *wa•wá-* RR

Hoocąk *-(h)a-* [-(h)a- portion of *ɬwą•g- -ha*] AEM, AS, WL , *-(h)a-*

Proto-Dhegiha **wa- -a* RR

Omaha-Ponca *wa- -a*

Kanza/Kaw *wa-* [as OP?]

Osage *wa-*

Quapaw *wa-* [as OP?]

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *wai-, wae-, mai-, mae-* , *ɬwaʔe* 'us, we' H

General comment

DH/Chiwere share an isogloss, but the pattern is defective elsewhere. Crow may be cognate, but there seems to be no Hidatsa parallel; Tutelo may be cognate or may have diffused from DH. Note that both the Crow and the Tutelo forms suggest an extension with the form **ʔe•* or **(r)e•* This is likely demonstrative**ʔe•* and it recurs with the disjunctive form of this pronominal. The Chiwere bipartite morpheme is attested as a unit by RR but as discontinuous by Whitman. It is probably discontinuous only with certain other prefixes. The Omaha-Ponca bipartite form is found with locatives. (Discontinuous: *wa- gi-/ṭ-/i- -a*; *a-wa-* when there is a preverbal element.) Dakota uses *ųk-*. Hoocąk *wą•ga* may be a composite of forms partly analogous to the discontinuous Omaha-Ponca *wa- -wa* grafted to **wą•k-*, i.e., **wa•k-wa* > **wą•g-ha* > *wą•ga*.

1st inclusive possessor, alienable

pronoun n/a

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dakota **ųk-í-*

Lakota *ųkí- alienable*

Dakota *ųkí- alienable*

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *hį•-* [alienable]

Proto-Dhegiha **ǫkó- alienable* RR

Omaha-Ponca *ągó-* [alienable]

Kanza/Kaw *ągó-, ǫgó-* [alienable] RR

Quapaw *ǫkó-* [alienable] JOD

Proto-Southeastern **wąk- (?)*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *iñktą-tú, alienable* , *†įktatú* ‘our, ours’ D&S:239a

Ofo *ǫ-* , *†ą-*

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *mąk- ?* H

General comment

There is no reconstructible 1st inclusive inalienable affix. This appears to be possible evidence that the category itself (i.e. ‘inclusive’)is innovated since the Proto-Siouan period and never penetrated the bound morphological core completely. Without vowel length in MRS and Tutelo being marked, it is uncertain over all. Biloxi *į* is unexplained. The Chiwere form may be derived from *wą-* (cf. the related pronominals, above, and also ‘crayfish’). Crow and Hidatsa use 1st singular possessive with plural affix. Details of Ofo and Tutelo usage are unknown.

1st plural (exclusive?)

pronoun n/a

Proto-Siouan-Catawba **rų*

Proto-Siouan

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *rų-, r-V* '1st inclusive' RTC

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *mīwa-nu-htākan* , *†nų-* 'we are Indians'

Proto-Catawba

Catawba *-nǫ-, -nų-, do-* '1 pl. obj.' PV:4, KS

General comment

Mandan and Catawba all have both oral and nasal allomorphs; Tutelo may have, but if so, it is unattested. The Catawba pronominal also forms the basis for independent 1pl pronouns (Voorhis, Rudes PC). The Tutelo form contrasts in this VP with another form in which *-mi-* replaces *-nu-* with an identical translation. The verb 'to be a man/Indian' is unique in its conjugation, and this Tutelo pronominal is a hapax legomenon.

1st singular actor prefix (underlying)

pronoun n/a

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **wa-*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **wa*

Crow *ba-, baa-* [b-/_VV or - (by foot); ba-/_ hči, _ (by pushing or force); aw-/_Vą] RG

Hidatsa *wa-* , *ma-*

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *wa-* '1st person actor' RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **wa-*

Proto-Dakota **wa-*

Lakota *wa-*

Dakota *wa-*

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **ha-*

Chiwere *ha-* RR

Hoocąk *ha-* KM, WL:22, AS:104 , *ha-*

Proto-Dhegiha **a-*

Omaha-Ponca *a-*

Kanza/Kaw *a-*

Osage *a-*

Quapaw *a-*

Proto-Southeastern **wa-*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi

Ofo *ba-*

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *wa-*

General comment

wa- may > *mą-* if in a nasalizing context. This can yield homophony with the patient pronoun prefix. There are syncopating allomorphs of considerable age that are used with verb stems that begin with **r-, *h-, *w-, *ʔ*, or **p-, *t-, *k-*. These last three types may interact with “Carter’s Law”, which should generally aspirate same. See separate entries for these allomorphs. Dhegiha generally shares the Omaha rule that inserts a *w* if person marking follows locative *o-* and a *ð* following instrumental *i-*. Equivalents for Omaha-Ponca *ð* vary locally in the other dialects. In addition, Omaha-Ponca **a-ki-* > *e*. Ofo initial labial resonants were normally lost, and the *b* here is unexplained. This Siouan pronominal prefix is interesting because it is not cognate with the Catawba or YU analog, which have an even more complex, and presumably ancient, allomorphy. Of the Siouan pronominal prefixes, only second person and 1st. excl. are clearly cognate with Catawba. The Proto-Siouan-Catawba 1s prefix appears to have been **nV-* or **dV-*, assuming that the more opaque Catawba allomorphy is older. These latter match Yuchi 1Act. Prefixes.

1st singular actor, syncope product (allomorph)

pronoun n/a

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **w-*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Crow *ba- /_ la* 'by mouth' [pitch accent shifts to stem from instrumental] , *bu- / _ lu* 'by hand' [pitch accent shifts to stem from instrumental]

Hidatsa *wa- / _ru-/ra-* [accent shifts to stem from instrumental]

Pre-Mandan **w-* < ***wa-*

Mandan *w- /_r-* [and addition of a Dorsey's Law V]

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *w-* < ***wa-*

Proto-Dakota **w- (plus assimilation)*

Lakota *b- /_*r* , *p- /_*h* , *m- /_n* and replacing: **?* or: **w-*

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *t- replacing *w-r (of stem)* [much analogical restoration of ha-; a few relics]

Proto-Dhegiha **w-*

Omaha-Ponca *b /_ *r* [replacing **?* or **w*] , *p/_ *h* [p/_ p, t, k with assimilation to pp, tt, (kk or pp)] , *m* , *p/_ p, t, k*

Kanza/Kaw *(as in Omaha-Ponca)*

Osage *h /_ p, t, k* [h /_ p, t, k with assimilation to hp, ht, hk]

Proto-Southeastern **wa- (restored ?)*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Ofo *a-*

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *wa-*

General comment

Here, and with the second person analogs, we see the result of the strong tendancy of Mississippi Valley Siouan languages to lose unaccented, short, initial syllable vowels. In the 1Act forms this leaves **w-* prefixed to numerous consonant-initial stems. This, in turn, resulted in assimilation of various features from the stem-initial consonant. In MVS this most frequently produced allomorphs **p-* before voiceless contoids (incl. *h*), **b-* before **r*, and **m-* before any nasal contoid. **m-* also replaces stem-initial **ʔ* and **w* as far as we are able to determine, but glottal and W-stems almost always have nasal vowels, perhaps by coincidence. In a few instances, e.g. Dakota ‘lie’, DH and dialectal Dakota ‘sit’ positionals, q.v., **m-* appears to replace stem-initial **r*, but these verbs also have nasal stem vowels, and the *r* in question may well have been epenthetic as it is in the causative.

Throughout Siouan there has been massive analogical leveling of these consonantal allomorphs of the person-number prefixes with concomitant restoration of the fuller form, *wa-*, or its local reflexes. The irregular allomorphs are restricted to a few verbs in the modern languages. These most frequently include verbs of motion, ‘say’, ‘eat’, ‘ask’, ‘do’, ‘think’, ‘wear about the shoulders’, ‘wound’ and the positionals, ‘sitting, be; sitting positional’, ‘standing, continue, standing positional’, ‘lie, be lying, positional’. MVS preserves the assimilation products best. There are few if any cases in Crow, few in Mandan and almost none in the Southeast. The few relics that do exist show that syncope was found beyond just MVS however.

The Crow allomorphs suggest that Crow underwent some of the same kind of syncope in prefixes that MVS stems did. The rightward shift of accent implies that the syllabic in the prefix was missing, and the fact that the vowels in these same prefixes harmonize for height and rounding suggest that the present-day vowels are the result of a “Dorsey’s Law”-like process. Note that Catawba has analogous syncope processes operating in the agent pronominal paradigms, although, as noted, 1s is not cognate.

1st singular disjunctive

pronoun n/a

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **wí•-*ʔe• ~ *wį́•-*ʔe•*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **wi•re*

Crow *biiléen, bílaa* RG , *bíh*

Hidatsa *wi•ra* , *mi•ra*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **wi-ʔe•*

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *mįyé*

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *mí^e* , *†mį́ʔe* 'I' JGT:167

Proto-Dhegiha **wi-e*

Omaha-Ponca *wi*

Kanza/Kaw *wíe* RR

Quapaw *wíe* RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Ofo *mĩ^ⁿti* , *†mį́•ti* JSS

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *mim* H

General comment

Cf. analogous 2sg. form. Here, **ʔe•* is presumably the general demonstrative. Nasalization appears to be lacking in DH, and no explanation for its absence is presently available. Ofo shows a form with analogically restored initial *m-*, ordinarily lost in both Ofo and Biloxi. Otherwise, Ofo is internally reconstructible to **wį-re*, where *r* would normally be epenthetic following the loss of an earlier *ʔ*.

Perhaps the sibilant Lakota *mįš* and Tutelo *misáį* 'emphatic' forms belong together in a set related to this one, although if the sibilant goes back to**š* it should have become *č* in Tutelo. There are other instances of Tutelo *s*corresponding to *š* in MVS though--although some of them are clearly diffused forms like 'nine'.

1st singular patient (1)

pronoun n/a

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **wą*

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *wą-* ‘1st person stative’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **wą-*

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *ma-* RTC

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **hį́•- (?)*

Chiwere

Hoocąk *hį́į- (?)* WL:22 , *hį-* AS:104 , *hĩ* , *hį-* , *hį* , *hį-*

Proto-Dhegiha **ą-*

Omaha-Ponca *ą-*

Kanza/Kaw *ą-*

Osage *ą-*

Quapaw *ą-*

General comment

The more pervasive pronominal is ‘1st singular patient (2) (clitic)’, q.v., and it is entirely possible that this represents a replacement for Proto-Siouan **wį-* that diffused to Mandan from areas in MVS where it was innovated by nasalizing the 1agt pronominal, **wa-*. JEK suggests that Hoocąk and Chiwere forms match the Omaha-Ponca dative paradigm form *į-* and may be taken from an older dative paradigm. Typologically, accusative markers frequently develop from dative markers, but this does not normally apply to pronominals. In any event, the Chiwere/Hoocąk cases are certainly aberrant and there is widespread homophony between these forms, those of the inclusive person and several possessive prefixes. The semantics of the changes would have to be explained in a satisfactory fashion in order for this scenario to be taken at face value. At the moment it seems equally likely that the Chiwere/Hoocąk forms are really cognate with ‘1st singular patient (2) (clitic)’ (where we have cross listed them) and have replaced the pronominal-initial *w-* with the usual *h-*.

1st singular patient (2) (clitic)

pronoun n/a

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **wį•*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *wi•-*

Crow *bii-*

Hidatsa *wi•* '(perhaps from independent pronouns)' J , *mi•*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **mį-*

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *mi-*

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *mį-, hį-* [mį- object of causative in ditransitive verbs; hį- elsewhere]

Hoocąk *hįį-* , *hį-*

Proto-Southeastern **wį-*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Ofo *i-* ~ *yi-*

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *wi-, mi-, mį-* H

General comment

Cf. '1st singular patient (1)'.

1st singular possessor

pronoun n/a

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **wą (?)*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **wa-*

Crow *ba-*

Hidatsa *wa-* , *ma-*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dakota **mą*

Lakota *ma-*

Dakota *ma-*

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Ofo *ba-*

General comment

Cf. '1st singular patient (1)' (?), '1st singular possessor, inalienable'.N.B. that in the 2nd person, possessive prefixes with *a* alternate with those having *i* (*ya* ~ *yi*), and in these cases Catawba also uses both prefixes, but with different classes. This would seem to suggest that the alternation is archaic but more evidence is needed. Siouan has innovated the labial first person markers, of course; Catawba has a dental first person prefix set. Ofo *b* violates all known labial sound correspondences. The oral vowel in Ofo and the nasal vowel in Proto-Dakota cannot be reconciled. Proto-Crow-Hidatsa is indeterminate for nasality. The fragmentary nature of this putative correspondence set causes us to at least question the existence of a Proto-Siouan antecedant. It is possible that simple patient pronoun prefixes were extended to include a possessive role in some languages.

1st singular possessor, inalienable

pronoun n/a

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **wi•* ~ **wį•*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Crow *bii* [with some body parts ?]

Hidatsa *mi•* [with some body parts ?]

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *wį-* [with most body parts] RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **mį-, *wi-*

Proto-Dakota **mį-*

Lakota *mi-*

Dakota *mi-*

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *hį•-´* RR

Proto-Dhegiha **wí-*

Omaha-Ponca *wi-*

Kanza/Kaw *wi-*

Osage *wi-*

Quapaw *wi-*

Proto-Southeastern **wį-*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Ofo *mį-*

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *wi-* ~ *mi-* ~ *mį-*

General comment

Variability in nasality of these prefixes remains unexplained just as in the independent pronouns. The variability extends to second and third persons also. In Catawba, Siebert (1945) found nasality to correspond to noun/verb classes. It is not phonologically conditioned in any observable sense.

2

2nd singular actor prefix

pronoun n/a

Proto-Siouan-Catawba **ya(•), *ayá (?)*

Proto-Siouan **ya•-, *ya-, < *aya- (?)*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **rá- ~ *ar-*

Crow *dáa-/_(la)k* 'force' [dáa-/_(la)k] , *dá-/pa-* 'push' [dáa-, d-/_VV, da/ _hči, al-/_V(loc.), d-/_a(l)a] , *dáa-, d-/_VV, da/ _hči, al-/_V(loc.), d-/_a(l)a* 'foot' [da-/_la(a); Harmonic -V- reinserted? v. also and motion verbs - very irregular] , *da-* 'eat (mouth)' [di-/_lu-; Harmonic -V- reinserted? v. also and motion verbs - very irregular] , *di-* 'eat (hand)'

Hidatsa *ra•-* [_rka-] J , *na•-* [ar-/_a-(<loc. i,a),o- (loc.)] J , *ar-/_a-, o-* [_motion verb] J , *rara-* [_ha-,rá-,?a-(<ara), rú-,elsewhere] J , *nara-* , *ra-* , *na-*

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *ra-* '2nd person active' RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **ra•-*

Proto-Dakota

Dakota *ya*

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **ra•- ~ *ra-*

Chiwere *ra•- ~ ra-* RR

Hoocąk *ra-* [*R*=/r~n/ (Marten-7), but /n/ only before a nasal vowel] WL:22, AS:104 , *ra-* , *ra* , *ra-*

Proto-Dhegiha **ra-* RR

Omaha-Ponca *ða-*

Kanza/Kaw *ya-* RR

Osage *ða-* RR

Quapaw *da-* RR

Proto-Southeastern **ya- ~ *ay-*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *ya-* , *ay-/_á-*

Ofo *ča-* , *ača-*

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *ya-, ye-* H

Proto-Catawba

Catawba *ya-, yi-* [with prefixing verbs] FS

General comment

There is consensus that the glide here was Proto-Siouan **y* rather than **r*, i.e., Proto-Siouan **ya(•)-*, with **ra-* developing only in MVS. The Dakota 'I-you' portmanteau contracts to a **y* product, (*čhi-*), not an **r* product (**bli*). So there are relics of **y*, even in MVS. Additionally, the obstruentized allomorphs, q.v., are all palatals also. Note the parallel metatheses in Biloxi and Crow/Hidatsa by which **ya* > **ay / _-V*. In Crow/Hidatsa, both first and second person pronouns metathesize before the locative prefixes. This suggests a (synchronic?) reanalysis of an older infixing formation. However, if Proto-Siouan or Proto-Siouan-Catawba were **ayá*, the otherwise aberrant second person stress and length are explained.

2nd singular actor, syncope product (allomorph)

pronoun n/a

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **š-*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **š ~ *ž-*

Proto-Dakota **š-*

Dakota *š-* [with verb ku. Generally **š- > 0* (as prn.)]

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **š-*

Chiwere *š-* RR

Hoocąk *š-, šV* [where V is Dorsey's Law product] AS:69, WL:23 , *š-, šV-*

Proto-Dhegiha **š- /_ *r-, *h-, *p-, *t-, *k-* , **ž- /_ *ʔ-, *w-* RR

Omaha-Ponca *š- ~ ž- ~ h-*

Kanza/Kaw *š- ~ ž- ~ h-*

Osage *š- ~ ž- ~ h- ~ -0/*

Quapaw *š- ~ ž- ~ h- ~ -0/* [h > t]

Proto-Southeastern **š- ~ *i-*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *i-* 'you go' , *i-da* , *ž-* in: *jo^{n} from o^{n}* , *†ž-* 'make, do'

Ofo *š-* D&S:330, JSS , *c- ~ ch-*

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *yi-* 'you come' [**y > *š / _C* as elsewhere ą or **y > *i / _C* in OVS?]

Proto-Catawba

Catawba *č-* FS

General comment

From Biloxi and Tutelo it appears that **y-* may either obstruentize to **š-* ~ **ž-* or vocalize to **i-*. The latter is more likely an analogical development from independent pronouns. 1st sg. actor prefixes in *mi-* in late (20th century) transcriptions of Tutelo suggest that this may be the case generally. Cf. independent forms in Tutelo. The reflex of Proto-Siouan **y-* < ***ya-* '2act' was probably **š-* before stems beginning with **r-, *h-, *ʔ-, *w-, *p-, *t-, *k-* in Proto-DH, then **š-* > **ž-* replacing root-initial **ʔ* and **w-*. It is, however, possible to start with **ž*, as a more natural development of **y*, and derive *š*. In Omaha-Ponca **š* > *h* /_ **r* generally. **šr* > **šn* > *hn* in Omaha-Ponca and Kanza/Kaw.

**šr* can become *št* in Osage and Quapaw, and **št* > **ht* > *tt* in Quapaw.

Second person prefix development in DH is a bit messy here but essentially regular.

2nd singular disjunctive pronoun

pronoun n/a

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **yi•-ʔe•* ~ **yį•-ʔe•*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **ri•re*

Crow *diiléen; díilaa* RG , *díh*

Hidatsa *rí•ra* J , *ní•ra* J , *rí•* , *ní•*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **rí•ʔe* ~ **rį́•ʔe*

Proto-Dakota **niré*

Dakota *niyé*

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **rí•ʔe* ~ **rį́•ʔe*

Chiwere *rí•re, rí•ʔe* ~ *ríe*

Hoocąk *nį́ʔé* ~ *née* ~ *neʔé* ‘I or you’ KM:2299 , *nį́’e* ~ *nee* ~ *ne’e* ‘I or you or we’ WL:29 , *ne* , *nee*

Proto-Dhegiha **rí-e*

Omaha-Ponca *ði*

Kanza/Kaw *yíe*

Osage *ðie*

Quapaw *díe*

Proto-Southeastern **(a)yį-*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **(a)yį́ri*

Biloxi *ayíndi, ayindí, hayínd, ayínt* , *†ayį́di*

Ofo *tcī˜ⁿti* , *†čį́•ti* JSS

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *yim, yisą́i* [emph.] H

General comment

Proto-Siouan **yi•-ʔe• often* > **yi•e* > **yi•re* with a V of variable nasality. The vast majority of these forms appear to be composite of **yi•* (MVS **ri-*) + *ʔe•* ‘you + demonstrative’. It is possible that virtually all second person forms may best be reconstructed with initial **a-*, i.e. **ayá-, *ayí-, *ayį́*, etc., but outside of the agent pronouns, only Biloxi shows any evidence of such a vowel. The necessity of reconstructing a deictic base for all of the disjunctive pronouns dovetails with the notion that the verb prefixes really are the underlying (pro)nominal arguments in languages like Siouan. The peculiar Hoocąk forms, esp. with their first person translations, are not explained here and are very strange indeed.

2nd singular patient clitic

pronoun n/a

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **yi•* ~ **yį•*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **ri•-*

Crow *dii-*

Hidatsa *ri•-* J , *ni•-*

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *rį-* ‘2nd person stative’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **ri•-* ~ **rį•*

Proto-Dakota *ni-*

Dakota *ni* [all forms and comb. with -ki, -i]

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *ri•-* RR

Hoocąk *nį-* MM:103 , *nį-*

Proto-Dhegiha **ri-* RR

Omaha-Ponca *ði-*

Kanza/Kaw *yi-*

Osage *ði-*

Quapaw *di-*

Proto-Southeastern **yi-* ~ **yį-*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **yi-*

Biloxi *yi-*

Ofo *či-* [written “tci-”, not “*tchi” by Swanton]

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *yi-, hi-, yį-* H

Proto-Catawba

Catawba *yV-* [vowels are various]

General comment

The *yi•- variant in MVS appears as a relic in Dakota *čhi-* ‘I/you’, q.v. So the Proto-Mississipi-Valley reconstruction here is an artifact of the decision to reconstruct the allomorphs separately. The fact that the patient pronominals do not undergo syncope suggests that their status as true prefixes in the proto-language is questionable; they show a more clitic-like behavior generally. Compare the behavior of the actor prefixes which undergo syncope regularly in certain environments. A thorough study of the variable nasality of these prefixes is needed. The nasality extends to all three persons and is found in virtually all subgroups. Siebert (1945) believed it related to particular noun classes in Catawba.

2nd singular possessor

pronoun n/a

Proto-Siouan-Catawba **yi(•)-*

Proto-Siouan **yi•- ~ *yį•-*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **ri-*

Crow *dii-* RG , *dí-/_C* JEK

Hidatsa *ri-* J , *ni-, n-/_V*

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *rį-* '2nd possessive' RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **ri(•)-*

Proto-Dakota **ni-*

Dakota *ni-*

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *ri•-* RR

Proto-Dhegiha **ri-´ inalienable* RR , **rí-hta alienable* RR

Omaha-Ponca *ði-´, ðí-tta ~ ðiðí-tta* 'alienable'

Kanza/Kaw *yi-´, yí-tta*

Osage *ði-´, ðí-hta*

Quapaw *di-´, dí-tta*

Proto-Southeastern **yi- ~ *yį*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *hi- ~ i- (w. spouse), ay- /_V (w. father, mother)*

Ofo *ča-, čį-*

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *yi-, hi-, yį-* H

Proto-Catawba

Catawba *yi-* [classes 2-3] FS , *ya-* [classes 4-7] , *y-* [class 1]

General comment

Variable nasality in this and analogous other prefixes deserves further investigation. Siebert (1945) believed it related to noun classes.

a

above

adverb physical_spatial

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **á(•)ka*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **á•ka*

Crow *áaka* RG, GG:1, RGG:63

Hidatsa *á•ka* ‘top, upper region, upper surface’ [cf. LA usage as locative prefix] J , *ák-* ‘at, on, unto, onto’ J

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *áka*

Proto-Dakota **aką* ~ **aka*

Lakota *aką́* ‘on, on top’ [aspiration ?] RTC , *akápaṫaŋhaŋ* ‘on the outside, from above’ EB:69a

Dakota *ákapata* ‘on the outside, on top, from above’ [aspiration?] SRR

Sioux Valley *aką́* PAS

Proto-Dhegiha **ákaha*

Omaha-Ponca *agaha* JOD

Kanza/Kaw *ágaha* ‘top, up on top, up’ RR

Osage *ákaha* RR

General comment

Cf. *-ha* ‘adverbializer’, ‘across > over, beyond, above’, and ‘teen formative’.

absolutive

prefix n/a

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **wa-*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Crow *ba(•)-*

Hidatsa *wa(•)-* ‘absolutive, depossessivizer, intransitivizer’ J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *wa(•)-* ‘absolutive’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dakota **wa-*

Lakota *wa-* ‘absolutive’ RTC

Dakota *wa-* ‘absolutive, intransitivizer’ SRR:487a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **wa(•)-*

Chiwere *wa(•)-* ‘absolutive’

Hoocąk *wa(•)-* ‘absolutive’ , *wa(a)-*

Proto-Dhegiha **wa-*

Omaha-Ponca *wa-* ‘absolutive’ RR

Kanza/Kaw *wa-* ‘absolutive’ RR

Osage *wa-* ‘absolutive’ RR

Quapaw *wa-* ‘absolutive’ RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *wa-* ‘absolutive’ RR

General comment

Length seems to vary throughout the family for reasons we do not yet understand. We reconstruct short **wa-* because we have numerous examples in all languages in which the prefix has undergone syncope. The products of syncope of the absolutive parallel those from syncope of **wa-* ‘1Act Sg.’ Large numbers of words beginning with *a-* in Biloxi/Ofo may reflect the absolutive.

ache

verb physical_somatic_disease

Proto-Siouan-Catawba **-re*

Proto-Siouan **Ré-ʔE*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **areʔ*

Crow *aleé* ‘ache’ RG, RGG:100

Hidatsa *arÉʔ* ‘ache’ J

Pre-Mandan **rąʔ-*

Mandan *rą́ʔroʔš* ‘it hurts’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **nį́-ʔE, *Ré*

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *ištániyą* ‘have sore eyes’ EB:236b , *iśtániyaŋ* ‘have a sore mouth inside’ EB:236b , *íniyą́* ‘I feel sore (from sitting too long)’ EJ , *iniyaŋ* EJ , *mapániyĄ* , *paníyĄ*

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *ñį́•čʔe, ñį́•čhe* RR

Hoocąk *téek* ‘pain’ KM:3115 , *teek* ‘sore spot’ KM:1532 , *hoték* , *hotek*

Proto-Dhegiha **nįe* RR

Omaha-Ponca *nie gaxe* ‘get hurt’ MAS:98 , *ni_e* ‘hurt (cause pain ?)’

Kanza/Kaw *né* [< nįeʔ] RR

Osage *níe, nié* LF:107a

Quapaw *įde* RR , *įté* JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **rehé(-ri), *(i-)ré*

Biloxi *ne, nedí, nědí, n’dí, nédi* D&S:234b

Ofo *ité, ī´te, éte* , *†i•té* ‘suffer’ D&S:324b, JSS , *ą́phaíte* , *†i•té* ‘headache’

Proto-Catawba

Catawba *warepa* KS

General comment

Biloxi *n* before oral *e* typically represents an earlier sequence of *n, r, R* and a laryngeal articulation *h* < *ʔ*. Cf. ‘arise (2) > get up’, ‘standing, inanim. classifier’, and ‘apportative, + or - vertitive’. Thus the Biloxi form suggests an earlier **r-he* arising through syncope. In the cases just cited, the Ofo reflex of **rh* would seem to be *l*, not *t* as here, suggesting an earlier form without the **he* we reconstruct for Proto-Biloxi-Ofo.

Ofo *t* can reflect either **r* or **R*. Ofo initial *i-* is unexplained. Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **h* can reflect earlier **h* or **ʔ*. Biloxi *-di* is the common suffix **-re*.

Quapaw *d* reflects **R* and Omaha-Ponca, Kanza/Kaw, and Osage *n* may perhaps also come from this source if *n* is the regular reflex of **R* before a nasal vowel. Proto-Dhegiha shows fairly common loss of intervocalic *ʔ* without merger of the vowels. If Quapaw is cognate, it reflects metathesis of **R* and **į* prior to the nasalization of **R*.

Hoocąk *t* reflects Proto-Siouan **R*, while Chiwere *čʔ* reflects Proto-Mississipi-Valley **n, *r, *R, *t* preceding a glottal stop. In Lakota intervocalic glottal stop has been lost and replaced by *y*. Mandan *ą* cannot be explained from either **rį̂-ʔE* or **Ré*.

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **areʔ* could reflect an earlier **arʔE*, **areʔE*, or **areʔE* since Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *CʔV* regularly becomes *CVʔ*, which then develops an echo vowel (*CVʔV*), whereupon Crow usually loses the intervocalic glottal stop; cf.

‘speak, talk’. In any event, Proto-Crow-Hidatsa initial *a* is unexplained. Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *r* can reflect either **r* or **R*. The Proto-Crow-Hidatsa form here may reflect **re* plus **ʔE* and an added *a-*, perhaps locative.

Quapaw and Hoocąk clearly reflect **Re*, while Omaha-Ponca, Kanza/Kaw, Osage, Chiwere, and Lakota reflect Proto-Mississipi-Valley **nį-ʔE*. Hoocąk and Chiwere suggest long vowels in both alternative forms. Hoocąk length may stem from monosyllabic lengthening; Chiwere length is either unaccounted for or suggests an earlier monosyllabic root. Proto-Siouan length is not supported by Crow/Hidatsa, which would normally retain it.

Accent placement in Mandan, Chiwere, Osage along with initial V present in Proto-Crow-Hidatsa, Quapaw and Ofo may suggest a Proto-Siouan initial syllable, but a Proto-Siouan monosyllable would be accented anyway. Nasalization may be secondary where it occurs throughout the family. Hoocąk, Quapaw, Biloxi/Ofo all suggest that the reconstruction should have no nasalization. Note that the only difference between the reconstructions **Ré-ʔE* and **rį̂-ʔE* is the feature [+nasal].

acorn

noun plant_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **ú•te*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **ú•te*

Proto-Dakota **úta*

Lakota *úta* ‘acorn’ RTC

Dakota *úta* SRR

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **-ú•te (?)*

Chiwere *bú•ǰe* RR

Hoocąk *húuč* KM:1602 , *huuc*

Proto-Dhegiha **púte* RR

Omaha-Ponca *búde hi* ‘red oak’ MAS:128

Kanza/Kaw *mą́büǰe* ‘sumac’ RR

Quapaw *ppíde* ‘acorn’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **u•ti(-hu)*

Biloxi *utí* D&S:283a

Ofo *ū́tu* , *†ú•tu* ‘oak’ D&S:331b, JSS

General comment

Omaha-Ponca should have *i* < **u*. Quapaw should have **píte* to match the Omaha and Kanza/Kaw forms, so this is probably a JOD transcription error, but cf. Quapaw *ppi* ‘seed’. Gilmore has Omaha *buude* ‘Quercus rubra’; this suggests length (1919:147). Despite the numerous irregularities in this set, the proto term appears to be reconstructible. In Chiwere and DH the root is compounded or prefixed with another element. Ordinarily we might reconstruct this element as absolutive **wa-* with normal vowel syncope and obstruentization of the *w*. Here, however, there does not appear to be any root-initial contoid to cause obstruentization, and the forms remain unexplained. Chiwere also uses ‘acorn’ for ‘glans’ so this word may be especially subject to taboo replacement. Hidatsa *ú•tiška* ‘cowry shell’ may be a borrowing from Lakota: “white acorn” (?). Cf. Choctaw *oti, uti* ‘chestnut’ By-307b suggesting that some of the irregularities in this set may be due to widespread borrowing.

acre

noun abstract_amount

General comment

The semantics of this term obviously postdate contact, but the term itself could reflect some older unit of land measure. Because of the proximity of Mandan and Hidatsa, it is not clear that anything is reconstructible here. If borrowing is involved, the consonant cluster suggests that the word is likely to have gone from Mandan into Hidatsa.

across > over, beyond, above

adverb physical_spatial

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **ake*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **áki-* , **ake*

Crow *áakkaa* 'across' [-haa adverbializer] GG:1, GG:64 , *á•kako, á•k'e* 'outside, on the other side, across' L:8 , *á•kirikyó•* 'on this side' L:11

Hidatsa *áki-* in: *ákipi* 'harnessed; a team horse' J , *áki-* in: *ákiphe•* 'to lay sth. over or across sth.' J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *á•ki* 'over, on top' RTC , *á•kiha•* 'over, on top, above' RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *ą́githa* 'over' GM , *agrí* , *†ag-* 'across; over' JGT:39 , *ág-* , *†ag-* 'on the other side' JGT:40 , *ág-* in: *ágrida* , *†ag-*

Hoocąk *age-* in: *agejá* 'across' KM:10 , *aak-* in: *aakeja* 'across the river' KM:10 , *ák* in: *nį́į?ák* 'across the lake' KM:10 , *ak* in: *nį́į'ak* , *áge-* in: *teágeja* , *aak-* in: *tee aakeja*

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *aki-* in: *akida* , *†aki-* 'across' D&S:171a , *ákĭ-* in: *ákĭduxtĕ´* , *†aki-* 'to cross, as a stream' D&S:171a , *ákĭ-* in: *á^{n}xu ákĭduxtĕ´* , *†aki-* '(lying) across a stone' D&S:178a

Proto-Catawba

Catawba *akę•-* 'a long time ago' KS:150 , *akę•-* in: *akę•hire* 'far away' KS:98 , *akę́•-* , *akę́•-* in: *akę́•rirɛ*

General comment

Hidatsa *ákipi* 'harnessed; a team horse' is from *aki-* 'across' + *pE* 'lying'. Hidatsa short a- is sure. Length in Crow and Mandan may be due to influence of *a•ka*. Cf. 'far, other, across' and 'demonstrative (2)' Osage and Quapaw have *ákki-* 'across', but the geminate shouldn't match a plain stop in the other languages, so we can't consider these cognate. Cf. 'teen formative'.

adverbializer

suffix n/a

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **-ha•*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **-ha•*

Crow *-aa* RG

Hidatsa *-ha•* ‘adverbializer’ J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *-ha* ‘times (with numeral)’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **-ha*

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **-ha*

Chiwere *núhan/núnhan* , *†núhą* ‘twice; adv. num.’ JGT:51

Hoocąk *nųųbąhą* ‘twice’ KM:2382 , *nųųpahą*

Proto-Dhegiha **-ha ?* RR

Omaha-Ponca *-ha (?)*

Kanza/Kaw *-ha* ‘in N places’ RR

Osage *-ha* ‘in N parts’ LF:153a

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Ofo *-ha* [cf. ‘one, two’]

General comment

We reconstruct length on the basis of Crow and Hidatsa. Nasality in Chiwere/Hoocąk is unexplained.

again (1)

adverb time

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *čá-* in: *tcána* , *†čá-* ‘again’ D&S:259b , *tcû-* in: *tcĭmána ~ tcûmana* , *†čá-* ‘again, long ago’ D&S:259b , *-tc-* in: *kiŭ´tcmŭná* , *†čá-* ‘the second time’ D&S:259b , *-tcá-* in: *ketcána ~ kětcána* , *†čá-* ‘again’ D&S:259b , *-tcû-* in: *kětcûmána* , *†čá-* ‘again’ D&S:259b

General comment

Cf. ‘again (2)’.

again (2)

adverb time

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **ši*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **ši*

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *žigé* ‘again’ KM:4014 , *žige*

Proto-Dhegiha **ši*

Kanza/Kaw *ši* ‘again, and’ JOD, RR , *šié* ‘again’ RR

Osage *shi* , *†ši* ‘again; and’ LF:131a

Quapaw *ši* ‘again, and, also’ RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *tcĭ-* in: *tcĭmána ~ tcûmana* , *†čĭ* ‘again, long ago’ D&S:259b , *-tc-* in: *kiŭ´tcmŭná* , *†čĭ* ‘the second time’ D&S:259b

General comment

Cf. ‘again (1)’. Biloxi may be showing cognates here or with the demonstrative and locative homophone.

ahead (1)

physical_spatial

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **(i-)htą•(-rį)*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **(i)htą-rį*

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *taŋníla* ‘ahead of others’ EB:480a

Proto-Dhegiha **ihtą-(rį)*

Omaha-Ponca *ito^{n}thi^{n}* , *†ittqðį* ‘ahead’ MAS:4

Kanza/Kaw *ittómittaha* ‘in or towards the front’ RR

Osage *iṭó^{n}thi^{n}* , *†ihtǫ́ðį* ‘go ahead’ LF:80a , *iṭó^{n}thiaṭa* , *†ihtǫ́ðiahta* ‘to the front’ LF:80a

Proto-Southeastern **tá•hnį*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *ta^{n}ni, tâníya^{n}, kitó^{n}ni* , *†tąni* ‘be ahead, be first’ D&S:272a

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *etāʔhni* , *†etá•hni* ‘the first’ DSF

General comment

Initial *i-* may be the directional prefix usually translated ‘toward’.

Nasalization has spread leftward from *-rį*. It may be possible to reconstruct Proto-Siouan stem-final **-he* since the Tutelo form suggests an earlier **-he* with **rį*, referring to movement, postposed. Cf. *-rį* in ‘run (1)’, ‘haul’, ‘shake > move (1)’, ‘walk (1)’.

ahead (2)

physical_spatial

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **-hto*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa *i•túka•* 'front of a group or series' J , *i•túka•ru* 'in front of sth.' J , *i•túkaha•* 'by way of the front' J , *i•túhta•* 'forward; in the future' J , *i•túxa•* 'further forward' J

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **hto(•)*

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *toká* 'at the first' [cont. of tokapa] EB:494b , *tokáhe* 'the first, the beginning, go ahead' EB:494b , *tokáb* 'before' EB:494b , *tokápa* 'the first, first born, eldest' EB:495b , *tokápataŋ* 'ahead, before' EB:495b , *tokáltaŋ* 'from another source, place or person' EB:495b , *tokáta* 'in the future, in future, yet to dome; the future' EB:496a , *tokátayab* 'ahead, future' EB:496a , *itókeha* 'at the first, formerly' EB:241 , *itók?eha* 'formerly, of old' EB:242 , *tokéya* 'the first, in opposition to others following' EB:497b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **thó•-*

Chiwere *t'óle* , *†thóle* 'before, in front of, ahead, first, chief' GM

Hoocąk *coowé* 'front part' KM:270 , *coowe* 'up ahead, in front; in the future' KM:271 , *coowéja* 'walk ahead, lead' KM:261 , *cooweeja* , *čoonį́* , *coonį*

Proto-Dhegiha

Quapaw *ettóha* 'ahead, in front, in advance' RR

General comment

Crow *ishóochi* 'front' GG-85 seems to reflect an earlier **itó•ki* or **icó•ki*. Hidatsa *išó•ki* 'front of a unity' may represent a different spirant grade of the latter or perhaps a borrowing from Crow. Note that these problematic forms show a long vowel comparable to that in Hoocąk. The short vowel of Hidatsa *i•tu-* is unexplained. The initial *i-* in many of these forms may be *i-* 'locative' which, at least in DH, usually carries the meaning 'toward'. It contrasts with *i-* 'instrumental'.

alive

verb psychosomatic

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **i-rį́•*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **irí*

Crow *ilí* ‘escape, survive, get by’ [active] RG, GG:87

Hidatsa *irÉ* ‘be alive’ [stative] J

Pre-Mandan **iriṣ-*

Mandan *wį̂ʔriṣoʔš* ‘I’m alive’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **nį*

Proto-Dakota **nį́*

Lakota *ní* ‘alive’ RTC

Dakota *ni* ‘to live’ SRR:340b

Stoney *nį* PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **nį́•*

Chiwere *ni* ‘breathe’ LWR

Hoocąk *nįįhá* ‘breathe’ KM:2320 , *nįįha* ‘be alive’ KM:2298, MM:342 , *nįʔą́p* , *nį'ąp*

Proto-Dhegiha **nį* RR

Omaha-Ponca *níðettabi* ‘they would let him live’

Kanza/Kaw *nį* ‘alive’ RR

Osage *nį* LF:105a

Quapaw *ni* JOD

Proto-Southeastern **inį•*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *ini* ‘get well’ D&S:200a

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *ini•* H , *inī, enī, inīna*

General comment

The second *n* in Tutelo may be epenthetic (a reflex of the usual glide, *r*) if the *ą* which followed it is cognate with Hoocąk *ʔą-*. The southeastern languages suggest Proto-Siouan vowel length, but Crow and Hidatsa, which normally preserve it, show no trace. Hoocąk *niʔąp* may be shortened VV > v̆/_V apparently. (Cf. ‘arrow’ for similar shortening, but without -ʔ-.) The Mandan form is derived from underlying *wą- + iriṣ + -oš*. The final *s* of Mandan is not explained.

This root probably occurs, and may in fact be better preserved, in the term for ‘breathe’, q.v. Cf. also ‘be’.

all, intact

abstract_amount

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *[old reconstruction only]*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **za•nį̂*

Proto-Dakota **zanį̂*

Lakota *zą́ní* ‘well, not sick’ RTC

Dakota *zaní* ‘well’ WM:258b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *ðañį* LWR

Proto-Dhegiha **za•nį̂*

Omaha-Ponca *zanį̂* ‘all’ JOD

Kanza/Kaw *za•nį̂* ‘all’ RR

Osage *çaní* , *†zaní* ‘all’ LF:29b

Quapaw *zanį̂, izanį̂* ‘all’ RR

General comment

We suspect an MVS innovation here. Cf. MVS *-za* ‘collective’. If this root is derived from the (earlier) collective suffix, it would better explain how **s* could have become *z* here. It would have been posttonic. Lakota has evidently reinterpreted *-ni* as the negative suffix, leading to *yazą́* ‘sick’. Quapaw *i-* is not accounted for so far. It does not fit semantically with either instrumental, locative or possessive *i-*, but its presence might account for the long *a•* by the second syllable lengthening rule.

ancestor, chief, elder, relative

noun social_kin

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **hų́•ka*

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *hų́ka* ‘parent’ H:83

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **hų́•ka*

Proto-Dakota **huką́*

Lakota *huką́* ‘ancestor, chief, elder, relative’ RTC

Dakota *huŋką́* , *†huką́* ‘parent, ancestor’ SRR:157b

Stoney *hugá* ‘chief’ PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **hų́•ke*

Chiwere *hų́•ge* ‘chief’ RR

Hoocąk *hų́ųk* ‘chief’ KM:1617 , *huųk*

Proto-Dhegiha **hą́ka* RR

Omaha-Ponca *nadáhąga* ‘chie, war leader’ RR, MAS:34

Kanza/Kaw *hą́ga* ‘gens name’ RR , *dodą́hąga* ‘war leader’

Osage *ho^{n}´ga* , *†hǫ́ka* ‘eagle, sacred one, moiety name’ LF:65b

Quapaw *totą́hąka* ‘war captain’ JOD

General comment

Length and accentual pattern suggest there may have been an old initial syllable, probably the possessive **i-*. The proto-DH form may have had *ǫ́*, but most of the evidence comes from unstressed forms where *ǫ* and *ą* have fallen together more or less completely. La Flesche’s Osage does not distinguish the two even in accented position. JGT92:28 reports that this term has the broader meaning ‘blessed one (who has been prayed/sung over)’.

This may in fact be closer to the original meaning, since it encompasses virtually all of the derived meanings.

antelope, goat

noun animal_mammal

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **hta•thó*

Proto-Dakota **thathóka*

Lakota *thathóka* ‘antelope’ EB:484a

Dakota *tatókadaŋ* , *†thathókadą* ‘antelope’ WM:7b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Otoe *thá•tho* ‘antelope’ JDH , *tha•thó* ‘antelope’ JDH

Proto-Dhegiha **htačhóke* < ***htathóke*

Omaha-Ponca *ttačhóge* ‘antelope’ RR

Kanza/Kaw *ttačhóge* ‘antelope’ RR

Osage *ṭatsúge* , *†htachóke* ‘antelope’ LF:231b

Quapaw *ttačhóke* ‘antelope’ JOD

General comment

The Dakota etymology (< *tha* ‘ruminant’ + *thóka* ‘enemy’) recalls Sapir’s analysis of Navajo ‘maize’ = ‘enemy + food’, and has the same historical significance. DH forms could conceivably be borrowed, since **thoke* is not found as an independent root in those languages. Cf. ‘chew’ for another *th* set.

anus, buttocks, vagina, passage

noun physical_somatic_body_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **(i-)ų́•še*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **ú•ši*

Crow *ú•ši* ‘rectum, anus, base’ RG, GG:58

Hidatsa *ú•ši* ‘anus, buttocks’ J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *wų́š* ‘buttocks’ H:307

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **(i-)ų́•že*

Proto-Dakota **ųzé*

Lakota *ųzé* ‘anus, buttocks, vagina, passage’

Dakota *oŋzé* , *†ųzé* ‘buttock’ SRR:379b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **ú•že* or: **ú•ži* RR

Chiwere *ú•ye* ‘vagina’ RR

Hoocąk *úuži* ‘buttocks; rectum; anus’ KM:3150 , *uuži*

Proto-Dhegiha **i-ǫ́že* RR

Omaha-Ponca *íže* ‘vagina’ JOD , *†íže* ‘vulva’

Kanza/Kaw *üžé* ‘pudendum’ RR

Osage *ízhemoⁿ̨koⁿ* , *†úže-* ‘laxative’ LF:82a

Quapaw *íže, įžé* ‘vagina’ JOD , *ížįyé* ‘anus’

General comment

Mandan should have *s*, Dakota should have a reflex of *š*. Mandan looks like it incorporates a fused absolutive. The DH forms are not directly reconcilable with a single proto form. Proto-Siouan **ų* > **ǫ* in DH, while Proto-Siouan **u* > *ü* in DH. The DH languages show traces of both the nasalization and fronting, but this should not be possible. We suspect that there was an inalienable prefix, *i-*, marking this noun, as it did most body parts in Proto-Siouan. This would account (a) for the present-day long initial vowel in several languages, (b) for the accent on the present initial syllable, and (c) for the otherwise strange DH vocalism. Quapaw has compounded two distinct fricative grades here, *íže* + *íyе*, to form ‘anus’.

apportative, + or - vertitive

physical_motion

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **rhi-o- + verb of motion(?)*

Pre-Mandan **rhu*

Mandan *tu + motion verb;* |**rhu*| 'go or come after something' [*kiru* with vertitive] H:468

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *hiyo* 'go/come to fetch' [hiyo + V of motion; *ho* + Verb of motion 'go/come to fetch' in *hohí* 'take it (of a pipe)'] EB:181a

arise (1)

verb physical_motion

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **ihki*

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *ikhí* 'wake up' JDH

Proto-Dhegiha

Osage *íḳithe* , *†íhkiðe* 'be awake' LF:74a

General comment

The Osage form looks like the causative of the root that appears in Chiwere.

arise (2) > get up

verb physical_motion

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **ki-rahÉ*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **ki-rahÉ*

Crow *čilÉ* 'rise, get up' RGG:31, GG:38

Hidatsa *(h)kirahÉ* 'get up' J , *kirahí*

Proto-Southeastern **ki-kré•-* < ***ki-k-rhe•*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **ki-Re*

Biloxi *kíne, kĭnedí, kĭně´* 'arise, get up' D&S:235a

Ofo *akạléwa* , *†akəléwa* 'stand up' D&S:319a

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *kiklēse* 'awake' H:36

General comment

This form consists of 'stand' with the Proto-Siouan vertitive prefix **ki-*. Cf. 'standing, inanim. classifier'. Biloxi *n* reflects an earlier *kr*, cf. 'find' and 'marked > spotted, striped (1)' for other instances. This pre-Biloxi *kr* corresponds to the Hidatsa form. With the loss of the *k* in Biloxi, another *ki-* was added. Tutelo shows an equivalent to the Biloxi process just described.

arise (3)

verb physical_motion

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **kitá(-re)* or: **kiktá(-re)*

Pre-Mandan **kita•-*

Mandan *kitáṛ* , *†kitą•-* 'awaken someone' H:338 , *kitá•ro?š* , *†kita•- kitár* 'awaken someone' H:112

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **kikta*

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *kiktá* 'arise, get up' RTC

Proto-Dhegiha

Quapaw *kítta* 'arise, get up' ASG

General comment

It is impossible to determine the precise status of the second *k* in the Lakota form and its probable reflex in Quapaw. It may be an organic part of the root, or it may be the regular syncopated reflex of the original **ki*, with the initial *ki* an analogically added duplicate.

arm

noun physical_somatic_body_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **á•(-re)*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **á•re* , **á•*

Crow *áali* ‘arm, foreleg’ GG:2, RGG:68

Hidatsa *á•ra* ‘his, her arm’ J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *á•re* ‘arm’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **á*

Proto-Dakota *á*

Lakota *á* ‘armpit’ RTC

Dakota *a* ‘armpit’ WM:9b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *a•grásče* ‘arm’ RR

Hoocąk *áa* KM:2 , *aa*

Proto-Dhegiha **á*

Omaha-Ponca *á* ‘arm’ RTC

Kanza/Kaw *á* ‘arm’ RR

Osage *á* ‘arm’ LF:5a

Quapaw *á* ‘arm’ RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *asa^{n}hí^{n}* , *†asąhį́* ‘his or her arms’ D&S:251b

General comment

In addition to the citation form given above, Crow has *áala* (RG) and *á•re* (L-188) in discourse, indicating the existence of a final ablauting vowel. Hidatsa seems to have preserved only the form with final *-a*. The Biloxi etymology is *a* + *sąhį* ‘on one side, one of a pair’.

armpit

noun physical_somatic_body_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba **Roksi ~ *Rǫksi (?)*

Proto-Siouan **Roksí*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **rohcÉ*

Crow *daččúá* ‘armpit’ RG, GG:43

Hidatsa *rohcÉ* ‘his, her armpit’ J , *nohci*

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *aksóxarąre* ‘armpit’ H:59

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **Roksí*

Proto-Dakota **Roksí*

Lakota *alóksohą* ‘armpit, put under the arm; to carry under the arm’ EB:78a

Dakota *doksí* ‘armpit’ SRR:109a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *ró•θe* ‘armpit’ [old] JDH , *ró?θi* JGT , *roqçi* , *†roxθi*

Otoe *roçi* , *†roθi*

Proto-Dhegiha **Rosúí́* RR

Omaha-Ponca *nosi*

Kanza/Kaw *dosúí́* ‘armpits’ RR

Osage *thuçí* , *†ðosúí́ (sg.), †dosü (pl.)* ‘armpit’ LF:232a

Quapaw *tosí* JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *tuksi$^{n\prime}$* D&S:281b

Ofo *tą́fhe* , *†táfhe* D&S:329b

Proto-Catawba

Catawba *hinúíksu* ‘his armpit’ FS

General comment

Virtually all instances where Quapaw *#do-* is expected show *#to-*.

This appears to be a regular sound change as there is only one exception to this in the entire Quapaw lexicon. Osage appears to show a similar change in progress with singular/plural listed differently (as *h/d = ð/t*).

Ofo *fh* once again appears to have a **C + s > hs > sh > fh* antecedent. The final vowels of this set present a difficulty that has not been resolved. In DH a former compound of 'armpit' with **hu* 'bone' is possible but not obviously justified. Vowel harmony of a sort is occasionally found in Kanza/Kaw, but *-u#* is pervasive here and is found even in Catawba. If this noun is like most body parts, it should have been inalienably possessed, i.e., had a prefixed **i-*. The initial consonants of the Ofo and Biloxi forms are incompatible unless Proto-Siouan **R* has these reflexes in the SE. Nor is nasalization in the SE accounted for in this set. Crow shows rightward vowel exchange and the addition of a final syllabic.

arrive here

verb physical_motion

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **re-hí•*

Pre-Mandan **:ti* < ***rhi*

Mandan *tí?š* ‘he arrived here’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **rhí•*

Proto-Dakota **hí*

Lakota *hí* ‘arrive here’ RTC

Dakota *hi* ‘arrive’ WM:9b

Stoney *hí* PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **tí•*

Chiwere *ǰi•khé, ǰi•* ‘he’s arriving’ RR

Hoocąk *ǰíi* ‘arrive coming’ KM:1702 , *jii*

Proto-Dhegiha **thí*

Omaha-Ponca *thí* ‘arrive here’ RR

Kanza/Kaw *čhí* ‘arrive here’ RR

Osage *chí* ‘arrive here’ RR

Quapaw *thí* ‘arrive here’ RR

Proto-Southeastern **hí• (?)*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *i^{n}hi$^{n\prime}$* , *†ịḥị́* ‘have come here for the first time’ D&S:197a

Ofo *ofthạhi* , *†ofthahi* ‘arrive here, come in (?)’ D&S:327a

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *hĩ* , *†hi•* ‘come’ H , *híwa* , *†hi•* ‘to have come hither (?)’ JOD

General comment

Hollow derives Mandan *ti* from underlying *rhi*, which may account for its prelengthening behavior. Cognacy of the SE Siouan forms is questionable, since available translations do not usually provide sufficient information and may refer to the simplex verb. This set may be derived from simplex **hi* 'arrive' with a prefixed spatial/temporal deictic element **re* 'this, here, now', which undergoes the normal initial syllable vowel syncope.

'arrive there', *hí•*, shows the unmarked form. Note that the compound is truly confirmed only in Mandan, Chiwere/Hoocąk and DH; all other languages may be showing reflexes of simplex **hi*.

arrive here vertitive

verb physical_motion

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **ki-rhí•*

Pre-Mandan **kri* < ***ki-rhi*

Mandan *krí* ‘to arrive back here’ H:180

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **krí*

Proto-Dakota **krí*

Lakota *glí* RTC

Dakota *hdi* ‘come or arrive at home’ SRR:131b

Stoney *hní* PAS

Sioux Valley *hdí* PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **krí*

Chiwere *glí* W:246b

Hoocąk *kirí* ‘arrive coming back’ KM:1846 , *kiri*

Proto-Dhegiha **krí* RR

Omaha-Ponca *gðí* RTC

Kanza/Kaw *lí, lí•* RR

Osage *gði* ‘to come home; to return home’ LF:55a , *gthi*

Quapaw *kdi* ‘have come back here’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern **ki-rí*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *kĭdí* ‘he reached home’ D&S:197a

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *wágriwa* , *†-kri* ‘I have come back’ HW , *-gili-* , *†-kiri* ‘go home’ ES, LJF

General comment

Proto-Siouan **ki-* ‘vertitive’ + **rhí* ‘arrive here’. The full form, before the various stages of derivation, is likely to have been **ki-* ‘vertitive’, **re* ‘here, this, now’, **hí•* ‘arrive’. Thus initial syllable syncope has applied twice, once to the original derivation, *re-hi•*, and once to the secondary derivation, *ki-r-hi•*. Biloxi might be expected to have *n* in place of *d* here (cf. ‘arise (2) > get up’), but reflexes of **rh* in Biloxi are too few for us to be certain.

arrive there

verb physical_motion

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **hí•*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **hí•*

Crow *híi* 'arrive, meet, get close to' RG, GG:48

Hidatsa *hí•* 'arrive (here or there)' J

Pre-Mandan **hi-*

Mandan *híʔš* 'he arrived there' RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **hí*

Proto-Dakota **í*

Lakota *í* 'arrive there'

Dakota *i* 'to have gone to, have been at' SRR:169b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **hí•*

Chiwere *hí•*

Hoocąk *híi* 'arrive going' KM:868 , *hii*

Proto-Dhegiha **hí*

Omaha-Ponca *hí* 'arrive there' RTC

Kanza/Kaw *hí* 'arrive, reach there' RR

Osage *hí* 'arrive at a place' LF:59b

Quapaw *hí* 'arrive there' RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **hi*

Biloxi *hi* 'reach, arrive at' D&S:197a , *iⁿhíⁿ* , *†ịhị́* 'arrive here' D&S:197a

Ofo *ofthahi* , *†o-fthahi* 'arrive (here), come in' D&S:327a

General comment

Tutelo *kuweya hukteⁿʔheⁿ* is most likely not cognate. A partial analog of the Ofo form would have to be assumed, with *-hę* derived from **-hi* with nasalization from the preceding vowel. In fact, Tutelo *ę* virtually always comes from **ą*, very rarely **į*. In Hidatsa the simplex appears uninflected (3s only). Full inflection is found with the vertitive and other prefixes. Note that Lakota 1p is *ų́kį́pi* with no glottal stop or aspiration.

arrive there vertitive

verb physical_motion

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **ki-hí*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa *k(h)E* ‘arrive back, here or there’ J

Pre-Mandan **kihi*

Mandan *kí* ‘to arrive back there’ H:72

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **kVhí*

Proto-Dakota **khí*

Lakota *khí* ‘arrive back there at home’ RTC, EB:298a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **kí•*

Chiwere *gí* ‘arrive going back’ JGT:19

Hoocąk *gíi* ‘arrive returning there’ KM:349 , *gii*

Proto-Dhegiha **khí* RR

Omaha-Ponca *khí* PG:68

Kanza/Kaw *khí* ‘return home’ RR

Osage *kshi* , *†khi* ‘reach home’ LF:90a

Quapaw *khí* RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *ki^{n}hi^{n}* , *†kįhį* D&S:197a

General comment

Proto-Siouan **ki-* ‘vertitive’ with *hí* ‘arrive there’. Hidatsa *kh* reflects the recent loss of the vowel, since inherited aspirates deaspirate in Hidatsa. Thus *ki* vertitive has retained its vowel into relatively modern times. In Hidatsa this verb has been reanalyzed as ablauting. The correspondence of Proto-Dhegiha **kh* and Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **g* confirms that Proto-Mississipi-Valley had **kVh*.

arrowleaf (Sagittaria latifolia)

noun plant

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **psį•* < ***wa-sį•*

Proto-Dakota **psį* ~ **pši*

Lakota *pšithóla* ‘broad-leaved arrowhead’ EB:447a , *šiptola* ‘bulbous esculent root’ SRR:426a

Dakota *psiŋćíŋća* ‘bulbous esculent root’ SRR:426a , *psiŋćá* ‘bulbous esculent root’ SRR:425b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *sį̨póro* ‘arrowhead lily’ KM:2858 , *sį̨poro*

Proto-Dhegiha **sį* RR

Omaha-Ponca *sį* ‘Sagittaria latifolia’ MRG:91

Osage *çi*^{n} , *†sį* ‘Sagittaria latifolia’ LF:30b

General comment

Cf. ‘onion’ and ‘rice, wild, Zizania aquatica’. Here Dakotan and Hoocąk/DH have unexplained differences in the fricative. While this is not the kind of semantically “graded” root that normally shows fricative symbolism, perhaps it does occur here.

artichoke, edible root

noun plant_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **hpą́•xi*

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *pą́•xE* ‘wild potato’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **hpą́•ɣi*

Proto-Dakota **phąɣí*

Lakota *phąɣí* ‘Jerusalem artichoke’ RTC

Dakota *paŋġi* , *†phąɣí* ‘artichoke’ WM:9b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **phą́•ɣi*

Chiwere *phą́xe* ‘Indian turnip’ RR

Hoocąk *pąąɣí* ‘ground cherry’ KM:2443 , *pąąğ̌i*

Proto-Dhegiha **hpą́xe* ~ **hpą́xi*

Omaha-Ponca *paⁿḣe* , *†ppą́xe* ‘Jerusalem artichoke’ MRG:95 , *páⁿxi* , *†ppą́xi* ‘parsnips’

Kanza/Kaw *ppą́xe* ‘small gourd’ RR

Osage *poⁿ´xe* , *†hpą́xe* ‘artichoke’ LF:129b

General comment

Quapaw *ppǫ* ‘hickory nut’, q.v. may be related and may indicate that ‘Jerusalem artichoke’ is historically bimorphemic. This is one of several Siouan terms in which *-i* seems to vary with the far more common ending, *-e* (Lakota *-a*) in several languages (cf. ‘hard (1)’). Where the variation is found, *-i* is normally the obvious reconstruction. Here the picture is clouded by the presence of *-e* in DH, Chiwere and Mandan. It appears that these forms have moved from a less-productive to a more-productive stem class.

ashes (1)

noun physical_substance

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **ayú•si*

Biloxi *ayusí, hayusi* D&S:296a

Ofo *əčú•fi* D&S:321b, JSS , *ạtcū́fi*

Proto-Catawba

Catawba *yáči*

General comment

Cf. Yuchi *yaše* (GW). Catawba/Yuchi similarity may be due to borrowing, but the meaning is rather basic. Ofo should show aspiration in the accented syllable. The term is limited to the SE. Pre-Proto-Biloxi-Ofo could be either **ayú•si* or **wa-yú•si*, since both Biloxi and Ofo lose initial labial resonants.

ashes (2)

noun physical_substance

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dakota **čhaxóta*

Lakota *čhaxóta* ‘ashes’ RTC

Dakota *caȟota* , *†čhaxóta* ‘ashes’ WM:10a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *á•xohǰe* ‘ashes’ RR

Hoocąk *raaxóč* ‘dust, powdery ashes’ KM:2536 , *raaxoc*

Proto-Dhegiha **-xóte ‘gray’*

Omaha-Ponca *mǫ?xóde* ‘ashes’ RTC

Kanza/Kaw *nįxóǰe* ‘ashes’ RR

Osage *nixódse* , *†nįxóce* ‘ashes’ LF:111a

Quapaw *nįxóte, nįxótte* ‘ashes’ RR

General comment

Proto-Mississipi-Valley compounds roots for ‘wood’, ‘earth’, ‘fire’, or ‘liquid’ with ‘gray’. The Ioway form shows reflexes of an earlier **a•-xót-ka*, but the prefix is unidentified. Hoocąk apparently has the ‘by heat’ instrumental.

Little is really reconstructible here outside the root for ‘gray’, but the set may be of derivational interest.

ash (tree), Fraxinus

noun plant

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **wišpá*

Crow *bišpá* ‘box elder’ RG, GG:34, RGG:11

Hidatsa *wišpá* ‘ash’ J , *mišpá*

Pre-Mandan **taspák (?)* , **tapsák (?)*

Mandan *tapsák* ‘ash’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **psé*

Proto-Dakota **psé*

Lakota *pséxte* ‘ash’ EB:446b , *psékt̨i* EB:784, EJ

Dakota *pse-yá-pi* , *†pse-yápi* ‘the water ash, so called because used for making snow shoes’ SRR:425b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *sée* ‘snowshoes’ KM:2809 , *see*

General comment

There are many irregularities in this set which will ultimately require explanation. The initial sequence *pC* in MVS ordinarily implies an earlier **wi-C* animate or a **wa-C* absolutive form. The prefix in Crow/Hidatsa would then be secondary and the metathesis irregular, if these forms are cognate at all.

Fricative symbolism would also have to be assumed. All in all, this looks like a diffused form to us. Proto-Dhegiha **htašną́*, Omaha-Ponca *ttašnąge* ‘ash’, Quapaw *ttašną́* ‘ash’ bear a striking resemblance to Dakota *thašnáheča* ‘striped ground squirrel’ B-483a, but we are unable to make anything of it. Cf. ‘hawthorn, red haw’.

ask

verb social_communication

Proto-Siouan-Catawba **wiį*

Proto-Siouan **wíį́xE*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **wáxxu* < **wúxxa*

Crow *báxxu* ‘ask’ RG, GG:28, RGG:50 , *čiwáxxu* ‘ask’ RG, GG:39, RGG:50

Hidatsa *hkiwáxxu* ‘ask a question, ask for something’ J , *kiwáxxu*

Pre-Mandan **-wą•xe-*

Mandan *kiwą́•xe?š* ‘he asked him’ [prns. prefixed to ki-, all regular] RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **iwíį́yE*

Proto-Dakota **iwíį́yA*

Lakota *iyúį́ya* SRR:240b, EB:263b, RTC, EJ

Dakota *iwaŋġa* , *†iwáį́ya* ‘ask’ WM:10a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **iwą́xe*

Chiwere *iwą́xe* ‘ask’ JDH

Hoocąk *hiwą́x* KM:1122 , *hiwąx*

Proto-Dhegiha **íwǫ́ye*

Omaha-Ponca *ímąye* ~ *iðąye* ‘ask’ JEK

Ponca *íwąye* JOD

Kanza/Kaw *íyǫ́ye* ‘ask’ JOD

Osage *ímǫ́xe* ‘inquire’ LF:74b , *íðǫ́xe* ‘ask, question’ LF:80a

Quapaw *ímǫ́ye* ‘ask’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *háyi^{n} naxĕ´* , *†nąxé* ‘ask a question’ D&S:195b

Proto-Catawba

Catawba *mǫhare, mǫ* ‘ask for’ FGS:15, KS

General comment

This is one of the few examples of an apparent w-stem. Cf. ‘lie, be lying, positional’ for a similar *w* ~ *r* in Dakota, DH. Quapaw apparently preserves the original irregular conjugation; cf. Dakota. DH stress has been shifted. The sequence **w* + *u* seems to be inherently unstable in Siouan, and the result is always dissimilation of either the vowel, to *a*, or the glide, to *r* (or its various reflexes). Crow and Hidatsa show rightward vowel exchange of inherited *-u-*. Mandan suggests vowel length, but this is not confirmed by any other language. The Crow/Hidatsa long spirant is unaccounted for. JEK suggests that w-stems may, in fact, simply be vowel-initial stems with an epenthetic glide. This could explain the variability of the glide. Note that vanishingly few Siouan verb roots are vowel-initial.

W-stems have unusual conjugations. Here are some details for the present form: Lakota 1Act *imúŋa*; 2Act *inúŋa* (all dialects). Hoocąk 1Act *hipą́x*. Omaha-Ponca 1Act *(wawe) mąɣe*. Quapaw 1Act *ímǫɣe*; 2Act *ížoɣe*; 3Act plural *ímaɣawe*. In Kanza/Kaw ‘ask’ is conjugated as an r-stem; in Osage it is conjugated as both *r*- and *í*-stem In Biloxi *háyi*^{n} is conjugated, while *naxĕ́* is invariant.

augmentative (1)

n/a

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *-*xti*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **xti*

Proto-Dakota **xti* ~ **xtį*

Lakota *-xci* in: *ecéxci* ‘just so, exactly (as one expected)’ EB:137 , *-xci* in: *ehą́tuxci* ‘just at that time’ EB:140 , *-xci* in: *étulaxci* ‘just to, at, in’ EB:144 , *-xci* in: *hécexci* ‘just so, only so; altogether’ EB:169 , *-xci* in: *hétulaxci* ‘just at that place or time’ EB:174 , *-xci* in: *iyécexci* ‘just like’ EB:254 , *-xci* in: *tóhąxci* ‘some other time in the future perhaps’ EB:493

Dakota *xčį ~ xčí; -xče* [Ft. Totten Wahpeton; Minnesota]

Yanktonai *-xčí* [upper YA] WDR

Stoney *htįǰága ~ xtįǰága* ‘great’ [+ ablaut] PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *-*xti*

Chiwere *-xji* ‘very’ JOD , *-hsji* ‘very; very much; true’ JGT:270 , *-xchi- ~ -hji-* in: *étasjehge/ étaxchithke (DOR)* , *†-xči* ‘more than’ JGT:868 , *-xchi- ~ -hji-* , *†-xči* ‘while: a great while ago (referring to past time)’ JGT:3627, DOR , *-hji-* in: *thˆíjida/ thˆíhjidahge/ thˆíxchidathke* , *†-xči* ‘long time; enduring a very great while to’ DOR , *-xchi ~ -hji* , *†-xči* , *-hji* in: *thˆíhji (dahá)/ thˆíhje / thˆíxchi* , *†-xči*

Hoocąk *=xjį* , *†xǰį* ‘very’ MM:118 , *xdjį* , *†xǰį* ‘about there; about that time’ KM:300 , *-xǰį* in: *éeǰaxǰį, éeǰaxǰįnį́įsge* , *†xǰį* ‘himself, herself, itself (emph)’ KM:302 , *=xjį* in: *eejaxjį, eejaxjįnį́įsge* , *†xǰį* ‘just a little’ KM:274 , *-xǰį* in: *eexǰį* , *†xǰį* ‘how far? how long (time or space)?’ KM:1672 , *=xjį* in: *eexjį* , *†xǰį* ‘how, what in the world?’ KM:1682 , *-xǰį* in: *coowéxǰį(nį́k)* , *†xǰį* ‘just that much (FW)’ KM:4007 , *=xjį* in: *coowexjį(nį́k)* , *†xǰį* ‘surely’ KM:4010 , *-xǰį* in: *ǰaaǰą́įxǰį* , *†xǰį* , *=xjį* in: *jaajaįxjį* , *†xǰį* , *-xǰį* in: *ǰaaxǰį́šge* , *†xǰį* , *=xjį* in: *jaaxjį́šge* , *†xǰį* , *-xǰį* in: *žeenąxǰį* , *†xǰį* , *=xjį* in: *žeenąxjį* , *†xǰį* , *-xǰį* in: *žeesgéxǰį* , *†xǰį* , *=xjį* in: *žeesgexjį* , *†xǰį*

Proto-Dhegiha *-*xti*

Omaha-Ponca *-xti ~ -xči* ‘very, real’ RTC, RR, JEK

Kanza/Kaw *-xči* ‘very, real’ RR

Osage *-xci* ‘very, real’ RR

Quapaw *-xti* ‘very, real’ RR

Proto-Southeastern *-*xti*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *-xti* D&S:224a , *ewaxtí* , *†-xtí* ‘further, still further’ D&S:189a , *-xti* in: *ĕ´xti* , *†-xtí* ‘far’ D&S:192a , *-xtí-* in: *ĕxtík* , *†-xtí* ‘far off’ D&S:192a

Ofo *náfthi* , *†náfthi* ‘true, real’ D&S:326b

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *pa•qti•, pāxtē* ‘none (sic), nose’ H

General comment

Cf. ‘augmentative (2)’, ‘negative (2)’, and ‘near’. Chiwere and DH forms indicate the homophony of ‘augmentative (1)’ and ‘near’.

The Tutelo form is actually glossed ‘none’, but we believe this to be a typo because it is immediately adjacent to ‘nose’ *pāhtēi* and appears to be merely a variant transcription. Superficially similar Hidatsa *ihtía* ‘big’ does not belong here, as Proto-Siouan **xt* stays in Hidatsa.

augmentative (2)

n/a

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **xtE*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Crow *-šta* ‘very’ [augmentative] RG

Pre-Mandan **xte-*

Mandan *xté?š* ‘it’s big’ [2nd element of many compounds] RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **xtE*

Proto-Dakota **xtA*

Lakota *-xčA* ‘augmentative’ RTC

Dakota *-xčA* ‘augmentative’ [Ft. Totten Wahpeton; Minnesota] PAS , *-xča ~ xčį; -xče*

Stoney *htiǰága ~ xtiǰága* ‘great’ [+ ablaut] PAS

Sioux Valley *-xčA ~ x* PAS

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *paqti, pāxtē* , *ʔpa•xte•* ‘none (sic), nose’ H

General comment

Cf. ‘augmentative (1)’, ‘big (2)’. The Tutelo form is actually glossed ‘none’, but we believe this to be a typo because it is immediately adjacent to ‘nose’ *pāhtēi* and appears to be merely a variant transcription. Crow shows the *š*-grade.

aunt, father's sister

noun social_kin

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **i-htíį•wį*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa *itú•* 'mother's brother's wife, sister-in-law' J

Pre-Mandan **tu•wrį́k*

Mandan *ptú•wįrį́ks* 'my aunt' RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **i-htíį•wį*

Proto-Dakota **thųwį̂*

Lakota *thųwį̂* RTC

Dakota *toŋwiŋ* , *†thųwį̂* 'aunt' WM:11b

Stoney *thųwį̂* PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **i-thíį•wį*

Chiwere *ithúmį* 'aunt' GM

Hoocąk *číį́ųwį* KM:287 , *cųųwį*

Proto-Dhegiha **i-htímį*

Omaha-Ponca *ittími* 'father's sister' RTC

Kanza/Kaw *iččímį* 'father's sister' RR

Osage *ihcímį* 'father's sister' RR

Quapaw *ittímį* 'father's sister' RR

Proto-Southeastern **tomį́•*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *tóⁿni, tóⁿniyaⁿ, toⁿní (vocative)* , *†tą́ni* 'aunt' D&S:279b

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *tomĩn* , *†tomį•* 'aunt' H

General comment

The root is a dependent noun, thus the initial **i-* in Proto-Siouan. Aspiration and the accentual and vowel length patterns suggest that the form must be reconstructed with the possessive prefix even though it is less prevalent in the reflexes than is the case with many other kinship terms. The stressed V in Kanza/Kaw and Osage is aberrant. It should be **ïi* or **ïį. ïį* does not occur however so *į* or *i* may be the normal outcome of it. For whatever reason, the sequence **wV̨h* seems to preserve oral *w*, v. 'female, flint'. Mandan has compounded the root with **ṛįk* 'little' to form a diminutive. Biloxi has added the *-nį* suffix found also in the terms for 'mother (1) (referential)' and 'grandmother', q.v. The resulting *w-n* cluster simplifies to *n*; cf. 'three'.

autumn

noun time_phase

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **wahtą́•(-re)* RR

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **watá•*

Crow *basáa* 'autumn' RG, GG:28, RGG:37

Hidatsa *watá•* 'autumn' J , *matá•*

Pre-Mandan **ptą•re*

Mandan *ptą́ ~ ptą́re* , *†ptą•re* 'autumn' H:156 , *ptą́ro?š* , *†ptą•-* 'it's autumn' H:156

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **ptą́•-*

Proto-Dakota **ptą́-*

Lakota *ptąyétu* RTC

Dakota *ptaŋyetu* , *†ptąyétu* 'autumn' WM:11b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **thą́•nį*

Chiwere *čañi* 'winter' LWR , *thą́•ñį* RR

Hoocąk *čaanį́* KM:130 , *caanį, cąąnį*

Proto-Dhegiha **htą́•*

Omaha-Ponca *ttą• gáxðą* 'fall' RR

Kanza/Kaw *ttą́dą* 'mid winter' RR

Osage *ṭo^{n}* , *†htą* 'Fall of the year' LF:155b

Quapaw *pádettą* 'winter' MS

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *tāñyi, tä'ï* , *†tą•yi* H

General comment

Reconstruction of Proto-Siouan aspiration in this root is conjectural. The problem is that most of the languages outside of MVS have either lost historical aspiration (Crow, Hidatsa, Mandan) or have been transcribed by earlier researchers in such a way that aspiration is hard to detect (Biloxi, Tutelo). In MVS the prefix, **wa-*, collapses with the root leaving the cluster **pt*, whose outcome in Chiwere/Hoocąk and DH is an aspirated **ht* or its modern reflex, *tt, th, čh*. The stop should be aspirated by its position in the Proto-Siouan accented syllable, but there are a few exceptions to this rule.

awaken

verb psychosomatic

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **ra-ɣikE*

Proto-Dakota **-xičA*

Lakota *oʔíkpaxičA* ‘wake up’ EJ , *kaɣíča* ‘wake up by striking’ EB:272a , *kaxíčA* ‘wake one up with the foot, or by making a noise with the feet’ EJ , *naɣíča* ‘waken one, arouse with the mouth or by talking’ EB:342b , *naxíčA* ‘arouse one, wake one up’ EJ , *yaɣíča* EB:618b , *yaxíčA* EJ , *yuɣíča* EB:636a , *yuxíčA* EJ

Dakota *yuȟica* , *†yuxiča* ‘awaken’ WM:12a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *-xį́k, ra-* ‘awaken by voice’ KM:2581 , *raxį́k*

Proto-Dhegiha **rïixí*

Omaha-Ponca *thixí* , *†ðixí* ‘arouse from sleep’ MAS:7

Kanza/Kaw *yïixí* ‘rouse’ RR

Osage *thixí* , *†ðïixí* LF:151a

Quapaw *dixí* JOD

General comment

The Lakota forms appear to have doublets with and without fricative voicing. Nasalization is not reconstructed. When there is disagreement about nasality in MVS, it is virtually always Chiwere/Hoocąk that have added the feature irregularly.

axe

noun physical_artefact_tool

Proto-Siouan-Catawba **sį̂pe*

Proto-Siouan **-sepe*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Crow *baáččipi* ‘axe, hatchet’ GG:22, RGG:66

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **-spe*

Proto-Dakota **-spé*

Lakota *nazúspe* RTC

Dakota *oŋspe* , *†uspé* ‘axe’ WM:12b , *†mazúspe* ‘axe’ WM:12b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *į̂θwe* W:236a

Proto-Dhegiha **-spe*

Omaha-Ponca *mo^{n}çe pe* , *†mą́spe* MAS

Kanza/Kaw *mą́hįspe* RR

Osage *mo^{n}ʔhi^{n}çpe* , *†mą́hįspe* LF:98b

Quapaw *į̂spe* RR

Proto-Southeastern **-sé•pi*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **ąhsé•pi*

Biloxi *a^{n}seep, a^{n}sépi, a^{n}séwi* , *†ąsé•pi* D&S:253a

Ofo *a^{n}fhépi* D&S:322b

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *nisēp; hisēpi, hisép, hisēp’; hicēp’* N, H, JOD

Proto-Catawba

Catawba *sipé* ‘knife’ FGS , *sepa?* MS

General comment

Cf. ‘sharp (1)’. The Kanza/Kaw and Osage forms are compounds with **wą•hi* ‘blade, edged tool’ q.v. The southeastern forms might well derive from **wą•h-sepi* also. OVS **hs* cluster accounts for some of the Ofo *fh* that Swanton wrote so frequently. Crow reflects earlier **wa•hsepi*. Dakota *†mazúspe* ‘axe’ contains *máza* ‘metal’ and *úspé*. Dorsey (1896) commented in “Omaha dwellings, furniture”, etc. p.278. Omaha *maⁿ́ze-pe* ‘sharp iron’ “But the Kansa have the ancient name, *maⁿ́hispe*, answering to the Dakota, *waⁿ́híspe*, ‘sharp flint’”. Omaha *-ppe* could be ‘sharp’ as *h* is lost V_V; **ppahí* > **ppaí* > *ppe* when unstressed in a compound.

b

back

noun physical_somatic_body_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **i-rą́•he*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **ra- J*

Crow *annáakku* ‘saddle’ GG:11, RGG:106, RG , *anná•ʾko, anná•xko* ‘saddle’ L:16

Hidatsa *rá•xukhe* ‘saddle’ J , *ná•xukhe* ‘middle of horse; back under saddle’ , *da*

Pre-Mandan **rąhe*

Mandan *rą́he, rąhé* ‘back’ RTC , *rąhú•re* ‘spine’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **i-rą́•h-ka*

Proto-Dakota **čhąkhá-hu*

Lakota *čhąkháhu* ‘spine’ EB:119a, EJ

Dakota *caŋkahu* , *†čhąkháhu* ‘back’ WM:12a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **ną́•khe*

Chiwere *ną́•khe* RR

Hoocąk *nąąké* ‘back part of anything, back of human body’ KM:2185 , *nąąke*

Proto-Dhegiha **ną́hka*

Omaha-Ponca *ną́kka, nǫ́kka* RR

Kanza/Kaw *ną́kka* ‘back’ RR

Osage *nóⁿ̣ka* , *†ną́hka* ‘back’ LF:114b

Quapaw *ną́kka* ‘back of an animal’

Proto-Catawba

Catawba *-ta•k; ɨtak* ‘someone’s back’ [dependent stem] KS

General comment

Mandan *rąhú•re* < *rą́h* ‘back’ + *hú•re* ‘bone’; Crow *dúula* Hidatsa *nú•ri* < **r(ah+h)uuri*. Dakotan shows the same sequence of elements with an intervening *-ka*. Mandan *ną́he* shows lexical accent.

back, returned

physical_spatial

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **xára*

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *haxda, hahda* ‘back, returning’ GM

Proto-Dhegiha **xára*

Omaha-Ponca *xáða* ‘back again’ JEK

Kanza/Kaw *xáya* ‘back to starting point’ RR

Osage *xatha* , *†xaða* ‘backward’ LF:218a

Quapaw *xáda* ‘back to starting point’ RR

bad (1)

verb evaluative

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **(i-)šíˑ(-ke)*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa *išíˑa* 'bad' J , *išihe•´* 'spoil sth. (caus.)' J , *išihe•´*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **šíkE*

Proto-Dakota **šíčA*

Lakota *šíčA* 'bad' RTC

Stoney *sĩja* PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **šíke*

Chiwere *sik, shik* 'incredible' [interjection] LWR:27

Otoe *irosíge* 'ashamed' JDH

Hoocąk *šiišík* 'be bad, be spoiled (of food)' KM:2950 , *šiišik*

Proto-Dhegiha **šíke*

Omaha-Ponca *†óšige* 'bad one' F&LF:604

Kanza/Kaw *šíge* 'bad, evil, injury' RR

Osage *áąhu shige* , *†šike* 'compulsion, force one to yield' LF:11a

Quapaw *šíke* 'bad' RR

Proto-Southeastern **(i-)šíˑ(-ke)*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Ofo *tcĩ´ʃhehi* , *†číˑʃhehi* 'dangerous' D&S:329b, JSS

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *māmpā isĩ* , *†isiˑ* 'devil, evil spirit' H , *papacik* , *†-šik* 'Devil' FGS:121

General comment

Ofo, MVS (and in one instance) Tutelo have suffixed **-kE*. Initial *i-* of Hidatsa and Tutelo is unexplained and may or may not be reconstructible. Ofo *ʃh* suggests possible pre-Ofo **čiCsehi* < ***čik-sehi*. Hidatsa *-ia* suggests earlier **-iha*. Both Tutelo forms probably reflect an *s*-grade form as Tutelo does not distinguish *s* and *š*. Cf. 'bad (2)'.

bad (2)

verb evaluative

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **xí•(-ke)*

Pre-Mandan **xík-*

Mandan *xík*o*?š* ‘it’s bad’ RTC

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *xiyá* ‘bad, cunning’ D&S:221a

General comment

Mandan has suffixed **-kE*. We reconstruct length on the basis of its presence in the *š*-grade, cf. ‘bad (1)’.

badger

noun animal_mammal

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **xó•ka*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **xúhke•*

Crow *xuáhče•* ‘skunk’ GG:62, RGG:4, RG , *xuáhchee*

Hidatsa *xúhke* ‘skunk’ J , *xóke* ‘skunk’

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **xó•ka*

Proto-Dakota **xoká*

Lakota *xoká* ‘badger’ RTC

Dakota *ḣoka* , *†xoka* ‘badger’ WM:13a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **xó•ge*

Chiwere *xóge* ‘badger’ GM

Hoocąk *ɣóok* ‘badger’ KM:501 , *ğook*

Proto-Dhegiha **xó•ga*

Omaha-Ponca *xó•ga* ‘badger’ RTC

Kanza/Kaw *mąxóga* ‘badger’ RR

Osage *xóga* ‘badger’ LF:219a

Quapaw *xóka* ‘groundhog’ RR

General comment

Cf. ‘fox’. ‘skunk’ and ‘fox’ seem linked (perhaps via their digging habits?) not only in MRS but also in Proto-Southeastern, so that preaspiration in Crow/Hidatsa ‘skunk’ could be due to contamination from ‘fox’. Hoocąk *ɣ* is unexplained.

The Kanza/Kaw cognate is from *mą* ‘earth’ + *xóga*. Vowel length is clear in Proto-Mississipi-Valley, but the entire Proto-Siouan reconstruction is only probable, since the Crow/Hidatsa forms may not be cognate, or may be only partially so, and other subgroups are not represented. Seeming preservation of short *e* in Hidatsa may be explained by preserved length in Crow. Cf. also ‘skunk’.

bag, sack, container

noun physical_artefact_container

Proto-Siouan-Catawba **pą-*

Proto-Siouan **hpą́•he*

Pre-Mandan **pą•h-*

Mandan *pą́h* ‘be open’ H:135 , *wą́pat* ‘bag, sack’ H:271 , *wą́rąpA•ht* ‘in a basket’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **hpą́*

Proto-Dakota **phą́*

Lakota *phą́* ‘bag’ D:229, EJ

Dakota *paŋbótuka* , *†phą-* ‘an Indian woman’s bag’ SRR:410a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *pą́ą* ‘bag, sack’ KM:2442 , *pąą* ‘basket’ KM:2212 , *nąąpą́ą* , *nąąpąą*

Proto-Dhegiha

Quapaw *žąppą́hą* ‘tree stump’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern **phą́hį*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *pahiⁿ´, paⁿhiⁿ´, paⁿʔhiⁿ* , *†pą́hį* ‘bag, sack’ D&S:243b

Ofo *ạtuphôⁿ´tuska* , *†ətuphą́tuska* ‘basket’ D&S:322b

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *páhiⁿgyáa, páhiñgyá’* , *†páhį-* ‘basket’ HW

Proto-Catawba

Catawba *pą?* ‘hold, contain, be full of’ KS

General comment

Lack of nasalization in the Mandan nouns is problematic. The Catawba form suggests a verb-noun pair, in which case the Proto-Siouan noun might be **wapą́•he*.

The attested and reconstructed aspirate implies a (now missing) initial syllable. Since tree stumps and broken trunks generally were a prime source of basket splints, the Quapaw form is a possible candidate for cognacy.

ball

noun physical_artefact

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **htá•pe*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **wa-ú•tapi*

Crow *búupči* ‘ball’ RG, GG:35, RGG:58

Hidatsa *waʔú•tapi* ‘ball’ J , *maʔú•tapi*

Pre-Mandan **wį•tpo• (?)*

Mandan *wį́•pto•* ‘ball’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **htá•pe*

Proto-Dakota **thápa*

Lakota *thápa* RTC

Dakota *tápa* , *†thápa* ‘ball’ WM:13a

Stoney *thabábanąke* PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **thá•pe*

Chiwere *thá•we* RR

Hoocąk *čaap* ‘top of head’ KM:134 , *caap* ‘lacrosse stick’ KM:113 , *čaabną́* , *caapną*

Proto-Dhegiha **htapé*

Omaha-Ponca *ttabé* ‘ball’ RTC

Kanza/Kaw *ttabé* ‘ball’ RR

Osage *ṭabé* , *†htapé* ‘ball’ LF:135a

Proto-Southeastern **tá•pi*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *nitapí, nitawí, nitawi^{n}´* D&S:237b

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *tapi* , *†tá•pi* ‘ball’ HH , *tā´pĭ* , *†tá•pi* ‘ball’ HW

Saponi *tabike* ‘powder horn (sic?), shot bag?’ F

General comment

The Mandan form may be cognate with metathesis of *Cp* after vowel loss. In this regard, cf. Crow. Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **u* and Mandan *-o* are unexplained. In addition to the present form, Biloxi also has an unexplained *ni-* in 'big'. The Saponi form is translated 'powder horn' by Fontaine, but is adjacent on his list to 'shot bag' and the terms may have been confused and inverted. 'ball' as 'shot' would make better sense.

ball joint > shoulder

noun physical_somatic_body_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba **-re•t*

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **hį-réte ~ *i-réte R*

Proto-Dakota **hiyéte*

Lakota *hiyéte* 'shoulder' RTC

Dakota *hiŋyéte* , *†hiyéte* 'shoulder' SRR:148a , *hiyéte* , *†hiyéte* 'shoulder' SRR:149b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **hįréte ~ *iréte ~ *įréte*

Chiwere *iléje* 'shoulder' GM

Hoocąk *hįnéč* 'shoulder' [< **si* + **k-* + **ret* + **-ka* ?] KM:1155 , *hįįrec, hįįnec* 'heel' KM:2840 , *siikérečge* , *siikerecge*

Proto-Dhegiha **-réte*

Omaha-Ponca *çithéde* , *†siðéde* 'heel' F&LF:109

Kanza/Kaw *siyéje* 'heel' RR

Osage *çithédse* , *†siðéce* 'heels' LF:31a

Quapaw *sidétte* 'heel' JOD

Proto-Catawba

Catawba *híri•t* 'his shoulder' FS

General comment

Cf. 'shoulder', 'heel', 'navel'. The first syllable of these forms may derive from the third person possessive prefix; the Proto-Siouan-Catawba root appears to be **re•t*. Note that the Dakotan entries may then be borrowings from Pre-Winnebago: in MVS, the third person possessive prefix is found with initial /h/ in Hoocąk only, the normal Dakotan form being /*i-/. By normal development, Proto-Dakota would have shown ***iyéta*. When possessive **i-* is prefixed to nouns with initial **r*, the **r* > *čh* in Dakotan. This pattern recurs numerous times in our sets but not here. As an alternative analysis, therefore, it is possible that *hį-* here is/was a lexical morpheme that was reanalyzed by speakers as the possessive in several languages. Compare the DH terms for 'heel', all of which share the same root, **-rete*, but compounded with 'foot'. The root most likely refers to something like 'ball-shaped bone', with the shoulder being the *-rete* par excellence. Quapaw *détta* (< **ret-ka* probably) also has this root. It is translated 'upper part of leg' and probably refers to the other ball-shaped joint, the hip. This analysis of Lakota/Hoocąk **hį-* is partially confirmed by comparing 'shoulder', q.v.

bare

verb perceptual_visual

Proto-Siouan-Catawba ***Srá, *šra***

Proto-Siouan ***šra*** RR

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Crow ***dashdásshi*** ‘smooth’ RGG:108, GG:42 , ***dašdášši***

Proto-Mississipi-Valley ***šrá***

Proto-Dakota ***šrá***

Lakota ***šlá*** ‘it’s bare’ RTC , ***šláhé*** ‘cut off, make bare; to shave, to mow’ EJ , ***-šlá, ka-*** ‘make bare with the feet; to come off, as the hul l from corn when boiled’ EJ , ***košlá*** ‘make bare, rub off e.g. hair’ EB:359a, EJ , ***-šlá, na-*** ‘make bare by cutting with a knife; to shave or scrape off e.g. hair from the hide’ , ***-šlá, pa-*** ‘make bare by shooting, shoot off e.g. hair etc.’ EB:552a, EJ , ***-šlá, wa-*** ‘bite or graze off, make bare, as cattle do a pasture. to have been grazed, cropped’ EB:609a, EJ , ***-šlá, wo-*** ‘make bare or bald; to cut off the hair, to shear e.g. sheep; to pull out weeds.’ EB:628a, EJ , ***-šlá, ya-*** EB:652a, EJ , ***-šlá, yu-***

Dakota ***šdá*** ‘bald’ SRR:441b

Assiniboine ***šná*** PAS

Sioux Valley ***šdá***

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere ***šrá***

Chiwere ***sra*** LWR:28

Hoocąk ***šará*** ‘be bald, bare’ KM:2910, KM:2911 , ***šara*** ‘blow bare’ KM:87, WL:21.5 , ***-šára, boo-*** ‘cut bare’ KM:404 , ***boošara*** ‘wear off’ KM:3476 , ***-šará, gi-*** , ***gišara*** , ***-šará, wa-*** , ***wašara***

Proto-Dhegiha ***šrá***

Omaha-Ponca ***šná*** RR

Kanza/Kaw ***štá*** ‘smooth’ RR

Osage ***shtá; ´-shda*** , ***†štá*** ‘hairless, destitute of hair’ LF:134b, LF:2134b

Quapaw ***štá*** ‘smooth’ RR

Proto-Catawba

Catawba ***səráhę́?*** ‘husked’ FGS:110

bark of tree (outer)

noun plant_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **yą́•-ha*

Proto-Dakota **čhą-há*

Lakota *čhąhá* ‘bark’ RTC

Dakota *caŋha* , *†čhąhá* ‘bark’ WM:14a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **ná•-ha* ~ **ną•-xúha*

Chiwere *ną́•xuha* RR

Otoe *ną́•ha, nąxúha*

Hoocąk *nąąhá* KM:2152 , *nąąha*

Proto-Dhegiha **žą́•-ha* ~ **žą́•-xüha*

Omaha *žǫ́ha* RTC

Ponca *žą́•ha* ‘bark’ RR

Kanza/Kaw *žą́ xüha* ‘bark’ RR

Osage *zhó^{n}ha* , *†žą́ha* ‘outer bark’ LF:225b , *no^{n}ha* , *†ną́ha* ‘bark of a tree’ LF:114a

Quapaw *žą́ha* ‘bark’ RR

General comment

A compound of ‘tree, wood’ and ‘skin’, q.v. N.B. Osage doublets for ‘wood’ *žą* ~ *ną*. *xuha* is a distinct term for ‘skin’ in several of the languages.

base, root, stump

noun plant_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **hú•tE*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **ú•tE*

Crow *ú•še + ta* 'at the root' [< úuš + -eeta (postpositional suffix) 'along'] L:323 , *ú•ceta*

Hidatsa *ú•tE* 'base, root' [as a stem with loc. suffixes = 'near'] J , *ú•ti*

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *manahuta* 'stump' Will

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **hútE*

Proto-Dakota **hútA*

Lakota *húte, ohúte, ohúta* 'base, root' RTC , *óhuta* 'shore' RTC , *wihúta* 'base of tent' RTC

Dakota *húte* 'base' WM:14a

Stoney *wihúta* 'base of tent' [also ~ hul (?)] PAS, JEK

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **húte*

Chiwere *húže* 'base, stump' JGT:28

Hoocąk *húič* 'base (n.) ; foot (of tree)' [archaic] KM:1595 , *huic*

Proto-Dhegiha **hüté*

Omaha-Ponca *hidé* JOD

Kanza/Kaw *hüžé* 'bottom, lower part' RR

Osage *udsé* , *†hücé* 'the base or lower part of a hill, mountain, stream or tree' LF:167a , *hüṭsé* , *†hücé* JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *udí* 'trunk, roots' D&S:283a

Proto-Catawba

Catawba *teṭ* 'root' KS

General comment

Biloxi loses initial *h*-. Thus Crow/Hidatsa stand alone in suggesting unambiguously lack of *h* in Proto-Siouan. Perhaps the *h*- has been innovated in central Siouan; or perhaps Proto-Crow-Hidatsa irregularly lost it. On the other hand, the Catawba form may help explain the anomaly, as it suggests an old compound: Proto-Siouan **hu•* 'tree, bone, leg, stalk, stem, trunk' plus *(V)te* 'root', with subsequent reinterpretation.

basket

noun physical_artefact_container

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **htá•ška*

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **thá•ške-hu*

Chiwere *tháška* 'burr oak' GM

Hoocąk *čaašgégu* 'oak' KM:146 , *caašgegu*

Proto-Dhegiha **htáška*

Omaha-Ponca *ttáška hí* 'oak' [Quercus macrocarpa] RTC

Kanza/Kaw *ttáška hü* 'burr oak' RR

Osage *ṭáshka hi* , *†htáška* 'buckeye, white oak' LF:138b

Quapaw *ttašká hi* JOD

Proto-Southeastern **ta•ska*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **-ta•ska*

Biloxi *aⁿtaská, ndaská, ndásk* , *†ąta•ska* 'basket' [aⁿtaská seems the better word, and was obtained later than ndaská] D&S:178b , *nda•ska?* , *†ąta•ska* 'basket' MRH , *nda•ska?* , *†ąta•ska* 'basket' MS

Ofo *atipoⁿ´tuska* , *†atipą́tuska* 'weave' D&S:322 , *ątuphôⁿ´tuska* , *†atipą́tuska* 'basket' D&S:322

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *taskahūi; tāskahōi* , *†ta•skahu•i* 'oak' N, H

Proto-Catawba **tus*

Catawba *tus, itus* 'pot, kettle' FGS

Woccon *Tooseawau* , *†tusiwą* 'kettle' JL

General comment

A widespread southeastern root. Baskets in this area were often made of white oak splints, hence the connection with that meaning; Tutelo clearly means “basket tree”. The Ofo word also contains a root for ‘bag, sack, container’, q.v. Catawban and OVS have the s-grade fricative, while Proto-Mississipi-Valley has the š-grade.

See ‘oak (1)’, essentially the same root, for a set of very similar southeastern terms from Muskogean, Yuchi and other languages. This term is best not reconstructed to Proto-Siouan. In fact, the individually reconstructible terms for OVS and MVS with their non-cognate fricatives may well be from distinct sources. The Catawban term appears to reflect the rounded vocalism common to several of the Muskogean terms.

basswood, inner bark?

noun plant_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **hi̱•te*

Proto-Dakota **hi̱ta*

Lakota *hi̱ta* ‘basswood’ EB:177b, EJ

Dakota *híŋtacaŋ* , *†hi̱ta-* ‘basswood’ WM:14b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *hi̱šgé* ‘basswood’ KM:1148 , *hi̱šge*

Proto-Dhegiha **hi̱te*

Omaha-Ponca *hi̱de hi* ‘basswood’

Kanza/Kaw *hi̱je* ‘inner bark’ RR , *hi̱je hü* ‘kind of elm’ RR

Osage *hi^{n}ʿdse* , *†hi̱ce* ‘linden tree and its bark’ LF:60b

Quapaw *hi̱tte nąbéhi* ‘slippery elm’ RR, JOD

General comment

The relationship between ‘inner bark’ and the several tree terms in this entry stems from the fact that the inner bark of the elm was used to flavor cooking grease in several Siouan cultures. Hoocąk shows a different augment used with what was evidently the core root of this term.

bathe

verb physical_contact

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **hi•-rá*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Crow *híilappee* ‘ford a river’ RG, GG:48

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **hi•_rá*

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **hí•-ra*

Chiwere *hí•ra* ‘bathe, wade, swim’ JDH

Hoocąk *hiira* ‘bathe’ KM:876 , *hiira*

Proto-Dhegiha **hi_rá*

Omaha-Ponca *hi_ðá* ‘swim’ JOD

Kanza/Kaw *hiyá* ‘swim’ RR

Osage *hithá* , *†hi_ðá* ‘bathe in a stream’ LF:61b

Quapaw *hidá* ‘swim’ OM

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *míni ínase* ‘swim’ HW

General comment

This form seems to show double conjugation throughout MVS. Tutelo *míni* is ‘water’; the remainder may well be cognate as *-se* is a grammatical suffix.

be

verb existence

Proto-Siouan-Catawba **rį*

Proto-Siouan **rį*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **-ri*

Crow *-li-* in: *xapáalia* ‘medicine’ GG:61, RGG:57

Hidatsa *-ri* in: *xupa•ri* ‘medicine’ J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *-rį* ‘holy’ [e.g. in xoprį] H:320

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **rį*

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **nį*

Chiwere *ñį* ‘be, neutral’ GM

Hoocąk *-nį, e.g.* in: *xawanį́* ‘be lost, missing; disappear from sight’ KM:3862 , *xawanį*

Proto-Dhegiha **rį*

Kanza/Kaw *yį* ‘be; class membership’ [R-stem conjugation]

Osage *-ðį* in: *waxpáðį* ‘be poor, suffer’ LF:208b , *ni* ‘exist’ LF:105

Quapaw *nį* ‘be in a location, be’ JOD

Proto-Catawba

Catawba *ri* ~ *ni* ‘be, location’ KS

General comment

Cf. *rį* ‘alive’, *rį* ‘moving’, which are conjugated differently, at least in Kanza/Kaw. The oral reflexes of *r* in DH suggest that it may be epenthetic. At least it is treated as such in DH. Organic **r* should have nasalized in all the languages preceding a nasal vowel. Cf. also ‘breathe’.

The Crow/Hidatsa forms are derived from Crow *baaxpáa* ‘holy’ and Hidatsa *xupa•* ‘holy’.

Crow *-ia* < earlier **-ihe* suggests a connection with or contamination by ‘breathe’, which has an *h*. If the Crow, Hidatsa, and Mandan forms are cognate they are unique relics in each language; there is no general *-rį* meaning ‘be’ in these languages.

beads

noun physical_artefact_dress_jewelry

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **pca, *paca*

Crow *čiptáa* ‘string beads’ RGG:41, GG:39 , *páataa* ‘hem a garment’ GG:53

Hidatsa *wa•páca* ‘string of beads (in progress)’ [< wa• + páca] J , *ma•páca* ‘to string, thread, lace, do beadwork’ [< ki + pca] J , *kipca* ‘string beads, lace up, pull all together > listen’ J , *páca* ‘string beads, bead sth.’ J , *ípca•*

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *wąpúša* ‘seed beads’ H:272 , *wą́rąpušak* ‘juneberries’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *pšithó* ‘beads’ EB:447a, EJ

Dakota *šiptó* , *†šiptó* ‘beads’ SRR:445a

Proto-Dhegiha

Kanza/Kaw *wašúška* ‘beads, shell used in beadwork’ RR

Osage *wapshúshka* ‘beads’ LF:198b

General comment

There are numerous irregularities in this set, and various metatheses and vowel transpositions must be assumed. The forms may well turn out to be related by post-contact borrowing rather than cognacy. For example, synchronically the Osage form would reflect underlying *waphúška* as Proto-Mississipi-Valley **pš > š* throughout DH. Note also the metathesis in Dakota.

beans

noun plant_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dakota **omníčа*

Lakota *omníča* RTC

Dakota *omníca* , *†omníča* ‘beans’ SRR:374b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **ų•nį́ke*

Chiwere *ųñį́ŋe* ‘bean’ RR , *úŋe* ‘beans’

Otoe *ųñį•ñe* ‘bean(s) dimin.’ JDH , *bean(s)* ‘slow’ JDH , *ųñį́yį́ñe*

Hoocąk *huųnį́k* KM:1618 , *huunį́k*

Proto-Dhegiha **hǫbrį́ke*

Omaha-Ponca *hį́bðį́ge* ‘beans’ RTC

Kanza/Kaw *hǫblį́ge* ‘beans’ RR , *hǫblį́* ‘beans’ RR

Osage *hǫbrį́ke* ‘beans’ RR

Quapaw *hǫbnį́ke* ‘beans’ RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Ofo *ąñkonakí, ąñkunąki* , *†ąkunaki* ‘beans’ D&S:323a

General comment

Cf. Uto-Aztecan forms in Miller PUA#29 “Saponi *muutii*; HP *móri*; Pg *muuñ*; Tr *muní*; Vr *muʔuní, muuní*; My *muúni*; Yq *muúni*; Cr *muhume*; Hch *muumee*. These forms probably do not reflect a UA prototype, but rather an early borrowing.” Miller (personal communication) also points out that Yuman also has numerous look-alikes for this set. One such is Yavapai *merik* (Kendall, Martha B., Selected Problems in Yavapai Syntax, 80). These terms are most likely borrowings in Siouan also, since beans are not attested archaeologically in the upper midwest until about A.D. 1000, long after the breakup even of MVS. Although these terms look very much alike, the set contains numerous irregularities that tend to confirm diffusion. The prototype for borrowing seems to have been analyzed by Siouan speakers as containing at least three elements: *(h)ų•*- present without the second element in one of the Chiwere forms and in Ofo, *wrį* present in most of the remaining forms, and *-ke* a common noun forming suffix present in most but not all forms. Mandan and Dakota have *#o-*, other languages show *ų*. The word appears to have gone from Mandan to Dakota.

bear > black bear (1)

noun animal_mammal

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **wasápe*

Proto-Dakota

Stoney *waθábe*n 'black bear' [-n diminutive (?)] PAS

Proto-Dhegiha **wasápe*

Omaha-Ponca *wasábe* 'black bear' RTC

Kanza/Kaw *wasábe* 'black bear' RR

Osage *waçábe* , *†wasápe* 'black bear' LF:185a

Quapaw *wasá* JOD

General comment

This term, meaning 'something black' or 'the black one' (with a diminutive suffix in Stoney), replaces the presumably earlier reflexes of **wi-hú́te, *wa-hú́te*, q.v. The euphemism could have spread via either borrowing or parallel innovation. Comanche *wasape* is obviously borrowed, probably from Osage. This term is probably reconstructible within DH, but any Proto-Mississipi-Valley reconstruction is conjectural. Several Muskogean and Algonquian languages also use (different) euphemisms for 'bear'.

bear > black bear (2)

noun animal_mammal

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **wi-hú̧te, *wa-hú̧te*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Crow *buushí* 'black bear' RG, GG:35, RGG:2

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dakota

Dakota *húte* 'bear' RR

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **(wa-)hú̧te*

Chiwere *mú̧je* 'bear, black bear' JDH

Hoocąk *hú̧ų̨č* 'bear' KM:1612 , *hų̨ų̨c*

Proto-Southeastern **mú̧•ti*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *o^{n}ṭí, ó^{n}ṭi* , *†o̧ti* 'bear' D&S:242b, JOD

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *mūnti; mōnti, moñdi* , *†mų•ti* N, H

General comment

Given that 'bear > black bear (1)', meaning '(little) black one' is found in those languages that lack reflexes of **wi-hú̧te, *wa-hú̧te*, this is most likely the original 'black bear' term. The Dakota term is not found in any of the published sources and was provided to RR by Gerald Red Elk, Ft. Peck, Poplar, MT. The somewhat irregular initial consonants (e.g. Dakota, Hoocąk), the various UA look-alikes cited by Miller along with the phonological similarity to the 'bear > grizzly' word suggest a good deal of borrowing and contamination in the 'bear' sets. Cf. Miller PUA #30 'bear' NT *vóxi*; My *hoóso*; Cr *huúce?e*; Hch *húuce*. Length and accent would be accounted for if the original were **wV-hú̧te* with an initial syllable, *wi-* 'animate absolutive' or simply *wa-* 'absolutive'. Additional argument for this analysis derives from the fact that the sequence **wu* is highly unstable in Siouan and commonly dissimilates. Here it is found intact, and is, thus, almost certainly secondary.

bear > grizzly

noun animal_mammal

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **wąthó*

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *wątó?* 'bear' RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **mąthó*

Proto-Dakota **mąthó*

Lakota *mąthó* 'gray or polar bear' EB:334a, RTC, EJ

Dakota *mató* , *†mąthó* 'the gray or polar bear' SRR:309a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **mąthó*

Chiwere *mąthó* 'grizzly' RTC

Hoocąk *mąčó* 'grizzly bear' KM:2058 , *mąąco*

Proto-Dhegiha **mąthó*

Omaha-Ponca *mąčhó* 'bear' RTC , *mąthó* 'grizzly' RR

Kanza/Kaw *mičhó* 'polar bear, white bear' RR

Osage *mįchó* 'grizzly' RR

Quapaw *mąthó* ~ *mąčhó* 'grizzly' RR

Proto-Southeastern **mį́•thi*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Ofo *u^{n}thi, ū´nthi* , *†į́•thi* 'bear' [cf. 'bear'] D&S:331b, JSS

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *hamį́•thih* 'bear' MMI

General comment

Cf. also '[bear > black bear (1)]', '[bear > black bear (2)]' for the phonologically similar term for members of the species besides the grizzly. 'Bear' and 'grizzly' terms have apparently become mixed in OVS. This is one of a relatively small set of terms that require postulation of a series of post-aspirated stops in [Proto-Siouan].

beaver

noun animal_mammal

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **wi-yá•pe*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **wirápa*

Crow *bilápa* ‘beaver’ RG, GG:31, RGG:2

Hidatsa *wirápa* ‘beaver’ J , *mirápa*

Pre-Mandan **wrap*

Mandan *waráp* ‘beaver’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **yá•pE*

Proto-Dakota **čhápa*

Lakota *čhápa* ‘beaver’ RTC

Dakota *cápa* , *†čhápa* ‘beaver’ WM:15b

Stoney *čháb(a)* ‘beaver’ PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **rá•pe*

Chiwere *rá•we* ‘beaver’ RR

Hoocąk *ráap* ‘beaver’ KM:2528 , *raap*

Proto-Dhegiha **žá•pe*

Omaha-Ponca *žá•be* ‘beaver’ RR

Kanza/Kaw *žábe* ‘beaver’ RR

Osage *žábe* , *†žápe* ‘beaver’ LF:221a

Quapaw *žáwe* ‘beaver’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *yāop* ‘beaver’ H

Saponi *yapa, yayp* ‘beaver’ Byrd

Proto-Catawba

Catawba *chaupee* , *†čapi* ‘beaver’ Gallatin

General comment

Crow/Hidatsa and Chiwere/Omaha-Ponca/Tutelo disagree on vowel length for this form. Biloxi *táma* 'beaver' DS-269b may be a borrowing from Proto-Eastern-Algonquian **tema•xkwe•wa* 'beaver, little severer of trees' as reconstructed by Siebert (1975). The final vowel appears to show variation between *a* ~ *e* analogous to the ablaut found primarily in verbs. Nouns ordinarily do not show ablauting however; this is one of rather few that seem to. Citation forms in *-a* are found geographically distributed in the North with *-e* confined to the South of Siouan-speaking territory. Saponi has generalized *-a* here, although the closely related Tutelo shows the consonant-final form consistent with late loss of earlier *-e, -i*. Tutelo generalizes *-a* in verbs however, and this presumably provided a pattern. Cf. 'dog' for similar overall distribution.

bed

noun physical_artefact_furniture

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **o-wíį́ke, *o-ʔíį́ke* RR

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **u•wakí*

Crow *ɯɯwačí* 'bedding, quilt' RG, GG:58, RGG:43

Hidatsa *u•wakí* 'bedding, quilt' J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *ówąke* 'bed' RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **o-wíį́kE*

Proto-Dakota **o-wíį́kA*

Lakota *oyíį́ke* RTC

Dakota *owaŋka* , *ϯowáą́ka* 'bed' WM:15b

Yanktonai *owáą́ka* B&D:33

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *hoomį́k* 'bed' KM:1449 , *homį́k*

General comment

A common construction, **o-* 'in, locative' and **wíį́•kE* 'lie, be lying, positional'. Chiwere *oyą́* 'bed, couch, lie in' (JGT92:105) and Proto-Dhegiha **ažą́* 'bed, lie on' are cognate in their root portions but lack the suffixed root extension of the other languages.

bedding, covering

noun physical_artefact

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **owíže*

Proto-Dakota **owíža*

Lakota *owíža* ‘something spread to light down or sit on; a bed; a floor’ [*thówíže* his bedding] EB:415b, B&D:33, EJ

Dakota *owiŋža* , *†owíža* ‘bed’ WM:15b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **omíže*

Chiwere *umíye* ‘bedding, quilt(s), anything you put on the bed’ JDH

Hoocąk *čiómįš ~ cíi woomíš* ‘carpet, rug’ KM:252 , *ciomįš ~ cii woomįš*

Proto-Dhegiha **omíže*

Omaha-Ponca *umízhe* , *†omíže* MAS:15

Kanza/Kaw *omíže* ‘bedding’ RR

Osage *umízhe* , *†omíže* ‘mattress, bedding, pallet, carpet’ LF:173b

Quapaw *ómįže* ‘bed, couch’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *miqai^{n}ʔhot‘* ‘blanket’ HW

General comment

Cf. ‘blanket (1), shawl, robe’. This term is probably an extension of the shawl term and is most likely from **(o-)wa-ʔį(-še)*; *o-* ‘within’, *wa-* ‘nominalizer’, *ʔį* ‘wear about the shoulders’, *-še* a root extension.

This is a very common derivational pattern. The **ʔ* in the underlying

bee (1)

noun animal_insect

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **he•zíke (?)*

Chiwere *hedhíge* , *†heðíge* ‘bee’ JGT:105 , *hejige* , *†hežíge* ‘bee’ JGT:105

Otoe *heðí•ge* ‘wasp’ JDH

Hoocąk *heezík* KM:797 , *heezik*

Proto-Dhegiha

Osage *wabáçige* , *†-zige* ‘wasp’ LF:183a

Quapaw *hezíka* ‘bee’ RR

General comment

Cf. Shawnee *heemo* (pl. *heemoki*) ‘bee’ Voegl.-456; Miami *amawia* ‘bee’; Kickapoo *aamoa* ‘bee’ Voorhis-6. ‘bee’. Cf. also Swadesh 44(?) **mə* or **muu*, Atakapa *min, muŋ*; Chitimacha *hihmu* meaning ‘bee’.

Comparing Osage and the other languages it seems clear that **he•-* and **-zikV* are being treated as separate morphemes. Algonquian could be the source for *he•-*. In any event, this is a diffused term, found up and down the Mississippi, and is not directly reconstructible within Siouan exexcept perhaps for Chiwere/Hoocąk.

bee (2)

animal_insect

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **awáko•xE*

Crow *awákooxa* ‘spider’ RG, GG:58, RGG:43

Hidatsa *awáko•xE* ‘spider’ J , *awáko•xi*

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *kox* ‘buzz’ H:115 , *síkox* ‘bee, wasp’ RTC

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **akąxi*

Biloxi *ka^{n}x, ka^{n}xí* , *†kąxi* ‘bee’ D&S:206a

Ofo *ąko^{n}´si* , *†əkąsi* ‘bee’ D&S:320a

General comment

R. Graczyk points out that the Crow/Hidatsa forms appear to be compounds of ‘earth’ + ‘bee/wasp’. Cf. ‘spider’. Lack of nasalization in Mandan is unexplained if it is not due to the influence of ‘spider’. The vowels of OVS and MRS do not agree.

beg

verb social_communication

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **Ráhe*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **(wa-)Rá*

Proto-Dakota **Rá*

Lakota *lá* ‘ask, demand’ EB:322a , *walá* ‘ask, beg’ EB:534b, EJ

Dakota *da* ‘beg’ WM:16a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **Rá-*

Chiwere *ráda* ‘beg (standing position)’ JDH , *rámąñį* ‘go around begging’ JDH

Hoocąk *watatá* KM:3502 , *watata*

Proto-Dhegiha **(wa-)Rá*

Omaha-Ponca *wana* MAS:16

Kanza/Kaw *da, wadá* ‘ask, beg, pray, demand’ RR

Osage *da* , *†ta* ‘ask for, beg, request, solicit’ LF:32b

Quapaw *wattá* ‘pray’ MS, RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *ha_dhí* , *†hadəhi* ‘beg’ D&S:192b , *kahádûhûní* , *†kahádəhəní* ‘not to beg’ D&S:192b

General comment

The Quapaw transcription was done from a noisy tape and may be incorrect.

Quapaw *watá* would be expected. Biloxi suggests final **-he*, if it is cognate.

behind, in back

adverb physical_spatial

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **RásE*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **á•racE*

Crow *alítchia* , *†alíccia* ‘back, on the other side’ GG:9

Hidatsa *á•raci* ‘back of, at one side’ J, HWM

Pre-Mandan **ráh + ši + ta*

Mandan *ráhšit* ‘in back of, behind’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **Raze-*

Proto-Dakota **Raza-*

Lakota *lazáta* ‘by the side of, behind’ EB:322b , *-laza-* in: *ilázatą* ‘from the side of, perhaps’ EB:223

Dakota *dazáta* ‘back of, back from’ SRR

Proto-Dhegiha **Ráze-hta*

Omaha-Ponca *(a)naçaṭa* , *†anazatta* ‘in rear, behind’ MAS:6

Kanza/Kaw *dazétta* ‘back, backwards’ RR

Osage *dáçeṭaha* , *†tázehtaha* ‘in rear, behind’ LF:33b

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **rVs*

Biloxi *daswá* , *†daswá* ‘back (body part)’ D&S:180b

Ofo *itā´tĭska* , *†itá•tiska* ‘back (body part)’ D&S:324b, JSS , *yâ"´shĕ´tā´tĭska* , *†itá•tiska* ‘back of chair’ D&S:331b, JSS

General comment

The MVS languages have a postposition of direction. Mandan is clearly a compound of ‘back’ and an unidentified element. Gemination in Crow is unexplained.

belch

verb physical_somatic_function

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *psũkí, psûki* , *†psəki (?)* ‘belch’ D&S:248b

Ofo *ápshusĕ* , *†ápshuse* ‘belch’ D&S:321a

General comment

There is clearly phonosymbolism involved in this set. This is certainly the case with the fricatives. In OVS *ə* is frequently derived from an older nasal back vowel, but it may have other sources. The Dorsey and Swanton transcriptions leave the exact nature of the Biloxi vowel unclear.

belly

noun physical_somatic_body_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **i-hté•si*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **htézi*

Proto-Dakota **thezí*

Lakota *thezí* ‘belly’ RTC

Dakota *tezi* , *†thezi* ‘belly’ WM:16b

Proto-Dhegiha **htéze*

Omaha-Ponca *téçe* , *†ttéze* ‘waist’ F&LF:108

Osage *ṭséçe* , *†hcéze* ‘abdomen, belly’ LF:157b

Quapaw *ozízi* ‘belly, pubic region’ RR

Proto-Southeastern **(i-)thé•si*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Ofo *ĭthĕ̄fi, thĕ̄fi* ‘belly’ D&S:324b, JSS

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *tēsi* ‘body’ H

General comment

Like most body parts, a dependent noun, hence the initial possessive **i-* in Proto-Siouan. Chiwere *jéxe* ‘lower stomach’ (JDH) may be related, but just how is not clear.

belt, sash

noun physical_artefact_dress

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **i-hpi(•)-ra*

Pre-Mandan **í-hpVrak*

Mandan *íhparak* ‘belt’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **ihpi(•)-ra*

Proto-Dakota **iphí_yakA*

Lakota *iphíyake* ‘belt’ RTC , *iphíyaka* ‘belt’ EJ , *iphíyakayA* ‘to belt’ EB:232a, EJ , *iphíyaka* ‘gird one’s self’

Dakota *ipiyaka* , *†iphiyaka* ‘belt’ WM:16b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **iphi-rake*

Chiwere *iphireha* ‘belt’ JOD , *ipireha* ‘belt’ RR , *phi•rú•ra•ge* ~ *phi•yú•ra•ge*

Hoocąk *hipirák* ‘belt’ KM:984 , *hipirak*

Proto-Dhegiha **íhpi-ra*

Omaha-Ponca *ippiðage* ‘belt’ JOD , *ípiðage*

Kanza/Kaw *íppiya* ‘belt, girdle’ RR , *üppüya* ‘belt’ JOD

Osage *íṗitha* , *†úhpüða* ‘belt’ LF:78a , *ühpüða* , *†úhpüða* ‘belt’ JOD

Quapaw *ippidáttą* ‘belt’ RR , *íppidattą* ‘belt’ JOD , *íppida* ‘put on a belt’ JOD

General comment

The Mandan form is interesting, as the vowel between *p* and *r* is synchronically epenthetic. That this is a recent development is shown by the fact that the underlying form must have a three-consonant cluster, *hpr*, which is highly exceptional. Thus Mandan appears to have syncopated an earlier vowel here. This process of syncope can be seen in synchronic verbal paradigms, where underlying vowels between obstruent and sonorant consonants are replaced by a harmonized epenthetic vowel. The Kanza/Kaw and Osage forms with *ü* recorded by JOD are not accounted for but are perhaps internal developments. The Chiwere forms, however, suggest that more complex morphology is involved in the DH rounding. *i-* probably instrumental; *-hpi-* (or *ihpi*) relates to the waist (Cf. ‘liver’); *-ru-* in those languages where it exists (Chiwere, Kanza/Kaw, Osage?) ‘hand, instrumental’; *-ra-* verb stem ‘gird’. *-ra-* is normally the conjugated portion. The final *-kE* is the derivational qualifier that frequently marks nominal constructions.

bend (1)

verb physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **kečí*

Biloxi *kětcí* , *†kečí* ‘crooked’ D&S:207b , *kȇ́tcĭ* , *†kečí* ‘bent like a hook’

Ofo *itcaⁿ ̓kȇ́tci* , *†ké•či* ‘crooked stick’ D&S:325b, JSS , *abóki kȇ́dji* , *†ké•či* ‘river bend’

General comment

Ofo voicing of the affricate marks this as clearly unaspirated. This, in turn, means that either the word is a borrowing that had *č* in the donor language or it goes back to Siouan **š*. In view of the number of other ‘bend’ terms that have *š* in Siouan, the latter is the better hypothesis.

So pre-Proto-Biloxi-Ofo form of this word may have been **keši*, which may match other Siouan forms with *kš* clusters. In Swanton’s card file the entry *itcaⁿ ̓kȇ́tci* has *ĕ* with a macron. Normally the breve was written to show vowel quality, in this instance [□], while the macron indicates quantity, [□•].

bend (2)

verb physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **hkó•, *hkó•ža* ~ **hkó•ɣa*

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *yaápako* , *†-kho, yaápa-* ‘bend or twist with the mouth’ EB:617b, VC

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *kooɣáɣa* ‘be veil-like, like curtain material’ JWE:65 , *kooğağa*

Proto-Dhegiha **-hkóša*

Kanza/Kaw *bakkóša* ‘bend by pushing something’ RR , *ppákkoša* ‘crescent-shaped like a gourd’ RR

Osage *a ́thiḳusha* , *†áðihkoša* ‘a tine in an elk’s horn; brow antlers’ LF:15b

Quapaw *-kkó, ba-* ‘bent’ RR

General comment

The Hoocąk form has been influenced by 'hang down (2)', q.v. Cf. 'bend (2)' Mutual influence of aspirated and unaspirated roots and of 'bent/hanging' roots seems to derive from Proto-Mississipi-Valley times. Quapaw *kko* shows the unextended root.

bend (3)

verb physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **š(V)kópE* RR

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **š(V)kupE*

Crow *šikúpi* 'curved, bent' RGG:98 , *-xkúpa, ala-* 'bend in a stream' RG, GG:8 , *xakúpa* 'ravine' RG, GG:60, RGG:19

Hidatsa *cákupi* 'curved' [striking prefix] J , *šákupi* 'crooked, curved, hook-shaped' [ara] J , *xákupi* 'deep, concave (bowl, hole)' [< *xk*] J , *-ckupE, na-* 'sit on and bend, fold, flex' [< *xk*; striking prefix] J , *-ckupE, nú-* 'bend' [< *xk*] J , *-ckupE, pá-* 'fold, bend; fold up, roll up' J , *-ckúpE, ara-* 'stand on and bend' J , *-hkupE, ara-* 'bend it with feet' J , *-hkupE, ná-* 'dented, caved in, emaciated' J , *-hkupE, pá-* 'bend it in by hand' J

Pre-Mandan **:skop-*

Mandan *skópo?š* 'it's bent over, rounded, crooked' H:213 , *-skopo?š, ká-* 'he bends it by striking' H:213 , *-skopo?š, rú-* 'he bends it' H:214

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **škópE*

Proto-Dakota **škópa*

Lakota *škópA* 'crooked, warped' also = person who's never serious' EJ , *-škópa, yu-* 'bend, to make crooked or twisting' EB:652a, EJ , *-škopa, ayá-* 'make crooked or twisted by biting on' EB:103a, EJ , *-škópa, ka-* 'make crooked or twisted by striking, but not to curve; to dent by hitting; result is a bend or dent, but object stays straight' EB:291a, EJ , *-škópa, na-* 'twist with the foot; to twist or become crooked of itself' EB:359a, EJ , *-škopa, wapá-* 'make twist or become warped; make twist or become warped with the palm, or by pushing' EB:547a, EJ , *-škókpa, yu-* 'hollow out e.g. a trough' EB:652a, EJ , *-škókpa, ka-* 'hollow out, make concave, cut out as a trough; make a pit' EB:291a, EJ , *-škókpa, na-* 'indent, make a hollow place with the foot' EJ , *-škókpa, pa-* 'make a cavity or ditch by pressure with the hands, or by sitting' EB:434b, EJ , *-škókpa, ya-* 'bite out and make concave' EB:628a, EJ

Dakota *yuškopa* , *†yuškópa* 'warp' WM:256b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *škówe* 'deep, furry, thick (of hair)' JDH

Proto-Dhegiha **škópe*

Omaha-Ponca *shkube* , *†škóbe* MAS:56

Kanza/Kaw *škówe* 'deep' RR

Osage *shkúbe* , *†škópe* 'deep' LF:132a

General comment

The DH cognates are somewhat different semantically, but the phonology matches exactly. Crow/Hidatsa *šákʉpi/xákʉpi* provides a link between the two meanings. Chiwere is even more revealing. Crow/Hidatsa shows a vowel between the sibilant and *k* which may be the reflex of a Proto-Siouan vowel. Words beginning with *SC* clusters in Siouan behave accentually as though there were an intervening vowel. There are numerous instances. We have reconstructed Pre-Mandan *:skop-* on the basis of the accentual pattern in Hollow's forms: since Mandan prelengthening is typically the product of vowel loss, this also argues for a syncopated vowel. Lakota *škokpa* is from *škop+ka*. Vowel syncope after prefixes in cases like this is regular in Hidatsa.

bend (4)

verb physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **-SókE*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Crow *xóhkapi* 'bent over' RG, GG:62, RGG:98

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **-zókE*

Proto-Dakota

Dakota *yuzóka* 'stretch out from' SRR:647b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *haruzók* 'bend by pulling' KM:691 , *haruzok* 'be springy, spring-like' KM:728 , *hawazók* , *hawazok*

Proto-Dhegiha

Kanza/Kaw *bazóge* 'push over, cause to lean, bend' RR , *büzóge* 'bend sth. over by pushing against it' JOD, RR , *gazóge* 'bend sth., cause to lean' RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Ofo *shó•ki* 'burst' D&S:329a, JSS , *sxṓki*

General comment

Proto-Mississipi-Valley would presumably have **s*, but it should have become *z* only post accentually. Crow illustrates a different ablaut grade and in addition has an unexplained *h* cluster that raises questions about cognacy. Ofo may be cognate, but here the meaning is a problem. If it is cognate, Proto-Siouan may have had a long vowel. Outside of MVS this set is not very secure.

bend (5)

verb physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **sʔį*

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *-šʔį, ipú-* ‘the outside of a bend or curve, as in a river’ EB:233b, EJ , *ipášʔį* ‘the outside of a bend or curve, as in a river’; also ‘depressed, of a person’ EJ , *-šʔį, opú-* ‘a curve, as of the outer side opposite the string of a bow.’ EB:403b, EJ , *opášʔį* ‘bend backwards, to be bent toward the inside (c oncave), like the back of a sway-back horse, or a pug nose’ EJ , *-šʔį, ka-* ‘strain in the peak of copulation’ EB:292a, EJ , *-šʔįšʔį, ya-* ‘tickle by saying something’ EB:629a, EJ , *yašʔįšʔį* ‘tickle someone with the hand’ , *yušʔįšʔį*

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *-sʔį*

Chiwere *waθʔį* ‘bend’ JDH

Hoocąk *-sʔį, wa-* ‘bend over, v.intr.’ [=wakú] KM:3464 , *was'į*

Proto-Dhegiha **pasʔį*

Kanza/Kaw *bacʔį* ‘stoop over, headlong head first’ MR, JOD, RR , *bacʔįcʔį* ‘buck, as a horse’ RR , *babácʔį* ‘push over, upside down’ RR , *bübácʔį* ‘stoop over, make, push down’ RR , *gabácʔį* ‘stoop, force by striking’ RR , *nąbácʔį* ‘stoop, cause one to stoop by action of foot’ JOD , *yübácʔį* ‘bend or deflect something, force to stoop’ RR

Osage *baṭs'i͡ⁿsha* , *†pacʔįša* ‘bend the top of stick or pole’ LF:24b

Quapaw *díbasʔį* ‘hold gun muzzle downward’ RR

bend (6)

verb physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **kšé•kE*

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *ksékoʔš* ‘it’s crooked’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **kšé•kE*

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *kšeekšék* ‘be crooked’ KM:1907 , *kšeekšek*

General comment

Lakota/Dakota *kšáka* ‘bent up, decrepit’ has the wrong vocalism to fit here unequivocally, although it seems clear that the form is derivationally related somehow. Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **ke(•)či* ‘bend’ suggests that all of the Siouan terms for ‘bend, crooked’, etc. with root-initial *kš* probably possessed the Proto-Siouan initial CVC sequence **keš-*. This would account for the accentual pattern in the daughter languages also.

bend (7)

verb physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **SiSi-*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Crow *shísshia* ‘curly’ RG, GG:56

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *sĭsí* ‘wrinkled’ D&S:256a

General comment

Crow reflects an earlier **šihšihe*. Cf. ‘bend (1)’

bend (8)

verb physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **-šohe*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **-šš̆ua* < **-šš̆uhe*

Crow *-šš̆ua, dú-* ‘bend’ [daC- +] RG, GG:44 , *-xua, dú-* ‘bend’ RG, GG:46 , *daššuá* ‘bent’ GG:42 , *bišúa* ‘bent, crooked’ RGG:95

Hidatsa *-šš̆ua, ara-* ‘bend by feet’ J , *-šš̆ua, ná-* ‘bend with teeth’ J , *-šš̆ua, nu-* ‘bend by hand, twist; turn in a vehicle’ J , *-šš̆ua, pá-* ‘bend by pushing’ J , *-šua, nak-* ‘bend by hitting, dent’ J

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **-žo*

Otoe *wa•yó* ‘something that’s sticking out, bent out; an erection’ JDH

Hoocąk *-žo, koowá-* ‘be humped up, like steak cooked wrong’ [not used of persons] KM:1882 , *koowažo*

General comment

There is not much to go on here. The Crow/Hidatsa geminate suggests a consonant preceding the **š*. That consonant cannot be identified unless it is the *k* of the *ko-* found in Hoocąk. Crow/Hidatsa also suggest an *h* final root.

Cf. **SokE* 'bend (4)'.

bend (9)

verb physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **kšą*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **-kšą-kšą*

Proto-Dakota **kšą*

Lakota *kšąkšą* 'wriggle, as a fish' EB:318b , *kšúkšą* 'zigzag' EJ , *kšįkšą́* 'crooked' EJ , *yukšȟkšą* 'bend, bend up; crookedly, in a zigzag manner' EJ , *pakšȟkšą* 'bend with the foot e.g. a stick by two hands an d bent with the foot' EJ , *kšą́* 'bend, make bend by pushing' RTC, EB:318b , *-kšą́, ka-* 'bend with the mouth' EB , *-kšą́, na-* 'bend; do something in a round about way, to go around something to avoid it' EB:350a, EJ , *-kšą́, pa-* EB:429a, EJ , *-kšą́, ya-* EB:623a, EJ , *-kšą́, yu-* EB:642, EJ

Dakota *kšą́* 'crooked' SRR:298

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **kšą-kšą*

Chiwere *wa?šą́?šą* 'zig zag' GM

Hoocąk *-kšąkšą* 'wavy (hair)' KM:1899 , *-kšąkšą*

Proto-Dhegiha **šą*

Omaha-Ponca *ba'sho^{n}sho^{n}* 'crooked' [-šą́] MAS:51 , *pa sho^{n}sho^{n}* , *†bašąšą* 'zigzag' MAS:192

Kanza/Kaw *be•są́* 'zig zag pattern' RR , *yübášọše* RR

Osage *basho^{n}´* , *†pašą́* 'crooked, incurved, river bend' LF:23a , *bashó^{n}sho^{n}* , *†pašą́šą* 'in a zig zag way' LF:23b

Quapaw *ni bášąkną́* 'bend in a stream' JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *ktca^{n}, iñktca^{n}hí, iñktcá^{n}hi* , *†kčą* 'next to, next one' D&S:214a

General comment

In Dakotan *psąpsą* and *ktąktą* have very similar meanings, so several kinds of sound symbolism are at work here. Mandan *kšį́kše* 'zig zag lightning' has the wrong spirant grade and wrong vocalism to be strictly cognate. Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **ke(•)či* 'bend' suggests that all of the Siouan terms for 'bend, crooked', etc. with root-initial *kš* probably possessed the Proto-Siouan initial CVC sequence **keš-*. This would account for the accentual pattern in the daughter languages also.

bend > bend back and forth

verb physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **kó•že*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **kó•, *kó•zE ~ *kó•žE*

Proto-Dakota **ko, *kózE*

Lakota *pakó* , *†-kó, pa-* 'crooked, bent around' [dot over p] EB:428b, EJ , *yaáṗako* , *†-ko, yaápa-* 'bend or twist with the mouth' EB:617b, EJ , *yuáṗaǩo* , *†-ko, yuápa-* 'make crooked' EB:633b, EJ , *-ko, wopá-* , *†-ko, yuápa-* 'knock crooked, by shooting or punching' EB:606b, EJ , *wopákho* , *†-ko, yuápa-* , *napáko* , *†-ko, napá-* 'bend up of itself' EB:352b, EJ , *wapáko* , *†-ko, wapá-* 'cut or saw crooked' EB:546a, EJ , *-kozA, oká-* , *†-ko, wapá-* 'dangle' EB:383b, EJ , *-kóza, pa-* , *†-ko, wapá-* 'push back and forth, to swing' EB:429a, EJ

Dakota *kóza* 'swing' WM:240a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Otoe *gó•ye* 'bent, like wire' JDH , *rigó•ye* 'bend it' JDH

Hoocąk *góoš* 'be crescent-shaped' KM:457 , *gooš*

Proto-Dhegiha **kóže*

Omaha-Ponca *thíguzhe* , *†-gože, ði-* 'crooked' MAS:51

Quapaw *kóže* 'crooked' JOD , *dikóže* 'bend something' RR , *dikókože* 'zigzag' RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *takótcĭ, takótcĕ* , *†takóči* 'turning somersault' D&S:269a

General comment

The Dakotan forms have been influenced by 'hang down (1)', q.v. Cf. 'bend (2)' Mutual influence of aspirated and unaspirated roots and of 'bent/hanging' roots seems to derive from Proto-Mississipi-Valley times. Lakota *ko* shows the unextended root.

bend > fold, curl

verb physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **ke-šǐ-šE* RR

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *-ksíso?š, pa-* 'he folds it' H:121

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **-kšížE*

Proto-Dakota **-kšíža*

Lakota *-kšižA, aká-* 'bend into or round, as a piece of iron; bend something soft around a pipe; to pound onto, as a jeweler would' EJ , *-kšíkšižA, ka-* 'fold up in parts, to collapse, as the knees in giving away.' EB:811a, EJ , *-kšížA, na-* 'double up anything with the foot, to bend up the leg; to double up on, as the stockings do in hanging down' EB:350a, EJ , *-kšíža, pa-* 'double up anything, e.g. folding chairs, beds to put them away' EB:429a, EJ , *-kšížA, wa-* 'shut up e.g. a knife blade when in the act of cutting' EB:533b, EJ , *-kšížA, ya-* 'double up with the teeth' EB:623a, EJ , *-kšížA, yu-* 'double up e.g. a knife or one's arm' EB:643a, EJ

Dakota *yukšiža* , *†yukšiža* 'bend' WM:16b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **kšíže*

Chiwere *lu?šiye* 'joint' GM

Hoocąk *hoiwékšiš* 'a joint (of limb)' KM:1339 , *hoiwekšiš* 'clench fingers into fist' KM:1909 , *-kšikšíš, ru-* , *rukšikšiš*

Proto-Dhegiha **-šíže* ~ **-šį́že*

Kanza/Kaw *yiišį́že* RR

Osage *thishízhe* , *†ðišíže* 'crooked' LF:148b, LF:246b

General comment

Cf. 'bend (7)' Quapaw *dibešį́* 'bend something backwards' shows clearly the morpheme boundary between **k-šį-* and **-že* in common Dhegiha, i.e., only part of this Quapaw form is cognate. Cf. **ši-šE* and Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **ke(•)či* 'bend', which suggest that all of the Siouan terms for 'bend, crooked', etc.

with root-initial *kš* probably possessed the Proto-Siouan initial CVC sequence **keš-*. This would account for the accentual pattern in the daughter languages also.

bend > limp, be lame

verb physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **šką•*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **-šką•*

Crow *alačkú* 'limp' GG:7, RG

Hidatsa *ašką•* 'limp, be lame' J

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *tckokí, tckukí* , *†čkoki* 'lame; to be lame, to limp' D&S:265b

General comment

Crow and Hidatsa preserve the simplest form of the root. Biloxi has a unique extension. This set is also clearly related to **š(V)kópE* 'warp, bend', q.v., which merely has a distinct root extension. The status of initial *a-* is unknown. It is probably peculiar to Proto-Crow-Hidatsa, as Biloxi normally retains initial syllable vowels. Crow *ala-* is the 'foot, instrumental'.

berry, grape

noun plant_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **há•sE ~ *há•s-hu*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **wa•cu*

Crow *baáčuu* ‘chokecherry’ RG, GG:18, RGG:13

Hidatsa *wá•cu* ‘berry’ J , *má•cu*

Pre-Mandan **hą́šE*

Mandan *hą́hse* ‘bullberry’ RTC , *hą́šE ~ hą́š* ‘grapes’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **há•ze*

Proto-Dakota **háza*

Lakota *háza* ‘grapes’ RTC

Dakota *hastaŋhaŋka* , *†hastąhąka* ‘grape’ WM:77a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **há•ze*

Chiwere *há•ðe* RR

Hoocąk *háas* ‘berry, fruit’ KM:534 , *haas*

Proto-Dhegiha **házü*

Omaha-Ponca *házi* ‘grape’

Kanza/Kaw *házü* ‘grape’ RR

Osage *házi ~ házü* ‘grape’ RR

Quapaw *házi* ‘grape’ RR

Proto-Southeastern **hási*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **ási*

Biloxi *asi* , *†asi* ‘berry, berries’ D&S:174a , *ásta^{n}tká* , *†ástątka* ‘mayhaws’ D&S:174a , *ástĕpáx kotká* , *†ástepax* ‘strawberries’ D&S:174b

Ofo *iyā́ʃhu* , *†iyá•ʃhu* ‘blackberry’ D&S:325a, JSS

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *hasisiāi* , *†hasi-* ‘raspberry’ H , *haspahīnuk* , *†has-* ‘strawberry’ H

General comment

The variation between final *-e* and *-u* ~ *-i* in this stem is due to the fact that 'berry' is compounded with **hu•* 'tree, bone, leg, stalk, stem, trunk' in DH, Biloxi and Ofo, and possibly in Crow/Hidatsa. Ofo gives direct confirmation, with *-hu* postposed to the stem *iya•f-*. The Ofo form presumably paralleled the Biloxi *asi*. The stem formative *-e* is lost when *-hu* is compounded with the root throughout Siouan; *s* > *f* regularly in Ofo; *i-* is a prefix (possessive) 'its', leaving the *y* as epenthetic (between *i* and *a*). Proto-Siouan **y* > *čh* regularly in Ofo. The resultant construction 'its berries' parallels areally prevalent Muskogean 'berry' constructions best exemplified by Creek *nak inlókci•* 'something its berries' = 'berries'. Initial *h-* is lost frequently in Biloxi and Ofo; the Biloxi dictionary contains numerous instances of doublets with and without *h-*.

This explanation has the advantage of accounting for nearly all developments in terms of a single proto form. The Crow/Hidatsa forms appear to prefix *wa-* to **ha•s-*; loss of *#h-* under these circumstances may or may not be regular, but the postulated development is strengthened by rising pitch in Crow (**wahás* > **waás*). Crow/Hidatsa lose inherited aspiration but preserve newly-created aspirated spirants. Thus lack of e.g. Hidatsa *ch* here suggests either that **hu* was completely fused to **has* prior to Proto-Crow-Hidatsa or that the form has been reshaped under the influence of 'hail', q.v. Mandan nasalization is not accounted for; the form *háhse* appears to be a compound of *háš-* with *se* 'red'.

between

adverb physical_spatial

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **o-htá-ą-rą*

Proto-Dakota **ó-tha-ą-ną*

Lakota *óthahena* 'on this side' EJ , *iyóthahena* 'between' EJ

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **othá-ą-ną*

Chiwere *otánãta* , *†othánąda* 'between' LWR:43

Hoocąk *hočakéeną* 'in the middle' KM:1177 , *hocakeną*

Proto-Dhegiha **ohtáną*

Omaha-Ponca *ottą́na* 'in between'

Kanza/Kaw *ottáną* 'the space between' RR , *ottánąǰe* 'between' RR

Osage *uṭáno^{n}tse* , *†ohtánąche* 'lying between two objects' LF:175b

Quapaw *ottána* 'interval, space' JOD

General comment

Cf. 'locative (5)'

bewitch

psychic_emotion_caus

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **kwíį(-xe)*

Proto-Dakota **xmíɣa*

Lakota *xmíį* ‘buzz, hum’ EJ , *xmíɣa* ‘bewitch, sorcerize’ RTC , *thuxmíɣa* ‘bees, flies’ , *thexmíɣa* ‘horseflies’

Dakota *hmuŋ̇a* , *†xmíɣa* ‘bewitch’ WM:17b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **wa-kwíį(-xe)*

Chiwere *grún, wagrún* , *†grų, †wagrį́* ‘curse’ JGT:126

Hoocąk *wakąwą́x, waką́ąx* ‘witch, witchcraft’ KM:3348 , *wakąwąx, wakąąx*

Proto-Dhegiha **hki-krǫ́(-ɣe)*

Omaha-Ponca *kigthoⁿ́xe* F&LF:106

Kanza/Kaw *kkilǫ́ɣe* ‘sorcery’ RR

Osage *ḳigthóⁿxe* , *†hkiląɣe* ‘practice magic upon each other’ LF:86a , *ḳigthóⁿxe umoⁿ* , *†hkiląɣe umǫ* ‘the bee’ LF:86a

Quapaw *knǫ* ‘curse, revile’ JOD

General comment

Sorcery was typically accomplished by projectiles, often described as ‘humming’ during their progress through the air. Hence, the connection with ‘bee (2)’. The DH form, if cognate, would derive from **krǫ́ɣe*, a dissimilation from **kwíɣx*. The opposite dissimilation > **kwą-*, with vowel unrounding, appears in Hoocąk. In the Dakotan forms, *x* for expected **k* is unexplained.

For parallel dissimilations, see ‘lie’, ‘ask’.

beyond > other, across (1)

particle physical_spatial

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **ko•*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **ko•*

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **ko•-*

Chiwere *goˆó* , *†go?ó* ‘for a while; a while ago’ JGT:1141 , *gó-* , *†go?ó* ‘yonder; yon; there’ JGT:1146 , *gó-* in: *gósi/ góshi/ gósida* , *†go?ó* ‘that (obj.) over there’ JGT:1145 , *gó-* , *†go?ó* ‘over there’ JGT:1148 , *gó-* in: *gósange/ góshange* , *†go?ó* , *gó-* , *†go?ó* , *gó-* in: *gósida/ góshida* , *†go?ó*

Hoocąk *goo-* in: *goojá* ‘over there’ KM:454 , *goo-* in: *gooja*

Proto-Dhegiha **ko•*

Omaha-Ponca *gu* , *†go* ‘yonder; towards you’ JEK , *†-gó-* in: *águdi* ‘where (lit. where away)’ JEK , *†gó-* in: *gú-a* ‘farther off from a place; closer to another than to speaker; on that side’ [adverbial prefix] , *†gó-* in: *gú-a-hi* ‘beyond, on that side of the place’

Kanza/Kaw *gó•-* in: *góda* ‘yonder’ RR , *go•-* in: *go•jí* ‘far off, remote, long way off’ MR, RR , *-gó-* in: *gagóha* ‘over that way, over yonder’ RR , *-gó-* in: *gagóje* ‘then, at that time’ JOD, RR

Osage *kó-* in: *góda* , *†kó-* ‘ahead’ LF:53a , *kó-* in: *gó-da thi-sho^{n}* , *†kó-* ‘on the other side’ LF:53a , *kó-* in: *gó-da to^{n}* , *†kó-* ‘that person standing yonder’ [ritual term] LF:53a , *gú-dsi* , *†kó-* ‘in times past; a long time ago (primitive)’ LF:56b

Quapaw *kói* ‘there’ [dem] RR , *kóike* ‘those remote pl/st/vi/an’ [dem] RR , *kóikhe* ‘that remote sg/ly/vi/an or in’ RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *kó-* in: *kówa* , *†kó-* ‘in that direction, to that place’ [probably a locative adverb, meaning in that direction, to that place, being the correlative]

Ofo *-khó-* in: *akho´tca^{n}* ~ *akho´tcą* , *†-khó-* ‘out, outside’ D&S:319

Proto-Catawba

Catawba *-ko* in: *atkani•réko* , *†-ko* ‘long while ago’ KS:150 , *-kó* in: *utka´nerekó* , *†-kó* ‘long while ago’ KS:150

beyond > other, across (2)

particle physical_spatial

big (1)

verb perceptual_visual

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **ihtą́•(-re)*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Crow *isáa* RG, GG:89

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **htą́(-ka)*

Proto-Dakota **thą́ka*

Lakota *thą́ka* ‘large’ RTC , *-thą́ka, ka-* ‘beat out large, to enlarge by striking; to make something larger that has been finished before’ EB:292b , *-thą́ka, na-* ‘enlarge, become larger, as a shoe’ EB:360a , *-thą́ka, pa-* ‘push out, make larger by pushing’ EB:436a , *-thą́ka, wa-* ‘one who is great or rich’ EB:553b , *-thąka, wa-* ‘cut large’ EB:553b , *-thą́ka, ya-* ‘speak of as large or great’ EB:629b , *-thą́ka, yu-* ‘make great or large, to enlarge’ EB:653b

Dakota *taŋka* , *†thą́ka* ‘big’ WM:17b

Stoney *thą́ga* ‘big’ PAS

Sioux Valley *thą́ka* ‘big’ PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **thą́(-ka)*

Chiwere *khéthą* ‘turtle’ GM , *nį̃thą* ‘Mississippi R.’ GM

Hoocąk *hoočą́k* ‘Winnebago; Ho-Chunk’ KM:170 , *Hoocąk* ‘turtle’ KM:170 , *keečą́k* ‘praise’ KM:170 , *keecąk* ‘sacred, holy; be spiritually good, sacred, holy’ KM:3338 , *-čą́k, ra-* , *racąk* , *wakąčą́k* , *wakącąk*

Proto-Dhegiha **htą́(-ka)*

Omaha-Ponca *ttą́ga ~ ttągá* ‘big’ RR

Kanza/Kaw *ttągá* ‘big’ RR , *-ttą́ŋa* ‘augmentative’ RR , *-ttáye, yü-* ‘enlarge, make sth. big’ MR, RR , *-ttą́ga, ya-* ‘speak of sth. as great or large’ JOD, RR

Osage *to^{n}gá* , *†htąká* ‘big, large’ LF:155b

Quapaw *ttǫ́ka, ttąká* ‘big’ RR , *hóttą* ‘roar’ RR

Proto-Southeastern **ithą́•(ri)*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **ithą́•(ri)*

Biloxi *ta^{n}, nitaní, nitáni* , *†nitá•ni* ‘big’ D&S:270b , *neta•ne?* , *†nitá•ni* ‘big’ MRH , *nita•ne?* , *†nitá•ni* ‘big’ MS

Ofo *ĭtho^{n}ˊ, ithóñ, txo^{n}, ítxo^{n}* , *†ithą́* ‘big’ D&S:324b , *tāñ* , *†tą́•* ‘big’ D&S:324, JSS

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *itáñi, itāñ, iṭa^{n}ˊi* , *†itą́•ni* H, DSF

General comment

Terms for ‘big’ are separated into two sets, although Wolff erroneously treated them as allomorphs of a single morpheme. The MVS languages suffixed **-ka* in citation forms, i.e., when ‘big’ is a stative verb. Cf. ‘augmentative (1)’ and ‘augmentative (2)’. Biloxi initial *n* is unaccounted for.

big (2)

verb perceptual_visual

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **xąte*

Proto-Dakota

Dakota *ϯxį́ča* ~ *ϯxį* ‘very’ SRR:165a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *xą́ñe* ‘big’ RR

Otoe *xąǰé* ‘big’ RTC , *xąǰé•* ‘very big’ JDH , *xąǰé•dąną* JDH

Hoocąk *xeté* ‘be big, large’ KM:3889 , *xete*

Proto-Dhegiha

Omaha-Ponca *xą́de* ‘large bunch, all’ [from Hahn's correspondence with Boas]

General comment

Cf. ‘augmentative (2)’. Hoocąk *t* is a reflex of **R*, whereas the other languages appear to have reflexes of **t*. Chiwere, Otoe, Omaha-Ponca are the only true matches, so this term may represent an innovation that diffused regionally.

bile (1), gall

noun physical_somatic_liquid

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **hpi•zí*

Proto-Dakota **phizí*

Lakota *phizí* ‘gall’ RTC

Dakota *pizi* , *†phizi* ‘bile’ WM:18a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *phi•ðí* RR

Hoocąk *piistá* ‘bile, bile sac’ KM:2480 , *piista*

Proto-Dhegiha **hpizí*

Omaha-Ponca *ppízi* ‘gall, gall bladder’ MAS:84 , *pízi*

Kanza/Kaw *ppüzű́* ~ *ppüzí* ‘gall, bile’ RR

Osage *piçí* , *†hpizí* ‘liver gall’ LF:128b

Quapaw *ppizí* ‘gall’ JOD

General comment

This term may be a compound of ‘liver’ and ‘yellow’, q.v.

bile (2)

verb physical_somatic_liquid

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **wa•sí•(-re)*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Crow *baashíili* ‘bile’ GG:22

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **wa•zí*

Chiwere *wádhi* , *†wáði* ‘bile, gall’ JOD

Otoe *waðí•* ‘bile, gall’ RR

Hoocąk *waazí* ‘stomach acid’ KM:3233 , *waazi*

General comment

The noun is formed from ‘yellow’ nominalized with **wa•-* yielding ‘something yellow’, ‘yellow stuff’, or the like.

bird (1)

noun animal_bird

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **awą́•-xe*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dakota **mąyá*

Lakota *mayá* ‘duck’ RTC

Dakota *maġaksica* , *†mayaksiča* WM:55a

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **awá•xi ~ *awą́•xi*

Biloxi *maxí, máxi* , *†má•xi* ‘chicken, chickens’ D&S:226b , *ma•xe? ~ mą•xe?* , *†má•xi* ‘chicken’ MRH, MS

Ofo *abā´si, ạbā´si* , *†abá•si* ‘chicken’ D&S:319a, JSS

General comment

Cf. ‘duck, waterfowl’, ‘bird > game bird, turkey’.

bird (2)

noun animal_bird

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **ré•ska*

Biloxi *küděská, kûdĕ´sk, küděskí* , *†kdé•ska* ‘bird, birds, flea’ D&S:216a , *kdɛ•ska? ~ kədɛ•ska?* , *†kdé•ska* ‘bird’ MRH, MS

Ofo *téska, deská, téskha* , *†téska* ‘bird’ D&S:330b , *tculéskạ* , *†čuléskə* ‘Carolina wren’ D&S:329b , *tĕ´fka* , *†téfka* ‘bird, flea’ D&S:329a

General comment

Ofo *téska* has a variant *tĕ´fka* (the expected form) under the entry *so^{m}´pka* ‘wing, fin’ DS-329a. ‘Carolina wren’ in Ofo shows *l* in place of *t*. Ordinarily this would be the reflex of an older *Cr* cluster, so the Biloxi initial *k-* may be reconstructible in this set. Both the Ofo and Biloxi terms also mean ‘flea’, q.v., in which regard, cf. the Dakotan habit of calling small birds (wrens warblers, etc.) *čhąhéyala* ‘tree fleas’. Koasati *tiska-homma* ‘bird-red, cardinal’ (Geoff Kimball) suggests that this is a diffused term in the Southeast.

bird (3)

noun animal_bird

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **sí•h-ka*

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *siikáksik* ‘partridge’ KM:2838 , *siikaksik*

Proto-Dhegiha **síhka*

Kanza/Kaw *síḱka* RR

Osage *sú́hka* ‘chicken’ RR , *çiúḳa* ‘turkey’ LF:348a

Quapaw *síḱka* ‘chicken’ RR

General comment

Presumably the MVS *sih* and *zik* stems for ‘bird’ are in some convoluted way doublets. *sih-* may in fact be from an earlier **sik-*. The medial *-c-* in Proto-Crow-Hidatsa probably reflects a reduplicated form **cí•cika*.

Osage rounding is unaccounted for. Initial syllable accent suggests a lost initial syllable. Although DH *hk* appears superficially to match *tk* of Lakota *zi̧tká* etc., such a cluster ought to yield *ht* in DH by regular metathesis, cf. ‘drink’, ‘fork’.

bird (4)

noun animal_bird

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **wayį́ka*

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *uȟžį́čala* ‘fledgling’ EB:506b, EJ

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **wayį́ke*

Chiwere *wayį́ŋe* RR

Hoocąk *waną́k* KM:3408 , *waną́k*

Proto-Dhegiha **waží́ka* RR

Omaha-Ponca *waží́ga* RR

Kanza/Kaw *waží́ga* RR

Osage *waží́ka* RR

Quapaw *waží́ka* RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *māyīñk* , *†má•yį•k* ‘bird’ H

General comment

The Lakota form is not regular: one would expect **wačhį́čala*. This is a complex form, with two possible etymologies: **awą́•re* ‘bird’ + **yį́kE* ‘small’ or **wa-* ‘absolutive’ + **yį́kE* ‘small’ The latter is most likely for MVS because of its oral *wa-*. Tutelo may show the former.

Mandan *suk* = ‘child’.

bird (5)

noun animal_bird

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **sí•ka*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **cí•cka*

Crow *či•čká* ‘prairie chicken’ RG, GG:37, RGG:2 , *chiichká*

Hidatsa *cí•cka* ‘prairie chicken’ J

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **zí•ka*

Proto-Dakota **zíča*

Lakota *zizića* ‘turkey’ SK

Dakota *zíča; zíča thąka* ‘partridge; turkey’ SRR

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *ziizíke* ‘turkey’ KM:3982 , *zizike*

Proto-Dhegiha **zíka*

Omaha-Ponca *çó^{n}çiga* , *†zą́ziga* ‘flicker’ LF:269b , *zizíkka* , *†zą́ziga* ‘turkey’ RTC

Kanza/Kaw *zíziga-ttąga* ‘a bird (species unknown)’ RR , *zą́ziga* ‘flicker’ RR

Osage *çó^{n}çiga* , *†zą́zika* ‘flicker’ LF:31b

General comment

Presumably the MVS *sih* and *zik* stems for ‘bird’ are somehow related.

The medial *-c-* in Proto-Crow-Hidatsa probably reflects a reduplicated form **cí•cika*.

bird > game bird, turkey

noun animal_bird

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **awą́•-re*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa *wá•ra• itá•khupe* ‘dove’ [x + ‘owl’] J , *má•ra• itá•khupe*

Pre-Mandan **wą•-*

Mandan *wárų* ‘turkey’ H:275 , *wą́•rek* ‘large bird’ RTC , *wą́•reksuk* ‘bird’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **mą*

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *wa•yįk?tų́•mą* ‘bird’s nest’ JDH

Hoocąk *mą́ą* ‘to nest; nest (of birds); place, nest’ KM:1930 , *mąą*

Proto-Dhegiha

Quapaw *mą* ‘crow’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern **amá•ni*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **amą́•(-ni)*

Biloxi *ma, mani* , *†má•(ni)* ‘turkey, turkeys’ D&S:226a , *ma•ne?* , *†má•(ni)* ‘turkey’

Ofo *ama^{n}ˊ* , *†amą́* ‘turkey’ D&S:320b

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *māndùhkāi, māndāhkāi* , *†mą•dahka•i* ‘turkey’ H , *manēasēi, manēasān* , *†mąné asą́* ‘duck, goose’ H

Saponi *maosti* ‘turkey cock beard’ JM

General comment

These terms seem to be derived from **(a)wą•-* ‘large game bird’.

This root is better preserved in various DH compounds, v. ‘crow > blackbird’. Cf.

also ‘dove, pigeon’.

bison

noun animal_mammal

Proto-Siouan-Catawba **witéˑ*

Proto-Siouan **wi-htéˑ*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **witéˑ*

Crow *bišée* ‘buffalo’ RG, GG:33, RGG:2

Hidatsa *witéˑ* ‘cow’ J , *miteˑ* ‘buffalo’ J , *witéˑkáˑti*

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *ptį́ˑre* ~ *ptį́ˑ* ‘cow’ RTC , *ptį́ˑ tkúš* ‘buffalo’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **pteˑ*

Proto-Dakota **pté*

Lakota *pté* ‘bison’ RTC

Dakota *pte-* ‘buffalo’ WM:25a

Sioux Valley *pté* ‘bison’ PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **čéˑ*

Chiwere *čé* ‘bison’ RTC , *čheˑmį̂* ‘buffalo cow’ RR

Hoocąk *čée* ‘bovine, cow’ KM:183 , *cee*

Proto-Dhegiha **hté*

Omaha-Ponca *tté* ‘bison’ RTC

Kanza/Kaw *ččé* ‘bison’ RR

Osage *hcé* ‘bison’ RR

Quapaw *tté* ‘bison’ RR

Proto-Catawba

Catawba *widéˑ* FS

General comment

Cf. also the well known resemblance with Yuchi *wedi* ‘bovine’; *wadiga* ‘bison’; *wedza* ‘hog’ (LB). Ballard speculates *we-* refers to ‘non-Yuchi animate’. Nasal vowel in Mandan is not regular here (but cf. the nasal/non-nasal doublets in Yuchi). Mandan *tkúš* ‘true, real’. Hidatsa *káˑti* ‘true, real’. Cf. ‘five (2)’ for the development of **pt* in Proto-Mississipi-Valley.

bison, reddish yellow buffalo

noun animal_mammal

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dhegiha **Róxe ~ *róxe*

Ponca *nóxe* [FLF clan name erroneously translated 'ice'] , *nuxe*

Kanza/Kaw *yóxe* 'buffalo bull with reddish hair' JOD

Osage *ðóxe* 'archaic name for buffalo bull ~ gens name' LF:154a , *thóxe*

Quapaw *toxe* 'reddish yellow buffalo' JOD

General comment

The *X* of the Marsh Chiwere entry may be a badly handwritten capital *K*, in which case the second half of the form may be 'male', q.v. *toxe* is not found in the Chiwere portion of Marsh's dictionary MS, so this word may be restricted to DH alone. Even within DH this term lacks uniform reflexes.

Ponca and Quapaw show reflexes of initial **R*, while Kanza/Kaw and Osage reflect **r*.

Clearly though, this term refers to a buffalo which is much lighter in color than most bison are. What is not clear is whether this is a term for the rare white buffalo.

bitter

verb perceptual_taste

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **hpá•(-re)*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa *arapá•ri?* ‘bile’ J

Pre-Mandan **pa•-*

Mandan *pá•ro?š* ‘it’s bitter’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **hpá*

Proto-Dakota **phá*

Lakota *phá* ‘bitter’ RTC

Dakota *phá* ‘bitter’ SRR:402 , *p’a*

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *phá* ‘bitter’ RR

Proto-Dhegiha **hpá*

Omaha-Ponca *ppá* ‘bitter’ RTC

Kanza/Kaw *ppá* ‘bitter’ RR

Osage *hpá* ‘bitter’ RR

Quapaw *ppá* ‘bitter’ RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **pha(-ri)*

Biloxi *padí* , *†padi* ‘bitter’ D&S:243a , *anipa* , *†anipa* ‘whiskey’ D&S:243a

Ofo *alaphá* , *†-phá* ‘whiskey’ D&S:320b

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *-pa-* ‘strawberry’ H , *haspahīnuk*

General comment

Interpretation of Riggs' *p'* as glottalized *p?* rather than aspirated *ph* is an error that has been perpetuated in numerous subsequent reconstructions. As far as we can tell *p?* is not substantiated in any other source. We cannot tell whether Ofo *ala-* beside Hidatsa *ara-* represents common descent from Proto-Siouan or convergent but independent development. Given the gloss 'whiskey', Ofo *alaphá* may well be from *ani* 'water' and *aphá* 'bitter', exactly paralleling the Biloxi.

The vowel sequence *į* + *a* would collapse to *a*, and the *n* would denasalize to *l* upon loss of the nasal vowel, cf. *alúthĕ* 'drown' in DS-320b for a possible parallel. Ofo *l* seems most often to be the reflex of a **Cr* cluster however. Unfortunately, the above analysis is not available for the Hidatsa form. Aspiration and vowel length in this set suggest a lost initial syllable.

black (1)

verb perceptual_visual_color

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **isá•pE*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **sápE*

Proto-Dakota **sápA*

Lakota *sápA* 'black' RTC, EJ , *-sápA, yu-* 'blacken' EB:649a, EJ

Dakota *sápa* 'black' WM:18b

Stoney *θába* 'black' PAS

Sioux Valley *sápa* 'black' PAS

Proto-Dhegiha **sá•pe*

Omaha-Ponca *sá•be* 'black' RTC, RR

Kanza/Kaw *sábe* 'black' RR

Osage *sápe* 'black' RR

Quapaw *sápe* 'black' RR

Proto-Southeastern **isápi*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *sŭpí, sûpi, sŭp* , *†sápi* 'black' D&S:258b

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *asùp* , *†asáp* 'black' N, H

General comment

Cf. ‘black (2)’, ‘black (3)’. The various forms of ‘black’ are assumed to derive from four or five proto-forms, related by both fricative symbolism and vocalic ablaut, with further complication due to contamination and analogy.

Most languages have two distinct reflexes; none has three, unless DH is taken to be a single language. Forms in OVS suggest that the basic root had an initial vowel. Accent in most of the languages also suggests that there was an initial syllable. Looking at all four forms together suggests that the initial vowel was **i*, centralized to *a* in Tutelo. Evidence from the northern Siouan languages also suggests that one of the proto-forms may have contained a consonant cluster.

black (2)

verb perceptual_visual_color

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **šápE*

Proto-Dakota **šápa*

Lakota *šápA* ‘dirty’ RTC, EJ , *-šápa, na-* ‘soil, blacken, defile with the feet’ EB:358a , *-šapa, waká-* ‘make black or dirty by smiting’ EB:527b , *-šapa, wapá-* ‘defile’ EB:547a , *-šápa, ya-* ‘soil with the mouth’ EB:627b , *-šápa, yu-* ‘soil, blacken, to defile anything’ EB:651a

Dakota *šápa* , *†šápa* ‘dirty’ WM:50a

Sioux Valley *šápa* ‘dirty’ PAS

Proto-Dhegiha **šápe*

Omaha-Ponca *çíshabe* , *†zíšabe* ‘brown’ MAS:26

Kanza/Kaw *šábe* ‘dark colored’ RR , *-šabe, ogá-* ‘blow darkness, make dusk, as the night does’ RR

Osage *shábe* , *†šápe* ‘dark in color’ LF:130a

black (3)

verb perceptual_visual_color

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **š(i)pí-*

Crow *šipíta* ‘black’ RG , *šipíta* ‘black’ RG, GG:56, RGG:85

Hidatsa *šipí-* ‘black’ J , *šipíša* ‘black’ J , *-špia, ará-* ‘charred’ J , *-špía, nu-* ‘slander’ J

Pre-Mandan **spi-*

Mandan *psí?š* ‘it’s black’ RTC

General comment

Mandan shows regular metathesis of the cluster. Hidatsa *-ia* reflects an earlier **ihe*. Hidatsa *-ša*, Crow *-ta* are a similitive suffix. Note that this set and ‘black (2)’ are in complementary distribution as to subgroups.

black > dark (1)

verb perceptual_visual_color

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **isé•pE*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **sé•pe*

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **sé•pe*

Chiwere *θé•we* 'black' JDH

Missouria *sa wa, Sa wa* , *†sewe*

Hoocąk *séep* 'be black' KM:2811 , *seep*

Proto-Dhegiha

Quapaw *séwe* 'black' RR

Proto-Southeastern **isé•pi* ~ **isté•pi*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **isé•pi*

Biloxi *sépi* , *†sépi* 'distant, dark color' D&S:258b

Ofo *ĭfthepí, ifthĕ́pi, ĭfthĭ́pi, iftĕ́pi* , *†ifthépi* 'black' D&S:324a, JSS

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *asépi, 'sep'* , *†asé•pi* 'black' H, HW , *asté•pih* , *†asé•pi* 'black' MMI

General comment

Both Ofo and the Tutelo form collected by Mithun might argue for **st* in Proto-Southeastern, but Biloxi and the earlier Tutelo recordings show no trace of the *t*. While we do not pretend to understand the mechanisms involved, we believe these developments are independent in the two languages, so that the similarity represents convergence. (Note that Ofo shows a similar intrusive *t* in other forms, cf. 'brother (5) BrYo', however Mithun's Tutelo form may have been contaminated from Iroquoian, where words for 'black' contain an *st* cluster.)

black > dark (2)

verb perceptual_visual_color

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **išé•pE*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa *šéhpE* ‘dark in color’ J , *šéhpi*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **šé•pe*

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **šé•pe*

Chiwere *ðí•šé•we* ‘brown’ RR

Hoocąk *šéep* ‘be dark colored’ KM:2929 , *šeep* ‘suntan, n.’ KM:3087 , *-šép, taa-* , *taašep*

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Ofo *ĭtchepi´, itchĭpi´* , *†ičhepi* ‘dirt, dust’ D&S:324b

General comment

Hidatsa preaspiration is unaccounted for. Perhaps cf. the comments on *h*-augment at ‘yellow’.

blade, edged tool

noun physical_artefact_tool

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **wą́•hį*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa *wa•ʔí•* ‘arrowhead’ J , *ma•ʔí•*

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *wą́•hį* ‘knife’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **wą́•hį*

Proto-Dakota **wąȟį́*

Lakota *wahíŋ* , *†wąȟį́* ‘flint’ EB:517b , *wąȟį́kpe* , *†wąȟį́* ‘arrow’ RTC

Dakota *waŋhiŋkpe* , *†wąȟį́kpe* ‘arrow’ WM:9b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **mą́•hį*

Chiwere *má•hį* ~ *mą́hį* ‘knife’ RR

Hoocąk *mąąhį́* ‘knife’ KM:1960 , *mąąhį* ‘arrowhead’ KM:2075 , *mą́įsu* , *mąįsu*

Proto-Dhegiha **mą́hį*

Omaha-Ponca *mą́hį* ‘knife’ RR

Kanza/Kaw *mą́hį* ‘knife’ RR

Osage *móⁿhiⁿ* , *†mą́hį* ‘knife’ LF:98b , *moⁿhiⁿsi* , *†mą́hį* ‘arrowhead’ LF:98b

Quapaw *mą́hį* ‘knife’ RR , *mą́hįsí* ‘arrowhead’ JOD

General comment

The form is probably a compound whose first element is Proto-Siouan **wą•he* ‘chert, flint’, q.v. In MVS, final **-he* disappears unless protected by a suffix (e.g. **-ka*, cf. ‘earth, ground, land’). The second element may be Proto-Siouan **į*, which appears to be attested in some reflexes of ‘end, point, tip (1)’, q.v. In this case, the *h* of MVS forms has been protected. On the other hand, the second element may be equated with Proto-Siouan **hi* ‘tooth (1), edge, point’, with loss of older **he* in MVS and rightward spread of nasalization. The Hidatsa *ʔi* strongly indicates a bimorphemic form in that language, though it is not necessarily the case that the Hidatsa *-i* is to be directly compared to the *į* elsewhere. Lakota and Dakota show a fuller derivation with *įkpa* ‘tip’ (not just the *į*). Hoocąk, Osage, and Quapaw form a further derivation with *su* ‘kernel, seed’.

blanket (1), shawl, robe

noun physical_artefact_dress

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **wa-ʔį-he*

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *wį́ʔhe* ‘blanket’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **mį́*

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *mį́* ‘blanket’ RR

Hoocąk *waʔį́* ‘shawl, blanket’ KM:3170 , *waʼį́*

Proto-Dhegiha **waʔį́*

Omaha-Ponca *wai*^{n} , *†waʔį́* ‘blanket’ MAS:19

Kanza/Kaw *mį́* ‘blanket’ RR

Osage *mį́* ‘a robe’ LF:91b

Quapaw *mąį́ttą* ‘blanket’ RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *miqai*^{n}*ʔhotʼ* , *†mį́xaį́xot* ‘blanket’ DSF

General comment

This is a nominalization of **ʔį́he* ‘wear about the shoulders’, q.v. Although Mandan apparently lacks the verb root, the form given is the perfectly regular derivation product. The coexistence of Omaha-Ponca *waʔį́* and other DH *mį́* suggests temporally independent derivation with Quapaw showing an intermediate stage. The relatively recent Omaha-Ponca form is morphemically transparent and simply means ‘what you wear’. The same argument applies to Quapaw and Hoocąk (vs. Chiwere).

blanket (2)

noun physical_artefact_dress

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **ąši*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **waši* < **wa-aši*

Crow *bicí* 'blanket' L:197 , *isa•ce* 'his blanket' L:197

Hidatsa *waší* 'blanket' J , *ita•ši* 'his blanket' J

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *šiná* 'blanket, shawl, robe' RTC

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **ąči*

Biloxi *tcipúxi, tcpúxi, tcpuxwi* , *†či* 'blanket' D&S:266a , *tcûkděxyí* , *†či* 'handkerchief, cap' D&S:267a , *tcûkděxyí nitaní* , *†či* 'shawl, big handkerchief' D&S:267a

Ofo *o^{n}tciphā́ska* , *†ąčiphá•ska* 'blanket' D&S:328, JSS

General comment

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *č* < **š*. Proto-Crow-Hidatsa has added the absolutive *wa-* in unpossessed forms.

blink

verb physical_somatic

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **-pʔíze*

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *-pʔís, hišjági-* 'blink once' KM:1082 , *hišja gip'is* 'gather to a pucker, like top of bag, or car disappearing in the distance' KM:2701 , *-pʔís, ru-* , *rup'is*

Proto-Dhegiha

Kanza/Kaw *-pʔípʔize, yü-* 'blink repeatedly, bat or flutter eyelashes' RR , *-pʔíze, yü-* 'blink, wink the eyes' RR

blister

verb physical_somatic_disease

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **-táže*

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **-táže*

Chiwere *nãntaye* , *ṫ-taye, nąį-* 'blistered on the feet' LWR , *-taye, nąį-* , *ṫ-taye, nąį-* 'blistered on the feet' GM

Hoocąk *-ǰáš, ru-* 'have a blister on the hand' [also as verb in Lk-18.16fb] KM:2676 , *rujas* 'blister, n.' KM:1964 , *-ǰáš, mąą-* 'blister one's foot' KM:2160 , *mąąjaš* 'blister by sitting or pressure; hatch, v.tr.' KM:3323 , *-ǰáš, nąą-* , *nąąjaš* , *-ǰáš, wa-* , *wajaš*

Proto-Dhegiha **-taže*

Omaha-Ponca *-dáže, ga-* 'blister' MAS:20 , *gadazhe*

Kanza/Kaw *-dáže, ga-* 'blister' [< *ga* + *daže* 'round] RR , *-dáže, ba-* 'to blister' RR

Osage *gadázhe* , *ṫ-táže, ka-* 'blister from use of tools' LF:44b , *bada´zhe* , *ṫ-táže, pa-* 'blister hands by hard work' LF:20a

Quapaw *-ttáže, di-* 'blister' JOD , *-ttáže, di-* 'snap the fingers, blister, chafe' RR

General comment

Quapaw *-tt-* may be JOD transcription error. Or there may have been contamination from *-ttaže* 'make a crackling or clapping sound' or an analogical change based on the conjugated forms which geminate the *t* postaccentually. Hoocąk also shows a different fricative grade in one instance unless *rujas* is a typo.

blizzard

noun natural_force_weather

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **húhi*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **huhe*

Crow *awatáahua* 'blizzard' GG:70

Hidatsa *húhe•* 'blizzard' J

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *-huhí, táa-* 'blizzard' KM:3051 , *taahuhi* 'blizzard' KM:3051 , *-húhi, waa-* , *waa huuhi*

General comment

The Hoocąk forms are nominalizations of an old verb root, one with *táa-* 'heat/cold, instrumental', and one with *wa•-* 'absolutive'. Hoocąk *-hi* and Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **he* cannot be directly compared: one or the other language must have reshaped the inherited form. Lengthening of *-he* in Hidatsa is unexplained.

Crow *hua* is the regular development.

blood

noun physical_somatic_liquid

Proto-Siouan-Catawba ***i•***-

Proto-Siouan ***(wa-)ʔí•(-re)***

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa ***íʔ•re***

Crow ***íili*** ‘blood’ RG , ***íʔ•re*** ‘blood’ L:198

Hidatsa ***íʔ•re*** ‘blood’ J , ***íʔ•ri***

Pre-Mandan

Mandan ***íʔ•re*** ‘blood’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley ****waʔį́*** ~ ****waʔí***

Proto-Dakota ****wé*** < ****wa-i***

Lakota ***wé*** ‘blood, to bleed’ RTC

Dakota ***wé*** ‘blood, bloody, to bleed’ SRR:563b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere ***wąbáge*** ~ ***wa•báge*** ‘blood’ RR

Hoocąk ***waʔí*** ‘blood, bleed’ KM:3165 , ***waʼi***

Proto-Dhegiha ****waWį́*** < *****wa+waʔį́***

Omaha-Ponca ***wamį́*** ‘blood’ RR

Kanza/Kaw ***wabį́*** ‘blood’ RR

Osage ***wabiⁿ*** , ***†wapį́*** ‘blood, bleeding’ LF:184a

Quapaw ***wappáį́*** RR

Proto-Southeastern ****wa-íʔ•(-ri)***

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo ****a-íʔ•(-ri)***

Biloxi ***hai, ai, háidi, haidí*** , ***†hai(-di)*** ‘blood, bleed’ D&S:193a

Ofo ***ahīʔ̌hi*** , ***†ahíʔ•hi*** ‘blood’ D&S:319a, JSS

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo ***wāyī; wayïi*** , ***†wayíʔ•*** ‘blood’ N, H

Proto-Catawba

Catawba ***iʔ•t*** ‘blood’ FS

General comment

This appears to be a noun-verb pair, Proto-Siouan **ʔíʻre* 'bleed', **wa-ʔíʻre* 'what is bled = blood'. In the southeastern languages we seem to have different means of eliminating the vowel cluster; epenthesis of *ʔ* (perhaps) in Biloxi, *h* in Ofo, and *y* in Tutelo. Biloxi and Ofo *h-* correspondences are not entirely regular, but they do appear very frequently.

Biloxi *h* is frequently the reflex of Proto-Siouan **ʔ*; there are numerous examples. Biloxi *h* plus the glottal stop in Hoocąk (cf. 'blanket (1)') lead us to reconstruct the glottal stop in Proto-Siouan. The third syllable of Ofo may be reduplication, or the result of distant assimilation in original **ahíʻri*. The Chiwere form is unusual, and not currently explained. The DH forms appear to exemplify multiple reapplications of *wa-* 'absolutive' to a form that had already fused such a prefix, i.e., underlyingly DH is **wa + Wa-ʔį*. The second of the two prefixes shows a reflex of **W*, a product of already juxtaposed *w+w*, cf. 'snow (1)'. There is a very close Yuchi look-alike *weʔí* 'blood' (LB).

blow (1)

verb natural_force_weather

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **pex*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **-pixi*

Crow *chilappiáxi* 'float' GG:84

Hidatsa *nakapíxxi* 'flutter, flap, float' J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *wápexoʔšˀ* 'it's floating' RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *wéxą* 'blow' RR

Hoocąk *howeɣų́* 'blow, blow at' [1s hopeɣų́] KM:1575 , *howéğų*

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *beqŭⁿ* , *†pexą* 'blow' HW

General comment

The *-xx-* for expected *-x-* in Hidatsa is unexplained.

blow (2)

verb natural_force_weather

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **puxą́he*

Pre-Mandan **puxąh-*

Mandan *puxą́ho?š* 'he blew on it' RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **póɣą*

Proto-Dakota **póɣą*

Lakota **póɣą* 'blow on something' RTC

Dakota *ipoġaŋ* , *†ipoɣą* 'blow' WM:19b

Stoney *boɣą* 'blow' PAS

Proto-Dhegiha **piɣą́*

Omaha-Ponca *bixą́* 'blow' MAS:20

Kanza/Kaw *biɣą́* 'blow, fart' RR

Osage *bíxo^{n}* , *†píxą* 'make a fire burn by blowing' LF:27b

Quapaw *biɣǫ́* 'blow on something' JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **puxuhi (?)*

Biloxi *apúx ho^{n}ní* , *†apúx hǫ́ni* 'blowgun' D&S:249b , *pxuhi^{n}´* , *†pxuhį* 'blow a fire' D&S:249b

Ofo *pû´suhi* , *†púsuhi* 'blow' D&S:328b

Proto-Catawba

Catawba *pu•-* 'blow' FS, KS , *pu•su•?* 'shoot with blowgun' FS

General comment

DH *bi-* may reflect unrounding of **pü-* preaccentually. This *u* plus those in Biloxi, Ofo, and Mandan leads us to reconstruct Proto-Siouan**puxą*. In Dakotan, the **pu-* has been reshaped under influence of the (archaic) *po-* 'by blowing' prefix. There is a strong element of phonosymbolism in this set; the archetype *pu(S)* is common for 'blow, puff', etc. worldwide. There are several 'blow' sets in Siouan that are related by such symbolism. Cf. 'foam, boil'. There is a possibility that this set represents a fused compound of Proto-Siouan **puxE* 'blow' and **ʔų́* 'do, make'. This is clearly the case for Biloxi *†apúx hǫ́ni* 'blowgun'.

blow (3)

verb natural_force_weather

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **Sį́•kE*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Crow *xiičí* ‘snort, blow nose’ GG:61

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **Zį́kE*

Proto-Dakota **yuží́kA*

Lakota *žį́čA* ‘snort, as a horse would’ EJ , *žį́čA, na-* ‘run away, flee or retreat’ EB:346b, EJ , *žį́čA, pa-* ‘make croak by shaking up’ EB:427b, EJ , *žį́čA, ya-* ‘snuff up the nose’ EB:621b, EJ , *žį́čA, yu-* ‘pull or blow e.g. the nose’ EB:640b, EJ

Dakota *yużáŋca* , *ʔyužį́ča* ‘blow (the nose)’ WM:19b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *ɣį́k, gi-* ‘blow one’s nose’ KM:338 , *paara giğik*

General comment

All three degrees of fricative symbolism are apparently found with this root, but there is little duplication among the available subgroups.

Reconstruction is tentative. Kanza/Kaw *gažį́, giláží* ‘blow one’s nose’ has the same root but lacks the root extension.

blue, green

verb perceptual_visual_color

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **(i-)htó•he*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **túa* < **tóhe*

Crow *šúa* ‘blue, green’ RG, GG:56, RGG:85

Hidatsa *tó?hi* ‘blue, green’ J , *tó?ohi* ‘green, grass color’ J , *túa*

Pre-Mandan **toh-*

Mandan *tohó?š* ‘it’s blue’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **htó*

Proto-Dakota *thó*

Lakota *thó* ‘green, blue’ RTC

Sioux Valley *thó* PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **thó•*

Chiwere *thó* ‘blue, green’ RTC

Hoocąk *čóo* ‘green, blue’ KM:258 , *coo*

Proto-Dhegiha **htó(-hV)*

Omaha-Ponca *ttú* ‘blue, green’ RTC , *ttó* ‘blue, green’ RR

Kanza/Kaw *ttóho* ‘blue, green’ RR

Osage *htóho* ‘blue’ RR

Quapaw *ttó, ttóho, ttohí* ‘blue, green’ RR

Proto-Southeastern **ithó•hi*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **ithó•hi*

Biloxi *tohí, tóhiü* D&S:277b

Ofo *ithǒhi, itóhi* , *†ithó•hi* D&S:324b, JSS

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *otō; otolakōī; oṭólakhó^{n}o^{n}* , *†otó•* N, H, HW

General comment

The *-hV* of DH color terms (e.g. ‘yellow’, ‘white (1)’, and ‘yellow > brown’) is not inherited from the proto-language. It appears to be an intensifier and may result from vowel assimilation affecting the DH particle *-hi* ‘very’.

Crow and Hidatsa *-ua* are regularly cognate with forms in *-oh* in other languages. Hidatsa *tó?hi* is not readily explained. Hidatsa *tua* may also reflect ‘vine’ q.v. (in the extended sense ‘grass color, ripe’).

boat

noun physical_artefact_vehicle

Proto-Siouan-Catawba **Wát, *WáHt (?)*

Proto-Siouan **Wá•te (?)*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **wá•hte• (?)*

Crow *báashee* ‘boat’ GG:21, RGG:99

Hidatsa *wá•hti* ‘boat, car’ J , *má•hti*

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *wáta* ‘shell’ H:278

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **Wá•te*

Proto-Dakota **wáta*

Lakota *wáta* RTC

Dakota *wáta* SRR

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **Wá•te*

Chiwere *bá•ǰe* RR

Hoocąk *wáač* KM:3182 , *waac*

Proto-Dhegiha **Waté*

Omaha-Ponca *mądé* JOD

Kanza/Kaw *baǰé* ‘boat’ RR

Osage *badsé* , *†pacé* ‘any kind of boat’ LF:20a

Quapaw *mątté* ‘boat’ CS, RR , *mąté* ‘boat’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **-há•ti*

Biloxi *nahaṭí, nahádi, naháti, nahád* , *†naháti* D&S:231b

Ofo *iyā´ti* , *†iyá•ti* ‘boat’ D&S:325a

Proto-Catawba

Woccon *Watt* , *†wat* ‘boat’

General comment

There are many phonological problems in this set: (1) Nasal vowels in DH are not accounted for. (2) The *hati* of the SE languages is very difficult to relate to central Siouan. (3) Quapaw nasality is unexpected, since the reflex of **W* should be *b* (unlike Omaha-Ponca where the normal reflex is *m*).

(4) DH generally shows an irregular shift in accent. (5) Hidatsa preaspiration (not attested in Crow) is difficult to account for even from *hati* since *h* should not have been lost in Crow. (6) Mandan should have *-E* rather than *-a*.

Although it may be possible to justify a Proto-Siouan reconstruction for 'boat', we believe that in reality this word is equally most likely a diffused form, ultimately an early borrowing or adaptation of a reflex of proto-Algonquian **me?teko:ši* 'dug-out canoe' (Aubin-1231). As in 'bow', q.v., only approximately the first two syllables are ever borrowed into Siouan, probably at a variety of different times and from different Algonquian languages or dialects.

In this set, what appears as a reflex of **W* in several languages may stem either from interaction between *m* and *?*, or from the fact that Algonquian phonemic *m* was treated differently in Siouan from the native nasalized *w*'s. Most Siouan **W* come from **w-w* sequences that arise secondarily due to syncope of a medial vowel.

body

noun physical_somatic

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **i-xú•ha*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **xúa* < **xúha*

Crow *axúa* 'body' GG:16, RGG:68

Hidatsa *xú(a)* 'body' J , *ixú* 'his body' J

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **xú•ha*

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *xuhá* 'hide scrapings' EB:196a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **xú•ha*

Chiwere *xú•ha* 'skin, person/animals' RR

Hoocąk *xúu* 'skin' KM:3949 , *xuu* 'hide (of animal); skin or hair (human)' KM:514 , *háa* , *haa*

Proto-Dhegiha **xüha*

Omaha-Ponca *xi̧há* 'skin' MAS:309 , *xiⁿhá*

Kanza/Kaw *xühá* 'skin' RR

Osage *xúha* , *†xúha* 'skin' LF:221a

General comment

Cf. ‘skin’. Hidatsa suggests that there was a Proto-Siouan **xú•ha* ‘body’, reanalyzed to Proto-Mississipi-Valley **xu•* + **ha*, ‘body’ + ‘covering’, through folk etymology; hence the semantic switch to ‘skin’, q.v. The accentual pattern and vowel length imply a missing initial syllable. Many body parts and kin terms must be reconstructed as dependent nouns with the possessive prefix **i-*. ‘body’ or ‘skin’ may well have been inalienably possessed also, i.e., **i-xú•ha*.

boil, cook

verb physical_condition_change

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

- Proto-Siouan **(o-)hą́*
  - Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **-úa* < **-úha*
    - Crow *bulúa* ‘boiling’ [caus.] RG, GG:34 , *bulúahche* RGG:103
    - Hidatsa *wírua* ‘boiling, bubbling’ J , *mirua* ‘make fire’ J , *úa*
  - Proto-Mississipi-Valley **ohą́*
    - Proto-Dakota **ohą́*
      - Lakota *ohą́* ‘boil’ RTC
      - Dakota *ohą́pi* ‘boiled’ SRR
    - Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **ohą́*
      - Chiwere *u•hą́* RR
      - Hoocąk *hohą́* MM:264 , *hohą*
    - Proto-Dhegiha **ohą́*
      - Omaha-Ponca *óhą* ‘broil, cook’ JOD, MAS:284
      - Kanza/Kaw *ohą́* ‘boiling’ RR
      - Osage *úho^{n}* , *†óhą* ‘boil, stew, cook’ LF:170b
      - Quapaw *ohą́* RR
  - Proto-Southeastern **-hą́, *-ha•*
    - Proto-Biloxi-Ofo
      - Biloxi *hao^{n}, paspaho^{n}´, paspánko^{n}´, paspá hayo^{n}´* , *†haą* ‘cook, fry, cook flat’ D&S:195a
    - Proto-Tutelo-Saponi
      - Tutelo *hiehā* , *†hi•eha•* H

General comment

In Biloxi the portion of the words written *-oⁿ* is most likely the verb ‘do, make’. Lack of nasality in Biloxi and Tutelo makes it a purely MVS feature, perhaps the result of compounding with ‘do, make’. Thus a Proto-Siouan **oha-ʔų* is a possibility here. Since Crow and Hidatsa do not distinguish nasality in either vowels or consonants, its status in Proto-Siouan is indeterminate. The Crow/Hidatsa forms meaning ‘boiling’ have compounded *ua* with ‘water’.

bone

noun physical_somatic_body_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **wa-hú•(-re)*

Pre-Mandan **wahu•re*

Mandan *wahú•, wahú•re* ‘bone’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **wahú*

Proto-Dakota **huhú*

Lakota *huhú* ‘bone’ RTC , *hohú* ‘bone’ RTC

Dakota *huhú* ‘bone’ SRR:156b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **wa•hú*

Chiwere *wahú, wa•hú, wahų́* ‘bone’ RR

Hoocąk *waahú* ‘stalk, e.g. of corn’ KM:3196 , *waahu*

Proto-Dhegiha **wahű́*

Omaha-Ponca *wahí* ‘skeleton, bones’ RTC

Kanza/Kaw *wahű́* ‘bone’ RR

Osage *†wahű́* ‘bone’ RR

Quapaw *wahí* ‘bone’ RR

Proto-Southeastern **wahú•(-ri) ~ *wahó•(-ri)*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **aho(-ri) ~ *ahu(-ri)*

Biloxi *ahó, ahú, hahó, ahudí* ‘bone’ D&S:170b

Ofo *áho* ‘bone’ D&S:319a

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *wahōi, wahūi* , *†wahu•i* H

General comment

This form is composed of **wa-* ‘absolutive’ and the widespread root *hú•(-re)* ‘tree, bone, leg, stalk, stem, trunk’, q.v. Typically, the absolutive prefix *wa-* narrows the meaning to ‘bone’. However, as a comparison of entries will show, there was some semantic mixing. MVS entries with *wa-* have all been analogically reformulated, since Proto-Siouan **wa-* would normally lose its vowel by initial syllable syncope and undergo an assimilatory verschärfung, producing something like Proto-Mississipi-Valley **p-hú•*, which is not found.

botch, fail, miss

verb physical_action

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **ką-*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa *i•ka•xtE* ‘make a mistake’ J , *i•ka•xti*

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *kąho?š* ‘he misses his target’ H:100 , *-kąho?š, ru-* ‘he misses his catch’ H:100 , *-kąho?š, ka-* ‘he shot at something and missed’ H:100

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **kąZį*

Proto-Dakota **kąyí*

Lakota *kaⁿgígi* , *†kąyíyi* ‘do a thing poorly’ EB:283a , *kayíyį* , *†kąyíyi* ‘do a thing poorly’ EJ

Dakota *kaǧí* ‘stop one’s progress, be in one’s way’ SRR:248a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *-gąš* ‘miss, fall short of mark’ KM:307, MM:220 , *-gąš* ‘miss, shooting’ KM:307 , *boogą́š* ‘miss, striking’ KM:307 , *boogąš* ‘make a misstep’ KM:307 , *gigą́š* , *gigąš* , *nąągą́š* , *nąągąš*

Proto-Dhegiha **kąžįka*

Kanza/Kaw *góžįga* ~ *gó•žįga* ‘not to know how’ RR

Osage *goⁿ´zhiⁿga* , *†kąžįka* ‘be unskilled’ LF:53b

Quapaw *kąžika* ‘not to know hową’ JOD

bow

noun physical_artefact_tool_weapon

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **mą•tku*

Chiwere *mą́hdu* RR

Hoocąk *mąąčgú* ‘bow (for shooting)’ KM:1942 , *mąącgu*

Proto-Dhegiha

Omaha-Ponca *mą́de* ‘bow’ RR

Kanza/Kaw *mĩ́je* ‘bow’ RR

Osage *mį́ce* ‘bow’ RR

Quapaw *mą́tte* ‘bow’ RR

General comment

Terms with initial *mą-* may contain the root for ‘arrow’, q.v. All terms are ultimately borrowed directly or indirectly from Algonquian languages. The Dakotan term has lost its initial *m-*, perhaps because with it, the term was interpreted as possessed by a 1st person, one of the prefixes for which is *mi-*; note the possessed form *mitinazipe* ‘my bow’ in Dakota. Cf. Algonquian: PA **me’tekw-a* ‘wood, an.’; Menominee: *(ne)-mɛɛ’tek* ‘my bow’; Fox: *méytä* ‘bow’; Sh.: *mytekw-a ~ meytekwa* ‘bow’; Miami: *mitékopa* ‘bow’; Chey.: *ma’tahke* ‘bow, archaic term’, Kickapoo: *mehteeha* ‘bow’ Voorhis-65. This term is not likely reconstructible beyond the lowest level subgroups, as the bow does not appear in the archaeological record for most of the Mississippi valley until after the 6th century A.D. and may well not have penetrated Siouan-speaking areas until somewhat later.

box

noun physical_artefact_container

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **hkó•ke*

Proto-Dakota **khoká*

Lakota *khoká* ‘barrel, keg’ EB:314a

Sioux Valley *khoká* ‘box’ PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **khó•ke*

Chiwere *khó•ge* ‘box’ RR

Hoocąk *kóok* ‘box, barrel’ KM:1879 , *kook*

Proto-Dhegiha **hkóke*

Omaha-Ponca *kkóge* ‘box’ RR

Kanza/Kaw *kkóge* ‘box’ RR

Osage *ḳogé* , *†hkoké* ‘sound of drum’ LF:88a

Quapaw *bakkóke* ‘drum on sth.’ RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *okú-ŭq* ‘a box?’ HW , *okúŭq ukhúse* ‘put an object into a box’

General comment

Tutelo has the same root but a different extension. The reconstructible term with this particular meaning is probably restricted to MVS. The root itself is phonosymbolic with the generalized meaning ‘make a hollow sound’, hence the Osage and Quapaw meanings. Quapaw also has the root alone in *bakkókko* ‘drum repeatedly’. It recurs in other terms surrounding drumming and, presumably, in ‘cucurbit, gourd’, etc. Cf. also ‘hollow sound > stamp, stomp’.

brain (1)

noun physical_somatic_body_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **rąt-*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **ahtú*

Crow *aašúu* ‘head’ GG:3, RGG:69 , *aššóo* ‘place of honor opposite Tipi entrance’ GG:13

Hidatsa *a•htú* ‘head’ J , *ahtúka* ‘place of honor in earthlodge; Hidatsa Earthlodge’ GLW , *ahtú* ‘rear of the house’ H&V

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *rą́trų* ‘brain, spine’ H:174 , *rą́tįrų, rątį́rų* ‘brain’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *natá* ‘head’ RTC , *natáhu* ‘whole skull’ EJ

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Ofo *nąthû* , *†náthu* ‘brain’ D&S:326b

Proto-Catawba

Catawba *mųtu* ‘brain’ KS

General comment

Several of the reconstructible words involving the upper body begin with the syllable *nq*, cf. ‘brain (1)’, ‘brain (2)’, ‘ear (1)’, ‘ear (2), external opening’, and ‘hair of head’. Where Crow or Hidatsa show cognate forms, the initial syllable is *a* and following (unexplained) preaspiration, not the expected cognate, *ra*. It is possible that the syllable is historically a classificatory prefix, and that the compound structure of these words was still evident in Proto-Crow-Hidatsa when the (irregular) loss of *r(a)-* affected the initial morpheme. (Alternatively, the *r* may be epenthetic between the possessive pronominal prefixes and the vowel-initial morpheme.) The medial cluster of Mandan is unexplained. Crow/Hidatsa long prefixes are possessed forms (body parts); short prefixes are unpossessed. Reduction of the regular geminate in Crow ‘head’ is probably due to contamination from ‘horn’.

brain (2)

noun physical_somatic_body_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **(rą•-)sú*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa *cuáta* ‘brain’ J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *rą́šuta* ‘brain, spine’ H:170

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **ną•sú*

Proto-Dakota **nasú*

Lakota *nasú* ‘brain, upper head’ RTC , *nasúla* ‘brain’ EJ

Dakota *nasú* ‘brain, upper head’ SRR

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **ną•sú*

Chiwere *nąhą•θu* ‘head’ JDH , *nąhą•θúxli•* ‘brain’ RR

Hoocąk *nąąsú* ‘head (body part)’ KM:2224 , *nąąsu*

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *wasūt, wasōti* , *†wasu•ti* H

General comment

Cf. ‘brain (1)’. Hidatsa and Tutelo show forms without **rą•*. Chiwere/Hoocąk unaccented long vowel makes this a transparent compound in that subgroup and, presumably, in MVS. Other languages split the roots. **rą•* clearly had a long vowel, since it is preserved even when accent shifts to the second member of the compound. Tutelo suggests that **su•* should also be long, but that length may be secondary, since it is not supported by Hidatsa. This may be an old compound of Proto-Siouan **rą•* (used with numerous upper body parts) and **su•* ‘kernel, seed’.

brant

noun animal_bird

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **ą•saną*

Biloxi *aⁿsna, aⁿsŭná, aⁿsûná* ‘generic: a duck, ducks’ D&S:178a , *ą•sna?, ą•səna?* MRH , *ą•səna?* MS

Ofo *óⁿfąna* , *†ąfəną* ‘duck’ D&S:328a

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *manēasān* , *†mąne•asą•*

Proto-Catawba

Catawba *kasą́* ‘duck’ ASG

General comment

Biloxi/Ofo normally lose **#m-*, so OVS languages all seem to form compounds with **wą ~ *awą́•* ‘bird > game bird, turkey’ or ‘nest’. Tutelo shows the compounding most clearly. The other common element here seems to be **asą•* ‘white (1)’, q.v., or alternatively a phonosymbolic element of the same shape representing a duck call. The match between DH and the southeastern languages may simply represent parallel derivation. The term may also have spread areally as there is a Yuchi look-alike, *ša?ane* (LB) as well as a Catawba form.

brave (1)

verb psychic_temperament

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **(wa-)šʔákE*

Proto-Dakota **wašʔáka*

Lakota *wašʔáka* ‘strong’ RTC , *šʔáka* ‘strong’ EB:471b , *šʔákA* ‘strong’ EJ

Dakota *wašʔáka* ‘strong, brave’ [pronouns after wa-] SRR

Stoney *wa-šága* ‘strong’ PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **šʔáke*

Chiwere *wąšʔá* ‘old man’ [†wąk + šʔage]

Hoocąk *gišʔák* ‘respect’ KM:403 , *giš’ak* ‘hold a surprising amount’ KM:3474 , *wašʔák* , *waš’ak*

Proto-Dhegiha **šʔáke*

Kanza/Kaw *cʔágehiga* ‘a tribal elder’ RR

Quapaw *wašʔáke(hi)* ‘really big’ RR

General comment

Cf. Biloxi *saⁿhánⁿ* ‘strong’ (DS-251).

brave (2)

verb psychic_temperament

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **sihe*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **i-cihcih-E*

Crow *iččía* ‘strong, powerful’ RGG:97

Hidatsa *ichía* ‘strong, powerful’ J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *sį̨ho?š* ‘he’s strong’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dhegiha

Omaha-Ponca *†uą́si* ‘jump’ , *†áąsi-* ‘jump over’

Osage *áuwiçi* , *†áowisi* ‘jump over’ LF:285b

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *áyiⁿsĺhiⁿ* , *†áyį̨sĺhį* ‘be a coward’ D&S:255b

General comment

Cf. ‘jump’; also cf. ‘side (1)’ for a parallel to the Crow/Hidatsa developments here. Mandan has a different fricative grade but retains the *h* apparently also reflected in Biloxi (if the Biloxi forms are cognate). The Crow/Hidatsa *-ia* reflects earlier **-ihe*, also indicative of an *h*-final root. Reduplication is the key to understanding the Crow/Hidatsa forms: **i-cihcih-E* > **i-chcia*. The cluster *chc* simplifies to *ch* in Hidatsa and to *hc* > *hč* before *i* in Crow. Crow *čč* reflects the preaspiration.

brave (3)

verb psychic_temperament

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **wašóše*

Proto-Dakota **wašóše*

Lakota *wašóše* ‘brave warrior’ RTC

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *wa•só•se, wa•sóse* ‘brave’ RR

Hoocąk *wašošé* ‘be brave’ KM:3491 , *wašoše*

Proto-Dhegiha **wašóše*

Omaha-Ponca *washúshe* , *†wašóše* MAS:24

Osage *washóshe* , *†wašóše* ‘dauntless, courageous, brave, gallant’ LF:199b

bread, cornball

noun physical_consumption

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **wa•-(Wo-)ske*

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *wa•búθke* ‘be inflated’ RR, JOD , *wa-po-shke*

Proto-Dhegiha **wáske*

Omaha-Ponca *wamóske, wáske* ‘pounded corn with honey and buffalo marrow’ RR , *wáske* ‘pounded corn with honey and buffalo marrow’ RR

Kanza/Kaw *wabóski, wabóske* ‘cornball, bread’ RR

Quapaw *wáske* RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *apátckuní* , *†apáčkuną́* ‘corn dumplings’ D&S:265b , *paska* , *†apáčkuną́* ‘bread’ D&S:265b

General comment

Forms with the instrumental *-*Wo*- refer to the swelling or rising of dough and so may postdate contact. Cf. Choctaw and Chickasaw *paska* ‘bread’, *palaska* ‘bake’. Initial syllable accent and restricted distribution make diffusion a possibility here.

break (1)

verb physical_contact_deformation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **xóke*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *gixóge* , *†gixóge* ‘break in’ JGT:21

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **xoki*

Biloxi *xoxóki* ‘broken here and there’ D&S:222a

Ofo *kąshoki* , *†káshoki* ‘break’ D&S:325b

break (2)

verb physical_contact_deformation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **še*

Pre-Mandan **se?-*

Mandan *séʔroʔš* ‘it fell apart’ H:204 , *-seʔr, ka-* ‘to knock down, cut down’ H:204 , *-seʔr, pa-* ‘to push over’ H:204 , *-seʔr, ra-* ‘to open with the foot’ H:204 , *-seʔr, ru-* ‘to open’ H:204

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *žé, gi-* ‘break apart by hand’ KM:439 , *giže* ‘break down something by sitting on it’ KM:3578 , *žé, wa-* ‘break, v.tr.’ KM:2775 , *waže* ‘take apart; undo’ WL:8.11 , *žé, ru- ružéže* , *ruže, ružeže*

break brittle things > smash, crush

verb physical_contact_deformation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **-xúxE*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa *-xuxxE, nax-* ‘scrape, shave’ [rka] J , *-xuxxE, naka-* ‘break by instrument, break in two’ J , *-xuxxE, ara-* ‘break by feet’ J , *-xuxxE, ará-* ‘burnt to a crisp’ J , *-xuxxE, ná-* ‘break by teeth, hatch’ J , *-xuxxE, nú-* ‘break by hand, break across the grain’ J , *-xuxxE, pá-* ‘break by stick, break across the grain’ J

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **-xú•ɣE*

Proto-Dakota **xúɣA*

Lakota *xuɣáhą* ‘broken in’ EB:196a , *xuɣáhA* ‘dent e.g. a kettle so there is a hole in it’ EJ , *-xúɣA, na-* ‘crack e.g. a nut with the foot or by knocking’ EJ , *-xúɣa, pa-* ‘break or push a hole in e.g. a kettle; to crack by pushing e.g . an egg’ EB:426b , *-xuɣa, wakáˀ-* ‘break e.g. the skull, kettles etc.’ EB:525a , *-xúxuɣa, ka-* ‘smash e.g. eggs, a head, anything brittle’ EB:276a , *-xuɣa, wayáˀ-* ‘crush with the teeth’ EB:563a , *-xúɣa, yu-* ‘crack something, using the hand’ EB:639a , *xúɣe* ‘something that is broken in’ EJ

Dakota *ḣúġa* , *†xúɣa* ‘broken in’ SRR:167b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *xúx, gi-* ‘crack, v.tr. (e.g., nut)’ KM:433 , *gixux* ‘break something brittle with the foot; break (something brittle) of own accord’ KM:2273, WL:18.15 , *xúx, nąą-* ‘break something brittle with the mouth’ KM:2584 , *nąąxux* ‘break something brittle’ KM:2770, WL:20.16 , *xúx, ra-* ‘break something brittle by pressure or pushing’ KM:3536, WL:19.4 , *raxux* ‘break in pieces something brittle by shooting, by blowing, by great force’ KM:104 , *xúx, ru-* , *ruxux* , *xúx, wa-* , *waxux* , *xux, boo- booxúxux* , *booxux booxuxux*

Proto-Dhegiha **-xṹ•ye*

Kanza/Kaw *daxü•ye* ‘cracklins, to make’ RR , *gaxü•ʸe* ‘break in by striking’ RR , *yaxü•ʸe* ‘crush with the teeth’ RR

Osage *xüɣe*

Quapaw *dixíxe* ‘crack nuts, nutcracker’ RR , *†kaxíxe* ‘crack sth., as an egg’ JOD

General comment

Gemination of *x* in Hidatsa is unexplained. Chiwere *gixúge* ‘break glass’ (Marsh) shows the same root but lacks the extension; cf. also Chiwere *xoɣe* JOD-CP. Given that only DH shows vowel length, its status in Proto-Siouan is unknown. Ordinarily Hidatsa and/or Hoocąk would also preserve reflexes of it. Crow *alaxuuxshiiˀ* ‘crush with foot’ (DEC) perhaps represents Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **xu•xti* and does not belong here.

break cord

verb physical_contact_deformation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **-psákE*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **-hcakE* < **-CcakE*

Crow *-ttachi, alá-* 'be cold' RG, GG:8 , *-ttachi, dá-* 'break with mouth; brk. off by biting' RGG:26, GG:43 , *-ttachi, dú-* 'break apart' RG, GG:45 , *-ttachí, ala-* 'break with foot' RG, GG:8 , *-ttachi, óo-* 'break by shooting, by projectile' RG

Hidatsa *-hcakE, ará-* 'severed, broken off by fire or intense cold' [ra] J , *-hcakE, ná-* 'chew sth. off' J , *-hcakE, nú-* 'snap, break by pulling' J , *-hcákE, ara-* 'break with foot, e.g. a string' J , *-hcakE, pá-* 'slice, cut' J , *-cakE, nak-* 'chip, chop, split' J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *-pšak, wa-* 'open with a point' H:153 , *-pšak, ru-* 'unscrew, untie s.t.' H:153 , *-pšak, pa-* 'cut s.t. open' H:153 , *-pšak, ka-* 'rip s.t. open' H:153 , *kirúpšako?š* 'he untied it' RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *-psag, ka-* 'break violently' EB:287b, EJ , *kapsákA* 'break a rope or string; for a string to break' EJ , *-psaka, khiwó-* 'shoot off in the middle e.g. a cord' EB:312a , *-psáka, na-* 'break e.g. a cord with the foot, to break something in two with the foot' EB:355b , *-psápsaka, na-* 'break in different places e.g. a string' EB:355b , *-psáka, pa-* 'break or tear in two by pressure or by sitting e.g. in a swing' EB:432b , *-psáka, wa-* 'cut off, e.g. string or cord with a knife; to saw or cut something in two with a saw or knife' EB:548b , *-psáka, ya-* 'tear a thing, e.g. a string, in two with the mouth' EB:626a , *-psáka, yu-* 'break or pull in two e.g. a string.' EB:648a, EJ

General comment

The Crow and Hidatsa forms may go with 'break cord > break long things' rather than here. Mandan *rapsak* 'chew sth.' (H) shows this root in more than one fricative grade.

DH merges both **ks* and **ps* clusters to *s*, so the many DH verbs of breaking ending in *-se* may be cognate with either or both Proto-Siouan sets. It may be possible to determine cognacy by semantics alone in these cases. Here however DH lacks the root extension, *-ke* that might render some of the forms clearly cognate. Ordinarily sets with initial *ps* clusters in Mandan and/or Lakota are from Proto-Siouan **wV-sV*, i.e., the *p-* is the reflex of earlier *wa-* which probably marked an indefinite (transitive) object and has undergone the usual syncope. Here, evidence from OVS, which often retains the *a-* but loses the **w-*, is lacking.

break cord > break apart

verb physical_contact_deformation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **-páxe*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Crow *paxí, dap-* 'chop, split across the grain' RG, GG:42, RGG:31 , *ppaxi, pá-* 'cut up' RG, GG:53 , *paxi, dúu-* 'drill' RG, GG:45

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *pax, ka-* 'to break by striking' H:138 , *pax, pa-* 'to break s.t.' H:138 , *pax, ra-* 'to break by kicking' H:139 , *pax, ru-* 'to pull s.t. apart' H:139 , *pą́•xo?š* 'it's broken (thread)' RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **-páɣe*

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **-wáxe*

Chiwere *waxe, na-* 'To break something with the foot or with a machine' LWR:20

Hoocąk *wáx, boo-* 'shoot string or rope in two' KM:97 , *boowax* 'break string or rope by striking' KM:422 , *wáx, gi-* 'cut string or rope' KM:2035 , *giwax* 'break string or rope with the foot' KM:2254 , *wáx, mąą-* 'bite string or rope in two' KM:2576 , *mąąwax* 'break string or rope by pulling' KM:2756 , *wáx, nąą-* 'burn string or rope in two' KM:3090 , *nąąwax* 'break string or rope by pressure or pushing' KM:3511 , *wáx, ra-* , *rawax* , *wáx, ru-* , *ruwax* , *wáx, taa-* , *taawax* , *wáx, wa-* , *wawax*

Proto-Dhegiha **-báɣe*

Kanza/Kaw *baɣe, bá-* 'chop sth. up' RR , *babáɣe, bá-* 'cut to shreds' JOD, RR , *báɣe, ba-* 'push apart; pull' MR, JOD, RR , *bábaɣe, ba-* 'push apart, into pieces' JOD, RR , *baɣe, bó-* 'shoot a cord in two' JOD, RR , *báɣe, bu-, -xe* 'break a cord from weight' JOD, MR, RR , *baɣe, dá-* 'burn in two, as a rope' RR , *báɣe, nąˀ-* 'break something like a rope by foot' RR , *báɣe, ya-* 'bite in two' RR , *báɣe, yu-* 'break or snap a cord by pulling' RR , *bábaɣe, yu-* 'tear something up' RR

Osage *bábaxe* , *†pápaɣe* 'cut a cord or rope with a knife' LF:18a

Quapaw *dibáxe* 'break by pulling' RR , *babáɣe* 'break by thrusting' RR , *dabáɣe* 'bite in two' RR , *kabáɣe* 'cut (a cord) in two' RR , *nąbáɣe* 'break a cord w. the feet' RR , *pábaɣe* 'cut in two, as a cord' RR , *póbaɣe* 'shoot a rope, cord in two' RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *paxa* , *†paxa* 'punch, stab, gore, thrust at' D&S:246a

break cord > break long things

verb physical_contact_deformation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **-ksakE*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **-hcakE* < **-CcakE*

Crow *páttači* ‘puncture’ [noun] RGG:54 , *-ttači, alá-* ‘be cold’ RG , *-ttači, dá-* ‘break with mouth; brk. off by biting’ RGG:26, GG:43 , *-ttači, dú-* ‘break apart’ RG, GG:45 , *-ttačí, ala-* ‘break with foot’ RG, GG:8 , *-ttachi, óo-* ‘break by shooting, by projectile’ RG

Hidatsa *-hcakE, ará-* ‘severed, broken off by fire or intense cold’ J , *-hcakE, ná-* ‘chew sth. off’ J , *-hcakE, nú-* ‘snap, break by pulling’ J , *-hcákE, ara-* ‘break with foot, e.g. a string’ J , *-hcakE, pá-* ‘slice, cut’ J , *-cakE, nak-* ‘chip, chop, split’ J

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *uksáki* ‘cut with axe or knife’ D&S:213a , *aya^{n}´ dašě´ daksû´ki* , *†daksáki* ‘bite a stick in two’ D&S:213b , *así naksŭ´ki* , *†naksáki* ‘break (a string) with the foot’ D&S:213a

General comment

The Crow and Hidatsa forms may go with ‘break cord’ rather than here.

break long things

verb physical_contact_deformation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **-šíšE*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **-šišE*

Crow *-šíaxšišii, dax-* ‘break into pieces, smash’ [redupl] RG, GG:43 , *daxšišíˀ* ‘broken’ [du-] GG:43 , *dúššišiˀ* ‘break’ GG:44, RGG:26

Hidatsa *-šíššiˀ, ha-* ‘cut through with knife’ J , *-šiššiˀ, nú-* ‘turn meat in pot with stick’ J

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **šíše*

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *-šíš, boo-* ‘break something in two leaving a ragged break, by shooting, bumping or hitting’ KM:92 , *boošiš* ‘break in two something having length, not leaving a clean break’ KM:415 , *-šíš, gi-* ‘cut something having length, not making a clean cut’ KM:2025 , *gišiš* ‘break with the foot, something having length, not making a clean break’ KM:2240 , *-šíš, mąą-* ‘bite in two something long, not leaving a clean break’ KM:2573 , *mąąšiš* ‘pull in two something long, not leaving a clean break’ KM:2733 , *-šíš, nąą-* ‘break something having length by pressure or pushing, not leaving a clean break’ KM:3487 , *nąąšiš* , *-šíš, ra-* , *rašiš* , *rušíš* , *rušiš* , *-šíš, wa-* , *wašiš*

Proto-Dhegiha

Omaha-Ponca *gaxixe* ‘crack’ MAS:49 , *gashishe* , *†gašiše* ‘crack’ MAS:49

General comment

Gemination in Crow and Hidatsa is unexplained. Crow *xš* forms reflect the *x* grade of the fricative. Kanza/Kaw *yüxíye* ‘catch someone’ fits phonologically but is not relatable semantically at present. This root evidently has forms in more than one fricative grade, but *š* is the only one reconstructible.

break loose > **dislocate**

verb physical_contact_deformation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **-pšį́*

Proto-Dakota **-pšį́*

Lakota *-pšį́, na-* ‘break by kicking, to dislocate the foot or leg; to put out of joint e.g. a foot or leg’ EB:356a , *-pšį́, pa-* ‘put out of joint or dislocate e.g. one’s arm; to sprain one’s own’ EB:432b , *-pšį́, wa-* ‘cut round a joint, to joint with a knife, to cut or saw asunder, as when two bones are tightly joined’ EB:548b , *-pšų, awá-* ‘unjoint with a knife on anything’ EB:98b , *-pšį́, ya-* ‘cast off or shed e.g. teeth; to pull and break with the mouth’ EB:626b , *-pšį́, yu-* ‘pull out sideways, to pull and break, i.e. not by the roots whi ch is yuju’n.’ EB:648a , *-pšų, ka-* ‘break something by striking, as a ball hitting a tooth to knock out, as a tooth; to dislocate, as a joint, by striking;’ EB:287b , *-pšų, wó-* ‘break something by dropping, or by falling’ EB:607b , *iwópšų* ‘bend e.g. a knee sideways and dislocate it’ EJ

Dakota *papšúŋ* ‘put out of joint’ SRR:412a

Proto-Dhegiha

Kanza/Kaw *-xǫ, bá-, báxwǫ* ‘saw, cut across the grain’ MR, JOD, RR , *-xǫ́, ba-, baxwǫ́* ‘push on and break or crack’ MR, JOD, RR , *-xǫ́, ga-, gaxwǫ́* ‘break, as a stick, nail, ear of corn’ RR , *-xǫ́, nąⁿ- nąxwǫ́, noxó* ‘step on sth., as a stick, and break it’ RR , *-xǫ́, ya-* ‘break with the teeth’ RR , *-xǫ́, yü-* ‘break or crack sth. pulling on it’ RR

Quapaw *-šǫ́, nąⁿ-* ‘dislocate, trip and break’ RR , *-šǫšǫ, pá-* ‘cut into small pieces w. knife’ RR , *-xǫ, áka-* ‘break by striking upon sth.’ RR , *-xǫ, pá-* ‘cut apart, disjoint’ RR , *-xǫ, pó-* ‘shoot in two, break punching’ RR , *-xǫ́, bi-* ‘break, crush’ RR , *-xǫ́, da-* ‘break by biting’ RR , *-xǫ́, di-* ‘break, as a stick w. the hands’ RR , *-xǫ́, ka-* ‘break sth. by hitting it’ RR

General comment

More than one fricative grade is attested for this root, but *š* is the only one reconstructible at present. Normally initial clusters with apparent Proto-Siouan **pC* would go back to pre-Proto-Siouan **wa-C-* (where **wa-* is an indefinite transitive object), with *p* developing via initial syllable vowel syncope. It is possible that this is the case here also.

break off (1)

verb physical_contact_deformation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **-ksá*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **-ksá*

Proto-Dakota **-ksA´*

Lakota *-ksA, pa-* ‘break something with the hand by pushing or pressure; sitting e.g. on a board and breaking it; measure and cut cloth or buckskin with a machine at the factory’ EB:429a, EJ , *-ksA, wa-* ‘cut off e.g. a stick with a knife or saw; to separate anything by cutting crosswise; cut meat’ EB:533a, EJ , *-ksá, wo-* ‘break off by punching or shooting e.g. a stick, limb etc.; to break while running, as a team running against a tree and breaking the neck-yoke, etc.’ B-604a; ‘cut by punching or pulling’ EB:604a , *-ksA, wó-* ‘pull e.g. corn’ EJ , *-ksA, ya-* ‘harvest, pull ear off stalk’ EB:623a , *-ksA, yu-* ‘bite off e.g. a stick’ EB:642a , *-ksA, aká-* ‘break off e.g. a stick with the hand’ EB:68a , *-ksA, na-* ‘cut off on something, cut off from, cut off in addition to’ EB:350a

Dakota *yuksá* ‘break off’ SRR:630b

Proto-Dhegiha **-sa*

Omaha-Ponca *ðisá* ‘cut with scissors’ RTC

Quapaw *íkasa dedé* ‘throw sth. down from above’ RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *ksâ* , *†ksa* ‘broken’ D&S:213a

General comment

If the Lakota forms are cognate here, rather than with ‘break (2)’, then they have been drawn irregularly into the productive class of ablauting roots. Apparent Proto-Siouan **ks* initial clusters are frequently reconstructible to pre-Proto-Siouan **ki-s-* with a reflexive/possessive or vertitive meaning. It is not clear that this is possible here, so the cluster is reconstructed. Biloxi *kso* ‘broken’ (DS-213a), although not cognate with either *kse* or *ksa*, is related by vocalic sound symbolism.

break off (2)

verb physical_contact_deformation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **-ksE*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **ksE*

Proto-Dakota **-ksA*

Lakota *-ksA´, pa-* 'break something with the hand by pushing or pressure; sitting e .g. on a board and breaking it' EB:429a , *-ksA´, wa-* 'cut off e.g. a stick with a knife or saw; to separate anything by cutting crosswise' EB:533a , *-ksA´, wo-* 'break off by punching or shooting e.g. a stick, limb etc.; to b reak while running, as a team running against a tree and b' EB:604a , *-ksA, wó-* 'pull e.g. corn' EB:604a , *-ksA´, ya-* 'bite off e.g. a stick' EB:623a , *-ksA´, yu-* 'break off e.g. a stick with the hand' EB:642a , *-ksA, aká-* 'cut off on something, cut off from, cut off in addition to' EB:68a , *-ksA´, na-* 'break off e.g. a stick in two with the foot' EB:350a , *kse* 'behave unacceptably' EJ

Stoney *-kθa* PAS

Proto-Dhegiha **-se*

Omaha-Ponca *thiçe* , *†ðisé* 'break' MAS:53

Kanza/Kaw *basé* 'break, as bread, etc. pushing' RR , *báse* 'slice, cut bread, meat, etc.' RR , *bóse* 'break a cord by shooting' JOD , *büsé* 'break off from weight or pressure' JOD , *gasé* 'cut, sever' RR , *nąsé* 'cut, mow with a mowing machine' RR , *yasé* 'bite off, bite the tongue' RR , *yüsé* 'break, as bread, with the hands, to pick' RR

Osage *báçe* , *†pase* 'cut hair, rope or cord with a knife' LF:18b

Quapaw *ánase* 'intercept, head off' RR , *disé* 'pick, harvest corn' RR , *páse* 'cut off with a knife' RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *kse´di* , *†kse* 'break by hand' D&S:213a , *naksě´di* , *†kse* 'break (a stick) with the foot' D&S:213a

Proto-Catawba

Catawba *sę* 'cut wood' KS

General comment

Unless the Omaha-Ponca form cited under **ksa* 'cut off', q.v., can occur separately from *ðisé*, there are no (other) DH confirmations of a *-sa* root. This would mean that Biloxi really provides the only evidence for two separate roots **kse/*ksa*. If this is the case, it might be best to look upon the Biloxi case as a language-specific lexicalization of the two vocalic ablaut grades.

break off (3)

verb physical_contact_deformation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **-šípE*

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *-šípA, wa-* ‘cut off, prune’ EB:551b, EJ , *-šípA, ka-* ‘knock or cut off close, be bent under the weight of something’ EB:290b, EJ , *-šipA, waná-* ‘break off with the feet’ EB:539a, EJ , *-šipA, wapá-* ‘break off close’ EB:547, EJ , *-šipA, wayú-* ‘break off close’ EB:572b, EJ , *-šípA, wo-* ‘shoot off, e.g. a branch’ EB:609a, EJ , *-šípA, ya-* ‘bite off close’ EB:628a, EJ

Dakota *yušípa* , *†yušípa* ‘break off close’ SRR:641b , *kašípa* , *†kašípa* ‘knock out, cut off close; to slip past the joint or bearing’ ART, SRR:268a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *gisíwe gišíwe* ‘slip, get away, escape’ JGT:20

break off pieces (1)

verb physical_contact_deformation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Southeastern **spe•*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Ofo *ófpąki* , *†ófpəki* ‘split, chop, cut’ D&S:327, JSS

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *ólacpĕwa* , *†olaspe•* ‘cut off a piece’ JOD

General comment

The Tutelo form is a reflex of the *s* grade, as **š* should become *č* in Tutelo. Tutelo *š/s* do not contrast. Ofo *ą* could be the reflex of an ablaut variant of this root with *a*.

break off pieces (2)

verb physical_contact_deformation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *špé*

Pre-Mandan **:pe•- (?)*

Mandan *rá•pe•ro?š* ‘he broke it (by foot)’ RTC , *rá•pe•ro?š* ‘he broke it (by mouth)’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **-špé*

Proto-Dakota *špa*

Lakota *špahA* ‘peel off’ EJ , *-špa, wayú-* ‘break off pieces; pull off a piece e.g. skin after sunburn, or scab after healing’ EB:573a, RTC, EJ , *-špá, ya-* ‘bite off a piece, to break off a piece with the mouth’ EB:628b , *-špá, pa-* ‘cut or break a piece off with a knife pressing hard’ EB:435a , *-špá, wo-* ‘punch or shoot off a piece, knock off a piece by shooting or punching’ EB:609b , *-špá, wa-* ‘cut off a piece, cut up, to scalp; to cut off a piece, cut up, to scalp with a knife’ EB:552b, EJ , *-špá, na-* ‘break off anything with the foot’ EB:359b , *-špá, ka-* ‘separate, cut loose from; to strike off a piece, perhaps’ EB:291b , *kašpápi* ‘dime’ EJ

Dakota *-špá, yu-* ‘break off’ SRR:642b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *-šwé, la-* ‘bite off’ GM , *bašwá* ‘cut off a part’ GM

Proto-Dhegiha **-špé*

Omaha-Ponca *špašpa* ‘fragment’ MAS:81

Kanza/Kaw *gašpášpa* ‘chip off many pieces’ RR , *bašpé* ‘push off a piece of something’ JOD, RR , *báše* ‘cut something off w. a knife’ RR , *bóšpe* ‘shoot off a piece from the surface’ JOD, RR , *bušpé* ‘rub or knock a piece of sth. off’ JOD, RR , *gašpé* ‘cut in two, cut loose from, cut a piece.’ RR , *nąšpé* ‘kick or scrape off, as sth. stuck to the foot’ RR , *yašpé* ‘bite off a piece from the surface of sth.’ RR , *yušpé* ‘pinch off, pull off a piece’ RR

Osage *shpézhiⁿga* , *†špéžįka* ‘fragment’ LF:134b , *thishpé* , *†ðišpé* ‘break off’ LF:149a

Quapaw *íkašpe* ‘break from weight’ [bdíšpašpa ttíšpašpa] JOD , *ídišpe* ‘break off’ [páašpášpa pádašpášpa] RR , *-špášpa, di-* ‘tear into pieces vt’ [bdíšpe ttíšpe] RR , *-špašpa, pá-* ‘dice, cut into small pieces v’ RR , *-špé, di-* ‘pull off sth. adhering vt’ RR , *-špé, ka-* ‘cut off, knock off a piece v’

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *ólacpéwa* , *†olašpe* ‘cut off a piece’ JOD

General comment

The Mandan root, if cognate, is irregular; we would expect **:spe•-*, with prelengthening from syncope of an earlier vowel. Loss of the initial *s* is thus unexplained. The Tutelo form is a reflex of the *s* grade, as **š* should

break off pieces (3)

verb physical_contact_deformation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **-špí*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **špi*

Crow *-špi, dú-* 'break open' [redupl, pá- 'by force' prefix] RG, GG:44 , *p'špušpi* 'break open with a pointed object' [daC-] GG:53 , *dašpí* 'single out, cut (horse)' RGG:25

Hidatsa *-špí, na-* 'finish talking (cut it off?)' [striking prefix] J

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dakota **-špi*

Lakota *-špí, na-* 'break off e.g. fruit with the foot' EB:359b , *-špí, wo-* 'shoot off e.g. fruit' EB:609b , *wóšpi* 'pick berries; take gifts from a Christmas tree, > give gifts' EJ , *-špí, ya-* 'pick off, as do birds berries' EB:628b , *-špí, yu-* 'pick or gather e.g. berries, to pull off, pick off e.g. cherrie s from a tree' EB:652b

Dakota *yuśpí* 'pick or gather' SRR:642b

General comment

Lakota *-špa* larger things; *-špi* smaller things. Kanza/Kaw *gašpúwe* 'shell corn' could be related, but there is an alternate root, *špü* alone, q.v., which is found in other DH languages with the same meaning. Thus, rounding is likely organic here.

break off pieces (4)

verb physical_contact_deformation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **-špú*

Proto-Dakota **špú*

Lakota *-špu, waná-* ‘break off, as in trampling on pumpkins’ EB:539a , *-špú, ya-* ‘bite off anything stuck on; to pull something off with the teeth’ EB:628b, EJ , *-špú, yu-* ‘pull off what is tight with the hand’ EB:652b , *-špú, wa-* ‘cut up, cut into pieces; to rip e.g. a seam, to rip up, cut as in ripping; to cut off a piece’ EB:552b , *-špu, aká-* ‘cut off a piece by striking, cut off on’ EB:70a , *-špu, wapá-* ‘break off; push with the hand and break off something attached’ EB:547a, EJ , *-špu, hiípa-* ‘pick the teeth’ EB:175a , *-špú, kpa-* ‘toothpick’ EJ , *-špúšpu, pa-* ‘loosen one’s own’ EB:317b , *-špúšpu, wo-* ‘break off or cut in pieces e.g. a cake’ EB:435a , *yušpúšpa* ‘punch to pieces, as a cake of tallow’ EB:609b

Dakota *yuśpú* ‘pick off w. the hands’ SRR:642b

Proto-Dhegiha **-špű́*

Kanza/Kaw *-špű́, ba-* ‘push grains off the ear, shell’ RR , *-špǘ, yü-* ‘shell dried corn with the hand’ RR , *-špű́, ga-* ‘shell, hull, strike off (as corn)’ RR

Quapaw *-špí, di-* ‘shell corn’ RR

break to pieces

verb physical_contact_deformation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **-pótE*

Proto-Dakota **potA*

Lakota *-potA, aglá-* ‘beat in pieces one’s own upon; to float upon’ EB:56b , *akápotA* ‘soften down in a blanket’ EJ , *pote* ‘fluff a pillow’ EJ , *-potA, awá-* ‘something that’s cushion-like; sponge’ EJ , *-pólpota, wa-* ‘cut in pieces on, destroy on anything by cutting with a knife’ EB:98b , *-potA, awó-* ‘cut to pieces’ EB:548b , *-potA, oyú-* ‘shoot to pieces on anything’ EB:100b , *-potA, waká-* ‘tear to pieces in, as a cat sticking her paw into a hole and grabbing a mouse, or an eagle grabbing a rabbit’ EB:420a , *-potA, wayú-* ‘pound to pieces’ EB:527a , *-pótA, ka-* ‘wear out, cut up’ EB:571b , *-pótA, pa-* ‘tear by striking, as clothes hung out and torn by the wind’ EB:287a , *-pótA, na-* ‘pierce and open up, as with a knife’ EB:823b , *-potA, ayá-* ‘to wear out’ EJ

Dakota *yupóta* ‘wear out, tear to pieces’ SRR:636b

Proto-Dhegiha

Kanza/Kaw *-bóboǰe, ga-* ‘litter, make by chopping with a dull axe’ RR , *-bóǰe, ba-* ‘root up the ground as hogs’ JOD, RR , *-bóǰe, ya-* ‘bite out chunks and drop them’ MR, RR

break to small pieces

verb physical_contact_deformation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **-ptúxE*

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *-ptux, pa-* ‘make small cuts’ H:158 , *-ptux, ka-* ‘cut up fine’ H:158 , *-ptux, ru-* ‘break into little pieces’ H:159

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dakota **-ptúxA*

Lakota *-ptúŋA, ka-* ‘break off a piece by striking; e.g. piece of china breaks off, chips; chisel’ EB:288a, EJ , *-ptúŋA, na-* ‘break off with the foot a piece; to break off of itself, as a piece of ice’ EB:356a , *naptúža* ‘break off with the foot a piece; to break off of itself, as a piece of ice’ EJ , *-ptúŋA, pa-* ‘break off a piece by pressure’ EB:433a , *-ptúŋA, wa-* ‘cut or saw off a piece’ EB:549a , *-ptúŋA, wo-* ‘cut or saw off a chip’ EJ , *-ptúŋA, ya-* ‘shoot off a piece’ EB:607b , *-ptúŋA, yu-* ‘push off; chip off with an instrument’ EJ , *-ptuxa, wayú-* ‘bite off a piece’ EB:626b

Dakota *yuptúȟa* , *†yuptúxa* ‘pick in pieces’ SRR:637b

General comment

Other instances of apparent Proto-Siouan **pC* clusters often turn out to be morphemically resolvable into a sequence of **wa-* and a root beginning in the pertinent *C*. That may be the case here, but it is not clear with so few cognates.

breast (female)

noun physical_somatic_body_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba **ási*

Proto-Siouan **á•si*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **áci*

Crow *á•či* ‘breast, teat, udder’ RG, GG:1, RGG:68

Hidatsa *á•ci* ‘her breast’ [3s; inalienable] J , *áchiša* ‘udder’ [cf. *hiša* ‘like, similar’]

Pre-Mandan **wą́š-*

Mandan *wą́ška* ‘breast’ H:277

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **(Wa-)áze*

Proto-Dakota *azé*

Lakota *azé* ‘breast’ [< as ‘breast’ + hąpí ‘juice] RTC , *asą́pi* ‘milk’ RTC

Sioux Valley *ás-* ~ *azé* ‘breast’ PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **Wá•ze*

Chiwere *bá•ðe* ‘breast’ JDH , *báθį* ‘nurse, suck’ JDH , *báθe, báðe* GM

Hoocąk *wáas* ‘woman’s breast’ KM:3220 , *waas*

Proto-Dhegiha **Wazé*

Omaha-Ponca *mazé* ‘breast’ RR

Kanza/Kaw *bazé* ‘breast’ RR

Osage *baçé* , *†pazé* ‘woman’s breast’ LF:18b

Quapaw *mazé* ‘breast’ RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **tá•si*

Biloxi *tasí, tasiya^{n}´*

Ofo *nąktã˝fi* , *†nəktá•fi* ‘milk’ D&S:326b, JSS

Proto-Catawba

Catawba *ha•s* ‘breast’ KS , *wita•s, wiha•š* ‘milk’ KS , *ta•* ‘breast bone’ FGS:71 , *wi•tás* ‘milk’

General comment

Osage *moⁿçé* ‘woman’s breast’ (LF-96a) has been influenced by the word for ‘chest, breast’. All derivations from ‘breast’ are from *baçé*. The same remodeling may have affected Quapaw, which shows the reflex of **w*, not the expected **W*, even in derived forms. Nasalization in Mandan may also show the influence of ‘chest, breast’ historically, though ‘chest’ has apparently not survived into present-day Mandan. Given the short vowel in Hidatsa ‘udder’, we believe that long vowel forms in Crow/Hidatsa are possessed (body parts). However, Hoocąk also shows vowel length here, even in compounded forms. Thus we tentatively reconstruct a long vowel. Though Crow/Hidatsa sometimes loses initial *w* after possessive prefixes, the absence of *w* in Lakota and Proto-Biloxi-Ofo is strong evidence that *w* has been added where it appears. It is presumably the de-possessivizing absolutive. The *t* which appears in Proto-Biloxi-Ofo is unaccounted for unless it, too, is the remnant of an old word for ‘chest’ or ‘breastbone’ (cf. Catawba) or perhaps possessive **hta*. Final *i* is supported by Proto-Crow-Hidatsa and Proto-Biloxi-Ofo.

breathe

verb physical_somatic_function

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **rį̂•-ha(-he)*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **iríahe* < **irí-(h)a-he*

Crow *ilíahi* RG, GG:87

Hidatsa *iríahe* 'breathe' J , *iríahi*

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *rį̂•he?š* 'he's breathing' RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **rį-ha*

Proto-Dakota **nį(-yĄ)*

Lakota *niyá* 'breathe' [waníya 1st singular] RTC , *niyĄ* 'rescue' [waníye 'I breathe'] EJ , *niyá* [waníya 'I rescue']

Dakota *niya* 'breathe'

Stoney *nį* PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **nį̂•ha*

Chiwere *nį̂•ha, nį̂•hą* RR

Hoocąk *nįįhá* 'chant, breathe; v.; breathing, n.' KM:2320 , *nįįha*

Proto-Dhegiha **nįǫ* < ***nį + ʔǫ 'do'* RR

Omaha-Ponca *niu* MAS:24

Osage *nióⁿ* , *†nįǫ́* 'breath' LF:109b

Quapaw *oniąhidé* ~ *oníąhíde* 'breathe' JOD , *oníǫkdázi* 'sigh' JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **niɣ-*

Biloxi *níxta* 'breath' D&S:237a , *nixtadí* 'breathe'

Ofo *nąshī́hi* , *†nəší•hi* 'breathe' D&S:326b, JSS

General comment

Cf. ‘alive’. Crow/Hidatsa initial *i-* may have been added after the model of ‘alive’. MRS and Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere differ for length in both this set and ‘alive’. Proto-Biloxi-Ofo is definitive for length in ‘alive’; thus we reconstruct length in both sets.

That *h* survives in Hoocąk/Chiwere indicates that it is not from *-he*, a supposition supported by the fact that Crow/Hidatsa have added *-he* after the *-ha* of ‘breathe’. That Chiwere/Hoocąk have oral *ha* and that Lakota has *y* rather than *n* as a replacement for *h* argue that the second syllable was indeed oral, not nasal. Nasalization in Dakotan and DH seems to have spread from *į*, with the resulting final *ą* subsequently reinterpreted as *ǫ* (‘do’), a commonly postposed auxiliary particle in verbs. Biloxi/Ofo are opaque beyond the root *nį*. Mandan verb forms with final *e* often signal old compounds with monosyllabic roots, suggesting that the *-he* might be separable.

brother (1) mBrel

noun social_kin

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *[old reconstruction only]*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **i-yį́•re*

Proto-Dakota *čhiyé*

Lakota *čhiyé* RTC

Dakota *ćiŋ•yé* , *†čhiyé* SRR:101

Stoney *čhį-* PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **hi-yį́•ra*

Chiwere *hiyí•ną* RR

Hoocąk *hiniŋrá* JWE , *hinį*

Proto-Dhegiha **i-žį́re*

Omaha-Ponca *izhíⁿthe* , *†ižį́ðe* ‘male’s elder brother’ [voc] MAS:195 , *žįðéhaw* , *†ižį́ðe* RTC

Kanza/Kaw *iží́ye* ‘man’s elder brother’ RR

Osage *iží́e, iží́ye* ‘man’s elder brother’ RR

Quapaw *iží́de* ‘man’s elder brother’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *íni, iniyaⁿ* ‘his elder brother’ D&S:200a

General comment

The Biloxi form may not be cognate since, instead of the *n*, we would expect the medial glide to be **y*. In that case this is only a MVS cognate set, and any Proto-Siouan reconstruction is questionable. However, if the pre-Biloxi form were **i-yįni* and *y* were lost between *i*'s, then Biloxi could be regular and cognate after all.

brother (2) mBrel

noun social_kin

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **i-ʔVka (?)*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **iʔVká*

Crow *i•ká* 'man's older brother' RG, GG:77, RGG:23

Hidatsa *iʔaká* 'man's older brother' J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *ųʔka* 'elder brother' H:262

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *wahīik* , *†wahi•ik* 'elder brother' H , *ewahyek* , *†wahi•ik* 'elder brother' HW

General comment

Paucity of cognates here makes full reconstruction difficult. This term may be related to the birth names given male children in MVS. We have tentatively reconstructed two distinct terms for 'man's elder bro.', but it is entirely possible that neither was really a Proto-Siouan kinship term, since both are only marginally attested in more than one subgroup. Note that Biloxi seems to preserve one of the terms while Tutelo keeps the other. The Tutelo *i•i* may correspond to the *iʔV* found in the northern languages.

brother (3) wBrel

noun social_kin

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *[old reconstruction only]*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **i-tá•ru*

Crow *isaalí* 'woman's older brother' RG, GG:89, RGG:22

Hidatsa *itá•ru* 'woman's older brother' J

Proto-Southeastern **(i-)tą́ro*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *tandó, tándo* , *†tądó* 'woman's younger brother' D&S:269b

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *wital* 'my elder brother' H

General comment

The reconstructible meaning of this term in Proto-Southeastern depends on the sex of Hewitt's Tutelo informant. If it was a woman, the meaning 'woman's elder bro.' is justified. Any Proto-Siouan reconstructions must be done by comparing both variants of the term. (Cf. 'brother (4) wBrel'). The two entries taken together suggest something like Proto-Siouan **i-htą́-wRo* or **i-htį́-wRo*, where **wRo* is 'male', q.v. Support for this analysis comes from the irregular treatment of *wr* in DH and Chiwere/Hoocąk in just these kin terms and 'male', suggesting that the kin terms were transparent compounds at the time 'male' was reshaped.

The *-htą-* ~ *-htį-* alternation might arise from an earlier construction of the form **i-hta-įwro*, where the second morpheme represents a fused 'alienable' prefix and the third morpheme is the actual root for 'elder brother'. The long vowel in Crow/Hidatsa can derive from loss of intervocallic *w*, cf. 'basket'. Thus pre-Hidatsa **i-ta-waro*, with normal raising of short *o* to *u*.

brother (4) wBrel

noun social_kin

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **i-htį́-wro ~ *i-htí-wro*

Proto-Dakota **thiwró*

Lakota *thibló* ‘brother, woman’s elder’ [this is probably Dakota rather than Lakota] RTC , *thimdó* ‘a woman’s elder brother, my elder brother’ EJ , *thibló* EB:487b

Dakota *timdó* ‘woman’s elder brother’ SRR:468b

Stoney *thimnó* PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **(i-)thí-Ro ~ *(i-)thį́-Ro*

Chiwere *ičhį́do* RR

Hoocąk *čitó* ‘older brother (woman sp.)’ KM:215 , *hicito*

Proto-Dhegiha **(i-)htí-Ro ~ *(i-)htį́-Ro*

Omaha-Ponca *ttinuhá* ‘woman’s elder brother vocative’ RTC , *itínu* MAS:195

Kanza/Kaw *iččído* ‘woman’s elder brother’ RR

Osage *iṭsi^{n}´do* , *†ihcį́to* ‘woman’s elder brother’ LF:80b

Quapaw *ittítto* ‘woman’s elder brother’ RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Ofo *thĩ^{n}to, tĩ^{n}to, itxĩ^{n}´to* , *†thį́to* ‘husband’ D&S:330b

General comment

Cf. ‘brother (3) wBrel’ for variant with *ǫ́*. Since both Biloxi and Tutelo show the *ǫ́* variant of this term, the Ofo term may have collapsed the vowels in the opposite direction, or may be a borrowing.

brother (5) BrYo

noun social_kin

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **(i-)sų́•(-ka)*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **i-cu•ká*

Crow *ičú•ká* ‘younger brother’ RG, GG:73, RGG:22

Hidatsa *icu•ká* ‘younger brother, man’s or woman’s’ J

Pre-Mandan **-šų•ka*

Mandan *košų́ka* ‘his younger brother’ H:238 , *wįšų́•ka* ‘my younger brother’ RTC , *rųšų́•ks* ‘our younger brother’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **i-sų́ka*

Proto-Dakota **sų(-ka)*

Lakota *misų́* ‘my younger brother’ RTC , *sųkáku* ‘his younger brother’ RTC

Stoney *sųgá* PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **hisų́ke*

Chiwere *hiθų́ŋe* ‘younger brother’ RTC

Hoocąk *hisų́k, hísųk* ‘younger brother (man or woman speaking)’ KM:1076 , *hisųk*

Proto-Dhegiha **isǫ́ka*

Omaha-Ponca *isǫ́ga* ‘younger brother’ RTC

Kanza/Kaw *isǫ́ga, isága* ‘younger brother’ RR

Osage *isą́ke* ‘younger brother’ RR

Quapaw *isą́ke* ‘younger brother’ RR

Proto-Southeastern **(i-)sų́t-ka*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **sǫt-k*

Biloxi *soⁿtkáka, sûⁿtkáka* , *†sǫtkáka* ‘male’s younger brother’ D&S:257b , *noxwí sóⁿtka* , *†sǫtkáka* ‘Saturday’ D&S:232

Ofo *ạkĭ̄fhûⁿ´tku* , *†əkifhų́tku* ‘Saturday’ D&S:320a

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *wisuñtk; sun´tka (in paradigm)* , *†i-sų́tka* ‘my younger brother’ H , *esonṭk´* , *†i-sų́tka* HW , *ecŭⁿtk´, micŭⁿtk´* , *†i-sų́tka* JOD

General comment

The intrusive *-t-* in Tutelo, Biloxi and Ofo is one of the relatively few isoglosses that can be used to define OVS or SE Siouan. The Ofo term for 'Saturday' most likely refers to '(Sunday's) little brother', clearly the etymology of the Biloxi term for 'Saturday' and a Choctaw calque. The possessive, underlying *kih* < **kik*, provides the syllable final consonant that explains the *fh* cluster. Here, as elsewhere in Ofo, *fh* < an older **hs*. OVS *-tk-* in this word has never been explained. It is not reconstructed to Proto-Siouan because, as noted above, none of its expected reflexes appears in languages outside of OVS. Given the vowel length in Crow/Hidatsa, we would expect to find the same in Chiwere/Hoocąk, but we do not. We would expect length here in the second syllable, and -- finding what we expect in Crow/Hidatsa -- we reconstruct it to Proto-Siouan. Mandan *ko-*, probably related to Lakota *-ku* and to Ofo *-ku*, is used as an apparent possessive with several kin terms. Its use is not fully understood at this time.

brother-in-law (1) mWiBr, mSiHu

noun social_kin

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **i-htá•hą*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **(i-)htá•hą*

Proto-Dakota **thahą́*

Lakota *thąhą́* 'man's brother-in-law' RTC

Dakota *thahą́* SRR:452

Stoney *thahą́* PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **thą́•hą*

Chiwere *thą́hą* RR

Hoocąk *hú́čąą* ~ *hú́čąwą* [man speaking] KM:872 , *hicąą* ~ *hicąwą*

Proto-Dhegiha **ihtáhą*

Omaha-Ponca *itahoⁿ* , *†ittáhą* F&LF:317

Kanza/Kaw *ittáhą* RR

Osage *itáhoⁿ* , *†ihtáhą* LF:238a

Quapaw *ittáhą* JOD

Proto-Southeastern **(i-)tahą́-*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *tahaⁿni, tahaⁿ´niyaⁿ´; tahaⁿní* , *†tahą́ni* 'voc. brother-in-law' D&S:268b

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *i-tahą́•* HW , *etahĕⁿ´eⁿ*

General comment

Cf. other in-law terms. Variability in the placement of accent in the subgroups suggests that this term may not originally have been a dependent noun and may have been assimilated into the inalienably possessed set of nouns after Proto-Siouan times. At this point possessive **i-* would have tended to shift accent leftward. Thus Proto-Siouan may have been either **i-htá•hą* or simply **tahą́•*.

brother-in-law (2) wHuBr, wSiHu

noun social_kin

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **(i-)šį́•kʔe*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **i-šikiša*

Crow *išč́itá* ‘woman’s brother-in-law’ RG, GG:91, RGG:23

Hidatsa *išíkiša‘* ‘woman’s brother-in-law’ J

Pre-Mandan **sike*

Mandan *kosíke* ‘woman’s brother-in-law’ H:206

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **(i-)šį́•kʔe*

Proto-Dakota **šikʔé*

Lakota *šičʔé* ‘woman’s brother-in-law’ RTC

Stoney *šičhé* [possessed] PAS , *šiče kču* PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **šį́•kʔe*

Chiwere *sikʔe* LWR:44

Otoe *i•šį́khe* RR

Hoocąk *šiikʔé, hišikʔé* [woman speaking] KM:1079 , *šiikʔe, hišikʔe*

Proto-Dhegiha **išį́kʔe*

Omaha-Ponca *šiʔe* JOD

Kanza/Kaw *išį́kʔe* RR

Osage *ishį́kʔe* , *†išį́kʔe* ‘her brother-in-law’ LF:78a

Quapaw *išį́kʔe* JOD

General comment

Biloxi *yíñ̨ka yíḳi* ‘husband’s brother’ DS-293b is superficially similar, but most probably represents a mishearing of *†yíḳa yíḳi* = ‘little husband’. Such expressions are widespread in societies with the levirate, a custom common in other Siouan groups. Although vowel length is justified and expected in MVS, the Crow/Hidatsa cognates lack it. As in several other cases, Mandan has the possessive in *ko-*. Here, as in ‘brother-in-law (1) mWiBr, mSiHu’, inalienable possessive **i-* may be Proto-Siouan, or the term may not have been a dependent noun in the proto-language. The lack of matching for vowel length along with parallel problems with the man’s equivalent (and the semantics of in-law terms) makes this a possible scenario.

brush (vegetation)

noun plant

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **xrá•pe*

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **-xrá•pe*

Chiwere *xrá•we* ‘brush, bushes’ JDH

Hoocąk *xatáp* ‘brush, growth’ KM:3861 , *xatap*

Proto-Dhegiha **xrápe*

Omaha-Ponca *xðábe* RR

Kanza/Kaw *xlábe* ‘brush, tree’ RR

Osage *xthabe* , *†xlápe* ‘topmost branch of a tree’ LF:219b

bulrush, cane (plant)

noun plant

Proto-Siouan-Catawba **wasá, *wąsá*

Proto-Siouan **wasá*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **psá*

Proto-Dakota **psá*

Lakota *psá* ‘rush, water grass’ EB:446

Dakota *psa* ‘rush, water grass’ SRR:425b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *sáa* ‘woven reed mat, rug’ KM:2782 , *saa* ‘reed’ KM:3229 , *waaxsá* , *waaxsa*

Proto-Dhegiha **sá*

Omaha-Ponca *sa*

Kanza/Kaw *sa* ‘rush, mat material’ RR

Osage *sa* ‘rush, mat material’ JOD

Proto-Catawba

Catawba *wąsa* ‘reed’ KS

General comment

Here we are in the enviable position of being able to reconstruct a Proto-Siouan form when the cognate set itself is restricted to one subgroup. The Catawba term implies that the Proto-Siouan form must have existed. The only imponderable is nasality in the initial syllable.

bungle

verb physical_action

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **šrą́-he*

Pre-Mandan **srąh-*

Mandan *srąh* ‘abandon, leave behind’ H:215 , *rusqráḥįrį ré•ho?š* ‘he left it behind’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **šrą*

Proto-Dakota **-šrą́*

Lakota *kašná* ‘strike (in baseball)’ EJ , *pašná* ‘miss while thrusting or pushing’ EJ , *wošná* ‘miss in shooting, miss the mark’ EJ , *yašná* ‘miss while trying to catch with the mouth; to blunder in speaking’ EJ , *yušná* ‘drop anything, to let slip; miss while trying to catch’ EJ , *wayúšna* ‘to sacrifice, offer sacrifice’ EB:572

Dakota *óšna* ‘a piece that is dropped, a scrap, a crumb’ SRR:386b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *gisąną́* ‘remove sth., get sth. off (surface of)’ KM:390 , *gisąną* ‘miss in shooting, blowing’ KM:86 , *boošą́ną* ‘let sth. fall from one’s mouth; make a mistake in talking; misinterpret’ KM:2570 , *boošąną* ‘drop’ KM:2726 , *rašąną́* , *rašąną* , *rušąną́* , *rušąną*

Proto-Dhegiha **šną́*

Omaha-Ponca *shna* ‘shed hair’ MAS:266

Quapaw *dašnáži* ‘talk correctly’ RR , *dašnášnąži* ‘eat w.out dribbling’ RR

General comment

-(a)ži in Quapaw is the negative. The older meaning, still preserved in simplex forms, would appear to be ‘drop’.

burn (1)

verb physical_condition_change

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **aRé•*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **are•´*

Crow *alée* 'be warm, weather' RG, GG:9

Hidatsa *are•´* 'be warm, weather' J , *aré•*

Pre-Mandan **ó-ore- (?)*

Mandan *ó?re?š* 'prairie fire' RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **i-Ré*

Proto-Dakota **iRé*

Lakota *ilé* 'blaze' RTC

Dakota *idé* 'burn, blaze' SRR:182b

Stoney *į́dé* PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *phéǰe aǰé•* 'prairie fire' JDH

Proto-Dhegiha **(i-)Ré*

Omaha-Ponca *ine* 'fireplace' JOD , *unéde* MAS:77

Kanza/Kaw *iǰe* 'light a fire' JOD , *iǰéye* RR

Osage *DSéthe, tséthe* , *†céðe* 'kindle the fire' [sic?] LF:39b, LF:160a

Quapaw *téde* 'light a fire' JOD , *idé* 'strike, as lightning'

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *adé, adĕ´* 'burn' D&S:169a , *adeyĕ´* 'make burn'

General comment

It is conceivable that in Proto-Siouan-Catawba times there was a relationship between this root and **aRá•-* 'heat/cold, instrumental', which became the corresponding instrumental prefix. In numerous instances *R* seems to be from **r* in a consonantal or laryngeal environment, hence the Mandan form is of interest in this regard. Cf. 'cranberry'. The Mandan is a deverbal noun, from a root like *-ore-*. The *?* is intrusive in such forms.

burn (2), prairie fire

physical_condition_change

Proto-Siouan-Catawba **rą*

Proto-Siouan **rą́*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **onáˀ*

Proto-Dakota **onąˀ*

Lakota *onáˀ* ‘fire on ground, prairie fire’ EB:395a, EJ

Yanktonai *óna* ‘a flame, a blaze’ SRR:375a

Proto-Dhegiha

Omaha-Ponca *unáhe* , *†onáhe* ‘conflagration’

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *náoⁿ* , *†ną́-ǫ* ‘set grass afire’ D&S:232a , *nowûde* , *†ną́-ǫ* ‘burnt bare’ D&S:287a , *unási* , *†ną́-ǫ* ‘to parch, as corn; fry meat’ D&S:284a

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *inausĭ́ñga* , *†inausí̯ka* ‘burn’ H

Proto-Catawba

Catawba *wi•rą* ‘burn’ KS

General comment

Biloxi is probably *náǫ* < **rą-ʔų* ‘fire + do, make’.

burn (3)

verb physical_condition_change

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **xú•-re*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa *šaru-he•, ará-* ‘scald sth.’ J

Pre-Mandan **-xu•-*

Mandan *dáxu•ro?š* ‘it’s burning’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **ɣú*

Proto-Dakota **ɣú ~ *ɣų́*

Lakota *ɣú* ‘a place where a prairie fire burned everything; cook until black, to burn while cooking; completely burned wood’ RTC , *ɣu, oná-* EB:395a, EJ

Stoney *ʕų́* PAS

Sioux Valley *ɣú ~ ɣų́* PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **Ra•xú*

Chiwere *daxúhi* ‘burn, caus.’ GM

Otoe *dáxu •burned’* JDH

Hoocąk *xú, taa-* ‘be burned; conflagration, n.; burn, v.tr.’ KM:3100, WL:20.20 , *taaxu*

Proto-Dhegiha **Rá•ɣüye*

Omaha-Ponca *naɣíɣige* JOD

Kanza/Kaw *dá•ɣüye* ‘burn to a crisp; cracklins’ RR , *wadáɣüye* ‘crackers’ RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *dáxũníyětu* , *†dá-xu-nį̂-ye-tu* ‘they burnt her’ D&S:169b

General comment

Languages other than Lakota appear to require the heat instrumental. If Pre-Dakota also required this instrumental, then the initial *ɣ* may have been produced by intervocalic voicing. In DH the same root, *ɣü*, appears to be used with other instrumental prefixes with the generalized meaning ‘crack’. Both Dakotan dialects and Biloxi show alternate forms with nasality, as Biloxi *-ni* < **-re* following a nasal vowel. Hidatsa *šaru* < **šura* by rightward vowel exchange; note that Hidatsa has a different fricative ablaut grade.

burn (4)

noun physical_condition_change

Proto-Siouan-Catawba **wira*

Proto-Siouan **wirá•*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **wirá?*

Crow *biláa* ‘fire’ RG, GG:30, RGG:49

Hidatsa *wirá?* ‘fire’ J , *mirá?*

Pre-Mandan **:wra*

Mandan *wára, wára?* ‘fire’ RTC

Proto-Catawba

Catawba *wi•rą* ‘burn’ KS

General comment

Final **?* might be reconstructible on the basis of Hidatsa and Mandan forms, but final *?* is not otherwise a feature of Proto-Siouan, and present day Mandan speakers also know Hidatsa, so the precise status of *?* is unclear. Mandan often places a nondistinctive *?* at the end of citation forms ending with a short vowel, and Hollow recorded the form without *?*. The Catawba form, because of its nasality, fits better with ‘burn (3), prairie fire’. It is possible however that at some point both sets were related formally along with the ‘heat/cold, instrumental’ instrumental prefix.

burn (5)

physical_condition_change

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **yé*

Proto-Dakota **ché*

Lakota *čhethí* ‘build a fire’ RTC , *čeóŋpa* ‘roast, as meat’ EB:130a

Dakota *će_óŋpa* ‘roast, as corn on the cob, or potatoes in ashes’ SRR:99a

Proto-Dhegiha **-žé*

Omaha-Ponca *wazhe zhi* ‘to fry’ MAS:82 , *zhégtho^{n}* ‘bake, fry, roast’ MAS:311

Kanza/Kaw *žélą ~ žéla* ‘fried’ RR , *ožéčči* ‘fireplace, council fire’ RR

burst

verb physical_condition_change

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **-tóɣE*

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **-tóxe*

Otoe *ridóxe* ‘hit and burst’ JDH

Hoocąk *-ǰóx, gi-* ‘break something pulpy by striking’ KM:358, WL:19.13 , *gijox* ‘burst with knife’ KM:1970 , *-ǰóx, mąą-* ‘burst of own accord (e.g. boil)’ KM:2175 , *mąąjox* ‘break in the mouth’ KM:2553 , *-ǰóx, nąą-* ‘pull trigger, fire a gun’ KM:2679 , *nąąjox* ‘shoot off firecrackers’ KM:3225 , *-ǰóx, ra-* , *rajox* , *-ǰóx, ru-* , *rujox* , *-ǰox, waatá- úų* , *watajox uų*

Proto-Dhegiha

Kanza/Kaw *-dóɣe, nąˀ-* ‘crack ice by stepping on it’ MR, RR , *-dódoɣe, nąˀ-* ‘crack ice by walking or stepping on it’ MR, RR

bury

verb social_culture

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **xé*

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *ówą•xe* ‘grave’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **xé*

Proto-Dakota **xá*

Lakota *xá* ‘bury’ RTC, EJ

Dakota *xa* ‘bury’ SRR:160a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **xé•*

Chiwere *xé* ‘bury’ RR

Hoocąk *xée* ‘bury’ [+ ablaut] KM:3878 , *xee*

Proto-Dhegiha **xé*

Omaha-Ponca *xé* , *†xé* ‘bury’ MAS:29

Kanza/Kaw *xé* ‘bury’ RR

Osage *xé* , *†xé* ‘bury, inter’ LF:218a

Quapaw *xe* ‘bury’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *amaxí* , *†amąxí* ‘grave’ D&S:227a

General comment

In Mandan and Biloxi the root has been compounded with ‘mud, dirt, earth’, q.v. In fact, it is likely in both cases that the compound has been reanalyzed to a new root. Data on vowel length here are, unfortunately, marginal. We cannot say that the Proto-Siouan vowel was short and cannot be certain it was long. The root, being a monosyllable, should and apparently does, have organic **-e*, not the unaccented stem forming *-E*.

butcher

verb person_professional

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **hpátE*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa *-pátE, ha-* ‘to saw or file’ J

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **hpátE*

Proto-Dakota **pháta*

Lakota *pháta* ‘butcher’ RTC

Stoney *pháda* ‘butcher’ PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *páač* ‘use scythe, mow’ KM:2421 , *paac*

Proto-Dhegiha **hpáte*

Omaha-Ponca *ppáde* ‘butcher’ RTC

Kanza/Kaw *ppáje* ‘butcher’ RR

Osage *pádse* , *†hpáce* ‘butcher, dissect’ LF:125a

General comment

Initial *ha-* in the Hidatsa form is the ‘cutting instrumental’ prefix and not a reflex of aspiration in the root. There are not enough data here to be certain of the status of vowel length in this set. MVS aspiration implies a missing initial syllable.

buttocks (1)

noun physical_somatic_body_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **rį̂te*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa *ipí•ti* ‘buttocks’ J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *rį̂ta* ‘buttocks’ H:184

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **nį̂te*

Proto-Dakota **nįté*

Lakota *nité* ‘lower back, rump’ EB:363b

Dakota *nité* ‘lower back, rump’ SRR:341b

Proto-Dhegiha **nį̂te*

Omaha-Ponca *níde*

Kanza/Kaw *nį̂je* RR

Osage *nídse* , *†nį̂ce* ‘haunch, hips, rump, lower back’ LF:106b

Quapaw *nį̂tte* RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *nindí, nindiya*^{n} , *†nįdi* D&S:237b

General comment

In Hidatsa compare only *-i•ti*. If Hidatsa is cognate, the form has been compounded with *í•pi* ‘tail > bird tail’. The Mandan final vowel is unexplained.

buttocks (2)

noun physical_somatic_body_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **i-šį̃tE*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Crow *išísa* ‘buttocks’ GG:94

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **šį̃te*

Chiwere *šį̃je* ‘whole bottom, rump’ JDH

Hoocąk *šį̃ič* ‘buttocks, rear’ KM:2962 , *šį̃ic*

General comment

This form bears a superficial similarity to, and may have mixed with, ‘tail (1)’, q.v.

buy

verb social_transfer

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **wį̂he*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **-wį̂*

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **ruwį̂*

Chiwere *-mį, irú-* ‘sell’ LWR:12 , *-mi, ru-* ‘buy something’ LWR:26 , *-mi, wirú-* ‘Money’ LWR:36

Hoocąk *-wį̂, ru-* ‘buy, v.tr.’ KM:2761 , *ruwį* ‘do one’s shopping’ KM:3457 , *-wį̂, waru- hîi* , *waruwį hii*

Proto-Dhegiha **rii-wį̂*

Kanza/Kaw *yümį̂* ‘buy something’ RR

Osage *thiwíⁿ* , *†ðüwį̂* ‘buy’ LF:151a

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *-miha, klu-* ‘buy s.t.’ H , *wāglumihínta,* ‘he buys’ H , *kilomīha*

General comment

This is an important set. Although marginally attested, it appears to confirm that Proto-Siouan **w* remains oral in several languages preceding a nasal vowel if that vowel was followed by **h*, cf. 'chert, flint' and 'female, woman'. It is the establishment of this conditioning environment that permits us to analyze Proto-Siouan as a language with distinctive nasality in vowels but not in consonants.

buzzard (1)

noun animal_bird

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **hé•-*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa *hé•wi* 'buzzard, vulture' J

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **he•ká*

Proto-Dakota **hečá*

Lakota *hečá* RTC

Dakota *†hečá* 'buzzard' SRR:140b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **hé•ke*

Chiwere *hé•ge* 'buzzard' JDH , *hégara* 'buzzard' JGT:25

Hoocąk *heegé* 'buzzard' KM:786 , *heeg* 'swan' KM:792 , *héex* , *heex*

Proto-Dhegiha **hekáˀ*

Omaha-Ponca *hegáˀ* 'buzzard' RR

Kanza/Kaw *hegáˀ* 'buzzard' RR

Osage *hekáˀ* 'buzzard' RR

Quapaw *hekattǫ́ka* 'buzzard' RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **hé•xka*

Biloxi *ě´xka, hě´xka* , *†héxka* D&S:191b

Ofo *ěskha* , *†é•skha* 'buzzard' D&S:323a, JSS

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Saponi *Hickōto-* , *†hik-* 'buzzard (creek)' Byrd

General comment

Cf. ‘buzzard (2)’ and ‘buzzard (3)’. Hidatsa vis-à-vis MVS suggests a morpheme *he•* with different suffixes. In MVS the suffix was presumably the *-ka* which turns up in so many nominal derivations. Hoocąk is interesting in that it suggests two, possibly related, forms: *he•* beside *he•x*. The latter seems to appear with the *-ka* suffix in Proto-Biloxi-Ofo. Mandan *wį̨rąk kahéka* ‘green heron’ (H-292) means literally ‘sun-looking bird’, from the root *he* ‘to see’, and thus would not belong here.

buzzard (2)

noun animal_bird

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

- Proto-Siouan **hé•-ka*
  - Proto-Mississipi-Valley **heká*
    - Proto-Dakota **hečá*
      - Lakota *hečá* RTC
      - Dakota *†hečá* ‘buzzard’ SRR:140b
    - Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **hé•ke*
      - Chiwere *hé•ge* ‘buzzard’ JDH , *hégara* ‘buzzard’ JGT:25
      - Hoocąk *heegé* ‘buzzard’ KM:786 , *heeg*
    - Proto-Dhegiha **heká*
      - Omaha-Ponca *hegá* ‘buzzard’ RR
      - Kanza/Kaw *hegá* ‘buzzard’ RR
      - Osage *heká* ‘buzzard’ RR
      - Quapaw *hekattǫ́ka* ‘buzzard’ RR
  - Proto-Southeastern
    - Proto-Tutelo-Saponi
      - Saponi *Hickooto-* ‘buzzard (creek)’ Byrd

General comment

Cf. ‘buzzard (1)’.

buzzard (3)

noun animal_bird

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **hé•-x(-ka)*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *héex* ‘swan’ KM:792 , *heex*

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **hé•xka*

Biloxi *ĕ´xka, hĕ´xka* , *†héxka* D&S:191b

Ofo *ĕskha* , *†é•skha* ‘buzzard’ D&S:323a, JSS

General comment

Cf. ‘buzzard (1)’.

c

cache

noun physical_artefact_container

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **ó-xe*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa *wa•xu-he•* ‘to cache’ H&V , *ma•xu-*

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *wíx, wíxe* ‘cache’ H:307 , *wíx* ‘cellar’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **(wa-)óxe*

Proto-Dakota **wóxa*

Lakota *wóȟa* , *†wóxa* ‘a place to bury in, a place of deposite [sic] in the ground; a cellar, a pit; something buried’ EB:598a

Dakota *wóȟa* , *†wóxa* ‘a place to bury in, a corn-hole or other place of deposit in the ground, a cache; a cellar, a pit; something buried’ SRR:587b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *wó•xe* ‘cellar, storage pit, grave’ JDH

Proto-Dhegiha **óxe*

Kanza/Kaw *óxe* ‘cache’ RR

Osage *úxe* , *†óxe* ‘cellar’ MAS:36

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *máx hoⁿní* , *†mą́x* ‘a cache; to bury in a cache or grave’ D&S:227a

General comment

The Hidatsa form, vis-à-vis the Mandan, shows rightward vowel exchange. In both languages, the transitive verb ‘to cache’ is formed from the stative (noun) by way of the causative. The obvious synchronic analysis suggested by R and B (‘something buried in’) does not account for the nasalization in Biloxi and Mandan or the *u* attested in Hidatsa and Mandan. Rather, an inherited form seems to have been folk etymologized. Biloxi *ma-* is a dissimilation from **wų*. The Biloxi initial *m* suggests the prior existence of a preceding protective vowel.

Alternatively, this may be the same root in Biloxi as we find in ‘bury, grave’ in which apparently a term for ‘earth’ has been incorporated. Similarly in Mandan, we may be dealing with a fused reflex of *mą + oxe > wųxe*. In any event this appears to be a nominalization from *xe* ‘dig, bury’.

calf of leg

noun physical_somatic_body_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **yá•se*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **rá•ca*

Crow *dáata* ‘calf of leg’ RG, RGG:70, GG:40

Hidatsa *rá•ca* ‘calf of leg 3s.’ J , *ná•ca*

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *rášE* ‘calf of leg’ RTC

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Ofo *tcą́fhaⁿhe* , *†čą́fhąhe* ‘calf of leg’ D&S:329b

call, shout

verb social_communication

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

- Proto-Siouan **páhe*
  - Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **pa•* < **pahe*
    - Crow *paá* ~ *páa* ‘shout’ RG, GG:53, RGG:51
    - Hidatsa *pa•* ‘shout, holler’ [s. impv] J , *pah* ‘holler’ H&V
  - Proto-Mississipi-Valley **pą́*
    - Proto-Dakota **(ki-)pą́*
      - Lakota *pá, kipą́* RTC
      - Dakota *kipaŋ* , *†kipą́* ‘call’ EB
      - Stoney *gibą* PAS
    - Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **(ki-)wą́•*
      - Chiwere *wą́, giwą́* LWR, GM
      - Hoocąk *wą́ą, giwą́* ‘call, v.tr., call for’ KM:3586 , *wąą, giwą*
    - Proto-Dhegiha **(ki-)pą́*
      - Omaha-Ponca *gibą* JOD, MAS:103
      - Kanza/Kaw *gibą́, bǫ́* ‘call’ RR
      - Osage *bo^{n}* , *†pą́* ‘call; shout’ LF:28a , *kipą́* , *†pą́* ‘call, invite’ BR
      - Quapaw *bą* ‘call’ JOD
- Proto-Catawba
  - Catawba *wǫ•* ‘cry out’ KS

General comment

The Hidatsa imperative form shows this to be an old h-final and supports our claim that **ahe* becomes *a•* as **ihe* becomes *ia* and **uhe* becomes *ua*. That Hidatsa also has the (unrelated ?) verb *pá•he* ‘sing’, however, indicates that loss of *h* is not an unconditioned process.

Catawba may be related, but a *w/p* correspondence is not yet verified, much less understood.

call someone by name, to name

verb social_communication

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **ra•tE*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **ra•ša•tE*

Crow *dáasaaši* ‘call by name’ GG:40

Hidatsa *raša•tE* ‘call (on) someone by name; to name’ J , *naša•ti*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **rá•tE*

Proto-Dakota **-yata*

Lakota *čhažé_yata* ‘call by name’ RTC

Dakota *ćaz´é_yata* , *ṫ-yata* ‘call by name, speak the name of’ SRR:97a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **ráte*

Chiwere *ráje* ‘call by name’ JGT:189

Hoocąk *ráač* ‘be named, call by name’ KM:2520 , *raac* ‘promise’ KM:2520 , *mąąȟáč* , *mąąrac*

Proto-Dhegiha **ra•té*

Kanza/Kaw *yaǰé* ‘call by name’ RR

Osage *ðа•cé* ‘call on s.o.'s name’ CQ , *wa-ghté-çe tha-dse* ‘read’ LF:190

Quapaw *daté* ‘call by name’ RR

General comment

Cf. ‘name’, the related noun for a related fuller set. Several languages apparently compound (contract?) the noun, q.v., with a verb meaning variously ‘call by name, speak aloud, read (aloud)’. This is transparent in Dakota, with medial inflection. Crow shows correct vowel length in the ‘name’ portion of the compound where Hidatsa has shortened the vowel. Both Crow and Hidatsa inflect this normally, not medially. Length of the second syllable in Crow/Hidatsa apparently reflects loss of *r-* of the verb.

call to, invite

verb social_communication

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **ki-(ki-)ó•he*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa *kikuhá* ‘invite’ WM

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **ki-k-ó (?)* , **ki-khó* RR

Proto-Dakota **kičhó*

Lakota *kičhó* ‘call, invite’ RTC

Dakota *kićó* , *†kičhó* ‘call to a feast, invite’ SRR:284b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **(ki-)kó*

Chiwere *kigo* , *†gigo* ‘hold a feast, get together’ JGT:142

Hoocąk *góo* ‘invite, give a feast; with object: invite to a religious feast’ KM:453 , *goo* ‘call, beckon to’ KM:451 , *gigó* , *gigo*

Proto-Dhegiha

Osage *gíko* , *†kíkho* ‘invite to a feast’ LF:51a , *giḳó* , *†kihkó* ‘a formal invitation’ LF:284b

Proto-Southeastern **ki-(ki-)ó•he*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **ki-o•hi (?)*

Biloxi *kĭyohí* , *†kiyohí* ‘call or halloo to’ D&S:294b

Ofo *akôhi* , *†akó•hi* ‘shout, call out’ D&S:320a, JSS

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *kikōha, gikōha* ‘call’ H

General comment

Omaha-Ponca *we’ku* may be < *wa* + *ki* + *kho* SW-103. Cognacy is hard to determine. JOD writes the form with upright *k* suggesting the aspirate. Osage likewise may have a post-aspirated stop, as one of the entries has the unmodified *k*. There are too many transcription problems here to be certain what we are dealing with, although the forms seem cognate. We have analysed the Chiwere/Hoocąk initial consonant as aberrant, most likely a reflex of an older prefixed **ki-* rather than the more common **hki-*. Biloxi *y* is most likely an epenthetic glide. If organic, it would have yielded the usual variety of consonantal reflexes in other languages. The final syllable in OVS may be from either the common suffix *-he* or from *-ha*. In the former case, the *-a* in Hidatsa and Tutelo is unexplained; in the latter, Biloxi will have reanalysed the form as *-he*. Hidatsa *-há* is probably not from **-he*, since it has not collapsed to *-ua*.

calm

psychic_temperament

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **-w-ráke*

Proto-Dakota **awráke-*

Lakota *ablákela* EB:54a

Dakota *amdákedaŋ* , *†amdákedą* ‘a calm’ SRR:32a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *hatak* , *†hatak* ‘calm’ MM:239 , *hadak, hadakdji* , *†hatak*

Proto-Dhegiha **-brake*

Kanza/Kaw *oyáblage* ~ *oyágable* ‘calm, windbreak’ RR

Osage *uthúbthage* , *†oðóbrake* ‘a calm’ LF:178b

General comment

The Hoocąk correspondence is irregular, but the semantic match is exact.

This root is uncommon in that it appears to show evidence of MVS-internal derivation of a **wr* cluster, most likely from earlier **wa-Ráke*.

carry > pack on back

verb physical_contact

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **kʔį(-re)*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **kíʔ*

Crow *čií* RG, GG:37

Hidatsa *kíʔ* ‘pack, carry on the back’ J

Pre-Mandan **kiʔ- ~ *ki-*

Mandan *kíʔš* ‘he packs it’ H:110 , *kíʔroʔš* ‘he packs it’ H:110 , *kihkíʔroʔš* ‘he carried it’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **kʔį*

Proto-Dakota **kʔį*

Lakota *kʔį* ‘carry on the back’ [čhą́wakʔį saddle] RTC , *-wakʔį, pá-* ‘a saddle, pack-saddle’ EB:436b , *-wakʔį, phá-* ‘saddle, pack-saddle’ EJ

Sioux Valley *kʔį* PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **kʔį*

Chiwere *kʔį* ‘carry another’s property for him’ W:244a , *-kʔį, gi-* ‘pack, carry’ LWR:7 , *-kʔį, ra-* LWR:24

Hoocąk *kʔįį* ‘bag, v.tr. put into a bag’ KM:1728 , *kʼįį* KM:2682 , *-kʔį, ru-* , *rukʼį*

Proto-Dhegiha **kʔį*

Omaha-Ponca *ʔį* ‘carry on the back’ RTC

Kanza/Kaw *kʔį* RR

Osage *kʔį* LF:86b

Quapaw *kʔį* RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *ki, kidí; kitú (pl.)* D&S:207b

Proto-Catawba

Catawba *kida* ‘carry, go’ KS

General comment

The Mandan form *kihkíʔroʔš* has layered *ki-* prefixes.

cat

noun animal_domestic

General comment

This is a widespread borrowing across North America, and the forms listed here are probably not cognate. The fricatives do not match. For the Hidatsa form, at least, compare Hidatsa *pú•šE* ‘striped, spotted’.

catfish, bullhead

noun animal_fish

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **htó•zi*

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **thó•zike*

Chiwere *thóðíge* GM

Hoocąk *coozík* ‘bullhead (fish)’ KM:276 , *coozik*

Proto-Dhegiha **htóze*

Omaha-Ponca *ttóze* ‘catfish’ MAS:35 , *túçe*

Quapaw *ttóze* RR, JOD

General comment

This set appears to be restricted to the central Mississippi drainage area and may not have a Proto-Mississipi-Valley reconstruction at all. The final vowels do not match between the DH and Chiwere/Hoocąk subgroups, but this is not uncommon. Since *-e* is the productive stem forming vowel, and therefore the most common analogical development, **-i* is the lectio difficilior here. With catfish so common it is a little strange not to find a more widespread term in use.

chase

verb physical_motion_caus

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **rụxé*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **ruxé*

Proto-Dakota **khiyúxa*

Lakota *khiyúxa* ‘copulate as animals’ [- ablaut] EJ

Dakota *takiyuȟa* , *†khiyuxa* ‘rut’ WM:188

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **ruxe*

Chiwere *takíduxe* , *†thakhíruxe* ‘October’ LWR:64

Hoocąk *ruxé* ‘chase, run after’ KM:2764 , *ruxe*

Proto-Dhegiha **rüxé*

Omaha-Ponca *ðíxe* ‘chase after’ MAS:37

Kanza/Kaw *yüxé* ‘chase, mate (of animals)’ RR

Osage *thixé* , *†ðüxé* ‘pursue, chase’ LF:240b

Quapaw *dixé* ‘chase, pursue, hunt’ RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **nǫ́xe*

Biloxi *noxĕ́, nóxĕ* , *†nǫxe* ‘chase, pursue’ D&S:237b

Ofo *nu"́sĕ* , *†nǫ́se* ‘chase’ D&S:327a

General comment

Cf. ‘copulate (3)’. Chiwere ‘October’ < ‘when the deer mate’; *khiruxe* ‘mate’. The southeastern and MVS forms are quite close phonetically but do not quite match for either nasality or accent. Some sort of historical relationship other than strict cognacy is nonetheless probable. Cf. also ‘paw the earth’.

cherry, chokecherry

noun plant_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **wirápu• (?)*

Crow *balápuu* ‘chokecherry tree’ RG , *balápua* RGG:11

Hidatsa *wirapú•* ‘bush, shrub’ J , *mirapú•*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **rą́•hpa*

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *čhąphá* RTC

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **ną́•pha*

Chiwere *ną́pha* ‘chokecherry’ JDH

Hoocąk *nąąpák* ‘cherry tree’ KM:2205 , *nąąpak*

Proto-Dhegiha **ną́hpa*

Omaha-Ponca *ną́ppa* RR

Kanza/Kaw *ną́ppa* ‘cherry’ RR

Osage *gthoⁿ́pa* , *†lą́hpa* ‘cherry’ LF:56a

General comment

The etymology, or possibly folk etymology, for chokecherry appears to be ‘wood’ + ‘bitter’. The MRS forms appear to contain ‘tree, wood’ and Dakota and Hoocąk can be analyzed this way. The usual DH reflex of this root is **žą́*, rather than *ną́*, however LF-114a lists *ną́ noⁿ* as ‘archaic word for wood’; it occurs in ‘bark’, ‘board’, ‘charcoal’ and other compounds. Crow *-ua* suggests earlier **-uha*.

chert, flint

noun physical_material

Proto-Siouan-Catawba **wą́h-*

Proto-Siouan **wą́•he*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **á*

Crow *isaá* ‘his arrow’ RG, GG:89, RGG:20

Hidatsa *itaá* , *†á* ‘arrow’ J , *wa•ʔí•* , *†á* ‘his arrow’ J , *ma•ʔí•* , *†á* ‘arrowhead’ J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *wą́•h, wą́•he* ‘arrow’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **wą́*

Proto-Dakota **wą́*

Lakota *waŋ* , *†wą* ‘arrow’ EB:540b

Dakota *waŋ* , *†wą* ‘arrow’ WM:9b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **mą́•*

Chiwere *mą́* RR

Hoocąk *mą́ą* KM:1931 , *mąą*

Proto-Dhegiha **mą́* RR

Omaha-Ponca *mą́* RR

Kanza/Kaw *mą́* RR

Osage *mo^{n}* , *†mą* ‘arrow’ LF:95a

Quapaw *mą́* RR

Proto-Southeastern **mąksi•* RR

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **ąksi* RR

Biloxi *añks, añksí, añksapí* , *†ąksí* ‘arrow, gun, carbine, lead’ D&S:177a , *ąk(ə)sa•peʔ* , *†ąksí* MRH , *aŋsa•peʔ* , *†ąksí* MS

Ofo *onfhā́pi, o^{n}fháp* , *†ąfhi* ‘arrow, gun’ JSS , *ó^{n}fhi* , *†áfhi* ‘bullet’ D&S:328a

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *mãñkōi, mãñksïi; mañkcík* , *†mą•ksi•* ‘arrow’ H, JOD

Saponi *mankey* , *†mąki* ‘shot’ F

Proto-Catawba

Catawba *wą* FGS:102 , *wanhá, wanhí* G:545, KS

Woccon *Wonsh-shee* , *†wąši (?)* ‘awl, needle’ JL

General comment

Cf. ‘sharpen, grind’ for related verbal forms. Cf. ‘blade, edged tool’ for derived forms. The southeastern languages show compounds with **-ksi•* for ‘arrowhead(?)’ N.B. Ofo *fh* < **hs* < **ks*, a series of sound changes which recurs in other cognate sets. On loss of initial *w-* after prefixes, compare Crow and Hidatsa possessed forms of ‘blanket’, Hidatsa *ita•ši* < **ita-waši*.

chest, breast

noun physical_somatic_body_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **awą́•ke* or: **i-wą́•ke*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **í•waki*

Crow *í•waʻkurù•c* ‘breast-bone’ L:135

Hidatsa *í•waki* ‘chest’ J

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **mą́•ke; mą́ke*

Proto-Dakota **mąk-*

Lakota *makhú* ‘chest’ RTC

Stoney *mąkhú* PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **má•ke*

Chiwere *má•ŋe* RR

Hoocąk *máąk* ‘chest (of the body)’ KM:1971 , *mąąk*

Proto-Dhegiha **má•ke*

Omaha-Ponca *má•ge* ‘chest’ RTC

Kanza/Kaw *máge* ‘chest’ RR

Osage *mo^{n}ʹge* , *†mą́ke* ‘chest’ LF:97b

Quapaw *mą́ke, mąíke, moíke* ‘chest’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **amą́ki*

Biloxi *mąk, amáñgiyá^{n}* , *†amą́ki* ‘chest’ D&S:229a , *máñgiahóya* , *†amą́ki* ‘sternum’ , *tamáñk* , *†amą́ki* ‘deer brisket’

Ofo *amôʹñki, môʹñki* , *†amą́ki* ‘breast, ribs’ D&S:321a

General comment

Lakota forms are compounded from *mak-* ‘chest’ and *hu* ‘bone’. Proto-Siouan is difficult to determine here, since Crow/Hidatsa and Biloxi/Ofo disagree on the initial syllable. Proto-Siouan may be **awą́•ke*, following Proto-Biloxi-Ofo. It cannot be **wawą́•ke*, even though Biloxi and Ofo typically lose initial **w/*m*, because such a form would have given *W* rather than *w* in MVS. Following Crow/Hidatsa and the general pattern for body parts, which are usually dependent nouns, Proto-Siouan could be **i-wą́•ke*, in which case Biloxi and Ofo have innovated. However, because possession is the expected pattern, innovation is easier to motivate in Proto-Crow-Hidatsa than in Proto-Biloxi-Ofo. Accent placement in Crow/Hidatsa is not accounted for here.

chew

verb physical_contact_deformation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **ra-thé (?)*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **rathé*

Proto-Dakota **yathá*

Lakota *yathá* ‘chew; gossip about’ EB:629a, EJ

Stoney *yathá* PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *račé* ‘bite off a piece (of a soft substance)’ KM:2540 , *race*

Proto-Dhegiha **rathé*

Omaha-Ponca *waðáthe* ‘food’ RTC, RR

Kanza/Kaw *yačhé* ‘eat’ RR

Osage *ðaché* ‘eat’ RR

Quapaw *dathé* ‘eat’ RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *dadĕ´* ‘chew’ D&S:183a

Proto-Catawba

Woccon *Noccoo Eraute* ‘have you got anything to eat? (?)’

General comment

This is a perplexing set. Superficially it appears to be transparently Proto-Siouan **ra-* ‘mouth, instrumental’ and a verb root **-thé*. The usual source of DH *th* is Proto-Mississipi-Valley **rh*, but the regular outcome of **rh* (itself normally a secondary cluster) in MVS is Dakotan *h*, Chiwere/Hoocąk *ǰ* and DH *th*. There is no regular sound correspondence set with *th* throughout (but cf. ‘bear > black bear (2)’), and Proto-Siouan/Proto-Mississipi-Valley **th* is virtually one-of-a-kind. Also, Biloxi should have **daté*; although this could be either an irregular assimilation or a case of contamination by **rute* ‘eat, dip’. There is still much to explain here.

child > boy

noun person

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dakota **hokší*

Lakota *hokší; hokšíla* ‘child; boy’ RTC

Dakota *hokšidaŋ* , *†hokšídą* WM:22a

Yanktonai *hokšína* WM:22a

Stoney *hokší* ‘child’ PAS

Sioux Valley *hokšída* PAS

Proto-Dhegiha

Kanza/Kaw *hóšta* ‘something small’ RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Ofo *hócka* , *†hóška* ‘child’ D&S:323b , *añk-hōshka* , *†ho•ška* ‘baby’

General comment

Kanza/Kaw *hóšta* ‘something small’ and a possibly related Hoocąk form, *hočįčį(nįk)* ‘boy’ (KM-1179) suggests that *hoš-* may be segmentable and that a metathesis has occured in Dakotan. Cf. Tunica *ʔɔ́káší* ‘child + male’ (Haas), a possible diffused form.

child > female child

noun person

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dhegiha **šémį*

Omaha-Ponca *cemiⁿjiñga* , *†šemįžįga* JOD

Osage *shimiⁿ* , *†šimį* ‘baby girl, damsel, maiden, lassie’ LF:131b

Quapaw *šémi* RR

General comment

Cf. ‘child > boy’; ‘child > male child’. This term parallels ‘child > male child’ exactly and may well have been innovated independently several times. A Proto-Siouan reconstruction may not be possible, although the pattern is transparently reconstructible. Note the same irregular reflex of **š* in Chiwere that is found in ‘child > male child’.

child > male child

noun person

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **šį-Ro•*

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *čhįtóįñe, čhįčóįñe* GM

Proto-Dhegiha **šíRo*

Omaha-Ponca *cenujiñga* , *†šenožįga* JOD

Kanza/Kaw *šídohįŋa* ‘boy + dim.’ RR

Osage *shiⁿto* , *†šįto* ‘youth’ LF:131b , *ciⁿtunŭⁿhŭⁿ* , *†šįto* ‘bachelor’ JOD

Quapaw *šétto* ‘boy’ RR , *šéttǫ* ‘boy’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *siⁿto, siⁿt* , *†sįto* ‘boy’ D&S:256b

General comment

This term is a compound of reflexes of **šika* 'child' and **Ró•* 'male' in the languages where it is represented. Chiwere *čh* is irregular as it is normally derived from dental stops, in this case **th* or **ht*. It is most likely a result of borrowing from Dakotan *čhįča* 'child'. Biloxi initial *s* shows this word is either subject to fricative ablaut or is a borrowing.

Cf. 'child > boy'; 'child > female child'. The original root, **ši*, has apparently been replaced by *še*, 'this' in some DH dialects. The compound seems to center on DH and may have originated there, spreading to both north and south into Chiwere and Biloxi. There are too many irregularities here to consider this a Proto-Siouan term.

child > youth

noun person

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **šĭ-ka*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **šiká•ka* < **šikV+ra•ka*

Crow *šikáaka* 'boy' RGG, GG:55, RGG:88

Hidatsa *šiká•ka* 'young man' J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *súk, sʋké* 'child' RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **wą•k-šíke*

Chiwere *wą?šĭ, wą?šíge* 'person, people' GM

Hoocąk *wąąkšík* KM:3610, KM:2952 , *wąąkšik*

Proto-Dhegiha **šika ~ šįka*

Omaha-Ponca *níkkašiga* 'man' RTC , *niášiga* 'clan' RR

Kanza/Kaw *níkkašiŋa* 'clan, people' RR

Osage *niḳashiga* , *†nihkašika* 'a people (ritual term)' LF:108a

Quapaw *níkkašika* 'person, people' RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *wakasīk* 'child' N, H , *wakasĭ́k* 'infant' HW

General comment

The nasalized DH forms may be contaminated from the diminutive *žį̨ka*.

We cannot account for the Mandan *u*, if the form is cognate. The Crow/Hidatsa forms appear to be compounded with the term reconstructed 'little, young, child'. Tutelo has *s* instead of the expected *č*. Cf. 'child > male child'.

chin

noun physical_somatic_body_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **í•h-hku*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **í•hka*

Crow *íihka* RG, GG:76, RGG:75

Hidatsa *í•hka* 'chin' J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *íhku* 'chin' RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **íhku*

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *ikhú* 'chin' RTC

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *íkhu* 'chin' JDH

Proto-Dhegiha **íhkü*

Omaha-Ponca *íki* , *†íkki* 'chin' MAS:39

Kanza/Kaw *íkkü* 'chin' RR

Osage *iį̨ki* , *†ihkü* 'chin' LF:73a

General comment

A plausible etymology in Dakota might be *i* 'mouth' + *khu* 'below, under'.

khuyi is also 'below' in Chiwere (JDH). The Mandan etymology is similar, with root *í•he* 'mouth'. This etymological explanation is not available in Crow/Hidatsa, however.

chinquapin, lotus, cattail

noun plant

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **hté•-wape*

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *thewápha* ‘chinquapin, lotus, cattail’ EJ , *tewape* ‘Nelumbo lutea’ MRG:90

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **thé•rape*

Chiwere *tcerawe* , *†čherawe* JOD

Hoocąk *čeeráp* ‘lotus’ KM:194, MRG:90 , *ceerap* , *tsherape*

Proto-Dhegiha **htérawį/e*

Ponca *ttéðawį* RR

Kanza/Kaw *ččéwaye* ‘lotus’ RR

Osage *ṭséwathe* , *†hcéwaðe* ‘lotus’ LF:160b

General comment

There is much irregularity in this set. Any Proto-Dhegiha reconstruction depends on external comparison. Here it appears that DH and Chiwere/Hoocąk have lost the initial *w* of the second stem. Kanza/Kaw/Osage and Chiwere/Hoocąk have epenthetic *r* here.

Omaha-Ponca has apparently done a more complete reanalysis, and much there remains unexplained. The MVS form seems to be a compound of a common Siouan form also found in Hidatsa, Mandan, etc., and a preposed **hte-*, meaning unknown. Mandan *ʔ* suggests involvement of some sort of laryngeal in this root. Hidatsa aspiration suggests an earlier **-pVhV•*, though the Hidatsa/Crow disagreement in vowels makes reconstruction uncertain. The root may well be reconstructible ultimately, but there are too many imponderables, and there has been too much reanalysis for us to attempt Proto-Siouan reconstruction at present. The Crow form is < *bili* ‘water’ + *waapee*.

choke

verb physical_somatic

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **-tkÉ*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Crow *daxčí* 'choke' [< daC- 'by force'] RG

Hidatsa *ráhkahka•* 'gulp, gobble down food' J , *náhkahka•*

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *-tké, ka-* 'choke on something' H:104, H:351

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **-tkÉ*

Proto-Dakota **katkA´*

Lakota *-tkA´, ka-* 'choke or be choked, as in eating; to stick in the throat' EB:293a, EJ

Dakota *katká* 'choke, be choked' SRR:270b

Proto-Dhegiha

Osage *gaṭse* , *†kahce* 'choked' LF:205b , *wáṭse* , *†wá•hce* 'choke, strangle' LF:205b

General comment

This root most frequently occurs with the 'striking' instrumental.

Metathesis and assimilation **tk* > **kt* > *ht/tt* in DH is regular. Most initial stop clusters in Siouan can be seen to have lost a vowel. In this instance the vowel is not preserved in any language. *t* in this context can come from virtually any dental stop, or **r* or a Proto-Siouan syllable beginning with any of those consonants and any intervening vowel (which would normally disappear by initial syllable syncope). It is not clear that the Crow/Hidatsa forms belong. Crow suggests an earlier *-xki/E*, not *tki/E*, while Hidatsa suggests and earlier *-Cka•*

circle, hoop, camp circle

noun perceptual_visual_shape

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **ho-yoka ~ *ho-roka*

Proto-Dakota **hočhoka*

Lakota *ho-* ‘camp circle’ RTC , *hóčhoka* ‘center of camp’ EJ , *hóčhokab* ‘center of camp’

Dakota *hoćóka* ‘courtyard, an area surrounded by tents or houses’ SRR:151b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **ho-*

Chiwere *howékuje* ‘hoop game’ LWR , *horaga* ‘camp circle’ WW:8

Hoocąk *horók ųų* ‘participate in, join organization’ KM:1484 , *horok ųų*

Proto-Dhegiha **ho-*

Omaha-Ponca *húǵuga* , *†hóðoga* ‘camp circle’ JOD

Kanza/Kaw *hówega gíną* ‘figure drawn on the ground when Kaws go to war’ RR

Osage *hóega* , *†hóweka* ‘bare spot (dual symbolism)’ LF:63a

General comment

This seems to be a primarily MVS term. **ho-* certainly seems to be the common element meaning ‘circle’. It is commonly compounded with ‘middle; inside’, q.v.

clavicle

noun physical_somatic_body_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **wás- (?)*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa *wáchiru* ‘collar bone, clavicle’ [1s. poss.] J , *máchiru, mawáchiru*

Pre-Mandan **wa•šrihe*

Mandan *wáširihe* ‘clavicle’ H:278 , *tawáširi* ‘his clavicle’ H:278

General comment

The Hidatsa form ends in the word for ‘bone’, leaving *wác*. The Mandan form is apparently unanalyzable. Hidatsa may well have borrowed the term from Mandan and folk etymologized the end.

clear

verb perceptual_visual

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *[old reconstruction only]*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **wré•ze*

Proto-Dakota **wréza*

Lakota *bléza* ‘clear’ RTC

Dakota *mdéza* SRR

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **pré•ze*

Chiwere *bre•ðe* RR

Hoocąk *perés* ‘clear’ KM:2475 , *peres*

General comment

This form is restricted to the northern group of MVS languages. Without more cognates it cannot be reconstructed further with any certainty. The Proto-Mississipi-Valley reconstruction here would presume an earlier, perhaps Proto-Siouan, term with the probable shape **wa-ré•sE*.

climb

verb physical_motion

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **aRí•*

Pre-Mandan **rį?-*

Mandan *rį̂?ro?š* 'he's climbing' RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **a-Ri*

Proto-Dakota **aRí*

Lakota *alí* 'climb' RTC

Dakota *adí* SRR

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **ho-Ri*

Chiwere *a•hó•ñi(•)* RR , *ahóñį* GM

Hoocąk *hotí* 'climb' [tree + climb] KM:1533 , *hoti* 'climb a tree' KM:2249 , *nąątí* , *nąąti, nąą hoti*

Proto-Dhegiha *á-Re*

Omaha-Ponca *áne* 'climb' , *ágine* 'climb one's own' JOD

Kanza/Kaw *áje* 'climb' RR

Osage **ácе ádse* LF:7b

Quapaw *átte, áte* JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **arí•*

Biloxi *adí* 'climb, climbing' D&S:170a

Ofo *atī́kna* , *†atí•kna* 'climb' D&S:322a, JSS

General comment

The intrusive *-ho-* of Chiwere/Hoocąk is unexplained. The final vowels of the DH reflexes have been regularized to the most common stem formative, *-E*.

Mandan ordinarily moves glottalization over the vowel to its right, so that, in this instance **R* may stem from an earlier **r?*, although this cluster is otherwise unattested and may itself be secondary.

cloud

noun natural_force_weather

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *[old reconstruction only]*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **mą́•xpi*

Proto-Dakota **mąxpí*

Lakota *maxpíya* ‘clouds, sky’ RTC

Sioux Valley *maxpíya* PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *mą•xúwe, mąxówe* ‘clouds, sky’ RR

Hoocąk *mąąxíwi* ‘clouds, be cloudy’ KM:2044 , *mąąxi(wi)*

Proto-Dhegiha **mąxpṹ́*

Omaha-Ponca *mǫxpí* RTC

Kanza/Kaw *mąxpṹ́* RR

Osage *mo^{n}xpí* , *†mąxpṹ́* ‘cloud’ LF:103b

Quapaw *mǫxpí* RR

General comment

Comparisons with other MVS languages suggest that DH rounding is secondary. Cf. ‘sky’.

clumsy

verb evaluative

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Pre-Mandan **wa•xɰp-*

Mandan *wáxɰpo?š* ‘he’s clumsy’ H:283

General comment

We may be dealing with a borrowing here. Additionally, there is a widespread DH root *xǫ́* which means ‘break’ that is used with the usual variety of instrumentals. It would fit with Mandan *xų* perfectly, but it lacks any root extension outside of Mandan. Cf. ‘break loose > dislocate’.

coals (1)

verb physical_material

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **xrį̂*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Crow *-xii, alá-* 'burned' RG, GG:8, RGG:49

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **xrį̂*

Proto-Dakota **čhaxrí*

Lakota *čhaxlí* 'coal, gunpowder' RTC

Dakota *ćaȟdí* , *†čhaxdí* 'charcoal, gunpowder' SRR:84b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **-xrį̂•*

Chiwere *úxrį•ge* 'coals, embers' JDH

Hoocąk *ųųxį̂nį* 'ashes' KM:3914 , *ųųxįnį* 'tingling sensation; hot, steady, annoying pain' KM:1559 , *-xį̂nį, howa-* 'burn to embers' KM:3097 , *howaxįnį* 'poke with red-hot ember' KM:1121 , *-xį̂nį, taa-* , *taaxįnį* , *-xį̂nįxįnį, hiwa-* , *hiwaxįnįxįnį*

Proto-Dhegiha **xrį̂-že*

Omaha-Ponca *naxthi*^{n} 'flame' MAS:249

Kanza/Kaw *gaxlį̂xlįže* 'sparkle' RR , *-xlį, dá-* 'burned, be' RR , *-xlįxlį, dá-* 'burned repeatedly' JOD, RR

Osage *xthi*^{n}*ẓhá* , *†xlįžá* 'sparks of a fire' LF:220b

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **aphé•-xenį (?)*

Biloxi *pĕ́xĕno*^{n}*ní, pĕxĕno*^{n}*´* , *†péxe-nį* 'live or red coals' D&S:245a

Ofo *ąphẽcni, aphésni* , *†əphé•šnį* 'coals' D&S:321a, JSS

General comment

This root is usually compounded with a root for 'fire' or 'tree, wood', q.v.

Omaha-Ponca *nąxðe* (JOD), Kanza/Kaw *nąxlé* (RR) 'coals' are not listed as cognates as their vowels do not match properly. This may be due to assimilation into the productive stem class (in *-E*). In DH *nąˀ-* is found in numerous terms referring to wood or boards and is a doublet for *žą*. In Quapaw *táxde* 'coal' (JOD) and in Hoocąk, the 'heat/cold, instrumental', *ta-* and *ta•-* respectively, appears to have replaced *nąˀ* 'wood'. Dakotan irregularly has an oral vowel. In Biloxi the *į* was apparently replaced by the *ǫ* of *ǫni* 'make, do'. However Biloxi, if cognate, may have reflex of a Proto-Siouan vowel between the two consonants. If this is the case, a Proto-Siouan reconstruction **xerį̂* becomes a possibility. Words with *SR* clusters in Siouan behave accentually as if there were a vowel between the fricative and resonant, but that vowel is seldom clear, and several Siouan languages have introduced epenthetic vowels in the sequence.

coals (2)

physical_material

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **šnį́*

Proto-Dakota **phe-šníža*

Lakota *phešníža* [< fire + sparks] EB:442a

Dakota *peśníz´a* ‘sparks of fire’ SRR:420

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *-šįnįšįnį, gi-* ‘shine, v. intr. (FW)’ KM:414 , *gišįnįšįnį*

cold

verb natural_force_weather

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **sarį̂-he*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **ciría* < **ciríhe*

Crow *čilía* ‘cold (weather)’ RG, GG:38, RGG:6

Hidatsa *ciría* ‘cold’ J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *šįrį̂ho?š* ‘it’s cold out’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **snį̂(-hi)*

Proto-Dakota **sní*

Lakota *sní* ‘be cold out, cold to touch’ RTC , *-sni, aká-* ‘extinguish on, as fire’ EB:69b , *-sni, iyá-* ‘become still, as a noise ceasing; to recover from, as from anger or sickness; to die down, as a fire with only coals left’ EB:252b , *-sni, íčiča-* ‘make cool, as hot coffee by pouring it to and fro from one cup to another’ EB:204a , *-sní, na-* ‘put out a fire with the foot’ EB:357b , *osní* ‘be cold out’ EJ , *-sní, wo-* ‘put out, as rain does fire’ EB:608a , *-sní, ya-* ‘blow, cool by blowing’ EB:627a , *-sní, yu-* ‘put out, extinguish e.g. a fire, to turn out a light, lamp; to make cold.’ EB:650a , *-sni, yuá-* ‘quiet down, soothen e.g. a person excited or sad’ EB:633b

Sioux Valley *sní* PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **snį̂*

Chiwere *ró•θrį* RR

Hoocąk *sį́nį́, sį́nįhí* ‘cool, v.tr.’ KM:2859 , *sį́nį, sį́nįhi* KM:79 , *-sį́nį, boo-* , *boosį́nį*

Proto-Dhegiha **snį̂*

Omaha-Ponca *osnį̂* ‘cold’ RR

Kanza/Kaw *snį́, hnį̂* ‘cold’ RR , *hníčče* ‘be cold as a person is’ RR , *hníhį* ‘be cold, as an object is cold to the touch’ RR

Osage *hníṭse* , *†hnį́hce* ‘cold’ LF:63a

Quapaw *snį̂* ‘cold’ RR , *-snísni, ka-* ‘autumn, blows cold on and off’ RR

Proto-Southeastern **sanį̂•*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *snihixtí* ‘be cold’ D&S:256b , *snixtédi* ‘feel cold’ , *sní dusí* ‘catch cold’

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *sanī* , *†sanį•* ‘cold’ H

Proto-Catawba

Catawba *čį?* KS , *či?* FGS , *čihi* FGS , *čiha* FGS

General comment

Crow/Hidatsa and Tutelo either preserve or innovate an initial syllable vowel.

Note however that they are different. The Tutelo version is the lectio difficilior as it cannot be explained by assimilation. If the Tutelo vowel is organic, a Proto-Siouan reconstruction **sarį́-he* would be justified. Ofo *o^{n}tcehí* 'it is cold' (DS-328a) is most likely non-cognate, though note the resemblance to Catawba. The Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **-he* is to be compared with Biloxi *-hi-*, but not with the *hi/hį* of MVS. Reflexes of Proto-Siouan *-he* are not preserved in MVS except where they are protected. So the *-hi* in these instances must be thought of as an MVS innovation. It may be some sort of partial reduplication or, at least in Quapaw, a separate morpheme, *-hi* 'very'.

collective (motion verbs)

n/a

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **a-*

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *a-* [3rd person; no additional plural]

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **a-*

Chiwere *a-* [motion and positional verbs]

Hoocąk *ha-* , *ha-*

Proto-Dhegiha **a-*

Omaha-Ponca *a-* JOD

Kanza/Kaw *a-* RR

Osage *a-* RR

Quapaw *a-* RR

Proto-Southeastern **a-*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *a-* [Motion verbs, no suffixed plural] PFE:75b

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *a-* in: *alewa* 'be going' JOD

General comment

The prefix is sometimes lacking in conjugated forms in DH, but is usually present. It occurs in 3rd singular and all plural forms of the verb.

The prefix is not found in Sioux Valley (Sioux Valley) Dakota (PAssiniboine).

collective suffix

particle n/a

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **-sa*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **-ca*

Crow *-ta* 'both' RG , *duupta* 'specifier, the one(s)' RG , *-ta* 'in every direction' RG , *é•tko*

Hidatsa *-ca* 'both' J , *nu•páca* 'every, all of a group' J , *é•ca*

Pre-Mandan **-ša*

Mandan *-ša* in: *rúpša* 'twins' H:192

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **za• (?)*

Proto-Dakota **-za*

Lakota *óza* 'both'' EB:421b

Proto-Dhegiha **za•-*

Kanza/Kaw *za•nį̂* 'all' RR

Osage *zanį* 'all' RR

Quapaw *zanį̂* 'all' RR

Proto-Southeastern **-sa, *-xa*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *ě´xa* , *†-sa* 'that is all' D&S:218b , *ét̨ixya* , *†-sa* 'this is all' D&S:257b , *so^{n}´sa, so^{n}sá* , *†-sa* 'one, once'

Ofo *nû´fha, nû´fhá* , *†núf-ha* 'one' D&S:327a

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *noñsa* , *†nǫsa* 'one' H

General comment

Cf. 'all, intact'. For Ofo *fh* cf. 'two'.

comb

verb physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **-xwé*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **-xwé*

Chiwere *gixwé, graxwé* ‘comb or brush one’s own hair’ LWR:47 , *xwa, gi-* ‘comb hair of someone besides oneself’ LWR:8 , *xwa, gra-* ‘comb hair of one’s own child’ LWR:8 , *xwe, gra-* LWR:8

Hoocąk *higixéwek, higixéek* ‘comb, v.tr.; comb, n.’ KM:854 , *higixewek, higixeek*

Proto-Dhegiha **-phé*

Omaha-Ponca *mikkáhe* ‘comb’ JOD , *gahé* ‘comb, verb’

Kanza/Kaw *nikkáphe* ‘comb’ RR , *gaphé* ‘comb’ RR

Osage *miḳápshe* , *†mihkáphe* ‘hairbrush grass’

Quapaw *kaphé* ‘comb’ JOD

General comment

One source of DH aspiration is partly cleared up here: **xw* > DH *ph*.

The *k* of a possible Ofo cognate, *ókwa* (DS-327b), is irregular and the form is doubtfully related.

comb > ravel out

verb physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **swé (?)*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dakota **-swa (?)*

Lakota *-swá, ka-* ‘make lint; to curry’ EB:290a , *-swá, na-* ‘the word is used to denote what is done when one steps e.g . on a silk dress and it stretches partly, i.e. the thread tears one way’ EB:358a , *-swá, na-* ‘rip, tear into fringe, to fray’ EB:816b , *-swá, ya-* ‘pick in pieces with the teeth’ EB:627b , *-swá, ya- ; yaswáka* ‘pick in pieces with the teeth’ EJ , *-swá, yu-* ‘ravel out e.g. a stocking, to pick to pieces e.g. wool’ EB:650b

Dakota *yusbá* ‘ravel out; to pick to pieces, as wool’ SRR:638a

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *psûdahí* , *†psudahí* or: *†psədahí* ‘a comb’ D&S:248a

General comment

For these forms to be cognate, we must assume a metathesis in Biloxi.

Cf. ‘comb’

come

verb physical_motion

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **hú•(-re)*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **hú•*

Crow *húu* RG, GG:49, RGG:32

Hidatsa *hú•* J

Pre-Mandan **hú•-*

Mandan *hú•roʔš* ‘he’s coming’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **hú*

Proto-Dakota **hú*

Lakota *ú* ‘I am coming; an old word meaning |waú|’ RTC , *p-hú* EB:449b

Dakota *u* ‘come’ WM:35b

Stoney *ú* PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **hú•*

Chiwere *hú* W:246b

Hoocąk *húu* ‘start coming’ KM:1601 , *huu*

Proto-Dhegiha **hű́*

Omaha-Ponca *hí* ‘come’ RTC

Kanza/Kaw *hű́* ‘come’ RR

Osage *hü* ‘come’ RR

Quapaw *hí* ‘come’ RR

Proto-Southeastern **hú•(-ri)*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **hú•(-ri)*

Biloxi *hu, u, huᵾ, húdi, údi* ‘come’ D&S:198b

Ofo *kiū́kna, kiu* , *†kiú•kna* ‘come’ D&S:325b, JSS

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *yahūa, howa* , *†yahu•(w)a* ‘come’ H , *kihūna* , *†yahu•(w)a* ‘he came not’ HW , *wihūta* , *†yahu•(w)a* ‘I will come’ JOD , *yahuwá* , *†yahu•(w)a* , *húwa* , *†yahu•(w)a*

Saponi *kihoe* , *†kihu* ‘come here’ F

Proto-Catawba

Catawba *hu•ʔ-* FS

General comment

Catawba *ʔ* suggests some final consonant if it is not an artifact of pre-vocalic morpheme boundary.

It has been noted that the *h-* is missing in all the vertitive forms of this verb in MVS. But cf. comment on ‘come vertitive’. Reconstructing **u•* with the assumption that *hu•* forms are by analogy with **hi•* ‘arrive there’ might be tempting except for the fact that all the languages but Ofo show at least traces of the *h* and even Catawba has *hu•ʔ*.

In DH this verb behaves like a full-fledged H-stem, taking the obstruentized allomorphs of the actor person-number prefixes. Omaha-Ponca 1Act *phi*; 2Act *ši*; 3Act *hí*. Kanza/Kaw 1Act *phü*; 2Act *šü*; 3Act *hű́*. Quapaw 1Act *phi*; 2Act *ši*; 3Act *hí*.

While Crow and Hidatsa forms suggest nothing unusual about initial *h*, the conjugation is part of a special pattern found only in a core group of motion verbs. Crow 1Act *boó*; 2Act *dalóo*; 3Act *húu* (GG-49, DEC-32). Hidatsa: 1Act *wa•hú•*, 2Act. *rárahu•*, 3p. *ra•huʔa*. The conjugation is modeled on regular forms of ‘go’ Crow 1Act *oó* shows assimilation and the rising pitch pattern of lost intervocalic *h*, cf. ‘hair, fur, feathers’ and other forms.

The *w* which appears in some Tutelo forms (imperatives?) may be comparable to the *w* which appears in the Lakota imperative (B&D para. 135) -- presumably an epenthetic glide.

come vertitive

verb physical_motion

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **kihú•* ART

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **kVhú•*

Crow *kuú* RG, GG:5

Hidatsa *kú•* J

Pre-Mandan **kuh-*

Mandan *kuhó?š* ‘he came back’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *kú*

Proto-Dakota **kú*

Lakota *kú* RTC

Dakota *ku* ‘return’ WM:179a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **kú•*

Chiwere *gú* W:241b, GM , *-gú•-* RR

Hoocąk *gúu* ‘leave returning’ KM:464 , *guu*

Proto-Dhegiha **kű́*

Omaha-Ponca *gí* JOD

Kanza/Kaw *gű́* RR

Osage *gi* , *†kü* ‘he approaches, he comes’ LF:49b

Quapaw *ki*

Proto-Southeastern **ki-ú* ~ **kihú* RR

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **ki-u•*

Biloxi *ḳú nedí* , *†ku* ‘be returning hither’ D&S:199a

Ofo *kiū́kna, kiu* , *†kiú•kna* D&S:325b, JSS

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *kihuwá* ‘on his way coming home’ HW

Saponi *kihoe* ‘come here’ F

Proto-Catawba

Catawba *kowa* KS

General comment

MVS shows no trace of the expected aspiration in the 3rd person citation form. Biloxi/Ofo seem to lack reflexes of *h* also, but Tutelo, Crow, Hidatsa, and Mandan seem to show them. If Catawba is cognate, it too lacks any reflex of the consonantism of the corresponding plain verb, *hú•ʔ*. The DH conjugated forms can be derived from forms with or without **h*, since aspirates can never occur as the second members of clusters. The forms are: Omaha-Ponca 1Act *ppi*, 2Act *ški*, 3Act *gi*; Kanza/Kaw 1Act *ppü*, 2Act *škü*, 3Act *gű*; Quapaw 1Act *ppi*, 2Act *ški*, 3Act *ki*. First and second person forms would regularly lack any trace of the *h*, and this may have spread to the third person as well in DH and possibly throughout MVS.

confused, mistaken, ignorant

verb psychic_emotion

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **nų́•rį*

Proto-Dakota **nų́nį*

Lakota *nų́nį* ‘become lost; go astray (in a religious sense)’ EJ

Dakota *nɯ́ni* ‘wander’ WM:256b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **nų́•nį*

Chiwere *núnyin* , *†nų́nį* ‘mistake’ JGT:51

Hoocąk *nųųnį́* ‘ignorant of’ KM:2391 , *nųųnį*

Proto-Dhegiha **nǫ́ðį*

Omaha-Ponca *mo^{n}no^{n}thi^{n}* , *†mąnąðį* ‘mistake’ MAS:121

Osage *nó^{n}thi^{n}* , *†nǫ́ðį* ‘misunderstand, be in a quandary, perplexity’ LF:117a

General comment

Cf. ‘forget’. The second consonant of this word is probably epenthetic, since it has not yet undergone nasalization in DH.

contrastive

particle n/a

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **ha*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa *ha-* in: *haš* ‘but’ J , *ha-, -á* in: *hašša* ‘but’ J

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *-ha* in: *ecáleha* ‘but instead’ [his seems to be used only in combinations] EB:137 , *-ha* in: *éha* ‘instead, on the contrary’ EB:139 , *-há-* in: *ehákaleš* ‘just for that, in that case’ EB:139 , *-há-* in: *eháš* ‘surely, truly, certainly, indeed, unusually, undoubtedly’ EB:254 , *-ha* in: *iyéha* ‘instead, rather he (she)’ TB:501a , *-há* in: *tukhá* ‘but’ EB:501 , *-há-* in: *tukháš* ‘but’

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *ha* , *†ha* ‘or’ [placed after the second of two nouns] D&S:192b

General comment

A speculative set. Cf. ‘emphatic, contrastive, but’ Initial *h-* is most often lost in Biloxi, and most apparent instances are from Proto-Siouan **?*.

cook

verb physical_condition_change

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **-htáke*

Pre-Mandan **-tak-*

Mandan *dátako?š* ‘it’s ripe, cooked, done’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *-cák, wa-* ‘parch, scorch over fire’ KM:3243 , *wacak*

General comment

A few *t* forms seem to group with spirant ablaut sets, i.e., *s* ~ *t* ~ *š* ~ *x* occasionally, not just *s* ~ *š* ~ *x*. While this is most evident in MRS, it is not limited to that subgroup.

copulate (1)

verb physical_contact

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **í•pi*

Crow *í•pi* ‘cohabit, copulate’ RG, GG:79

Hidatsa *í•pi* ‘copulate’ J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *úpoʔš* ‘he copulates with someone’ H:262

General comment

From the limited data it is not possible to determine what causes the initial vowels to differ here.

copulate (2)

verb physical_contact

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **rhú*

Proto-Dakota **hú*

Lakota *hú* RTC

Sioux Valley *hú* PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **tú*

Chiwere *watúhta* , *†wadúhta* GM

Hoocąk *juu* , *†ǰú•* MM:217 , *dju* , *†ǰú•*

Proto-Dhegiha **thú́*

Omaha-Ponca *čhi* ‘copulate’ JEK

Kanza/Kaw *čhü* ‘copulate’ RR

General comment

Marsh always writes aspiration in Chiwere. Here he writes only “t”, presumably an allophone of *d*. At an earlier stage the vast majority and probably all of the Proto-Mississipi-Valley **rh* clusters go back to a disyllable, v. ‘arrive here’ and other examples. The earlier shape of this root is not easily recovered in this instance. Cf. also ‘copulate (3)’, ‘chase’.

copulate (3)

verb physical_contact

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **hki-rúxE*

Proto-Dakota **khiyúxa*

Lakota *khiyúxa* ‘copulate as animals’ EB:313a

Dakota **khiyúxa* ‘copulate’ WM:39b , *kiyuȟa*

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **khíruxe*

Chiwere *kíruxe* , *†khíruxe* ‘breed’ JGT:40

Hoocąk *kirúxe* ‘mating’ KM:3353 , *kiruxe*

Proto-Dhegiha **hkirúxe*

Omaha-Ponca *kithixa* , *†kkiðíxa* ‘mate’ F&LF:111

Kanza/Kaw *yüxé* ‘mate’ RR

Osage *ḳithixa* , *†hkiðúxa* ‘mating of birds’ LF:88a

General comment

Cf. ‘chase’. The form with meaning ‘copulate’ is derived with a reciprocal prefix.

cord, sinew, vein (1)

noun physical_somatic_body_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **i-hkáˀ* RR

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Crow *íika* ‘support’ RG, GG:77

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *íka* ‘string’ H:86 , *hįkárą* ‘string’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **hkáˀ*

Proto-Dakota **khą́*

Lakota *khą́* ‘sinew, vein’ RTC , *ikhą́* ‘cord-like lead for a horse, string, rope’ EJ, RTC , *wíkhą* ‘cord, string, rope’ EJ, RTC

Dakota *kaŋ* , *†khą́* ‘sinew’ WM:207a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **khą́*

Chiwere *ikhą́hį* ‘blood vessel’ GM, JGT:228 , *kan* , *†khą́* ‘blood vessel, sinew’ JGT:228

Hoocąk *ką́ą* ‘cord, vein’ KM:1759 , *kąą* ‘bowstring (?)’ MM:255 , *hiką* , *hiką*

Proto-Dhegiha **hkáˀ*

Omaha-Ponca *žąkką* ‘root’ RR , *†mąde kką* ‘bowstring’ JOD:13

Kanza/Kaw *kką* ‘sinew’ RR

Osage *ẹo^{n}* , *†hkáˀ* ‘roots of trees or plants, vein, blood vessel’ LF:88b

Quapaw *kką* ‘cord, sinew’ RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *i^{n}ẹká^{n}, iñẹká^{n}, iẹká^{n}, ẹká^{n}* , *†įẹkáˀ* ‘cord, line, muscle, sinew’ D&S:202a

Proto-Catawba

Woccon *Wee-kau* , *†wikąˀ* ‘belt’ JL

General comment

Aspiration in MVS argues for an initial syllable. However, lack of affrication in Dakotan suggests either that this vowel was not the *i-* attested elsewhere or that the *i-* was lost early and sporadically replaced. Deverbal instrumental nouns normally show *wa* + *i* rather than *i-* by itself. Thus *i-* is almost certain to have been the inalienable possessive prefix so often found with body parts. This prefix normally disappears in MVS except with kinship terms, so the *i-* in the MVS languages illustrated here (variable in Dakota, Chiwere and Hoocąk) must represent reapplication of one of the prefixes of this shape. Late reapplication would account for lack of the expected affrication in Dakota (where the form should be a non-occurring **ičhą́* if the prefix were old). Since even the forms occurring without the prefix have reflexes of aspiration, the prefix must be reconstructed to Proto-Mississipi-Valley and probably Proto-Siouan. In MVS the prefix was systematically lost and then selectively reapplied.

The single language here that suggests a Proto-Siouan form without aspiration is Biloxi.

Dorsey fairly consistently transcribes the form with the diacritic for unaspirated *k*. He even does this when there is an initial syllable however, so it is impossible to know how much credence to place in his transcription. Cf. ‘cord, string (2)’, which may have influenced the Biloxi form.

The Mandan form *ikáˀ* has lost nasalization in the second syllable, providing yet another example of sporadic nasalization changes in this language. It is possible that there has been some blending of the two forms; cf. ‘cord, string (2)’.

cord, string (2)

noun physical_artefact_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

- Proto-Siouan **ąka*
  - Proto-Crow-Hidatsa
    - Hidatsa *aká* ‘string, cord’ J
  - Pre-Mandan
    - Mandan *íka* ‘string’ H:86 , *hįkąrą* ‘string’ RTC
  - Proto-Southeastern
    - Proto-Biloxi-Ofo
      - Biloxi *añkada, añįkadá, etc.* , *†ąkada* ‘cord, string, thread’ D&S:202a

General comment

Mandan and Biloxi agree in reflecting a final syllable *-ra* and nasalization of the first syllable. Hidatsa and Biloxi agree in the quality of the initial vowel.

Vowel quality in Mandan has presumably been influenced by ‘cord, sinew, vein (1)’, q.v.

corn (1)

noun plant

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dakota **wakwų́ ~ *wakwą́*

Lakota *wagméza* ‘corn’ [< wagmų́ héza] EJ , *wagmíža, maɣá*

Dakota *wamnáheza* SRR:515b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *wičąwás* > *wičą́ąs* KM:3632 , *wicąwąs* ~ *wicąąs*

General comment

Cf. other corn terms for commentary on the diffusion and naming of ‘corn’. JEK has shown that this is in all likelihood derived from one of the cucurbit terms with origins in Algonquian. What we have reconstructed as Proto-Dakota here is more likely a borrowing archetype, not actually a Proto-Dakotan form.

The actually occurring forms for ‘gourd > squash’, q.v., may have originated in several different Algonquian dialects, where the reconstructible PA form is **e•mehkwa•ni*. Compare also Kickapoo *eemehkwaani* ‘spoon’ (Voorhis 1988), Menomini *ɛ•mɛhkwan* ‘squash, melon, seed’ (Goddard p.c.). Note that **kw*, Dakotan *gm, mn*, Chiwere/Hoocąk *dw, čw* is not a native cluster in Siouan. These terms virtually have to be loanwords, and Algonquian provides an attractive source.

corn (2)

noun plant

General comment

Cf. other terms for corn and corn parts and products. The Mandan term seems to be a compound of ‘gourd > squash’, q.v., and ‘grass (4)’, q.v.

It is this older term that is reconstructible from this set. The present Mandan word for grass is *xąhe*, and the Mandan glottal in the ‘grass’ part of ‘corn’ is unattested in the rest of Siouan. Though ‘grass’ may not have been transparent in this compound in Mandan, ‘gourd’ clearly was; whereas nothing about the compound would have been transparent in Hidatsa where the ‘gourd’ word is *kakuwi*. Thus it seems likely that the word was transmitted from Mandan to Hidatsa and thence to Crow, where a look-alike form seems to involve an assimilation of initial *k* to the following *x*. The number of different terms, their phonological irregularities, and the clear similarities to terms for corn or related cultigens in neighboring languages all tend to confirm what archeologists already know, namely that maize was introduced long after the break up of Proto-Siouan. Note that three of the four corn terms are based on local, earlier terms for cucurbits, the only other generally cultivated vegetable at the time. Curcurbits precede corn in the archaeological record by hundreds of years. The portion of the Mandan and Catawban terms that is alike phonologically is the portion that refers to cucurbits, probably ‘gourd’. The use of gourds is quite ancient, and the morphemes may be cognate (although they contain an element of sound symbolism). Earliest corn in southern Wisconsin is circa A.D. 1000, north and west of there, later. There could have been an old compound but it cannot have referred to corn. The Catawba forms, if they signal anything at all, would have had to have developed independently from some more ancient term with a distinct but related meaning.

corn (3)

noun plant

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dhegiha **wathą́se*

Omaha-Ponca *wathą́zi* RR

Kanza/Kaw *wakhózi* RR

Osage *watoⁿçi* , *†wathą́zi* LF:204b, LF:205a

Quapaw *wathą́se* RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *taⁿsi* , *†tąsi* ‘grass’

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *mātāqē* , *†mą•ta•xé•* N, H , *mandazéi* , *†mątasé-* H

General comment

Cf. ‘cucurbit (1)’ for related terms and a fuller lexical set. As with the other Siouan terms for ‘corn’, we are dealing with borrowing here. This seems to be the most prominent Mississippi Valley term for ‘corn’. MRS derives its ‘corn’ words from **ko-* ‘gourd’. OVS (Biloxi, Ofo only) have a third distinct term that is similar to some of the Caddoan corn terms. It seems clear that the introduction of corn into Siouan-speaking areas postdates the split of the major subgroups and several of the minor ones.

There is evidence for diffusion of terms within these subgroups as well. The Tutelo form suggests an association with MVS at the time of borrowing, but the archetype for this term appears to be very widespread, possibly spreading out of Meso-America with the cultigens themselves, cf. Choctaw and Chickasaw *ta•nči* < *tą* + *ači* ‘corn’, Yuchi *thą* ‘gourd’ and possibly even Keresan (Proto Keresan **dâ•ni* ‘squash’ Miller and Davis) for analogs. Ultimately linguists and archaeologists working together may be able to trace the routes of spread.

corn (4)

noun plant

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **ayé•ki*

Biloxi *yek, yékĭ, ayeki, ayeḳiya^{n}, ayēk* , *†ayé•ki* D&S:291b , *yɛ•ke?, ayɛ•ke?* , *†ayé•ki* MS

Ofo *atcēki, atcĕk, itcēki* , *†ačé•ki* D&S:321b, JSS

General comment

This Biloxi/Ofo root is strikingly similar to the Caddoan form. Once more it is likely that widespread borrowing is involved, c.f. Pawnee *re•ksu*, Arikara *ne•šu?*, Wichita *tɛ́•s?* (ART-120), Caddo *kisi'* (Chafe). The interesting element here is the geographical spread of the form from a probable southeastern origin. The third OVS language, Tutelo, has a term that matches DH and Chiwere/Hoocąk words more closely.

corn > corn mush

noun plant

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **waRúte*

Chiwere *wadúje* 'corn ears' LWR:47

Hoocąk *waruc* , *†watúc* 'corn' HS, MS , *wadútc* , *†watúc*

Proto-Dhegiha **waRű́te*

Omaha-Ponca *wanį́de* 'mush'

Kanza/Kaw *waJű́je* 'mush' RR

Osage *wadsúdse* , *†wacű́ce* 'gravy, corn gruel' LF:187b

General comment

This root is also found with the meaning 'ripe, cooked', q.v., in several languages and is reconstructible under that meaning. Modern Hoocąk has collapsed 'corn' with reflexes of 'eat', v. Hoocąk *warúc* 'eat, food, corn' (KM-3443). 'Corn' has **R-*, while 'eat' has **r-* etymologically. Hoocąk preserves the difference only in the ethnobotanical notes of Huron Smith.

corn ear

noun plant_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dakota **wahú-apa*

Lakota *wahúwapa* ‘ear of corn’ RTC

Dakota *wahuwapa* ‘corn’ WM:49b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **wa-hápa*

Chiwere *wahámą* ‘ear of corn’ GM

Hoocąk *woohą́p* ‘ear of corn’ KM:3784, JWE , *woohąp*

Proto-Dhegiha **hápa*

Omaha-Ponca *wahába* ‘ear of corn’ RTC

Kanza/Kaw *hába* ‘corn, corn ear’ RR

Osage *hápa* ‘corn’ RR

General comment

Hidatsa *hú•pa•ti* ‘corn ear’, *wa•hú•pa*, *ma•hú•pa* ‘corncob’ (J) are not directly cognate. They appear to be derived from Crow/Hidatsa *hú•pa* ‘handle, stem’, q.v.; likewise Mandan *húpatka* ‘ear of corn’ (H). Their superficial similarity to the MVS term *hápa* is seductive, but corn only penetrated the northern Mississippi Valley about A.D. 1000, rendering real cognacy unlikely even if the phonological match were exact (which it is not). Since corn was most likely introduced into Mandan, Crow and Hidatsa from areas to the South, it is also possible that there has been borrowing from a Dakotan archetype *†wahúapa*, the dissimilar vowels falling together as long *u•* in the northern languages.

The term is not demonstrably cognate in MVS either however. Hoocąk, Chiwere nasalization is not expected, and Dakota *h* should not be lost. Several explanations for the MVS terms are possible, and it is hard to choose among them (v. Rankin 1990). (a) The MVS form may be related to Crow/Hidatsa *apá•ri* ‘grow, sprout’ which would evolve regularly into **apa* in MVS.

Incorporating an object noun *ha* ‘covering, skin’, it would be MVS **há•pa* ‘(it) grows a covering’ or with a noun forming prefix, *wahá•pa* ‘what grows a covering’, i.e., ‘corn’ with its husks. (b) The Omaha-Ponca cognate, *wahába* is also used to refer to the seed bearing part of cattails, and this may be the older meaning of the term in MVS with ‘corn’ a later semantic extension. (c) The term may be a loanword from Muskogean. Note the Choctaw: *habali* ‘tassel, as corn’ and *habani* ‘be about to tassel’. The Choctaw root is *haba-*. Any of these explanations is plausible, but cognacy across Siouan is not because of the timing of the introduction of corn. It should be noted that other terminology relating to the cultivation, preparation and consumption of corn is normally specific to particular subgroups in Siouan betraying its late origin or specialization.

correct

verb evaluative

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **ra-sú*

Proto-Dakota **ya-sú*

Lakota *sú, ya-* ‘make right by speaking; to judge, to decree’ EB:627b , *sú, yu-* ‘make right; to make things ready’ EB:650b

Dakota *wayasu* ‘judge’ WM:94b

Yanktonai *yasu* ‘judge’ WM:94b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *sú, ra-* ‘say correctly’ KM:2566 , *rasu*

cottonwood, poplar

noun plant

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **wawá•xE*

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *wá•xE, wá•x* ‘cottonwood’ RTC , *wá•xxoxE* ‘poplar’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **Wá•ɣE*

Proto-Dakota **wáɣa*

Lakota *wáyačhą* ‘cottonwood’ RTC , *waxčȟíča* ‘poplar’

Dakota *wáġacaŋ* , *ϯwáɣačhą* ‘cottonwood’ WM:40a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **Wá•x(-ʔe)*

Chiwere *bá•xʔe* RR

Hoocąk *waax* ‘cedar’ KM:3227 , *waax*

Proto-Dhegiha **Wáxʔa*

Omaha-Ponca *máʔa* ‘cottonwood’ RTC

Kanza/Kaw *bákʔa* ‘cottonwood’ JOD

Osage *báḳʔa* , *ϯpákʔa* ‘cottonwood tree (sacred tree)’ LF:21b

Quapaw *báxʔa* RR , *páxʔa* JOD

General comment

Crow *báhkuhpa* ‘cotton, cottonwood’ (GG-25) and Hidatsa *wáhku* , *máhku* ‘cottonwood’ reflect Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **wahku*. The Proto-Crow-Hidatsa form is potentially the result of rightward vowel exchange, implying the existence of an earlier ***wuhka*.

But this form is unlikely to derive from a yet earlier ***wuxka* since Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **xk* clusters which become *hk* in Hidatsa are preserved in Crow. Rather, the postulated earlier form implies ***wuC-ka* where *C* is a stop consonant, cf.

the sitting and lying positionals for parallel phonological development.

Preaspiration is thus unaccounted for by the postulated earlier form with *x*. If we do not appeal to rightward vowel exchange, then the final *u* is unaccounted for and the disappearance of *x* remains a mystery. Thus it is not clear that the Crow/Hidatsa forms are even cognate here.

Like Crow/Hidatsa, Biloxi *ṭ́maxǫ́tka* , *maxó^{n}tka* ‘palmetto’ (DS-229a) and Ofo *ṭ́amašúpka* , *amashû́pka* ‘palmetto’ DS-320b appear superficially similar to the central Siouan forms. Biloxi, however, may be a compound with ‘grass (4)’ (not independently attested otherwise in Biloxi), and Ofo may be a compound with ‘soft’ (Ofo *sxû́pka* DS-329a), leaving only **ama-* for Proto-Biloxi-Ofo.

In all the instances of **W* that we have seen so far, it derives from a succession of syllables containing simple **w*, e.g. **wVwV´* with subsequent loss of the initial syllable vowel via the usual syncope. This leaves **w-wV´*, which gives **W*. This solution appears to work well here too. Note the initial accent, which, along with the reflexes of *W*, signals the lost initial syllable. Various subgroups and individual languages have modified the term with the common *-ka* or the mysterious *ʔe* or *ʔa*. Note that *ʔe* is a root for ‘elm’ in some languages, so the ‘cottonwood’ term may be a compound.

The probable cognate forms appear limited to MVS and Mandan only. The fact that there exist look-alikes in the more northerly and southerly Siouan languages and forms such as Proto-North-Caddoan **wasa•* (Allan R. ART) strongly suggest that we are dealing at least partly with a diffused term here.

cough

verb physical_somatic_function

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *[old reconstruction only]*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa *haxphí* ‘sneeze’ J

Pre-Mandan **xpí-*

Mandan *pxíʔš* RTC , *he sneezed*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **hó_xpe*

Proto-Dakota **ho_xpá*

Lakota *ho_xpá* ‘cough’ RTC

Dakota *hoȟpa* , *†hoxpa* ‘cough’ WM:40a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *hóxwe* RR

Hoocąk *hooxíwi* ‘cough’ KM:1460 , *hooxiwi*

Proto-Dhegiha **hó-_xpe*

Omaha-Ponca *húxpe* , *†hóxpe* ‘cough’ MAS:48

Kanza/Kaw *hóxpe* ‘cough’ RR

Osage *húxpe* , *†hóxpe* ‘hawk, clear one’s throat’ LF:68b

Quapaw *hóxpe* ‘cough’ RR

General comment

The MVS form is a noun-verb compound, the noun being the Proto-Siouan root **hó* ‘voice’. Conjugation precedes the second element. The term seems relatively reconstructible even though there are evidently imitative elements.

Note that the Hoocąk vowel matches the Hidatsa vowel. Perhaps cf. ‘weak’.

count

verb social_education

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **ra-wé*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **(hki-)ruwE*

Crow *čimmí* ‘count’ GG:38, RGG:80

Hidatsa *(hki)ruwÉ* ‘count’ J , *(ki)ruwí*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **rawé*

Proto-Dakota **yawá*

Lakota *yawá* ‘say over, to read; to count; to consider’ [kį lila waką yawapi] EB:630b

Dakota *yawá* ‘count, say over, read’ SRR:617b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **ráwe*

Chiwere *ráwe, ráwa, rawáwe* ‘count’ JGT:124

Hoocąk *gikaráp* ‘count’ KM:362 , *gikarap*

Proto-Dhegiha **rawá*

Omaha-Ponca *wáčawábiamá* , *ɬwáðawá-* ‘they counted them, they say’

Kanza/Kaw *wéyawa* ‘counting stick’ RR

Osage *thawá* , *ɬðawá* ‘reckon, compute, count’ LF:142a

General comment

The root is presumably always combined with **ra-* ‘mouth, instrumental’. Hidatsa *ru-* would seem to be an assimilation of *ra-* to the following *w*. Chiwere/Hoocąk and Crow/Hidatsa indicate that the form could be prefixed by *ki-*.

cover (1)

verb physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **Sųhe*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **-xua* < **-xuhe*

Crow *iaxuá* 'hide; cover' GG:71, RG , *aaxuá* 'hide something' GG:3, RGG:24

Hidatsa *i?axua* 'hide sth.' J , *a?axua* 'hide sth.' J

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **-šų́*

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *šų́, horu-* 'cover, v.tr.; pitch (tent); put canvas over poles of tipi' KM:1508 , *horušų*

Proto-Dhegiha

Kanza/Kaw *bašǫ́* 'fold shut' RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *soⁿni, atṹk- (atũkse'oⁿni)* , *†atáksǫnį* 'put a lid on a kettle, etc.' D&S:175a , *soⁿ'hoⁿ, aduk-* , *†atuksǫ́hǫ* '(she) covered it up' D&S:175a

General comment

Crow/Hidatsa forms suggest earlier **-xuha* ~ **-xoha*; perhaps compare the *-sǫh-* in Biloxi. The Biloxi terms are hard to analyze. The "u" of the second entry may be a typo for *"ũ"as* in the first entry. And unfortunately it makes a big difference in the analysis, as "ũ", phonetically (phonemically?) [ə], generally denotes **a* while *u* is from **u*. If there is really *ŭ*, then the prefix is *dak-* from Proto-Siouan **raka-* 'by striking' with a root *sǫ*.

Otherwise the prefix is *du-* 'by hand/pulling' and a root *ksǫ*. The initial prefix is the locative in either event. The remainder of the stem presents other problems. If the parenthetical (*atũkse'oⁿni*) is a correct analysis, then the forms are not cognate at all. If it is D&S's incorrect analysis, cognacy is still possible. The problem is that *-soⁿni* can come from **sǫ-re* or from **se-(h)ǫ-re* where **(h)ǫ-re* is the auxiliary 'do, make'. Either is possible, but the second of the two entries suggests that *-se-* is an incorrect analysis, so we may have cognates here.

cover (2)

noun physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **-he*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa *ía* ‘covered; covert, obscure’ J

Pre-Mandan **ahe*

Mandan *áh* ‘be covered’ H:54 , *íʔa, íʔahe* ‘skin’ H:54 , *wą́rąʔa* ‘bark of tree’ H:54 , *šáʔhe* ‘hoof’ RTC , *ųkáʔhe* ‘fingernail’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dakota **-ha*

Lakota *iha* ‘lid, cover’ EB:215b , *óha* ‘stick to, adhere to, as do feathers or paint’ EB:372a

Dakota *iha* ‘cover, v.’ WM:40b , *ó_ha* ‘stick to, adhere, as feathers’ SRR:349b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *wírarahe* ‘cover, n’ JGT:124 , *arágehe* ‘cover sth.’ JGT:124

Proto-Dhegiha **-hé*

Kanza/Kaw *áphe* ‘cover over, as a lodge with skin’ MR

Quapaw *ttihé* ‘roof’ RR

General comment

The Hidatsa and Mandan entries, as well as the Kanza/Kaw form, suggest that the original meaning of the root was ‘cover, be covered’. Mandan and Hidatsa have reanalyzed the form as an h-final root, suggesting that it may have had a Pre-Mandan form **ahé*. In Kanza/Kaw *áphe* ‘cover over, as a lodge with skin’ (MR) the uncommon aspirate is a reflex of earlier **wa-he* ‘to place sth.’ after initial syllable syncope. Initial *a-* is the locative prefix, probably throughout. Dakota *iha*, has a different locative prefix, while Chiwere only has the verb in compounds. *he* is a common root of placing or putting in DH; general Siouan *ahé* may be nothing more than this verb with the locative prefix ‘on’, or it may be a separate etymon.

cranberry

noun plant_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **(wa-)hó•h-rąh-ka*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **hó•*

Proto-Dakota

Dakota *potkáŋka* ~ *potpáŋka* SRR:425a

Stoney *pom tonka* 'cranberry (low bush only)' Laurie:41

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *hothą́ŋe* 'cranberry' [informant uncertain] JDH

Hoocąk *hoočą́ke* , *hoocąke*

Proto-Dhegiha

Kanza/Kaw *ožį́ga* 'cranberries'

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *hohnùñk* , *†hohnąk* 'cranberries' H:38

General comment

Cf. 'hawthorn, black'. This set is too poorly attested to insure a secure reconstruction, although the berry is fairly widespread and native to North America. The Dakota form, if cognate, should begin with *ph* and would be the syncope product of earlier **w-hó-* < **wa-hó*. Numerous of these fossilized absolutive prefixes are preserved elsewhere in Dakota (cf. 'bison', 'onion', 'wild rice', etc.). Hoocąk preserves the bare root with a modifier which at first glance appears to be 'big', but which cannot be that because of the final vowel and aspirated *k*. The Tutelo forms clarify this somewhat and yields other valuable phonological information. Cf. also Tutelo 'strawberry' *has-pa-hínuk*. Assuming cognacy of the Hoocąk and Tutelo forms we can see that the full form of the basic stem was **hó•-he* and that the oldest recoverable form of the modifying element was probably **rąh-ka*. We already know that the cluster *h-k* gives *kh*, spelled "k" in Hoocąk, and final *-a* > *-e* after velars in that language. The cluster *h-r* or *h-n* remains *hn* in Tutelo but becomes **ht* in MVS. This regularly becomes **th* in Dakota, Chiwere and Hoocąk, later affricating everywhere in Hoocąk, where aspirated *čh* is regularly spelled "č".

So a poorly attested set can nonetheless provide interesting new information. Proto-Siouan **(wa-)hó•h-rąh-ka* is made up of **wa-* + *hó•he* + *rąhe* + *-ka*. **rąhe* remains an unidentified modifier.

crane

noun animal_bird

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **ahpé•-(rhą)*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **apíca*

Crow *apíta* ‘whooping crane, heron’ GG:12, RG

Hidatsa *apíca* ‘crane’ J

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **hpé•rhą*

Proto-Dakota **phehą́*

Lakota *phehą́* ‘crane’ RTC

Dakota *pehaŋ* , *†phehą* ‘crane’ WM:41a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **phé•tą*

Chiwere *péchan* , *†phéǰą* ‘crane’ JGT:125 , *peta*^{n} , *†phéǰą*

Otoe *phé•dą* ‘a kind of bird’ JDH

Hoocąk *peeǰą́* ‘crane (fowl)’ KM:2454 , *peeją*

Proto-Dhegiha **hpéthą*

Omaha-Ponca *ppéthą* ‘crane’ RR

Kanza/Kaw *békhą* ‘crane’ RR , *ppékhą* ‘crane’

Osage *hpékhą* , *†hpétxą* ‘crane’

Quapaw *ppéthą* ‘grayish blue crane’ JOD

General comment

Cf. ‘fold > wrap’ for a very similar form. This lexeme appears to be morphemically complex. All known instances of **rh* thus far are historically bimorphemic with the boundary in the middle. Note that Crow/Hidatsa argues for **s* in this position, a fact that may be explained by compounds like Dakota *phehąsą* where *-są* is ‘white (1)’. The Crow/Hidatsa forms seem to lack any reflex of the *rhą* portion of the MVS forms. Thus the MVS forms are likely put together from at least three morphemes historically. And since initial MVS preaspirates normally signal a missing initial syllable, (preaspirates being a second syllable phenomenon) a prefix may also have been present in Proto-Siouan or pre-Proto-Siouan.

crayfish

noun animal

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **mą́-šką*

Proto-Dakota **mąthúška*

Lakota *matúška* ‘crayfish’ EB:334a , *mąthúška* ‘crayfish’ EJ

Dakota *matuška* , *†mąthúška* ‘crayfish’ WM:41b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **wątúške*

Chiwere *hįdúsge* ‘crawdad, crayfish’ JDH , *mandúnske, madúnsge* , *†mądúske* ‘crawfish’ JGT:125

Hoocąk *waǰųsgé* ‘crab, crayfish’ KM:3331 , *wajųsge* ‘crab, crayfish’ KM:3456 , *waruwíwišge* , *waruwiwišge*

Proto-Dhegiha **mą́ška*

Omaha-Ponca *mą́ška* ‘crayfish’ RR

Kanza/Kaw *mą́ška* ‘crayfish’ RR

Osage *mo^{n}´shko^{n}* , *†mą́šką* ‘crawfish’ LF:101b

Quapaw *mą́ška, mǫ́ška* ‘crayfish’ RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *a^{n}skí, a^{n}sũkí* , *†ąskí~ąsəkí* ‘bivalves, including oysters and mussels’ D&S:178a

General comment

Two alternants: Proto-Mississipi-Valley **mą́ška* and **mątuška*. Lakota and Hoocąk may show contamination from Proto-Mississipi-Valley **tuki* ‘clam, shellfish’. The Chiwere/Hoocąk forms clearly suggest an unaspirated *t*. This set presents another interesting case in which **wą* is being replaced by Chiwere *hį*. The same change characterizes ‘we, 12Act’ in Chiwere and perhaps one of the 1poss prefixes as well, q.v. It seems to be a semi-regular and perhaps diffusing sound change.

creak, squeak

verb perceptual_auditory

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **kį́ZE*

Proto-Dakota **kį́za*

Lakota *kízA, ka-* ‘make creak by rubbing, as two trees do that rub against each other, or as door hinges that are not well oiled’ EB:280b, EJ , *kízA, na-* ‘make one’s shoes or so creak’ EB:349b, EJ , *kízA, pa-* ‘make creak by rubbing’ EB:428b , *kízA, wa-* ‘violin’ EJ , *kízA, ya-* ‘make a scraping, squeaking noise with a knife or saw’ EB:532b, EJ , *kízA, yu-* ‘make a grating or creaking noise with the teeth, to gnash’ EB:622b, EJ

Dakota *kíŋza* , *†kį́za* ‘creak’ WM:41b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *gį́xe* ‘creak; tree spirit’ JGT:239

Hoocąk *gį́š, gi-* ‘be squeaky, like shoes’ KM:332 , *gigiš* ‘make crunching or squeaking noise when walking’ KM:2144 , *gį́š, nąą-* , *nąągiš*

General comment

Quapaw *bakį́tte* ‘play the violin, fiddle’ shares the same root, **kį́*, with this set but has a different root extension.

creek, branch

noun plant_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **kaɣá*

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *čhąkáya* ‘drift log’ EB:119a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *wáixa* ‘rivulet, tributary; branch of a tree’ KM:3320 , *waixa*

Proto-Dhegiha **kaxá*

Omaha-Ponca *nígaxa* MAS:24

Kanza/Kaw *gaxá* ‘creek’ RR

Osage *gaxá* , *†kaxá* LF:48a

General comment

The Hoocąk form is historically **wa-gi-xa* and the associated changes are semi-regular with *gi* typically replacing **ga* as a prefix. In this instance there is no real evidence that it was historically a prefix however.

cross

verb physical_motion

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **pte*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **pte*

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *kaíciopteya* ‘crosswise, intersecting’ EB:276b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *če, arú-* ‘across, crosswise, wide, broad’ LWR:2 , *ruché* , *†ručhé* ‘cross’ JGT:125

Proto-Dhegiha **-hté*

Kanza/Kaw *ččé, yu-* ‘cross, as a stream’ RR

Quapaw *tté, di-* ‘cross a stream’ RR , *ttétte, ákkidi-* ‘criscrossed’ RR , *tté, bi-* ‘hands, extended to person addr’ RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *aluptese* ‘go across, as a stream’ JOD

crow > blackbird

noun animal_bird

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **wą*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dhegiha **mą (-krį́xta)*

Omaha-Ponca *moⁿgthiⁿ́xta* , *†mągðį́xta* ‘red winged blackbird’ MAS:18

Kanza/Kaw *mąlíxta* ‘crow, blackbird’ JOD

Quapaw *mą* ‘crow’ RR, JOD , *mąkdíxtą* ‘blackbird’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **ąčka*

Biloxi *aⁿtcká, aⁿtcka* , *†ąčká* ‘crow’ D&S:178b

Ofo *oⁿ́cka* , *†ąška* ‘crow’ D&S:328a

General comment

The Kanza/Kaw term is shared with the other DH languages where it refers to the red winged blackbird. Quapaw alone among the DH languages permits *mą* as a free standing word. Since Biloxi and Ofo typically lose initial labial resonants, given the semantics and the DH cognates, reconstruction of initial **w* here seems well justified.

crow > raven

noun animal_bird

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **hkáˑxi*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **hkáˑɣi*

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *khąɣí* ‘crow’ RTC

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **kháˑɣi*

Chiwere *kháˑxe* RR

Missouria *car ka, kar ka* , *†kha•xe, †kha•ke* RR

Hoocąk *kaayí* ‘raven’ KM:1738 , *kaaǧi*

Proto-Dhegiha **hkáˑɣe*

Omaha-Ponca *kkáˑxe* ‘crow’ RTC

Kanza/Kaw *kkáɣe* ‘crow’ RR

Osage *ḳáxe* , *†hkáɣe* ‘crow’ LF:83b

Quapaw *kkáxe* ‘crow’ RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *kāhi* , *†kaˑxi* H

General comment

An irregular set, influenced by onomatopoeia. Mandan *kéˑka* ‘raven’ is probably not cognate. KM glosses *kaayí* as ‘raven, Menominee’.

crunch

verb perceptual_auditory

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **wrɪ́ɣE*

Proto-Dakota **mnúɣA*

Lakota *mnuɣA, wayá-* ‘grind, as in eating parched corn’ EB:564a, EJ , *mnúmnuɣA, ya-* ‘crunch, crush, grind, champ, or make noise with the teeth, as in eating; pepper’ EB:624a, EJ , *númnuɣA, yu-* ‘make a noise, as in handling corn; To make a noise, as in handling corn or crepe paper’ EB:644, EJ

Dakota *mnúġa* ‘crunch, as a horse does in eating corn’ SRR:318b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *brúnxe* , *†brɪ́xe* ‘make a crunching sound’ JGT:126

Proto-Dhegiha **brǫ́ɣe*

Kanza/Kaw *büblǫ́ɣe* ‘crunching sound, make by pressure on ice’ JOD , *nąblǫ́ɣe* ‘crunch something’ JOD , *nąblą́ɣe* ‘crunch something’ JOD , *nąblǫ́blǫɣe* ‘make crunching sounds, kick’ JOD, MR, RR , *yablǫ́ɣe* ‘crunch in two, bite in two’ RR , *yablǫ́blǫɣe* ‘crunch while eating, as in eating ice.’ RR

Quapaw *dabnábnaɣe* ‘crunch food when eating’ RR

General comment

Ordinarily stems of this general shape would descend from a Proto-Siouan stem of the probable shape **wa-(r)ɪ́xE* where *wa-* is ‘indef. obj.’, and in which the parenthetical *r* could be either organic or epenthetic historically.

Lack of cognates outside of MVS makes such a reconstruction too insecure here however.

crush (1)

verb physical_contact_deformation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **pú•SE (?)*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa *-pu•xE, ara-* ‘stomp and break in small pieces’ J , *-pu•xE, ná-* ‘grind up with mouth’ J , *-pu•xE, nú-* ‘crush, break small’ J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *-puš, ra-* ‘chew s.t.’ H:160

crush (2)

verb physical_contact_deformation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **Sú•SE*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Crow *dáššuši* ‘break with mouth’ RGG:25, GG:42 , *-sshushi, dá-* ‘break with mouth; bring down verbally’ RG , *-sshushi, dú-* ‘break’ RG

Hidatsa *-cu•xE, ara-* ‘break up fine by stepping on’ J , *-cu•xE, ná-* ‘grind up fine in mouth, chew up’ J , *-cu•xE, nak-* ‘hammer it fine, crush’ J , *-cu•xE, nú-* ‘grind up fine, crush’ J

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **SúžE*

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *nasúsuza* ‘snap, as ice forming’ [- ablaut] , *yusúsuze* ‘noise made when rubbing two pieces of ice together’ EJ , *kašúžA* ‘bruise, batter; to mash, crush by striking’ EB:292a, EJ , *našúžA* ‘bruise or crush with the foot’ EB:359b, EJ , *pašúžA* ‘crush with the hand; to break or mash by punching’ EB:435b, EJ , *yašúžA* ‘crush, as a dog does a bone; to mash up’ EB:629a, EJ , *pašúšužA* ‘mash up, break in pieces e.g. bones’ EB:435b, EJ , *wošúžA* ‘crush by punching; to crush or mash up’ EB:610a, EJ , *yušúžA* ‘crush e.g. bones; to break in slivers’ EB:653a, EJ

Proto-Dhegiha

Kanza/Kaw *wadáxüže* ‘cracklings’ MR, RR

General comment

The listed Kanza/Kaw *wadáxüže* may really be *wadáyüže* and thus related to the *yu* of ‘Brulé’ in Dakota meaning ‘burnt’, rather than to the present set.

cry

verb psychic_emotion_expression

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **xa•kE*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa *cá•kE* ‘grieve, mourn’ J , *cá•ki*

Pre-Mandan **-šak-*

Mandan *ó•kašako?š* ‘he shouted’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **ɣa•ke* RR

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **ɣá•ke*

Chiwere *xa•gé, xá•ge* RR

Hoocąk *ɣáak* ‘cry (as child); crow (rooster)’ KM:477 , *ğaak*

Proto-Dhegiha **ɣaké*

Omaha-Ponca *xage, ɣagé* JOD

Kanza/Kaw *xagé* ‘cry’ [buxáge, -ɣa-] RR , *buxáge, -ɣa-* ‘cry, make by rubbing, weight, etc.’ [gaxáge, -ɣage] JOD, RR , *gaxáge, -ɣage* ‘cry, cause by striking’ [yaɣáge, -xáge] MR, JOD, RR , *nąxáge* ‘cry, cause by kicking or stamping on’ [yuɣáge, -xage] MR, RR , *báɣage* ‘cry, cause from cutting’ JOD, RR , *baɣáge* ‘cry, cause from pushing’ JOD, RR , *bóɣage* ‘whine, verb or noun, riccochet’ JOD, RR , *yaɣáge, -xáge* ‘cry or to make cry by biting’ JOD, SRR, RR , *yuɣáge, -xage* ‘cry, make by holding, squeezing, pinching’ MR, JOD, RR

Osage *xagé* , *†ɣaké* ‘weep, cry’ LF:217a

Quapaw *ɣaké* ‘cry’ JOD , *ɣáke, di-* ‘cry, cause by squeezing’ RR

Proto-Southeastern **xa•k-*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *áxąkoⁿní* , *†áxək-ǫnį́* ‘be poor’ , *áxąkoⁿyĕ´* , *†áxək-ǫ-yé* ‘make one poor, treat ill’ D&S:219a

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *qāąise* , *†xá•ka* ‘cry’ H , *qaka* , *†xá•ka* ‘weep’

Proto-Catawba

Catawba *ake* ‘weep’ KS

General comment

This is one of the rare roots that consistently shows initial *ɣ* in MVS. Even in Kanza/Kaw and Osage it is recorded with initial *ɣ* by JOD. In all probability this indicates an initial element now missing in MVS. Hidatsa and Mandan show a different ablaut grade. Crow *číaxi* 'mourn' and corresponding Hidatsa *kí•xi* 'whimper, whine' do not line up phonologically.

cucurbit (1)

noun plant

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **wa•twą́*

Chiwere *wa•dwą́* 'squash' RR

Hoocąk *wičąwą́* 'squash' KM:3637 , *wicąwą*

General comment

Cf. 'cat' and 'corn' for similar Dakota, Chiwere, Hoocąk clusters. JEK finds good analogs for these in Algonquian, and there is every indication that they are loanwords in Siouan. The cluster **kw* is not found in Siouan, and the sequence **wų* is also extremely rare. The Dakota/Chiwere/Hoocąk terms suggest a source with the approximate shape *wa•kwan-, wa•kwon-*. Cf. *†kmą* 'corn' . In this instance, the prefixes differ, and Lakota *ų* : Hoocąk *ą* is also irregular. While we have found a number of cases in which the two back nasal vowels have partially merged, the above factors, plus the rare (historically non-existent in Proto-Siouan?) cluster lead us to believe that these are borrowings in their respective languages, presumably Algonquian. The variation of the prefix in this form between *wa-* and *wi-* is also found in *corn* and *cat*, as is the alternation between *ų* and *ą*, and it could be argued that this variation is part of the behavior of the medial cluster. In fact, the probable source of variability in the vowel is accomodation of AL *-me-* to SI phonological and morphological norms. *me* is not a permitted sequence in most of the contemporary languages. The reconstructible PA form is **e•mehkwa•ni*. Compare also Kickapoo *eemehkwaani* 'spoon' (Voorhis 1988), Menomini *ɛ•mɛhkwan* 'squash, melon, seed' (Goddard p.c.).

cucurbit (2)

noun plant

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dhegiha **wathą́*

Omaha-Ponca *wathą́* ‘Pepo pepo’ RR

Kanza/Kaw *wakhą́* RR

Osage *wakhą́* ~ *wathą́* RR

Quapaw *wathą́* RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *ątháą́*

Biloxi *ta*^{n} , *†tą* ‘melons’ , *a*^{n}*táni* , *†ątáni* ‘pumpkin, squash’ D&S:271b

Ofo *ô*^{n}*thâ*^{n} , *†ątha* ‘pumpkin’ D&S:328a , *o*^{n}*tafhą́hi* , *†ątafhə́hi* ‘watermelon’

General comment

The geographical distribution of *cucurbit (2) + (3)* suggests that this vegetable diffused in the areas where the languages were spoken after the breakup of MVS. Cf. Yuchi *thą́p?ænē* ‘gourd’ LB. Cf. ‘corn (1)’ and the other cucurbit terms.

cut (1)

verb physical_contact_deformation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **-ká (?)*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *-ká*

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *ká, pa-* 'push down or break down e.g. ribs of an animal' [nasalized A] EB:427b , *ka, ipá-* 'draw back, as meat from ribs when cooked, or as husks of corn when ripe; prop up (with a stick)' EB:230b, EJ , *ká, pa-* 'split or cut a slit in for an arrowhead' EB:427b , *ká, wa-* 'cut or strip, as the feather from a quill; to cut off e.g. the ribs of an animal; to split a quill in the middle' EB:523b , *káhA, wa-* 'split, as the feather end of a quill' EB:524a , *ká, ya-* 'split with the mouth, as the feather end of a quill' EB:622a , *ká, yu-* 'strip off e.g. the feather part of a quill' EB:641a

Proto-Dhegiha **-ka*

Omaha-Ponca *ága-'cut into slices'*

Kanza/Kaw *wágaye* 'cut off in strips' RR , *gá, yu-* 'husk corn, hull nuts' RR

Osage *ága* , *†áka* 'slice meat for drying' LF:7b

Quapaw *áka* 'cut, slice on something' JOD , *ká, di-* 'strip off, as leaves' RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *akĕ´* 'use a knife, (i.e., to cut with it)' D&S:170b

General comment

This is one of a number of verbs we would expect to show aspiration, as it is normally used with prefixes that place the root in second syllable position. Cf. 'see (2)', which also lacks expected aspiration. The putative Biloxi cognate, while possibly related, should have *-a*, not *-e*. The semantics makes the match attractive, but it is nonetheless irregular. Cf. 'tear'

cut (2)

verb physical_contact_deformation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **-kipE*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **-kipE*

Crow *chípi, dat-* ‘carve, whittle, peel, slice, pare’ RG, GG:42

Hidatsa *kipE, naka-* ‘cut off a chunk of meat’ J , *kipE, ná-* ‘bite off’ J , *kipE, nú-* ‘scrape meat from a bone, cut in strips, whittle’ J , *kipE, pá-* ‘straight cutting’ J

Pre-Mandan **-kip-*

Mandan *kip, ka-* ‘sharpen, trim’ H:109 , *kip, ru-* ‘shave s.t., hone’ H:109

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *wakipi* ‘shave’ WM:201

General comment

Restricted to the most northerly subgroups. Hidatsa and Mandan agree in calling for Proto-Siouan **-E*, while Lakota suggests **-i*. The Wm ref. lists this as Teton.

cut (3)

verb physical_contact_deformation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba **kąʔ*

Proto-Siouan **-ką́*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **-ką́*

Proto-Dakota **-ką́*

Lakota *-ką́, wo-* ‘punch or shoot off’ EB:601b , *-ką́, na-* ‘thresh out e.g. corn etc. with the feet by treading’ EB:347a , *-ką́, ka-* ‘hew, as a log; to adze; to knock off, as fruit from a tree’ EB:279b , *-ką́, ka-* ‘make marks, notches into something hard’ EB:279b , *-ką́, pa-* ‘rub off dirt, rub clean e.g. a dirty window’ EB:428a

Dakota *ṫkakáką́* ‘hew (log), adze, knock off (fruit)’ SRR:255a

Proto-Dhegiha **-ką́*

Kanza/Kaw *-gą, bá-* ‘whittle, cut wood lengthwise’ RR , *wégagą* ‘sword’ JOD

Quapaw *-ką́, di-* ‘hissing or cutting sound’ RR

Proto-Catawba

Catawba *kąʔ* MS, KS

General comment

Assuming cognacy of the Catawba root, a Proto-Siouan form is, of course, presumed. It is not reconstructible internally within Siouan however, since it is represented only in MVS.

cut > open

verb physical_contact_deformation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **ru-káwa*

Proto-Dakota **kawá*

Lakota *kawá* ‘open, as a flower’ EB:295a , *-káwa, ka-* ‘make open by striking, i.e. to strike something off and thus open it partly e.g. a tin can’ EB:279b , *-káwa, na-* ‘spring open; also, to shrink, as a door and so does not stay closed; to kick open; open, as a flower’ EB:347b, EJ , *-káwa, pa-* ‘make a split, split’ EB:428a , *-káwa, ya-* ‘open or push back anything with the mouth’ EB:622a , *-káwa, yu-* ‘open e.g. a wound, a sore, or somebody’s mouth; implying effort being made in so opening; e.g. looking into a horse’s mouth’ EB:641b, EJ

Dakota *yukawa* ‘open’ WM:121a

Proto-Dhegiha

Kanza/Kaw *-gáwa, bü-* ‘open sth., cause to spread outfrom pressure’ [yü-, -gáwe] JOD, RR , *-gáwa, yü-, -gáwe* ‘pull open a bundle, box, open sth. up.’ JOD, SRR, RR

cut strips (1)

verb physical_contact_deformation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **só*

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *só* ‘cut into strings’ [redup] EB:458a , *sóso* ‘cut many strings’ EJ , *só, wa-* ‘cut a strip or string, as from a hide’ EB:550a , *sóso, wa-* ‘cut into strips or strings’ EB:550a , *só, yu-* ‘cut in strings or strips e.g. a hide’ EB:650b , *soso, wó-* ‘meat cut in strips or strings’ EB:608b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **só*

Chiwere *θó* ‘cut into strips’ JGT:127

Hoocąk *so, -gi-* ‘cut off strips of leather’ KM:398, WL:48.3 , *-giso*

Proto-Dhegiha **só*

Kanza/Kaw *íso* ‘cut in strips’ RR , *so* ‘cut thong’ RR

Osage *çu* , *†so* ‘cut or slit a hide’ LF:32b

Quapaw *so* ‘cut lengthwise’ JOD

General comment

Restricted to MVS, but cf. ‘cut strips (2)’

cut strips (2)

verb physical_contact_deformation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **-šó*

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *šo, awá-* or: *awáso* ‘cut off a string from, cut a string on anything’ EB:99a , *awáso* ‘pull off one string by tugging upward’ EJ

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *šó, mąą-* ‘whittle’ KM:2027 , *mąąšo* ‘whittle, break off thin strips’ KM:2976 , *šó; mąąšó* , *mąąšo*

Proto-Dhegiha

Kanza/Kaw *-šo, nibúǘ-* ‘wave in water’ RR

General comment

Restricted to MVS. Cf. ‘cut strips (1)’

cut strips > chop, tear

verb physical_contact_deformation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **-sá•(-re)*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa *-ca•, ná-* ‘break with teeth’ J , *-ca•, nú-* ‘crumble’ J , *-cá•, nak-* ‘break to pieces, shatter, pulverize’ J , *-ca•, pá-* ‘break with a stick, poke, jab’ J , *-cá•, ara-* ‘trample’ J , *-cá•, ha-* ‘cut out of flat material, cut in strips’ J

Pre-Mandan **-sa•-*

Mandan *kasáro?š* ‘he cuts meat from bone’ H:200 , *rasáro?š* ‘he eats meat from bone’ H:200

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dakota **-zá*

Lakota *zazáhA* ‘ragged’ [nasalized cap. A] EB:658a , *-zá, ka-* ‘stringy; hangs do wn unevenly; screen with tears in it’ [- ablaut] EJ , *-záza, yu-* ‘pick to pieces e.g. the takaŋ or sinew, tearing off one string after another and twisting it for use in sewing; n. a job’ EB:296a , *-záza, ka-* ‘make fringes by cutting with scissors’ EJ , *-záza, wa-* ‘pick to pieces e.g. sinew or a piece of cloth’ EB:657a

Dakota *kazá* ‘pick to pieces’ SRR:273a

Proto-Southeastern **-sá•(-ri)*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *daksádi* , *†daksádi* ‘cut with knife’ D&S:250b , *dusą´hutpě´* , *†daksádi* ‘tear a hole through’ , *dŭkŭsasá* , *†dakasasá* ‘cut often w. a knife, making many splinters’ D&S:262a , *dusádi* , *†dakasasá* ‘tear anything’ D&S:250b

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *lakasāse* , *†lakasa•se* ‘chop’ H

Proto-Catawba

Catawba *sę* ‘cut wood’ KS

General comment

Cf. ‘break (2)’

cutting instrumental

instrumental prefix physical_contact_deformation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **Wa-*

Proto-Dakota **Wa-*

Lakota *wa-* [wawa-, waya-, wa-, waʔú(k)-]

Dakota *ba-* [bawa-, etc.]

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *ba-* GM

Hoocąk *mąą-, mąą́-, mąąrá-, mąą-* WL, PV

Proto-Dhegiha **Wá-*

Omaha-Ponca *má-* [máa-, máða-, má-]

Kanza/Kaw *bá-* [báa-, báya-, bá-] RR

Osage *pá-* [páa-, páða- pá-] RR

Quapaw *pa-* [páa, páda-, pá-] JOD, RR

General comment

This is an outer instrumental in MVS. It seems to be quite restricted and shows the peculiar set of *W* initials. Elsewhere **W* seems to be derived from an earlier **w(V)wV´* sequence in which the first V has been lost by initial syllable syncope. That is, *W* seems usually to come from secondary geminate *ww*. Here we lack evidence for the sequence, but the analogous instrumental in Crow and Hidatsa shows at least that ‘by cutting’ is probably morphemically complex at least. We cannot be certain that the form was Proto-Siouan. The Hoocąk form is irregular and shows contamination from ‘knife, chert’, q.v.

d

dance

verb social_culture

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

- Proto-Siouan **ri•h-šį́*
  - Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **rišš́É*
    - Crow *dišší* ‘dance’ RG, GG:44, RGG:61
    - Hidatsa *rišš́É* ‘dance’ J , *nišší*
  - Proto-Mississipi-Valley **wahší*
    - Proto-Dakota **wa_čhí*
      - Lakota *wa_čhí* ‘dance’ RTC
      - Dakota *waci* , *†wa_čhí* ‘dance’ WM:44a
      - Stoney *wačhí* ‘dance’ PAS
      - Sioux Valley *wačhí* ‘dance’ PAS
    - Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **wa_šį́*
      - Chiwere *wa•_šį́* ‘dance’ RR
      - Hoocąk *waší* ‘dance’ KM:3485 , *waši*
    - Proto-Dhegiha **wa_čhí*
      - Omaha-Ponca *wachígaxe* , *†wa_čhí* ‘dance-make’ MAS:55
      - Kanza/Kaw *wa_čhį́* ‘dance’ RR
      - Osage *wachį́* ‘dance’ RR
  - Proto-Southeastern **-čhí*
    - Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **ri•čhi*
      - Biloxi *ditcí* , *†dičí* ‘dance’ D&S:183b
      - Ofo *lī´tchi* , *†lí•čhi* ‘dance’ D&S:326a, JSS
    - Proto-Tutelo-Saponi
      - Tutelo *wāgētš’í’i* , *†wa•ke•čhíʔi* ‘dance’ ES , *wagitçi; ketçi* , *†wa•ke•čhíʔi* N, H
- Proto-Catawba
  - Catawba *bari* ‘dance’ PV:19

General comment

We believe that we may be dealing with a compound in this form, perhaps something like ***rí•he* + ***ši*, with meanings of the constituents unknown, although the Catawba form suggests that the meaning of the first element may have been 'dance'. This compound would produce **rí•hši* in Proto-Siouan, similar to the forms found in Proto-Crow-Hidatsa and Proto-Biloxi-Ofo, assuming that ***hš* > **čh* in Proto-Biloxi-Ofo. Prefixing **wa-* 'absolutive' in Proto-Mississipi-Valley would have produced the trisyllabic **warí•hši*; simplification to the preferred disyllabic structure of lexical roots (with subsequent loss of *r* from its initial position in the resulting cluster) could have produced **wahší*, with further reductions in the descendant languages.

Osage/Kanza/Kaw nasalization is irregular, but may be explained in terms of the cognate Omaha-Ponca form. Numeral terms meaning 'do once, do twice', etc., in DH are formed by suffixing *ǫ*, a reflex of Proto-Dhegiha **ʔǫ* 'do, make', to the basic number. In the process, the *ǫ* frequently fuses with the final vowel of the number so that, e.g., *†nǫbá* + *†ʔǫ* > *nǫbą́* 'twice', but *†ðą́•bðį* + *†ʔǫ* > *ðá•bðį* 'thrice'. The same process may have taken place here, *†wačhí* + *†ʔǫ* giving *wačhį́*. Omaha-Ponca uses *gá•ɣe*, the modern verb 'make' to form dance and may be thought of as a modern calque of the historical form with reflexes of an analogous calque occurring in Kanza/Kaw/Osage. Of all the Siouan languages for which the term is attested, only Mandan and Quapaw have replaced it (with *rą́ʔpE* and *ožá* respectively).

danger, difficulty, hardship

verb evaluative

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **htéxi*

Proto-Dakota **thexí*

Lakota *thexí* 'difficult' RTC

Dakota *teȟixike* , *†thexí-* 'difficult' WM:49b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **-théxi*

Chiwere *wočhéxi* 'difficult' GM

Hoocąk *woočéxhi* 'be difficult' KM:3770 , *woocexi, wooceexi* 'dangerous' MM:186 , *watcexini* , *waceği*

Proto-Dhegiha **htéxi*

Omaha-Ponca *téxi* , *†ttéxi* 'difficult' MAS:58

Kanza/Kaw *waččéxi* 'hard, difficult' RR

Osage *ṭsexi* , *†hcexi* 'hardship, dangers' LF:161b

Quapaw *óttexi* 'difficult to do' JOD

darkness (1)

noun perceptual_visual

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **hą́•*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **hahpV-*

Crow *chihpashí* ‘darkness’ GG:36

Hidatsa *háphe•hiša* ‘pitch dark’ J , *ha’péša* , *†hahpéša* ‘dark, devoid of light’ WM

Pre-Mandan **hą́•- (?)*

Mandan *hą́xurare* ‘bat’ H:70

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **hą́•*

Proto-Dakota **hą́-, *hąhépi*

Lakota *hą́, hąhépi, hąyótu* ‘night’ , *hą?íyoto* ‘late at night’

Dakota *haŋ* ‘night’ SRR:123a

Yanktonai *haŋhépi* ‘night’ SRR:123a

Stoney *hį́•hą* ‘last night’ PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **hą́•he*

Chiwere *hą́•he* ‘night’ RR

Hoocąk *hąąhé* ‘be night’ KM:752 , *hąąhe*

Proto-Dhegiha **hą́*

Omaha-Ponca *hą* ‘night’ RR

Kanza/Kaw *há, hǫ́, háye* ‘night’ RR

Osage *ho^{n}* , *†há* ‘night’ LF:63b

Quapaw *há, hǫ́* ‘night’ RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *usīhā, ohsīhā* ‘darkness’ H

General comment

The Mandan etymology (**hą* 'night' + **xura•re* 'eagle') was suggested by JEK. This root is most often found in compounds, and in some languages only occurs there. The *-(hi)šV* found in Crow/Hidatsa forms is a similitive. Crow has prefixed *ki-*. The Proto-Crow-Hidatsa may be comparable to Dakotan *hąhep-*; alternatively it may represent a compound of 'darkness (1)' and 'darkness (2)'.

darkness (2)

noun perceptual_visual

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **kpa•*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **-hpa• < *-Cpa•*

Crow *áhpaa* 'evening' GG:4, RGG:36

Hidatsa *óhpa•* 'evening' J

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **kpá-zE*

Proto-Dakota **kpázA ~ *tpázA*

Lakota *kpáza, ókpaza* 'dark, darkness' RTC

Dakota *tpáza, ótpaza* 'dark' SRR:480a , *ókpaza* WM:44a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *hokawás* 'be dark, darkness' KM:1364 , *hokawas* 'get dark, darken' KM:1365 , *hokawazí* , *hokawas hii*

Proto-Dhegiha **hpáze*

Omaha-Ponca *páçe* , *ṫppáze* 'evening' MAS:70

Kanza/Kaw *ppáze* 'evening' RR

Osage *páçe* , *ṫhpáze* 'evening, close of the day' LF:124a

Quapaw *ppáze* 'evening' RR

General comment

The Hidatsa and OVS forms (under **sih* 'darkness') show clearly that this is historically a compound. There is nearly always a prefix, locative *a-* or *o-*, which may be used with either part of the compound separately, as Hidatsa and Tutelo show most clearly.

The initial stop cluster found in MVS may also resolve itself into more than one morpheme, as the precise source of the *k* portion of the cluster is unclear. Analysis of this set is far from complete. Chiwere has substituted *hą•* 'night' for *kpa* in this word.

darkness (3)

noun perceptual_visual

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **si(-he)*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **ó•kcihe*

Crow *óotchia* ‘darkness’ GG:78

Hidatsa *ó•kcia* ‘darkness, night’ J

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **-zE*

Proto-Dakota **-zA*

Lakota *kpáza, ókpaza* ‘dark, darkness’ RTC

Dakota *tpáza, ótpaza* ‘dark’ SRR:480a , *ókpaza* WM:44a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **o-ą-zi*

Chiwere *uhándhe* , *†u-hą́-ðe* ‘evening time’ JGT:138

Hoocąk *hokawás* ‘be dark, darkness’ KM:1364 , *hokawas* ‘get dark, darken’ KM:1365 , *hokawazí* , *hokawas hii*

Proto-Dhegiha **-ze*

Omaha-Ponca *páçe* , *†ppáze* ‘evening’ MAS:70

Kanza/Kaw *ppáze* ‘evening’ RR

Osage *páçe* , *†hpáze* ‘evening, close of the day’ LF:124a

Quapaw *ppáze* ‘evening’ RR

Proto-Southeastern **o-sí*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **pVsi*

Biloxi *psí, pŭs, pŭsi, pûsí* , *†pəsí* ‘night, night time’ D&S:247b

Ofo *upṓfi, ūpṓfi* , *†upó•fi* ‘night’ D&S:331b, JSS

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *usī, osī; ohsíha, usīhā* , *†osi•* ‘night’ H

daughter

noun social_kin

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **i-yų́•ke*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa *ihká* ‘daughter’ J

Pre-Mandan **rų•hąkE ~ rų•hįkE (?)*

Mandan *rúhąk ~ rúhįk* ‘daughter’ H:191 , *korúįhįke ~ korúįhąke* ‘his daughter’ H:191 , *korú•hąks* ‘his daughter’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **i-yų́•ke*

Proto-Dakota **(i-)čhųkši*

Lakota *čhųkší ~ čhųkš* ‘daughter’ RTC

Dakota **(i-)čhųkši* ‘daughter’ WM:44b , *(mi-)cuŋkśi*

Assiniboine *čhųkši* PAS

Stoney *čhųksi* PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **iyų́•ke*

Chiwere *hį•nų́•įŋe* ‘his daughter’ RR , *iyų́ke* GM

Otoe *iyų́•ñe* ‘woman’s daughter’ JDH

Hoocąk *hinų́k* ‘woman; queen (at cards)’ KM:973 , *hinųk* ‘daughter’ JWE , *hinų́k* , *hinųk*

Proto-Dhegiha **ižǫ́•ke*

Omaha-Ponca *ižǫ́•ge* ‘daughter’ RTC

Ponca *ižą́ge*

Kanza/Kaw *žǫ́ge* RR

Osage *izhó^{n}ge* , *†ižǫ́ke* LF:82b

Quapaw *ižą́ke* ‘someone’s daughter’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *yûñki, yûñkí* , *†yǫ́ki* ‘his/her daughter’ D&S:296a

General comment

Mandan is not well explained here, but it looks parallel to Chiwere, which is diminutivized. The Hidatsa is even less well understood but seems to reflect an earlier *i-hVkE*, perhaps comparable to the Mandan. This word has become homophonous or nearly so in several languages with reflexes of 'female, woman', which differs only in vowel quality, e.g., Biloxi *yąki* 'woman', *yųki* 'daughter'. In addition, reflexes of **ą* and **ų* have fallen together in several languages, so there appears to be quite a bit of contamination here.

daughter, first

noun social_kin

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **wį-nų*

Proto-Dakota

Dakota *winona* , *†winúna* SRR:45

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **hí•nų, *hį́•nų*

Chiwere *hį•nų́•ižje* 'first born girl' RR , *hį́nų* GM

Hoocąk *híinų* 'first daughter' KM:875 , *hiinų, hinų*

Proto-Dhegiha **winǫ́* ~ **winą́*

Omaha-Ponca *winó^{n}* , *†winą́*

Kanza/Kaw *mįnį́* ~ *mįnǫ́* RR

Osage *mina* , *†mįnį́* 'first daughter (special kinship term used by parents)' LF:92a

Quapaw *winą́ žika* JOD

General comment

**wį* 'female' + **rų•* 'one' (+ Dak. *-la* 'diminutive'), q.v..

**rų•* is also the root of OVS 'her/his elder sister' for which there are both Biloxi and Tutelo cognates, q.v. These sets are difficult to untangle because of the (near) homophony of **wį-* 'female' and **wi-* 'my' in the nasal environment provided by two other (near?) homonyms **rų•* 'one' and **rų* 'grow up, older'. The compound is more or less transparent in most subgroups of MVS, and with only Tutelo representing this lexeme outside of MVS (and the possibility of borrowing in that instance), this is not a secure Proto-Siouan kinship term. This term is presumably the prototype for the common English name 'Winona' or 'Wynona'.

daughter, youngest

noun social_kin

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **hák-si•ka*

Chiwere *há?θiga* ‘youngest daughter’ GM

Hoocąk *haksíiga* ‘third daughter’ KM:619 , *haksiiga*

Proto-Dhegiha **así*

Omaha-Ponca *así* ‘third daughter’

Kanza/Kaw *así, asíhiŋa*

Osage *asížį́ka, açí^{n}ga* , *†asį́ka* ‘fourth daughter’ LF:249a

General comment

This may be a compound of **hak-* ‘youngest child’ and **sí* or **sį́kV* ‘sister’s daughter’ or **sikV* ‘third daughter’.

Loss of initial *h-* in DH is unexpected, but DH *s* is the usual reflex of **ks*. The MVS languages, in particular DH, seem to innovate the numbered daughter birth names, and that system seems to diffuse northward across DH and into Chiwere/Hoocąk from there. The prototype for this term (not reconstruction) would be something like *†hak-sí•-(ka)* ‘third daughter’ with an added *-yį́ka* ‘dimin.’ with ‘youngest daughter’.

day

noun time_phase

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **hą́•pe*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **wa•pE*

Crow *baapí* ‘day, daytime’ RG, GG:21, RGG:37

Hidatsa *wá•pi* ‘day’ J , *má•pi* ‘today’ J , *wá•pehe* , *má•pehe*

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *hą́p* ~ *hąpé* ‘day’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **hą́•pE*

Proto-Dakota **ą́pa*

Lakota *ą́pa* ‘dawn’ RTC , *ąpétu* ‘day’

Dakota *aŋpé* ‘day’ SRR

Yanktonai *áñpa* ‘day, daylight’ SRR

Stoney *ą́ba* PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **hą́•pe*

Chiwere *hą́we* ‘day’ RTC , *ą́•we* ‘day’ RR

Otoe *hą́we, hą́•we* ‘day’ RR

Hoocąk *hą́ąp* KM:762 , *hąąp*

Proto-Dhegiha **hą́•pa*

Omaha **ą́ba* ‘day’ RR

Ponca *ã́•ʔba* ‘day’ FH

Kanza/Kaw *hą́ba, hǫ́ba* ‘day’ RR

Osage *hó^{n}ba* , *†hą́pa* ‘day’ LF:63b

Quapaw *hǫ́pa, hą́pa* ‘day’ RR, JOD

Proto-Southeastern **nąhą́pi*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **nąpi*

Biloxi *ná^{n}pi, nápi, nap, na^{n}p, nowe, náwi* , *†nápi* ‘day’ D&S:232a

Ofo *nó^{n}pi* , *†nápi* ‘day’ D&S:327a , *nó^{n}pi shúhu^{n}* , *†nápi* ‘Sunday’ D&S:329a

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *nahambe, nahamp, nahañpe* , *†nąhąpe* ‘day’ H

Proto-Catawba

Catawba *ya•p* ‘day’ FS

General comment

MRS loses *-h-* and fuses the (innovated) prefix with the root. The sporadic loss of *#h-* in MVS is unusual. The Omaha-Ponca and Chiwere forms without initial *h-* may well be borrowings from Dakota, since of the remaining MVS languages, these are the two most closely associated with Dakota speakers. The Ponca form is from Frida Hahn’s correspondence with Franz Boas (via JEK).

(Hahn, a native speaker of German, had no trouble distinguishing long vowels from short in Omaha-Ponca, and her transcriptions are especially valuable for that reason.) The semantics of the OVS prefix, *nąˀ-*, is not understood, but cf. *onąˀ* ‘prairie fire’ as well as the ‘by heat’ instrumental for possibilities. If the prefix were Proto-Siouan the MVS languages should have an initial reflex of **r-h* (the product of syncope), but they do not, so we must look upon **nąˀ-* as a southeastern innovation. The correspondences here are not those that we reconstruct as **rh* in, e.g., ‘stand’ or ‘arrive here vertitive’. This suggests that Tutelo may have remained most faithful to the original with Biloxi and Ofo losing *-h-* and collapsing the vowel sequence. This is another term in which we have OVS unity opposed to the rest of Siouan.

An alternative hypothesis also has its attractions. If the Proto-Siouan form were **ą́•pE* the lack of **h* in Crow, Hidatsa, Dakota, Omaha-Ponca, IO, Biloxi, Ofo would need no explanation, and its presence in the other languages could be fairly convincingly ascribed to analogy with ‘night’, q.v., which does have the initial *h*. Some evidence for this is provided by the term for ‘lightning, sheet (?)’, q.v., in which even more of the languages lack the *h-*. Catawba also lacks *h*. Unfortunately loss of *h* could be regular anyway in Crow/Hidatsa, Biloxi and Ofo, so the hypothesis only aids us in analysis of IO (as opposed to Otoe) and Omaha-Ponca (as opposed to the rest of DH). But these are the languages most influenced by neighboring Dakota, so this counter proposal does not explain as much as one would hope. Dakota is the language that really needs to be explained. One possibility is that the noun is deverbal, as Dakotan appears to lose root-initial *h* in verbs. Use of this root in various ‘sunrise’ expressions suggests that this hypothesis bears further investigation.

deceive

verb psychic_cognition_caus

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **rukrą́*

Proto-Dakota **-krą́ya*

Lakota *wayúgnayaŋ* ‘miss, to deceive’ EB:568b , *wógnaye* ‘deceit, delusion’ EB:597a , *yugnáyą* ‘miss, fail to grab’ EJ

Dakota *wohnaye* ‘deceit’ WM:45b , *yuhnáyaŋ* ‘miss, as in attempting to grasp a.t.’ SRR:624b

Proto-Dhegiha **rükrą́*

Kanza/Kaw *yülǫ́yį* ‘confuse, distract, bewilder’ RR

Osage *thigtho"´* , *†ðülą́* ‘court, woo’ LF:146b

deer, ruminant

noun animal_mammal

Proto-Siouan-Catawba **witéˀ (?)*

Proto-Siouan **wi-htá•*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **htá*

Proto-Dakota **thá*

Lakota *thá, tháxča* ‘deer’ RTC

Dakota *táȟiŋca* , *†tháxi̯ča* ‘deer’ WM:46a

Stoney *thá* ‘moose’ PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **thą́•*

Chiwere *thą́•* ‘deer’ JDH

Hoocąk *čáa* ‘deer’ KM:112 , *caa*

Proto-Dhegiha **htá* RR

Omaha-Ponca *ttá* ‘deer’ RTC , *ttáxti* ‘deer’ RR

Kanza/Kaw *ttá* ‘deer’ RR

Osage *htá* ‘deer’ RR , *ṭáxtsi* , *†htáxci* ‘deer’ LF:139b

Quapaw *ttá* ‘deer’ RR

Proto-Southeastern **withá•*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **itha•*

Biloxi *eta•?* MRH, MS , *itá, íta* D&S:268a

Ofo *ītxã́, ítxa* , *†i•thá•* D&S:320b, JSS

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *witāi* , *†wita•i* ‘deer’ H , *wiṭáa* , *†wita•i* HW , *witái, wita"ĕ* , *†wita•i* JOD

Proto-Catawba

Catawba *widəbóye* ‘cow’ FGS , *wide•* FS

defecate, dung (1)

physical_somatic_function

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **-yé* ~ **-ré*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **é•ri*

Crow *éela* RG

Hidatsa *é•ri* 'defecate' J , *pé•ri* 'excrement' J

Pre-Mandan **e•re*

Mandan *ehde* 'defecate' Will , *wéroʔš* H:284

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **yé*

Proto-Dakota **čhé-*

Lakota *čhe_slí* 'defecate' RTC

Dakota *tacesdi* , *†čhesdi* 'dung' WM:55b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **yé•*

Chiwere *yé* RR

Hoocąk *reesíri* 'defecate' KM:2599 , *reesiri*

Proto-Dhegiha **žé*

Omaha-Ponca *žé*

Kanza/Kaw *žé* 'excrement' RR

Quapaw *žé* 'excrement' RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **įre*

Biloxi *iⁿdé, iⁿda* , *†įdé* 'dung, manure, feces' D&S:202a

Ofo *áⁿkindĕ* , *†ąkįte* 'manure, dung' D&S:322b

General comment

Cf. 'defecate, dung (2)', which preserves this root elsewhere in the possessive construction. MRS and Mandan **e•-* is evidently a separate morpheme whose presence seems to attract accent. This set suggests **y* in MVS and **r* in OVS with MRS and Mandan, having merged the two, indeterminate.

defecate, dung (2)

physical_somatic_function

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

- Proto-Siouan **(wa-)į-ki-ye ~ -re*
  - Proto-Mississipi-Valley **(wa-)į-k-ye*
    - Proto-Dakota **ų́ kče*
      - Lakota *ų́kče* ‘fart’ RTC , *ųkčépagmigma* ‘tumble bug’ RTC
      - Sioux Valley *ų́ kče* PAS
    - Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **-kre*
      - Chiwere *mį́gre* ‘manure’ JDH
      - Hoocąk *wakeré* ‘feces’ KM:3354 , *wakere*
    - Proto-Dhegiha **įkré*
      - Omaha-Ponca *įgðe*
      - Kanza/Kaw *ilégha* ‘anus’ RR
      - Osage *iⁿgthé* , *ṫ́į́lé* ‘dung, excrement’ LF:75b
      - Quapaw *įkdé* ‘dung, manure’ JOD
  - Proto-Southeastern
    - Proto-Biloxi-Ofo
      - Ofo **ą́kį́de* ‘dung, manure’ D&S:322b , *á^{n}kindĕ*

General comment

The DH and Chiwere/Hoocąk forms suggest that Dakota *ų-* here may be an irregular reflex of **wa + į-*. The syllable structure here has collapsed in different ways and at different times in the several languages. Accent placement should, by the second syllable rule, fall on **į* but it has been shifted variously in accordance with the alterations in syllable structure.

Cf. ‘defecate, dung (1)’.

demonstrative (1)

particle n/a

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **ha*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa *há-* in: *háwa* ‘then, again, there, and’ H&V , *há-* in: *háwahi* ‘thereupon, and then’ H&V , *ha-* in: *harukhí, haruk hí•* ‘therefore; then’ H&V, J

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **-ha*

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *há-* in: *há?e* ‘that one, invisible’ GM , *há-* ‘that (it) is/ and it is’ JGT:1259 , *há-* in: *há aré / haré* ‘then it is’ JGT:1260 , *há-* ‘the/ it is the’ JGT:2537 , *há-* in: *hádare* ‘that one: it is that one’ JGT:2540 , *-há* ‘it is he/she’ JGT:2542 , *-há* in: *nahá/ nanhá* ‘this is’ JGT:2022 , *-há-* ‘from’ JGT:3206, LWR , *-há-* in: *nahá^e* , *-há-* , *-há-* in: *naháre* , *-há* , *-há* in: *jehá* , *-há-* , *-há-* in: *roháda; roháta*

Proto-Dhegiha **-ha*

Omaha-Ponca *ðégiha*

Kanza/Kaw *yegáha*

Osage *ðekáha*

Proto-Catawba

Catawba *ha-* in: *det hacerɛ* ‘I’m here’ KS:128 , *ha-* in: *yē hare* ‘this man here’ KS:128 , *ha-* ‘nobody lives here (lit. person not here)’ KS:53 , *ha-* in: *dübä´ harihiré*

General comment

Many instances of suffixial *ha/hą* in Siouan languages appear to be an adverbializer, a different morpheme. Also cf. indefinite/interrogative *ha*.

demonstrative (2)

particle n/a

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **ʔa*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Crow *a-* in: *akú(-)* ‘beyond’ J

Hidatsa *a-* in: *aku(-)* ‘relativizing prefix; agentive’ [verbal prefix] J , *a-* in: *aku-* ‘beyond’ [nominal prefix] J , *a-* in: *aru-* ‘at that time’ J , *a-* in: *aru-* ‘nominalizer; partitive’ J

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *a-* in: *aétulakeci* ‘in a little while’ [cf. ‘beyond’] EB:56 , *a-* in: *áetulake el* ‘after a little while; rather at that time; very soon’ EB:56 , *á-* in: *ákho-* ‘across’ J

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *a-* ‘and then it is’ JGT:22 , *a-* in: *adáre* ‘that; and then; he/ she/ it is’ JGT:175 , *a-* ‘close by; near’ JGT:221 , *a-* in: *aré* ‘more; in addition; beyond measure’ JGT:870 , *a-* ‘near without touching’ JGT:1839 , *a-* in: *asgí/ áshgi/ áski* ‘this one right here’ JGT:923 , *-a* ‘nearby: speak of s.t. as near, when really is distant’ DOR, JGT:3001 , *-a* in: *étaxˆa* , *-a-* , *-a-* in: *irúˆasgi/ irúathki* , *-a-* , *-a-* in: *gánahaˆa* , *-á* , *-á* in: *raˆásge/ raˆásgi; raˆáshke/ raáshki*

Hoocąk *-a* in: *ga’a* ‘that (near him)’ KM:305 , *a* in: *ga’a* ‘near’ KM:15 , *aa-* in: *aašgé* , *aa-* in: *aašge*

Proto-Dhegiha

Omaha-Ponca *á-* in: *ádą* ‘therefore’ [nominative direct singular postpositive article, pronoun, relative, copula] JEK , *-a-* in: *ttiadi; tti-* ‘in the tent, house’ [nominative direct plural postpositive article, pronoun, relative, copula] JEK , *-a-* in: *ttiatta, tti-* ‘to, towards the tent, house’ JEK , *a-* in: *†akhá* ‘the’ , *a-ká* ‘the’ , *a-* in: *a-má*

Kanza/Kaw *a-* in: *abá* ‘the an/mv sg or pl’ RR , *a-* in: *akhá* ‘the, sg. or coll., subj.’ RR, JOD , *á-* in: *ámǫtta, ómǫtta* ‘other side, to be’ MR, RR , *á-* in: *áška* ‘near, nearby’ RR

Osage *-a-* ‘these’ LF:143a , *-a-* in: *thé-a-ba* ‘who is it?’ LF:40a , *-a* , *-a* in: *e-béa*

Proto-Catawba

Catawba *a-* ‘far away’ KS:98 , *a-* in: *atkę́* ‘he’ KS:125 , *a-* , *a-* in: *ataˀ* , *a-* in: *an* , *†a-* ‘then’ KS:226 , *a-* in: *ané* , *†a-* ‘so; that certainly is so’ KS:206 , *a-* in: *ané kúdyirɛ* , *†a-*

General comment

Evidence for the initial glottal stop appears in Chiwere, Hoocąk only.

demonstrative, locative (1)

particle n/a

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **-ši*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa *-ši-* in: *to•šiwaʔa* ‘how shall I act?’ J , *-ši* in: *tí•ši* ‘distant, far, long’ J , *ši-* in: *šiawiruk* ‘how many times, sometime later’ H&V , *-ši-* in: *o•khíširu* ‘past, beyond, at a time before’ J , *-ši-* in: *tuahkáširu* ‘when was that?’ J

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **-ši*

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **-ši*

Chiwere *-shi* in: *gósi/ góshi/ gósida* , *†ši* ‘yonder; yon; there’ JGT:1146 , *-shi-* in: *gósida/ góshida* , *†ši* ‘over there’ JGT:1148 , *-si-* in: *gósigi* , *†ši* ‘this way; (come) this way’ JGT:1151

Hoocąk *-šį-* in: *guušígi* ‘over there’ KM:473 , *-ši-* in: *guušigi* ‘beyond in time’ KM:474 , *-šii* in: *guušii-* , *-ši* in: *guušii-*

Proto-Dhegiha **-ši-*

Kanza/Kaw *-ši-* in: *ášitta* ‘outside, outdoors’ RR , *-šį-* in: *hašítta* ‘behind, in the rear’ RR , *-šį* in: *gašį* ‘long time ago, for a long time’ RR , *-šį-* in: *gašídą* ‘long time ago’ RR

Osage *ashíṭa* , *†ašíhta* ‘outside’ LF:301a

Quapaw *-ši-* in: *ášitti* ‘outside’ RR , *-ši-* in: *ášiǫhe* ‘outside’ RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *tcĭ-* in: *tcĭnáni, tcĭnaní (1)* , *†čí-* in: *tcĭ´na* ‘that many’ D&S:264a , *tcĭ-* in: *tcĭnáni, tcĭnaní (2)* , *†čí-* in: *tcĭ´na* ‘how much? how many?’ D&S:264a , *tcĭ-* in: *tcĭmána ~ tcûmana* , *†čí-* in: *tcĭ´na* ‘some’ D&S:264a

Proto-Catawba

Catawba *-ci-* , *†či•-* in: *tci•(ka)* ‘there’ KS:227 , *-ci-* in: *hadəwɛ tqcidó?* , *†či•-* in: *tci•(ka)* ‘now what are you doing?’ KS:247

demonstrative, locative (2)

enclitic n/a

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere in: *tandáwa/tanwá* , *†-wa* ‘whence/whither’ DOR, JGT:3783

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *wá-* in: *wáde* , *†wá-* ‘toward’ [cf. wa] D&S:285a , *wa-* in: *wahe* , *†wá-* ‘to go into’ D&S:285a , *-wa, -wa^{n}, -we* , *†wá-* ‘locative ending; toward, in that direction, into’ D&S:285a , *-wa-* in: *ewaxtí* , *†wá-* ‘further, still further’ D&S:189a , *-wa* in: *éwa or ewá* , *†wá-* ‘to that place, in that direction; beyond; farther’ D&S:285a , *-wá* in: *dowá* , *†wá-* ‘in this direction this way, to this place’ D&S:183b , *-wá* in: *hewá* , *†wá-* ‘to that place, that way’ D&S:196a , *-wá* in: *tewá* , *†wá-* ‘this way, in this direction’ D&S:273a

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *-wa* in: *héwa* , *†-wa* ‘that’ H

Proto-Catawba

Catawba *-wa* ‘that one, those ones, he, she, they (refers to persons and other animate objects)’ KS:125 , *-wa* in: *ówa* ‘that one, those ones, he, she, they’ KS:125 , *-wa* , *-wa* in: *úwa*

General comment

Cf. ‘interrogative (3)’.

demonstrative > that, the aforesaid

pronoun n/a

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **ʔe•* RR

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **é•*

Crow *éehk* 'that' [concrete reference] GG:65 , *ée-* in: *éehkok* 'there it is' GG:65 , *ée-* in: *éetko* 'everyone' GG:63 , *ée-* in: *éetshi* 'in every direction' GG:63

Hidatsa *e•-* in: *é•waki•* 'that one lying there' [< x + 'lie, be lying] J , *e•-* in: *é•ca* 'all' [< x + -ca 'collective suffix'] J , *e•-* in: *é•hku(a)* 'that one, the one over there; focus marker' J , *é•-* in: *é•raka* 'that one; over there (far)' H&V

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *e* 'general demonstrative' H:434 , *-e-* in: *-ešk<u>a</u>* 'similitive' H:63 , *é-* in: *éta* 'far away'

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **ʔe•*

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *e* 'on the other hand, instead' [ref. to something or person mentioned before] EB:136 , *e-* in: *epi* 'there are, there is' EB:136 , *e-* in: *ecána* 'soon' EB:136 , *e-* in: *ecéxci* 'just so, exactly (as one expected)' EB:137 , *e-* in: *ecíyatą* 'from, thence, hence' EB:138 , *é-* in: *éha* 'instead, on the contrary' EB:139 , *e-* in: *ehą́* 'then, at that time; then, at that place; to, thus far' EB:139 , *e-* in: *ektá* 'at, to' EB:141 , *é-* in: *éna* 'right here' EB:142 , *e-* in: *etą́* 'some, somewhat' EB:143b , *é-* in: *étkiya* 'towards, to, with' EB:144 , *é-* in: *étu* 'to, at, in there' EB:144

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *éˆe* , *†éʔe* 'he/ she/ it' JGT:789 , *é-* , *†éʔe* 'then; and then' JGT:782, LWR , *é-* in: *éda/ éta* , *†éʔe* 'around' JGT:849 , *é-* , *†éʔe* 'near; around; in the vicinity' JGT:854 , *é-* in: *ésan/ éˆshan* , *†éʔe* 'close/ soon (in time)' JGT:855 , *é-* , *†éʔe* 'beyond; farther away' JGT:858 , *é-* in: *éˆsun/ éˆshun* , *†éʔe* 'over; beyond; on the other side; far off; before; on that side' , *é-* , *†éʔe* 'beyond; past (hour); over' JGT:863 , *é-* in: *éswena/ éshwena* , *†éʔe* 'over' JGT:865 , *é-* , *†éʔe* 'more; in addition; beyond measure' JGT:870 , *é-* in: *étada* , *†éʔe* , *é-* , *†éʔe* , *é-* in: *étage/ étagi* , *†éʔe* , *é-* , *†éʔe* , *é-* in: *étagun* , *†éʔe* , *é-* , *†éʔe* , *é-* in: *étˆan* , *†éʔe* , *é-* , *†éʔe* , *é-* in: *étaxˆa* , *†éʔe*

Hoocąk *ée* 'it, this, that' KM:296 , *ee* 'and; here; then' KM:297 , *ée-* in: *éegi* 'there' KM:298 , *ee-* in: *eegi* 'about there; about that time' KM:300 , *ée-* in: *éeja* 'ever since then, from that point in space' KM:301 , *ee-* in: *eeja* 'himself, herself, itself (emph)' KM:302 , *éejaxjį, éejaxjįnį́isge* , *eejaxjį, eejaxjįnį́isge* , *éepa* , *eepa* , *eexjį́* , *eexjį*

Proto-Dhegiha **ʔe•*

Omaha-Ponca *e* 'that, aforementioned' [relative pronoun] JEK , *e-* in: *edádą* 'what' JEK , *é-* in: *édi* 'there' JEK , *e-* in: *edíthą* 'from there' JEK , *é-* in: *égą* 'so, like that; he's like that' JEK , *é-* in: *éną* 'so many' JEK , *é-* in: *étta* 'there, thither' JEK , *ĕ´-be* 'who' , *e-dá-da^{n}* 'what?' , *e-ga^{n}* 'forms indefinite pronoun' , *e-* 'forms demonstrative pronoun' , *e-ki-* 'forms relative pronoun' , *é-na* 'that much' , *é-na-ska* 'that large' , *é-ta^{n}* 'that long, of that length' , *é-ta^{n}-ha* 'that high, of that height, or depth' , *e-ki-na* 'as much as that one' , *e-ki-ta^{n}* 'as long as that one' , *e-ki-ta^{n}-ha* 'as high as that one'

Kanza/Kaw *ʔe•* 'that, aforementioned' [ešk<u>í</u>, ešk<u>é</u>] RR , *é-* in: *édą* 'so,therefore' RR , *é-* in: *égo* 'like, as, so' RR , *e-* in: *ejí* 'there, in that place' MR, RR , *e-* in: *ešk<u>í</u>* 'too, that's it, him too' MR, JOD, RR , *é-* in: *étta* 'there, towards that place (?)' MR, RR

Osage *e* 'those, as those apples; those things' [This term is frequently found in rituals.] LF:40a , *e* 'he, she, it, or that' LF:40a , *e-* in: *e-béa* 'who is it?' LF:40a , *é-* in: *é-ça* 'in truth' LF:40a , *é-* in: *é-de* 'one that is' LF:40a , *é-* in: *é-di* 'indefinite article' LF:40a , *e-* in: *e-do^{n}* 'when' LF:40a , *e-* in: *e-do^{n}´* 'therefore' LF:40a , *e-* in: *e-dsí* 'there' LF:40a , *e-* in: *e-dsí-hi* 'when that happens; when I get there' LF:40a , *e-* in: *e-dsí-to^{n}* 'thence; from that place' LF:40a , *e-* |*and*| *-é* in: *e-é tho* 'it is that' LF:40a , *é-* in: *é-gi-o^{n}* 'to do so' LF:40a , *e-* in: *e-go^{n}* 'verily; very' LF:40b , *e-* in: *e-go^{n}´-xtsi* 'exact; precise;

downright; real; in reality' LF:40b , *é-* in: *éno^{n}-ha* 'as many as there are' LF:41a , *e-* in: *e-shkí* 'he, she, or it too' LF:41b , *e-* in: *e-sho^{n}´* 'near; close to' LF:41b , *e-* in: *e-ṭá* 'thitherward; toward the person' LF:41b , *é-* in: *étho^{n}-zha* 'even though this be true; nevertheless' LF:41b , *é-* in: *é-ṭo^{n}* 'even to them' LF:41b

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *e* 'the aforesaid: refers to some antecedent expressed, not implied' D&S:186b , *é-* 'what is the town's name (Banks)' D&S:186b , *é-* in: *édi* in: *ta^{n} édi káwak yátcĕ* 'then' D&S:205b , *e-* 'that is why' D&S:206a , *e-* in: *eḳa^{n}´, or ĕka^{n}´* 'and then' D&S:206a , *e-* 'just there' D&S:192a , *e-* in: *eḳédi* 'there, this is it' D&S:192a , *e-* 'here' D&S:192a , *e-* in: *eḳeka^{n}´* 'so, thus, as' D&S:192a , *ĕ´-* 'because, since, that kind or sort' D&S:192b , *ĕ´-* in: *ĕ´ma^{n}* 'to that place, in that direction; beyond; farther' D&S:285a , *ĕ´-* 'yonder, that' D&S:189a , *ĕ´-* in: *ĕ´ṭi* 'further, still further' D&S:189a , *ĕ´-* 'far' D&S:192a , *ĕ´-* in: *ĕ´ti* 'far off' D&S:192a , *ĕ-* 'there' D&S:186b , *ĕ-* in: *ĕṭíḳe* , *ĕ-* , *ĕ-* in: *ĕṭuḳĕ´* , *é-* , *é-* in: *éwa or ewá* , *é-* , *é-* in: *éwa* , *e-* , *e-* in: *ewaxtí* , *ĕ´-* , *ĕ´-* in: *ĕ´xti* , *ĕ-* , *ĕ-* in: *ĕxtík* , *é-* , *é-* in: *éya^{n}* ~ *eyá^{n}*

General comment

The following forms indicate the existence of an initial glottal stop: Hidatsa *he?e*, *še?e*; Chiwere *e?e*, *ha?e*, *ja?e*, *ka?e*, *she?e*; Hoocąk *že?e*; Kanza/Kaw *be?e?é•* 'who is that?'; Osage *e-e tho*.

Clearly, *?e-* was commonly compounded with other demonstratives.

demonstrative > that, this

particle n/a

Proto-Siouan-Catawba **he*

Proto-Siouan **he ~ *he•*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **he ~ *he•*

Crow *h"éa(n)* ‘if’ L:99 , *hɛm* ‘hence’ L:99 , *heehtaa* ‘but’ GG:63 , *héela* ‘among’ GG:65 , *helak* ‘change of actor’ GG:63 , *héelapko* ‘meanwhile’ GG:63 , *hɛrac"én* ‘therefore (because of this)’ L:99 , *hé•ra’ke‘•ta, hé•ra’ka‘re* ‘on the side of’ L:99 , *hé•rək’’then’* ‘and then, to his surprise’ L:99 , *heeleelak* ‘through’ GG:63 , *hɛ´•rɛta* ‘through the camp’ L:99 , *acé•reta* ‘within’ L:90 , *hé•rin* ‘in spite of this’ L:99 , *héelitdoolak* GG:63

Hidatsa *hé-* in: *héʔeri* ‘that one’ H&V , *he-* in: *heʔeruk* ‘then’ J , *he-* in: *heʔeša* ‘that, thus, like that’ J , *-he-* in: *mí•rahe•ri, ní•rahe•ri* ‘I (emph), you (emph)’ J , *-he* ‘this (suff. to noun)’ H&V , *-he* in: *hihé* ‘now’

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **he ~ *he•*

Proto-Dakota **he*

Lakota *he* ‘that’ [same as hecel] EB:169 , *he e* ‘that is’ [this, along with lée, includes the substantive and demonstrative pronoun] EB:136 , *hé-* in: *héce* ‘thus, so, in this way; hence, therefore’ [cf. kʔų he, kʔų hena.] EB:169 , *hé-* in: *héci* ‘in or at that place, there or away from the speaker’ EB:170 , *hé-* in: *hée* ‘that is it, it is he’ EB:171 , *hé-* in: *hékta* ‘that behind, what is passed or last, as applied to time and space’ EB:172 , *he-* in: *hena* ‘those there’ EB:169 , *he-* in: *hetą, hetąhą* ‘from that place, from that time; therefore, on that account’ EB:173 , *hé-* in: *hétkiya* ‘towards that place’ EB:174 , *hé-* in: *hétu* ‘at that place, there’ EB:174 , *-hé-* in: *thahéna* ‘on this side, in ref. to time and place’ EB:473 , *-he* in: *tóhe* ‘his place, his camp; his office or position’ EB:494 , *-he* in: *ųhé, ųhéna* ‘that’ EB:506

Dakota *he* ‘that’ [cf. hą ~ he]

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **he•*

Chiwere *hé-* ‘also, in addition, and besides’ JGT:1344 , *hé-* in: *hédan / hédare* ‘and then’ JGT:1353 , *hé-* , *hé-* in: *héjare / hédare*

Hoocąk *hee-* in: *heegų́* ‘so, thus’ KM:468 , *he-* in: *hegų* ‘thus, be thus’ KM:791 , *hee-* in: *heesgé = žeesgé* , *he-* in: *heesge; žeesge = žee + heesge*

Proto-Southeastern **he*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **he*

Biloxi *he* , *†he* ‘that, there’ D&S:196a , *he* , *†he* ‘that’ D&S:196b , *ya^{n} hé* , *†he* ‘and (and too?)’ D&S:289b , *he-* in: *hewá* , *†he* ‘to that place, that way’ D&S:196a , *hé-* in: *héya^{n}* , *†he* ‘there, in that place’ D&S:196a , *-hé* in: *yahé* , *†he* ‘this’ D&S:287b

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *he* in: *héwa* , *†he* ‘that’ H

Proto-Catawba

Catawba *he* ‘this’ [seems always to be suffixed and attrib.] J, KS:224

dew

noun natural_force_weather

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **(wa-)yú*

Pre-Mandan **wą•rų•*

Mandan *warú* ‘vapor’ H:275 , *wą́•rų•xtuk* ‘fog’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **(wa-)yú(-tą)*

Proto-Dakota **čhu*

Lakota *čhu* ‘dew’ EB:134a

Dakota *cu* , *†čhu* ‘dew’ WM:49a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **rútą*

Chiwere *rúdą* ‘dew’ JDH

Hoocąk *haruǰą́* ‘be covered with dew’ KM:676 , *harują*

Proto-Dhegiha **žű́tą*

Omaha-Ponca *zhido*^{n} , *†žídą* ‘dew’ MAS:58

Osage *zhido*^{n} , *†žű́tą* ‘codensed moisture, dew’ LF:222b

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *ayu* ~ *ayudí* ‘dew’ D&S:176b

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *†manotihu•a* ‘fog’ GRO

General comment

**-tą* is added in southern MVS. *-di* in Biloxi usually matches Mandan *-re*. Mandan nasality is not accounted for here, but there are numerous instances of Mandan nasalization that are not reflected in any of the other languages.

die

verb psychosomatic

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **t?é•(-re)*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **tÉE*

Crow *šÉE* RG, GG:55

Hidatsa *tE•´* 'die, be dead' J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *té•ro?š* 'it's dead' RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **t?é*

Proto-Dakota **t?A´*

Lakota *t?á* 'die' [- ablaut when reduplicated] RTC , *t?A, iglú-* 'kill one's self' EB:214b, EJ , *t?A´, ka-* 'kill or stun by striking; to die by hitting an object' EB:294a, EJ , *t?A´, na-* 'kill by kicking' EB:361a, EJ , *t?A´, pa-* 'kill by pressure, as by lying on' EB:436b, EJ , *t?A´, wa-* 'kill with a knife' EB:555a, EJ , *t?A´, wo-* 'kill by punching or shooting; to strike so as to endanger life, to stun' EB:611b, EJ , *t?A´, ya-* 'bite to death' EB:630a, EJ , *t?A´, yu-* 'choke to death.' EB:655a, EJ , *t?át?a, pa-* 'be numb; to be asleep, as a limb' EB:436b, EJ , *t?át?a, yu-* 'be numb' EB:655a

Dakota *ṭa* , *†t?a* 'die' WM:49a

Stoney *t?A´* PAS

Sioux Valley *t?A´* PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **t?e*

Chiwere *č?e* 'die' RR

Hoocąk *t?ée* 'hurt by shooting, blowing, great force' [syncopating conjunction] KM:3027, JEK , *t'ee* 'hurt with knife' KM:94 , *t?é, boo-* 'hurt with the foot' KM:2032 , *boot'e* 'hurt' KM:2245 , *t?é, mąą-* 'hurt by pressure or pushing' KM:2738, WL:8.9 , *mąąt'e* 'eclipse; new moon' KM:3495, WL:19.2 , *t?é, nąą-* KM:3682 , *nąąt'e* , *t?é, ru-* , *rut'e* , *t?é, wa-* , *wat'e* , *t?e, wiirá-* , *wiirat'e*

Proto-Dhegiha **t?e*

Omaha-Ponca *t?é* 'die' RTC, RR

Kanza/Kaw *č?é* 'die' RR , *büc?é* 'numb, dead from sitting on, as a limb' JOD, RR , *gac?é kill,* 'strike down, to stun' RR , *bac?éya* 'kill by rooting up' MR, RR , *nąc?éye* 'trample to death' MR, RR

Osage *c?e* 'die' RR

Quapaw *t?é* 'die' RR , *t?e, tá-* 'withered from heat or cold' RR , *battát?e* 'kill, cause to wither' RR , *bittát?e* 'press to death' RR , *dittát?e* 'uproot a plant, pull up' RR , *kattát?e* 'kill, cut off, cause to wither' RR , *nąttát?e* 'trample to death' RR , *páttat?e* 'wither, cause by cutting' RR , *póttat?e* 'kill vegetation by punching' RR , *táttat?e* 'wither from exposure to heat' RR

Proto-Southeastern **t?e•(-ri)*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **t?e(-ri)*

Biloxi *ṭe, ṭédi* , *†té-di* D&S:273b

Ofo *ąthĕ́, athé, thĕ, txe* , *†əthé* ‘die’ D&S:330b

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *tē, tēolāha* , *†te•* H

General comment

In OVS the set consisting Ofo *#Ch* : Biloxi *#C* is from proto-OVS **Ch* < Proto-Siouan **hC*, while the set consisting of Ofo *#əCh* : Biloxi *Ç* is from Proto-Siouan **C?*. There is, of course, no direct evidence within OVS for the glottalization; the aspirated and glottal sets are simply distinct. Ofo initial *ə-* ~ *ą-* is unsupported in MRS and elsewhere in OVS and so is not reconstructible. Further investigation is desirable in cases like these.

The lone vowel in Ofo seems to have something to do with glottalization. The theory that *#C?* > *#ąCh* in Ofo holds at least for ‘die’, ‘give’ and ‘dig > scratch’ thus far. Hoocąk preserves length in compounds (contrast ‘dig > scratch’). Cf. ‘wilt’ for a derived form.

different

verb evaluative

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **i-r-hą́-he*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **ihá•* < **ihához*

Crow *ihóoa* GG:73

Hidatsa *ihá•* ‘foreign, strange, different, enemy’ J

Pre-Mandan **táh-*

Mandan *táho?š* ‘different, strange’ H:243

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **ità́*

Chiwere *idą́da* ‘different’ LWR:11

Hoocąk *hĭ́ją́* ‘be different; be other’ KM:899 , *hijąą*

General comment

In other sets the sequence *rh* always has a (historical at least) morpheme boundary between the two phonemes. Such is very likely the case here.

dig out

verb physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **-kótE*

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *kóta, pa-* ‘dig or take out marrow from a bone, to probe’ EB:429a , *kota, wapá-* ‘probe or dig out’ EB:546a

Proto-Dhegiha **-kóte*

Kanza/Kaw *-goǰe, bá-* ‘probe, pick, as the teeth’ MR, RR , *-góǰe, ba-* ‘pick, probe, pick the teeth’ RR , *-goǰe, ogá-* ‘inside, far from the front, inside corner’ RR

Quapaw *-kótte, di-* ‘dig out, probe’ RR

dig > scratch

verb physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **kʔé(-re)*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **kÉʔ*

Crow *čikEÉ* 'scratch' [< *ki + x 'possessive'] RG

Hidatsa *kEʔ* 'dig, scratch' J , *keʔe*

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *kéʔroʔš* 'dig' RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **kʔé*

Proto-Dakota **kʔA´*

Lakota *kʔA´* 'dig' RTC

Dakota *ka* , *†kʔa* 'dig' WM:49b

Stoney *kʔá ~ khá* PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **kʔé*

Chiwere *kʔé* W:240a

Hoocąk *kʔée* 'dig' KM:1724 , *k'ee*

Proto-Dhegiha **kʔé*

Omaha-Ponca *ʔé* 'dig' RTC , *baʔé* 'dig' RR

Kanza/Kaw *kʔe* 'dig, hoe' RR

Osage *k'e* , *†kʔe* 'dig' LF:84b

Quapaw *kʔe* 'dig with a grubbing hoe' JOD, RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **kʔé•(-ri)*

Biloxi *kě, kědí* , *†ke* 'dig' D&S:207b

Ofo *āk‹é* , *†a•khé* 'to plant' D&S:319b, JSS , *khěwe* , *†khé•we* 'to plow' D&S:325b, JSS

Proto-Catawba

Catawba *witəki'are* 'dig potatoes' FGS , *-ʔare* 'dig' KS

General comment

Here again Ofo shows an initial vowel that is unsupported in MRS and Biloxi, and once again it seems to be part of the Ofo reflex of Proto-Siouan **C?*. Here, the expected *ə* is obscured by the presence of the apparent locative prefix, *a-*. An additional problem here is that DS (i.e. JOD) do not mark the initial stop in the Biloxi reflex as lenis. Cf. ‘die’, ‘give’, which have the expected lenis stops. Vowel length is indeterminate because there are questions about its reflexes in the languages that show it. Hidatsa and Mandan, for example, level glottal paradigms so that sometimes inherited glottalized stops (regular only in third person) appear throughout the paradigm, sometimes are absent throughout the paradigm, and (rarely) are preserved in their regular distribution. This verb in contrast with ‘die’ suggests that, when the glottal is lost, the vowel is lengthened in both Mandan and Hidatsa.

Glottals are always lost in Crow, with lengthening and usually with rising pitch. The two roots **k?a* ‘scrape’ and **k?e* ‘dig’ have merged phonologically in Dakotan. Cf. ‘scrape > dig, scratch’

directional locative

n/a

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **í•-*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **í•*

Crow *í-*

Hidatsa *í•-* ‘at, towards, into’ J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *í-* H:437

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **í-*

Proto-Dakota **i-*

Lakota *i-*

Dakota *i-* ‘to, for, of, about, etc.’ SRR:169a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **i-*

Chiwere *i-*

Hoocąk *hi-* , *hi-*

Proto-Dhegiha **í-*

Kanza/Kaw *í-* ‘into, towards’ [numerous instances] RR

Osage *í-*

Quapaw *í-* ‘towards, possibly away from’ JOD, RR

Proto-Southeastern **i-*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *i-*

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *i-* ‘into, towards’

dirty

verb perceptual

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **šnáˀ-*

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *haišą́nąš* ‘be dirty’ KM:2924 , *haišąnąš*

Proto-Dhegiha

Omaha-Ponca *shnábe* ‘dirt, dirty, filthy’ MAS:266

General comment

Hoocąk and Omaha-Ponca have different root extensions. Perhaps cf. ‘bungle’

dive

verb physical_motion

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **krúˀkE*

Proto-Dakota **kiknúˀka*

Lakota *kignúˀka* ‘dive’ EB:306a

Dakota *kihnuka* ‘dive’ WM:52a

Proto-Dhegiha **krą́ke*

Omaha-Ponca *gthóⁿge* , *†gðą́ge* ‘dive’ MAS:61

Kanza/Kaw *lą́ge* ‘dive’ RR

Osage *gthóⁿge* , *†lą́ke* ‘dive’ LF:257a

General comment

Chiwere *†gúge , gúnge* ‘dive’ (JGT92:23); Hoocąk *kuuwą́k* ‘dive, duck under water’ (KM-1925), *kuwuk* ‘dive’ (Marino-310) look superficially as though they should be related to this set, but they contain intractable sequences that, for the moment, remain unexplained. Also, with the exception of apparent borrowings *w ṭ r* in clusters of this kind.

dog

noun animal_domestic

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **wašúke, *wi-šú•ke*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **wašúka*

Crow *bišká* ‘dog’ RG, GG:33, RGG:2

Hidatsa *wašúka* ‘dog’ J , *mašúka*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **šúkE*

Proto-Dakota **šúkA*

Lakota *šúka* ‘dog’ RTC

Dakota *šúŋka* , *†šúka* ‘dog’ SRR:450a

Stoney *súga* ‘dog’ PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **šú•ke*

Chiwere *šųkhéñį, šúkheñį* ‘dog + common’ RR , *šúŋe* ‘horse’ GM

Hoocąk *šúųk* ‘dog, horse’ KM:3005 , *šųųk* ‘puppy’ KM:3002 , *šųųgnúk* , *šųųknų́k, šųųkų́k*

Proto-Dhegiha **šóke*

Omaha-Ponca *šóge* ‘horse’ RTC

Kanza/Kaw *šóge* ‘horse’ RR

Osage *shó^{n}ge* , *†šóke* ‘dog, wolf’ LF:133a

Quapaw *šóke* RR

Proto-Southeastern **ačhú•ki*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **ačhóki*

Biloxi *tcúñki* ‘dog’ D&S:267b , *čǫke?* ‘dog’ MRH , *čɔŋkI?* ‘dog’ MS

Ofo *atcū́ñgas nashū́sita^{n}* , *†ačú•kas* ‘mule’ JSS , *atchû́ñki* , *†ačhúki* ‘dog’ [scratched out by Swanton in his slip file] D&S:321b , *ītchû́ñki* , *†ačhúki*

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *tçoñg; tçoñgo, tçoñki, tçoñk* , *†čhúki* ‘dog’ N, H , *tso^{n}k* , *†čhúki* ‘dog’ LJF , *ts’uŋk’* , *†čhúki* ‘dog’ ES , *tshu* , *†čhúki* ‘dog’ MMI , *tsöų•gí•we* , *†čhúki* ‘wolf’ MMI

Saponi *chunkete* , *†čhuki-* ‘horse (head)’ F

General comment

This ancient term has been adapted in historical times to refer to the horse. ‘dog’ and ‘wolf’ vie for the original meaning and one or the other or both are often derived terms. Vowel length is attested sporadically in this set, v. Chiwere/Hoocąk, Ofo, Tutelo. Crow (and possibly Ofo) suggest a prefix **wi-* ‘animate’.

dogwood, cornus sp.

noun plant

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dakota **čhąšá*

Lakota *čhąšáša* ‘kinikinik, Cornus stolonifera’ RTC

Dakota *ćaŋšáša* , *†čhąšáša* ‘bark for mixing with smoking tobacco, may be dogwood or willow’ SRR:92a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *mąąsíxočgejája* ‘clusters of red willows’ KM:2016 , *mąąsixocgejaja*

Proto-Dhegiha **mą́sa hü*

Omaha-Ponca *ma^{n}saḣtihi^{n}* ‘Cornus asperifolia’

Kanza/Kaw *mą́sa hü* ‘dogwood, arrow shaft bush’ RR

Osage *mo^{n}ça hi* , *†mą́sa hü* ‘arrowwood’ LF:95b

Quapaw *mą́sa (hi)* ‘dogwood, Cornus’ RR , *mą́sa žítte* ‘bark used for kinikinik’ RR

General comment

Although similar, the Mandan and Dakota forms are not fully cognate. Both terms contain the root for ‘tree, wood’, q.v. The remainder, *ša*, cannot be cognate because the fricatives fail to show the proper match. The Dakota form is transparently ‘red wood’ and the Mandan term may be a loan blend. Both terms are influenced by ‘tobacco’, q.v. Note Lakota *čhąswóžu* (B-123a) or *čhąšwóžu* (EJ) ‘a growth of trees in a bottom’ in which the proper fricative match for the Mandan form may appear (depending on which form is historically correct).

In DH *mą́sa* is the term for ‘arrow shaft’, so this dogwood term is not cognate with its Mandan or Dakota analog, although dogwood bark is mixed with tobacco to make kinikinik among the DH tribes too. It is probable that Hoocąk goes together with DH here. The two distinct sets are kept together here for their ethnobotanical interest only.

do, make

verb physical_action

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **ʔų́•*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **ʔų́*

Proto-Dakota **ʔų́*

Lakota *ʔų́* ‘do’ RTC

Sioux Valley *(ʔ)ų* PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *ʔų́•*

Chiwere *ʔų́* ‘do; aux.’ RR

Hoocąk *ų́ų* ‘do; make; be; wear, be dressed in’ KM:3154 , *ųų*

Proto-Dhegiha **ʔǫ́*

Omaha-Ponca *ʔǫ* RR

Kanza/Kaw *ʔǫ* RR

Osage *ʔǫ* RR

Quapaw *ʔǫ* RR

Proto-Southeastern **(h)ų́•*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *oⁿ, oⁿni, hoⁿni* , *†(h)ǫ-nį* ‘do, make, use; wear’ D&S:240b

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *aõma, aõñ* , *†a-ǫ•* ‘do, make’ H , *ioⁿ´¢a* < *oⁿ* , *†a-ǫ•* ‘wear’ JOD , *ono•i* , *†a-ǫ•* H:1883

Saponi *Honis* ‘stockings’ F

Proto-Catawba

Catawba *ʔǫčï* ‘do’ KS

General comment

This is one of the oldest and most widely used auxiliaries in Siouan.

When unaccented, as is often the case when suffixed to other verb roots, it sometimes has the allomorph *-(ʔ)ą*. It has a distinctive conjugation in many Siouan languages. In DH generally the conjugation runs: 1Act *mǫ*; 2Act *žǫ*; 3Act *ʔǫ-*; 12Act *ǫkǫ́-*. In Dakota 12Act is *ųkʔų́pi*. Tutelo 1Act *íwaoⁿ´¢a*; 2Act *íyaoⁿ¢a*.

do, make, work; to cause

verb physical_action

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **hi_E*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **hre, *-hi_E*

Crow *-hili* ‘do, work’ [not found as an independent stem] RG

Hidatsa *hrÉ* ‘do, make, work’ J , *hirí* ‘causative suffixes’

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *-here-* ‘causative’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **-hi_(r)E*

Proto-Dakota **-_-yA*

Lakota *-_-yA*

Dakota *-_-yA*

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *-hi_ ~ -re*

Proto-Dhegiha **_-(r)e*

Omaha-Ponca *_-(ð)e*

Kanza/Kaw *_-(y)e*

Osage *_-(ð)e*

Quapaw *_-(d)e*

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *-ha-_-yE* PFE

Ofo *-ti*

Proto-Catawba

Catawba *če* ‘cause’ KS

General comment

The causative in Mandan is a transparent serial verb construction, both an independent verb and a cliticized auxiliary verb in Hidatsa, and strictly a cliticized auxiliary in Crow and the rest of the Siouan language family.

Historically it seems to have been a verb with medial inflection for person **hi-_-E*. Mandan and Hidatsa have both normalized inflection in the independent verb by moving person markers to the left of the initial element. When the Hidatsa auxiliary is suffixed to verbs in final *-E*, however, the original order of elements is preserved and indicated by the *-hi-* which appears between the final consonant of the root and the suffixed causative person markers. The historical order is also reflected in Dakotan and DH, where aspiration appears with the possessive reflexive ahead of the personal pronouns, and in the *hi* element which appears ahead of the pronouns in Biloxi.

The glide which appears in many of the languages between the person markers and *-E* is epenthetic everywhere but not reconstructible to a single Proto-Siouan glide. Here, we represent it as **(r)* because that fits every language but Biloxi. This is a notational convention only, however. Except in the reflexive possessive, Dakotan and DH have lost initial **hi-*. In contrast, Chiwere/Hoocąk seem generally to have lost **-(r)E*, retaining it only in fossilized (unconjugated) form with some verbs (cf. 'hard > cane, walking stick', 'fall > lie down'). In modern Chiwere/Hoocąk the pronouns follow **hi-* as if the remainder of the causative were still present. In all probability, **-(r)E* has simply been absorbed by the pronouns. This is clearly the case in Hidatsa, where the short vowels of the pronominal prefixes are long in the causative. Reconstruction is facilitated by considering the ordinary and the reflexive causatives together.

Catawba *če* may be related to Proto-Siouan **-(r)E*, but the sound correspondences are not well understood. It would be much easier to relate the Siouan form if it were historically **ye*.

door (1)

noun physical_artefact_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **hti-ópa*

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *thiyópa* 'door' RTC

Dakota *tiyopa* , *†thiyopa* 'door' WM:53a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *čiiróp* KM:241 , *ciirop*

Proto-Dhegiha

Quapaw *tti óbahe*

General comment

Glides in Lakota and Hoocąk are apparently epenthetic. Cf. 'dwell, dwelling, house'.

door (2)

noun physical_artefact_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **wiyé(-pe) ~ *wiyé(-he)*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **wirehe*

Crow *bilía* ‘door’ GG:31, RGG:42

Hidatsa *wiré•* ‘door’ J , *miré•*

Pre-Mandan **:wrehe*

Mandan *wérehe* ‘door’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **hti yepe*

Proto-Dakota **thiyépa*

Lakota *thíyépa* ‘the door of a tent, consisting of a piece of leather’ EB:490b

Yanktonai *tiyepa* , *†thiyepa* ‘door’ WM:53a

Proto-Dhegiha **htí žepe*

Omaha-Ponca *ttí žebe* ‘door’ MAS:61 , *tí zhebe*

Kanza/Kaw *čči žébe* ‘door’ RR

Osage *ṭsí zhebe* , *†hcí žepe* ‘door’ LF:164b

Quapaw *ttíže* ‘door’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **-yépi*

Biloxi *(a)yɛpe?* MRH , *əyɛpe?* MS , *yepi, ayéwi* D&S:176b

Ofo *ǐtcē´pi* , *†ičé•pi* ‘door’ D&S:324b, JSS

General comment

The first syllable of the reconstructed form looks like **wi-* unless there is consistent raising of **wa* > **wi* before a palatal in both Ofo and Crow, cf. ‘dog’. The MRS, Mandan, and Quapaw forms, along with the variation of final syllables, suggests that **wi-ye•-pe* consists of at least two and probably three morphemes. At least *-pe/i* appears to be separate. Cf. ‘enter (2)’. The Lakota compound consists of *thi* ‘house’ and a second morpheme in which Proto-Siouan **y* was reinterpreted as epenthetic. Otherwise the **y* should have yielded *čh* in Dakotan in parallel with DH *ž*. If Proto-Siouan was **wiyé•he* and MVS and OVS added **-pe* later, then the sequence *h-pe* does not work the same way as **h-ka*, which yields Dakotan *-kha*. The fact that we do not get *-phe* strongly suggests that *-pe* is suffixed directly to **wiyé•*, not the derivational stem **wiyé•h-*.

Crow has treated the inherited **-ehe* (see Mandan) the way that both Crow and Hidatsa treat **-ihe*, i.e. > *-ia*. Hidatsa *-e•* suggests that **-ehe* and **-iha* may have been kept distinct in pre-Hidatsa. Cf. ‘enter (2)’

dove, pigeon

noun animal_bird

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **wayú•tka ~ *warú•tka*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa *má•rahku(a)* 'pigeon' J

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **rú•tka*

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **rú•tke*

Chiwere *rú•hǰe* RR

Hoocąk *ruučgé* KM:2745 , *ruucge*

Proto-Dhegiha **rű́hta*

Omaha-Ponca *thíta* , *†ðítta* MAS:136

Kanza/Kaw *yű́tta* 'pigeon, dove' RR

Osage *thiṭá* , *†ðühtá* 'pigeon' LF:149b

Quapaw *dítta* 'dove' JOD

Proto-Southeastern **wayú•t(-ka)*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **ayú•t- (?)*

Biloxi *yoteḳá* , *†yoteká* 'dove' D&S:295a

Ofo *atcúta, ątcúta* , *†ačú•ta* 'dove, wild pigeon (?)' D&S:321b, JSS

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *mayūtkāi, wayōtkāi* , *†mayu•tka•i* H , *wa•yutká, waya•´su"tka* , *†mayu•tka•i* LJF

Proto-Catawba

Catawba *itúsi* 'dove' KS

General comment

Hidatsa shows rightward vowel exchange of *u*. Biloxi may show traces of an older root without *-ka*, or it may not be properly cognate. OVS argues for Proto-Siouan **wayú•t-ka*, while MVS argues for Proto-Siouan **warú•t-ka*. Mandan *wráwit* 'dove, wild pigeon' (H-300) may not be cognate; cf. *wráwi* 'elm'. This term shows a generally regular development but probably incorporates a healthy degree of phonosymbolism, as do several Iroquoian, Keresan, etc. look-alikes. Cf. 'bird > game bird, turkey'.

dream

verb psychic_cognition

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **hąwre, *ihą́wre* ‘dream, dream of s.t.’

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **hiráwE, *ihá•wE*

Crow *bihámne, bihámme* ‘sleep’ L:61 , *hiráwi ~ iháwi* ‘sleep’ GG:48, GG:73

Hidatsa *hiráwi ~ -ihá•wi* ‘sleep’ J

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **(i-)há•wre*

Proto-Dakota **(i-)hąwrA*

Lakota *hąblé* RTC , *iháŋbla* EB:216a , *ihą́ble* EJ

Dakota *haŋmdé* , *†hąmde* ‘to fast and dream’ SRR:124a , *wíhaŋmna* , *†wíhąmną* ‘dream’ WM:54a

Stoney *hą́mną* ‘dream, have vision(s)’ PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **(i-)hą́Re*

Chiwere *hą́je* GM

Hoocąk *hąąté* ‘dream’ KM:772 , *hąąte* ‘dream about’ KM:862 , *hihąté* , *hihąte*

Proto-Dhegiha **hąbre*

Omaha-Ponca *ho^{n}bthe* , *†hąbðe* ‘dream’ MAS:62

Kanza/Kaw *hąblé* ‘dream’ MR, RR

Osage *hó^{n}bthe* , *†(i-)hą́bre* ‘dream’ LF:65a , *ihó^{n}bthe* , *†(i-)hą́bre*

Quapaw *hǫ́bde* ‘dream’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Ofo *ạbaiyá^{n}te* ‘a dream’ D&S:319

Proto-Catawba

Catawba *cf. hí•mbare* ‘sleep’

General comment

Cf. ‘sleep’. Crow and Hidatsa have conflated the roots for ‘sleep’ and ‘dream’. Third person conjugated forms reflect ‘sleep’, while first and second person conjugated forms are based on ‘dream’. ‘sleep’ **hiyą* has been extended with the **-wE* < **-wre* of ‘dream’ **ihą́wre*. The Ofo form superficially resembles other OVS reflexes for ‘sleep’, q.v., but Proto-Siouan **y* > *čh* normally in Ofo, so the *y* here is most likely epenthetic.

h- is very frequently lost in both Biloxi and Ofo, so Ofo *-i(y)ą́te* most closely matches MVS/MRS ‘dream’, the Ofo reflex of Proto-Siouan ‘sleep’ should be **(h)ičhąti*, but this word is not found in Ofo. The phonological and semantic similarities between Proto-Siouan **(i-)hą́•wre* ‘dream of X’; and Proto-Siouan **hiyą́•(-re)* ‘sleep’ are so great that the two terms may, in fact, be doublets from a single Proto-Siouan stem that would be cognate with Catawba *hí•mbare* ‘sleep’. On the *hą* of ‘dream’ perhaps cf. **hą* ‘night’.

dress, skirt, etc.

noun physical_artefact_dress

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **rhé*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **wa-rhé*

Proto-Dakota **he*

Lakota *nitéhepi* ‘woman’s skirt; the kind that stands out from the hip’ [*nité*] EJ

Dakota *heyake* ‘dress’ WM:54a

Yanktonai *hayake* ‘dress’ WM:54a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **waté*

Chiwere *wa̱ǰé* ‘dress, skirt’

Hoocąk *ha̱ǰé* ‘wear as a skirt’ JWE , *haje* ‘skirt, dress’ JWE , *wa̱ǰé* , *waje*

Proto-Dhegiha **wathé*

Omaha-Ponca *wathé* ‘dress’ RR

Kanza/Kaw *wačhé* ‘skirt’ RR

Osage *watsé* , *†waché* LF:205b

Quapaw *wathé* ‘woman’s skirt, long skirt, dress’ RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *awodé* ‘skirt’ D&S:175a

Ofo *āthé* ~ *áthe* , *†a•thé* ‘dress’ D&S:322a, JSS , *úntwāthĕ´* , *†úṭwa•the* ‘trousers’ D&S:331b, JSS

General comment

Wichita *rhinc?a* ‘clothing from the waist down’ (DSR) suggests possible borrowing into that language.

drink

verb physical_consumption

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *[old reconstruction only]*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **ratkᵠ́*

Proto-Dakota **yatkĄ́*

Lakota *yatkĄ́* ‘drink’ [- ablaut] RTC , *-tkᵠ, wópu-* ‘dip in’ EB:607b , *opútkᵠ* ‘what you dip, e.g. soup’ EJ

Stoney *yatkᵠ* [- ablaut] PAS

Sioux Valley *yatkᵠ* [+ ablaut] PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **ratkᵠ́*

Chiwere *rahtᵠ́* RR

Hoocąk *račgᵠ́* ‘dip in, v.tr.’ KM:2542 , *racgᵠ* KM:1539 , *-cgᵠ́, howa-* , *howacgᵠ*

Proto-Dhegiha **rahtᵠ́*

Omaha-Ponca *ðattᵠ́* ‘drink’ RR

Kanza/Kaw *yattᵠ́* ‘drink’ RR

Osage *wathᵠ́ṭoⁿ* , *ṫwaðᵠ́htᵠ* ‘imbibe, drink’ LF:200b

Quapaw *dattᵠ́* ‘drink’ RR, JOD

General comment

The first syllable is the ‘mouth, instrumental’. Chiwere and DH share the **tk* > **kt* > *ht* metathesis; it recurs in numerous other forms.

drink, inhale smoke

verb physical_consumption

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **hi̱•*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **hí•*

Crow *iššíi* RG , *išbií,* RG, GG:95

Hidatsa *hí•* 'drink, smoke' J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *hi̱•ro?š* 'he's drinking, smoking' RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **hi̱*

Proto-Dakota

Dakota *†az_i̱* 'to suck the breast' EB:109a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **hi̱•*

Chiwere *hi̱, nąą-* 'to swallow' LWR:20 , *hín* , *†hi̱* 'smoke (pipe)' JGT:232 , *ráñyihi; ranehí* , *†ráni̱hi̱* 'smoke tobacco' JGT:232

Hoocąk *hi̱i̱* 'suck' KM:1142 , *hi̱i̱* 'smoke' KM:3063 , *taanį́ hi̱i̱* 'swallow, v.' KM:2154 , *tanį hi̱i̱* , *hí, nąąą-* , *nąąhi*

Proto-Dhegiha **?í̱*

Omaha-Ponca *ninį́?i̱* 'smoke' [< tobacco + smoke] RTC , *ninį́ i^{n}* , *†nį̱nį́ ?i̱* 'use tobacco' [1Act aį̱ (expect mį́), 2Act žį̱ (expect ðaį́)]

Kanza/Kaw *yahnį́* 'swallow (?)'

Osage *baçéi^{n}* , *†bazé?i̱* 'suckling' LF:18b , *i^{n}* , *†?i̱* 'suckle' LF:74b

Proto-Southeastern **hi̱*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *hini, i^{n}ni, i^{n}* , *†hi̱nį* 'drink' D&S:201a

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *yehíñstik; ihīrtik, iheñstek* , *†yehí̱stik* 'pipe' N, H

General comment

Biloxi *-ni* is the common separable suffix *-ni* ~ *-di*. The DH forms, if cognate, should show some trace of initial *h*. They may, instead, be formed from Proto-Dhegiha **i?í̱* 'to use', which becomes *?i̱* when suffixed to forms ending in front vowels.

drip (1)

verb physical_condition

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **s?e*

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *yus?é* ‘drip involuntarily’ B&D:18

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *rus?é* ‘drop (as of medicine, water)’ LWR:26

General comment

These terms are not directly cognate. Chiwere *s* always comes from **š*, not **s*, and this pair of terms is related by the common fricative symbolism.

drip (2)

verb physical_condition

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **x?éhe*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **xE•´*

Crow *xeé* 'leak' RG, GG:61, RGG:65

Hidatsa *xE•´* 'drip, leak' J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *xé?ho?š* 'it's raining' RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **x?é*

Proto-Dakota **x?é*

Lakota *x?ex?é* 'little pieces dangling down, ragged; person with palsy or uncontrollable shaking' B&D:18, EJ , *x?éx?e, yu-* 'drippings, droolings, drivel; tear down something and make it ragged, e.g. cloth tacked to wall which is torn when pulled off' EB:832b, EJ

Dakota *ȟ'eȟ'é* , *†x?ex?é* 'dangling, ragged' SRR:163b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **x?e•*

Chiwere *éxˆexˆe* , *†éx?ex?e* 'drip' JGT:133

Hoocąk *x?ée* 'drip (used of rather thin liquids)' KM:3846 , *x'ee*

Proto-Dhegiha **k?e* < ***x?e*

Omaha-Ponca *gae'e* , *†ga?é?e* 'dribble' MAS:62

Kanza/Kaw *obák?e* 'dangle strips cut from something' JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *xěheyě´* , *†xeheyé* 'cause to sit, cause to hang up (as a hat, a coat...)'

General comment

On Dakotan and Kanza/Kaw 'dangling' meanings cf. 'hang down (2)'. The extant DH forms provide evidence only for a glottalized velar obstruent. Only Quapaw would retain evidence for its fricative nature.

drip (3)

verb physical_condition

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **šʔehe*

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *séʔhoʔš* ‘it’s dripping’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **šʔe*

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *-šʔe, oyú-* ‘make drop in, e.g. into a glass when pouring medicine’ EB:421a , *-šʔé, yu-* ‘cause to fall in drops, to make drip e.g. drops of medicine’ EB:653a, EJ

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **šʔe*

Chiwere *sˆe* , *†šʔe* ‘drip, drop’ JGT:133 , *rusˆe* , *†rušʔe* ‘drip, drop’ JGT:133

Hoocąk *-šʔé, ru-* ‘get juice out of by squeezing; drip, v.intr.’ KM:2725 , *ruš’e* ‘sprinkle, v.tr.’ KM:1505 , *-šʔéšʔe, horu-* ‘extract fruit juice, leak (liquid, soft dough)’ KM:2893, WL:48.18, KM:2895 , *horuš’eš’e* , *-šʔé ~ šʔée* , *-š’e ~ š’ee*

Proto-Dhegiha **šʔe*

Kanza/Kaw *cʔácʔa-* ‘drip’ RR

Osage *ágaṭs’e* , *†ákacʔe* ‘drop water on’ LF:8b

Quapaw *akačʔéčʔe* ‘drip onto’ RR , *ditsʔétsʔe* ‘drip’ RR , *bišʔé* ‘scrub, bear down washing’ RR , *dišʔé* ‘wring dry’ RR , *akačʔéčʔe* ‘drip onto an object’ RR , *ditsʔé* ‘drip liquid’ , *tsʔétsʔe, di-* ‘drip periodically’

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *dútcětcéhi* , *†dúčečéhi* ‘he let it drip often’ D&S:262b , *tcehí* , *†dúčečéhi* ‘ooze out’ D&S:262b

dry (1)

verb perceptual

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **ú•sE*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **ú•cE*

Crow *úučí* 'dry' RG, GG:58, RGG:98

Hidatsa *ú•cE* 'dry' J , *ú•ci*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **pú•zE*

Proto-Dakota **púzA*

Lakota *púza* 'dry' RTC , *púzA, ka-* 'make something dry by shaking it in the wind; to become dry by being shaken by the wind, as wash' BT, EB:288a, EJ , *púza, pa-* 'rub dry, wipe dry' EB:433a , *púza, ya-* 'dry with the mouth' EB:626b , *púza, yu-* 'make dry, to wipe dry' EB:649a , *wapusya* 'dry e.g. clothes' EJ

Dakota *púza* 'dry' SRR:429b

Stoney *búða* PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **pú•ze*

Chiwere *bú•ðe* 'dry' RR

Hoocąk *wúus* 'dry' KM:3841 , *wuus* 'be dried' KM:3091 , *wús, taa-* , *taawus*

Proto-Dhegiha **bü•´ze*

Omaha-Ponca *bí•ze* 'dry' RR, RTC

Kanza/Kaw *bűze* 'dry' RR , *bűze, ba-* 'brush dry, brush off dry' JOD, RR , *bűze, bu-* 'dry by rubbing, wring out' JOD, RR , *bűze, dá-* 'dry from exposure to heat or air' RR , *bűze, ga-* 'dry as the wind does, brush off.' RR

Osage *bíçe, biúçe* , *†bűze* 'dry, withered' LF:26b, LF:27b

Quapaw *bizé, bíze* 'dry' RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **ú•xi*

Biloxi *uxwí, úxwi* , *†úxwi* 'dry' D&S:283b

Ofo *ósi* 'dry' D&S:327b , *ū´si* , *†ú•si* 'dry' JSS

General comment

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa and Proto-Biloxi-Ofo suggest that this was a vowel-initial root. The *p/w/b* of MVS is unexplained. In other instances such labial consonant correspondences are reflexes of an earlier *wa-, wi-*, but conditioning factors here are entirely wanting. Cf. 'sand (1)'.

dry (2)

verb perceptual

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley ***xé•(-ka)***

Proto-Dakota

Lakota ***xeya, oyá-*** ‘to cause to boil away or evaporate’ EB:417

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere ***xé•ge*** RR

Proto-Dhegiha ****xéka***

Omaha-Ponca ***xéga*** JOD

Osage ***xéga*** , ***†xéka*** ‘dead, as gras or tree’ LF:218a

Quapaw ***xéga*** ‘dry out from breaking (limbs)’ JOD , ***dixéka*** ‘dried up, dead from heat/cold’ RR , ***táxe*** RR

General comment

The extended form appears in Omaha-Ponca, Osage, Quapaw, and Chiwere. The unextended form is in Quapaw and Lakota.

dry (3)

verb perceptual

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **šéka*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **šéka*

Proto-Dakota **šéka*

Lakota *šéča* 'dry' [- ablaut] RTC , *-šéča, ka-* 'make dead or dry by striking, to deaden by cutting around, as around a tree; to cause to deaden' EB:290, EJ , *-šéča, na-* 'make wither by trampling on e.g. grass' EB:358 , *-šéča, yu-* 'deaden; to make dry.' EB:651

Dakota *šéća* , *ṫšéča* 'dry, dead' SRR:442a

Stoney *θéǰa* PAS

Sioux Valley *šéča* PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **šéke*

Chiwere *ségе* RR

Hoocąk *šéek* 'be dead (said of trees, standing or lying); be withered, dying (of plant life)' KM:2928 , *šeek* 'destroy by trampling' KM:2237 , *-šék, nąą-* , *nąąšek*

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *tcě´tka* , *ṫčétka* 'dead tree' D&S:263a

General comment

DH shows a different fricative ablaut grade, also attested in Chiwere.

duck, waterfowl

noun animal_bird

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **wį́•xa*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **wí•xa•ka*

Crow *bíaxaaka* RG, GG:29, RGG:1

Hidatsa *wí•xa•ka* ‘duck’ J , *mí•xa•ka*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **wį•xa*

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **wį́xe*

Chiwere *mį́xe* ‘duck’ RR

Hoocąk *wį́ix* KM:3754 , *wį́ix*

Proto-Dhegiha **mį́•ɣa*

Omaha-Ponca *mį́•xa* ‘duck’ RR

Kanza/Kaw *mį́xa* ~ *mį́•ɣa* RR

Osage *míxa* , *†mį́ɣa* ‘the white swan (see legend)’ LF:93b

Quapaw *mį́xa* ‘duck’ RR , *mį́ɣa* JOD

General comment

The Dakota *mayá* ‘duck’ represents a contamination of this root by Proto-Siouan ‘bird (1)’, q.v. The final vowel was reanalyzed in Chiwere/Hoocąk. Cf. ‘goose’.

dwell, dwelling, house

physical_artefact_shelter

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **ahtí•*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **atÉ*

Crow *ašî* RG, GG:12, RGG:42

Hidatsa *atÉ* ‘house’ J , *atí* ‘his house’ J , *á•ti*

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *tí?* ‘house’ RTC , *otí?* ‘house’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **htí*

Proto-Dakota **thí*

Lakota *thí* ‘dwell’ RTC

Stoney *thi-* PAS

Sioux Valley *thi-* PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **thí•*

Chiwere *čhí* RR

Hoocąk *čí* ‘house; dwell’ KM:217 , *cii* ‘roof of house’ KM:224 , *čiihák* , *ciihak ~ cii hihak*

Proto-Dhegiha **htí*

Omaha-Ponca *ttí* RTC

Kanza/Kaw *ččí* RR

Osage *hcí* LF:162f

Quapaw *ttí* RR

Proto-Southeastern **athí•*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **athí*

Biloxi *ati, áti, ti* D&S:274b

Ofo *ạthí, ạtą́* , *†athí* D&S:322a

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *atī* , *†ati•* N, H

General comment

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa seems to have replaced the inherited vowel with the more productive *-E*.

e

eagle (1)

noun animal_bird

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **xurá•*

Pre-Mandan **xura•re*

Mandan *hą́xurare* ‘bat’ H:70

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **xurá*

Proto-Dakota **xuyá*

Lakota *xuyá* ‘eagle’ RTC

Dakota *ẋuyá* , *†xuyá* ‘eagle’ SRR:168b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *xra•gré•ye* ‘golden eagle’ RR

Hoocąk *xorapása* ~ *xorepása* ‘bald eagle’ KM:3935 , *xorapasa*

Proto-Dhegiha **xürá*

Omaha-Ponca *xiðá* ‘eagle’ RTC

Kanza/Kaw *xüyá* ‘eagle’ RR

Osage *xithá* , *†xüðá* ‘eagle, golden eagle’ LF:218b

Quapaw *xidá* ‘eagle’ RR

General comment

Hoocąk < ‘eagle’ + ‘head’ + ‘white (1)’ (sic for *-są*). The Mandan form appears to be an old compound of *hą* ‘night’ and *xura•re* ‘eagle’; both roots are preserved only in this compound.

eagle (2)

noun animal_bird

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dakota **wąwrí*

Lakota *wąblí* ‘eagle’ RTC

Dakota *waŋmdí* , *ƭwąmdí* ‘eagle’ SRR:526a

Sioux Valley *wąbdí* PAS

General comment

Cf. ‘bird > game bird, turkey’

ear (1)

noun physical_somatic_body_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **rą́•tpa*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **ahpá*

Crow *ahpá* ‘external ear’ RG, GG:4, RGG:67

Hidatsa *ahpá* ‘animal’s ear, external ear’ J

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **ną́•tpa*

Proto-Dakota **natpá*

Lakota *nakpá* ‘ear’ RTC

Dakota *natpá, nakpá* SRR:338a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **ną́•twa*

Chiwere *nąádwa, ną́•dwa* RR

Hoocąk *nąąčáwa* KM:2125 , *nąącawa*

Proto-Dhegiha **nąhtá*

Omaha-Ponca *niṭa* , *†nitta* JOD

Kanza/Kaw *nąttá* RR

Osage *no^{n}ṭá* , *†nąhtá* ‘lobe of the ear, ears (term used in rituals)’ LF:117a

Quapaw *nąttá* RR

General comment

Absence of the initial resonant in MRS is unexplained; cf. ‘ear (2), external opening’, and especially ‘hear’. The medial cluster is subject to Dakota dissimilation and Dhegiha metathesis, both regular.

ear (2), external opening

noun physical_somatic_body_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **rąxu•-*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **ahkúxE (?)*

Crow *ahkúxa* RG, GG:4, RGG:67

Hidatsa *ahkúxE* 'human ear, organ of hearing' J , *ahkúxi*

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *rąkóx, rąkóxE* 'ear' RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **nąyúte*

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *naxú* 'ear, hear' JGT:135 , *naxúje* 'ear, inner ear' JGT:135

Proto-Dhegiha **nąyű́te*

Omaha-Ponca *nąxíde* RR

Kanza/Kaw *niyű́je, nüyű́je* 'ear, the external, sense of hearing' RR

Osage *no^{n}xudse(?)* , *†nąyű́ce* 'internal ear, that which holds the hearing orifice' LF:119a

Quapaw *naxítte* 'ear, external opening' JOD

Proto-Southeastern **naxu•xi*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **naxú•xi*

Biloxi *nišofe?* MRH , *nišo•fe?* MS , *nixuxwí, níxuxwí, nixúxwi* D&S:237a

Ofo *n'shū´si* , *†nashú•si* 'ear, earlobe' JSS

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *naqōq; nahūh* , *†naxo•x* N

General comment

There is a possible prefix **rą-* here that frequently appears (except in MRS) with numerous parts of the body. Dakotan and Hoocąk preserve this root but only in 'hear' q.v. Crow, Hidatsa, Mandan are clearly not cognate but show interesting similarities. Cf. 'brain (1)'. Cf. also Catawba *naniré* 'hear' (AssiniboineG/Kanza/Kaw). The Crow and Hidatsa forms with (h)k cannot match the x of the other languages.

ear (3), inner; hearing

noun physical_somatic_body_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *nį́•ɣe* RR

Proto-Dakota **nį́ɣe*

Lakota *nį́ɣe* ‘ear’ RTC

Dakota *nóǧe* , *†nį́ɣe* ‘ear, sense of hearing’ SRR:342b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *nį́ųx* ‘ear, act or power of hearing’ KM:2397 , *nųųx*

Proto-Dhegiha **niɣű́te*

Omaha-Ponca *noxíde* ‘inner hearing organ’ RTC

Kanza/Kaw *nüxű́je; niɣű́je*

Osage *nixúdse* , *†niɣű́ce*

Quapaw *niɣítte* ‘inner ear’ JOD, RR

Proto-Catawba

Catawba *-duksu•ʔ* ‘ear’ FS, KS , *tákshu* ‘ear’ ASG, KS

General comment

Omaha-Ponca *o* may be from either **ą* or **ų*, so cognacy is uncertain. **nixíde* is the expected form.

earth, ground, land

noun natural_phenomenon

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **awą́•-*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **awá*

Crow *awá* ‘land’ RG, GG:13, RGG:19

Hidatsa *awá* ‘earth, ground, land’ J

Pre-Mandan **wą•-*

Mandan *wą́•ʔąk* ‘ground’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **mą́-*

Proto-Dakota **mąh-ka*

Lakota *makhá* RTC

Dakota *maká, mak’á* , *†makhá* ‘earth, ground’ SRR:305b

Stoney *mąkh-* PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *mą́ą* ‘earth, ground; year’ KM:1929 , *mąą*

Proto-Dhegiha **mą-ðį́hka* RR

Omaha-Ponca *mąnį́kka* ‘soil, earth’ RR

Kanza/Kaw *mąyį́kka* ~ *mǫ́į́kka* ‘earth, clay’ RR

Osage *mo^{n}-thi^{n}-ḳa* ‘earth, soil, clay, mud’ LF:102b , *mąðį́hka* ‘soil, ground, earth, clay, mud, dirt’ CQ

Quapaw *mąnį́kka* ‘earth, soil, ground’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern **amą́•(-ri)*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **amą*

Biloxi *ma^{n}, ma, amá, hama* , *†amą́* ‘ground’ D&S:226b

Ofo *ā´ma^{n}* , *†á•mą* ‘land, country, ground’ D&S:320b, JSS

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *amāni, amāi* , *†amą́•(-ni)* ‘land, earth, world’ H , *amĕ^{n}* , *†amą́•(-ni)* HW

Saponi *Massa-moni* ‘paint creek’ Byrd

Proto-Catawba

Catawba *mánu•* ‘ground’ FS

General comment

Phonetically similar forms are found in Algonquian, Caddoan, Iroquoian, Hokan, etc. The Proto-Siouan post-accentual consonant is difficult to determine.

Several subgroups suggest *-r*, while only MVS shows clear reflexes of *-h*. Instances of *-r* could be epenthetic between the root and suffix-initial vowels (as is frequently the case), or *-re* could be an instance of morpheme replacement and generalization of a common suffix. The Proto-Dakota **h* is unexplained. Cf. ‘mud, dirt, earth’.

eat

verb physical_consumption

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **rú•tE*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **ru•tÉ*

Crow *duušį́* ‘eat’ RG

Hidatsa *ru•tÉ* ‘eat’ J , *nu•tí*

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *rutó?š* ‘he ate’ RTC , *warú•te?š* ‘he’s hungry’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **rú•te*

Proto-Dakota **yúta*

Lakota *yúta* ‘eat’ RTC

Stoney *yúda* PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **rú•te*

Chiwere *warú•je* RR

Hoocąk *rúuč* KM:2743 , *ruuc*

Proto-Dhegiha **rüte*

Kanza/Kaw *yiǐjé* ‘eat in small pieces, dip’ RR

Osage *thídse* , *†ðű́ce* ‘scoop’ LF:145b , *thudsé* , *†ðücé* ‘scoop food’ LF:154a

Proto-Southeastern **warú•ti*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **arú•ti*

Biloxi *dúti, adutí* ‘eat’ D&S:275b

Ofo *ạbatū´ti* , *†-atú•ti* ‘I am going to eat’ JSS , *atúti* , *†-atú•ti* ‘eat’ D&S:330b

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *lūti* , *†lu•ti* H , *walú•th* , *†lu•ti* MMI , *wālút’* , *†lu•ti* ES , *wālút, walút* , *†lu•ti* LJF , *walúṭ* , *†lu•ti* HW

Proto-Catawba

Woccon *Eraute (?)* JL

edge

physical_spatial

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **htéte*

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *mathéte* ‘side, rim’ EB:334a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *chéje* , *†čhéǰe* ‘edge, border’ JGT:136

egg

noun animal

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **itká*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **ihká*

Crow *ihká* ‘egg’ RG, GG:74

Hidatsa *ihká* ‘egg’ J

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **itká*

Proto-Dakota **(wa-)itká*

Lakota *itká* ‘egg, testicle’ RTC , *wítka* ‘egg’ RTC

Stoney *wíkta* ‘egg’ PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **í•tke*

Chiwere *ʔíhǰe* ‘egg’ RR

Hoocąk *hiičgé* ‘egg’ KM:873 , *hiicge*

Proto-Dhegiha **(wa-)íhta*

Omaha *wittá* ‘egg’

Ponca *wéʔtą* ‘egg’ RR

Kanza/Kaw *ittá* ‘egg’ RR

Osage *báṭa* , *ϯpáhta* ‘egg’ LF:24a

Quapaw *sikkwittá* ‘hen’s egg’ RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **įt-*

Biloxi *ma•xę•teʔ* ‘hen’s egg’ MRH , *mąxę•teʔ, maxeʔęteʔ* MS , *iⁿtí, iⁿdí* , *ϯįtí* ‘egg’ D&S:203b , *o iⁿté* , *ϯįtí* ‘fish egg’

Ofo *iⁿ´tu, ĭⁿ´tu* , *ϯíįtu* ‘egg’ D&S:325a

Proto-Catawba

Catawba *witką* ‘chicken’ KS, FGS

General comment

Chiwere and DH show reflexes of the usual **tk* > *kt* > *ht*. The forms with initial *w* may reflect addition of the absolutive *wa-* or an old word for 'bird' **wą* which appears in 'swallow (bird)', 'crow > raven', 'bird (1)', and 'bird > game bird, turkey'. The latter term may also account for sporadic nasalization of the first syllable.

eight

abstract_number

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dhegiha **hpe•-rá•prį*

Omaha *ppeðábðį* RTC

Ponca *ppe•ðábðį* RR

Kanza/Kaw *ppeyáblį*

Osage *pethabthi*^{n} , *†hpeðábrį* LF:85

Quapaw *ppedábnį*

Proto-Southeastern **pa-ra•nį*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Ofo *pą́tạnĭ* D&S:328b , *pA´tAnî*

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *pālán; palāni, palāli, palāniq* N, H , *pălan´* HW , *peläˀk'* ES , *balai´n* LJF , *bilaæ:kh, bilą:kh* MMI

General comment

The Chiwere pattern is almost certainly borrowed from DH, as the basis for this numeral is 'three', which, in Chiwere, has undergone normal development to *dá•ñį*, not **ra•brį*. This term is probably not Proto-Siouan in origin as it occurs in the proper phonological form (*hpV + 'three') only in OVS and DH.

Its presence in Illinois Algonquian (Rankin, 1985) shows that it spread from an OVS dialect. No actual Proto-Siouan term for 'eight' is currently reconstructible.

elbow (1)

noun physical_somatic_body_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **išpá*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **išpaxxé•*

Crow *išpaxáa* ‘elbow’ RG, GG:81 , *išbaxxee* ‘elbow’ RGG:72 , *iaxpé* ‘wing’ L:376

Hidatsa *išpaxxé•* ‘elbow’ H&V , *íšpa* ‘wing’ WM, J

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **išpa*

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *išpá* ‘elbow’ RTC

Dakota *iśpá* , *†išpá* ‘lower part of the arm’ SRR:209a

Stoney *įšpá* PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *aicawagera* , *†aišawa-* MM:268

General comment

The Crow/Hidatsa forms for ‘elbow’ proper may have been influenced by Hidatsa *paxxa* ‘corner, angle’ and its Crow correspondent.

elbow (2), forearm

noun physical_somatic_body_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **istó*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **istó*

Proto-Dakota **istó*

Lakota *istó* ‘lower arm’ RTC

Dakota *istó* ‘forearem, foreleg’ SRR:207b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *ihdóge* W:236a

Proto-Dhegiha **istó-hü*

Omaha-Ponca *astúhi* RTC

Kanza/Kaw *istóhü* RR

Osage *içtúhi* , *†istóhü* ‘elbow’ LF:70a

Quapaw *istóhi* RR , *istóhi ~ įstóhi* JOD

Proto-Southeastern **istó ~ *įstó*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *ĭnstodí, ĭnstódi, nstódi, ĭnstotu, nstótu* , *†įstódi* D&S:200a

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *hiçto; histo* , *†histo* ‘arm’ N, H

General comment

The initial *i-* is presumably the inalienable possession prefix.

The Biloxi forms with *-t-u* are the reflex of a compound of *įstódi* with *hu* ‘bone’.

elk

noun animal_mammal

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **íį́•phą*

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *íp̨a* ‘elk’ H:262

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **íį́•phą*

Proto-Dakota **íp̨há*

Lakota *íp̨há* ‘cow elk’ RTC

Dakota *íp̨aŋ* , *†íp̨há* ‘female elk’ WM:57b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **hú́•wą*

Chiwere *hú́mą* ‘elk’ GM

Hoocąk *hú́p̨wą́* ‘elk’ KM:1622 , *hú́p̨wą*

Proto-Dhegiha **ó́phǫ*

Omaha-Ponca *ó́phǫ* ‘elk’ RTC

Kanza/Kaw *óphą, óphǫ* ‘elk’ RR

Osage *óphą* ‘elk’ RR

Quapaw *ó́phǫ, i̧pha* ‘elk’ RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *mampañdahkai* , *†mą́•phą-* ‘buffalo’ H , *mā´p‘ayeŋk’* , *†mą́•phą-* ‘cow’ ES , *no^{m}payé^{n}, mo^{m}paí^{n}, máapaye^{n}g* , *†mą́•phą-* ‘cow’ LJF

General comment

The Tutelo form is unique in showing an initial *w-*, possibly the reflex of *wa-* ‘absolutive’ or *wi-*, a classifier for animals.

elm

noun plant

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **pʔé* < **wa-ʔé•*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa *wiraʔí•* ‘elm’ J , *miraʔí•*

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *wráwi* ‘elm’ H:300

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **pʔé* < ***wa-ʔé•* RR

Proto-Dakota **pʔé*

Lakota *pʔéčhą*

Dakota *p̣e* , *†pʔe* ‘elm’ SRR:429a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *a•wé•grąŋe* RR

Proto-Dhegiha **e-*

Omaha-Ponca *ežą* JOD

Kanza/Kaw *ehű́* ~ *éhü* ‘elm’ RR

Osage *éhü* ‘elm’ RR

Quapaw *ehí* ‘elm’ JOD

General comment

Most of the languages compound ‘elm’ with ‘wood’ or ‘tree’: ‘tree + elm’ in Hidatsa and Mandan; ‘elm + tree’ elsewhere. Elm appears to be from **wa + ʔe/i*. **wa-* loses its vowel as usual in this context leaving **w-ʔe* or **w-ʔi*, which > *pʔe/i*. Note, however, that this development is different from the 1Act forms of verbs whose roots begin with *ʔ* and where the prefix also takes the form *wa-*. This may ultimately aid in seriation of nominal and verbal morphologies.

emphatic, contrastive, but

enclitic n/a

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **-šV*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa *-š* ‘def. article; forms proper nouns’ J , *-š* in: *haš* ‘but’ J , *-š* in: *mí•raš; ní•raš* ‘myself (emph.), yourself’ J , *-š* in: *to•haruš* ‘somewhat, surely’ J , *-š* in: *tó•šaruš* ‘later’ J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *-s* ‘definite article’ H:478

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *-š* ‘emphatic suffix’ [same as héce, emph] RTC , *-š* in: *eš* ‘is it; if, supposing that something else cannot be done’ [cf. *tokel*] EB:143 , *-š* in: *héceš* ‘although, but’ EB:170 , *-š* in: *k?éyaš, keo?eyaš* ‘but, although’ EB:320 , *-š* in: *kheš* ‘indeed, truly, of course’ EB:298a , *-š* in: *lakháš* ‘as’ EB:322b , *-š* in: *tókheš* ‘but’ EB:497a , *-š* in: *tkháš* RTC

emphatic topic

n/a

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **ya*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *čha* ‘emphatic topic’

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *ya* ‘emphatic topic’ GRO

General comment

An enclitic to nouns or noun phrases. There is an otherwise unidentified Biloxi particle, *yą*, that may be related, although nasalization would be unexplained.

end, finish > last (1)

time_phase

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **há•ka*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **ha•ka*

Crow *háaka* ‘last’ RG, GG:48

Hidatsa *ihá•ka* ‘last in a series’ J , *ha•kha•* ‘after, at the last’ J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *híka* ‘last in a series’ H:73

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **ha•kE*

Proto-Dakota **hakA*

Lakota *hakáb* ‘afterwards, in the meantime’ EB:164b , *hakákta* ‘last, the last; the youngest child, boy or girl’ EB:164b , *eháke* ‘the last one; yet, yet to come, a last time’ EB:139

Dakota *eháke* ‘last one’ SRR:114a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *háak* ‘last’ KM:520 , *haak* ‘rear, back part of anything’ KM:520 , *háak* ‘afterward’ KM:516 , *haak* , *haagéǰa* , *haakeja*

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *akiyá* ‘last, the last one’ D&S:171b

General comment

Cf. ‘son, third or younger’

end, finish > last (2)

time_phase

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **-hą́ke*

Proto-Dakota **-hąke*

Lakota *ihą́ke* ‘to end, the end’ RTC , *ihą́keta* ‘at the end, at the last’ EB:216a

Dakota *iháŋke* , *†ihą́ke* ‘end, termination’ SRR:184b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *ihą́gita* ‘end’ GM

Proto-Dhegiha **ohą́•ke*

Omaha-Ponca *uho^{n}ge* , *†ohą́ge* ‘end’ MAS:69

Kanza/Kaw *ǫhǫ́•ge* ‘end of something’ RR

Osage *uho^{n}´ge* , *†ohǫ́ke* ‘end of anything, head of stream, borders, edges’ LF:170b

Quapaw *ohǫ́ke* ‘end’ JOD

General comment

The Kanza/Kaw form suggests vowel length here. Data for the other languages represented come from sources that do not record length.

end, point, tip (1)

noun physical_spatial

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **-tpE*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **uhpÉ*

Crow *uhpá* RG, GG:58

Hidatsa *ihpú* ‘tip’ J

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **itpE*

Proto-Dakota **ǐtpA*

Lakota *ǐkpa* ‘end’ RTC , *wahǐkpe* ‘arrow’ RTC

Dakota *ŕǐkpa* ~ *ŕǐtpa* ‘end, small end, source’ SRR:201a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *udwáxe* ‘tip, end, source’ JGT:260

Proto-Dhegiha **ihtá-*

Kanza/Kaw *bazé ittáxe* ‘nipples of breast’ RR

Osage *iṭáxe* , *ŕihtáxe* ‘tip, top’ LF:78b

General comment

DH metathesis is regular. Hidatsa shows rightward vowel exchange. The *u* of Chiwere and Proto-Crow-Hidatsa, the oral *i* of Proto-Dhegiha, Dakota nasalization and accent on the first vowel -- together these suggest that this form is bimorphemic. Biloxi *pŭt, pŭdiyaⁿ´* ‘tip, end’ (DS-250a), if cognate, represents a metathesis. *x* in the MVS forms may in fact be γ.

E

Englishman

noun person

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *ra2-ga4r-ra4sh-i2ng* , *†rakrašį, †rakrešį* [Say lxxx:a. S.; name of a well-known Otoe chief? Laggerash etc.]

Proto-Dhegiha

Omaha-Ponca *su2k-a3n-a3sh* , *†sakkanaš, †sagðąš* [not a proper Omawhaw word]

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Ofo *áñglif, añglíf, á"glifhi* , *†ąklifhi* ‘another, different, foreign, sometimes ‘English’ or ‘American”

General comment

A loan, presumably < M.F. ‘les anglois’ *leząglwɛ(z)*. Ofo source and meaning are uncertain. The form looks as if it were borrowed from French.

Its phonology is very un-Ofo, but the meaning is quite divergent from the French form, if that is what it is, and the *f* ~ *fh* from **s* suggests either an older form or a very recent sound change in Ofo. Not only would the **s* > *f* change be recent, but the Ofo aspiration rule would have to have been applicable still during the colonial period. That alone makes this an interesting and controversial form. It should be noted that the initial portion, *ąk-*, would be the expected Biloxi and Ofo reflex of Proto-Siouan ‘man, person (1)’, so the status of this term as a loanword in Ofo is not at all well established and may be more apparent than real.

enter (1)

verb physical_motion

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **-kpE*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **rahpE*

Crow *dahpí* ‘get in (boat, car, etc.)’ RG, GG:41, RGG:31

Hidatsa *rahpÉ* ‘get in’ J , *nahpí*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **okpé*

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *huŋkpá* ‘entrance to a camp’ EB:695b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **okwé*

Chiwere *ugwé* GM

Hoocąk *hokewé* ‘go in, enter’ [cf. hoikéwe] KM:1368 , *hokewe*

Proto-Dhegiha **ohpé*

Omaha-Ponca *upá-bi* , *†oppá-bi* ‘enter’

Osage *upé* , *†ohpé* ‘enter’ LF:175a

Quapaw *†oppé* ‘enter, as a lodge’ JOD

Proto-Catawba

Catawba *hákəpa?* ‘inside’ AS, KS

enter (2)

verb physical_motion

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **wiré•ri*

Crow *biléeli* ‘enter’ GG:31, RGG:30

Hidatsa *wiré•ri* ‘enter’ J , *miré•ri*

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *nḳuwé ndědi* ‘I went in’ D&S:285ab , *wědědí* ‘entrance to a lodge’

General comment

See ‘door (2)’

enter (3)

verb physical_motion

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **o-phÉ*

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *ró•pxekere?š* 'they went in' RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **o-phÉ*

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *óphA* 'follow, go with' EB:400b

Dakota *ópa* 'go with, follow, go in' SRR:380b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *-owe* 'pass' GM , *uwá* 'pass through' GM

Proto-Dhegiha

Kanza/Kaw *ophé* 'enter' RR

Proto-Southeastern **o-phé*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Ofo *ophĕ* 'come inside' D&S:327b

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *opé* 'go' JOD

Proto-Catawba

Catawba *pe•ʔ* 'step' BAR

General comment

In DH there are other derived forms. The root appears, not unexpectedly, to be *-phe* with an approximate meaning of 'tread, step'. Cf. 'follow'. The cluster **ph* was very rare in Proto-Siouan, and there is evidence in other forms that it may result from syncope of an earlier ***pVh* or ***wVh* sequence. Cf. 'follow', 'comb'. The Catawba form, however, renders the syncope hypothesis suspect.

Crow *bûihpi* 'falling snow' (GG-29, DEC-6), Hidatsa *wa•hpi* 'to snow', Hidatsa *wirihpi*, 'bathe' and Hidatsa *tipihpi* 'sink into mud' imply a verb *-hpi* with a meaning like 'be immersed in'. If that form is to be compared here, we must explain the reverse order of presumed **w* and **h*.

No explanation is forthcoming.

The Lakota 'go with, follow' meanings may indicate that we have homophonous forms here. Speculatively, 'go with' might be derived from *o-he* 'follow', q.v., with an otherwise unattested (in Lakota) prefix **p-* meaning 'with'. Cf. Hidatsa *api-* 'with'.

erect

physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **sį̀he*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **iche•´* < **icVhe•´*

Crow *iččÉE* ‘wake up’ RG

Hidatsa *ichÉ* ‘wake up’ J

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **žį́*

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *žį́* ‘erect’ RTC

Dakota *†žį́* ‘stand erect, stiffen up’ SRR:651b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *yín* , *†yį* ‘erection, stiffen (up)’ JGT:137

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *si^{n}ha^{n}´, si^{n}ha^{n}* , *†sį̀hį́* ‘stand’ D&S:255a

General comment

Crow and Hidatsa agree with Biloxi in reflecting an older *h*-stem and *s*-grade of the spirant. Biloxi shows progressive nasalization. The rest of MVS has this root as the second member of the compound **nąį•-žį*, q.v.

even (1)

perceptual

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **tkú•sE*

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *tkuš* ‘real, true’ H:254

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **tkúse* ~ **tkúse*

Proto-Dakota **tkúza*

Lakota *tkúza* ‘even, just, square with’ RTC , *yutkúza* ‘cut off even’ EB:654 , *katkúza* ‘cut off square’ EB:293 , *tkúza, ya-* ‘bite off even’ EB:630 , *tkuza, pa-* ‘press in full, make even full; to strike off level, as in measuring grain’ EB:432

Dakota *tkuŋsá* , *†tkuzá* ‘even, just, exactly’ SRR:472a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *hakirúcgus ǰi* ‘be even in length, coincide with’ KM:606 , *hakirucgus, hakirucgusji (= hakirucgus + xji)*

Proto-Southeastern **-tkú•(-si)*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *ḳóhĕ, tḳóhĕ, ṭikohi, tĭkóhĕ, dĭkóhĕ* , *†tkóhi* ‘just, entirely, altogether, sure enough’ D&S:211b

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *i^{n}ṭkŭś* ‘straight edged’ JOD , *lakatkōsa* ‘cut with knife’ H , *tko•sa, laka-* ‘to cut with knife’ H , *tku•sisel, laka-* ‘he cuts it off with an axe’ H , *tku•sisel, nq-* ‘he breaks it off with the foot’ H , *tku•sisel, la-* ‘he bites it off’ H , *lakatkúca, lakatkúsisel* ‘cut with axe’ JOD , *tkuša, wila-* ‘I break it’ D , *tkuša, igla-* ‘to break one’s own’ D , *tkuša, ila-* ‘to break’ D , *tkuša, laka-* ‘to cut with an axe’ D , *tkuša, nq-* ‘to break with the foot’ D

General comment

Dakotan nasalization is unexplained.

even (2)

perceptual

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **tkúxE*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **tkúxE*

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *-tkuga, ipá-* , *†-tkuγa* ‘abreast, in a row, in a phalanx’ EB:231 , *-tkúga, ka-* , *†-tkuγa* ‘strike off square pieces’ EB:293 , *-tkúga, na-* , *†-tkuγa* ‘break square off with the foot; to break square off of itself, to break by itself, as a mirror or window pane’ EB:361 , *-tkúga, ya-* , *†-tkuγa* ‘bite or pull and break with the mouth’ EB:630 , *-tkúga, yu-* , *†-tkuγa* ‘break off square.’ EB:654 , *-tkútkuga, yu-* , *†-tkuγa* ‘break or divide in several pieces.’ EB:654

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *-cgúx, boo-* ‘trespass, cut across; offend ceremonially or religiously’ KM:45 , *boocgux* ‘cut through; take a short cut’ KM:323 , *-cgúx, gi-* , *gicgux*

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Ofo *utkúsi* ‘cut with scissors’ D&S:331b

exist > born

verb existence

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **hṭų*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **watú*

Crow *bišî* 'be born' [stative] RG

Hidatsa *watú•* 'there is' J , *matú•* 'be born' J , *í•watu•*

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *î•tu* 'be born' [transitive formed with causative] RTC , *îʔtu* 'birthday' RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **hṭų́*

Proto-Dakota **thų́*

Lakota *thų́* 'give birth to, have, possess, acquire' EB:499b

Dakota *tǫŋ* , *†thų́* 'possess, acquire, give birth to' SRR:477b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **thų́*

Chiwere *thų́* 'have inalienably' GM

Hoocąk *čų́ų* 'be plentiful, available, exist' KM:291 , *cųų* 'bear child, give birth' KM:290 , *čų́ų* , *cųų*

Proto-Dhegiha **htą*

Omaha-Ponca *t'aⁿ* , *†ttą́* 'have' JOD

Kanza/Kaw *ttą* 'have' RR

Osage *ṭoⁿ* , *†htą* 'possess' LF:155b

Quapaw *ttǫ, ttą* 'possess, have' JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *gitoñnēsel* , *†kí•tų* 'theirs'

Saponi *mihu mima mikito* , *†-to* 'my dear wife' F

General comment

Lack of nasalization in Mandan is unusual, unless the term has been borrowed from Hidatsa. Crow *i* is unexplained. This verb is active in most languages but stative in a few.

eye

noun physical_somatic_body_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **ištá*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **ištá*

Crow *ištá* RG, GG:92, RGG:74

Hidatsa *ištá* ‘eye’ J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *istá* ‘face’ RTC , *istáwį* ‘eye’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **ištá*

Proto-Dakota **ištá*

Lakota *ištá* RTC

Sioux Valley *ištá* PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **ištá*

Chiwere *išdá, ištá* RR

Hoocąk *hišǰá* ‘face, eye’ KM:1080 , *hišja*

Proto-Dhegiha **įštá*

Omaha-Ponca *įštá* ‘eye’ RTC

Kanza/Kaw *ištá* ‘eye’ RR

Osage *iⁿshtá* , *†įštá* ‘eye, eyes’ LF:77a

Quapaw *ištá, įštá* ‘eye’ RR

General comment

DH nasalization is unexplained. The following SE languages exhibit forms that are not cognate but which share certain phonetic resemblances: Biloxi *tûtcû˜ⁿ, tûtcóⁿ, tcûtcû˜ⁿ, ítcĭtcû˜ⁿ* ‘the eyes’ (DS-282a), Biloxi *tətco•ne* (MRH 1968), Ofo *aⁿtóhi, áⁿto* ‘eye’ (DS-323a), Tutelo *tasúi, tasúye*, Cf. Catawba *įtu•ʔ* (Kanza/Kaw).

f

face

noun physical_somatic_body_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

- Proto-Siouan **í•te*
  - Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **i•tÉ́*
    - Crow *iisá* ‘face’ RG, GG:79, RGG:76 , *í•se* L:237
    - Hidatsa *i•tá* ‘face’ J , *íte, ité* ‘face’ WM:97
  - Proto-Mississipi-Valley **i•té*
    - Proto-Dakota **ité*
      - Lakota *ité* ‘face’ RTC
      - Sioux Valley *ité* PAS
    - Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere
      - Chiwere *ǐ•ǰe* ‘face’ RR , *ʔíǰe* ‘face’ RR
    - Proto-Dhegiha **įté*
      - Omaha-Ponca *įdé* ‘face’ RTC
      - Kanza/Kaw *i•ǰé, ǐǰé* RR
      - Osage *iⁿdsé* , *†įcé* LF:75a
  - Proto-Southeastern
    - Proto-Biloxi-Ofo
      - Biloxi *ité´, te* , *†ité* ‘face, forehead’ D&S:200b
- Proto-Catawba
  - Catawba *ne•n* ‘face’ FS

General comment

Cf. ‘forehead (1)’. These roots are distinct in Dakota, but may have merged in other languages. Swanton was aware of this distinction, but found no difference in Biloxi. Matthews ignored the distinction in his reconstruction.

Lack of aspiration suggests earlier accent on leftmost syllable. Chiwere length and accent and Kanza/Kaw length support this analysis. It is a very odd accentual pattern however. Chiwere and DH sporadic nasalization are unexplained. Proto-Siouan may represent **i-íte* here, i.e. a possessive prefix before a vowel-initial form. No glide is inserted, perhaps because the vowels were identical. This supposition would account for accent and vowel length. Cf. also Catawba *ịtu•ʔ* ‘eye’ (Kanza/Kaw).

fail

verb physical_action

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **šʔa*

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *šʔa, wó-* ‘overloaded’ EB:610

Proto-Dhegiha **šʔa*

Quapaw *šʔá, da-* ‘fail to finish eating’ RR , *šʔá, di-* ‘fail, fall short’ RR

General comment

Cf. ‘feeble’

fail, be unsteady

verb physical_action

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **kyą́-*

Proto-Dakota **kčą́ka*

Lakota *kcáŋka* ‘one who fails in doing what he said he would’ EB:297a

Dakota *kcáŋka* ‘one who fails in doing what he said he would’ SRR:274b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *kąąnąǰ̌a* ‘sway back and forth’ KM:1762 , *kąąrere*

Proto-Dhegiha **-krąra*

Kanza/Kaw *galą́ya* ‘fail chopping’ RR

Osage *thigthó"tha* , *†ðüiląða* ‘fail holding’ LF:146b

Quapaw *dikdǫ́da* ‘fumble, let slip’ JOD

fall (1)

verb physical_motion

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dhegiha **hí•phe*

Kanza/Kaw *hí•phe* ‘fall’ RR

Osage *hípshe* , *†híphe* ‘stumble and fall, trip’ LF:61b

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *himpéwa* , *†hipé* ‘fall down’ HW

General comment

There are too few forms here to give us a secure reconstruction; however, the forms that do exist suggest a Proto-Siouan compound **hi•-phe*. Quapaw *hide* ‘drop, cause to fall’ probably contains the initial root of this form.

fall (2)

verb physical_motion

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **-šípe*

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *-sip, ru-* ‘push down on’ H:207 , *-sip, pa-* ‘push down on’ H:207 , *-sip, ra-* ‘be burnt’ H:207

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *-šip, boo-* ‘shoot down; knock down’ KM:91 , *boošip* ‘strike down’ KM:413 , *-šíp, gi-* ‘pull down, take down (from hook, shelf, etc.), v.tr.’ KM:2732 , *gišip* ‘knock down by pressure or pushing away from body’ KM:3486 , *-šíp, ru-* , *rušip* , *-šíp, wa-* , *wašip*

fall > lie down

verb physical_motion

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **xapÉ*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **xap-*

Crow *xapí* 'lie down, fall' RG

Hidatsa *xápi* 'lie down, recline' [rka] J , *xphe, ara-* 'kick sth. off of sth.' J , *xphe, na-* 'knock down from a high place' J , *xphe, nú-* 'take down' J , *xphe, pá-* 'push off, knock down, knock off' J

Pre-Mandan **-xpe-*

Mandan *wakípxe?š* 'I fell in' RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **xpa-*

Proto-Dakota **xpA*

Lakota *xpáya* 'lie down' RTC , *xpahą́* 'thrown down' RTC , *oxpA´* 'drop' RTC , *xpá, na-* 'be kicked off or out.' EB:815 , *xpa, oká-* 'make fall into by striking' EB:383 , *xpáxpa, ka-* 'strike and make pieces fly off, as from wood or ice' EB:275 , *xpá, wa-* 'cut off anything and let it fall' EB:519 , *xpá, wo-* 'make fall by shooting, to shoot down, as a bird on the wing' EB:598 , *xpá, ya-* 'pull something with the mouth so as to make it come down, as a dog jumping at a piece of beef. to throw anything down with' EB:620 , *xpá, yu-* 'pull something, so as to make it fall; to loosen the bow string after use; to throw down e.g. one's load, to shake off' EB:639 , *xpa, yuáka-* 'cover, conceal' EB:633 , *xpa, apá-* 'throw down on' EB:88

Dakota *ḣpa* 'thrown down' SRR:166b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *oxwą́ñe* 'fall down' JOD

Proto-Dhegiha **xpare*

Omaha-Ponca *ɯxpathe* , *†oxpáðe* MAS:74

Kanza/Kaw *oxpáye* 'fall off' RR , *obáxpaye* 'push off, shove sth. off' RR , *obúxpaye* 'push somebody off (old fused causative?)' RR , *ogáxpaye* 'knock somebody off of a horse,perch, etc.' RR , *onąxpaye* 'kick something off its platform.' RR , *obóxpaye* 'shoot down, shoot and cause to fall' RR , *odáxpaye* 'burn down, cause to fall by burning' RR , *oyúxpaye* 'fall from the hand, let, to lose.' RR

Osage *ɯxpáthe* , *†oxpáðe* 'grope, feel around with hands in dark' LF:181b

Quapaw *oxpáde* 'fall from a height' JOD , *obáxpade* 'push off and cause to fall' RR , *obíxpade* 'fall, cause by pressure/weight' RR , *odíxpade* 'pull off and cause to fall' RR , *okáxpade* 'knock off, cause to fall off' RR , *onąxpade* 'kick something down' RR , *opóxpade* 'shoot down' RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *xapká* 'flat, low' D&S:225a

General comment

Hidatsa, Lakota, Chiwere, and DH show forms with a relic, fused causative which is no longer conjugated as a causative. Mandan *wą́xpe* 'nine' (one laid/hangs down?) may also belong here, although it is a rather peculiar form, being exceptional with regard to the normal Mandan constraint against clusters with *p* as second element.

fan

verb physical_action

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **Rú*

Proto-Dakota **kaRú*

Lakota *kalú* 'to fan' RTC

Dakota *kadú* 'blow or brush away a little w. the hand' SRR:247a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **Ru*

Chiwere *kíbru* 'fan' JGT:141

Hoocąk *túu* 'fan (to make cool)' [V root] KM:3143 , *tuu*

Proto-Dhegiha **(ka-)Rú*

Kanza/Kaw *gaj̃ű́* 'use a fan' RR

Quapaw *íkkikdátti* 'fan' [noun] RR

General comment

Quapaw *-tti* is regular, from posttonic **-tu* < **Ru*.

far, other, across

particle physical_spatial

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *gé-* , *†ge-* ‘other (not visible)’ JGT:961 , *gé-* in: *géhánge* , *†ge-* ‘another’ JGT:962 , *gé-* , *†ge-* ‘the other of the two’ JGT:963 , *gé-* in: *géhdahá* , *†ge-*

Proto-Dhegiha

Kanza/Kaw *-ge-* in: *gá•gejikhą* ‘from there, from that place’ RR , *-ge-* in: *gáyiǥeji* ‘there, not visible, over there’ RR , *-ge-* in: *gáyiǥetta* ‘over there, to that place’ RR

Osage *†-ke* in: *hó-wa-i^{n}-ge* ‘where; in what place’ LF:67b , *†-ke* in: *hú-wa-ge* ‘where’ LF:68b

Proto-Catawba

Catawba *-kę́-* ‘far away’ KS:98 , *-kę́-* in: *akę́•rirɛ* ‘far away’ KS:98 , *kę́-* ‘a long time ago’ KS:150 , *kę́-* in: *kę́hareare* , *-kę-* , *-kę-* in: *akę•hire*

General comment

Cf. ‘across > over, beyond, above’

fart

physical_somatic_function

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **píhe, *pį́he*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **píhe*

Crow *pía ~ pípia* ‘fart’ RG

Hidatsa *pí(h) ~ pía* ‘fart’ J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *píh* ‘break wind’ H:144

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *wį́į* ‘break wind’ KM:3757 , *wįį*

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *lakapį?į* ‘smell, emit an odor’ JOD

far, towards, into

particle physical_spatial

General comment

Cf. *tka*.

father (1) (referential)

noun social_kin

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **-á•ti*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa *átĕ* ‘father’ WM:155 , *átuṡ* ‘father’ HWM , *á•tu* ‘father (ref.)’ J

Pre-Mandan **atE*

Mandan *wáʔtE; rá•ts* ‘my father; our father’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **áti*

Proto-Dakota **até*

Lakota *até* ‘father’ RTC

Assiniboine *até* PAS

Stoney *adé* PAS

Sioux Valley *até* PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **-ą́te*

Chiwere *ą́je* W:235b, GM

Hoocąk *hiʔą́č* KM:808 , *hi’ąc*

Proto-Dhegiha **iráti*

Omaha-Ponca *iðádi* RTC

Kanza/Kaw *įdáǰi, iyáǰe* RR

Osage *ithádsi* , *†iðáci* ‘his or her father’ LF:78b

Quapaw *įtátte* RR , *idátte* JOD

Proto-Southeastern **-á•ti*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **ati*

Biloxi *adiyaⁿ́, ádiyaⁿ* , *†adiyą́* D&S:170a

Ofo *athí* ‘father, his father’ D&S:322a

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *yāt; eāti* N, H , *áti* JOD

General comment

This noun is dependent in DH; the glide between the obligatory prefix and the initial *a* of the root was reinterpreted as part of the root.

Aspiration in Ofo was conditioned by stress-shift. In Kanza/Kaw and Quapaw it appears that a merger of the referential and vocative terms has occurred. Hidatsa *-u* forms, which are so far unexplained, seem to have replaced the older term recorded in WM; final *-ṡ* = *-š* is the definite article.

father (2) (vocative)

social_kin

Proto-Siouan-Catawba **tá•ti*

Proto-Siouan **tá•ti*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa *tatiṡ* 'father' HWM , *ta•te•* 'father (voc.)' J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *taté* RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **ta•ti*

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **tá•ti*

Chiwere *hindáje* 'father' JGT:142

Otoe *įdá•ǰe* 'daddy' RR

Hoocąk *ǰáaǰi, ǰaaǰí* 'daddy' [cf. hi'ąc] KM:1676 , *jaaji, jaji*

Proto-Dhegiha **i-táti*

Omaha-Ponca *dadihá* 'father, female vocative' RTC

Kanza/Kaw *įdáǰi, įdáǰe* RR

Quapaw *įtátte* RR , *idátte* JOD

Proto-Southeastern **tá•t-*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *táta* 'father, male vocative' D&S:170a

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *tāt* N, H

Proto-Catawba

Catawba *táti* 'grandfather' Sp&S , *nane* 'father' KS

General comment

MVS moves stress to the final syllable in vocatives; this was probably not the case in Proto-Siouan. In the Hidatsa form recorded by HWM, final *-š* = *-š* is the definite article.

fat, stout

verb perceptual

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **yépE*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *irípE*

Crow *ilápi* 'fat' RG, GG:87, RGG:96

Hidatsa *irípE* 'be fat, stout' J , *irípi*

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *répo?š* 'he's fat' RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dakota **čhépa*

Lakota *čhépa* 'be fat' RTC

Dakota *ćépa* , *†čhépa* 'be fat' SRR:99a

General comment

The Crow/Hidatsa initial vowel is not explained; nor is the vowel difference under accent. If initial **i-* signaled, for example, stative status a Proto-Siouan stem-initial **r* would become Dakotan *čh*. If this is the case Proto-Siouan may have had **r* instead of **y*.

fat, tallow

noun physical_substance

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **šį•(-re)*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **šiwí*

Crow *šiwí* ‘fat of meat’ GG:56, RGG:104

Hidatsa *šuwí* ‘fat, tallow’ J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *sį́•re* ~ *sį́•* ‘fat, tallow’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **šį̃*

Proto-Dakota **šį̃*

Lakota *šį̃* ‘fat, tallow’ RTC

Dakota *śíŋ* , *†šį̃* ‘fat part of animals, fat meat’ SRR:444b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **šį̃*

Chiwere *sį̃* W:244b

Hoocąk *šį̃į* ‘be fat; be fatty (of food)’ KM:2961 , *šį̃į*

Proto-Dhegiha **šį̃*

Omaha-Ponca *shi*^{n} , *†šį̃* ‘fat’ MAS:75

Kanza/Kaw *šį̃* ‘fat’ RR

Osage *shi*^{n} , *†šį̃* ‘be fat’ LF:131b

Quapaw *wašį̃* ‘fat’ RR , *šį* ‘fat’ JOD , *šį̃hį́* ‘fat’ OM, RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **Včhį́•(-ri)*

Biloxi *tci*^{n}*´, atci*^{n}*´ni* , *†ačį(-ni)* D&S:264b

Ofo *ītchí* , *†i•čhí* ‘fat, oil, grease’ D&S:324b, JSS

feather

noun physical_somatic_body_part_animal

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **(wą•)šį́*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **-šu*

Crow *báašu* ‘feather’ RG

Hidatsa *išú* ‘wing feather’ J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *sí?* ‘feather’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **šį́*

Proto-Dakota **šį́*

Lakota *šį́* ‘quill feather’ RTC

Dakota *śuŋ* , *†šį́* ‘large feather of birds’ wings’ SRR:449b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **mą́•šų*

Chiwere *mą́sų* W:239a , *mą•šį́* RR

Hoocąk *mąąšúų* KM:2030 , *mąąšıų*

Proto-Dhegiha **mǫšǫ́*

Omaha-Ponca *mǫ́šǫ* RTC

Kanza/Kaw *mošó* RR

Osage *mo^{n}´sho^{n}* , *†mǫ́šǫ* ‘feather, plume, plumage’ LF:101b

Quapaw *mǫšǫ́* RR

General comment

Cf. the various (game) bird names with **(a)wą•-*. Crow *íišušši* ‘plume’, which might seem to go here, should be compared with its Hidatsa cognate *í•tohta* ‘plume’ from the root *tohtE* ‘shake’. Neither belongs in this set.

feeble

verb evaluative

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **šʔákE*

Proto-Dakota **-šʔákA*

Lakota *-šʔákA, ka-* ‘strike with too little force to penetrate’ EB:292a , *-šʔákA, pa-* ‘push or strike with too little force to penetrate’ EB:435b , *-šʔákA, ya-* ‘make no impression with the mouth’ EB:629a , *-šʔákA, yu-* ‘be heavily laden, have much as one can carry’ EB:653a , *-šʔagya, óka-* ‘prevented, hindered, as by having too much clothing on’ EB:386a

Dakota *kaś’áka* ‘strike w. too little force to penetrate’ SRR:267b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *-šʔák, ru-* ‘fail at, be incapable, unable to do something’ , *ruš’ak*

Proto-Dhegiha

Kanza/Kaw *yacʔáge* ‘be unable to eat’ RR

General comment

Cf. ‘fail’.

female, woman

person

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **wi-he* or: **wįhe*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **wía* < **wihV J*

Crow *bi•* ‘female animal’ L , *bía* GG:28, RGG:88 , *bíhka* GG:29, RGG:2

Hidatsa *wía* ‘female’ J , *wíhka* J , *míhka*

Pre-Mandan **wį•he*

Mandan *wį•he* ‘woman’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **wi-ą* ~ **-wį*

Proto-Dakota **wíyą*

Lakota *wíyą* ‘woman’ RTC

Dakota *wíyą* SRR:577

Assiniboine *wíyą* [Sask.] PAS

Sioux Valley *wíyą* PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **hįną́-ke* ~ **-wį*

Chiwere *hįną́ge* ‘woman’ [as a suffix in names] GM , *-mį* RR

Hoocąk *hįnúk, hinúk* ‘woman, queen (playing cards); daughter’ [in compound for ‘wife’, part of proper name marker for females (> -wįga)] KM:973 , *hinųk* , *-wį* , *-wį*

Proto-Dhegiha **wį-ka* ~ **-wį*

Omaha-Ponca *-wį* ‘female (suffix)’ F&LF:177 , *míga* ‘female’ MAS:76

Kanza/Kaw *´-mį* ‘female (suffix)’ RR

Osage *migá* , *†mįkká* ‘female’ LF:90b , *-wį* , *†mįkká* ‘woman’ LF:91a , *-wi*^{n} , *†mįkká*

Quapaw *-mį* ‘female’ RR

Proto-Southeastern **mįhą•*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **ihą́•*

Biloxi *yáñki, yañkí, yáñ̨ki* , *†iąki* D&S:177b

Ofo *iyą́•ki* ‘female’ JSS , *iyā´ñki* ‘woman’ D&S:325a , *iyą́* , *iyá*^{n}

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *mihañi, mihañ* , *†mihą•* ‘woman’ N , *mahēi* , *†mihą•* ‘man (!)’ H , *mįhą̃(i)stik’* , *†mihą•* ‘man’ ES , *mihā˜ⁿ* , *†mihą•* LJF , *miiheã* , *†mi•hę* ‘woman’ FGS:46

Proto-Catawba

Catawba *ya•* ‘woman’ FS, KS , *i̇ya•* ‘woman’ MAS, KS:253 , *i̇́•ya* ‘woman’ SS, KS:253

General comment

Cf. 1st, 2nd daughter. There seem to be two patterns here, a primary, exemplified in Crow, Hidatsa, Mandan and Tutelo, and a secondary, represented in the other, geographically more central, languages. The older form, with the more diverse distribution and doublets in Tutelo, would appear to have been **wihe* or possibly **wįhe* (Catawba, if cognate, suggests the latter). The secondary form adds *-ą*, meaning unknown, as a postclitic. It became fused to whatever stage of development had occurred in the subgroups. The root extension *-h(e)* is typically lost in MVS languages, and in these cases the resultant form is from **wi-ą*. Chiwere, Hoocąk, Dakota, Ofo glides are probably epenthetic. The numerous entries in Riggs, (kin) terms for females that begin with non-nasalized *wi-*, along with the nasality variation throughout MVS suggest that the initial syllable was not originally nasalized, and that nasalization spread from the second syllable, phonologically where possible, analogically elsewhere, perhaps at different times. The Catawba suggests that initial *w-* in this set may be a reflex of **wi-* ‘animate’.

field (1)

noun physical_spatial_area

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **o-e*

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *uwé* ‘field, rows of plants’ JDH

Hoocąk *horé* ‘place’ [ho + ree 'where one goes to'] , *hore*

Proto-Dhegiha **ówe*

Omaha-Ponca *úwe~ uwé* , *†ówe* ‘field, cornfield’ MAS:47

Osage *úwe* , *†ówe* ‘field’ LF:181a

Quapaw *ówe* ‘corn, (corn)field’ JOD

General comment

This reconstruction is probably incorrect as a V1V2 root would be highly irregular. It was more likely either **owe* or **oʔe*. Only the Hoocąk form prevents reconstruction of medial *w*, and Chiwere does not confirm the Hoocąk glide.

field (2)

noun physical_spatial_area

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *maġa* , *†máɣa* ‘field, cultivated area’ EB:327 , *máġahu* , *†máɣa* ‘cornstalk’

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **mą́•xe*

Chiwere *mą́xe* ‘cornfield’ GM

Hoocąk *mą́ąx* ‘field, tract, garden’ KM:2039 , *mąąx*

General comment

Chiwere, Hoocąk, and Dakota have one term; DH another. The prototype, whatever its source, was probably something like **mą́•ɣe*, apparently < ‘earth, ground, land’ (q.v.).

fight

verb social_war

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **-hki•-*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **wakía* < **wakíhe*

Crow *bačía* ‘fight’ GG:24

Hidatsa *wakía* ‘make war’ J , *makía*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **hkí•-*

Proto-Dakota **khíza*

Lakota *khíza* ‘fight’ RTC

Dakota *kíza* , *†khíza* ‘fight, quarrel’ SRR:293

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **khí•za*

Chiwere *khíða* RR

Hoocąk *kiizá* KM:1842 , *kiza*

Proto-Dhegiha **-hki-Ra*

Omaha-Ponca *kikína* , *†kkína* ‘fighting’ MAS:77 , *ukíte* , *†okkítte* ‘fight’ MAS:77

Osage *áḳitha* , *†áhkiða* ‘to contend as in a fight’ LF:12a

Quapaw *ákkida* ‘attack in return’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Ofo *kithĕ´, ákithĕ, kithéhe* , *†ki•thé* ‘fight’ D&S:325b, JSS

Proto-Catawba

Catawba *wi•tkərų́* ‘fight’ [KS]

General comment

This root suffers greatly from homophony with the reciprocal, with which it is often combined. The variety of final syllables suggests frequent renewal. Cf. ‘soldier’ for additional possibilities. The Ofo may be from **kih-te* < **kih-Re* and thus parallel to the DH forms.

find by chance

verb physical_action

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **ó•rapE*

Crow *óolapi* ‘find by chance’ RG, GG:52, RGG:29

Hidatsa *ó•rapE* ‘find by chance’ J , *ó•rapi*

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *orą́ʔpoʔš* ‘she found it’ RTC

find by seeking

verb physical_action

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **ire*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **kí•re*

Crow *číili* ‘look for’ RG

Hidatsa *kí•re* ‘look for, search, hunt’ J , *kí•ri*

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *kixkará?ro?š* ‘he looks for it’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **íre*

Proto-Dakota **iyé-*

Lakota *iyé_ya* ‘find’ RTC

Stoney *ye_ya* PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *iró•gre* ‘find’ RR , *uglé* GM

Proto-Dhegiha **íre*

Omaha-Ponca *íðe* RR

Kanza/Kaw *íye* ‘see, discover’ RR

Osage *íthe* , *†íðe* ‘see, find, discover’ LF:79a

Quapaw *íde* ‘see, find’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *i"dáhi* , *†ịdáhi* ‘hunt, seek’ D&S:201b , *da, dadi* , *†ịdáhi* ‘gather, collect, pick up’ D&S:180a

Ofo *ā˝kde* , *†á•kde* ‘find’ D&S:319b, JSS

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *inēwa* , *†iné•wa* ‘see, find’ H

Proto-Catawba

Catawba *na•ni* ‘see, find’ KS , *ka•ni?* FS

General comment

The Ofo and Chiwere forms may belong to ‘hunt, seek’, q.v., rather than this, since the **r/*R* distinction is neutralized after **k*. The Chiwere form here may be a compound: **ire + okRe*. MRS, Ofo, and Mandan show dative-reflexive prefixes. Tutelo *n* must be a reflex of an earlier cluster also.

fire

verb natural_phenomenon

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **(wa-)hpé•te* RR

Pre-Mandan **-pte-*

Mandan *ráptɛ?š* 'it's burning' RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **hpé•te*

Proto-Dakota **phéta*

Lakota *phéta* 'fire' RTC

Sioux Valley *phéta* PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **phé•te*

Chiwere *phé•je* RR

Hoocąk *péeč* 'fire, n.; stove' KM:2453 , *peec*

Proto-Dhegiha **hpé•te*

Omaha-Ponca *pé?de* RR , *ppé•de* RTC

Kanza/Kaw *ppéje* RR

Osage *hpé•ce* 'fire' RR

Quapaw *ppétte* RR

Proto-Southeastern **aphé•ti*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **aphé•ti*

Biloxi *pɛ?te?* MRH , *pɛ?ti?* MS , *péti, pětí, pět, pě´ti* D&S:244b

Ofo *aphéti, aphěti, aphī´ti* , *†aphé•ti* 'fire' D&S:321a, JSS , *aphěsni* , *†aphé•ti* 'coals' D&S:321a

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *pītç; pēti, pētç* , *†pe•ti* 'fire' N, H

Proto-Catawba

Catawba *į•pi•?* 'fire' FGS:9

General comment

The *V?* sequences found in Omaha-Ponca and Biloxi represent the reflex of the long falling pitch characteristic of long accented vowels in many Siouan languages. Extreme pitch drop results in creaky voice or phonetic *?* at the end of the syllable. In DH such a sequence always betrays a long vowel, and the same was probably true in Biloxi. This term has numerous look-alikes in Uto-Aztecan. Syllable restructuring, if that is what it is, in Mandan is unexplained.

firm (1)

verb perceptual_tactile

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **tį̨he*

Pre-Mandan **tį•h- (?)*

Mandan *tį̨ho?š* 'show, stick out' H:251 , *wątį•ht* 'outside' RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **tį*

Proto-Dakota **-tį́*

Lakota *patį́* 'stiff' EB:436a , *katį́* 'straight' EB:293a

Dakota *katíŋ* , *†katį́* 'straight, straightened out' SRR:270b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *jiijį* , *†jǐjį́* 'be hard (penis)' MM:215 , *djį́djį* , *†jǐjį́*

Proto-Dhegiha **tį́*

Omaha-Ponca *dí^{n}di^{n}* , *†đį́dį* 'stiff' MAS:164

Kanza/Kaw *jǐje* 'firm, hard against, stout' RR

General comment

This is a set in which aspiration would normally be expected as it has a second syllable beginning with a stop, at least when used with an instrumental prefix. Hoocąk shows an extended form. Kanza/Kaw has reformed the second syllable so that the term falls into the productive *-e* paradigm.

firm (2)

verb perceptual_tactile

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **-tʔíža*

Proto-Dakota **-tʔíža*

Lakota *tʔíža* ‘hard, stiff, firm, strong’ RTC , *patʔíža* ‘stiffen by kneading’ EB:436b , *tʔíža, ayú-* ‘squeeze’ EB:108 , *tʔíža, ka-* ‘pound tight, make tight or firm’ EB:294 , *tʔíža, na-* ‘press hard with the foot’ EB:361 , *tʔíža, pa-* ‘make stiff by kneading, as in mixing up bread, to press down tight’ EB:436 , *tʔíža, wo-* ‘tighten make tight by punching; to blow up tight e.g. a bladder’ EB:611 , *tʔíža, ya-* ‘make firm with the mouth, to affirm’ EB:630

Dakota *ṭíŋža* , *†tʔíža* ‘stiff, firm, hard, brave’ SRR:483b , *paṭíŋža* , *†patʔíža* ‘make stiff by kneading, press down tight’ SRR:416a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *tʔíš, nąą-* ‘be swollen; swell up’ KM:2246 , *nąąt’is* ‘shrink’ KM:2247 , *tʔíx, nąą-* , *nąąt’ix*

Proto-Dhegiha

Omaha-Ponca *†agátʔiže* ‘blows thick’ , *†ttatʔíɣe* ‘green scum on water’

General comment

Probably related by sound symbolism to ‘firm (1)’.

fish

noun animal_fish

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **wi-hó•*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **wúa < *wúha < *waho (?)*

Crow *buá* RG, GG:34, RGG:2

Hidatsa *wúa* 'fish' J , *múa*

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *pó?* 'fish' RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **hó*

Proto-Dakota **ho-*

Lakota *ho-* 'fish' RTC , *hoɣą́* 'catfish' RTC , *howásapa* 'to fish' RTC , *hokhúwa*

Sioux Valley *hoɣą́* PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **hó*

Chiwere *hó* 'fish' RTC

Hoocąk *hóo* 'fish' KM:1429 , *hoo* 'minnow' KM:1438 , *hooɣą́* , *hooǧą*

Proto-Dhegiha **hó*

Omaha-Ponca *huhú* 'fish' RTC

Kanza/Kaw *hó* RR

Osage *hó* LF:63a

Quapaw *hó* RR

Proto-Southeastern **wihó•(-ri)*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **hó(-ri)*

Biloxi *ó, odi* D&S:239b

Ofo *ho* D&S:323b

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *wihoi* H , *wihõq gupsuá* , *†wihó•-* 'fishy smell' [raised o?] HW

Saponi *o-* 'fish' Byrd

General comment

The sole evidence for the Proto-Siouan initial vowel is from Tutelo, which suggests *i*. Cf. 'bison', 'dog' and other animates. Mandan initial *p* is a reflex of Proto-Siouan initial **w* after initial syllable vowel syncope and a presumed intermediate stage with *p-h*. Proto-Crow-Hidatsa may be cognate, though just how is not clear. The postulated developments represent the reverse of rightward vowel exchange. Other speculations are, of course, possible.

five (1)

abstract_number

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **kiSų́•*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **kixxú*

Crow *čiaxxú* 'five' RG, GG:36, RGG:80

Hidatsa *kixxú* 'five' J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *kíxų* 'five' RTC

Proto-Southeastern **kisą́•(-ri)*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **kisą́(-ri)*

Biloxi *ksa^{n}, ksáni* , *†ksą(-ni)* 'five' D&S:213a

Ofo *kifa^{n}, kifa$^{n\acute{}}$* , *†kifą́* 'five' D&S:325b

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *kasā; kisāhi, kisē, kisáñ, kisāhai, kisāháñi* , *†kisą́•* 'five' N, H , *gĭs$^{n\acute{}}$* , *†kisą́•* 'five' HW , *kisén* , *†kisą́•* 'two (sic)' LJF

General comment

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa gemination is unexplained.

five (2)

abstract_number

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **isá•ptą*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **sáptą*

Proto-Dakota **záptą*

Lakota *záptą* ‘five’ RTC

Dakota *záptaŋ* , *†záptą* ‘five’ SRR:649a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **sá•thą*

Chiwere *θá•thą* ‘five’ RTC, RR

Hoocąk *saačą́* KM:2783 , *saacą*

Proto-Dhegiha **sáhtą*

Omaha-Ponca *sáttą* RR

Kanza/Kaw *sáttą* RR

Osage *çáṭoⁿ* , *†sáhtą* LF:29b

Quapaw *sáttą* RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Ofo *ĭftąptąⁿ´* , *†iftəptą́* ‘ten’ D&S:323b , *iftáptą* , *†iftəptą́* ‘hundred’

General comment

Only Ofo has both roots, ‘five (1)’ and ‘five (2)’. The intrusive *t* which appears in Ofo can also be seen in ‘black (2)’, q.v. The Ofo meaning may reflect a shift from a quinary system to a decimal system. Ofo’s initial vowel explains accent placement in MVS and may explain voicing in Dakotan.

flat (1)

verb perceptual

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Pre-Mandan **špi•-*

Mandan *pší•ro?š* RTC , *it's flat*

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *sā´p'* , *†sá•p* 'flat' HW

General comment

Biloxi *tápka* 'flat (as a cap)' (DS-270b) provides additional evidence for a marginal *t*-grade in the Proto-Siouan fricative ablaut system.

flat (2)

perceptual

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dakota **zípe-*

Lakota *zi̧pela, agúyapi zi̧pela* 'thin, pancake' EB:658b

Dakota *zípedaŋ* , *†zípedą* 'thin, fine' SRR:649b

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Saponi *seep* , *†sip* 'shallow' Byrd

General comment

Cf. the *a* ~ *i* variation in 'peel (3)'. Also cf. 'shallow'.

flat (3)

verb perceptual

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **xá•pi*

Crow *xáapi* ‘flat, thin’ RG, GG:60, RGG:98

Hidatsa *xá•pi* ‘thin’ J

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *xapká* ‘flat, low’ D&S:225a

General comment

For other possibilities, cf. ‘fall > lie down’, and ‘peel (4) > skin’.

flee, run away, take refuge

verb physical_motion

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **háze*

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **há•ze*

Chiwere *háðe* ‘flee’ GM

Otoe *há•ðe* ‘flee, run away’ JDH

Hoocąk *wahás* ‘chase’ KM:692 , *wahas*

Proto-Dhegiha **háze*

Kanza/Kaw *háze* ‘run away’

Osage *háçe* ‘flee’ LF:269b

Quapaw *háze* ‘flee’ JOD

General comment

Crow *basaa* ‘run’, presumably from Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **wata•*, does not seem to be cognate. Biloxi *asâhi* ‘leap’ (DS-174a) may be related if it’s a compound.

flesh

noun physical_somatic_body_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba **yó•*

Proto-Siouan **i-yó•*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **irú*

Crow *ilúka* ‘meat’ RG, GG:88, RGG:104 , *ilússhishi* ‘meat, fresh’ GG:88

Hidatsa *iru* ‘flesh of, meat of’ J , *irúka* ‘dried meat, jerky’ J , *irúkšitE* ‘(fresh) meat’ J , *irúkšiti*

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *óro* ‘fruit, seed, nut, meat, acorn’ H:129

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **yó*

Proto-Dakota **čhó*

Lakota *čhó* ‘kernel, core’ RTC

Dakota *ćo* , *†čhó* ‘kernel, meat of seeds, etc.’ SRR:102a

Sioux Valley *čhó* ‘kernel, core’ PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **ró*

Chiwere *i•ró* ‘body’ RR , *iró, ró* ‘body, flesh, self’ JGT:110

Hoocąk *róo* ‘body’ KM:2626 , *roo*

Proto-Dhegiha **žó•*

Omaha-Ponca *žó•ga* ‘body’ RTC , *tazhu* , *†ttažó* ‘lean meat’ MAS:119

Kanza/Kaw *žó* RR

Osage *zhú* , *†žo* ‘flesh, body’ LF:228a

Quapaw *žó* RR

Proto-Southeastern **-yó•*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **-yó*

Biloxi *yó* ‘body, fruit’ D&S:294b , *iñksiyó* ‘meat’ , *wakyo* ‘beef’

Ofo *i^{n}´tco, i^{n}tcó* , *†į̣čo* ‘body, flesh, corpse’ D&S:325a

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *yūqtéki, wāyuqtéki, wayūqtik* , *†yú•xteki* H

Proto-Catawba

Catawba *yú•; wí•dyo* ‘meat’ KS, FGS:6

General comment

Cf. Yuchi *šo* (LB). This is one of a number of roots in which Proto-Siouan-Catawba **y* appears to match *š* in Yuchi. Cf. ‘beaver’, ‘sacred (2a), snake’, ‘fish’, ‘water’ also have Yuchi look-alikes with this apparent match.

flicker (bird)

noun animal_bird

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **Sųzika*

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *šųzíča* ‘northern flicker’ EB:471a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *xųųwązik* ‘flicker (woodpecker)’ KM:3958 , *xųųwązik*

Proto-Dhegiha **zązika*

Omaha-Ponca *zązi*g*a* ‘flicker’ JOD

Osage *ço^{n}´çiga* , *†zązika* LF:31b

Quapaw *zązikka* ‘red shafted flicker or yellow ringed woodpecker’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *tca^{n}tcá^{n}hayí* , *†čąčąhayí* ‘sapsucker, genus Sphyrapicus’ SRR:262b

General comment

MVS is composed of **Sų* + **zika* ‘bird (5)’. On **Sų*, perhaps cf.

‘feather’. All three fricative symbolism grades are evident here.

float (1)

verb physical_motion

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **ha*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **ruhe*

Crow *dúa* 'lift up' RG, GG:44, RGG:31

Hidatsa *rú•he* 'lift' J , *nú•hi* 'rise, get up' J , *i-ru•he* , *i-ru•hi*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **-há*

Proto-Dakota **-há*

Lakota *pahá* 'raise' [- ablaut] EB:424b , *yuhá* 'lift' EB:637a

Dakota *yuhá* 'lift, be able to carry' [-ablaut] SRR:623b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **-há*

Chiwere *u•há* 'raise the hand' RR , *wahá* GM

Hoocąk *wahá* 'show' KM:3270 , *waha* 'float' KM:341 , *gihá, gihahá* , *giha, gihaha*

Proto-Dhegiha **-há*

Omaha-Ponca *baha* 'exhibit' MAS:72 , *baha* MAS:79 , *ugáha*

Kanza/Kaw *gahá* 'blown along' JOD , *yühá* 'move a short distance' MR, RR , *bahá* 'hold up, show' RR

Osage *bahá* , *†pahá* 'show, display' LF:21a , *gaháha* , *†kaháha* 'swinging up and down to the rhythm of waves' LF:45b

Quapaw *kahá* 'float' [verb] JOD , *há, ka-, kaha* 'float' RR , *dihátta* 'lift' JOD

General comment

Cf. 'light in weight'. Omaha-Ponca *thiho*^{n} (SW-113), Kanza/Kaw *yühą* 'lift or pull up', Kanza/Kaw *bahą* 'push up' (JOD), and Osage *†ðühą thiho*^{n}*´* 'lift' (LF-147a) may reflect contamination from *hą* 'standing, continue, standing positional' or compounding with *ʔų* 'do, make' as an auxiliary. Crow and Hidatsa have reinterpreted the root as containing **-E*, the ablauting vowel.

float (2)

verb physical_motion

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **pixi*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **-pixi*

Crow *chilappiáxi* 'float' GG:84, RGG:95 , *dappiáxi* 'light in weight' GG:42, RGG:96

Hidatsa *-píxxi, raka-* 'flutter, flap, float' J , *nakapíxxi*

Pre-Mandan **-pex-*

Mandan *wápexo?š* 'it's floating' RTC

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *pixyí* 'float' D&S:246a

General comment

Final **i* of the reconstructed form may actually be **-E*. The available forms are indeterminate. Gemination in Hidatsa is unexplained.

flower (1)

noun plant

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **xyéhe*

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *sréh* ‘to bloom, open’ H:216 , *wa?ósere* ‘flower’ H:216 , *wą?pé? ósere* ‘sunflower’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *hoxeré* ‘blossom’ KM:1586 , *hoxere*

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **-xyé•hi*

Biloxi *áxiyehí, axiyé, xyéhi, xayehí* , *†x(i)yéhi* ‘blossoms, flowers’ D&S:221a

Ofo *akĭktcéhi* ‘a flower’ D&S:320a , *ktcēhi* , *†kčé•hi* ‘rose’ D&S:326, JSS

Proto-Catawba

Catawba *serak* ‘grass’ KS , *sərak* FGS:88

General comment

Cf. ‘flower (2)’. Mandan shows a different fricative symbolism grade. Biloxi *xy* before a front vowel is the normal reflex of **x*; here, however, the intervening vowel suggests an original cluster. Ofo *k* should not correspond with Biloxi *x*. Ofo suggests possible Proto-Siouan length.

flower (2)

noun plant

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **xyá*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **xyá*

Proto-Dakota **xčá*

Lakota *xčá* ‘bloom’ RTC , *waxčá* ‘flower’ RTC

Sioux Valley *xčá* ‘bloom’ PAS , *waxčá* ‘flower’ PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *xrámųxra* ‘flower’ RR

Proto-Dhegiha **xrá*

Omaha-Ponca *waxðá* ‘flower’ MAS:120 , *waxtha* RTC , *waxčá*

Kanza/Kaw *xlá* ‘flower, blossom’ RR

Osage *xlá* ‘blossoms of any kind’ LF:219b , *xtha*

Quapaw *waxtá* RR

General comment

Omaha *waxčá* is probably a borrowing from Dakota. Cf. ‘flower (1)’

fly (1)

verb physical_motion

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **kiʔą́*

Proto-Dakota **kiyą́*

Lakota *kiyĄ́* ‘to fly’ RTC

Stoney *giyą́* PAS:1069

Sioux Valley *kíyą́* PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **-tʔą́*

Chiwere *gi•tʔą́*

Otoe *gi•thą́* RR

Hoocąk *tʔą́ą* ‘fly’ KM:3021 , *t’ąą*

Proto-Dhegiha **kią́*

Omaha-Ponca *gíą* ~ *gíyą* RR

Kanza/Kaw *giyą́* ‘butterfly’ RR

Osage *gio^{n}´* , *†kią́* ‘fly’ LF:51b

Quapaw *kią́* RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *kiya^{n}ská* , *†kiąská* ‘marsh hawk’ D&S:209b , *kio^{n}sná, kinó^{n}usá* , *†kiąská* ‘bat’ D&S:208b , *kinápsa* , *†kiąská* ‘bat’ ASG, D&S:203b

General comment

The frequent *-y-* must be epenthetic. The Chiwere, Hoocąk forms appear non- cognate but may possibly be explained with *-t-* a reflex of the epenthetic glide, *-r-* preceding *ʔ*. The problem here is there should be no epenthetic glide if *ʔ* was still present, so the development must be explained analogically, i.e. the glide is present in the first and second persons where the glottal stop is normally lost, while the glottal stop is maintained only in the third person. (Cf. ‘jump over’, ‘lay’ for comparable Hoocąk/Chiwere forms.) JOD and A.S. Gatschet apparently recorded forms of ‘bat’ in Biloxi both with and without the epenthetic glide (DS 1912).

Cf. ‘fly (2)’ for possible Algonquian influences.

fly (2)

verb physical_motion

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *niye, niyedí, niyédi* , *†niye(-di)* ‘to fly’ D&S:237b

Ofo *léyi, leyí* , *†leyi* ‘fly’ D&S:326a

General comment

Biloxi/Ofo *-y-* is apparently epenthetic (Ofo would have “tc” otherwise).

Cf. Algonquian forms with **-ʔle:-* (Aubin 478, 1014). Biloxi *n* before an oral vowel and Ofo *l* suggest that *r* was in contact with a laryngeal articulation, possibly *ʔ*. For further discussion, cf. ‘ache’. If this SE hint is to be taken at face value, the Biloxi and Ofo forms relate reasonably well with the Hidatsa and Mandan forms, which also associate *r* and *ʔ* in this form. For a possible explanation not involving borrowing, cf. ‘fly (1)’. The two verbs differ in the final vowel -- and differ enough that we currently consider them separate Proto-Siouan derivations.

fly (insect)

noun animal_insect

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dhegiha **hą́t?eka (?)*

Omaha-Ponca *hą́t?ega* RR , *ho^{n} t’ega* MAS

Kanza/Kaw *hą́ččega* RR

Osage *ho^{n}t̨sega* , *†hą́hceka* ‘common house fly’ LF:66b

Quapaw *hą́t?eka, hǫ́t?eka* ‘blow fly’ RR, JOD , *hǫ́tteka ttą́ka* JOD

General comment

Cf. Shawnee *hoče* ‘fly’ (Voegelin, 1937-40 p.445) and N.B. Shawnee *#h-*. This makes a Shawnee-like Algonquian dialect, with its prothetic *h-*, perhaps the most likely source language for this DH term. DH splits on glottalization, with Quapaw having doublets, signaling that this is probably not an inherited term even within DH.

foam, boil

physical_condition_change

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **púxE, *pí•xE*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **puxahe*

Crow *puxáa* ‘foam’ RG

Hidatsa *puxxí* ‘foam’ J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *wįrį puxté* ‘beer’ RTC , *pí•xoʔš* ‘it’s boiling’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **púxE*

Proto-Dakota **píɣA*

Lakota *píɣA* ‘foamy’ RTC, EJ

Sioux Valley *píya* PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *púxi* ‘foam’ JGT:146 , *abúxe* ‘boil, be bubbly’ JGT:110

Proto-Dhegiha **ápüɣe*

Omaha-Ponca *abixe* , *†ábixe* ‘boil’ MAS:21

Kanza/Kaw *ábüɣe* ‘boil, as water’ RR

Osage *ábixe* , *†ápüɣe* ‘the boiling of water’ LF:6b

Quapaw *ábixe* JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *aní pupúxi* , *†pupúxi* ‘foam’ D&S:250a

General comment

Of course *pu/o+fricative* is practically universal for “foam, puff up” etc. The Dakota, Mandan vowel is unexplained. Cf. ‘blow (2)’

focus marker

particle n/a

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **ri*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa *-ri* in: *hé?eri* ‘that one’ J , *-rí* in: *hirí* ‘this; subject marker; now’ J , *-rí-* in: *hirík̇a* ‘this size’ J , *-ri-* in: *hirihtá* ‘this way’ H&V , *-ri* in: *kúari* ‘that one (emphatic)’ J , *-ri* in: *še?eri* ‘that one, subject marker’ J , *-ri-* in: *tó•rickha•* ‘in every direction’ J

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *†didĭ* ‘when’ D&S:183b , *-di* in: *édi* in: *ta^{n} édi káwak yátcě* , *†-di* ‘what is the town’s name (Banks)’ D&S:186b , *-di* in: *eḳédi* , *†-di* ‘that is why’ D&S:206a , *-dí* in: *tcĭdík̇ikě́di* , *†-dí* ‘why?’ D&S:263b , *-di* in: *héunédi* , *†-di* ‘that one’ D&S:196a

General comment

Note that Biloxi collapses final **i* and **e*, so these may or may not be cognate with the Hidatsa entries.

fog (1)

noun natural_force_weather

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **awąší•*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **awaší•*

Crow *awašíi* ‘fog’ RG, GG:14

Hidatsa *awaší•* ‘dusty, foggy’ J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *wąsí* ‘fog’ H:276

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Ofo *abashī́ska* , *†abashí•ska* ‘fog’ JSS

General comment

Note that Ofo *sh* is the expected reflex of the **x* fricative grade.

fog (2) > smoke

noun natural_force_weather

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **pʔohe*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **puhʔe•*

Crow *púaee* ‘smoke, steam’ RG, GG:54, RGG:49

Hidatsa *puʔé•* ‘steam, vapor’ J , *piʔé•* ‘smoke’ J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *píʔhe* ‘smoke’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **pʔó*

Proto-Dakota **pʔó*

Lakota *pʔó* ‘fog’ RTC , *pʔó, ka-* ‘raise dust, as in sweeping’ EB:288 , *pʔó, na-* ‘raise dust with the feet, as horses do walking etc.’ EB:356 , *pʔó, ya-* ‘make steam with the mouth, as in breathing in cold air’ EB:626

Sioux Valley *pʔó* PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **-pʔó*

Chiwere *lapʔó* ‘to smoke’ GM

Hoocąk *rapʔó* ‘puff smoke from mouth’ KM:2413 , *rap’o*

Proto-Dhegiha **pʔó*

Omaha-Ponca *p’uthoⁿ* , *†pʔóðą* ‘steam’ MAS:164

Kanza/Kaw *pʔó* ‘steam’ RR

Osage *pʔóthoⁿ* , *†pʔóðǫ* ‘steam’ LF:129b

General comment

Mandan *pí•hoʔš* ‘it’s steaming’ does not seem to belong with this set as Mandan *i* is not accounted for. The Hidatsa form with *pi-* is probably a borrowing from Mandan.

fold > wrap

verb physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **pe-rhą́*

Pre-Mandan **-pe•ta*

Mandan ***kipké•tE*** ‘to bundle, wrap up’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **perhą́*

Proto-Dakota **pehĄ́*

Lakota ***pehą́*** ‘fold up’ RTC , ***opéhe*** ‘a fold’ EB:252 , ***pehą, iyá-*** ‘fold up with, to wind on, as the thread on a spool, to wrap around’ EB:811 , ***pehą, kakíči-*** ‘wave, form waves, in water.’ EB:548 , ***péhą, wa-*** ‘fold’ EB:625 , ***péhą, ya-*** ‘fold up with the teeth’ EB:647 , ***péhą, yu-*** ‘fold up’

Dakota ***pehą́ŋ*** ‘fold up a.t.’ SRR:419a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **wetą*

Chiwere ***oweta^{n}*** , ***†uwedą*** ‘wrap’ JOD , ***iráwedą*** , ***†uwedą*** JGT

Hoocąk ***weeǰą́*** ‘fold; fig. overcome easily, e.g., in wrestling’ KM:3622 , ***weją***

Proto-Dhegiha **pethą*

Omaha-Ponca ***bethą́*** RR

Kanza/Kaw ***bekhą́*** ‘bend sth. double while pushing w. it.’ RR , ***békhą, ba-*** ‘blow over on itself, fold’ RR , ***békhą, ga-*** ‘fold sth. up’ RR , ***békhą, yu-*** RR

Osage ***†bethą́ ~ †bekhą́*** JOD

Quapaw ***obéthą*** ‘wrap something’ JOD

General comment

Cf. ‘twist (1)’. Mandan *ki + k + pe•ta*, with the normal metathesis, and reanalysis of *a* to *E*.

follow

verb physical_motion_caus

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **o-he*

Proto-Dakota **o-he*

Lakota *ókhihe* ‘follow’ EB:388b

Dakota *ókihe* ‘next to, following’ SRR:367b

Proto-Dhegiha **o-hé*

Omaha-Ponca *uthu he’* ‘follow a trail’ MAS:79 , *ohé*

Kanza/Kaw *óhi; oyáha* ‘follow’ JOD

Osage *uthúha* , *†oðóha* ‘following’ LF:179a

Quapaw *óihé* ‘follow, go with’ JOD

General comment

Cf. ‘enter (3)’

food

noun physical_consumption

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **ʔé*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **eʔ*

Crow *eé* ‘food’ GG:47

Hidatsa *eʔ* ‘food’ J

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **-ʔé*

Proto-Dakota **-é-*

Lakota *oⁿwéya* , *†ųwéya* ‘provisions’ EB:399b

Dakota *waŋéya* , *†wąéya* ‘provisions, what is prepared for eating on a journey’ SRR:525a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *uwé* ‘fill traveling’ JGT:79

Hoocąk *hotaʔé* ‘some, be left over (usually of food)’ KM:1526 , *hota’e*

Proto-Dhegiha **owé ~ *o-ʔé*

Omaha-Ponca *†omáʔe*

Kanza/Kaw *owé* ‘food, corn/squash in bags for travel’ RR

Osage *uwéwahustsa* , *†owé-* ‘a lunch, take lunch, alight lunch’ LF:181b

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *iⁿyě* , *†ịye* ‘food’ D&S:233b

General comment

Chiwere initial **o- > u-* regularly, but the Lakota initial vowel remains unexplained, as does the Biloxi. Omaha-Ponca internal *ʔ* strongly suggests a compound. Note local variation in epenthetic glides.

foot

noun physical_somatic_body_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **i-sí*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **icí*

Crow *ičí* ‘his foot’ RG, GG:72, RGG:71

Hidatsa *icí* ‘his foot’ J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *šíʔ* ‘foot’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **sí*

Proto-Dakota **sí*

Lakota *sí* ‘foot’ RTC

Dakota *sí* ‘foot’ SRR:433b

Stoney *θí* ‘foot’ [< si ‘foot’ + ha ‘skin’] PAS , *sihá* PAS:88

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **sí*

Chiwere *θí* ‘foot’ RTC, RR

Hoocąk *síi* ‘foot (of body)’ KM:2833 , *sii*

Proto-Dhegiha **sí*

Omaha-Ponca *sí* ‘foot’ RTC, RR

Kanza/Kaw *sí* ‘foot’ RR

Osage *sí* ‘foot’ RR

Quapaw *sí* ‘foot’ RR

Proto-Southeastern **isí•*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **isí*

Biloxi *isí, así* , *†isí* ‘the feet’ D&S:254b , *sí* , *†sí* ‘foot’ D&S:254b

Ofo *tcŭ́fhŭ, ŭfhŭ́* , *†ifhí* ‘foot’ D&S:329b

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *içi; isī* , *†isi•* ‘foot’ N, H

General comment

La Flesche LF-32b reports an Osage form with the shape *çu-e* and the gloss ‘foot, archaic’. The apparently rounded vowel cannot be accounted for but v. ‘bird (2)’ for a clear parallel. This is a form in which we would have expected Proto-Siouan vowel length, but there is no overt evidence for it except in Tutelo (Hoocąk monosyllables are always long). The initial **i-* probably marks inherent possession.

foot, instrumental

physical_somatic_body_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba **ra•-*

Proto-Siouan **rą•-*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **ara-*

Crow *ala-, baa-, dáa, ala-* RG

Hidatsa *ara-, waʔa-, ráʔa-, ara-* J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *ra-*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **rą•-*

Proto-Dakota **nąˀ-*

Lakota *na-, nawa-, naya-, na-*

Dakota *na-, nawa-, naya-, na-*

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **nąˀ•-*

Chiwere *nąˀ- ~ nąˀ•-* [when slow, 1Act hanąˀ-] RR

Hoocąk *nąąˀ-, nąˀąˀ-, ?, nąąˀ-´, nąąˀ-*

Proto-Dhegiha **nąˀ-*

Omaha-Ponca *nąˀ-, anąˀ- ðanąˀ-, nąˀ-´*

Kanza/Kaw *nąˀ-, anąˀ-, yanąˀ- nąˀ-´*

Osage *nąˀ-, anąˀ-, ðanąˀ-, nąˀ-´*

Quapaw *nąˀ-, anąˀ-, danąˀ-, nąˀ-´*

Proto-Southeastern **rą- ~ *ra-*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *na-, oⁿna-, ina-, na-* , *†na-* D&S

Ofo *la-, bala-, tcala-, la-* , *†la-* D&S

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *nañ-* , *†nąˀ-* ‘by foot’ H

Proto-Catawba

Catawba *da•-* ‘action by foot’ [mutating inner root] FS

General comment

The prefix is an inner instrumental in every language but Dakotan.

Perhaps Dakota is conservative and all the others have given in to the strong analogical pressure to regularize pronoun and instrumental prefix order. More likely the majority of languages preserve the original position and the instrumental has been reanalysed in Dakotan, perhaps because Dakota has a number of outer instrumentals which might form a model for the reanalysis. Catawba indicates that the instrumental is quite old and was inner in that language, the pronominal prefixes fusing with the initial consonant.

We cannot account for the initial vowel and the *ʔ* in Hidatsa, though the latter might be related to the Ofo *l* where *n* is expected (*l* frequently indicating *r* in association with a laryngeal articulation). Except for Ofo (a single example) and Mandan, which may be influenced by Hidatsa, nasalization is general in Siouan but lacking in Catawba. Length is attested only in some subgroups.

force, instrumental

physical_contact_impact

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **raka-*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **raka-*

Crow *dak-; bak-, dáak-, dak-*

Hidatsa *raka-; wa•ka-, ra•ka-, raka-* , *naka- etc.*

Pre-Mandan **:ka-* < ***rka-*

Mandan *ka-* RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **ka-* ~ **ra-*

Proto-Dakota **ka-* ~ **ra-*

Lakota *ka-; waka-, yaka-, ka-; ki+X = gla-*

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **ki-*

Chiwere *gi-*

Hoocąk *gi-, hai-, rai-* , *gi- (hai-, rai-)*

Proto-Dhegiha **ka-* ~ **ra-*

Omaha-Ponca *ga-; áa-, ðáa-, ga-* RR

Kanza/Kaw *ga-; áa-, yáa-, ga-* RR

Osage *ga-* , *†ka-* LF

Quapaw *ka-; áa-, dáa-, ka-* RR

Proto-Southeastern **ra-ka-*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **raka-*

Biloxi *daka-; ndáka-, ídaka-, dáka-* , *†daka-* D&S

Ofo *ka-, (a)baka, (a)tcaka* , *†ka-* D&S

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *láka-* , *†láka-* ‘cut with axe’ [cf. lákatkúca] JOD

Proto-Catawba

Catawba *kąʔ* ~ *Ka-* ‘cut’ MAS, KS, SS

General comment

In DH, the **k* of **ka-* is normally lost in 1Act and 2Act. E.g., in Kanza/Kaw, *galü* ‘shave’ is conjugated *áalü, yáalü, galű́-*. The full form of *ga-* is preserved in the 1st and 2nd persons if a locative prefix is also present. Loss of *-g-* in prefixes may have something to do with stress placement, (e.g., 1Act *á-a-ga-lü*; 2Act *á-ya-ga-lü*, 3Act *ágalü* ‘shave off hair from the head’).

In Dakotan, Mandan, and DH, relic traces of Proto-Siouan **ra-* are preserved in irregular dative-possessive constructions, as noted above. In Mandan, at least, this *r* cannot be epenthetic. Mandan *ki+X = kara-*.

**ra-* may have been a morphemically distinct instrumental that could be compounded with **ka*. Forms like Tutelo *o-la-cpewa* ‘cut’ suggest this, particularly when placed beside forms like *lákatkúca* ‘cut with axe’.

Chiwere, Hoocąk have simply replaced **ka-* with *ki-* everywhere for reasons unknown.

ford, wade

physical_motion

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **yo_phe*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Crow *hűlappee* ‘ford a river’ RG, GG:48

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **yo_phe*

Proto-Dakota **čho_phá*

Lakota *copá* , *†čhophá* ‘wade, go in the water’ EB:133b

Dakota *ćopá* ‘wade, go in the water’ SRR:103b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **yowe*

Chiwere *niyuwe* ‘wade’ JOD , *yówe* GM

Hoocąk *nįoowé* < *nįį howe* JWE , *nįowe* < *nįį howe*

Proto-Dhegiha **žóphe*

Omaha-Ponca *júhe* , *†žóhe* ‘ford’

Kanza/Kaw *žophé* ‘ford’ RR

Osage *zhúpshe* , *†žó_phe* ‘to wade, as in water’ LF:228b , *opshé* , *†ophé* ‘a ford’ LF:123a

Quapaw *ánižóhe* ‘ford a stream’ RR

General comment

This is an old compound. The bare root occurs in the Osage nominal, and possibly in Winnebago. Cf. ‘enter (3)’, ‘water’. Omaha-Ponca *†žohé* ‘ford’ (JOD), Osage *†žó_he* ‘to ford’ (LF-228b), and Quapaw *†ánižóhe* ‘ford a stream’ (JOD) do not match the other forms (as do the expected forms in *phe*), but nonetheless seem to be related. On the Crow form, cf. ‘bathe’.

forehead (1)

noun physical_somatic_body_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **i-hté*

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *ịtáʔke* ‘forehead’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dakota **ithé*

Lakota *ithé* ‘forehead’ RTC , *it’éčịhị* , *†ithéčhịhị* ‘forelock’ B&D, EB:239a

Dakota *it’e* , *†ithé* SRR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **ịthé*

Biloxi *itĕ́, te* , *†ité, †te* ‘face, forehead’ D&S:200b

Ofo *i"thé* , *†ịthé* ‘forehead’ D&S:325a

Proto-Catawba

Catawba *ta•p* ‘forehead’ FS

General comment

Cf. ‘face’. These roots are distinct in Dakota, but may have merged in other languages.

forehead (2)

noun physical_somatic_body_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **hpé*

Proto-Dakota **phé*

Lakota *phé* ‘top of head’ RTC

Dakota *pe* ‘top of the head’ SRR:418b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **phé•*

Chiwere *phé•* ‘forehead’ JDH

Hoocąk *pée* ‘forehead’ KM:2451 , *pee*

Proto-Dhegiha **hpé*

Omaha-Ponca *ppe* ‘forehead’ RR

Kanza/Kaw *ppe* ‘forehead’ RR

Osage *pe* , *†hpe* ‘forehead’ LF:126b

Quapaw *†ppe* JOD

forest

noun physical_spatial_area

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **hpáte*

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *pháta* ‘grove of timber’ EB:435b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **pháte*

Chiwere *pháje* ‘forest’ JDH

Hoocąk *páač* ‘woods, forest’ KM:2422 , *paac*

Proto-Dhegiha **hpáte*

Kanza/Kaw *ppáje* ‘forest’ RR

Quapaw *dittá ppattáho* ‘forest-dwelling dove’ RR

forget

verb psychic_cognition

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **krų́rį*

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *gnų́ną* ‘lose oneself, wander’ ART, EB:162b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **krų́nį*

Chiwere *égluñį* GM

Hoocąk *wakíkuṇuṇą́* KM:3359 , *wakikuṇuṇį*

Proto-Dhegiha **krǫ́rį*

Omaha-Ponca *gtho^{n}thi^{n}* ‘be ignorant, drunk’ MAS:100

Kanza/Kaw *lǫ́yį* ‘bewildered’

Osage *ágtho^{n}thi^{n}* , *†álǫ́ðį* LF:270b

Quapaw *ákdąnį* JOD

General comment

Cf. ‘confused, mistaken, ignorant’. The second consonant of this word is probably probably epenthetic, since it has not yet undergone nasalization in DH. The set is restricted to MVS.

four

abstract_number

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **tó•pa*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **tó•pa*

Crow *šoopá* ‘four’ RG, GG:56, RGG:82

Hidatsa *tó•pa* ‘four’ J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *tó•p, tó•pa* ‘four’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **tó•pa*

Proto-Dakota **tópa*

Lakota *tópa* ‘four’ RTC

Dakota *tópa* ‘four’ SRR:478b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **tó•pe*

Chiwere *dó•we* ‘four’ RR

Hoocąk *ǰóop* ‘four’ KM:1716 , *joop*

Proto-Dhegiha **tó•pa*

Omaha-Ponca *dú•ba* ‘four’ RTC, RR

Kanza/Kaw *ttó·ba* ‘four’ RR , *dó·ba* ‘four’ JOD

Osage *tó·pa* ‘four’ RR

Quapaw *tó·wa* ‘four’ RR

Proto-Southeastern **tó•pa*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **tó•pa*

Biloxi *topá, tópa* , *†tópa* ‘four, four times, in four places’ D&S:279a

Ofo *tǫ́pa* , *†tó•pa* ‘four’ D&S:331a, JSS

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *tōp; tōpa, topāi, toba, topah* , *†to•pa* ‘four’ N, HH , *tōb* , *†to•pa* ‘four’ JNBH , *tū* , *†to•pa* ‘four’ ES , *tup* , *†to•pa* ‘four’ LJF

General comment

The initial consonant of the modern Kanza/Kaw form is not regular but very definitely is *tt-*. In instances where Chiwere has generalized *-e* < Proto-Siouan **a* and Hoocąk has lost the final vowel entirely, we have reconstructed the vowel as in modern Chiwere. Saponi *Jow* 'four', attested in Fontaine, looks superficially similar but is almost certainly borrowed from Algonquian. Catawba *parp(ə)re* resembles somewhat Capt. John Smith's Virginia Algonquian *paranske* 'four' and could conceivably be borrowed. Note however that the Algonquian *paranske* (also written "parance") should mean 'five', not 'four'. Cf. also Catawba *dawosa* 'eight' (Kanza/Kaw).

fox

noun animal_mammal

Proto-Siouan-Catawba **tVx-*

Proto-Siouan **ahtóx-ka*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **íˑxohka*

Crow *íaxuhka* ‘fox’ RG, GG:71, RGG:3

Hidatsa *íˑxohka* ‘kit fox, swift fox’ J

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **htóhka (?)*

Proto-Dakota **thokhá-*

Lakota *thokhála* ‘fox’ RTC

Dakota *tokádaŋ* ‘a small wolf, swift (fox)’ SRR:473b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *túka xója* , *†thúkha* ‘fox, gray fox’ JGT , *thúkha xóda* , *†thúkha* ‘fox, gray fox’ JDH

Proto-Dhegiha **htókha (?)*

Omaha-Ponca *ṭikaqude* , *†ttiKa xode* ‘gray fox’ JOD

Quapaw *ttóKa xótte* ‘gray fox’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern **athóxka*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **athóxka*

Biloxi *toxká, tóxka, ṭox* , *†tóxka* ‘fox’ D&S:277b

Ofo *atxóska* , *†athóska* ‘skunk’ D&S:322a

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *tohkai* , *†tóxkai* ‘fox’ H , *mùñktagín; mùnktōkāi, maktukai* , *†tóxkai* ‘wolf’ N, H

Proto-Catawba **tąˑse* ~ **tąˑxe*

Catawba *tąˑse* ‘dog’ KS

Woccon *Tauh-he* ‘dog’ JL

General comment

Cf. ‘antelope, goat’, ‘badger’. Mandan *ó•xa?* ‘fox’ is probably not cognate. The MRS forms are problematic if cognate: the first syllable is unexplained, and the **x* is not regular. Proto-Siouan **xk* normally yields *kh* in DH. Proto-Siouan **xk* remains in Crow, becoming *hk* only in Hidatsa. The DH forms cited here are from Dorsey’s slip files, in which he commonly failed to distinguish aspirates from geminates. Omaha-Ponca *-i -* matches Chiwere *-ú-* here. Neither form with *ú* is accounted for. Comparison of Catawba and Woccon suggests Proto-Catawba **tą́s ~ *tą́x* ‘dog’. Perhaps the Proto-Siouan form is **wa- + *tóx + *-ka* ‘attributive’?

friend (1)

noun social

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **hkota, *hkoRa, *hkora*

Proto-Dakota **khota, *khoRa*

Lakota *la_khóta* ‘Lakota’ RTC , *khóla* ‘friend’ EB:315a

Dakota *kodá* ‘the particular friend of a Dakota man’ SRR:293b

Sioux Valley *khotá-ye* PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *hičakóro* ‘friend’ KM:825 , *hicakoro*

Proto-Dhegiha **hkóra, *hkóRa*

Omaha-Ponca *endakutha* , *†-kkoða* ‘archaic, friend’ MRG

Kanza/Kaw *kkóya* ‘friend’ RR

Osage *ḳútha* , *†hkóða* ‘friend’ LF:90b , *hkówa* , *†hkóða* ‘friend’ RR

Quapaw *kkóda* ‘friend’ RR , *kkóta* ‘friend’ JOD

General comment

Cf. Mobilian trade jargon: *mogula, mukula* ‘friend’, Crawford p. 85. It appears that look-alike forms have diffused widely, cf. also Choctaw “kana” ‘friend’ (Swanton and Byington 222b), *ikhana* ‘know’ (RR) and Algonquian *niihkaana* ‘my friend’, **n-iiθ-kan-a* ‘brother, fellow’ (Callander 1962:121). The Mobilian form shows that Siouan languages contributed to the diffusion stock. There are three different intervocalic consonants represented here, and we have no idea how this situation arose.

friend (2)

noun social

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **i-hta-(ko)-ro*

Chiwere *ithálo* ‘friend’ [handwritten notation in Marsh Io-Eng] GM , *itádu* ‘friend’ LWR:53 , *ithála* GM

Hoocąk *hičakóro* KM:825 , *hicakoro*

Proto-Dhegiha **róta*

Osage *thódathe* , *†ðóta-* ‘be on friendly terms with, peaceful relationship’ LF:152b

Quapaw *wadóttadi* ‘friend (of another tribe ?)’ JOD

General comment

These forms may be derivationally related but are not clearly cognate.

friend (3)

verb social

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *tĕnaxí, tenáx, tĕnaxiyáⁿ* , *†tenaxi* ‘friend’ D&S:274a

Ofo *aktā´tci* , *†aktá•či* D&S:320a, JSS

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *witāhe, witaqā* H , *eṭaqéĕ, hiṭaqéĕ, wiṭaqéĕ; aⁿṭaq* , *†itaxé•* ‘his, your, my friend; o friend’ HW

General comment

These strikingly similar SE forms are not obviously cognate. The set suggests diffusion.

friend (4)

noun social

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Pre-Mandan **warųka, *wrųka*

Mandan *koto wąrąku, kota wąrąku* ‘his friend’ , *kotomanaku* ‘man’s friend’ RTC , *kotáwįrųka* H:276 , *wárųka?š*

General comment

The Hidatsa form, when compared with the Mandan, seems to derive by rightward vowel exchange from an earlier **-ruka-*. The inalienable possession of the form in Hidatsa may result from the homophony of uninflected **waraku-* < **waruka-* = *Mandan warų-ka* to the first person inalienable form of a putative ***raku-*.

frog (1), toad

noun animal_amphibian

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dakota **-thápix?a*

Lakota *mápix?a, mathápixa, withápixa, witapix?a* ‘toad’ EB:664a , *natápixa* ‘toad’ SRR:337b

Dakota *natapeȟa* ‘toad’ WM:246a , *natápeȟa* ‘toad’ SRR:337b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **théwax?u*

Chiwere *čhéwax?ú* ‘toad (lit. warty buffalo)’ GM

Hoocąk *keewáxgu* ‘toad’ [cf. Chiwere čhéwax?ú] KM:1788 , *keewaxgu*

Proto-Dhegiha **htépüix?a*

Omaha-Ponca *ṭebi’a* , *†ttébi?a* ‘frog’ JOD , *tébia* , *†ttébi?a* MAS:81

Kanza/Kaw *ččébük?a* ‘frog’ RR

Osage *ṭsébiuḳ’a* , *†hcébük?a* ‘frog’ LF:157a

Quapaw *tteáx?a* ‘toad’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern **t(h)é•mų•*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Ofo *tĕ́mu* ‘bullfrog’ D&S:330b

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *hĕ́mǭ* ‘frog’ ES:295 , *hee´mo*^{n} ‘frog’ LJF

General comment

Proto-Dhegiha is clearly **htépüix?a*. While the various Lakota words for ‘toad’ clearly derive from the same source, none is regular in comparison. Ofo and Tutelo must also derive from this source, but also do not compare regularly.

Given the complexity of the forms, these may be either compounds or borrowings. Chiwere has created a transparent, folk etymology, which Hoocąk apparently takes a step further, cf. ‘hear’. Some languages have replaced ‘toad’ with a descriptive expression leaving this etymon with the meaning ‘frog’ (Omaha-Ponca).

frog (2)

noun animal_amphibian

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **(w)ahpeSka*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **pheška*

Proto-Dakota **phešká*

Lakota *phešká* ‘air bladder of a fish’ EB:442a

Dakota *peśká* ‘air bladder of a fish’ SRR:420a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *pésge* , *†pheske* ‘a small green tree frog’ JGT:55

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *pěská, apěska* , *†apeska* ‘small frog species’ D&S:244b

General comment

pes- refers to a high pitched sound. The tree frog says *pěs, pěs, pěs*; cf. Biloxi *pěsdoti* ‘flute’.

frog (3)

noun animal_amphibian

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **wašą́•ka, *wi-šą́•ka*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **šá•ka*

Crow *sáaka* ‘frog’ RG, GG:55, RGG:3

Hidatsa *šá•ka* ‘frog’ J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *psą́•ka* ‘frog’ RTC

General comment

There is no evidence for a specific prefix vowel here. The prefix may have been **wi-* as with most other animals or **wa-* the general absolutive.

from

enclitic n/a

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **rhą*

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *-hą* in: *etą́* ‘from; on account of, concerning’ [abbrev. of etąhą] EB:143b , *-hą* in: *hehą́tą* ‘from that time; therefore’ EB:171 , *-hą* in: *téhątą* ‘from afar’ EB:486 , *-hą* in: *tuktétąhą* ‘from where’ RTC

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *-ǰą́* in: *éepareją́* ‘from that time’ KM:1692 , *ją* in: *eepareją*

Proto-Dhegiha **-thą*

Omaha-Ponca *-thą* in: *edíthą* ‘from there’ JEK , *-thą* in: *ettáthą* ‘from there’ JEK

Kanza/Kaw *-khą́* in: *ejíkhą* ‘there, from, thither, from that place’ RR , *-khą-* in: *ejíkhądą* ‘since then’ RR , *-khą́* in: *gágejikhą, gá* ‘from there, from that place’ MR, RR , *-khą́* in: *gayójekhą* ‘from that time or place’ RR

Osage *-thą* in: *e-dsí-to*^{n} , *†ecíthą* ‘thence; from that place’ LF:40a , *-thą* in: *gá-ṭa-to*^{n} , *†káhtathą* ‘from that direction’ LF:47b , *-thą* in: *the-gá-ṭo*^{n} , *†ðekáthą* ‘from this place’ LF:143b

Quapaw *-thą́* ‘from’ JOD

General comment

Chiwere *-da* ‘from’ lacks the expected nasalization and is presumably not cognate.

frost (1)

noun natural_force_weather

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **waxo•*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **waxó•raki*

Crow *bixóolichi* ‘frost’

Hidatsa *waxó•raki* ‘frost’ J , *maxó•raki*

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *xó•re* RTC , *ice*

General comment

The MRS forms are a compound: **xó•* ‘ice’ + ‘sitting’, q.v. Cf. ‘frost (2)’.

frost (2)

noun natural_force_weather

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **waxé•(re)*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **xé•-wųke*

Proto-Dakota **xewúka*

Lakota *xeyúka* ‘frost’ RTC

Dakota *xewáke* , *†xewáke* ‘frost, hoar frost’ SRR:164b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *xe•mą́ra* ‘frost’ RR

Proto-Dhegiha **xé-wąke*

Omaha-Ponca *qewañge* , *†xewąge* ‘frost’ JOD , *xewo^{n}ge* , *†xewąge* ‘frost’ MAS:52

Kanza/Kaw *xémąge* ‘frost’ RR

Osage *xémo^{n}ge* , *†xémąke* ‘frost, hoarfrost’ LF:218a

Quapaw *xą́ike* ‘frost, killing frost’ RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **(w)axé-(re)*

Biloxi *xedí* , *†xedí* D&S:220a

Ofo *ashé* , *†ašé* ‘frost’ D&S:321b , *ashito^{n}* , *†ašé* ‘big frost’

Proto-Catawba

Catawba *mǫhe•* ‘ice’ KS

General comment

The MVS forms are a compound: **xé•* ‘frost’ + **wųke* ‘lie’, q.v. Cf. also ‘ask’ for a similar treatment of the proto sequence **wų-*, cf. also ‘1st inclusive actor prefix’. The DH forms represent fossilized forms of PS **wųke* ‘be lying’; verbal reflexes of **wųke* are otherwise lacking throughout DH. In order to reconstruct a Proto-Dhegiha form with confidence the labial resonants should match. Koontz suggests that the *w* in many, if not all, of these *wų* stems is actually epenthetic. Presumably it would have appeared after Proto-Siouan **w* > *m* preceding nasal vowels in many languages.

This might provide a principled reason for the lack of match in the modern correspondences. Cf. also ‘rain (2)’, ‘drip (1)’.

frozen

verb physical_condition

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **atá•he*

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *ktah* ‘to be frozen’ H:123

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **tá•*

Proto-Dakota **ta-*

Lakota *tasáka* ‘freeze’ RTC , *tasáka* ‘stiff, hard, frozen, hardened by cooling’ SRR:461b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **tá•*

Chiwere *dá•khara* ‘freeze’ RR, GM

Hoocąk *ǰáa* ‘freeze, be frozen’ KM:1665 , *jaa*

Proto-Dhegiha **tá*

Omaha-Ponca *dá* ‘freeze’ RR

Kanza/Kaw *dá* ‘freeze’ RR

Osage *da* , *†tá* ‘freeze, frozen’ LF:32a

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **atahe*

Biloxi *atxé, atxĕ´* , *†athé* D&S:175a

Ofo *ā´thahi* , *†á•thahi* ‘frozen’ D&S:322a, JSS

Proto-Catawba

Catawba *tap* ‘frozen’ KS

General comment

Initial Mandan *k-* is unexplained. Dakotan < ‘freeze’ + ‘hard, stiff’. MVS clearly goes back to **tá*, one of a very few roots with initial **t*.

OVS argues for final **h*, the latter trait shared with Mandan. Since ordinary aspiration was not consistently distinguished by Gatschet and Dorsey in Biloxi, the heavy aspiration recorded in this form probably represents a cluster. Ofo aspiration may simply represent a recent application of the demonstrably active Ofo aspiration rule. If our reconstruction of the Ofo initial vowel to Proto-Siouan is correct, there is no explanation for the failure of *-t-* to aspirate in the MVS languages. Accent and length in Ofo may signal the presence of a locative prefix rather than the reflex of a Proto-Siouan initial vowel however. Or perhaps there has been contamination from the ‘heat/cold, instrumental’ prefix.

full

verb perceptual

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **-hpi*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **-hpi*

Proto-Dakota **-phi*

Lakota *ípi* ‘full, satisfied’ EB:232a , *wíɬphi* ‘full of food, satisfied’ EB:589a , *kiphí* ‘hold, contain; carry as a vessel, cart, etc.; be large enough for’ EB:309b

Dakota *íɬpi* ‘full, satisfied’ SRR:204b , *kipí* , *†wíɬpi* ‘full of food, satisfied’ SRR:578a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *gipí* , *†giphí* ‘good for, good to, it’s okay by’ JGT:20

Proto-Dhegiha **okíhpi*

Omaha-Ponca *ugípi* , *†ogíppi*

Kanza/Kaw *ogí•ppi* ‘full, filled’ RR

Osage *ugípi* , *†okíhpi* LF:170a

Quapaw *okíppi* JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *kině´pi, kĭnepí* , *†kinepi* ‘be glad, satisfied’ D&S:245b

General comment

Cf. ‘good (1)’. The root with various prefixes takes on the sense of ‘good or sufficient for, full, satisfied’. Biloxi *n* preceding oral *e* indicates an earlier *Cr* cluster that has simplified.

future (1)

enclitic time_phase

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **ktE*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **-htE-*

Crow *-isshi* ‘want to, be ready to’ GG:64

Hidatsa *-htE-* ‘inclined to, about to: indirect desiderative’ J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *-kt-* ‘future’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **ktE*

Proto-Dakota **ktA*

Lakota *ktA* ‘future, potential’ RTC

Dakota *ktA* ‘future’ SRR:298b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *-hñe* ‘will, shall, going to, about to’ JGT:281

Hoocąk *-kje* , *†-kǰe* ‘intentive’ WL:36 , *-kjene, -kjane, -kjenehe* , *†-kǰane* ‘future’ WL:36

Proto-Dhegiha **-hte*

Omaha-Ponca *-tte* ‘future, potential, optative’ RR

Kanza/Kaw *-tte* ‘future, potential, optative’ RR

Osage *-hte* ‘future, potential, optative’ RR

Quapaw *-tte* ‘future, potential, optative’ RR

Proto-Southeastern **tE*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *†tE* ‘a sign of desire, uninflected’ D&S:272b

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *ta* ‘future’ H

future (2)

enclitic time_phase

g

gamble

verb social_game

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **hkiʔų*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa *wakíʔ* ‘compete, gamble’ J , *makíʔi*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **hkiʔų́* > **kʔų́*

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **khiʔų́*

Chiwere *kīʔ̃* , *†kįʔį* ‘gamble, try’ LWR , *khų́* , *†kįʔį* GM

Hoocąk *kiiʔų́, wą_kiʔų́* ‘gamble’ KM:1810 , *kii’ų, waki’ų*

Proto-Dhegiha **kʔǫ́*

Omaha-Ponca *wakoⁿ ʔ* MAS:84

Kanza/Kaw *i_kʔǫ́* ~ *ikʔwǫ* ‘gamble, contend in a race’ JOD

Osage *ḳ’oⁿ* , *†kʔǫ́* ‘gamble, bet’ LF:88b

Quapaw *kʔą́he* ‘lay something down, lay out’ JOD

General comment

The conjugation is prefixed to *ki-* in Hoocąk and DH. Lakota *ʔų́yą* (1Act *waʔų́bla*, 12Act *uŋkʔų́yąpi*) ‘lose’ may be derivationally related, but does not appear to be directly cognate. The construction appears to be a reciprocal in Hidatsa at least, and perhaps in Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere. The Quapaw form may simply be a homophone ‘lay’, or, ‘gamble’ may somehow be related to ‘lay’.

gather (1), pick up

verb physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **pahí-he*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **-pVhe*

Crow *čilakappí* ‘choose, select, pick out’ GG:37

Hidatsa *-phÉ, raka-* ‘pick up, pick out, select’ J , *nakaphí*

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *wápahį̣ho?š* ‘he selected something’ H:73

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **pahí*

Proto-Dakota **pahí*

Lakota *pahí* ‘gather, pick up, collect’ EB:425a

Dakota *pahí* ‘gather, pick up, gather together’ SRR:404a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **-hí*

Chiwere *wehí* ‘gather up, pick up from the ground’ JGT:150

Hoocąk *gihí* ‘gather and put into container’ KM:342 , *gihi* ‘gather from ground (individual objects, like acorns)’ KM:3621 , *weehí* ‘gather’ KM:2870 , *wehi* , *stoohí* , *stoohi*

Proto-Dhegiha **bahí (?)*

Omaha-Ponca *bahi* , *†bahí* ‘pick’ MAS:136

Kanza/Kaw *bahí* ‘pick up, gather’ RR

Osage *bahí* , *†bahí* ‘pick, select, gather from ground’ LF:21a

Quapaw *bahí* ‘grab’ JOD , *wabáhi* ‘pick up food as birds’ JOD

General comment

It appears that the *pa-* in this form was an organic part of the root in Proto-Siouan, but has been reanalyzed as the *pa-* instrumental prefix in some MVS languages. DH languages clearly treat the word as though it contained this prefix; however, the uniform *b-* is unusual. Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere has taken this process to the point that the “new” root *-hi* can be used with other prefixes. Cf. ‘gather (2), assemble (intransitive)’.

gather (2), assemble (intransitive)

verb social

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **(ki-)stó•*

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **(gi-)stó•*

Chiwere *gixdóhi* ‘gather’ LWR , *gihtó, gihdó* ‘a lot, many’ GM , *githdó* , *†giθdó* ‘crowd’ LWR:8

Hoocąk *stoohí* ‘gather’ KM:2870 , *stoohi (= stoo + hii)* ‘gather v.intr., party, organized group’ KM:2871 , *stookį́* , *stookį (= stoo + kį́į)*

Proto-Dhegiha **(ki-)stó*

Kanza/Kaw *gistó* ‘assemble’ [intransitive] RR

Osage *çtoðé shu* , *†stoðé* ‘gathered them together’ LF:32b , *ḳiçtó* , *†kistó* ‘council, assemblage, meeting’ LF:85a

Quapaw *kistó* ‘assemble, gather’ JOD

General comment

Cf. ‘gather (1), pick up’.

gather (3)

verb physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **ru•wE*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa *rú•* ‘go berry picking’ J , *nú•*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dhegiha **rüwé*

Osage *thuwe* , *†ðüwe* ‘pick (fruit)’ LF:89a

Quapaw *diwé* ‘pick, gather, as berries’ RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Ofo *ā´ktuwa* ‘gather, collect’ D&S:320b, JSS

Proto-Catawba

Catawba *átkowa* ‘gather’ KS , *atkú’hruwe* ‘gather going’ KS

general deictic (1)

particle n/a

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **i-*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa *í-* in: *íahkua* ‘over there’ [(+ action verb)] J , *í-* in: *íahkuaru* ‘right there’ H&V , *í-* in: *íahkuaše•* ‘by way of over there’ J , *í-* in: *íahkuka(•)* ‘over there’ J , *í-* in: *íahkuha•* ‘by way of over there’ J , *í-* in: *íahkuha•k* ‘(motion) from over there’ J , *í-* in: *íahkuha•še•* ‘by way of over there’ J , *í-* in: *íahta* ‘towards that place’ J , *í-* in: *íaru* ‘over there’ J , *í-* in: *íaruha•* ‘by way of over there’ J , *í-* in: *íaruha•k* ‘over there’ J , *í-* in: *íaruše•* ‘by way of over there’ J , *í-* in: *íaša•hak* ‘(I did it) like this’ J , *í-* in: *íaše•* ‘by way of over there’ J , *í-* in: *íaxa•* ‘over that way; a little further’ J , *í-* in: *ícki* ‘to fit; approach perfection’ J , *í-* in: *íckha•* ‘accurate(ly); (to go) straight to’ J , *í•-* in: *í•hiri* ‘very’ H&V

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *íʔorą* ‘independent pronoun’ H:88 , *íʔorak* ‘independent pronoun’ H:88 , *íšak* ‘independent pronoun’ H:94 , *íxa* ‘to be alone’ H:98

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **i-*

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *í-* in: *íye* ‘he, she, it’ EB:254 , *i-* in: *iyepi* ‘they’ EB:254 , *i-* in: *iyécexci* ‘just like’ EB:254 , *i-* in: *iyéha* ‘instead, rather he (she)’ EB:254 , *i-* in: *iyéhą* ‘at the time appointed’ EB:254 , *i-* in: *iyehątu* ‘at the time; now, it being the time now’ EB:255 , *i-* in: *iyékaeš* ‘even he’ EB:255 , *i-* in: *iyéna* ‘as many (as), so many’ EB:255 , *i-* in: *iyénaka* ‘so many as’ EB:255 , *í-* in: *íhecegla* ‘at once’ EB:216 , *í-* in: *íheciya* ‘in that way from’ EB:216 , *í-* in: *íhehąyą* ‘so far from’ EB:216 , *i-* in: *ihéktab, mihektab* ‘behind, after one’ EB:216 , *i-* in: *ihéktabya, íhektabya, ihéktapa* ‘behind’ EB:216 , *í-* in: *íkahą* ‘so far from’ EB:219 , *í-* in: *íkahąyą* ‘so far from’ EB:219 , *í-* in: *íkakhi* ‘on that side of’ EB:219 , *í-* in: *íkakhiya* ‘on that side of’ EB:219 , *i-* in: *ilázata, milazata* ‘back from, behind something, by my side’ EB:223 , *i-* in: *ilázataą* ‘from the side of, perhaps’ EB:223 , *í-* in: *íleciya* ‘on this side of’ EB:223 , *í-* in: *ílehą* ‘so far off’ EB:224 , *í-* in: *ílehąya, alehąyąg* ‘so far off’ EB:224 , *í-* in: *ítab* ‘soon after; quickly’ EB:237 , *i-* in: *itáhena* ‘on this side of, i.e. in time or place’ EB:237 , *í-* in: *ítohą* ‘How far from ? How long from ?’ EB:241 , *í-* in: *ítohąyą* ‘a little ways off’ EB:241 , *í-* in: *ítona* ‘Of how many? Which number ?’ EB:242 , *í-* in: *ítonaka* ‘Of how many ?’ EB:242

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *i* ‘yonder’ JGT:1553 , *i-* ‘here; now’ JGT:1627, LWR , *i-* in: *igínanga* ‘right here (in it)’ JGT:1630 , *í-* ‘thus; this/ that way’ JGT:1646 , *í-* in: *ígiúwa* ‘on this/ that side’ JGT:1648 , *i-* ‘this; that way’ JGT:1650 , *i-* in: *igún* ‘thus; that’s the way it is’ JGT:1660 , *i-* ‘like that; be thus’ JGT:1661 , *i-* in: *igúntun* ‘near without touching’ JGT:1839 , *i-* ‘alone’ JGT:1896 , *i-* in: *igúnˆun* ‘alone’ JGT:1902 , *i-* ‘a/ an; one’ JGT:1976 , *i-* in: *ihgásgun* ‘one; some; the same’ JGT:1978 , *i-* ‘never; ever’ JGT:1979 , *i-* in: *ihgé; hgé; ihgá* ‘that one over there’ JGT:18 , *i-* , *i-* in: *irúˆasgi/ irúathki* , *i-* , *i-* in: *ishná/ ishtán* , *i-* , *i-* in: *istán/ ishtán* , *i-* , *i-* in: *iyán* , *i-* , *i-* in: *iyángki* , *i-* , *i-* in: *iyánhan* , *-i-* , *-i-* in: *gaˆigi*

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *i-* ‘at one side or end’ D&S:252a , *i-* in: *isaⁿˆhiⁿ* ‘under the leaves’ D&S:200b , *i-* ‘inside, within, in’ D&S:200b , *i-* in: *-itka* in: *háawitka* ‘over yonder’ D&S:201a , *i-* , *i-* in: *itkáyaⁿ* , *í-* , *í-* in: *íyaⁿ*

Proto-Catawba

Catawba *i-* ‘it’s true’ KS:206 , *i-* in: *inərɛ*

General comment

There is good evidence for a 3rd person prefix with the form **i-* in Siouan relic morphology. That form may be related to this more general element. The Hidatsa *ia-* forms perhaps reflect earlier **-iha*.

general deictic (2)

particle n/a

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **o•*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa *ó•-* in: *ó•ka•* ‘there (distant)’ J , *ó•-* in: *ó•ka•ru* ‘there’ J , *o•-* in: *o•khíru* ‘beyond, on that side’ J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *óta* ‘facing’ H:128

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *o-* in: *ognáˊ* ‘in the direction of’ EB:371b , *o-* in: *otóhąyą* ‘for a short time or distance’ EB:409 , *o-* in: *otóiyohi* ‘each one, every one’ EB:409 , *o-* in: *hecíyotą* ‘in that direction’ EB:170 , *o-* in: *iyóhi* ‘each, every one’ EB:256

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *-ó-* ‘for a while; a while ago’ JGT:1141 , *-ó-* in: *goˆóˊ* ‘soon; immediately; in the near future’ JGT:1142 , *-ó-* ‘recently (within a year)’ JGT:1143 , *-ó-* in: *goˆóchˆi* ‘a very short while ago’ JGT:1144 , *-ó-* , *-ó-* in: *goˆógi* , *-ó-* , *-ó-* in: *goˆówéxa*

Proto-Catawba

Catawba *ó-* ‘himself; he, she, it, they alone’ KS:125 , *ó-* in: *ómä* ‘that one, those ones, he, she, they (refers to persons and other animate objects)’ KS:125 , *ó-* ‘that one, those ones, he, she, they’ KS:125 , *ó-* in: *ówa* ‘that one, those ones, he, she, they’ KS:125 , *ó-* ‘he’ KS:125 , *ó-* in: *ó-a* ‘he’ KS:125 , *ú-* ‘he’ KS:125 , *ú-* in: *úwa* , *o-* , *o-* in: *otɑ”* , *a-* , *a-* in: *atɑ”* , *ó-* , *ó-* in: *óka*

gesture

verb social_communication_gesture

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **-t?ápE*

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *t?ápt?apa, ka-* ‘to signify by a certain gesture of the head (sic) that expresses contempt, dislike, hatred etc.; it consists in opening one’s closed fist and moving it toward the object disliked and thus making the fingers outstretched; or in snapping one’s finger in the sign of contempt.’ EB:294

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *t?áp, gigi-* ‘give someone the evil gesture; make sign of disapproval’ KM:331 , *gigit’ap* ‘beckon with the finger’ KM:2120 , *t?ap, nąąbrú-* ‘spring, n. (mechanical)’ KM:2244 , *nąąp rut’ap* , *t?át?ap, nąą-* , *nąąt’at’ap*

ghost

noun spiritual

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **wa-rą́•xi*

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *wąrų́•xik* ‘ghost’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **wa-ną́•ɣi*

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *wanáɣi* ‘ghost’ RTC

Dakota *wanaǧí* ‘soul when separated from body; a ghost’ SRR:519b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **wa•-ną́•ɣi*

Chiwere *wa•nąxe* ‘ghost’ RR , *wanąxi* JDH

Hoocąk *wanąɣí* ‘ghost, corpse’ KM:3388 , *wanąǧi*

Proto-Dhegiha **wanąɣe*

Omaha-Ponca *wanaxe* , *†wanąɣe* JOD

Kanza/Kaw *wanąxe* RR , *wanąɣe* JOD

Osage *wano^{n}́xe* , *†wanąɣe* ‘soul of man, spirit (used in rituals), ghost’ LF:197b

Quapaw *wanąxe* ~ *wanǫ́xe* RR , *wanáɣe* JOD

Proto-Southeastern **wa-nąčí*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *anatcí* , *†(a)načí* ‘ghost, spirit’ D&S:233a

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *wanìntçī* , *†wanąčí•* ‘ghost’ HH

General comment

Cf. ‘shadow, soul’.

gills, palate

noun physical_somatic_body_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **i-ráke*

Proto-Dakota **čhaká*

Lakota *čhaká* ‘palate’ RTC

Dakota *ćaká* ‘the palate, roof of the mouth, gills’ SRR:84b

Proto-Dhegiha **i-ráke*

Kanza/Kaw *ho yáge* ‘gills’ RR

Osage *ho íthage* , *†ho íðake* ‘(fish) gills’ LF:63b

Quapaw *táka* ‘gills’ JOD

General comment

Lakota *čh*, DH **r* betray the presence earlier of an inalienable possessive prefix, **i-*, on this body part term. Osage alone among the daughter languages has kept (or restored?) the prefix. There has been a (not uncommon) accent shift rightward in Lakota after loss of the old prefix. The identity of the final vowel is unclear here. Lakota stress placement indicates that the final vowel is not the ablauting vowel, an interpretation supported by the final vowel in Quapaw, but since *-E* is a feature of verbs in Siouan, spreading to nouns only analogically, this noun could have had **-e*. The Quapaw form also shows an unexpected reflex of **R* instead of **r*.

give

verb social_transfer

Proto-Siouan-Catawba **kʔú- ~ *kʔų́-*

Proto-Siouan **kʔu(-re)*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **kúʔ*

Crow *kuú* RG, GG:51, RGG:28

Hidatsa *kuʔ* ‘give; benefactive’ J , *kuʔu*

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *kúʔroʔš* ‘he gave it to him’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **kʔú*

Proto-Dakota **kʔú*

Lakota *kʔú* ‘give’ RTC

Dakota *ku* , *†kʔú* ‘give anything to one’ SRR:302b

Stoney *kʔú ~ khú* ‘give’ PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **okʔų́*

Chiwere *okʔų́* ‘give’ RR

Hoocąk *hokʔų́* ‘give, pay(?)’ KM:1360 , *hok’ų*

Proto-Dhegiha **kʔű́*

Omaha-Ponca *ʔí* ‘give’ RTC

Kanza/Kaw *kʔű́* ‘give’ RR

Osage *kʔű́* ‘give’ RR

Quapaw *kʔí* ‘give’ RR

Proto-Southeastern **əkʔú-(re)*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **əkhú-(re)*

Biloxi *kúdi* , *†kudi* D&S:215b , *ku* , *†kudi* D&S:215a

Ofo *ąkhú* , *†əkhú* D&S:319b

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *ñgō* , *†ngu* H , *ⁿgo* , *†ngu*

Proto-Catawba

Catawba *kúɬhəre* ‘gave it’ [*kúɾəre* ‘he gave him’; *kúkawe* ‘gave it may have’] KS

General comment

As in several other cases, Ofo shows a preposed *ą* in conjunction with an aspirate in cases where other languages have a following *C?*.

Reconstruction of the set Biloxi *k* : Ofo *əkh* : Tutelo *(n)g* as **k?* is, admittedly, taking advantage of knowledge gained only from other subgroups, but this correspondence set is distinct from both the plain and aspirated sets, and would otherwise require the use of some arbitrarily chosen velar symbol for the reconstruction. Here Tutelo also has a peculiar reflex with initial nasalization of some sort. In Dorsey’s Biloxi work an apparently syllabic *n-* always varied with *ą*. This may be the case in Tutelo also. However we do not think the Tutelo nasality is related to the intrusive nasality in Chiwere and Hoocąk, which occurs in numerous other forms. We cannot consider the nasality explained though, since there seems to be variable nasalization of this root in Catawba. This is a transitive verb with only two arguments across Siouan, with the recipient marked as direct object.

give away

verb social_transfer

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **ka-hi_E*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **kahe•´*

Crow *kée* ‘give away’ RG, GG:50, RGG:28

Hidatsa *kahe•´* ‘give away’ J , *kahé•*

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *ká?here?š* ‘give away’ RTC , *ka?-* ‘have, possess’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **ka-*

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *woogá* ‘gift’ KM:304 , *wooga*

Proto-Dhegiha **ka-ré*

Osage *dado^{n} gathe* , *†kaðe* ‘donate, give away, contribute’ LF:34b

Quapaw *kadé* ‘give away one thing’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *kaye, káye, kayi* , *†kaye* ‘give away’ D&S:205a

General comment

This is a causative construction in Proto-Siouan. This is the only Crow stem beginning with *ke-*; it must be a contracted causative, cf. Hidatsa, which is clearly causative.

glance off

verb physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **-khi̱tE*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **-kitE*

Crow *ápchishi* ‘rub, spread on’ GG:11 , *dúuchisi* ‘tan hide’ GG:45 , *aláchishi* ‘be cold, freezing’ GG:7

Hidatsa *nakakitE* ‘scrape off water from hides’ AWJ , *arákitE* ‘singed, on fire, prairie fire’ AWJ , *núkitE* ‘pluck, pull off, pull out’ AWJ , *pakitE* ‘scrape by pushing along’ AWJ , *ipkitE* ‘smear on’ AWJ , *arakítE* ‘smash, squish with foot, step into sth. soft’ AWJ

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **-khi̱tE*

Proto-Dakota **-khi̱tA*

Lakota *pakhi̱ta* ‘clean by wiping’ EB:428b , *apákhi̱tA* ‘wipe or rub off on anything’ EJ , *nakhi̱tA* ‘brush or wipe one’s feet on sth.; brush off with the foot’ EJ

Dakota *pakíŋta* ‘wipe, as dishes’ SRR:408a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **-khi̱te*

Chiwere *rukhí̱je* ‘slip (hand, while pulling)’ JGT:61

Hoocąk *bookį́c* ‘hit at with a glancing blow; rub with a hard object’ KM:61 , *bookįc* ‘rub with a hard object’ KM:3363 , *wakį́c* , *wakįc*

Proto-Dhegiha **-khi̱te*

Kanza/Kaw *bákhi̱je* ‘fail in trying to cut’ RR , *bakhí̱je* ‘miss, slip with a spear’ RR , *bókhi̱je* ‘miss in shooting, punching or blowing’ RR , *bukhí̱je* ‘miss sitting down, fall’ RR , *dákhi̱je* ‘miss, said of sparks from a fire’ RR , *gakhí̱je* ‘miss in chopping, cutting’ RR , *nąkhí̱je* ‘miss kicking at sth.’ RR , *yakhi̱je* ‘snap at and miss, fail in speaking’ RR , *yukhi̱je* ‘slip in grasping or holding, drop sth.’ RR

Osage *pakci^{n}ṭse* , *†hpakhi̱ce* JOD

Quapaw *pákhi̱tte* ‘cut at sth. and miss it’ RR , *pókhi̱tte* ‘graze sth. while shooting’ RR , *bakhí̱tte* ‘miss, slip pushing sth.’ RR , *bikhí̱tte* ‘rub a slippery surface’ RR , *dakhi̱tte* ‘bite at and miss’ RR , *dikhi̱tte* ‘lose grip, slip over’ RR , *kakhi̱tte* ‘strike at and miss’ RR , *nąkhi̱tte* ‘kick at and miss, pass by’ RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **-khi̱ti*

Biloxi *(du)ki^{n}ti* , *†dukį́ti* ‘slip off, vt’ D&S:209b

Ofo *nąkhĭ́ti* , *†nəkhíti* ‘slide’ D&S:326b

General comment

Cf. ‘rub (1)’. The Ofo cognate has lost nasalization irregularly. This is an interesting set in that **-khįte* should by all rights have a long vowel.

į was the second syllable vowel and was accented in most contexts, especially in the third person. Most etyma should lengthen in precisely this context if we are right about Proto-Siouan lengthening, and most do, yet in this case neither Hoocąk nor Proto-Crow-Hidatsa shows any trace of a long vowel. Sets such as this one appear to establish length as distinctive in Proto-Siouan. Note, however, that for some purposes (*e.g.* vowel syncope) we are forced to consider instrumental prefixes to be clitics.

go

verb physical_motion

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **re•(he)*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **rÉhe*

Crow *dÉE* ‘go’ RG, GG:43, RGG:31

Hidatsa *rehe* ‘go’ J

Pre-Mandan **re•he-*

Mandan *ré•ho?š* ‘he’s going’ RTC , *orára•haṛito?rą* ‘Are you pl. going to go?’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **rÉ*

Proto-Dakota **yA´*

Lakota *yA´* ‘go’ RTC

Dakota *ya* ‘go’ SRR:601a

Sioux Valley *yA´* ‘go’ PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **re•*

Chiwere *lé* , *†ré* ‘go’ W:246b

Hoocąk *rée* ‘go, start going; go outside’ KM:2589 , *ree*

Proto-Dhegiha **ré*

Omaha-Ponca *ðÉ* ‘go’ RTC

Kanza/Kaw *yÉ* ‘go’ RR

Osage *the* , *†ðÉ* ‘go’ LF:273a

Quapaw *dÉ* ‘go’ RR

Proto-Southeastern **ré•(-re)*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **ré•(-re)*

Biloxi *dé, dédi, dá dĕ* , *†dé(di)* [+ ablaut] D&S:181a

Ofo *tĕkna* , *†té•-* D&S:330, JSS

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *alēwa, la, qala* , *†-ré•-* [+ ablaut] H

Saponi *ire* ‘to go towards’ F

Proto-Catawba

Catawba *da•ʔ-* ‘go on foot’ FS , *ra* ‘go’ KS

General comment

Mandan preserves the final **-E* of the root only in some (not all) ablauted forms, like the one given, where the root appears as *ra•ha-*. The root appears as *re•h-* in non-ablauted forms. It seems likely that this root was one of the first in Proto-Siouan where the ablaut spread from an unaccented final *E* to an accented root vowel; i.e., the sequence of changes may have been ***re•he* > **re•he*. Catawba has a variety of motion verbs: *da•ʔ-* behaves like a Siouan instrumental prefix.

go around, coil

verb physical_motion

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **-kíɣE*

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *gíx, hogi-* ‘extend around’ KM:1182 , *hogigix* ‘go around something’ KM:2699 , *gíx, ru-* , *rugix*

Proto-Dhegiha **-kíɣe, *-kíže*

Kanza/Kaw *giɣe, bá-* ‘cut around with a knife’ RR , *gíɣe, ga-* ‘hack, chip as on the trunk of a tree’ RR , *gíɣe, yü-* ‘tie something up’ RR

Quapaw *kíže, áka-* ‘wind, as a road’ RR , *kíkiže, di-* ‘coil’ RR , *kixe, oká-* ‘go around sth. at a distance’ RR

General comment

Quapaw shows an additional spirant grade.

good (1)

verb evaluative

Proto-Siouan-Catawba **pí•*

Proto-Siouan **ihpí•*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **hpí*

Proto-Dakota **phí*

Lakota *phí* ‘good’ RTC

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **phí•*

Chiwere *phí(•)* ‘good’ RR

Missouria *Wau pe ur, Wau pe ùr* , *†waphíʔų* ‘expert’

Hoocąk *pʔį* ‘be good; be possible’ KM:2488 , *pį́į*

Proto-Dhegiha **hpí*

Omaha-Ponca *ppí* ‘good’ RR

Kanza/Kaw *ppí-* ‘good’ RR

Osage *hpí* ‘good’ RR

Quapaw *ppí-* ‘good’ RR

Proto-Southeastern **iphí•*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **phí•*

Biloxi *pi; nŭpíhi* , *†pi* ‘good, smell good’

Ofo *nąphīʔhi* , *†nəphí•hi* ‘smell good’ D&S:326b

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *ebī; bi, pī, ipī, bīwa, epīsel* , *†ipi•* N, H

Proto-Catawba

Catawba *pî•rɛ́, píhəre* MS, KS

General comment

Cf. ‘full’. Missouria (Missouria) is from Lewis and Clark’s Journals.

waphíʔų is a characteristic Ioway-Otoe proper name, so the transference or sharing with Missouria seems likely.

good (2)

verb evaluative

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **Sté*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **Sté*

Proto-Dakota *wašte*

Lakota *wašté* ‘good’ RTC , *waštélaka* ‘love’ RTC

Proto-Dhegiha **xtá-re*

Omaha-Ponca *xjákithe* , *†xǰá-* ‘love’ MAS:115

Kanza/Kaw *xtáye* ‘love’ RR

Osage *xtáthe* , *†xtáðe* ‘love’ LF:219b

Quapaw *xtadé* ‘love’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *yandostéka* , *†sté-* ‘love’ H

General comment

Lakota ‘love’ < *‘good’* + *-laka* ‘consider, regard’. Tutelo ‘love’ < *yąti* ‘heart’ + *ostéka* ‘good’ (1Act *yandowastéka*). The putative DH cognates, although they fit semantically, show *á* where they ought to have *é*. These could be frozen ablauted vowels, but the expected forms with *é* are missing entirely from DH in this instance, so only the Dakota and Tutelo forms are reliably cognate here.

good (3)

verb evaluative

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **tą́*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **tą*

Proto-Dakota **tą*

Lakota *tąlá* ‘love’ EB:479b , *tątą́* ‘very well’ EB:480b , *tąyą́* ‘well’ RTC , *tą́, ya-* ‘speak well of, praise’ EB:629 , *tą́, pa-* ‘esteem highly; to take care of, to save’ EB:435 , *tą́yą, pa-* ‘reserving, keeping’ EB:436 , *tą́, yu-* ‘honor, glorify’ EB:653 , *tą́yą, yu-* ‘make good; praising’ EB:653

Dakota *yatáŋ* , *†yatą́* ‘speak well of, praise’ SRR:616a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **-o-tą*

Chiwere *nãnt’udã* , *†nąt?údą* ‘pity’ [< ‘heart’+ X ?] JGT:48

Hoocąk *nąąjĩroją́* ‘pity, take pity on; give a blessing to, in response to vision quest’ KM:2165 , *nąąc hirojąc*

Proto-Dhegiha **(o-)tą*

Omaha-Ponca *údo^{n}* , *†ódą* ‘good’ MAS:86

Kanza/Kaw *dą́he, nąc-* ‘strut, walk with an important air’ RR , *dą́he, ya-* ‘praise, to praise someone’ RR

Osage *odo^{n}ˊ* , *†otą́* ‘military honors’ LF:120b

good (4), heal

verb psychosomatic

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **ki-sí*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa *kiši* ‘heal’ J , *nahkiši* ‘rest one’s head on sth.’

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *kišíhere* ‘heal, get well’ H:227

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **zi*

Proto-Dakota

Dakota *okízi* ‘heal up, recover’ SRR:371a , *ózi* ‘rest’ SRR:400b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *xgąząží gíi* ‘rest, take a rest’ KM:3898 , *xgązązi kį́į́*

Proto-Dhegiha

Omaha-Ponca *zéawáðe-tta* , *†zi-* ‘I will heal them’ , *ʔázązi-qgiðé* , *†zi-* ‘let us rest’

Proto-Catawba

Catawba *ó•tsiə* ‘recover, get well’

General comment

Spirant grade suggests that Hidatsa is a borrowing from Mandan.

goose

noun animal_bird

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **wį́•-*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **wí•ra*

Crow *búlaa* ‘goose’ GG:29, RGG:2

Hidatsa *wí•ra* ‘goose’ J , *mí•ra*

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *wį́hą, wį́h* ‘goose’ RTC

General comment

Cf. Hidatsa *apáari?* ‘porcupine’ Crow *apáiri(a)* ‘porcupine’ Mandan *páhį* ‘porcupine’ Dakota *pahiŋ* ‘porcupine’ Osage *pá-hi*^{n} ‘porcupine’ for another instance of MRS *r* corresponding to *h* elsewhere. Since ‘goose’ is attested in only two subgroups and they differ on the status of what appears to be a root extension the second syllable is not reconstructible with certainty. Cf. ‘duck, waterfowl’.

gourd > rattle

noun plant_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **Vhpé•xe*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **hpéɣe*

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *péex* ‘gourd, bottle’ KM:2470 , *peex*

Proto-Dhegiha **hpéɣe*

Omaha-Ponca *péxe* , *†ppéɣe* ‘gourd’ MAS:22

Kanza/Kaw *ppéɣe* ‘gourd rattle’ RR

Osage *péxe* , *†hpéɣe* ‘gourd rattle’ LF:128a

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Ofo *taphĕ́su* , *†taphé•su* ‘rattlesnake’ JSS

General comment

The Ofo form may well contain this root. The initial *ta-* may be the possessive root, **hta-*, but Ofo *t* can also come from **r*, and the final vowel is unaccounted for. None of the languages that normally would show reflexes of the expected initial syllable of this noun is represented in the data. Note that the putative Ofo cognate also occurs in 'centipede' (DS-330) and may refer to biting rather than rattling, either originally or by folk etymology. Cf. *ra-phé* 'bite' in several languages.

Presumably the connection between 'gourd' and 'rattlesnake' lies in the use of gourds for rattles.

gourd > squash

noun plant_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **ahkó•(re)*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **kakúwi*

Crow *kukúwi* 'squash, pumpkin' RG, GG:51, RGG:14

Hidatsa *kakúwi* 'squash, pumpkin, cucumber, watermelon' J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *kó•* ~ *kó•re* 'squash' RTC , *kó• xté* 'pumpkin' RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dhegiha **hkohkó-*

Omaha-Ponca *kkokkómį* 'cucumber' RR

Osage *ḳoḳóma* , *†hkohkóma* 'cucumbers' LF:88b

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *kɔ•čkúyɛ?* 'watermelon' [cf. †čkú•ye 'sweet'] MRH , *kɔ•čku•ye?* MS , *ko* , *†ako•(dí)* 'gourd' D&S:171b , *ko tckúyě* , *†ako•(dí)* 'watermelon' , *aḳodí* , *†ako•(dí)* 'gourd cup'

General comment

Some linguists have postulated that some of these forms may be borrowings from French. This is doubtful, however, since Mandan and Biloxi have nearly identical forms. There is the additional possibility of contamination of native terms from French and English. The DH forms, for example, should not differ as they do. We seriously doubt, however, that all the *ko* forms are borrowed, at least from a European language. Rather we suspect a relationship with onomatopoeic forms based on the hollow sound of gourds, the sort of thing that underlies **hkó-ke* 'hollow sound > stamp, stomp' ('make a hollow sound)'.

The accentual and vowel length patterns suggest an old prefix, here partially preserved, as usual, in some of the Biloxi forms. Mandan and Biloxi share **-re*, and if, as C postulates, this *-r-* was an epenthetic glide, then DH, Crow and Hidatsa **-w-* might be similarly epenthetic, and all the forms would more or less match. It is also possible that the Proto-Crow-Hidatsa form was **koko-* with the standard raising of short *o* > *u*; **-w-* might be an assimilation product from **r* after round vowels. The various *ko-* forms for cucurbits outside of Siouan, however, suggest that this etymology will never be completely secure.

go vertitive

verb physical_motion

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **ki-ré•(he)*

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *kréh* ‘go back’ H:175

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *krÉ*

Proto-Dakota *krá*

Lakota *glá* ‘go back’ RTC

Dakota *hdá* SRR

Stoney *hna* [+ ablaut] PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **kré*

Chiwere *glé* ‘arrive back home’ JGT:22

Hoocąk *keré* ‘start going back’ KM:1790 , *kere*

Proto-Dhegiha **kre*

Omaha-Ponca *gðe* , *†gðé* ‘go home’

Kanza/Kaw *lé* ‘go back to a place, go home’ [< *gle] RR

Osage *gthe* , *†lé* ‘go home’ LF:53b

Quapaw *kdé* ‘go home, start homeward’ RR

Proto-Southeastern **kiré•(-re)*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *kĭdé, kĭdédi, kĭdá* , *†kidé•di* ‘go homeward, have gone home’ D&S:182b , *xkIdɛ•de?* , *†kidé•di* ‘I’m going’ MRH

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *gléwa, gíle* , *†kilé•da* ‘go home’ HW , *gilēda, gilī´da* , *†kilé•da* ES , *gelī´da, kilēda* , *†kilé•da* LJF

grandfather (1)

noun social_kin

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **i-htúką*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **i-htúką*

Proto-Dakota **thuką́*

Lakota *thuką́* ‘father-in-law’ RTC , *thuką́šila* ‘grandfather’ RTC

Stoney *thuǧá-* PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *i•thúgą* ‘grandfather’ RR

Hoocąk *čooká, čookága* ‘grandfather, father-in-law’ KM:260 , *cooka* ‘paternal or maternal grandfather; father-in-law’ KM:832 , *hičoké* , *hicooke*

Proto-Dhegiha **i-htíką* < ***i-htű́ką*

Omaha-Ponca *ittígǫ* ‘grandfather’ RTC

Kanza/Kaw *iččígo* ‘grandfather’ RR

Osage *iṭsígo* , *†ihcíko* ‘grandfather’ LF:80b

Quapaw *ittíką* ‘grandfather’ RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *tuka^{n}́ni, tukaní* , *†tukąni* ‘mother’s brother’ D&S:281b

General comment

Cf. ‘grandfather (2)’. The DH terms should show traces of earlier **ü*, at least in Kanza/Kaw and Osage. Osage *ű́* is preserved after *hc* in ‘shell’, for example. The Hoocąk vocalism is also a problem and should show *o*. And, although final vowel denasalization is commonly found in Kanza/Kaw, for example, it is not common in Hoocąk. Biloxi suggests that this word may have had **(-re)*, but lack of a Mandan cognate leaves us without confirmation. Proto-Siouan reconstruction here represents one possible form, but there are many problems with this set. It is possible that this term represents, or has been contaminated by, **húka* ‘ancestor’ with a syncopated reflex of the **hta-* ‘alienable’ prefix; this would account for the preaspiration in Hidatsa (see below), and offer some rationale for the term’s usage in referring to respected male ancestors.

Unfortunately, Crow *isisáahke* ‘woman’s father-in-law’ (DEC-124), Crow *isáaksaahke* ‘woman’s grandfather’ (DEC-124), Crow *iilápxisaahke* ‘man’s grandfather’ (DEC-124), and Hidatsa *á•rutahka* ‘grandfather, woman’s father-in-law’ (J) do not seem to fit here, though they are superficially similar. The problems are length (in Crow) and quality of the root vowel and preaspiration of the final consonant.

grandfather (2)

noun social_kin

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Southeastern **-kǫ́•xo*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **i-kǫxo*

Biloxi *kaⁿxó, ikaⁿxó* , *†i-kǫxó* D&S:206b

Ofo *ětikôⁿ´so* , *†etikǫ́so* ‘grandfather’ D&S:323b

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *ẹtokeⁿ´eⁿq* , *†etokǫ́•x* ‘his grandfather’ HW

General comment

Cf. ‘grandfather (1)’ which is partly similar.

grandmother

noun social_kin

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **i-hkų́•*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa *i-ku•* ‘grandmother, woman’s mother-in-law’ J

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **i-hkų́*

Proto-Dakota **khų́*

Lakota *khų́* ‘mother-in-law’ RTC , *khų́ši* ‘grandmother’ RTC

Stoney *khųksĩ̃ju* ‘his grandmother’ PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **i-khų́-nį*

Chiwere *ikhų́, ikhų́ñi* ‘grandmother; mother-in-law’ GM

Hoocąk *kunį̂ka, kunįkága* ‘grandma’ KM:1918 , *kunįka*

Proto-Dhegiha **ihkǫ́*

Omaha-Ponca *ikkǫ́* ‘grandmother’ RTC

Kanza/Kaw *ikkó, ikkǫ́* RR

Osage *ikó* , *†ihká* ‘grandmother’ LF:74a , *iko^{n}´* , *†ihká* ‘his mother-in-law’ LF:74a

Quapaw *įkká, įkkǫ́, ikkǫ́* RR

Proto-Southeastern **i-kų́•-(ni)*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **i-kų́-(ni)*

Biloxi *ku^{n}kû^{n}´* , *†kųkų́* ‘grandmother, mother-in-law’ D&S:217b , *ekuñi, higũ̃ñ* , *†kųkų́* ‘grandfather’

Ofo *ĭkóni* , *†ikǫ́ni* ‘grandmother’ D&S:324a

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *higũ̃ñ* , *†(h)ikų́•(-ni)* ‘grandmother’ H , *kųkäk‘* , *†(h)ikų́•(-ni)* ‘grandfather’ ES , *ko^{n}´ke^{n}k* , *†(h)ikų́•(-ni)* LJF , *hikų́* , *†(h)ikų́•(-ni)*

General comment

The increment **-nį* is common in both the Southeast and in Chiwere/Hoocąk. It is unidentified unless it is the nasalized allomorph of **-re*; it recurs in the same languages in ‘mother (1) (referential)’, q.v. Lack of expected aspiration in the SE is a more serious problem. All transcribers clearly marked the *k* as lenis or wrote it as *g*. Proto-Southeastern **k* and Proto-Mississipi-Valley **hk* simply do not match, so, although we are convinced that these terms are all related, their phonological development is irregular.

grasp

verb physical_contact

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **-šihe*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **-šia* < **šihe*

Crow *-shia, dáa-* ‘bite, hold with teeth’ [dak] RG, GG:40, RGG:31 , *-shía, das-* ‘catch, rope, hook’ RG, GG:42

Hidatsa *-šia, ak-* ‘grab hold’ J , *-šia, nak-* ‘trap, snare, rope sth.’ J , *-šia, pá-* ‘press hard against, brace sth.’ J

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *šé, hiwa-* ‘be well-supplied; be plentiful’ KM:1119, WL:8.12 , *hiwaše* ‘take away from’ KM:2236 , *šé, nąą-* , *nąąše*

Proto-Dhegiha

Quapaw *dišíwe* in: *miąpa dišíwe* ‘eclipse of the moon’ JOD , *mi díši* ‘eclipse of the sun’ JOD

General comment

The Quapaw forms fit both phonologically and semantically in the expression cited. Dorsey however translates *dišíwe* generally as ‘open up’, so it may not be cognate at all.

grasp > hold, take

verb physical_contact

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **rú•sE*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **-hcE < **-ccE < ***-cVcE (redup.)*

Crow *tchi, dú-* ‘grab, get, take’ RG, GG:44, RGG:26 , *tchi, dá-* ‘grab with teeth; fight (as do dogs)’ RG, GG:42, RGG:53

Hidatsa *-hcE, nú-* ‘take, pick up’ J , *-hcE, ná-* ‘bite’ J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *-še, ru-* ‘grasp, pick up, fetch, pump water’ H:225 , *-še, ra-* ‘hold in the teeth’ H:226 , *íruše?š* ‘he caught it’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **rú•zE*

Proto-Dakota **yúzA*

Lakota *yúzA* ‘grasp, hold, take, pick up’ RTC , *yusyúzA* ‘grasp, hold, take, pick up (a multitude)’ RTC

Dakota *yúza* ‘take hold of, grasp, hold, catch, take a wife’ SRR:647b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **rú•ze*

Chiwere *lúðe* GM , *ðú•ðe* RR

Hoocąk *rúus* ‘take, get, obtain’ KM:2755 , *ruus*

Proto-Dhegiha **rüzé*

Omaha-Ponca *†ðizé* ‘take’

Kanza/Kaw *yüzé* ‘get, take, accept’ RR

Osage *thuçé* , *†ðüzé* ‘take, receive, accept’ LF:154a

Quapaw *ídizáza* ‘hold, grasp sth., for holding as pliers’ RR , *dizé* ‘get, take, receive’ RR

Proto-Southeastern **(a)rú•si*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **(a)rú•si*

Biloxi *dusí* , *†dusí* ‘bite, as a dog does; to be in the habit of biting’ D&S:253a , *dusé, áduse* , *†dusí* D&S:169a

Ofo *ạtū́fi, tū́fi* , *†ətú•fi* ‘buy, sell, trade’ , *tū́fkopi* , *†tú•fkopi* ‘pinch’

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *lóca, lúca* , *†lúsa* ‘take, steal’ JOD

General comment

Initial **ru* here appears to be part of the root and not the instrumental prefix of the same shape. The Ofo forms fit well, as *f* is the expected reflex of **s*. The Tutelo also fits, since JOD's Tutelo always substitutes *š* for *s* of the other workers. Tutelo has no independent phoneme *š*.

Perhaps JOD's primarily Cayuga-speaking informant only had the one fricative.

Tutelo normally generalizes the *-a* form of **-E* also. Only Ofo shows an initial vowel. The *ə* is irregular here (unless it is a locative prefix), as it normally signals glottalization was present on the following stop. Crow, Hidatsa, Mandan, and Biloxi have reanalyzed the form as instrumentally prefixed and extended it by using another of the prefixes. Accent and Quapaw reduplication argue that the same reanalysis occurred in Proto-Dhegiha.

grass (1)

noun plant

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *[old reconstruction only]*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **-hpé•ži*

Proto-Dakota **phežíˀ*

Lakota *phežíˀ* 'grass' RTC

Dakota *phežíˀ* 'grass' PAS

Sioux Valley *phežíˀ* 'grass' PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *peešjᵊ* 'hair of the head (as collectively)' , *peešjᵢ*

Proto-Dhegiha **hpéže*

Omaha-Ponca *ppéže* 'weeds, hay' RR

Kanza/Kaw *ppéže* 'weeds, hay' RR

Osage *hpéže* 'weeds, hay' RR

Quapaw *ppéžexta* 'wheat, flour' JOD

grass (2)

noun plant

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **mą•hį́*

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *má˘ĭnje* ‘milkweed’ JGT:155

Hoocąk *mąąhį́č* ‘milkweed’ KM:1961 , *mąąhįc*

Proto-Dhegiha **mąhį́*

Omaha-Ponca *mo^{n}hi^{n}´tu* , *†mąhį́to* MAS:87

Kanza/Kaw *mąhį́* ‘grass’ RR

Osage *mo^{n}hi^{n}´* , *†mąhį́* ‘grass’ LF:98b

Quapaw *mahį́-nį* ‘tea’ RR , *mąhį́* ‘grass’ JOD

General comment

Cf. ‘grass (4)’, ‘grass (3)’ which is much more widespread. Cf. Cheyenne *moe•* ‘grass’ Aubin 1180. If this were a borrowing from Algonquian the apparent discrepancy between apparent Chiwere medial *ʔ* and the *h* found elsewhere might be accounted for. Alternatively the Chiwere transcription might be mistaken; JGT normally uses the circumflex for *ʔ*. The seeming accentual disagreement between Chiwere/Hoocąk and Proto-Dhegiha may be due to reanalysis flowing from folk etymology: viewing the form as a compound of **mą* ‘earth’ + **hį* ‘hair’.

grass (3)

noun plant

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **xą́•he*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **xahe*

Crow *baaxée* ‘cockleburr’ RG, RGG:11

Hidatsa *wa•xaxa•* ‘cockleburr’ [< xáxa ‘rough, scratch’] J , *ma•xaxa•*

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *xą́h, xąhé* ‘hay, grass’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *xą•-*

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **xą́•wį*

Chiwere *xámi, xáme* ‘hay, grass’ [Ioway] JGT:94

Hoocąk *xąąwį́* ‘hay, grass’ KM:3864, LWR:38 , *xąąwį*

General comment

Cf. ‘grass (4)’. In more than one instance roots with final (or suffixed) *-he* have lost the *h* and gained an epenthetic glide between the vowels left in hiatus. If the root vowel is rounded, the glide is usually *w*. The replacement in MVS appears to be *w* here even after the low, unrounded vowel. Quapaw *xą́ike* ‘frost’, although possibly cognate, is most likely part of the ‘frost’ set, q.v. It is probably *xe* ‘frost (2)’ + *a-* ‘on, locative’ + *(n)ike* ‘lie, be lying, positional’ with subsequent nasal spread to *a-* and the expected collapse of *e* + *ą* to *ą*.

grass (4)

noun plant

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **xá•tE*

Pre-Mandan **-xąʔtE*

Mandan *kóxąte, kóxąʔte* ‘corn’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **xá•te* ~ **xą́te*

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *ȟaŋ̇té pepe iyececa* , *†xą́té* ‘Illinois mimosa, a legume’ EB:192a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *xáǰe* ‘grass, herb’ [Otoe] JGT:94

Proto-Dhegiha **xá•te*

Omaha-Ponca *xá•de* ‘hay’ [Southern Ponca] RR

Kanza/Kaw *xáǰe* ‘hide in tall grass’ JOD

Osage *xádse* , *†xáce* ‘grass’ LF:217a

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *satúti* , *†sat-úti* ‘cocoa grass’ [cf. uti ‘root’] D&S:251a

General comment

There appear to be two closely related sets for ‘grass’, one with and one without nasalization. The Biloxi form above is doubtfully cognate as fricative symbolism is generally limited to verbs (including stative verbs/adjectives) and adverbs, i.e., semantically gradable terms. Finding it among nouns is suspicious but possible. It is likely that the Lakota term has been contaminated by ‘juniper, red cedar’, q.v.; ‘grass (4)’, q.v., may also have contaminated Lakota and Mandan forms of this word.

grave

noun social_culture

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **awą́•xE*

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *ówą•xe* ‘grave’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **mį́•xe*

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Otoe *mį́•xe* ‘grave’ JDH

Proto-Dhegiha

Quapaw *míxe* ‘grave’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *amaxí* ‘grave’ D&S:227a

General comment

In ‘grave’ the root *xE* has been compounded with that for ‘mud, dirt, earth’, q.v. In Mandan it is likely that the compound has been reanalyzed as a single root. Mandan *wą•x* from **awą•* + *xE*. The MVS vocalism is unexplained. Cf. ‘cache’

gray (1)

verb perceptual_visual_color

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **xó•tE* < ***axó•tE*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **xó•ta*

Crow *-xóosa* in: *awaxóosa* ‘salt’ RG, GG:14, RGG:13

Hidatsa *xó•ta* ‘moldy gray’ J , *awaxó•ta* ‘salt’ J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *xóto?š* ‘it’s gray’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **xó•te*

Proto-Dakota **xóta*

Lakota *xóta* ‘gray’ RTC

Stoney *xoktá* ‘gray’ PAS

Sioux Valley *xóta* ‘gray’ PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **xó•te*

Chiwere *xó•ǰe* ‘gray’ RR

Hoocąk *xóoč* ‘be gray’ KM:3933 , *xooc*

Proto-Dhegiha **xó•te*

Omaha-Ponca *xú•de* ‘gray’ RTC , *xô•de* ‘gray’ RR

Kanza/Kaw *xó•ǰe* ‘gray’ RR

Osage *xóde, xódse* , *†xóce* ‘gray’ LF:218b

Quapaw *xótte* ‘gray’ RR

General comment

Part of a full consonant ablaut set; cf. ‘hazy, bluish, cloudy’, ‘gray (2)’. Accent suggests a missing Proto-Siouan initial syllable. Judging from ‘hazy, bluish, cloudy’, q.v., only OVS preserves the expected initial syllable in this ablaut set. We have reconstructed all three related fricative symbolism grades together, taking into account the features of all.

gray (2)

verb perceptual_visual_color

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **šó•tE* < ***ašó•tE*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa *šó•ta* ‘gray’ J

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **šó•te*

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *šóta* ‘smokey’ RTC

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **šó•te*

Chiwere *šó•ǰe* ‘smoke’ RR

Hoocąk *šóoč* ‘be hazy, clouded (of liquid)’ KM:2979 , *šooc*

Proto-Dhegiha **šó•te*

Omaha-Ponca *šó•de* ‘smoke, muddy’ RR

Kanza/Kaw *šóǰe* ‘smoke, muddy’ RR

Osage *shódse* , *ŧšóce* ‘smoke’ LF:132b

Quapaw *šótte* ‘smoke’ RR

Proto-Catawba

Woccon *tooshe* ‘smoke’ JL

General comment

Part of a consonant ablaut set; cf. ‘hazy, bluish, cloudy’, ‘gray (2)’. Accent suggests a missing Proto-Siouan initial syllable. Judging from ‘hazy, bluish, cloudy’, q.v., only OVS preserves the expected initial syllable in this ablaut set. We have reconstructed all three related fricative symbolism grades together, taking into account the features of all.

grease (1)

noun physical_substance

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **sará•*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **cará•*

Crow *taláa* ‘grease, oil’ RG, GG:57, RGG:14

Hidatsa *cará•* ‘grease, lard’ J

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **srá*

Proto-Dakota *srá*

Lakota *slá* ‘grease’ RTC

Dakota *sda* ‘grease, oil, ointment, salve’ SRR:432a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **srá*

Chiwere *thra* , *†θra* ‘grease, oil, lard, gasoline’ JOD

Hoocąk *sará* ‘be oily’ KM:2792 , *sara* ‘to oil’ KM:2793 , *sarahí* , *sara hii*

Proto-Dhegiha **sRá-re (causative)*

Omaha-Ponca *çnáðe* , *†snáðe* ‘lubricate’ MAS:115

Kanza/Kaw *stáye* ‘to grease something’ RR

Osage *çnáthe* , *†snáðe* ‘to grease a wagon or oil machinery’ LF:31b , *íçdathe* , *†ísdaðe* ‘grease for hair’ LF:69b

Quapaw *stáde* ‘grease something’ JOD

General comment

Generally, this is an inedible grease, as opposed to ‘grease (2)’.

grease (2)

noun physical_substance

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **i•kri*

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *íkri* ‘grease, lard’ H:87 , *ikíri* ‘grease’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **(wa)-íkri*

Proto-Dakota **ikrí*

Lakota *iglí, wígli* ‘grease’ RTC

Dakota *ihdí, wíhdi* ‘the soft fat of animals, grease, oil’ SRR:186a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **wí•kri*

Chiwere *mį́•gri* ‘grease’ RR

Hoocąk *wikįną́* ‘fat; oil; lard; automotive oil’ KM:3739 , *wikįną, wakįną*

Proto-Dhegiha **wa-íkri*

Omaha-Ponca *wegthi* , *ɬwégði* ‘oil, lard’ MAS:305

Kanza/Kaw *wéli, wélli* ‘grease’ RR

Osage *wégthi* , *ɬwéli* ‘grease, oil, kerosene’ LF:213b

Quapaw *wékdi, wekǰi* ‘grease’ RR

General comment

Generally, this is an edible grease, as opposed to ‘grease (1)’.

grind

verb physical_contact_deformation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **-htó•pe*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **-htó•pe*

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **-thó•pe*

Chiwere *wari•thó•we* ‘grind’ RR , *ra•thó•we* ‘chew’ RR

Hoocąk *mąkóbočóp* ‘pestle’ KM , *mąąkoobocop, mąąką hobocop* ‘grind with mortar and pestle’ KM:47 , *boocóp* ‘cut in small pieces’ KM:1946 , *boocop* ‘chew, v.tr.’ KM:2545 , *mąącóp* ‘chop, v.tr.’ KM:3249 , *mąącop* ‘elevator (from grain elevator?)’ KM:3811 , *racóp* , *racop* , *wacóp* , *wacop* , *woorúcop* , *woorucop*

Proto-Dhegiha **-htópe*

Omaha-Ponca *ðattóbe* ‘grind’ MJS:38 , *thatúbe*

Kanza/Kaw *battóbe; battobe* ‘grind, pound fine’ EB, RR , *dáttobe* ‘cook until it falls apart dattobe’ RR , *yuttóbe ~ yuttówe* ‘plow, break virgin ground’ RR

Osage *gaṭóbe* , *†kahtópe* ‘shatter, pulverize’ LF:47b

Quapaw *kattówe* ‘break in pieces’ JOD , *dattówe* ‘chew to pieces’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **-tho•p-ka*

Biloxi *nětópka* , *†netópka* ‘pestle’ D&S:200b

Ofo *ĭtcąthṍpka* , *†ičəthó•pka* ‘pestle’ D&S:324b , *pathṍpka* , *†pathó•pka* ‘red-headed woodpecker (?)’ D&S:328, JSS

General comment

The Kanza/Kaw term *ya{ttó*xe} ‘crack sth. between the teeth’ is related but carries a different root extension.

grind, pound

verb physical_contact_deformation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **pVhé•*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa *phÉ* ‘dig, grind’ J , *phí*

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *pE* ‘to grind’ H:140 , *pé?š* ‘he grinds it’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **phe*

Proto-Dakota **phá*

Lakota *kaphá* ‘pound’ RTC

Dakota *ka-p’á* , *†kaphá* ‘beat, thresh off, pound up’ SRR:262b

Sioux Valley *pha* ‘pound’ PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *îlapha ~ îlopha* ‘grind stone’ GM

Proto-Dhegiha **phé*

Omaha-Ponca *îðapha* ‘corn crusher’

Kanza/Kaw *phe* ‘grind’ RR

Osage *pshe* , *†phé* ‘pound corn into fine meal’ LF:129b

Quapaw *phe* ‘pound something in a mortar’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern **pahé•*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *apĕhĕ, pĕhé* , *†pehe* ‘pound, as corn’ D&S:244b

Ofo *phe* , *†phe* ‘pound’ D&S:328a

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *pahē* , *†pahe•* ‘pound’ H , *wāba-hé* , *†wa•pahé* ‘powder, flour’ HW

Proto-Catawba

Catawba *paʔáwe* ‘we powder’

General comment

The Hidatsa form seems to entail ‘motion up and down’; hence derived forms meaning ‘digging stick’, ‘pump’, and ‘tattoo’ as well as the obvious ‘cornball’. Hidatsa aspiration is secondary, from earlier **pVhe*. Cf. ‘hit, pound’ for possible doublets that developed from the *a* ablaut form of this verb. Tutelo length suggests that the second syllable was not the common verb suffix **-he*; lack of aspiration in Tutelo is also indicative of our Proto-Southeastern form. Biloxi has assimilated the vowels; Ofo has irregularly syncopated the unstressed short vowel. Some languages have reinterpreted the final vowel as ablauting.

groin

physical_somatic_body_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **i-Ráną*

Proto-Dakota **čhaná*

Lakota *čhaná* ‘groin, inside of thigh’ EB:115b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **Ráną*

Chiwere *rána* , *†ráną* ‘crotch’ JGT:57

Hoocąk *dana* ‘groin’ MM:166 , *taaną*

General comment

The now-lost inalienable third person possessive prefix which generally marked kin terms and body parts in Proto-Siouan would account for the shift of **R* > reflexes of **y* in Lakota.

groove

verb physical_contact_deformation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **-skí•tE*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa *-cki•tE, na-* ‘cut, clip off’ [rka] J , *-cki•tE, pá-* ‘tightly fitting, constricting’ J , *-ckí•tE, nú-* ‘tighten’ J

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **-skita*

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *skíta* ‘tied, bound, fastened, as a child on a board’ EB:456 , *-škíta, wa-* ‘make notches, to cut across, gash’ EB:552 , *-škíškita, wa-* ‘cut much, gash; to make an edge toothed, as a feather’ EB:552 , *-škita, ičá-* ‘cut a little gash in, to cut notches’ EB:203 , *-škíškita, ka-* ‘mark in equal lengths for cutting’ EB:291

Dakota *kaskíta* ‘press, clasp, embrace’ SRR:266b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *wathgije* ‘groove by rubbing, bearing, pressing’ DOR, JGT:156

Proto-Dhegiha **-skíta*

Kanza/Kaw *báskida* ‘cut or saw a groove around sth.’ RR , *baskída* ‘plane a groove around a surface.’ RR , *büskída* ‘groove, to press around edge’ JOD, RR , *gaskída* ‘notch, cut a notch in sth.’ RR , *nąskída* ‘bind tightly, e.g. splints, machine grooves’ JOD, RR , *yüskída* ‘mark, make a mark with the hands.’ RR

Osage *çki´-da* , *†skíta* ‘gap in a ridge’ LF:31b

Quapaw *-skítta, di-* ‘dent, tie tightly leaving mark’ RR

grouse

noun animal_bird

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **-hpú•ska*

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *sípu•šką* ‘prairie chicken’ RTC

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **(a)mą-phú•ska*

Biloxi *apuská* , *†apuská* ‘partridge’ D&S:174a

Ofo *amąphǒska, amąphû´ska* , *†amąphú•ska* ‘partridge; drum’ D&S:320b, D&S:334a, JSS

General comment

The first part of this compound term incorporates different roots for ‘bird’ (‘bird (1)’ etc.), q.v. Only the adjectival portion of the term (‘spotted (1)’) is reconstructible here. Probably refers to barred feathers, clearly the etymology of the Mandan form.

growl, bellow

verb perceptual_auditory

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **tá•xe*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa *tá•xe* ‘growl, grunt’ J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *táx* ‘make a loud noise, bellow’ H:246

General comment

None of the languages represented here has reflexes of Proto-Siouan aspiration, so that feature is indeterminate at present. Chiwere *í•xe* ‘moan, groan, straining noise to ease pain’ (JDH) may not be cognate. In the absence of a Crow form with the appropriate meaning (not ‘knock’), it is also possible that Hidatsa has simply borrowed the term from Mandan.

growl > grunt (1)

verb perceptual_auditory

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **xrą́*

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *xrą́hah* ‘growl’ H:322

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **xrą́*

Proto-Dakota **xnąˀ*

Lakota *xnáˀ* ‘growl, grunt’ RTC

Dakota *ȟna* , *†xnáˀ* ‘snort’ SRR:165b

Proto-Dhegiha **xrąˀ*

Osage *xthoⁿ* , *†xlą* ‘sulk, pout, peeved’ LF:220b

Quapaw *óxnąˀ* ‘angry, irritated, cross’ JOD

General comment

Cf. ‘thunder (2)’.

growl > grunt (2)

verb perceptual_auditory

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **xrį̂*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **xrį́*

Proto-Dakota **xnį*

Lakota *ȟníyaŋ* , *†xnį̂yą* ‘have stomach ache, afraid, quivering, be troubled’ EB:194b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *xrínge* ‘growl, snarl’ JGT:156

Hoocąk *xįnį́* ‘growl (as an animal)’ KM:3923 , *xįnį*

Proto-Dhegiha **xrį́-*

Kanza/Kaw *xlį* ‘growl’ RR

Osage *xthi*^{n} , *†xlį* LF:220b

Quapaw *xnį̂ke, xdį̂ke* JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *xyihě* , *†xyí-* ‘growl, as a bear’ D&S:226a , *xyídě nedí* , *†xyí-* ‘make a sawing noise’

General comment

The Biloxi forms for both ‘wind (3)’ and ‘growl > grunt (2)’ suggest an initial **xy* rather tha **xr*, if they’re cognate.

growl > snore, snort

verb perceptual_auditory

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **xró-*

Pre-Mandan **xro•-*

Mandan *xrór* ‘rattle, ring’ H:325

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **xró-*

Proto-Dakota **xro*

Lakota *xlo* ‘growl as a dog’ EB:194a

Dakota *ḣdo* , *†xdo* ‘growl as a dog’ SRR:163a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **xróde*

Chiwere *xlóǰe* ‘snore’ GM

Hoocąk *xoró* ‘snore’ KM:3936 , *xoro* ‘choke on something’ KM:3938 , *horaxóroč* , *horaxoroc*

Proto-Dhegiha **xróte*

Omaha-Ponca *xthude* , *†xðode* ‘snore’ MAS:160 , *thaxthude* , *†xðóde, ða-* ‘choke on food’ MAS:39

Osage *xthoxthódse* , *†-xlóte* ‘snort’ LF:220b

guts, intestines

noun physical_somatic_body_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **(i-)šíꞏpe*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **šíꞏpa*

Crow *šíipa* ‘intestines’ RG, GG:55, RGG:104

Hidatsa *šíꞏpa* ‘intestines’ J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *sípe* ‘guts’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **šíꞏpe*

Proto-Dakota **šupé*

Lakota *šupé* ‘guts, intestines’ RTC

Dakota *śupé* , *†šupé* ‘guts, intestines’ SRR:450b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **šíꞏbe*

Chiwere *šíꞏwe* ‘intestines’ RR

Hoocąk *šíip* ‘intestines’ KM:2948 , *šiip*

Proto-Dhegiha **šíꞏpe* ~ **šííꞏpe*

Omaha-Ponca *šíꞏbe* ‘guts’ RTC

Kanza/Kaw *šiiꞏ́we* ‘guts’ RR , *šiiꞏ̓be* JOD

Osage *shíbe* , *†šíípe* ‘guts’ LF:131b , *shiu̓be* , *†šíípe* ‘intestines’ LF:132a

Quapaw *šíwe* ‘guts’ RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **čhípi*

Biloxi *tciwí, tcíwi, tcíwiya*^{n} , *†čiwi* D&S:264b

Ofo *tchípi* , *†čhípi* D&S:329b

General comment

The *-u-* in Dakota, Kanza/Kaw, and Osage presumably results from contact with the following labial. Cf. 'tail (2) > bird tail', where the sporadic rounding before a labial is separately attested. Ofo aspiration and the accentual and length patterns in other languages suggest a missing initial syllable. None of the languages shows one, but since 'intestines' is a body part, it may have been a dependent noun with initial **i-*, though there is frequently a difference in the possessive treatment of internal and external body parts.

h

hackberry

noun plant

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dhegiha

Omaha-Ponca *gobé* , *†gobé* JOD , *gubé hi* , *†gobé hi* 'hackberry tree' MAS:91

Kanza/Kaw *gǫbé* 'hackberry' RR

Osage *goⁿbé* , *†kǫpé* 'hackberry' LF:53a

General comment

Hackberries proper are found as far south as the mouth of the Ohio River. All other Siouan territory is covered. Other varieties of the fruit extend further south however. So far this set exists only in DH and Chiwere, and we suspect borrowing as the source. The most similar form is found in Tunica.

Haas records the following entry for 'hackberry': *kómeli* < *kó* 'tree' (only hackberry and hawthorne) + *meli* 'black'. (p.224). Since Haas analyzes *kó* as 'tree' only in two words (there is another word for tree in all other contexts), we suspect a folk etymology here, i.e., instead of *kó* being essentially unanalyzable, it may be *-li* that is unanalyzable. In any event, it appears that *kóme* 'hackberry' was borrowed into DH and spread northward losing phonological features as it progressed. This analysis is marred by the fact that Dorsey never recorded a Quapaw term. Words with vaguely similar shapes are common up and down the Mississippi Valley and eastern plains, but the only other reasonably close form phonetically is Western Muskogean (Choctaw) *kaⁿpko* (Byington and Swanton).

hail

noun natural_force_weather

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *-*Wá•su*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **Wá•su*

Proto-Dakota **wasú*

Lakota *wasú* ‘hail’ RTC

Dakota *wasú* ‘hail’ SRR:535b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *ba•θú* ‘hail’ RR

Proto-Dhegiha **Wásü*

Omaha-Ponca *ma´çi , ṭ́másï* MAS:91

Kanza/Kaw *bósü* RR

Osage *báçi , ṭ́pásü* ‘hailstones’ LF:19a

Quapaw *pási* RR

Proto-Catawba

Catawba *wasa-* ‘hail’ ASG, KS

General comment

If the term is a compound made up of ‘snow (1)’ and ‘kernel, seed’, then the initial **W* is explained. It stems from the earlier sequence, secondary **ww*, that we find in ‘snow (1)’. The long syllable here is the originally accented one and the Chiwere and Lakota forms have moved accent to conform with their predominant pattern, i.e., we have reconstructed the exceptional rather than the productive pattern from among the cognates on the assumption that the term does incorporate ‘snow (1)’.

hail > **freeze**

noun natural_force_weather

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **aRá•-hkara* or: **aRá•-hkarą*

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *rákąrą* ‘hail’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *dákhala* ‘freeze’ GM

General comment

This term incorporates the prefix usually translated ‘by extreme temperature (heat or cold)’ (= ‘heat/cold, instrumental’). All the languages for which we presently have cognates lack the initial vowel of that prefix, q.v.

hair, fur, feathers

noun physical_somatic_body_part_animal

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **i-hį́•* ~ **i-hį́*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **ií* < **ihí*

Crow *ií* 'hair' RG, GG:75

Hidatsa *ií* 'hair, fur, body hair' [rising pitch] J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *hį́* 'hair, fur' H:72 , *pahį́?* 'head hair' RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **hį́*

Proto-Dakota **hį́*

Lakota *hį́* 'hair, fur, down' RTC

Dakota *hį́* 'hair, fur, down' PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **hį́•*

Chiwere *hį́* W:235

Hoocąk *hį́į* 'hair (of body)' KM:1141 , *hį́į*

Proto-Dhegiha **hį́*

Omaha-Ponca *hi^{n}* 'body hair' MAS:91

Kanza/Kaw *hį́* RR

Osage *hi^{n}* , *†hį* 'hair, fur' LF:60a

Quapaw *hį́* RR

Proto-Southeastern **i-hį́•*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **i-hį́*

Biloxi *hi^{n}* , *†ihį́* 'hair, feathers' D&S:198a , *ihi^{n}ya^{n}* , *†ihį́* 'fur' D&S:198a , *ánahi^{n}* , *†ihį́* 'head hair' D&S:198a , *anahę?* , *†ihį́* MRH, MS

Ofo *i^{n}hí, ihí* , *†ihí* ~ *†įhí* 'hair, feather, wool' D&S:324a , *apxā́hi* , *†ihí* ~ *†įhí* 'head hair'

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *yēhī, istihiōi* , *†-hi•* 'beard' H

General comment

We are unable to resolve the contradictory testimony of Mandan and Tutelo for length. The other languages are not diagnostic for this feature in this entry. Rising pitch in Hidatsa results from loss of intervocalic *-h-*; contrast *íi* 'his mouth', with 3s possessor as in 'hair, fur, feathers', but with no intervocalic *h* in pre-Hidatsa. The second *i* should have received pre-Proto-Siouan length via the putative second syllable lengthening rule. Swanton's Ofo slip file doesn't show length here either.

hair of head

noun physical_somatic_body_part_human

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **rą•tį́*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dakota

Dakota *natú* 'cornsilk, hair on side of head' SRR:338b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **ną́•tu*

Chiwere *ną́•du* 'hair' RR

Hoocąk *nąąjǔ́* 'hair (of head)' KM:2176 , *nąąju*

Proto-Southeastern **nątį́*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *naṭóⁿ* 'brain' D&S:233a

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *natónwe; nañtói, natói* , *†nątį́-* 'hair' N, H

Saponi *-neto* 'hair {in} wig' F

General comment

Cf. 'brain (1)'.

hand (1)

noun physical_somatic_body_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **rąpé* > **i-rąpe*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **i-rapá*

Crow *ilapá* ‘right hand’ RG, GG:87

Hidatsa *irapá* ‘right hand’ J

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **nąpé*

Proto-Dakota **napé*

Lakota *napé* ‘hand’ RTC

Dakota *napé* ‘hand, fingers, forefoot’ SRR:330b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **nąʔpe*

Chiwere *nąwe* ‘hand’ RR

Hoocąk *nąąp* ‘hand’ KM:2203 , *nąąp*

Proto-Dhegiha **nąpé*

Omaha-Ponca *nǫbé* ‘hand’ RTC , *nąbé* ‘hand’ RR

Kanza/Kaw *nǫbé, nąbé* ‘hand’ RR

Osage *nǫpé, nąpé* ‘hand, fist’ RR

Quapaw *nąpé* ‘hand’ RR

General comment

This is a difficult set. The term replaced **i-ša•ke* as the word for ‘hand’ mostly in MVS. The Crow and Hidatsa term possibly may preserve the original meaning. If the term spread in MVS at about the time the inalienable morphology was ceasing to be used with body parts (a purely MVS phenomenon), the different length and accentual patterns (Lakota and DH vs. Chiwere and Hoocąk) might be explained. It appears that **rąpé* may have been adopted into the list of inalienable body parts late, retaining its original accentual pattern in Crow and Hidatsa even so. Chiwere/Hoocąk accent and length behave as if **i-*, the possessive prefix, were present, while the rest of the languages behave accentually as if it were not, even though the term is inalienable in Lakota.

hand (2)

noun physical_somatic_body_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **ų́•ke (?)*

Pre-Mandan **ųkE*

Mandan *ų́k, ųké* ‘hand’ RTC

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *hāg; hāgi, āk* , *†(h)a•k* ‘hand’ N, HH

General comment

Although the vowels fail to match (perhaps the fault of the quality of our Tutelo data or by contamination from **-šá•ke* in that language), this is an interesting set. Given the inherent problems with the Tutelo sources, one should probably reconstruct the Mandan vocalism if anything at all.

hand > claws, nails

noun physical_somatic_body_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **i-šá•ke*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **(i-)ša•kE*

Crow *iščí* ‘hand’ RG, GG:91, RGG:73

Hidatsa *ša•kE* ‘hand’ J , *wašaki* ‘my hand’ J , *mašaki*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **šá•ke*

Proto-Dakota **šaké*

Lakota *šaké* ‘claws, nails’ RTC

Dakota *śaké* , *†šaké* ‘nails, claws, hoofs’ SRR:440b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **šá•ke*

Chiwere *šá•ge, sá•ge* ‘fingernail’ RR

Hoocąk *šáak* ‘claw, nail (cf. finger or toe)’ KM:2901 , *šaak*

Proto-Dhegiha **šá•ke*

Omaha-Ponca *šá•ge* ‘claws, nails’ RTC

Kanza/Kaw *šáge* ‘claw’ RR

Osage *šáke* ‘claw’ RR

Quapaw *šáke* ‘claw’ RR

Proto-Southeastern **i-čá•ki*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **i-čá•ki*

Biloxi *ča•ke?* MRH, MS , *tcak, tcaké, tcáke, tcawaxé, tcaoxĕ´* , *†ča•ki* ‘hand, claws, nails’ D&S:260b

Ofo *itcáki* , *†ičáki* ‘hand’ D&S:324a

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *tsutsāki, tçutçāǫ* , *†cu-ca•ki* ‘fingernails’ H

Proto-Catawba

Catawba *iksa* ‘hand’ KS

General comment

In MVS this term is restricted to ‘claws, nails’, while in MRS it means ‘hand’. In OVS the situation is more obscure: in Biloxi/Ofo the term means ‘hand’, while the Tutelo form is a compound meaning ‘nails’. Cf. ‘hand (2)’.

hand, instrumental

physical_somatic_body_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba **ru*

- Proto-Siouan **ru-*
  - Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **ru-*
    - Crow *du-, bulu-, dilu-, du-*
    - Hidatsa *ru-* J , *nu-*
  - Pre-Mandan
    - Mandan *ru-* RTC
  - Proto-Mississipi-Valley **ru-*
    - Proto-Dakota *yu-*
      - Lakota *yu-, blu-, lu-, yu-, *ki + yu > glu-*
    - Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **ru(•)-*
      - Chiwere *ru- ~ ru•- ~ ri-, hadu ~ hajĭ, šlu- ~ šli, ru* [ru•- (slow)]
      - Hoocąk *ru-, tuu-ˊ, šuru-, ru- , ru-, tuu, šuru-*
    - Proto-Dhegiha **rü-*
      - Omaha-Ponca *ði-, bðíˊ-, šníˊ-, ði-ˊ*
      - Kanza/Kaw *yü- (~ yi-) blű́-, hnű́-, yü-ˊ*
      - Osage *ðü-* [~ ði-]
      - Quapaw *di-, bdíˊ-, ttíˊ-, di-ˊ*
  - Proto-Southeastern **ru-*
    - Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **ru-*
      - Biloxi *du-, ndu-, idu, du-*
      - Ofo *tu-, batu-, tcatu-, tu-*
    - Proto-Tutelo-Saponi
      - Tutelo *lu-* JOD
- Proto-Catawba
  - Catawba *du-* ‘action by hand/arm’ [mutating conjugation] FS, KS

General comment

An inner instrumental, i.e., older. This is confirmed by the Catawba conjugation.

handle, stem

noun physical_artefact_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **(i-)hú•pa*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **hú•pa*

Crow *hú•pa* 'handle' RG, GG:49

Hidatsa *hú•pa* 'handle' J

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **ihúpa*

Proto-Dakota **ihúpa*

Lakota *ihúpa* 'handle, stem, shaft' EB:217a

Dakota *ihúpa* 'bail, handle, stem, shaft' SRR:190b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *húuną* 'handle' KM:1606 , *huuną*

Proto-Dhegiha **íba < **ihúpa (?)*

Omaha-Ponca *íba thą*

Kanza/Kaw *íba* 'handle' RR

Osage *íba* , *ɬípa* 'haft, handle, pipestem' LF:68a

Quapaw *íba* JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Ofo *úli* 'handle' D&S:331b

General comment

Cf. 'corn ear'. It is possible that there was a DH shift of **i-hű́ > í*. This would account for the otherwise aberrant vowel in DH. MVS accent suggests a missing initial syllabic. Cf. **hu-* 'tree, bone, leg, stalk, stem, trunk'. Potentially, this term seems to contain up to three common parts, **i-* 'its, possessive' or 'instrumental', **hu•* 'stem, trunk, etc.', *-pa* meaning unknown. Ofo *-li* is unidentified; Hoocąk *-ną* may be 'wood'.

hang down (1)

physical_somatic_posture

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **sese*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa *ce•ce* ‘be hanging’ J

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dakota **-zeze*

Lakota *-zeze, kaó-* ‘swing, dangle, as by the wind’ EB:286b , *-zeze, paó-* ‘swing, dangle, hang, as berries’ EB:432a , *-zeze, waó-* ‘cut nearly off with a knife and let swing’ EB:543a , *-zeze, woó-* ‘shoot almost off and let swing’ EB:606a

Dakota *zezéya* ‘swinging’ SRR:649b , *kaozeze* ‘swing’ WM:240a

hang down (2)

verb physical_somatic_posture

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **xehe*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **xe•xehe*

Crow *xéexaxxi* ‘hanging down from’ RG, RGG:98, GG:61 , *xéexia* ‘dangling’ GG:61, RGG:98

Hidatsa *xe•xE•* ‘hang, sag, dangle’ J , *xe•xe•*

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *xeh* ‘be hanging’ H:311

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **-ɣe*

Proto-Dakota **ɣéɣeya*

Lakota *ġéġeya* , *†ɣéɣeya* ‘swinging, dangling’ EB:148a

Dakota *ġéġeya* , *†ɣéɣeya* ‘swinging, dangling’ SRR:120b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **-ɣe*

Chiwere *luxé* ‘lift’ GM , *giwíxe* ‘swing’

Hoocąk *ruɣé* ‘rescue from drowning, pull out of water’ KM:483 , *ruğe*

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *xěheyě´* , *†xeheyé* ‘cause to sit, cause to hang up (as a hat, a coat...)’

General comment

Cf. ‘drip (2)’

hard (1)

verb perceptual_tactile

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **sá•ki*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Crow *tatáči* 'hard' [daC- +___ ?] RG, GG:57 , *daštačí* 'heavy' GG:42

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *sak, rá-* 'to dry by heating' H , *sáko?š* 'it's dry, hard' RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **sá•ki*

Proto-Dakota **sáka*

Lakota *sáka* 'hard' RTC

Dakota *sáka* 'raw, uncooked; hard, dried' PAS, SRR:430

Sioux Valley *sáka* PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **sá•ki*

Chiwere *tha-ǰke* , *†θáke* 'hard, unripe' JODv

Hoocąk *sáak* 'be dried, hard; dry' KM:2785 , *saak* 'hard' JWE , *saagí*

Proto-Dhegiha **sá•ki ~ *sa•kí*

Omaha-Ponca *sagí, sági* , *†sagi* 'hard' , *naságe* , *†sagi* 'baked hard'

Kanza/Kaw *sa•gí* 'hard, firm, tight' RR , *sage, dá-* 'harden by heating, wood, skin, etc.' RR , *sage, gadá-* 'harden in the wind, as meat'

Osage *çági* , *†sáki* 'firm, solid, lasting, hard, tough' LF:29a

Quapaw *sagí* 'hard, firm' RR , *sáki, di-* 'hard, moulded with the hands' RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *ísâháni, saⁿháⁿ* , *†isahą́(-nį)* 'strong, hard' D&S:251b

General comment

Cf. ‘raw’, especially Dakota. Biloxi may fit better with ‘brave (1)’, q.v.

The final vowel is *-*i* in Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere/Proto-Dhegiha, the ablauting vowel in Lakota/Mandan. Here we reconstruct *-*i* because the ablauting class is productive, *-*i* not.

However, cf. ‘hard > cane, walking stick’. Cf. Shawnee *θaki* (C.F. Voegelin, personal notes on Shawnee/Siouan, especially Tutelo loans, MS.). This Algonquian form could explain some of the variability in the DH accent and final vowels where one seldom finds such problems. Voegelin’s note is in pencil and contains no explanation. This root is translated ‘get hold of, secure, fasten’ in Voegelin 1939:320. He gives a Miami variant *sak-*, and the root appears to have a good Algonquian pedigree (v. Aubin 1975:137 #1939 ff.).

hard (2)

verb perceptual_tactile

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **suki*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **cVcukE*

Crow *čičúči* ‘hard’ RG, GG:36, RGG:95

Hidatsa *cacúkE* ‘hard’ J , *cacúki* ‘hard’ J , *có•ki*

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *susukí* , *†susukí* ‘stiff’ D&S:259a

General comment

In both Hidatsa nominal prefixes *aku-* ‘relativizer, agentive’ and *aru-* ‘partitive’ the following reduction applies: *aC1uC1 -> o•C1*.

Perhaps analogically, the same rule seems to relate *cacuki* and *cooki*. We cannot determine from the cognates available whether the final V was *-i* or *-E*.

hard > cane, walking stick

noun perceptual_tactile

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *(*i-) *sakE (*hi_E)*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **i•cakÉ*

Crow *iihčí* ‘cane, crutch’ RG

Hidatsa *i•cakÉ* ‘cane, walking stick’ J , *i•cakí*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **(í-)sak-re*

Proto-Dakota **sak-yA*

Lakota *sagyé* ‘cane’ [< sáka ‘dry, hard, firm’ + ya ‘causative’] RTC

Dakota *sagyé* ‘sth. used in walking, a staff’ SRR:430a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **sákre*

Chiwere *ságre* ‘cane, staff’ JGT:64

Hoocąk *sákere, sáakeré ?* ‘war-bundle’ KM:2787 , *hisakere, saakere*

Proto-Dhegiha **í-sakre*

Kanza/Kaw *ísale* ‘cane, crutch’ RR

Osage *íçagthe* , *†ísale* ‘post planted in the ground, walking stick, cane’ LF:69b

General comment

This is a causatively derived noun in MVS, often with the instrumental nominalizer **i-*. Cf. ‘hard (1)’. The Crow and Hidatsa forms are not analyzable as causatives. Their initial *i•* is an instrumental prefix. Note that the derivation has problems, e.g., the length of the root vowel and the final vowel (here, the ablauting vowel).

harden by fire

verb physical_condition_change

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **Rá•-ksisE*

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *taaksís* ‘harden by fire’ KM:1894 , *taaksis*

Proto-Dhegiha **Rá•-size* ~ **Rá•-sįze*

Kanza/Kaw *dásįze* , *†dá•sįze* ‘harden by fire’ JOD

Osage *dáçiçe* , *†tá•size* ‘harden by scorching’ LF:33b

General comment

Chiwere *θíθe* ‘hard’ (Marsh) appears to show the root but lacks the prefix.

hard > strong, ripe

verb perceptual_tactile

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **suta (?)*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **súta*

Proto-Dakota **sutá*

Lakota *sutá* 'hard, strong' RTC , *-súta, na-* 'trample hard' EB:358 , *-súta, pa-* 'make stiff and hard by kneading, as dough' EB:434 , *-súta, wo-* 'make hard by punching or ramming; to make hard by raining on' EB:608 , *-súta, ya-* 'make firm with the mouth, to establish' EB:627 , *-súta, yu-* 'make firm' EB:650

Dakota *sutá* 'hard, strong' SRR:439b

Stoney *suda* ~ *ðuda* PAS

Proto-Dhegiha **súta*

Kanza/Kaw *wasúda* 'hard, firm, as corn' RR

Osage *çída* , *†súta* 'ripe corn' LF:30a

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *soti* , *†soti* 'strong' H

General comment

The Tutelo form may not be cognate: both vowels fail to correspond to those seen elsewhere. Vowel length is indeterminate here since none of the languages that preserve it faithfully is represented.

hat

noun physical_artefact_dress

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Pre-Mandan **akupE*

Mandan *ákupoʔš* ‘it covers the head’ H:57 , *wáʔkupe* ‘cap, war-bonnet’ H:58

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *naṭá aḳaȟpe* ‘hat (archaic)’ EB:360

Dakota *akáȟpe* ‘a covering’ SRR:20b

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *akué* ‘hat’ D&S:172a

General comment

It is not clear that these forms are cognate.

haul

verb physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **hto-*

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *thokšú* , *†thokšú* ‘transport, carry, draw, go back and bring’ [1s thowákšu] EB:499a, EJ

Proto-Dhegiha **htókrą*

Omaha-Ponca *tugtho^{n}, watugtho^{n}* ‘haul’ MAS:93

Kanza/Kaw *ttólą, wattólą* ‘haul’ RR

Osage *tógtho^{n}* , *†htólą* ‘haul, carry’ LF:155a

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *ákĭtŭpé* , *†ákitupé* ‘carry on the shoulder’ D&S:209b

General comment

This is not a particularly satisfying set since so many different elements are compounded.

have

verb possession

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **a-_rį́*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **a-_nį́*

Proto-Dakota **a-_níča*

Lakota *aníča* ‘withhold, keep back from, retain’ EB:82a

Dakota *anítća* ‘withhold, keep back from, retain’ SRR:36b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **a-_nį́*

Chiwere *a•ñį́* ‘have, hold’ LF

Hoocąk *hanį́* ‘own, have, take along’ KM:634 , *hanį*

Proto-Dhegiha **a-_rį́*

Omaha-Ponca *aǫ́i$^{n\acute{}}$* , *†a-_ðį́*

Kanza/Kaw *ayį́* ‘have’ RR

Osage *athi$^{n\acute{}}$* , *†a-_ðį́* ‘have’ LF:15b

Quapaw *anį́* ‘have, keep’

Proto-Southeastern **ani (?)*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Ofo *áni* , *†áni* ‘take’ D&S:321a

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *tahoñtanēki* ‘have’ H

General comment

**rį* ‘move’ and **rį́* ‘be’ (along with **a-rį́* ‘have’) are conjugated differently from one another. Either ‘move’ has been analogically restructured or, more likely, its **r-* is the epenthetic glide; both verbs should logically behave identically, as R-stems, but only ‘have’ and ‘be’ do.

hawk (1), falcon

noun animal_bird

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **kye-tą́he* ~ **kye-tį́he*

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *titą́he* 'hawk' H:252

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **kyetą́* ~ **kyetį́*

Proto-Dakota **čhetą́*

Lakota *čhetą́* 'hawk' EB:130b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **gredį́*

Chiwere *gretũ'* 'hawk' LWR:8

Hoocąk *kereǰį́sep* 'Black Hawk (name)' KM:1796 , *kerejųsep, kerejų*

Proto-Dhegiha **kretą́*

Omaha-Ponca *gthedo^{n}´* , *†gðedǫ́* 'sparrow hawk' F&LF:105

Kanza/Kaw *ledą́* 'hawk' RR

Osage *gthedo^{n}´* , *†letą́* 'hawk, falcon' LF:54b

Quapaw *kdetą́* 'smallest variety of hawk' JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *kyěto^{n}hí* , *†kyetǫhí* 'duck hawk' D&S:218a

General comment

Ofo *tutá* 'hawk' (DS-331b) looks related, but is from 'eat' instead.

Variability between **ą* and **ų* in MVS is not uncommon, the two having merged at least partially in DH. This noun is interesting for other reasons however. It appears to be composed of three elements **kye-*, specific meaning unknown (but cf. **kyą-* 'Buteo'), which is segmentable only by comparing Mandan with the rest, **-tą́/į́*, the second part the root, and **-he*, a very common final syllable and probable Proto-Siouan suffix.

Root-initial *t* should be aspirated if its position as second syllable initial goes back to Proto-Siouan, but it is not, so initial *k-* may well be the reflex of an additional syllable. Nor is the second syllable vowel lengthened. There are several unanswered questions here.

hawk (2), Buteo

noun animal_bird

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **kyąSká*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **kyąšká*

Proto-Dakota **čhąšká*

Lakota *čhąšká* ‘large hawk’ EB:123b

Dakota *ćaŋśká* ‘hawk’ SRR:92b

Proto-Dhegiha **krąšká*

Omaha-Ponca *gthoⁿshká* , *†gðąšká* F&LF:105

Quapaw *xnąšká* ‘largest species of hawk’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *kiyaⁿská* , *†kiyąská* ‘marsh hawk’ D&S:209b , *tcoñktcona* , *†čǫkčona* ‘a mythic hawk’ D&S:265b

General comment

The two roots for ‘hawk’ both have a **ky* cluster, very uncommon, suggesting they may be derived forms of a single root. Quapaw initial is irregular. Biloxi may be cognate but may also be derived from earlier **kiʔą* ‘fly’, q.v. The Biloxi sibilant should be *č* if this word is entirely cognate. The rarity of Proto-Siouan **ky* as a cluster may indicate that this term did indeed incorporate ‘fly’ at an earlier period and that initial syllable syncope is responsible for the cluster. Cf. ‘hawk (1), falcon’.

hawthorn, black

noun plant

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **wa-wóha* or: **wa-wúha*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa *wawúa* 'haw, thorn bush' J , *mawúa*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **Wo, *Wu*

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *wuwu ?* 'black haw'

Proto-Dhegiha **Wo*

Kanza/Kaw *bo* 'black haws' RR

Osage *p̲u̲* , *†po* 'black haws' JOD

Quapaw *po, bo* 'black haws' RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Ofo *áho* , *†áho* 'haw, black or red' D&S:319a

General comment

Cf. 'cranberry'. This set contains irregularities no matter how it is viewed, but it is interesting nonetheless, since it is one of rather few **W* sets. We believe that **W* developed when **wa* 'absolutive' underwent regular initial syllable syncope preceding a root with initial **w*: **wa-woha* > **w-woha* > **Woha*. 'snow (1)' provides a parallel example of this process. Hidatsa implies an older, pre-Hidatsa **wa-wuha*. One would have to appeal to irregular vowel assimilations to account for the differing vowels in the daughter languages. Areal similarities may have played a role in the development of this root also, cf. Fox *popokíminûn* 'black haw' (perhaps borrowed from, or contaminated by, Siouan) Smith 1928, p. 256, also Miami *papakimindjakwi* 'black haw tree' (Voegelin p.79).

hawthorn, red haw

noun plant

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Pre-Mandan **taspak (?)*

Mandan *tapsák* ‘ash tree’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **htaspą ~ *hti-ó•spą (?)*

Proto-Dakota **thaspą́*

Lakota *thaspą́* ‘red haw, apple’ EB:482b, RTC

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *čoosą́* ‘thorn apple, hawthorn, haw tree’ , *coosą* , *coosąwą ?* , *†čoosą́wą*

Proto-Dhegiha **htaspą́ (but cf. QU)*

Omaha-Ponca *taspaⁿ* , *†ttaspą́* ‘Crataegus sp.’

Kanza/Kaw *ttaspą́* ‘red hawthorn’ RR

Osage *ṭaçpoⁿ´* , *†htaspą́* ‘red haw, thorn apple’ LF:136a

Quapaw *ttióspąhi* ‘red hawthorn tree’ JOD

General comment

The Hoocąk and Quapaw forms suggest internal structure that so far resists analysis and reconstruction. This may represent developments internal to those languages, but the Hoocąk form could virtually be derived phonologically from the Quapaw, so the two apparently aberrant forms probably share the same underlying morphological structure and should be taken seriously. Cf. ‘ash (tree), Fraxinus’.

hazelnut

noun plant_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **ų*

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *uma*

Dakota *úma* ‘hazelnuts’ SRR:484a

Proto-Dhegiha **ǫ́*

Omaha-Ponca *oⁿzhinga* , *†ą-žiga* F&LF:106

Osage *oⁿ* , *†ǫ* ‘hazelnut’ LF:121b

General comment

Chiwere *kwaiñe* (Ioway), *kwaiŋe* (Otoe) (LWR-56) do not appear to be cognate, although they could incorporate **ų*. Hoocąk *huksík* (KM-1597) is also non-cognate but may represent a widespread borrowing, cf. Choctaw *oksak* ‘hickory nut’. Cf. ‘hickory nut’ for additional forms that may incorporate this root.

hazy, bluish, cloudy

verb perceptual_visual_color

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **(a)só•tE*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **có•ta*

Crow *čoosa* 'bleached, faded, pale' RG, GG:39, RGG:85

Hidatsa *có•ta* ~ *có?ota* 'gray' J

Pre-Mandan **šót-*

Mandan *šóto?š* 'it's white' RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **sótE*

Proto-Dakota **sóta*

Lakota *sóta* 'hazy, bluish white' RTC

Sioux Valley *sóta* PAS

Proto-Dhegiha **sóte*

Omaha-Ponca *gasúda-baži* , *†gasóde* 'not clear (of branches)'

Kanza/Kaw *sóje* 'a light color of broadcloth' RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *asōti* , *†asó•ti* 'blue' H , *soṭyě* , *†asote* 'blue' HW

General comment

cf. *†šo 0.t*, *†xo 0.t* 'gray (2)', 'gray (1)'. The existing Tutelo forms and the accentual pattern throughout suggest a lost initial syllable. The other two related fricative symbolism forms (with *š* and *x*) are more productive, but this is the only grade with an OVS cognate. It seems probable that the other two forms had initial Proto-Siouan **a* also.

head, back of, hair

noun physical_somatic_body_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **rą-išú•*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Crow *išúu* ‘back of the neck’ RG, GG:93, RGG:74

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **nąˀ-ižú*

Proto-Dakota **nažú*

Lakota *†nažú* ‘back of head’ EB:347a

Dakota *nazˊúte* ‘occipital bone, base of skull’ SRR:340a

Proto-Dhegiha **nąˀ-ižú*

Omaha-Ponca *noⁿzhíha* ‘hair of the head’ MAS:91

Kanza/Kaw *nüžű́* ‘hair’ RR

Osage *nizhúha* , *†nižű́ha* ‘hair of the head’ LF:112a

Quapaw *nižíha* ‘hair of the human head’ JOD

General comment

Cf. ‘brain (1)’, ‘spine (1)’ and other terms relating to the head and upper body that show the element **rą-*. V. also ‘horn’. Ofo *ĭtcóti* ‘neck, throat’, which might appear to belong here, is unquestionably influenced by **i-ro•te* ‘throat’ but *tc* may regularly < **š* but not from **r*, so there may have been contamination or conflation here.

head, nose (1), front end

noun physical_somatic_body_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba **pa*

Proto-Siouan **ahpá*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **apá*

Crow *apá* ‘nose, beak, bill’ RG, GG:11, RGG:65

Hidatsa *apá* ‘nose’ J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *pá?* ‘head’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **hpá*

Proto-Dakota **phá*

Lakota *phá* ‘head’ RTC

Sioux Valley *phá* ‘head’ PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **phá*

Chiwere *pha* ‘nose, head’ GM

Missouria *pá há, paha* , *†phaha* [head + skin?] L&C

Hoocąk *páa* ‘nose, front end of anything’ KM:2419 , *paa*

Proto-Dhegiha **hpá*

Omaha-Ponca *ppá* ‘head, nose’ RTC, RR

Kanza/Kaw *ppá* ‘head, nose’ RR

Osage *pa* , *†hpá* ‘head’ LF:124

Quapaw *ppá* ‘head’ RR

Proto-Southeastern **ahpá•*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **ahpá•*

Biloxi *pá* , *†pá•* ‘head, his or her head’ D&S:243 , *yupa•de?* , *†pá•* ‘head’ MRH , *yəpa•de?* , *†pá•* ‘head’ MS

Ofo *apxáhi* , *†apháhi* ‘head hair’ D&S:324a , *ą́pha íte* , *†ápha íte* ‘headache’ D&S:324b

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *paaqtē, paqti* , *†pá•xti* ‘none (sic)’ [-xti ‘real, genuine’] H

Saponi *posse* , *†pasi (?)* ‘head’ F

Proto-Catawba

Catawba *dapęsuʔ* ‘my nose’ MAS, KS , *pįsu•ʔ* ‘nose’ FS, KS

Woccon *Poppe* ‘head’ JL

General comment

Cf. ‘nose (2), end, point, tip (2)’. Regarding the Biloxi forms collected by Haas

hear

verb perceptual_auditory

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **rąx-ʔíį́*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **nąxʔíį́*

Proto-Dakota **naxʔíį́*

Lakota *naxʔíį́* ‘hear, listen to, attend to, obey’ [1s nawáxʔų] RTC

Dakota *nahóŋ* ‘hear, listen, attend to, obey’ SRR:323a

Stoney *na_xų* PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **nąxʔíį́*

Chiwere *nąxʔǫ́* ~ *nąxʔíį́* ‘hear’ RR

Hoocąk *nąąxgíį́* ‘hear, understand’ KM:2266 , *nąąxgų*

Proto-Dhegiha **nąxʔǫ́*

Omaha-Ponca *nǫʔǫ́* RTC

Kanza/Kaw *nąkʔą́, nąkʔǫ́, nǫkʔǫ́* ‘hear, listen’ RR

Osage *no^{n}kʔo^{n}´* , *†nąkʔą́* ‘hear’ LF:115a

Quapaw *nǫxʔǫ́, ánąxʔǫ* ‘hear, listen’ RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **nahxé (?)*

Biloxi *naxĕ´, náxe* , *†nąxe* ‘hear’ D&S:231b

Ofo *nashĕ´* , *†nashé; †našé* ‘listen’ , *ąsxe* , *†əshe* ‘hear’ D&S:321b

General comment

There is an obvious derivational relationship among the terms for ‘hear’ and ‘ears’. The form given here might be **rąx* ‘ear, hearing’ plus **iʔíį•* ‘use, do with’, q.v. Ofo and MRS also show forms without the **r*; perhaps this is an old derivational morpheme as well. Dakota *na_xʔúį* is perhaps an ‘instrumental prefix’ reanalysis of earlier **nax••ʔúį*; Winnebago might be from *nąąx* + *k-* ‘dative, possessive’ + *(ʔ)ų* save that Hooc̨ąk does not regularly lose *ʔ*. Cf. ‘frog (1), toad’ for another case of *xʔ*.

heart

noun physical_somatic_body_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **i-yą́•te* ~ **i-rą́•te*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **ra•tá*

Crow *daasá* ‘heart’ RG, GG:40, RGG:70

Hidatsa *ra•tá* ‘heart’ J , *na•tá*

Pre-Mandan **rą́t-*

Mandan *rą́tka* ‘heart’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **i-rą́•te* ~ **i-rą́•tke*

Proto-Dakota **čhqté*

Lakota *čhqté* ‘heart’ RTC

Dakota *ćaŋté* ‘heart’ SRR:92b

Sioux Valley *čhqté* PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **ną́•t-(ke)*

Chiwere *nąǰe* ‘heart’ RR, GM , *nąhǰe* ‘heart’ W:236a, RR, GM

Hoocąk *nąąč* ‘heart’ KM:2123 , *nąąc* ‘heart’ KM:2129 , *nąąčgé* , *nąącge*

Proto-Dhegiha **ną́•te*

Omaha-Ponca *nǫ́•de* ‘heart’ RTC

Kanza/Kaw *nąǰe* ‘heart’ RR

Osage *no^{n}´dse* , *†nące* ‘heart’ LF:113b , *tho^{n}´dse* , *†ðą́ce* ‘heart’ LF:153a

Quapaw *nątte* ‘heart’ [also nąde] RR, JOD

Proto-Southeastern **i-yą́•ti*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **i-yąti*

Biloxi *yandí, yándiya^{n}, yanti* , *†yąti* ‘heart’ D&S:288a

Ofo *itcánti* , *†ičą́ti* ‘heart’ D&S:324b

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *yãñti; yanti* , *†yą•ti* ‘heart’ N, H

General comment

Chiwere/Hoocąk show doublets, with and without the **ke* suffix. Mandan has only *rątka* for 'heart', but Hollow derives this from a root **rąt* 'be in the middle' that appears in several other constructions. The Proto-Siouan root was probably **yąt*, with frequent suffixation of **-ka*. Chiwere/Hoocąk and DH all show reflexes of what should be **rą-* rather than the expected **yą*.

Dakota, although it appears at first glance to have a reflex of **y*, would have *čh* < **r* following inalienable **i-* anyway (i.e., would merge the reflexes of **y* and **r*), so in effect all of MVS may well descend from a form with initial **r*. Mandan, Crow and Hidatsa merge **r* and **y* in all environments, so it could just as easily be the southeastern languages that have developed differently with **i-yąti* rather than **i-rąti*. In essence we are prevented from knowing for certain what the root-initial glide was, and, in fact if that glide was epenthetic, merely separating the possessive prefix from the root-initial vowel. If so, the proper reconstruction might be **i-ą́•te*. Derivational **-ka* is only found in MVS and Mandan (Carter's Central Siouan subgroup). Length is variable in Hidatsa, cf. 1s *waratá* Cf. 'middle' for a possible source of MVS contamination.

heat

verb natural_force_weather

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **aRá•-są*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *taasą́* 'fade due to heat' KM:3079 , *taasą*

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *saⁿ́yě, adą-* , *†adasą́ye* 'heating it' D&S:169b

heat/cold, instrumental

natural_force_weather

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *aRá•-

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **arás-*

Crow *alás-* RG

Hidatsa *arás-* J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *rás-*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **Rá•-*

Proto-Dakota **na-*

Lakota *na-; nama-, nani-, na-*

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **Rá•-*

Chiwere *dá•-*

Hoocąk *taa-, táa-, taará-, taa-´ , taa-, taa-, taara-, taa-*

Proto-Dhegiha **Ra-*

Omaha-Ponca *na-*

Kanza/Kaw *dá•-*

Osage *†tá-*

Quapaw *tá-*

Proto-Southeastern **arás-*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **arás-*

Biloxi *adás-*

Ofo *ata-, bata-, ata-*

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *ala-* in: *alapōk* , *†ala-* ‘ashes’ H , *na-* in: *inausĭ̃ñga* , *†ala-* ‘burn’ H

Proto-Catawba

Catawba *dé* ‘blaze’ KS, G , *wi•rą́* ‘burn’ KS , *tap* ‘freeze’ KS

General comment

There seems to have been a good deal of morphological restructuring here. In DH, at least, this instrumental has fused with several verbs to form new stems that may themselves take other instrumental prefixes from the inner or outer sets, e.g., Kanza/Kaw *gadá•sage* ‘dry in the wind’ (< *sagé* ‘hardened, stiffened’); *nądá•ską* ‘thaw by walking on, as a path’; *nądá•kkaǰe* ‘heat up from running, as tires or a person’. Unlike the other instrumental prefixes, which transitivize, the ‘heat/cold’ prefix forms statives which can only be transitivized and inflected for person through causative derivations. Note different Catawba etymologies may help explain **R* in MVS. < **t* ~ *r* in stem conflation.

heavy

verb perceptual_tactile

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **tké* or: **tiké*

Pre-Mandan **tke*

Mandan *tké?š* ‘he’s heavy’ H:253 , *tké•k* ‘it was heavy (Sub.)’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **tke*

Proto-Dakota **tké*

Lakota *tké* ‘heavy’ RTC

Dakota *tké* ‘heavy’ SRR:471b

Stoney *kta* PAS

Proto-Dhegiha

Kanza/Kaw *ábütta* ‘hold down’ JOD

Quapaw *bittát?e* ‘press to death’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **tké* or: **tiké*

Biloxi *tĭké, tĭkeyĕ´* , *†tiké* ‘weigh something’ D&S:276a

Ofo *nąkhé* , *†nəkhé* ‘heavy’ D&S:326b

General comment

OVS suggests a vowel between *t_k*. The diacritics seem to indicate epenthesis of a very short or neutral V in OVS, but it could also be etymological. The DH consonants are regular, but the final vowel should be *e* rather than *a*. Thus, it is not certain that these forms are cognate. The Ofo form suggests that the **t* in these forms may have originated as a resonant **r* which became **t* as the first member of a voiceless cluster. RR: *tk* would normally become **hk* > *kh* in Ofo, so *na-* is most likely a prefix here.

heel

noun physical_somatic_body_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **si-réte*

Proto-Dakota **siyéte*

Lakota *siyéte* ‘heel’ RTC

Dakota *siyéte* ‘the heel’ SRR:435b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *siikérečge* ‘heel (of foot)’ KM:2840 , *siikerecge*

Proto-Dhegiha **siréte*

Omaha-Ponca *çithéde* , *†siðéde* ‘heel’ F&LF:109

Kanza/Kaw *siyéje* ‘heel’ RR

Osage *çithédse* , *†siðéce* ‘heels’ LF:31a

Quapaw *sidétte* ‘heel’ JOD

General comment

This appears to be a noun-verb compound of Proto-Mississipi-Valley **sí* ‘foot’ + **rét* ‘?’. The dative/possessive form in Hoocąk **si•* + **k-* + **ret* + **-ka* suggests that the second root is a verb. ‘foot’ probably had a long vowel since Hoocąk keeps length even in the unaccented variant.

help

verb social

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **hkuxtÉ*

Crow *kuxshí* ‘help’ GG:88

Hidatsa *hkuxtÉ* ‘help’ , *kuxtí*

Pre-Mandan **-kute-*

Mandan *kikųtE* ‘help someone’ H:109 , *kikúte?š* ‘he helped him’ RTC

General comment

The forms may not be cognate.

here, now

particle time

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **ko•*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Crow *koo* in: *kootáa* ‘just then; everywhere; as soon as; at same time’ GG:66

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **ko•*

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *go?ó-* in: *goˆóchˆi* , *†go?ó-* ‘soon; immediately; in the near future’ JGT:1142 , *go?ó-* in: *goˆógi* , *†go?ó-* ‘recently (within a year)’ JGT:1143 , *gó-* , *†go?ó-* ‘this way; (come) this way’ JGT:1151 , *gó-* in: *gósigi* , *†go?ó-*

Proto-Dhegiha

Kanza/Kaw *-go* in: *yego* ‘here’ JOD, RR , *-gó•-* in: *yegó•jĩ* ‘now, at this time or place’ RR , *-gó-* in: *gagójĩ* ‘now, just now’ RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *ko-* in: *kode* , *†ko-* ‘now’ D&S:211a

heron, crane

noun animal_bird

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **ó•xka*

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *ąxká* ‘seagull’ H:62

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **hó•kha*

Proto-Dakota **hokhá*

Lakota *hokhá, hokhátho* ‘heron’ [-tho ‘blue’] RTC

Dakota *hok’á* ‘heron’ SRR:152b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **(h)ó•khV*

Chiwere *okxa* , *†okha* ‘heron, crane’ LWR:57

Hoocąk *hookéčo* ‘blue heron’ KM:1443 , *hookeco (= hooke + coo)*

Proto-Dhegiha

Quapaw *hokáxeka* , *†hokháyekka* ‘type of crane’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **ó•xka*

Biloxi *oxká, óxka, oo´xk* , *†ó•xka* ‘crane’ D&S:240b

Ofo *óskha, óskxa* , *†óskha* ‘crane’ D&S:327b

General comment

MVS initial *h* is unexplained. Cf. Choctaw *uskąp* (By-360a), Sixtowns Choctaw *oskau* ‘white crane’. The Choctaw forms may be borrowed from Ofo. The Quapaw was written with an unmarked *k* by JOD. It could represent either the aspirated or geminated variety. **xk* should yield Quapaw (and DH generally) *kh*. Biloxi *xk* is the third distinct reflex of **xk* that we have, cf. ‘shake (1)’, ‘shoulder’. Furbee (personal communication) suggests that the initial *h* may be from the compounding of **ó•xka* with **ho* ‘fish’. This is certainly plausible. Similar forms may be fairly widespread in North America.

hickory

noun plant

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **yą-su*

Proto-Dakota **čhąsú*

Lakota *caŋsú* , *†čhąsú* ‘hickory nut, hickory wood’ EB:123a

Dakota *ćaŋsú* ‘hickory nut, hickory tree’ SRR:92a

Proto-Dhegiha

Omaha-Ponca *nó^{n}çi* , *†nąsi* ‘hickory’

General comment

Not related to the DH *žązi* ‘yellow wood’ words. Cf. ‘hickory nut’.

-su perhaps < *sutá* (B-459a) ‘hard, enduring, unyielding’. Omaha-Ponca is interesting because it uses the old doublet for *žą-* ‘wood’, namely *ną-*, to form this compound. The same doublet is found in Kanza/Kaw and Osage at the very least.

hickory nut

noun plant_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **hpą́•* or: **hpį́• (?)*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **hpą́•*

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *pąąǰágu* ‘hickory tree’ KM:2445 , *pąąjagu* ‘nut’ KM:2444 , *pąąǰá* , *pąąja*

Proto-Dhegiha **hpą́*

Kanza/Kaw *ppą́ttąŋa* ‘walnut’ RR , *ppą́sceǰe* ‘pecan’ RR

Osage *pó^{n}ṭo^{n}ga* , *†hpą́htąka* ‘nut of the hickory tree’ LF:129b

Quapaw *ppǫ* ‘hickory nut’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *pi^{n}hudí* , *†pį́hudí* ‘hickory’ D&S:246a , *pi^{n}txógo^{n}* , *†pį́txókǫ* ‘pecan’ D&S:246a , *pí^{n}hu ayá^{n}* , *†pį́hu ayą́* ‘hickory wood’ D&S:246a

General comment

Cf. ‘artichoke, edible root’. The two groups of cognates represented here are irreconcilable. Comparison of the Biloxi with the southern MVS terms is attractive even though the vowels do not match. Choice of either vowel in the reconstruction is arbitrary within this set, but ‘artichoke, edible root’, q.v., leads us to choose **ą•*.

hide

verb physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **-axua < *-ɯxawa (?)*

Crow *íaxua* ‘cover’ [transitive] RG, GG:71 , *aaxuá* ‘hide’ [intransitive] GG:3, RGG:24 , *iaxuá* ‘hide’ GG:71

Hidatsa *a?axua* [transitive] J , *i?axua* [intransitive] J

Pre-Mandan **a•xawe- (?)*

Mandan *á•xawe?š* ‘he hid it’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **nų•xwą, *nǫ•xwą*

Proto-Dakota **naxwá*

Lakota *naxmá* ‘hide sth.’ [1s nawáxma] RTC

Sioux Valley *na••xma* ~ *na••xbe* PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **nų́•xwą*

Chiwere *nąxwą* ‘conceal’ GM

Hoocąk *nųųxąwą* ‘hide sth.’ KM:2401 , *nųųxąwą*

Proto-Dhegiha **nąxrą́*

Omaha-Ponca *iki no^{n}xthe* MAS:95

Kanza/Kaw *nǫxlą́* ‘hide something’ RR , *ánǫxle* ‘hide something’

Osage *no^{n}xtho^{n}* , *†nąxle* ‘privacy, retirement, secrecy, underhand, have a private consultation’ LF:119a

Quapaw *nąxną́* ‘hide something’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Ofo *u^{n}sha, nu^{n}sha, inu^{n}sha , †ųsha, †inųsha* D&S:331b

General comment

A very confusing set, probably due to varying degrees of derivational accretion. The MVS clusters show the same *m* ~ *w* ~ *ð* (Dakota, Chiwere, DH) set as ‘cat’, ‘corn (1)’, ‘gourd > squash’, all of which are borrowings. DH does not permit *xw* or *xm* clusters, so replacement with *xr* is expected here.

hide, skin, cloth

noun physical_material

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **roxpe*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **raxpE*

Crow *daxpí* ‘hide, skin’ RG, GG:43, RGG:103

Hidatsa *raxpÉ* ‘hide, skin’ J , *naxpí*

Pre-Mandan **-roxpi-*

Mandan *óropxi* ‘hide, leather’ H:130

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *doxpĕ́, ṭoxpĕ́, dóxpĕ, uṭuxpĕ́, udoxpĕ́* , *†doxpé* ‘cloth, clothing, a robe of skins’ D&S:184a

hill

noun physical_spatial_mountaneous

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **-hé•*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **(a)hé*

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *pahá* ‘hill’ RTC

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *ahé* ‘hill’ GM, JGT:52 , *óhe* ‘hill, mound’ JGT:52

Proto-Dhegiha **-ahé*

Omaha-Ponca *pahé* , *†ppahé* ‘hill’ LF:125a

Kanza/Kaw *bahéšta* ‘hill’ RR

Osage *pahé* , *†hpahé* ‘(archaic) hill, mountain’ LF:125a

Proto-Southeastern **he•ki*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **éki*

Biloxi *ĕkta^{n}ní, ĕkta^{n}nihíxye* , *†ektąni* ‘hills, peaks’ D&S:191b

Ofo *éki* , *†éki* ‘hill, cliff’ D&S:323 , *ékito^{n}* , *†éki* ‘mountain’

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *ohēki* , *†ohe•ki* H

General comment

Chiwere suggests **hpa + ahe* are compounded here, and OVS confirms it.

Initial *h-* is normally lost in Biloxi, Ofo. The Kanza/Kaw form seems to be the equivalent of the Lakota form, while the remainder of the DH languages seem to have reanalyzed the initial syllable as **hpa* ‘tip’. Even so, the exact relationship with the attested forms in the remaining subgroups is opaque.

hiss (1)

perceptual_auditory

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **-sʔá*

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *sʔá* ‘hiss like a snake’ RTC , *sʔá, ka-; kas’a* ‘strike and make hiss as a snake; to sail or glide in the air, as birds’ EB:290 , *sʔá, na-* ‘simmer, make a slight noise, as water before boiling it is also said of a fast horse’ EB:358 , *sʔeya, oná-* ‘begin to boil, simmer in, as water in a pot.’ EB:396 , *sʔa, tatéka-* ‘whistle, as the wind’ EB:484 , *sʔá, ya-* ‘make a ringing or roaring noise in speaking’ EB:627 , *šʔayapi, íya-* ‘the war-whoop’ EB:252

Proto-Dhegiha **wésʔa*

Omaha-Ponca *wésʔa* ‘snake’ RR

Kanza/Kaw *wécʔa* ‘snake’ RR

Osage *wécʔa* ‘snake’ RR

Quapaw *wésʔa* ~ *wesʔá* ‘snake’ RR

General comment

Cf. ‘whoop’.

hiss (2)

perceptual_auditory

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **siríhe*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **ciría* < **siríhe*

Crow *čilía* ‘rattle, sound of chain’ RG

Hidatsa *ciría* ‘jingle, rattle, tinkle’ J

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dakota **sri*

Lakota *sliyá* ‘hissing, the sort made by a rapidly moving switch’ EB:457a

Dakota *sdi* ‘to hiss, as wet wood on the fire, a snake, etc.’ SRR:432a

hiss (3)

perceptual_auditory

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **širíhe*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **širía* < **širíhe*

Crow *shilía* 'hissing sound' GG:55, RGG:93

Hidatsa *širía* 'rustle, be hoarse' J , *aráxiria* 'frying, sizzling' J , *xiriríhi* 'a tearing sound' J

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dakota **šrí*

Lakota *šli* 'hissing, fizzing, as two persons whispering to each other' EB:465a

Dakota *śdi* , *†šdi* 'hissing, fizzing. said of the noise sometimes made by fish in water' SRR:441b

hit

verb physical_contact_impact

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **-škápe*

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *skápa, gla-* 'clap, make strikes together' EB:151 , *skápa, wo-* 'make a noise, as with a pop-gun or toy pistol; to miss fire, as when the cap explodes but does not ignite the charge' EB:608 , *skápa, ya-* 'make a noise as in kissing' EB:626 , *skápa, yu-* 'crack a whip, without striking' EB:649 , *škápa, pa-* 'make a noise with one's hands in water' EB:434 , *škápa, na-* '?; the word is used of two tops which while spinning run against each other' EB:358

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *šgáp, boo-* 'knock over by running into' KM:89 , *boošgap* 'run into; run over (as with car); hit (as in baseball)' KM:409 , *šgáp, gi-* 'catch, v.tr.; catcher (in baseball)' KM:2729 , *gišgap* , *šgáp, ru-* , *rušgap*

General comment

Cf. 'pinch (1)'

hit, pound

verb physical_contact_impact

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

- Proto-Siouan **aphá*
  - Proto-Mississipi-Valley **aphá*
    - Proto-Dakota **pha*
      - Lakota *aphá* ‘hit’ RTC
      - Stoney *aphá* ‘hit’
      - Sioux Valley *aphá* ‘hit’ PAS
    - Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **-phá*
      - Chiwere *įlapha* ~ *įlopha* ‘grind stone’ GM
      - Hoocąk *haphá* ‘hit’ JWE , *hapa* ‘hit the mark or target (as missile)’ KM:527 , *haapá* , *hapa*
    - Proto-Southeastern **pá-he* or: **pá-hi*
      - Proto-Biloxi-Ofo
        - Biloxi *páwehi* , *†páwehi* ‘he knocked them’ D&S:244b
      - Proto-Tutelo-Saponi
        - Tutelo *pahee* , *†pahe•* ‘pound’ H
- Proto-Catawba
  - Catawba *kuspá?* ‘corn (kus-) meal’ [*pa?áwe* ‘we powder’] FGS

General comment

It is difficult to separate completely the reflexes of Proto-Siouan **-phe* ‘grind’ and **-pha* ‘hit’, as they differ only by the vowel, which normally alternates between *e* and *a* in any event. The two verbs may indeed be doublets. Division of the forms differs depending on how much weight one assigns to phonology and how much to semantics. There remains some mixture.

hoarse

verb physical_somatic_disease

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **ra-ɣí•tE*

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *yaġí́ta* , *†yaɣíta* ‘become hoarse’ EB:618b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *ɣiič* ‘be hoarse (voice)’ KM:493 , *ğiic, hoora ğiic*

Proto-Dhegiha **ra-ɣíte*

Kanza/Kaw *ho yáɣiiǰe* ‘hoarse’ JOD

Osage *thaxídse* , *†ðaɣíce* ‘hoarse’ LF:278b

General comment

Vowel rounding in the Kanza/Kaw term is probably explained by folk etymology; the expected *ɣíǰe* has no obvious meaning while the actual form, *-ɣúǰe*, means ‘red’, *ho* ‘voice’.

hold back

verb psychic_volition

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **-t?o*

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *t?o, é?iyapa-* ‘sit against one heavily’ EJ , *t?o, pa?íyapa-* ‘be pushed by’ EB:427

Proto-Dhegiha **-t?o*

Omaha-Ponca *iðábat?o* ‘pressing against’

Osage *ábaṭ’u* , *†ápat?o* ‘prevent from moving, hold back’ LF:6a

Quapaw *ábat?o* ‘stop, impede progress’ RR

hold in mouth

verb physical_contact

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **ra-phÉ*

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *pha, wayá-* ‘hold in the mouth’ EB:564

Proto-Dhegiha **phé*

Kanza/Kaw *phé, ya-* ‘hold in the mouth, between the teeth’ RR

Quapaw *phé, da-* ‘hold in the mouth’ RR

General comment

Cf. ‘grind’

hole

noun physical_spatial

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **hpóɣe*

Proto-Dakota **phóɣe*

Lakota *phóɣe* ‘nostril’ RTC

Dakota *póǧe* ‘nose, nostril’ SRR:423b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *póox* ‘have a hole in it’ KM:2497 , *poox*

hole, dig

physical_spatial

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **ho•pi*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **hopí*

Crow *hupí* 'hole' RG, GG:49

Hidatsa *hopí* 'hole' J , *hóhpi* 'hollow, open' J , *wa•hóhpi* 'rawhide box for berry picking' J , *ma•hóhpi*

Pre-Mandan **ho•p-*

Mandan *hó•pak* 'since it had a hole' RTC , *hó•poʔš* 'it came open' RTC , *wó•ho•p* 'a hole' RTC

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Ofo *hûpi* , *†hupi* 'dig' D&S:323b

General comment

Attestation is a bit scanty for an authoritative Proto-Siouan reconstruction; the final vowel may be **e*, and the *u/o* correspondence sets, although fairly common are not yet completely understood.

hole, hollow

physical_spatial

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **xʔote*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **o-xʔóte*

Proto-Dakota **oxʔót-pa-ya*

Lakota *oȟ'ókpaya* , *†oxʔókpaya* 'as said when the eyes are sunk in deep' EB:376b

Proto-Dhegiha **o-xʔóte*

Omaha-Ponca *oʔóde* 'hollow'

Kanza/Kaw *okʔóǰe* 'hole' RR

Osage *uḳ'údse* , *†okʔóce* 'hole, perforation, orifice' LF:173b

Quapaw *oxʔótte* 'hole' RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *xotká* , *†xotká* 'hollow, empty' D&S:222b

hollow, a hole

verb physical_spatial

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **xrókE*

Proto-Dakota **xrókA*

Lakota *xlókA* ‘hollow’ RTC , *oxlóka* ‘a hole’

Dakota *ȟdóka* ‘a hole’ SRR:163b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **xróke*

Chiwere *xróge* ‘hole’ JGT:95

Hoocąk *honąxórok* ‘make foot go right through’ KM:3941 , *honąxorok*

Proto-Dhegiha **xróke*

Omaha-Ponca *paq¢úge , †xðóge, ppa* ‘nostrils’

Kanza/Kaw *xlóge* ‘puncture’ RR

Osage *xthúge , †xlóke* ‘spaces in the air passages extending throughout the roots of the American lotus’ LF:220b

hollow, concave

verb physical_spatial

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **swą-*

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *smáka* ‘hollow, concave’ EB:457b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *hoisą́wą* ‘valley’ KM:2806 , *hoisąwą*

hollow, empty (1)

verb physical_spatial

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **xaró(•)S- (?)*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa *xarúxxE* ‘wide, roomy’ J , *xarúxxa*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **xró•S-(ka)*

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *xloɣéča* ‘poor, thin, hollow’ EB:194

Stoney *oʕnóʕa* ‘a hole’ PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *xló•ske, xró•ske* ‘empty, hollow’ RR

Proto-Dhegiha **xróx?a*

Omaha-Ponca *xthu’a* , *†xðó?a* ‘empty’ MAS:68

Kanza/Kaw *xlók?a* ‘empty’ RR

Osage *xthók’a, xthú’a, xthúḳ’a* , *†xlók?a* ‘empty, emptiness’ LF:220b

Quapaw *kdóx?a* ‘empty’ JOD

General comment

This stem is too poorly attested for a really secure reconstruction.

hollow, empty (2)

verb physical_spatial

General comment

Cf. ‘box’.

hollow sound > stamp, stomp

verb perceptual_auditory

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **rą-hkó•kE*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **nąhkóke*

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *nakóka* , *†nakhóka* ‘knock with the foot and thus producing a noise’ EB:349b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **nąˀ•khóke*

Chiwere *nakóge* , *†nąkhóge* ‘stamp (the ground)’ JGT:240

Hoocąk *kók, nąą-* ‘stomp with foot; tap’ KM:2193, WL:18.12 , *nąąkok*

Proto-Dhegiha

Osage *noⁿkóge* , *†nąhkóke* ‘a thud, as of stamping the foot’ LF:115a

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *nañkōkisek* , *†nąko•kisek* ‘stamp with the foot’ H

General comment

Cf. ‘box’

hook

noun physical_artefact_tool

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **hí*

Chiwere *wahúkho* ‘hook’

Hoocąk *hiruhí* ‘belt buckle, button, hook’ KM:806 , *hiruhi*

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *hiñkáhi* , *†hįkáhi* ‘to hook on or in anything’ D&S:198a

General comment

A very weak cognate set.

horn

noun physical_somatic_body_part_animal

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **ahé*

Pre-Mandan **ahe 'covering'*

Mandan *ųkáʔhe* 'fingernail' RTC , *šáʔhe* 'hoof' RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **hé*

Proto-Dakota **hé*

Lakota *hé* 'horn' RTC

Dakota *hé* 'horn' SRR:140b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **hé•*

Chiwere *hé* 'horn' GM

Hoocąk *hée* 'horn (of animal)' KM:781 , *hee*

Proto-Dhegiha **hé*

Omaha-Ponca *he* 'horn' MAS:97

Kanza/Kaw *hé* 'horn' RR

Osage *hé* 'horn' LF:59a

Quapaw *he* 'horn' JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **ahé* ~ **ahí*

Biloxi *ahí, ahé, ahĕ́, he* , *†ahé* 'skin, nails, horn, hooves, scales, bark' D&S:170b

Ofo *ahé, ahí* , *†ahé* 'horn' D&S:319a , *aláhi, alahí* , *†ahé* 'skin, bark, also the shell of a turtle, etc.' D&S:320b

General comment

Biloxi appears to have collapsed 'horn' and 'skin', q.v. The result was apparently homophonous with 'cover (2)', also q.v. Homophony of 'cover' and 'skin' is also found in Mandan.

horn, spoon, shell

noun physical_somatic_body_part_animal

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **ą•šé*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **a•šE*

Crow *a•šxa•wí* ‘antler, buck’ RG, GG:3

Hidatsa *a•šÉ* ‘horn, spoon’ J , *a•ší* ‘antlers, elk antlers’ J , *a•šixa•wi*

Pre-Mandan **ąsE*

Mandan *ąsé* ‘horn’ RTC , *wą́?se* ‘spoon’ RTC

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *aⁿsk i´, aⁿsũki´* , *†ąs(ə)kí* ‘shell’ D&S:178a

General comment

The semantic link between ‘horn’ and ‘shell’ is through ‘spoon’. Since Proto-Siouan **htú•ki* ‘shell > spoon’ probably meant only ‘shell’ originally, the present form was probably ‘horn’ originally.

hot, warm

verb perceptual

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **ahká•tE ~ *aRá•-hkatE*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **(Rá•)-hkatE*

Proto-Dakota **khátA*

Lakota *khátA* ‘hot’ RTC

Dakota *káta* ‘warm, hot’ SRR:269b

Stoney *kháda* PAS

Sioux Valley *kháta* PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *taakác* ‘be hot, warm’ KM:3053 , *taakac*

Proto-Dhegiha **Ráhkate*

Omaha-Ponca *nákkade* ‘hot’ RTC, RR

Kanza/Kaw *dákkaje* ‘hot, as a person, stove’ RR , *badákkaje* ‘heat by pushing something’ RR , *bódakkaje* ‘heat up from shooting’ RR , *büdákkaje* ‘heat something by rubbing, warm under one’ RR , *gadákkaje* ‘heat something by pounding on it’ RR , *nądákkaje* ‘heat up, as an engine from running’ RR , *yüdákkaje* ‘heat something by holding it near fire’ RR

Osage *dáḳadse* , *†táhkace* ‘hot’ LF:36a

Quapaw *tákkatte* ‘hot, to be hot’ RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *akáteka, akātia* , *†aká•te-* ‘shine hot on’ H , *akáta* , *†aká•te-* ‘kettle < water + instrumental + hot’ JOD , *meni?iigaat’ee?ą?a* , *†aká•te-* ES , *menii´kate´o*^{n} , *†aká•te-* LJF

General comment

Both the root and the stem formed with *aRá•-* ‘heat/cold, instrumental’ are attested. The prefix has fused in several languages to the point that in at least several languages other instrumental prefixes can be compounded with it. The Kanza/Kaw forms illustrate this clearly. What is not clear is how far back the fused stem occurred.

hot weather

natural_force_weather

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **wąšte*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **mąšte*

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *mašté* ‘warm weather’ RTC

Stoney *mastá* ‘it’s warm, sunny’ PAS

Sioux Valley *mašté* PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *mą́sǰe* ‘warm, summer’ JGT:41, W:236a

Proto-Dhegiha **mąšté*

Omaha-Ponca *mo^{n}shte* , *†mąšté* ‘sunshine’ MAS:167

Kanza/Kaw *mǫšč́é* ‘hot, summer, Democrat’ RR

Osage *mo^{n}´stse* , *†mą́šce* ‘hot weather, hot day’ LF:102a

Quapaw *mošté* ‘hot’ RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *maste, mústee* , *†maste•* ‘spring’ H

General comment

The accentual differences between Tutelo and Chiwere on the one hand and most of the other languages on the other could be explained if the proto-form were bimorphemic, nominalizing ‘absolutive’ **wa-* and **qšte* the root. The second mora accentuation rule would then assign accent on the first syllable of those languages which maintain vowel length more or less faithfully, but accent would shift to the second syllable in those languages which have tended to lose length. Unfortunately there is no independent evidence for **qšte* at present. Additionally, the Tutelo fricative does not match as expected.

household, home

noun physical_artefact_shelter

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **hti•-_kre*

Proto-Dakota **thi-_kré*

Lakota *thiglé* ‘have a family, be married, make a home’ EB:488a

Dakota *tihdé* ‘have a family, make a home’ SRR:468a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *číikeré* ‘housekeeper’ KM:227 , *ciikere*

Proto-Dhegiha **hti-_kre*

Omaha-Ponca *tigthe* , *†ttigðe* ‘home’ MAS:96

Osage *ṭsígthe* , *†hcíle* ‘reside, dwell, keep house’ LF:163a

Quapaw *ttikdé* ‘set up housekeeping’ JOD

General comment

A compound of Proto-Mississipi-Valley **hti* ‘house’ + **kre* ‘set upright’.

how

pronoun modal

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **ta•ska*

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *taškáˀ* ‘how’ H:483

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **tá•ske*

Chiwere *dahgé/dáthke (old)* ‘then it was; it was thus; is that right?’ JGT:632 , *dáthge/ dáthke* , *†dáθge* ‘how is it? what’s the matter? I don’t know and don’t care!’ JGT:687, DOR

Hoocąk *ǰaasgé* ‘how?; general question introducer’ [jaasge can inflect for 1st and 2nd person Undergoer] KM:1682 , *jaasge* ‘what kind?’ KM:1683 , *ǰaasgéižą* ‘what kind?’ KM:1683 , *jaasgeižą* , *ǰaasgéra* , *jaasgera*

General comment

Cf. ‘indefinite/interrogative (3)’, ‘near’.

howl

verb perceptual_auditory

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **wohé*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa *wú•a* ‘howl, bellow’ J , *mú•a*

Pre-Mandan **woh-*

Mandan *wohóʔš* ‘it’s howling’ RTC

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *wŭhe, wohĕ´* , *†wohé* ‘bark, barking’ D&S:287a

Proto-Catawba

Catawba *wọ’wọ́’stere* , *†wọ•* ‘I start to howl (?)’ KS, SS , *wu’wúhĕre* , *†wọ•* ‘to bark’ KS, G:531 , *wotáre* , *†wọ•* ‘cried out’ KS, SS

General comment

Essentially imitative. On the Hidatsa form, contrast ‘fish’ and compare ‘swell (2)’ as regards length in Hidatsa. Evidently, **o•he* > *Hidatsa u•a*. Cf. ‘voice (1)’ for possibly related forms.

humpbacked

verb physical_somatic

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *t'ū́ga* , *†thúŋA* 'hunchbacked; a hump or hunch' EB:501a, EJ

Proto-Dhegiha **t?óxa*

Omaha-Ponca *ðit?úxa-bi* , *†t?óxa* 'raised in a hump'

Kanza/Kaw *c?óxa* 'humped, bent, humpbacked' RR

Osage *a'baḳuṭ'oxa* , *†t?oxa* 'humpback' LF:5b

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *to"xka´* , *†tǫx-ká* 'humped, broken backed' D&S:279b

General comment

While there is nothing directly reconstructible here, there is clearly a sound-symbolic relationship between the forms found in the represented subgroups. One is reminded of Sapir's famous paper on abnormal speech types in Nootka.

hunt, seek

verb social_culture

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **-_Ré•*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **-re• (?)*

Crow *óoli* ‘wait for’ GG:52, RGG:29

Hidatsa *í•re•* ‘fall trap for buffalo’ J

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **Ré*

Proto-Dakota **Ré*

Lakota *čhą_lé* ‘gather firewood’ EB:120b , *o_lé* ‘hunt’ RTC

Dakota *o_dé* ‘seek for, hunt for’ SRR:348a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *ǎjé* , *†ǎjé* ‘gather’ JGT:2 , **uǰé* , *†ǎjé* LWR:31 , *uǰé* , *†ǎjé*

Proto-Dhegiha **Re*

Omaha-Ponca *a’ne* , *†áne* ‘embrace’ MAS:68 , *u••ne* , *†o_ne* ‘look for, seek’

Kanza/Kaw *áǰe* ‘hug’ RR , *o_ǰé* ‘look for’ RR

Osage *ádse* , *†áce* ‘embrace’ LF:7b , *udsé* , *†o_cé* LF:167a

Quapaw *otté* ‘look for’ [unmarked t in JOD, possibly oté]

Proto-Southeastern **Ré•*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *háne, ané* , *†(h)ane* ‘find’ D&S:194b

Ofo *ákde* , *†ákde* ‘find’ D&S:319b

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *inēwa* , *†iné•wa* ‘see, find’ H

Proto-Catawba

Catawba *na•ni* ‘see, find’ KS , *ka•ni?* FS

General comment

Cf. ‘find by seeking’. The Ofo forms may belong to that set rather than this, since the **r/*R* distinction is neutralized after **k*. Biloxi and Tutelo *n* before an oral vowel suggest an earlier cluster. If Crow and Hidatsa are cognate forms, the length difference is unexplained, although forms with *R* frequently have a Mandan *ʔ* (**ʔr* is a possible source of **R*) that could have yielded length.

husband

noun social_kin

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **kirą•*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **kirá•*

Crow *čiláa* ‘husband’ RG, RGG:22

Hidatsa *kirá•* ‘husband’ J

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **(i-)krą(-ke)*

Proto-Dakota **hikrą́*

Lakota *hįgná* ‘husband’ RTC , *hignáʼ* ‘husband’ EB:175a

Dakota *hihná* ‘husband’ SRR:145b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **(i)-krą́(-ke)*

Chiwere *glaŋa, mį́glaŋe* ‘marry’ [Cf. glaŋa, mį́glaŋe ‘marry’] GM

Hoocąk *hikąną́* ‘husband’ KM:911 , *hikąną* ‘woo, court (boy-girl or girl-boy)’ KM:2686 , *rukąną́* , *rukąną*

Proto-Dhegiha **e-krą́ke*

Omaha-Ponca *egthuⁿge* , *†egðǫge* ‘your husband’ F&LF:317 , *ðíegðąge* , *†egðǫge* ‘her husband’ , *egðą́ge* , *†egðǫge*

Kanza/Kaw *lą́ge* ‘man to marry’ RR

Osage *gthóⁿge* , *†lą́ke* ‘take a wife, marry’ LF:55b

Quapaw *eknáke, ekdáke, eknóke* ‘husband’ JOD

General comment

The apparent prefixes in Proto-Dakota and Proto-Dhegiha are unexplained.

husk, pull off (1), flay

verb physical_contact_deformation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **-xáhe*

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *ruxá*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **-ɣá*

Proto-Dakota **-ɣá*

Lakota *yuɣá* ‘husk corn’ RTC , *-gá, ya-* ‘peel off with the teeth; to husk with the mouth’ EB:618

Dakota *yuġá* , *†yuɣá* ‘to husk’ SRR:622b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *ruɣé* ‘husk corn, open by pulling’ JGT:166

Proto-Dhegiha

Quapaw *diɣá* ‘flay, skin with a knife’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **-xáhi*

Biloxi *páxaxahí* , *†páxaxahí* ‘pull or roll up sleeves’ D&S:219a

Ofo *tushάhi, dushάhi* , *†tushάhi* ‘pull’ D&S:331a

General comment

Cf. ‘peel (1)’ for same root with the suffix *-pe*. ‘spread out’ for a homonym.

I

I (agt.) on You (pat.) contraction

pronoun n/a

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **wa + *yi*

Pre-Mandan **wrį-* < ***warį-*

Mandan *wịrį-* '1st active on 2nd patient' RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *w + yi* < **wa + *yi*

Proto-Dakota *(w+)yi* < **wa + *yi*

Lakota *čhi-* '1st active on 2nd patient' RTC

Dakota *čhi-*

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *nį̨į-* [nį- in Lipkind-27] , *nį-*

Proto-Dhegiha **wi-* RR

Omaha-Ponca *wi-*

Kanza/Kaw *wi-*

Osage *wi-*

Quapaw *wi-*

Proto-Southeastern **wa + *yi*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *nyi-* [< nk + yi] D&S:1846

Ofo *ači-´* [<*wa + *yi]

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *máyi-* JOD

General comment

The contracted form often co-occurs with an (analogical) more regular 1st sg. actor prefix. So far, contraction appears to be an MVS phenomenon.

OVS either never contracted these pronoun prefixes or has restored them analogically throughout.

i

ice

noun physical_substance

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

- Proto-Siouan **(wa)rų•xe*
  - Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **wVrúxV*
    - Crow *bulúxa* ‘ice’ RG, GG:35, RGG:65
    - Hidatsa *warúxi* ~ *wirúxi* ‘ice’ J , *marúxi* ~ *mirúxi*
  - Proto-Mississipi-Valley **nų́xe, *Rų́xe*
    - Proto-Dakota **čháya (?)*
      - Lakota *čháya* ‘ice’ RTC
      - Stoney *čháya* PAS
      - Sioux Valley *čháya* PAS
    - Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **nų́•ye*
      - Chiwere *nų́xe* GM
      - Hoocąk *nų́ų* ‘be icy’ KM:2398 , *nųų* KM:2383 , *nų́ųyašará* , *nųų hašara*
    - Proto-Dhegiha **Rǫ́ye* ~ **Róye*
      - Omaha-Ponca *núxe* ‘ice’ MAS:100
      - Kanza/Kaw *nǫ́xe* ‘ice’ RR
      - Osage *nó^{n}xe* , *†nǫ́ye* ‘ice’ LF:117b
      - Quapaw *toyátte* ‘ice’ RR , *tóye* ‘ice’ JOD
  - Proto-Southeastern
    - Proto-Tutelo-Saponi
      - Tutelo *noñhi* , *†nuxi* ‘ice’ H , *nūŋ́y* , *†nų́•y* ‘ice’ H , *nâñq-lu-b’* , *†nąxlupa* ‘icy’ H , *nōy* , *†nų•y* ‘hail’ H
- Proto-Catawba
  - Catawba *mọhe•* ‘ice’ KS, MAS , *mǫ́hi•* KS, SS

General comment

Dakota is possibly cognate, although the initial consonant and the first vowel are irregular. Pre-Dakota secondary clusters **wy´-, *wr´-*, and **wR´-* may all become *čh´-*. This may be the regular set for **R* preceding a nasal vowel. The Quapaw form recorded by JOD is a denasalized version of the expected **nóƴe*. Catawba suggests a possible dissimilation here, cf. 'sitting, be; sitting positional'. Tutelo *nâñqlub* 'icy' (Hw.) and *nõƴ* 'hail' (H) may contain the root for 'ice', and if so suggest that the form is bimorphemic.

indefinite/interrogative (1)

particle n/a

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **ha*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Crow *ha-* in: *ham* 'some' GG:65 , *ha-* in: *hawa* 'some' GG:63 , *ha-* in: *hawahtaá* 'all over' GG:63 , *ha-* in: *hawakó•* 'somewhere' L:96 , *ha-* in: *háwarin* 'sometimes' L:97 , *ha-* in: *hawass* 'around, here and there' GG:65 , *ha-* in: *hawattán* 'somewhere' GG:63 , *ha-* in: *hawáta* 'one; other' GG:48

Hidatsa *-ha-* in: *táhawia* 'how many times?, several times' H&V , *-ha-* in: *to•haruš* 'somewhat, surely' J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *-ha* 'what thing' H:483 , *-ha* in: *táha*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **ha-*

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *-ha* 'which; which?' JGT:651 , *-ha* in: *danáha/ danáhaje* 'which one?' JGT:3776 , *-há-* , *-há-* in: *tánahá^e*

Hoocąk *ha-* in: *hačągá* 'which one?' KM:549 , *ha-* in: *hacąga* 'where?' KM:552 , *ha-* in: *hačįjža* 'everywhere' KM:553 , *ha-* in: *hacįija* , *ha-* in: *hačįjeregí* , *ha-* in: *hacįijeregi*

Proto-Dhegiha **ha-*

Omaha-Ponca *á-* in: *ánąƴ* 'how many' JEK , *á-* in: *ágodi* 'where' JEK , *á-* in: *á-na* 'how much? how many?' , *á-* in: *á-na-ska* 'how large?' , *á-* in: *á-ta*^{n} 'how long? how far?' , *a-* in: *a-tá*^{n} 'when?'

Kanza/Kaw *ha-* in: *hagó, hágo* 'why' [hagó, hágo] MR, JOD, RR , *ha-* in: *hakhą́* 'how far?, how long?, when?' RR , *ha-* in: *hánąƴ* 'how many, how much?' RR , *ha-* in: *háyǫska* 'how big, what size?' RR

Osage *há-* in: *há-go*^{n} , *†hákąƴ* 'wherefore; what has happened; what is it (?)' LF:58a , *há-* in: *há-no*^{n} , *†hánąƴ* 'how much, how many?' LF:58a , *há-* in: *há-ṭa* , *†háhta* 'why' LF:58b , *ha-* in: *ha-to*^{n}´ , *†hathą́* 'how far; what distance' LF:58b , *hó-* in: *hó-wa-ge thi*^{n}*-ge* , *†hathą́* 'nowhere' LF:67b , *hó-* in: *hó-wa-i*^{n}*-ge* , *†hathą́* 'where; in what place' LF:67b , *hó-* in: *hó-wa-the* , *†hathą́* 'where; which one' LF:67b , *hó-* in: *hú-wa-ge* , *†hó-* 'where' LF:68b

General comment

Osage forms in *ho-* seems to represent *ha-* followed by *o-* 'inside' or before a *w-*. Omaha-Ponca loses the initial *h-* irregularly, but the examples certainly seem to be cognate.

indefinite/interrogative (2)

particle n/a

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **-pa*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Crow *-paa* in: *sáapaa* ‘what’ GG:66

Hidatsa *-pá-* in: *ta•pa?* ‘what is it?’ [? question marker] J , *-pa-* in: *tá•patha•* ‘trivial, inconsequential’ [-tha• ‘not’] J , *-pa-* in: *ta•pato•k* ‘what could it be?’ J

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dakota

Dakota *apá* ‘some, a part, as of a mass of anything’ SRR:41b

Proto-Dhegiha **tópa*

Omaha-Ponca *dóba* RR

Kanza/Kaw *dóba* ‘some’ RR

Osage *dúba* , *†tópa* ‘some’ LF:40a

Proto-Catawba

Catawba *hį•pa* ‘somebody’ [it is the numeral “one” used as a pronoun] KS:207 , *-pə* in: *tą́pə* ‘something’ KS:208 , *-pa* ‘something’ KS:208 , *-pa* in: *dopa* ‘one, somebody’ KS:171 , *-pa* ‘somebody, someone, something’ KS:171 , *-pa* in: *núpa* ‘somebody, someone, something’ KS:171 , *-pá* ‘somebody’ KS:207 , *-pá* in: *nĕpá* ‘there’ KS:227 , *-pá* , *-pá* in: *dĕpá* , *-pa* , *-pa* in: *yépa* , *-ba* in: *čęba*

General comment

The variety of first syllables in Catawba constructions with indefinite sense suggests that *-pa* is indeed a suffix. This hypothesis is supported by the observation that “some” formations from **Ro* show both suffixial *-pa* and suffixial *-wa*. See *†ta•* and *†Ro*.

indefinite/interrogative (3)

pronoun n/a

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **-tą*

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *-tą́* in: *etą́* ‘some, somewhat’ EB:143b

Proto-Dhegiha **-tą*

Omaha-Ponca *-dą* in: *dádą* ‘what, something’ JEK , *-dą* in: *edádą* ‘what’ JEK , *-dą* in: *įdádą* ‘what’ JEK

Kanza/Kaw *dą́•-* in: *dą́ąska* ‘something, thing’ RR , *-dą* in: *hagó•dą* ‘why, how come, for what reason’ RR , *-dą* in: *dádą* ‘what, something’ RR , *-dą* in: *škédą* ‘probably, about, possibly’ RR , *-dą* in: *škídą* ‘even, notwithstanding’ RR

Osage *do^{n}* , *†tą* ‘a’ LF:38a , *†tą do^{n}* ‘such a place’ LF:38a

in, locative

physical_spatial

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *o-

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *ó-

Crow ó- RG

Hidatsa ó- ‘in, into’ J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan ó-

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *o-

Proto-Dakota *o-

Lakota o RTC

Stoney o PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *o-

Chiwere u-

Hoocąk ho- PV

Proto-Dhegiha *o-

Omaha-Ponca o- JEK

Kanza/Kaw o- RR

Osage o- RR

Quapaw o- RR

Proto-Southeastern *o-

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *o-

Biloxi o ~ u , †o-

Ofo o- , †o-

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo o- DSR

General comment

In Chiwere *o > u / #_, at least unstressed. Accent here is not entirely understood. In DH an accented initial *ó-* is normally from **wo < wa+o-*.

interrogative (1)

pronoun n/a

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **to•*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **to•*

Crow *co•* 'where? when? why? how? which? what? whither? whence?' L:70 , *shóohte* 'where? wherever? exactly where?' GG:65 , *shóon* 'where?' GG:66 , *có•na'ta* 'anywhere' L:71 , *shóolaa?* 'where is it?' GG:66 , *có•ra'ta* 'either one, any place' L:71 , *shóo?* 'where' GG:66 , *shóolak* 'I wonder' GG:66 , *shóssee?* 'which direction?' GG:66 , *có•tsi'k''whoever'* L:72

Hidatsa *to•* 'which?, where?' [? question marker] J , *to•-* in: *to•?* 'where is it?' J , *-to•* in: *akuto•; aku* 'which one?, relativizer' J , *tó-* in: *tóhka* 'where?' J , *to•-* in: *to•hka•ruš* 'anyplace' J , *tó-* in: *tóhta•* 'whither?' J , *to•-* in: *to•ru* 'where?' J , *to•-* in: *to•ruha•* 'which way, wherever' J , *to•-* in: *tó•ša?* 'how is it/he/she ?' J , *tó•-* in: *tó•šaruš* 'later' J , *to•-* in: *to•še?e* 'what's the matter, what did he do?' J , *to•-* in: *to•še•wa* 'why is it' J , *-to•-* in: *hé?ešato•k* 'perhaps, maybe' J , *-to•-* in: *ta•pato•k* 'what could it be?' J

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *to-* in: *tohą́hą* 'At what time? At what times, places? How far?' [of tohą] EB:493 , *tó-* in: *tóhąxci* 'some other time in the future perhaps' [Toniketu? How is it with you, how are you?] EB:493 , *to-* in: *tohą́l* 'When, when?' [also, tónagnag, tónagnakeca; of tonakeca] EB:493 , *tó-* in: *tóhąšna* 'sometime' EB:493 , *to-* in: *tohą́tą* 'for all the past time' EB:493 , *to-* in: *tohą́tu* 'When?' EB:493 , *to-* in: *tohą́yą* 'as long as, as far as; for how long?' EB:493 , *tó-* in: *tóhe* 'his place, his camp; his office or position' EB:494 , *tó-* in: *tóka* 'why? how is it? what is up?' EB:494a , *to-* in: *toká, tokhą́l* 'in another place, elsewhere; another way; another, as another person' EB:49 , *tó-* in: *tókhecae* 'why?' EB:496b , *tó-* in: *tókhetu* 'how is it? as it is' EB:497b , *tó-* in: *tókhi* 'where, somewhere' EB:497b , *tó-* in: *tókša* 'presently, by and by, before long; yes' EB:498 , *tó-* in: *tóktu* 'how is it?' EB:499 , *tó-* in: *tóna* 'how many, which?' EB:499 , *tó-* in: *tónagna* 'how many?' EB:499 , *tó-* in: *tónana* 'a few, how few' EB:499

interrogative (2)

pronoun n/a

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *tu-* in: *tuká* , *†tu-* 'that way; in that direction' D&S:281b , *tŭ-* in: *káwa tŭpéta* , *†tu-* 'whose?' D&S:204a, D&S:282a

Proto-Catawba

Catawba *təw̰˴ hinɛ* , *†tu-* 'who's that' KS:249 , *tu-* in: *tuw̰ kəneyənə* , *†tu-* 'who's his father' KS:249

interrogative (3)

enclitic n/a

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *-*wa*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa *-wa* in: *tapé•wa* ‘who could it be?’ J , *-wa* in: *tapí•ʔawa* ‘who are they?’ J , *-wa* in: *to•še•wa* ‘why is it’

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *-*wa*

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *-wa* in: *túwa* ‘who’ EB:503 , *-wa* in: *túwa tawa* ‘whose?’ EB:503

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *wa-* ‘who?’ JGT:4601 , *wa-* in: *wayé* ‘nobody’ JGT:4603 , *wa-* ‘somebody else’ JGT:4604 , *wa-* in: *wayére skúñye* ‘someone’ JGT:4605 , *wa-* ‘anyone’ HAM, JGT:4606 , *wa-* in: *wayére sun* ‘whose?’ JGT:4608 , *wa-* , *wa-* in: *wayéreˆi* , *wa-* , *wa-* in: *wayéreksu* , *wa-* , *wa-* in: *wayéretawe*

Proto-Dhegiha *-*wa*

Omaha-Ponca *á^{n}-wa(-)* ‘which?; where?’ [interrogative of place where; prefixed or preposed to article pronouns (classifiers)]

Kanza/Kaw *-wa-* in: *hówa* ‘where is the X shaped obj.?’ [+ positional art.] RR , *hówagejĩ* ‘where, to what places’

Osage *-wa-* ‘where did you buy it?’ LF:67b , *-wa-* in: *hó-wa-ge stsi-wi^{n}a (?)* ‘nowhere’ LF:67b , *-wa-* ‘where; in what place’ LF:67b , *-wa-* in: *hó-wa-ge thi^{n}-ge* ‘where; which one’ LF:67b , *-wa-* ‘where’ LF:68b , *-wa-* in: *hó-wa-i^{n}-ge* , *-wa-* , *-wa-* in: *hó-wa-the* , *-wa-* , *-wa-* in: *hú-wa-ge*

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *-wá* in: *tcuwá* , *†-wá* ‘in what place? where is it?’ D&S:267b , *-wa* , *†-wá* ‘what? Who?’ D&S:204a , *-wa* in: *káwa* , *†-wá* ‘what?’ D&S:204a , *-wa-* , *†-wá* ‘what?’ D&S:204a , *-wa-* in: *kawakĕ´* , *†-wá* ‘something or other’ D&S:204a , *-wa-* , *†-wá* , *-wa-* in: *káwat* , *†-wá* , *-wa-* , *†-wá* , *-wa-* in: *kawayá^{n}* , *†-wá*

General comment

In Hidatsa *tapí•ʔawa* ‘who are they?’, note position of plural *-ʔa-*, suggesting separability of *-wa*. All DH forms in which the -wa follows a rounded vowel are in danger of being epenthetic; alternatively, an earlier **hawa-* might have rounded to *howa-*. Cf. ‘demonstrative, locative (2)’.

interrogative (4)

particle n/a

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **we•*

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *-wé* in: *†tewé•* ‘who’ H:483 , *təwé* ‘which one’ H:483 , *-we* in: *†kótewe•* ‘where’ H:483 , *kótəwe* , *-wé-* in: *†tewé•ta* , *təwéta*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **we*

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *-wé* in: *hwé* ~ *huwé* ‘the interrogative used by women as |hwo| is used by men’ [also, tákowe] EB:191b , *-wé* in: *tákuwe* ‘Why, What for?’ [rarely] EB:476 , *-wé* in: *tuwé* ‘who? which?’ EB:503

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *wé* ‘what?’ [old] JGT:4643

Proto-Catawba

Catawba *-wę* in: *təwą́ hinɛ* ‘who’s that’ KS:249 , *-wę* in: *tuwą kəneyənə* ‘who’s his father’ KS:249 , *-wé* in: *duwé* ‘what (interrog. pronoun)’ KS:247

General comment

Nasalization in Catawba unaccounted for. See *†tu*, *†ta*, and *†Ro* for the Catawba stems. Cf. ‘who’

interrogative, indefinite > something, what

pronoun n/a

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **ta•*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **ta• J*

Crow *saa-* in: *saakée* 'what did he say?' GG:66 , *saa-* in: *sáapaa* 'what' GG:66 , *sa-* in: *sapée* 'who' GG:66 , *saa-* in: *saapií* 'why' GG:66 , *saa-* in: *sá•we* 'how many, so many, several' L:159

Hidatsa *ta•-* in: *ta•?* 'what?' [< X + ʔ 'ques. marker] J , *ta•-* in: *ta•ka•?* 'what?' [< X + Dem. †ka + ʔ question marker] J , *ta•-* in: *ta•pato•k* 'what could it be?' [-tha• 'not'] J , *ta•-* in: *ta•pa?* 'what is it?' J , *ta•-* in: *ta•pé•?* 'who is it?' J , *ta-* in: *tapé•wa* 'who could it be?' J , *tá-* in: *táhawia* 'how many times?, several times' H&V , *ta•-* in: *ta•wi?* 'how much, how many?, ʔ ques. marker' J , *tá•pa-* in: *tá•patha•* 'trivial, inconsequential'' J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *ta* 'what' [general interrogative] H:483 , *tá-* 'what thing' H:483 , *tá-* in: *táha* 'when' H:483 , *ta-* 'how' H:483 , *ta-* in: *taxkó* , *ta-* , *ta-* in: *tašká*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **ta(•)*

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *tá-* in: *táku* 'something' [also, tákowe] EB:475 , *tá-* in: *táku* 'What?' EB:475 , *tá-* in: *tákušni* 'nothing' EB:476 , *tá-* in: *tákuwe* 'Why, What for?' EB:476

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **ta•*

Chiwere *ta* 'which? someone' JGT:3730 , *da-* 'what; something; what?' JGT:614 , *da-* in: *dagú* 'what did he say?' JGT:615 , *da-* 'nothing: there's nothing' JGT:617 , *da-* in: *dagúˆé (je)* 'something; whatever (is)' JGT:620 , *da-* 'which one?' JGT:3776 , *da-* in: *dagúhñyinge* 'which; which?' JGT:651 , *da-* 'so many it is' JGT:653 , *da-* in: *dagúre* 'when' LWR:29, LWR:75 , *tá-* 'sometimes' JGT:3812, LWR , *tá-* in: *tánaháˆe* 'when?' JGT:3810 , *da-* 'how is it? what's the matter? I don't know and don't care!' JGT:687 , *da-* in: *danáha/ danáhaje* 'whose?' JGT:4608 , *dá-* , *dá-* in: *dánahe/ dáhnahe* , *ta-* , *ta-* in: *tatãnda, tatãda* , *tá-* , *tá-* in: *tátanˆso* , *tá-* , *tá-* in: *tátanda* , *dá-* , *dá-* in: *dáthge/ dáthke (DOR)/ dáhge / dá* , *-ta-* , *-ta-* in: *wayéretawe*

Hoocąk *ǰaa-* in: *ǰaagú* 'what? which? beg pardon?' [CS 67 4,5 quite a number] KM:1668 , *jaa-* in: *jaagu* 'why?' [general question introducer; can inflect for 1st and 2nd person Undergoer] KM:1669 , *ǰaa-* in: *ǰaagú'ų* 'what kind (of a one)?' KM:1670 , *jaa-* in: *jaagu'ų* 'when?' KM:1673 , *ǰaa-* in: *ǰaagúižą* 'how many, how much?' KM:1677 , *jaa-* in: *jaaguižą* 'how often? how many times?' KM:1678 , *ǰaa-* in: *ǰaaǰąną* 'how?' KM:1682 , *jaa-* in: *jaająną* 'what kind?' KM:1683 , *ǰaa-* in: *ǰaanąga* , *jaa-* in: *jaanąga* , *ǰaa-* in: *ǰaanąhą* , *jaa-* in: *jaanąhą* , *ǰaa-* in: *ǰaasgé* , *jaa-* in: *jaasge* , *ǰaa-* in: *ǰaasgéra* , *jaa-* in: *jaasgera*

Proto-Dhegiha **tá-*

Omaha-Ponca *-dá-* in: *edádą* 'what' JEK , *-dá-* in: *įdádą* 'what' JEK , *-dá-* in: *dádą* 'what, something' JEK

Kanza/Kaw *dádą* 'what, something' RR

Osage *dádo^{n}* , *†tátą* 'what, interrogation' LF:34a

Quapaw *tátą* 'what?' RR

Proto-Catawba

Catawba *ta-* in: *tame* ‘when (interrogative)’ [táyo cidó? = where are you going?] KS:248 , *tá-* in: *táyo* ‘where’ [nəneya tárenɛ? = where’s your father?] KS:248 , *tá-* in: *tárenɛ* ‘where’ KS:248 , *ta-* ‘where you’ KS:53 , *ta-* in: *taíyə* ‘something’ KS:208 , *tɑ-* in: *tɑpɑ* ‘how’ KS:133 , *tɑ̨* , *tɑ̨*

General comment

**ta•* appears uncompounded in Hidatsa, Mandan, and Chiwere, in all of which it also appears with a variety of suffixes. That derivation from **ta•* was early is evident from cognate derivations in Catawba, Hidatsa and others. Chiwere variation is transcriptional only.

island

noun physical_spatial_place

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **wíte*

Pre-Mandan **wí•t-*

Mandan *wí•ktat* ‘island’ RTC , *wítka* H:293

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **wíte*

Proto-Dakota **wíta*

Lakota *witá* ‘island’ RTC , *wíta* EB:590a

Dakota *wíta* ‘island’ SRR:579a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *ǰélomiǰe* [ǰe lake] GM

Hoocąk *wíič* ‘island’ KM:3645 , *wiic*

General comment

The Chiwere form is presently unanalysable but certainly resembles the Hoocąk form plus nasalization. The Mandan form observed by Carter appears to be a recent metathesis, with the *-ta* ‘locative (6)’ suffix. Proto-Siouan vowel length may be justified.

itch (1)

verb physical_somatic_disease

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **xa-*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Crow *xaliá* 'itch' GG:60, RGG:102

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *-ga, apá-* 'beset with prickles' EB:87

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *duxayĕ´* , *†duxayé* 'scratch in order to relieve itching' [feminine of duxayĕ´] D&S:219b , *duxayaxa^{n}* , *†duxayé* 'scratch' , *dúxayaxa$^{n´}$* , *†duxayé* 'scratch' D&S:219b , *pą́ duxayĕ´* , *†duxayé* 'scratch the head' D&S:219b

General comment

Crow *-ia* suggests earlier **-ihe*, possibly to be aligned with Biloxi through ***xayéhe* (?).

itch (2)

verb physical_somatic_disease

General comment

The Hidatsa form may represent an assimilation from **xari-*; cf. 'itch (1)'.

j

jaw

noun physical_somatic_body_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **ré•pa*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **ró•re•pa*

Crow *dúuleepe* ‘jaw’ RG, GG:45, RGG:70

Hidatsa *ró•ro•pa* ‘jaw’ J , *nó•ro•pa*

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *ró•hu•pa* ‘jaw’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **(i-)re•pa*

Proto-Dakota **čhehúpa*

Lakota *čhehúpa* ‘jaw’ RTC

Dakota *ćehúpa* ‘the under jaw’ SRR:98b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **rá•pe*

Chiwere *hí láwe* GM , *teeth holder*

Hoocąk *ráap* ‘lower jaw’ KM:2527 , *raap* ‘chin’ JWE , *hiiráp* , *hirap*

Proto-Dhegiha **répa*

Omaha-Ponca *théba* , *†ðéba* F&LF:107

Kanza/Kaw *yéba, yébahü, yeba wahü* RR

Osage *théba* , *†ðépa* ‘under jaw, jaw’ LF:143a

Quapaw *díba wáhi* ‘chin’ JOD , *dibáhį* ‘beard’ JOD

General comment

Dakotan *čh* is the reflex of **r* after **i-*, here the inalienable possessive prefix often applied to body parts. Kanza/Kaw shows *hu* ‘bone’ compounded with ‘jaw’. Mandan and Dakota have seemingly incorporated the root for ‘bone’: e.g., Dakota **čhépahu* > *čhehúpa*, perhaps under the influence of *hupa*, ‘stem, stalk’. Crow/Hidatsa seem to show additional changes from a form like that reflected in Mandan: first, the assimilation of **-h-* to the preceding *r*; secondly the swapping of vowels (Crow) or the assimilation of **e•* to **u•* (Hidatsa). Chiwere/Hoocąk are not properly cognate as they appear to have been reanalyzed (?) as ‘holder’ and compounded with ‘teeth’.

jealous

verb psychic_emotion

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dakota **na-_wizi*

Lakota *nawízi* ‘jealous’ EB:362b

Dakota *nawízi* ‘jealous’ SRR:339b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **nąąʔiʒį*

Chiwere *ñiyeðį* LWR , *ñĩthi, niyẽnthin*

Hoocąk *nąąʔíʒį* KM:2114 , *nąąʾiʒį*

Proto-Dhegiha **nąwązi*

Omaha-Ponca *noⁿwoⁿçi* , *†nąwązi* ‘jealous’ MAS:105

Osage *noⁿ´woⁿçi, nǫ́wǫzi* , *†nąwązi* [1s anoⁿ´woⁿçi]

General comment

Chiwere *ą + i > i*. The relationship between the epenthetic (?) *w* and *ʔ* has yet to be explained. These forms certainly appear to be cognate, but they have undergone some interesting assimilations that make reconstruction difficult. This appears to be a MVS form.

juice, liquid

noun physical_consumption

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **húpV*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **húp-*

Crow *húppii* 'soup' RG, GG:49, RGG:14

Hidatsa *húpa* 'soup' J

Pre-Mandan **huṗrįhe*

Mandan *huṗįrį̂he* 'soup' RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dakota **haą́pí*

Lakota *haą́pí* 'milk' [> azé 'breast + haą́pí] RTC , *asáp̨i*

Dakota *haŋpí* 'broth, soup, gravy' SRR:124b

Sioux Valley *haą́pí* PAS

General comment

The Mandan 'soup' term appears to be an old compound, since nasality is marked twice. This is one of numerous terms in which irregular *ą/ų* correspondences are found.

jump

verb physical_motion

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **psí-kE*

Pre-Mandan **:pšik (?)*

Mandan *pšik* ‘to push’ H:154 , *rápšiko?š* ‘he pushes away by foot’ H:154

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **psíkE*

Proto-Dakota **psíčA*

Lakota *psíča* ‘jump’ RTC , *-psípsiča, pa-* ‘push and make fly as chips’ EB:432 , *-psiča, aká-* ‘make jump etc. on by striking, as by splashing water on one’ EB:69 , *-psíča, na-* ‘skip, hop, jump around’ EB:355 , *-psíča, wa-* ‘make chips fly’ EB:548 , *-psiča, wayú-* ‘make jump’ EB:571 , *-psíča, ya-* ‘cause to skip or jump by biting’ EB:626

Stoney *pθíja* ~ *pθíya* PAS

Sioux Valley *psíča* PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *nąąsík* ‘use feet to control something, stop something rolling with the foot’ KM:2222 , *nąąsik* ‘be agile, energetic’ JWE:92 , *wasisík* ‘any active game’ KM:1836 , *wasisik* , *kíisik* , *kiisik*

Proto-Dhegiha **síke, *wasísike*

Omaha-Ponca *†wasísige* ‘active’

Kanza/Kaw *wasísige* ‘active, as a warrior’ RR , *nąsísige* ‘dart rapidly’ RR , *nąsíge* ‘kick aside’ RR , *basíge* ‘knock aside, make fly as water’ JOD, RR , *büsíge* ‘press, as the sap from wood’ RR , *dásige* ‘sparks, give off, spit coals’ RR , *dásisige* ‘sparks or coals, to give off frequently’ MR, RR , *nąsíge* ‘walk on gravel and kick it’ JOD, RR , *nąsísige* ‘move or dart rapidly at short intervals’

Osage *no^{n}çíge, nǫsíke* , *†nąsíke* ‘lift or kick aside with foot’ LF:113a , *waçíçige* , *†wasísike* ‘brave, valorous, valiant, active; prowess’ LF:186a

Quapaw *wasísike* ‘brave’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *ptce, pĭtcĕ́, ptcedí, pĭtcédi* , *†pičé-di* ‘jump, leap, as a grasshopper, sturgeon, etc.’ D&S:248b , *ptcedí, pĭtcédi* , *†pičé-di* D&S:249

General comment

Biloxi may be related via fricative symbolism. Cf. the ‘snowshoe’ words, also ‘brave (1)’, ‘brave (2)’, ‘brave (3)’. MVS shows that this form was typically reduplicated. As with ‘hard > strong, ripe’, MVS has added a root extension *-ke*. Biloxi, assuming relatedness, suggests that a reconstruction with an initial syllable vowel may possibly be justified, e.g., **pisí-kE*.

jump over

verb physical_motion

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **t?ąpe*

Hidatsa *u?a•* 'climb' J

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **a?ų*

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *a?ųą* 'pass over' EB:97a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *at?ą́we* 'jump over' LWR:2, LWR:59

Hoocąk *t?ąąp* 'jump' KM:3022 , *t'ąąp* 'come into a village suddenly, as a war party' , *hot?ąp* , *hot'ąp*

Proto-Dhegiha

Omaha-Ponca *uáⁿsi* , *†o-ą́si* 'jump' , *aáⁿsu-* , *†a-ą́su-* 'jump over'

General comment

Cf. 'fly (1)', 'lay' for similar consonantism. Hoocąk and Chiwere *t* is apparently a reflex of epenthetic **r* that was inserted to separate vowels in 1st and 2nd person forms of these verbs. In these forms *?* is not ordinarily present. The citation/3rd person forms seem to contain the organic **?* plus the analogical *r*, which, as elsewhere, *>* *t* when in a cluster with a laryngeal (*h* or *?*). Omaha-Ponca *áąsi* could be a compound of *áąp* + *(p)si* (both meaning 'jump').

juniper, red cedar

noun plant

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **xąte*

Pre-Mandan **oxtą•re*

Mandan *óxtąre* ~ *óxtą* 'cedar' H:134 , *oxtą́* 'pine tree?' RTC , *oxtą́•* 'sage?' RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **xą́te*

Proto-Dakota **xąté*

Lakota *xąté* 'cedar' RTC

Dakota *ȟaŋté* , *†xąté* 'cedar' SRR:162a

Proto-Dhegiha

Omaha-Ponca *áxoⁿdepa* , *†xąde* 'wrist guard' F&LF:225

Kanza/Kaw *xą́ǰe* 'cedar' RR

Osage *xoⁿ´dse* , *†xą́ce* 'red cedar' LF:219a

Quapaw *xątté* 'cedar' RR , *xǫttéhi* 'cedar' JOD

General comment

The Omaha-Ponca term refers to a packet strapped to the sacred (cedar) pole: *a-* 'on, upon', *xąde* 'cedar', *-pa* 'locative (?)'. (Analysis from JEK).

The Biloxi term for 'cedar' is borrowed from Western Muskogean. Quapaw stress has shifted; it must have been initial earlier in order for the **t* to geminate.

The Mandan root appears to exhibit an irregular syncope. Cedar has sacred properties among all or most of the Siouan-speaking peoples.

k

kernel, seed

noun plant_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **sú•*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **cu•*

Crow *baáchuukaata* ‘cherry’ GG:74 , *baáčuu* ‘chokecherry’ GG:18, RGG:13

Hidatsa *cú•wi* ‘seed, pit’ J , *tsu•wa* ‘seeds’ HV , *wá•cu* ‘berry, chokecherry’ J , *má•cu*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **su*

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *sú* ‘seed’ RTC

Sioux Valley *su* PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **su•*

Chiwere *θú* ‘seed’ RR

Hoocąk *súu* ‘seed’ KM:2878 , *suu*

Proto-Dhegiha **sü*

Omaha-Ponca *sí* ‘seed’ RR

Kanza/Kaw *sü* ‘seed’ RR

Osage *uçú* , *†-sü* ‘grain, seed’ LF:167a , *watóⁿçu* , *†-sü* ‘squash seed’ LF:205a

Quapaw *si* ‘seed’ RR

Proto-Southeastern **isú•*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **isú*

Biloxi *sú, súya* , *†sú* D&S:258b

Ofo *ǐ́ fhu* , *†ífhu* D&S:323b

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *tasūye; tasūi* , *†sú•* ‘eye’ H, N , *pasūye, pasūi* , *†sú•* ‘head’

General comment

Cf. ‘hail’.

kettle

noun physical_artefact_container

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **yeSE* ‘kettle’

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **wiráxa*

Crow *biláxa* ‘bucket, pail, drum’ RG, GG:31

Hidatsa *wiráxa* ‘kettle, pot, pail’ J , *miráxa*

Pre-Mandan **:wrexE*

Mandan *wérexE, wérex* ‘bucket, container’ [lengthens previous vowel] RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dakota **čhéɣa*

Lakota *čhéɣa* ‘kettle’ RTC

Dakota *ćéġa* ‘kettle, pot, pail, bucket’ SRR:97

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **Ré•xe*

Chiwere *déxe* ‘kettle, bucket’ JGT:13

Hoocąk *téex* ‘kettle’ KM:3117 , *teex*

Proto-Dhegiha **Ré•ɣe*

Omaha-Ponca *néɣe* ‘kettle’ RTC

Kanza/Kaw *ǰé•ɣe* ‘kettle’ RR

Osage *ṭséxe* , *†céɣe* ‘kettle, pot for cooking’ LF:161a

Proto-Southeastern **yes-*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *yěskąsáⁿ* , *†yeskəsą́* ‘tin, a tin bucket’ D&S:292a

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *yesíñk* , *†yesį•k* ‘kettle’ H:1878 , *yesīŋk* , *†yesį•k* H:1879

Proto-Catawba

Catawba *yəsku?* ‘bucket’ KS

General comment

Chiwere/Hoocąk and DH forms in **R* are phonologically irregular and perhaps due to the falling together of 'kettle' and 'shine (1)', q.v. Biloxi *są* 'white'.

kill (1)

verb psychosomatic_caus

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **kité*

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *ktÉ* 'to kill' H:123

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **kté*

Proto-Dakota **kté*

Lakota *kté* 'kill' RTC

Dakota *kté* PAS

Stoney *kté* PAS

Sioux Valley *kté* PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *kiikjé* 'kill an enemy in warfare' KM:1818 , *kiikje*

Proto-Southeastern **kité•*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **kithé*

Biloxi *kte, kĭtĕ´, kitĕ´* , *†kité* 'hit, shoot at' D&S:214b

Ofo *ktɛ̆´, ktĕ* , *†kthé* 'kill' D&S:326a

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *kitē, ktē, kitēse* 'kill, shoot, beat' H

General comment

Proto-Siouan **kté* 'kill' could possibly be derived from **t?ére* 'die' by some very old process. This root was contaminated by that meaning 'shoot at' in OVS. Since Ofo and probably Tutelo had an active second syllable aspiration rule, a Proto-Southeastern *kithé* may be justified.

kill (2)

verb psychosomatic_caus

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **t?é•-hi_E*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa *tíhe* ~ *téhe* ~ *táhe* 'kill' [all causative] J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *té•here?š* 'he killed it' RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **t?é-_re*

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **t?é•-hi*

Chiwere *č?éhi* 'kill' GM

Hoocąk *t?eehí* 'kill' JWE , *t'eehi (= t'ee + hii)*

Proto-Dhegiha **t?é-_re*

Omaha-Ponca *t'ec/e* , *†t?é-_ðe* 'kill'

Kanza/Kaw *c?éye* 'kill' RR

Osage *ṭs'éthe* , *†c?é-_ðe* 'sly, destroy by killing, dispatch' LF:160a

Quapaw *t?édȼě* , *†t?é-_de* 'kill' JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *ṭeyě´* , *†te_ye* 'kill, cause to die' D&S:273b

General comment

This is a compound of 'die' and 'do, make, work; to cause', q.v.

knee, lap, thigh

noun physical_somatic_body_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **ši-(r)-ą́te ~ *ši-(r)-ú́te*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **išú•tE < **išrútE (?)*

Crow *išúuši* ‘knee’ RG, GG:94, RGG:74

Hidatsa *išú•tE* ‘lap’ J , *išú•ti*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **širą́te*

Proto-Dakota **šiyóte*

Lakota *šiyȟto* ‘muscle on front part of leg’ EB:464a , *šiyū´te* ‘front part of legs, lap’ EB:464a , *śiyóte* ‘knees, lap’ SRR:445b

Dakota *śiyótȯ* ‘knees, front part of legs, lap’ SRR:445b

Proto-Dhegiha **šinąte*

Omaha-Ponca *shinoⁿ´de* , *†šinąde* ‘knee’ F&LF:109

Kanza/Kaw *šíyaje, šiyáje* ‘knee’ RR

Osage *shinoⁿ´dse ~ shithoⁿ´dse* , *†šinące ~ †šiðące* ‘knee’ LF:131b

Quapaw *šinątte, šinǫ́tte* ‘knee’ RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *tcinañkí* , *†činąkí* ‘knees’ D&S:264a , *tcinantá waxehĕ´* , *†činątá* ‘patella’ D&S:264a

General comment

This appears to be an old compound. Cf. ‘thigh’. The medial **-r-* may be epenthetic. Proto-Crow-Hidatsa and Dakota have irregular vowels in the second root. On the postulated Proto-Crow-Hidatsa development, cf. ‘slip (3)’. It is also possible that Proto-Crow-Hidatsa merely merged the vowels without having to deal with an epenthetic glide.

Chiwere *šášge* ‘knee’ may be at least partially cognate ultimately if the compound can be analyzed. The **-r-* in MVS and OVS may be epenthetic; this might best account for the long vowel of MRS.

knife

physical_artefact_tool

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **sąhi (?)*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **-chi* < **-cVhi*

Crow *bíčči* 'knife' RG, GG:34, RGG:42

Hidatsa *wé?chi* 'knife' J , *mé?echi*

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *masá, masái; masẽⁿ́; macẽⁿ́* , *†mą•są́•i* N, H, JOD , *masé^{n}i, maseei, masaa* , *†mą•są́•i* JOD , *maaθé'e* , *†mą•są́•i* [t = θ] ES:295 , *maṭé^{n}* , *†mą•są́•i* LJF:479

Proto-Catawba

Catawba *sępa?* [Cf. also CA pɑsé? 'axe'] MS, KS , *sịpé* FGS

General comment

Cf. 'blade, edged tool', 'axe', 'chert, flint', 'sharp (1)', 'sharp (2)'.

knob > taper

perceptual

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dakota **sri*

Lakota *sli* 'tapering' EB:457a

Dakota *sdi* 'tapering' SRR:432b , *sditká* 'tapering, rounded off' SRR:432b , *sditkátka* 'knobbed, having knobs or grooves running round' SRR:432b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *hawušíri* 'be at a dead end' KM:2954 , *hawuširi* 'fungus' KM:2954 , *nąą caašíri, hoširí* 'knot in tree' KM:2954 , *nąą caaširi, hoširi* , *nóocakíširi* , *noocakiširi*

General comment

Dakota and Hoocąk show different spirant ablaut grades.

knock (1)

verb physical_contact_impact

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **táxE*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **táxxE*

Crow *táxxe* 'make loud noise, bang (stative)' RG , *tattaxí* 'rattle' GG:57

Hidatsa *táxxE* 'tap' [caus] J , *taxxE, pá-* 'poke, pick at' J , *taxxE, náka-* 'knock, hammer, cut little pieces of wood, pound' J , *taxxE, ná-* 'gnaw' J , *taxxE, nú-* 'shake door knob noisily; chip; tamper' J , *tátaxxE, ha-* 'notch, whittle, get all meat out by knife' J , *taxxE, ara-* 'prance, stalk, walk with short, fast steps' J , *táxxahe* 'make a cracking noise'

Pre-Mandan **tax-*

Mandan *táxo?š* 'he bellows, makes a loud noise' H:246 , *ratáxo?š* 'he cries' H:246 , *katáxo?š* 'he knocks' H:246

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **taxe*

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *wadáye* 'tap' JGT:251

Hoocąk *ǰax* 'splash' KM:1691 , *jax*

Proto-Dhegiha **-taɣe*

Kanza/Kaw *gadádaɣe* 'knock repeatedly, woodpecker' RR , *daɣe, bó-* 'flip' JOD, RR

Osage *gadádaxe* , *†katátaɣe* 'knock' LF:44a , *hithádadaxe* , *†hiðátataɣe* 'chatterer, screech owl'

Quapaw *póttaɣe* 'flip, w. forefinger/thumb' RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *tax, tatáxědí, éṭaxkiyé* , *†taxe-di* 'patter, drumming sounds' D&S:269a

General comment

This root probably involves sound symbolism. Hoocąk has a complete fricative ablaut set, cf. 'knock (2)'. Crow/Hidatsa gemination is not explained unless it represents an earlier reduplication pattern.

knock (2)

verb physical_contact_impact

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **htášE*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa *taššE, ara-* ‘step in mud and get sucking noise; slap with foot’ [cf. *taššahi* ‘a slap’] J , *taššE, ná-* ‘nibble and make eating noise’ J , *taššE, naka-* ‘pat’ J , *taššE, nú-* ‘stick hand in mud and get sucking noise; erotically massage woman’ J

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **htašE*

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *cácaš, boo-* ‘type (on typewriter); tap’ KM:43 , *boocacaš* ‘chatter’ WL:47.1, KM:985 , *cácaš, hira-* ‘tap with the foot in time to music; make noise walking’ KM:2124 , *hiracacaš* , *cáš, nąą-* , *nąącaš*

Proto-Dhegiha

Kanza/Kaw *ttáxe, ga-, -xi* ‘tap, make a tapping noise’ [ga-, -xi] MR, JOD, RR , *ttáttaxe, ga-* ‘tap repeatedly’ RR , *ttaxi, ba-* ‘grating sound of knife againstbone’ JOD, RR

Quapaw *ttáxe, ba-* ‘dry up, root up the soil’ RR , *ttáxe, bi-* ‘dry up, press dry’ RR , *ttaxé, da-* ‘gnash the teeth’ RR , *ttáxe, da-* ‘dry up from being gnawed’ RR , *ttáxe, di-* ‘dry out by pulling up, uproot’ RR , *ttáxe, ka-* ‘crack and die from being cut v as corn’ RR , *ttáxe, nąą-* ‘stomp, trample, thump w. feet’ RR , *ttaxe, pá-* ‘cut and dry up, e.g. cornstalk’ RR , *ttaxe, pó-* ‘dry up from punching, cause to’ RR , *ttaxe, tá-* ‘dry up and die vi as vegetation from the sun’ RR , *ttáže, ba-* ‘popping sound from pushing’ , *ttáže, bi-* ‘popping sound from pressing’ , *ttáže, da-* ‘popping sound, make w. mouth’ , *ttáže, ka-* ‘clap the hands’ , *ttáže, nąą-* ‘pop by stepping on’ , *ttaže, pó-* ‘thrust and cause popping sound’ , *ttaže, tá-* ‘popping sound, to make a’

General comment

Cf. ‘blister’. In this set the geminate *šš* of Hidatsa is not explained.

Cf. ‘knock (1)’.

knock over, lean

verb physical_contact_impact

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **(a)khą*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Crow *ík̇axxi* ‘lean on’ [f directional] RG, GG:86

Hidatsa *í•ka•xE* ‘lean against’ [stative inflection] J , *í•ka•xi*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **-khą*

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *-ką, boo-* ‘push or knock over with a quick blow, as with a car or bow and arrow’ KM:57 , *bookᵊą* ‘knock over by striking’ KM:363 , *-ką, gi-* ‘push over, v.tr.’ KM:3336 , *gikᵊą* ‘tip over by pulling; cover’ KM:2685 , *-ką, wa-* , *wakᵊą* , *-ką, ru-* ~ *hirukᵊą* , *rukᵊą, ~ hirukᵊą*

Proto-Dhegiha **-khą*

Omaha *ákoⁿ* , *†ákhą* ‘lean on’

Omaha-Ponca *†áðikhą* ‘leaning’

Kanza/Kaw *yükhą́* ‘lean as a door, shift as the wind’ RR , *báyükhą* ‘lean, cause by cutting, as chair legs’ JOD, RR , *bayű́khą* ‘lean, cause by pushing over’ RR , *bóyükhą* ‘lean over, cause by punching, shooting’ RR , *büyű́khą* ‘lean, to cause by weight or pressure’ JOD, RR , *gayű́khą* ~ *-yí-* ‘shove, push, knock to a leaning pos.’ MR, RR, JOD , *nąyű́khą* ‘lean, cause by pushing or lifting with the foot’ JOD, RR , *yüyű́khą* ‘make sth. lean by pulling on’ RR

Osage *ákoⁿ* , *†ákhą* ‘lean on’ LF:12b

Quapaw *ákhą* ‘lean on’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *akaⁿˀ* , *†ak(h)ą́* ‘topple, lean against’ D&S:205a

know (1)

verb psychic_cognition

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **ų-spé•*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dakota **ų-spe*

Lakota *ųspé* ‘know’ RTC

Stoney *úspe* PAS

Proto-Southeastern **ų-spé•*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **į-spé*

Biloxi *spĕ́, cpi* , *†įspé* ‘know how to’ D&S:257b , *iⁿspĕ́xtitu* , *†įspé* ‘they know very well how to do it’

Ofo *afpĕ́ni* ‘forget, not know’ D&S:319a , *iⁿ́fpĕ* , *†įfpe* ‘know’ D&S:325a

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *koñspēwa* , *†ųspe•* ‘think, remember’ [< ki + ǫspe + na bipartite negative] H , *kíąkoⁿcpéwa* , *†ųspe•* ‘remember’ JOD , *kíoⁿcpéna* , *†ųspe•* ‘not know’ JOD

General comment

Our reconstruction of length is based solely on a) Tutelo, where it is attested and b) position in the word, where it is expected.

know (2), recognize

verb psychic_cognition

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **i-hų*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **íṗahų*

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *iwáhųŋe* ‘know, recognize’ GM

Proto-Dhegiha **íṗahų*

Omaha-Ponca *íbahoⁿ* ‘know’ MAS:108

Kanza/Kaw *íbahǫ* ‘know’ RR

Osage *íbahoⁿ* , *†íṗahǫ* ‘know’ LF:69a

Quapaw *íbahą, íbahǫ* ‘know how, recognize’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *yéhoⁿ, yěˀhoⁿni* , *†yéhą-ni* ‘know, recognize’

know (3)

verb psychic_cognition

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **é•hke*

Crow *éhče* ‘know’ GG:47, RGG:90

Hidatsa *é•hke* ‘know’ J

Pre-Mandan **í̱hek-*

Mandan *íheko?š* ‘he knew it’ RTC

l

lace, lace up

verb physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **pazúṭE*

Proto-Dakota **pazúṭtA*

Lakota *pazúṭtA* ‘lace, sew’ EJ

Dakota *pazúŋta* , *†pazúṭta* ‘sew’ SRR:418a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *waθúǰe* ‘sew’ GM

Hoocąk *waazúč* ‘be enveloped with a feeling’ KM:3997 , *waazuc*

Proto-Dhegiha **pazǫ́te*

Omaha-Ponca *†gazą́de* ‘plait’

Kanza/Kaw *íbazą́je* ‘lace up’ RR

Osage *ábaço"dse* , *†ápazą́ce* ‘lace up’ LF:5a

Quapaw *íbazǫ́tte* ‘lace up a pack’ JOD

General comment

Chiwere *θ* may be a transcription error. It should be voiced.

lake, water

noun physical_spatial_aquatic

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **waRé• ~ *ye•*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **wRé < **wayé (?)*

Proto-Dakota **wré*

Lakota *blé* ‘lake’ RTC

Dakota *mdé* ‘lake’ SRR:312b

Stoney *mné* PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **Ré•*

Chiwere *ǰé•* ‘lake’ RR

Hoocąk *tée* ‘lake’ KM:3109 , *tee*

Proto-Dhegiha **Ré*

Omaha-Ponca *né* ‘lake’ RR

Kanza/Kaw *ǰé ttáŋa* ‘ocean’ RR

Osage *cé* ‘lake’ RR

Quapaw *té* ‘lake’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *yetáñi, yetaai* ‘sea’ H

Proto-Catawba

Catawba *yą, yąhiye•* ‘water’ KS

Woccon *yup•se* ‘rum’ [< ‘water’ + ‘bitter (?)] JL

General comment

Cf. ‘water’.

laugh

verb psychic_emotion_expression

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **-xahe ~ *-xehe*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **khá•*

Crow *káa* RG, GG:50, RGG:51

Hidatsa *khá•* ‘laugh’ J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *í̱kxqh* ‘tease, laugh, smile’ H:126

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **í̱(k)xa*

Proto-Dakota **i̱xá*

Lakota *ixá* ‘laugh’ RTC

Dakota *iȟá* ‘laugh’ SRR:190b

Stoney *i̱xa* PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **ikšá*

Chiwere *i?sá* ‘laugh’ LWR , *ʔi?sá* RR

Hoocąk *hikšá* ‘laugh, smile’ KM:947 , *hikša*

Proto-Dhegiha **í̱xa*

Omaha-Ponca *í̱xa* ‘laugh’ RR

Kanza/Kaw *í̱xa* ‘laugh’ RR

Osage *íxa* , *†í̱xa* ‘laugh, titter’ LF:81b

Quapaw *í̱xa* ‘laugh’ RR

Proto-Southeastern **axéhe ~ *i̱kxehe (?)*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *háxahě, iñkxihí, iⁿkxihi* ‘laugh’ D&S:218b

Ofo *ashehi* ‘laugh’ D&S:321b , *iⁿshéhi, iⁿshehí* ‘laugh at’ D&S:321b

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *iñkçē; inksēha* , *†i̱kse•ha* ‘laugh’ N, H , *iñkcéha* , *†i̱kse•ha* JOD

Proto-Catawba

Catawba *haha* KS , *kaha*

General comment

Doublets in Ofo/Biloxi suggest Proto-Siouan **-xahe* ‘to laugh’ and **i- ~ į-* plus **k* plus **-xahe* ‘to laugh at’, where the root is made transitive by the prefixes. MRS shows only **k-xahe*, Dakota and DH **i-xahe*, Mandan and Chiwere/Hoocąk the full derivation. Biloxi/Ofo had both derived and simplex forms; Tutelo has only the full derivation. The variation in vowels in OVS is not accounted for. Hidatsa *kh* is from earlier **kVh* or **kVx*.

lay

verb physical_somatic_posture

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **ʔúpE*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa *ákipi* ‘harnessed; a team horse’ J , *ákiphe•* ‘to lay sth. over or across sth.’ J , *makípihe•* , *†wakípihe•* ‘cross, crisscross (logs, one’s arms, etc.)’ J

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **ʔúpe*

Proto-Dakota **-ʔuŋpa*

Lakota *aʔúŋpa* ‘lay, place wood on fire’ EB:97a, EB:85b

Dakota *a-oŋ´* ‘lay, place wood on fire’ SRR:40b , *a-oŋ´-pa* ‘lay, place wood on fire’ SRR:40b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **-tʔuŋpe*

Chiwere *atʔą́we* ‘lay’ LWR:2

Hoocąk *-tʔuŋp* ‘place sth. long crosswise, lengthwise’ , *t’ųųp*

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *iⁿpí, hiⁿpí* , *†(h)ipí* ‘put down large horizontal object’ D&S:202b

Proto-Catawba

Catawba *pi•* ‘lie, be lying’ KS

General comment

Cf. ‘jump over’ for similar consonant set, also ‘fly (1)’. Cf. also ‘lay down, lay on’. Hidatsa *ákipi* ‘harnessed; a team horse’ is from synchronic *aki-* ‘across’ + *pE* ‘lying’. Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **-t-* < epenthetic **-r-* in first and second person forms, extended to third. In Biloxi *h* often is found as a reflex of Proto-Siouan autonomous **ʔ*. The Biloxi first vowel is probably due to assimilation, as is (historically) the first *i* in the Hidatsa forms. Cf. ‘copulate (1)’ The DH stem *(k)-ǵhe* ‘lay’ may be related to this set.

leaf (1)

noun plant_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **á•pe*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **á•pa*

Crow *áapa* 'leaf' RG, GG:2, RGG:11

Hidatsa *á•pa* 'leaf' J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *ápe* 'leaf' H:58 , *wą́rąʔpe* 'leaves, tea' RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **ápe*

Proto-Dakota **apé*

Lakota *apé* 'leaf' RTC

Dakota *apé* 'leaf, leaves, blade of grass, fin of fish' SRR:45b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **á•pe*

Chiwere *náwe* 'tree leaf' [< ną́ + áwe] W:235b , *ną́•we* RR

Hoocąk *áap* 'leaf, n.; scale, n. (of fish)' KM:12 , *aap* 'leaf; tea (not brewed)' KM:2109 , *nąąʔáp* , *nąąʾap*

Proto-Dhegiha **ápe*

Omaha-Ponca *zhoⁿ́be* , *†žǫʔábe* 'tree leaf' MAS:111

Kanza/Kaw *žą́yabe* 'tree leaf' RR

Osage *ábe* , *†ápe* 'foliage, leaves, leaf' LF:6a

Quapaw *apé* 'leaf' JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **á•phi*

Biloxi *hápi, hapí, hap* , *†hapi* 'leaf' D&S:195a

Ofo *ā´pi, aphí* , *†á•phi* 'leaf' D&S:321a, JSS

Proto-Catawba

Catawba *ha* 'tree leaves' KS , *yáp'há* FGS

General comment

Ofo aspiration may result from contamination of ‘leaf (1)’ and ‘leaf (2)’.

The Mandan form ‘leaves, tea’ is a compound: *:wrą* ‘tree’ and *apE* ‘leaf’.

leaf (2)

noun plant_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **waxpé*

Proto-Dakota **waxpé*

Lakota *waxpé* ‘leaf’ RTC

Dakota *waxpé* PAS

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Ofo *ā ́pi, aphí* ‘leaf’ D&S:321a, JSS

General comment

Cf. ‘leaf (1)’

leech

noun animal_worm

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **-srá*

Proto-Dakota **thusrá*

Lakota *thuslá* ‘leech’ RTC

Dakota *tusdá* ‘leech’ SRR:481b

Proto-Dhegiha

Omaha-Ponca *kiçná* , *†kkisná* ‘leech’ MAS:112

Kanza/Kaw *kkistá* ‘leech’ RR

Osage *ḳiçdá* , *†hkistá* ‘leech’ LF:85a

General comment

Omaha *kkisną* (also) means Anser gambelli ‘a small black goose’. Quapaw *kkesną́* ‘same’. Biloxi *poxonó* ‘snail’ (DS-247a) is not related.

left (side or hand)

verb, noun physical_spatial

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **(i-)rátka*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **i-ráhkiša*

Crow *iláhčisa* ‘left hand or side’ RG, GG:87, RGG:64

Hidatsa *irahkiša* ‘left side or hand’ J

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **rátka*

Proto-Dakota **ča_tká*

Lakota *čhatká* ‘left hand’ RTC

Dakota *ćatká* , *†ča_tká* ‘left handed’ SRR:96b

Stoney *čakta* RKH

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **rátke*

Chiwere *a•ráhǰe* ‘left, left hand or arm’ RR

Hoocąk *(hoi)ráčge* ‘the left, n.’ KM:1318 , *(hoi)racge*

Proto-Dhegiha **ráhta*

Omaha-Ponca *tháta* , *†ðátta* ‘left handed’ MAS:112

Kanza/Kaw *yátta* ‘left’ RR

Osage *tháṭa* , *†ðáhta* ‘left-handed’ LF:288b

Quapaw *dátta* ‘left hand or side’ JOD

General comment

Dakotan forms suggest the influence of **i-* possessive in ‘left hand’; thus **r* > **y*.

leggings

noun physical_artefact_dress

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **hų́•si*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **itha•ci* < **itaha•ci*

Crow *issaachí* ‘leggings’ GG:92, RGG:17

Hidatsa *ithá•ci* ‘his leggings, pants’ J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *hų́•ši* ‘pants’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **hųską́*

Proto-Dakota **hųską́*

Lakota *hųską́* EB:189a

Dakota *huŋską́* ‘leggings’ SRR:158b

Proto-Dhegiha

Osage *ítsio^{n}ça , †-o̧ska* ‘legging straps’ LF:81a

leg, thigh

noun physical_somatic_body_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **yeka*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **i-rikÉ́*

Crow *iličí* ‘hind quarter of animal’ RG, GG:87, RGG:104

Hidatsa *irikÉ́* ‘his/her/its leg’ J , *irikí*

Pre-Mandan **rokE*

Mandan *roké* ‘leg’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **yeká*

Proto-Dakota **čheká*

Lakota *čhečá* ‘thigh’ RTC

Dakota *ćeca´* ‘thigh’ SRR:97b

Stoney *čheǰá* ‘leg’ PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **(i-)ré•ke*

Chiwere *ré•ge* ‘hind leg, upper leg’ RR

Hoocąk *réek* ‘thigh’ KM:2598 , *reek*

Proto-Dhegiha **žeká*

Omaha-Ponca *žegá* ‘leg’ RR

Kanza/Kaw *žegá* ‘thigh’ RR

Osage *zhegá* , *†žeká* ‘upper part of the leg’ LF:222b

Quapaw *žeká* ‘leg, hind leg’ RR

Proto-Southeastern **yek-sa•(-hi)*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Ofo *tcąfhahi, tcąfhâ^{n}he* ‘leg, calf of leg’ D&S:329a

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *yeksā; ieksā, yeksāi* , *†yeksa•* N, H

General comment

Cf. ‘shin’

let’s see, well, um

interjection n/a

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **hį-*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa *i•* ‘um’ J

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **hį + (ta)*

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *įska* ‘um’ RTC , *hináa* ‘women’s interjection of surprise’ EB:175b , *hiŋ* ‘interjection of disappointment, whoops’ EB:175b , *hinúu* ‘women’s interjection of happiness’ EB:175b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *hį-ada* ‘we see’ [conjugated verb form (?)]

Proto-Dhegiha

Omaha-Ponca *hĭ́ndá* ‘let us see’ JOD:63.9

Kanza/Kaw *hį́e* ‘question marker’ JOD

Osage *hi^{n}da* , *†hįta* ‘now, let me see, let me (think)’ LF:60b

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *i^{n}dá* , *†įdá* ‘well!’ D&S:201b

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *ehį́* ‘nową, hortative’ GRO

General comment

V. also Lakota *híŋyaŋka* ‘wait, hold on, imperative’ (B-177b). **hį-ta* appears to be one of numerous interjections based on **hį*. Cf. also Tunica *híntu, hínto* ‘come on!’ “not a Tunica word” according to informant (Haas-215).

lick

verb physical_contact

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **srípE*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **-cipE*

Crow *chipi, dáa-* ‘lick’ RG, GG:40, RGG:25

Hidatsa *-cipE, ra-* ‘lick’ J , *nacipi*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **srípE*

Proto-Dakota **srípA*

Lakota *slípA* ‘lick’ RTC , *slípa, wa-* ‘lick with the tongue’ EB:549

Dakota *sdípa* ‘lick’ SRR:432b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *siríp, ra-* ‘lick, v.tr.’ KM:2564 , *rasirip*

Proto-Dhegiha

Omaha-Ponca *gisníbe* ‘licked his own’

Kanza/Kaw *sčű́we, sčű́be* ‘lick’ RR

General comment

Kanza/Kaw *ü*, while not regular, represents a common outcome of **i* next to a labial consonant. In Crow/Hidatsa loss of *r* without even so much as lengthening of the vowel is unexplained. **srútE* ‘slip’ undergoes similar treatment in Crow/Hidatsa.

lid, cover

noun

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **i-ha*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **ihá*

Proto-Dakota **ihá*

Lakota *ihá* ‘cover, lid’ EJ

Dakota *ihá* ‘cover, lid, stopper’ SRR:184a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *iihá* ‘lid’ KM:1630 , *iiha (> ii + haa)*

Proto-Dhegiha

Kanza/Kaw *íhaže* ‘on top’ RR

General comment

Cf. ‘cover (1)’. Possibly **i-* ‘instrumentive’ + **há* ‘be covered’.

lie, be lying, positional

verb physical_somatic_posture

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **wíį́•kE*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **wá•ki, *wuk-kE*

Crow *baačí* ‘be in a position involuntarily’ RG

Hidatsa *wá•kE* ‘be lying’ J , *má•ki* ‘exist, be, positional’ J , *wáhku* , *máhku*

Pre-Mandan **wąk, *wąkahe*

Mandan *ówąk* ‘bed’ RTC , *wąkóʔš* ‘be, be lying’ RTC , *wąkahe* ‘these lying’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **wíį́kE ~ *yúį́kE*

Proto-Dakota **wąkA´ ~ *yųká*

Lakota *yųká* [1s muką́] RTC

Dakota *†wąká* [1s muką́] SRR

Stoney *yųga* PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **-wąke ~ *hą́ke ~ *yą*

Chiwere *†hą́ŋe* GM, JGT:104 , *iyáñyan* , *†iyą́yą* ‘be lying’ JGT:104 , *-mąða* in: *qemanc/a* , *†-mąða* ‘frost’ JOD

Hoocąk *boową́k* ‘knock down by running into or pushing over’ KM:3616 , *boowąk* ‘cut down’ PV , *giwą́k* ‘positional’ , *giwąk* , *-(h)ąk* , *=(h)ąk, =wąk, =aak*

Proto-Dhegiha **wąke ~ *žą*

Omaha-Ponca *-wąge* in: *qewañge* , *†-wąge* ‘frost’ JOD

Kanza/Kaw *-mąge* in: *xémąge* ‘frost’ RR , *žą́* ‘lie, be lying’ RR

Osage *mąke* in: *xémoⁿge* , *†-mąke* ‘frost’ RR , *žą́* , *†-mąke* ‘lie, be lying’

Quapaw *žą́* ‘lie, be lying’ RR , *xą́įke* ‘frost, killing frost’ RR

Proto-Southeastern **mą́ki*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **mą́ki*

Biloxi *máñi̱ki, mañi̱kí* , *†mą́ki* D&S:227a

Ofo *mô´ñki* , *†mą́ki* D&S:326a

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *mahaměñ´gise* , *†-mąki-* [mę́ki- ?] DSF

Proto-Catawba

Catawba *wąʔ* ‘sit’ FGS , *mųri* ‘dwell’ PV:67

General comment

Positionals **wųkE* ‘lie’ and **hąkE* ‘stand’ were partially merged in Chiwere-Winnebago through replacement of **w-* by *h-*, although the full form appears to be preserved in the compound ‘frost’. The Proto-Siouan sequence **wų* is an unacceptible cluster in most Siouan languages, and it always dissimilates in one of two ways. Either **w* > *r* or **ų* > *ą*.

Dakotan, Chiwere and DH all preserve at least two differently dissimilated reflexes of ‘be standing’. Proto-Siouan **rą•kE* ‘sit’ has conjugated forms in which *ą* > *į*, *mįk-*, *nįk-*, etc. in DH, Chiwere (?) and dialectally in Dakota (Assiniboine). It appears that Proto-Siouan **wųkE* ‘lie’ may have undergone a parallel (perhaps analogical) development illustrated by Quapaw *xą́-įke* ‘frost’ and Stoney *wį́ga* (PAssiniboine) ‘stay overnight’. Koontz suggests that the *w* in many, if not all *wų* stems is actually epenthetic. This might provide a principled reason for the lack of match in the modern correspondences. Biloxi, Ofo forms are exceptional in retaining initial labial resonants normally lost in those languages. This may be what led Wolff to reconstruct an initial **a-*. As classifiers, these positionals are postposed to nominals and often become clitics, a fact that may better account for the retained labial resonants in the Southeast. Cf. also important note under ‘be sitting’.

light in weight

verb perceptual_tactile

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **háha*

Proto-Dakota **hahá-*

Lakota *hahála* ‘loose, easily moved’ EB:164a

Dakota *hahádą* ‘easily moved, light in weight’ SRR:122a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **háha*

Chiwere *háha* ‘light, not heavy’ JGT:24

Hoocąk *hahą-nį́k, hahą́-įk* ‘be light in weight’ KM:564 , *hahąįk*

Proto-Dhegiha **háha*

Omaha-Ponca *hahada* ‘light’ MAS:113

Kanza/Kaw *háha hįŋa* ‘light in weight’ RR

Osage *háha* , *†háha* ‘light, not heavy’ LF:58a

Quapaw *háha* ‘light in weight’ RR

General comment

Cf. ‘float (1)’. The Omaha-Ponca form may have been borrowed from Dakota. The Dakotan suffix is the diminutive, as are the (calqued?) suffixes in Kanza/Kaw and Hoocąk.

lightning, forked (?)

noun natural_force_weather

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **-karí-*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **karíhk-*

Crow *kalíhčii* ‘lightning’ RG, GG:50, RGG:7

Hidatsa *karíhka* ‘lightning’ J

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **ru-krí*

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *luglí, lúgli* ‘lightning’ GM

Proto-Dhegiha **-kríze*

Omaha-Ponca *ðigðíze-mą́ðį* ‘Forked Lightning Walking’ [name]

Quapaw *dikdíze* ‘lightning’ JOD , *čikjíze* ‘lightning’ OM, RR

General comment

There is contamination from **kres-* ‘marked > spotted, striped (1)’. Kanza/Kaw *ttolíli* ‘rainbow’ (JOD) and Osage *ṭ'ðilíe*, *thigthí-é* ‘sparkle’ (LF-146b) appear to illustrate the simplex form of this root. Cf. also Hidatsa *karícka* ‘glisten, sparkle, gleam’.

lightning, sheet (?)

noun natural_force_weather

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **ąpV*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **ą́pV*

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *ǰaaǰą́p* ‘lightening (sic)’ KM:1675 , *jaająp* ‘lightning’ KM:1694 , *hooǰą́p* ‘lightning bolt’ KM:3342 , *hoojąp* , *wakąjóoǰą́p* , *wakąjoojąp (= wakąja hoojąp)*

Proto-Dhegiha **rü-ą́pa*

Omaha-Ponca *thió^{n}ba* ‘sheet lightning’ MAS:113

Kanza/Kaw *yüǫ́ba* ‘sheet lightning’ RR

Osage *thihó^{n}ba* , *†ðühą́pa* ‘lightning’ LF:147a

Quapaw *diąba* ‘sheet lightning’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Ofo *ąmptíyaho* , *†ąptí•yaho* ‘it thunders’ D&S:321a , *ąmtcą́ki* , *†ąpčə́ki* ‘it lightens (sic)’ D&S:321

General comment

In Ofo Swanton refers to lightning, but he does not use the word. In the Ofo MS -ing is written above lightenˆs with a caret. Given Swanton’s assimilated nasal transcription with *m*, the *p* must be underlying. The Ofo form may contain an incorporated form of ‘daylight’ *ąnp-* minus the OVS *ną-* prefix that yields *nąp-* in isolation. The other terms, meaning ‘lightning’ rather than ‘thunder’, pretty clearly incorporate reflexes of ‘daylight’, whether historically or by folk etymology. Lakota *tųwą́pi* in *wakhíyą tųwą́pi* refers to the “Thunderbirds’ glance”; the term consists of *tųwą́* ‘to look at’ and the *-pi* pluralizer. Thus the form does not belong with this set.

lip

noun physical_somatic_body_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **išti*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *išti* ‘lower lip, under lip’

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *īstablaksīk* , *†i•staplaksi•k* ‘lip’ H , *istī* , *†isti•* ‘beard’ H , *istihiōi* , *†istihio•i* ‘beard’ H

Proto-Catawba

Catawba *hístak* ‘his jaw, cheek’ KS

lip (upper), snout

noun physical_somatic_body_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **ahpú•ti*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **apú•ti*

Crow *apú•ši* ‘nostril, area between nose and upper lip’ GG:12, RGG:68 , *apúushi*

Hidatsa *apú•ti* ‘upper lip’ J

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **hpúte*

Proto-Dakota **phuté*

Lakota *phuté* ‘upper lip, beak of mosquito’ RTC

Dakota *puté* ‘upper lip, snout’ SRR:429a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *pų́ųč* ‘depressed area between upper lip and nose just under nose; snout (of animal, or in jest, of person); area of upper and lower jaw, from under nose down to chin’ KM:2514 , *pųųc*

General comment

Cf. ‘nose (3), nostril’. The meanings of the Crow form suggest that **apú•ti* ‘upper lip’ and ***apú•Si* ‘nostril’ may have become homophonous through regular merger of *t* and *š* before *i*. It is possible that this form consists of Proto-Siouan **ahpá* ‘head, nose (1), front end’ plus Proto-Siouan **hú•te* ‘base, root, stump’.

little, young, child

verb person

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **yíkE*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **yíka*

Proto-Dakota **čhįká*

Lakota *čhįčá* ‘child’ RTC

Dakota *ćiŋćá* ‘child, young of animals’ SRR:101a

Stoney *ǰíǰa* ‘offspring’ PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **-yįke*

Otoe *-yįñe* ‘diminutive’ JDH

Hoocąk *-nįk* ‘diminutive’ KM:1157 , *-nįk, -įk*

Proto-Dhegiha **žíka*

Omaha-Ponca *žíga* ‘little’ RTC

Kanza/Kaw *žíga* ‘little’ RR , *-hiŋa* ‘diminutive’ RR

Osage *žíka* ‘little’ RR

Quapaw *žíka* ‘little’ RR

Proto-Southeastern **yíki*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **yíki*

Biloxi *yíñki, yiñkí, yiñkiya^{n}´* , *†yíki* ‘small, young, son’ D&S:294a

Ofo *tcï´ñki* , *†číki* ‘little, small’ D&S:329b

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *yéñki* , *†yíki* ‘young’ H

General comment

Proto-Mississipi-Valley argues for a final *-*a* in this root, while Proto-Southeastern argues for *-*E*.

Cf. ‘son’. Tutelo *eñ* is normally a reflex of *q*, but here seems better normalized as *į*.

liver

noun physical_somatic_body_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba **pí•*

Proto-Siouan **ahpí•*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **apišá*

Crow *aptá* ‘liver’ RG, GG:12, RGG:68

Hidatsa *apišá* ‘liver’ J

Pre-Mandan **pi?re*

Mandan *pí?re, pí?* ‘liver’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **hpí*

Proto-Dakota **phí*

Lakota *phí* ‘liver’ RTC

Dakota *pí* ‘liver’ SRR:421b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **phí•*

Chiwere *phí, waphí* ‘liver’ GM

Hoocąk *píi* ‘liver’ KM:2476 , *pii*

Proto-Dhegiha **hpí*

Omaha-Ponca *ppí* ‘liver’ RTC , *tteppí* ‘animal liver’ RR

Kanza/Kaw *ppí* ‘liver’ RR

Osage *hpí* ‘liver’ LF:128b , *pi*

Quapaw *ppi* ‘liver’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern **pí•(-yą)*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *pi* , *†pí* ‘the liver, his or her liver’ D&S:245b , *píya^{n}´, piya^{n}´* , *†píyą* [A liver cut out of a body would be called *pi*, not *piya^{n}*.] D&S:245b

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *tāpi* , *†ta•pi•* ‘heart’ H

Proto-Catawba

Catawba *hipí•yą* ‘his liver’ FS

General comment

N.B. Biloxi and Catawba *-yą*. This and other cases in which the southeastern Siouan languages match Catawba in very precise ways may turn out to be the result of borrowing rather than inheritance. In this instance, however, Mandan *-ʔ-* in conjunction with the Biloxi and Catawba *-y-* may indicate that *-ʔ-* and *-y-* mark juncture. On the basis of the comment in Dorsey and Swanton we speculate that the final **ą* may be a fossilized correlative marker of inalienable possession. The Omaha-Ponca and Tutelo forms are compounded with 'bison' and 'deer, ruminant' respectively.

locative (1)

particle n/a

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *-ki* in: *tēk, or teki* , *†-ki* 'here' D&S:273a

Proto-Catawba

Catawba *-ki* in: *mon kí* , *†-ki* 'near the ground' KS:164 , *-ki* in: *impi kí* , *†-ki* 'fireplace; lit. fire here' KS:164

locative (2)

particle n/a

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **-ra*

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *-ya* in: *héciya* 'at that place, there' EB:170 , *-yą* in: *téhąyą* 'far away' EB:486 , *-yą* in: *tohą́yą* 'as long as, as far as; for how long?' EB:493 , *-yą* in: *toką́yą* 'having ref. to another place' EB:495b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *-rá* 'this one; here it is' JGT:2009 , *-rá* in: *jará*

Proto-Dhegiha

Kanza/Kaw *-ya* in: *yégaya* 'here, in this place' RR

locative (3)

particle n/a

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *dĭ* , *†di* ‘when’ D&S:183b , *aní ḳnedí* , *†-dí* ‘in, in the water’ D&S:205a

Proto-Catawba

Catawba *tcębárina* , *†-ri-* ‘there he was’ [†-ri- *in* “tcębárina”] KS:53

locative (4)

particle n/a

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **ro*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa *-ru(k)* ‘verbal subordinator, when’ [aru- verbal prefix] J , *-ru* in: *aru-* ‘at that time’ J , *-ru-* in: *haruk* ‘then, when’ J , *-ru-* in: *hi•ruk* ‘when, by the time’ J , *-ru* in: *íaru* ‘over there’ J , *-rú* in: *kuarú* ‘over there’ H&V , *-ru* in: *ó•ka•ru* ‘there’ J , *-ru* in: *še?eru* ‘then, there’ J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *-ɛro* ‘strict locative’ H:433

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dhegiha **ro*

Omaha-Ponca *-ðo* in: *ðéðu* ‘here’ JEK

Kanza/Kaw *-yó-* in: *gayó* ‘there (unseen), yonder, then, and’ RR , *-yó-* in: *gayóje* ‘then, at that time or place’ RR

Osage *-thu* in: *gá-thu* , *†ðo* ‘at that time and place’ LF:47b , *-ðo* in: *shé-thu* , *†ðo* ‘yonder, there where you are’ LF:131a

Quapaw *šédo* ‘yonder, there’ RR

General comment

Vowel length in some of the MRS forms is not accounted for.

locative (5)

particle n/a

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **rą*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **-ną*

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *-na* in: *ecána* ‘soon’ [in ref. to time and place] EB:136 , *-na* in: *ektána* ‘there behind, after’ EB:142 , *-na* in: *éna* ‘right here’ EB:142 , *-na* in: *kákhena* ‘somewhere, in some direction’ EB:280 , *-na* in: *thahéna* ‘on this side’ EB:473 , *-na* in: *itáhena* ‘on this side of, i.e. in time or place’ EB:237

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *-na* ‘close/ soon (in time)’ JGT:855 , *-na* in: *éswena/ éshwena* ‘time: a very long time’ JGT:3619 , *-na* , *-na* in: *thˆíanna*

Hoocąk *-nąą* in: *higúąnąą* ‘right now, right away’ KM:857 , *-nąą* in: *higųąnąą* ‘when?’ KM:1673 , *-nąą* in: *jaająąnąą* , *-nąą* in: *jaająnąą*

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *nąą* in: *tcókana*^{n} , *†-nąą* ‘when?’ D&S:265b

locative (6)

particle n/a

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **-ta*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **ta*

Crow *sás-* 'soon' RG

Hidatsa *-ta* in: *táta* 'early' J , *-ta* in: *-hkita* 'into' J , *-ta* in: *ro•tá* 'this side' J , *no•tá*

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *-ta* in: *tewé•ta* , *†tewé•ta* 'where' H:483 , *təwéta* , *†tewé•ta* , *-ta* in: *té•hąta* , *†té•hąta* 'it's far away' H:483 , *téhąta* , *†té•hąta* 'on the ground' H:484 , *-ta* , *†té•hąta* 'in his mouth' H:484 , *-ta* in: *wą́ʔąkta* , *†té•hąta* 'in the water' H:484 , *-ta* , *†té•hąta* , *-ta* in: *íhta* , *†té•hąta* , *-ta* , *†té•hąta* , *-ta* in: *wiŕíta* , *†té•hąta*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **ta*

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **-ta*

Chiwere *ą-da* 'at; to; on' JGT:606 , *-ta* 'then; and then' LWR, JGT:782 , *-ta* in: *éda/ éta* 'then it is' JGT:1260 , *-da-* 'at' LWR, JGT:906 , *-da-* in: *hádare* 'at that time' JGT:924 , *-ta* 'just then; there; in that place' JGT:915 , *-ta* in: *gáda/ káta* 'over there' JGT:1148 , *-da* 'in; within' JGT:3194 , *-da* in: *gáreda* 'into' JGT:3197 , *-da* 'inside' JGT:3198 , *-da* in: *gída/ ga ída* 'within; inside' JGT:3199 , *-da* 'there/ right there' JGT:3411 , *-da* in: *gósida/ góshida* 'in that event' JGT:3438 , *-da* 'whence/whither' DOR, JGT:3783 , *-da* in: *róda [ra + u + da]* 'when?' JGT:3810 , *-da-* 'when' LWR:29, LWR:75 , *-da-* in: *ródagi* , *-da-* , *-da-* in: *ródagun* , *-da-* , *-da-* in: *ródawa* , *-da* , *-da* in: *séda/ shéda* , *-da* , *-da* in: *sgéda/ shgéda/ shkéda* , *-da-* , *-da-* in: *tandáwa/tanwá* , *-da* , *-da* in: *tátanda* , *-da* , *-da* in: *tatãnda/tatãda*

Hoocąk *-ja* in: *cį́ija* 'where' KM:256 , *ja* in: *haci̱ija* 'there' KM:298 , *-ja* in: *éeja* 'there' KM:892 , *ja* in: *eeja* 'over there' KM:454 , *-já* in: *hijá* , *ja* in: *hija* , *-já* in: *goojá* , *ja* in: *gooja*

Proto-Dhegiha **-ta*

Kanza/Kaw *-da* in: *mą́da* 'at length, in the course of time' JOD, RR , *-da* in: *góda* 'yonder' RR , *-da-* in: *gódaha* 'over there, thither' RR

Osage *-da* in: *dó-da* , *†tóta* 'in this direction' LF:37b , *-dá* in: *hi^{n}-dá* , *†hi̱tá* 'now; at this moment; at once' LF:60b , *-da* in: *góda* , *†kóta* 'ahead' LF:53a , *-da* in: *gó-da to^{n}* , *†kótathą* 'that person standing yonder' [ritual term] LF:53a

Quapaw *imą́-tta* 'other side, at or on' RR

Proto-Catawba

Catawba *tak* 'at' [detá•ca hok´nąturu? = where will I go sit down at?] KS:48 , *-tá•-* in: *detá•ca* 'where' KS:248

General comment

Other instances of *-ta* locative in Mandan appear on H-484. *-ta* locative may be derived from or at least contaminated by *†ta* 'other side'. Cf. *-ša* locative

locative (7)

particle n/a

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **-ti*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dhegiha **ti*

Omaha-Ponca *-di* in: *águdi* , *†ágodi* ‘where’ [tti- house] JEK , *-di* in: *ttiadi* , *†ágodi* ‘in the tent’ JEK , *-di* in: *édi* , *†ágodi* ‘there’ JEK , *-dí-* in: *edíthą* , *†ágodi* ‘from there’ JEK , *-di-* in: *gúdigahau* , *†godigahaw* ‘go thither!; get away’ JEK , *-di-* in: *dúdigahau* , *†dódigahaw* ‘come hither!’ JEK

Kanza/Kaw *-jí* in: *eǰí* ‘there, in that place’ [éji RR] MR, RR , *-jí-* in: *eǰíkhą* ‘there, from, thither, from that place’ RR , *-jí* in: *gaǰí, gaǰí* ‘across’ RR , *-ǰi* in: *géǰi, ge eǰi* ‘towards the sc/in objs, or the place or land’ RR , *-ǰi* in: *gagóǰi* ‘now, just now’ RR , *-jí-* in: *goǰí, go:jí* ‘far off, remote, long way off’ MR, RR , *-ǰi* in: *yegóǰi, yegó:ǰi* ‘now, at this time or place’ RR , *-ǰi* in: *yeyóǰi, yéyoǰi* ‘somewhere, not far off’ RR

Osage *DSi* , *†ci* ‘there, designating place’ LF:39b , *-ci* in: *e-dsí* , *†-ci* ‘there’ LF:40a , *-ci-* in: *e-dsí-to*^{n} , *†-ci-* ‘thence; from that place’ LF:40a

Quapaw *étti* ‘there’ RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *-ti* in: *ĕ́ṭi* , *†-ti* ‘there, this is it’ D&S:192a , *-ti* in: *ĕ́ti* , *†-ti* ‘here’ D&S:192a , *-ṭí-* in: *ĕṭíke* , *†-ti* ‘so, thus, as’ D&S:192a

General comment

Cf. ‘locative (9)’.

locative (8)

particle n/a

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *-tka* in: *itka* in: *háawitka* , *†-tka* ‘under the leaves’ D&S:200b , *-tká-* in: *itkáya*^{n} , *†-tká-* ‘inside, within, in’ D&S:200b , *-tk’* in: *tí́tk’* , *†-tk’* ‘into the house’ D&S:200b , *-tka* in: *nĕ́tka* , *†-tka* ‘right here’ D&S:236a

Proto-Catawba

Catawba *-tkɑ́-* in: *utkɑ́ni* ‘long time’ KS:150 , *-tkɑ-* in: *atkɑni•réko* ‘long while ago’ KS:150 , *-tkɑ́-* in: *utkɑ́nerekó* ‘long while ago’ KS:150 , *-tkɑ́-* in: *utkɑ́nihere* ‘long while ago’ KS:150 , *-tka-* in: *arátkənrɛ* , *†-tka-* ‘a long time ago’ KS:150 , *-tkɑ* in: *ará‘tkɑnire* , *†-tka-* ‘long time ago’ KS:150

General comment

Cf. ‘far, towards, into’.

locative (9)

adverb n/a

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *tŭ* , *†tu* ‘here’ D&S:281a

General comment

Cf. ‘locative (7)’.

locative, demonstrative

particle n/a

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **-ka*

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *-ka* in: *laxcaka* ‘very’ [suff. particle.] EB:322a , *-ka* in: *tóka* ‘why? how is it? what is up?’ [this usually ref. to space; cf. *lehąkeca, hehąkeca*] EB:494a , *-ca* in: *ecéca* ‘to be so, be affected with, as with a cold or disease, to be like’ [tokeca imatokeca; perhaps better, ítokeca] EB:137 , *-ca* in: *héca* ‘such, such like; belonging to such a clan, or such a description’ EB:169 , *-ca* in: *kákheca* ‘in this manner, thus’ EB:279 , *-ca* in: *léca* ‘such as this’ EB:323 , *-ca* in: *léceca* ‘like this, such as’ EB:323 , *-ca* in: *séca* ‘as, though, seemingly’ EB:453a , *-ca* in: *tohą́keca* ‘How long?’ EB:493 , *-ca* in: *itókeca* ‘to be altered, changed; to be affected by in any way’ EB:241 , *-ca* in: *tónakeca* ‘some, a few. also, interrog. how many, how much?’ EB:499

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *-gá* in: *hagá* ‘time, occurrence, instance’ KM:554 , *-ga* in: *haga* ‘how many, how much? quite a number’ KM:1677 , *-ga* in: *jaanága* ‘that much’ KM:4006 , *-ga* in: *jaanąga* , *-ga* in: *žeenága* , *-ga* in: *žeenąga*

Proto-Dhegiha **-ka*

Kanza/Kaw *-ga* in: *šéga, šegá* ‘yonder, in that vi. place’ [JOD] RR , *-gá* in: *yegá* ‘here, right here’ RR , *-gá-* in: *yegáha* ‘here, right here’ RR

Osage *-ka* in: *ṭsé-ga* , *†-ka* ‘recently; anew; early; new, as a new blanket, a new robe’ LF:158b

Quapaw *-šeka* ‘there’ RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *-ká* in: *yañká* , *†-ká* ‘when’ D&S:290a , *-ká* in: *tuká* , *†-ká* ‘that way; in that direction’ D&S:281b

Proto-Catawba

Catawba *-kát* in: *hukát* , *†-kát* ‘now’ KS:168 , *-ká* in: *hakáte* , *†-ká* ‘now indeed’ KS:168 , *ya•kəwɛʔ* , *†-kə-* ‘that woman’ [†-kə- *in* “ya•kəwɛʔ”] KS:225 , *-kąˊ* in: *dé•kaˊ* , *†-kąˊ* ‘that’s me’ KS:225 , *-ką* in: *mónaka* , *†-ką* ‘the ground’ KS:225 , *-ką* in: *óka* , *†-ką* ‘he’ KS:125 , *-ka* in: *tci•(ka)* , *†-ka* ‘there’ KS:227

General comment

The Catawba entries appear to be quite flexible morphotactically and are listed with both the prefixed and suffixed Siouan forms which are best considered distinct morphemes.

long (1)

verb perceptual_visual

Proto-Siouan-Catawba **srét*

Proto-Siouan **srétE*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **srétE*

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **sréte*

Chiwere *θlé́je* ‘long’ W:236a

Hoocąk *seréč, serecî* ‘be long; be tall’ KM:2813 , *serec, sereçi (> serec + xji)*

Proto-Dhegiha **sre•te*

Omaha-Ponca *snedé* ‘long’ RTC , *sne•dé ~ sné•de* ‘long’ RR

Kanza/Kaw *sčejé* ‘long’ RR

Osage *stsedsé* , *†scecé* ‘long; tall; a tall man’ LF:134b , *scé•* , *†scecé* ‘long’ RR

Quapaw *stétte* ‘long’ RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Ofo *ftē´tka* , *†fté•tka* ‘long’ D&S:323b, JSS

Proto-Catawba

Catawba *səret-* ‘pull’ FGS:87, FGS:88a

General comment

Cf. ‘slide (4)’ for the Catawba root, also.

long (2)

verb perceptual_visual

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **hą́skE*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **háckE*

Crow *háčka* ‘tall, long’ RG, GG:48

Hidatsa *hácke* ‘long’ J , *hácki*

Pre-Mandan **hą́ška-*

Mandan *hą́ška?š* ‘it’s long, tall’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dakota **hą́ska*

Lakota *hą́ska* ‘long, tall’ RTC

Dakota *háŋska* ‘long, tall’ SRR:124b

Sioux Valley *hą́ska* PAS

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *naskĕ´* , *ṫnąské* ‘long, tall, as a tree’ D&S:232b

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *yapóske, yumpañkatska* ‘long’ H

General comment

Status of the OVS forms is uncertain, but compare with the reflexes for ‘day’, ‘louse’, where we also have *h* corresponding to *n* in the SE.

Perhaps a combination of ‘long (2)’ and the similative *ska* (see ‘near’), following Boas and Deloria. This would explain the partial cognacy of the SE terms.

long ago, far away

time

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **hte•-hą*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **tia* < **tíhe*

Crow *shía* ‘a long time’ GG:63 , *shía* ‘long after’ GG:66 , *shíassaa* ‘shortly, not long’ GG:66

Hidatsa *tía* ‘to be late, take a long time’ [-tha• ‘not’] J , *tía-* in: *tíatha•c* ‘not long ago’ H&V , *tí•-* in: *tí•ši* ‘distant, far, long’ J , *tí•-* in: *tí•šša* ‘far away’ J

Pre-Mandan **te•hą-*

Mandan *té•hą?š* ‘it’s far away’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dakota **théhą*

Lakota *théhą* ‘far, long in ref. to time and place’ EB:486a , *téhątą* ‘from afar’ EB:486 , *théhątu* ‘far off, to or at a great distance’ EB:486b , *téhąyą* ‘far away’ EB:486

Dakota *téhan* ‘far’ , *téhantu* ‘distant’

General comment

We cannot tell with certainty whether Dakotan *-hą* is ‘from’ or ‘long, extended in time or space > distant, then’, though we incline towards the latter, which is clearly reflected in Crow/Hidatsa and Mandan.

long, extended in time or space > distant, then

particle perceptual

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **hą*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **ha*

Crow *shía* ‘a long time’ GG:63 , *shía* ‘long after’ GG:66

Hidatsa *ha-* in: *hak* ‘then’ H&V , *ha-* in: *hakha•* ‘this time’ H&V , *ha-* in: *haruk* ‘and then, when’ J , *ha-* in: *háwa* ‘then, again, there, and’ H&V , *-a-* in: *tía* ‘to be late, take a long time’ J , *-a-* in: *tíatha•c; -tha•* ‘not long ago; not’ H&V , *-a-* in: *tíaruk šíakha* ‘after a long time’ J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *hą́-* in: *hą́hik* ‘time, occasion’ H:65 , *-hą-* in: *té•hą?š* ‘it’s far away’ RTC , *-hą-* ‘it’s far away’ H:483 , *-hą-* in: *téhąta*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **-hą*

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *-hą́* in: *ehą́* ‘then, at that time; then, at that place; to, thus far’ [word is used when one is pointing at the same time, as in saying: He emp (please check the content of this field)] EB:139 , *-hą́-* in: *ehą́na* ‘long ago’ [in ref. to time and place] EB:140 , *-hą́-* in: *ehą́tą* ‘already, ever since, from the outset’ [of toha] EB:140 , *-hą́-* in: *ehą́tąha* ‘from, from that time or place’ [cf. lehąkeca, hehąkeca] EB:140 , *-hą́-* in: *ehą́tu* ‘at that time’ EB:140 , *-hą́-* in: *ehą́tuke* ‘just then, then; indeed’ EB:140 , *-hą́-* in: *ehą́tuxci* ‘just at that time’ EB:140 , *-hą́-* in: *ehą́yą* ‘so far, as far as, up to a certain mark, as in filling a bottle’ EB:140 , *-hą* in: *héha* ‘at that time, then’ EB:171 , *-hą-* in: *hehą́xca* ‘then and not until then’ EB:171 , *-hą-* in: *héhąni* ‘then’ EB:171 , *-hą-* in: *hehą́tą* ‘from that time; therefore’ EB:171 , *-hą-* in: *hehą́tąha* ‘from that time, therefore’ EB:171 , *-hą-* in: *hehą́tu* ‘at that time, then’ EB:171 , *-hą-* in: *hehą́yą* ‘so far, in ref. to places; so long, in ref. to time; from that time at that time, then’ EB:171 , *-hą* in: *kahą́* ‘to this, thus far’ EB:273 , *-hą-* in: *kahą́tu* ‘to that, so far, so long’ EB:273 , *-hą-* in: *kahą́tuya* ‘so far’ EB:273 , *-hą-* in: *kahą́yą* ‘thus far’ EB:273 , *-hą-* in: *kahą́yela* ‘only so far, only so long’ EB:324 , *-hą* in: *lehą́* ‘now, thus far; at this place’ EB:814 , *-hą-* in: *lehą́kata* ‘Hither, from far away’ EB:324 , *-hą-* in: *lehą́keca* ‘so long, so high, so short’ EB:324 , *-hą-* in: *lehą́tąha* ‘from this’ EB:324 , *-hą-* in: *lehą́tu* ‘to this, thus far; now’ EB:324 , *-hą-* in: *lehą́tuya* ‘to this extent, on this wise’ EB:324 , *-hą-* in: *lehą́yą* ‘so far, in space; so long, in time’ EB:324 , *-hą* in: *letą́hą* ‘from this place or this time’ EB:486a , *-hą* in: *théha* ‘far, long’ EB:486 , *-hą-* in: *téhątą* ‘from afar’ EB:486 , *-hą-* in: *théhątąha* ‘from afar’ EB:486b , *-hą-* in: *théhątu* ‘far off, to or at a great distance’ EB:486b , *-hą-* in: *théhątuya* ‘far off, to or at a great distance’ EB:486 , *-hą-* in: *téhąyą* ‘far away’ EB:493 , *-hą* in: *tohą́hą* ‘At what time? At what times, places? How far?’ EB:493 , *-hą-* in: *tohą́keca* ‘How long? this usually ref. to space’’ EB:493 , *-hą-* in: *tóhąšna* ‘sometime’ EB:493 , *-hą-* in: *tohą́tą* ‘for all the past time’ EB:493 , *-hą-* in: *tohą́tu* ‘When?’ EB:493 , *-hą-* in: *tóhąxci* ‘some other time in the future perhaps’ EB:493 , *-hą-* in: *tohą́yą* ‘as long as, as far as; for how long?’

Dakota *-han* , *†hą* ‘far’ [“-han” *in* téhan] , *-han-* , *†hą* ‘distant’ [“-han-” *in* téhantu]

Proto-Dhegiha **-hą*

Kanza/Kaw *-hą* in: *ákkihą* ‘beyond, in the distant past’ RR

Osage *áhkihą* ‘to go beyond’

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *ha^{n}tcá* , *†hąčá* ‘implies uncertainty’ D&S:196a , *ha^{n}* , *†hąčá* ‘and or when: always follows immediately after some verb’ D&S:195b , *-ha^{n}* in: *eḳa^{n}ha^{n}ʹ (= eḳa^{n}Ha^{n}, eka^{n}ha^{n}, eḳiha^{n}, eḳeha^{n}ʹ)* , *†hąčá* ‘and then, whereupon’

General comment

Boas and Deloria (p. 119, para. 155, nmbr. 13) compare *-hąkeca* ‘it is of that length’ with *hąska* ‘long’. Their observation is highly suggestive, though presumably *hąska* is bi-morphemic, from *hą* and *ske/a* ‘near’ > ‘like, similar’.

look at (1)

verb perceptual_visual

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **-xát-*

Pre-Mandan **-xat-*

Mandan *í̱ xat* ‘look at’ H:311 , *íxato?š* ‘he watched it’ RTC

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *ohāta, waqēta* , *†oxá•ta* ‘see’ H , *oháta, oqáta* , *†oxá•ta* ‘see’ JOD

look at (2)

verb perceptual_visual

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **oruɣutE*

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *horuɣúč, horuɣuič, horuɣič* ‘look at, see’ KM:1493 , *horuǧoc, horoǧoc*

Proto-Dhegiha **orüɣüte*

Omaha-Ponca *uthixide* ‘look’ MAS:115

Kanza/Kaw *óyüɣüje* ‘survey, watch over’ RR

Osage *uthíxidse* , *†oðű́ɣüce* ‘look around to see something’ LF:177b

look into, peek

verb perceptual_visual

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **-sʔį*

Proto-Dakota **okásʔį*

Lakota *okásʔį* ‘look into, peek in’ RTC

Dakota *ókasiŋ* , *†ókasʔį* ‘look into’ SRR:363a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **-sʔį*

Chiwere *óthˆin* , *†óθʔį* ‘peep at’ JGT:199

Hoocąk *hoisʔį* ‘look in while passing by; peek in’ KM:1324 , *hois’į*

Proto-Dhegiha **okásʔį*

Omaha-Ponca *†ogásʔį* ‘peeped’

Kanza/Kaw *ogácʔį* ‘look in upon’ RR

Osage *ugáṭs’iⁿ* , *†u_kácʔį* ‘peep, stealthily look into something’ LF:168b

Quapaw *okásʔį* ‘peep, peek at’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *ákûdûksáye* , *†ákuduksáye* ‘peeping through a crack’ D&S:216b

loon

noun animal_bird

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **wróze*

Proto-Dakota **wróza*

Lakota *blóza* ‘pelican’ EB:111b

Dakota *mdóza* ‘loon’ SRR:314a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **Ros-*

Chiwere *tóthi, tósi, tóshi* , *†dóθi* ‘loon’ JGT:179

Hoocąk *toos* , *†tose-ra* JOD

Proto-Dhegiha **Róze*

Omaha-Ponca *†nóze* ‘cormorant’ KS

Kanza/Kaw *doíze sabe* ‘black loon’ RR

Osage *dóçe çabe* , *†tóze* ‘black loon’ LF:37a

Proto-Catawba

Catawba *ituse* ‘dove, hawk’ FGS

loose, knock loose

verb physical_contact_impact

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **-hó•*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Crow *hóhpi* ‘loose’ GG:48

Pre-Mandan **kaho•-*

Mandan *kahó•ro?š* ‘he falls down’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **kahó*

Proto-Dakota **kahóho*

Lakota *kahóho* ‘loosen by striking’ EB:247a

Dakota *kahóho* ‘strike and knock loose’ SRR:250a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *gihó* ‘be suspended’ KM:345 , *giho*

Proto-Dhegiha

Osage *gahóshoⁿuha* , *†kahóšǫoha* ‘strike and cause to fall forward’ LF:46a

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *ktahó* , *†ktahó* ‘hit and topple’ D&S:214b

lost

verb psychosomatic

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **xapÉ*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **xapehe, *xapahe*

Crow *xapíi* ‘be lost’ [CAUS] GG:61 , *xapíia* ‘lose’ GG:61

Hidatsa *xapá•* ‘be lost’ [CAUS] J , *xapíhee* ‘lose something’ J

Pre-Mandan **xwá•-*

Mandan *xawá•ro?š* ‘it’s lost’ RTC , *mįhúpe xawa•wahere?re* ‘I can’t find my shoes’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *xawą* ‘be lost, secret’ MM:433 , *xawąnį* ‘be lost, missing; disappear from sight’ KM:3862 , *xawanį́* , *xawanį*

louse

noun animal_insect

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **(w-)hé•* < ***(wa-)hé•*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **weé* < **wehé*

Crow *beé* RG, GG:28, RGG:1

Hidatsa *wé•* 'head louse' J , *mé•*

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *pé?* 'head louse' RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **hé*

Proto-Dakota **héya*

Lakota *héya* 'louse' RTC

Dakota *héya* 'louse' SRR:144b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **hé•*

Chiwere *he•* 'louse' RR

Hoocąk *hée* 'louse' KM:782 , *hee*

Proto-Dhegiha **hé* RR

Omaha-Ponca *hé* 'louse' RR

Kanza/Kaw *hé* 'louse' RR

Osage *hé* 'louse' RR

Quapaw *he* 'louse' JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *ané, anedí* , *†ané* 'louse, lice' D&S:173a

Ofo *ó^{n}yi* , *†ą́yi* 'louse' D&S:328

General comment

Once again OVS shows *n* for *h* elsewhere; cf. ‘day’, ‘long (2)’.

Cf. also ‘bee (1)’. Biloxi frequently loses root-initial *h-*. If that happened here, the *n* could be the reflex of **r*, an epenthetic glide inserted between the vowels. The problem in this instance is that Biloxi *n* preceding an oral vowel usually results from a former cluster in which *r* was the second member.

Root-initial **h-* is quite generally lost in Ofo and replaced with *y* intervocalically (cf. ‘blackberry’, ‘boat’, ‘female, woman’). Final unaccented *-e* raises to *-i* in OVS languages, leaving the Ofo form as we have it here.

The initial *ą́* of Ofo is unexplained however.

love

verb psychic_emotion

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Pre-Mandan **kiras-*

Mandan *kikíraso?š* ‘he loves someone, is stingy with something’ H:111

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *kíyasi* ‘like it’

General comment

Crow *daášdee* ‘pity, love, be compassionate’ (GG-40, DEC-89) seems to be a compound from ‘heart’ Crow *daasa*, Hidatsa *ra•ta*. The spirant mismatch between Hidatsa, Mandan, and Biloxi is as complete as it can be. Consequently, these forms -- though suggestive -- are not reconstructible.

lungs

noun physical_somatic_body_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **yá•xu*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **rá•xo*

Crow *dáaxo* ‘lung’ RG, GG:41, RGG:70

Hidatsa *rá•xu* ‘lungs’ J , *ná•xu*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **i-rá•ɣu*

Proto-Dakota **čhaɣú*

Lakota *čhaɣú* ‘lungs’ RTC

Dakota *ćaġú* ‘lungs’ SRR:84a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **rá•ɣ-*

Chiwere *láxu* ‘lungs’ GM

Hoocąk *raaɣó* ‘lung’ KM:2524 , *raaǧo*

Proto-Dhegiha **ráɣü, *ráɣį*

Omaha-Ponca *tteðáxį* ‘animal lungs’ RTC , *tha’xi* , *†ðáxį* ‘lung’ MAS:116

Kanza/Kaw *yáxü* ‘lungs’ RR

Osage *thákiⁿ* , *†ðáɣį* ‘lungs of a man or an animal’ LF:142b , *tháxi* , *†ðáɣi* ‘lungs’ LF:142b

Quapaw *dáɣi* ‘lungs’ JOD , *dáɣį* ‘lungs’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **yáxu*

Biloxi *yákʌhú* , *†yáxu* ‘lungs’ [G] D&S:288a

Ofo *tcásu* , *†čásu* ‘liver’ D&S:329a

General comment

The Biloxi entry is attributed to Gatschet by Dorsey, so the normalization here may not be reliable.

m

make hole

verb physical_contact_deformation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **ko•pE*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **ko•pE*

Crow *koopí, ala* ‘break through with foot’ [DEC-54] RG, RGG:52 , *koopi, dáa-* ‘break through with teeth’ RG, RGG:53 , *koopí, dak-* ‘poke a hole’ RG, GG:41 , *koopi, dúu-* ‘pierce’ RG, GG:45 , *koopi, páa-* ‘punch a hole in’

Hidatsa *ko•pE, ara-* ‘work stick into wall by foot’ J , *ko•pE, ára-* ‘burn’ J , *ko•pE, ná-* ‘chew or gnaw through’ J , *ko•pE, naka-* ‘nick, blaze, mark a log as yours for cutting’ J , *ko•pE, nú-* ‘drill by auger’ J , *ko•pE, pá-* ‘try to pry in’ J

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *gogóp, gi-* ‘peck at with the beak’ KM:335 , *gigogop* ‘pick up with the beak’ KM:334 , *góp, gi-* ‘take, dig something out of something else (e.g., knife out of sheath, cork out of bottle)’ KM:2664 , *gigop* ‘pry out, v.tr.’ KM:3256 , *góp, ru-* , *rugop* , *góp, wa-* , *wagop*

make marks > mark, scratch

verb physical_contact_deformation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **ká•xE*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **-ka•xE*

Crow *kaaxi, dúu-* 'scratch, make marks' RG , *páakaaxi* 'scratch' RGG:97

Hidatsa *ka•xE, ara-* 'scratch with toe' J , *ka•xE, nú-* 'make single scratch, mark off, measure' J , *ka•xE, pá-* 'make mark by dragging' J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *kax, ra-* 'to eat corn from cob' H:104 , *írukaxka* 'willow rake' H:106

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **ká•ɣE*

Proto-Dakota **káɣA*

Lakota *káɣa* 'make' RTC

Stoney *gáʕa* PAS

Sioux Valley *káɣa* 'make'

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **ká•xE*

Chiwere *gáxe* 'make marks' GM

Hoocąk *gáax* 'plan' [Vroot only] KM:311 , *gaax* 'write; draw; owe' KM:3251 , *gáx, wa-* , *wagax*

Proto-Dhegiha **ká•ɣe*

Omaha-Ponca *gá•xe* 'make' [ɣ ?] RTC, RR

Kanza/Kaw *gá•ɣe* 'make sth., do sth., pretend, cause' RR

Osage *ká•ɣe* 'make' RR

Quapaw *káɣe* 'make, cause' RR , *wakákaɣe* 'picture, movie' JOD, RR

Proto-Catawba

Catawba *kače* 'make' [< ka + caus.] KS, FGS

General comment

Since Proto-Siouan 'do, make' appears to have been **ʔų•*, which became an opaque element in numerous compounds, we suspect that this term originally meant 'make marks' (cf. MRS and Chiwere) and has been broadened in several languages to mean 'make'. The Crow, Hidatsa, and Mandan forms may actually belong with 'scrape > scratching noise, scraping noise, sweep' q.v. All these terms may be related by sound symbolism in any event.

male

verb person

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **waro•(-ka), *wi-ró•(-ka)*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **waró*

Crow *bulá* ‘male’ RG

Hidatsa *wa•ró•ka* ‘elk’ J , *ma•ró•ka*

Pre-Mandan **wrok*

Mandan *werók* ‘bull’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **wro•ka*

Proto-Dakota **wroká*

Lakota *bloká* ‘male’ RTC

Dakota *mdoká* ‘male’ SRR:313b

Stoney *mnogá* RS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **Ró•ke*

Chiwere *dó•ge* ‘male’ RR

Otoe *čhédo* ‘male bison’ JDH

Hoocąk *tcedok* ‘buffalo bull’ MM:171 , *ceetok, ceetos* ‘male’ JOD , *toga* , *-tok*

Proto-Dhegiha **Roka*

Omaha-Ponca *núga* , *†nóga* ‘male’ EST

Kanza/Kaw *dogá* ‘male’ RR

Osage *dogá* , *†toká* ‘male (ritual expression)’ LF:38a

Quapaw *tóka* ‘male’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern **-ro•-*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **iro•(-ki)*

Biloxi *ĭndoké, ĭntokí, aⁿyaṭó* , *†do(-ki)* ‘man’ D&S:200a

Ofo *amaⁿ´itō´ki* , *†itó•ki* ‘male turkey’ D&S:320, JSS , *itó* , *†itó•ki* D&S:325a

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *nōna* , *†no•na* ‘man’ H

General comment

Note OVS forms with and without final syllable. For the Mandan form, Hollow suggested the analysis *wror* 'husband' + *-ka* 'nominal suffix'. This should produce **weró•k*, however. Tutelo and Mandan may match for postvocalic *-r*.

On the postulated Proto-Crow-Hidatsa form, cf. the discussion under 'brother, woman's elder (1)'. Hidatsa has inexplicably lengthened the vowels and added the common suffix *-ka*. Crow has inexplicably transposed *a/o*, counter to the usual rightward vowel exchange. Ofo, but not Hidatsa as one might expect, suggests a Proto-Siouan prefix **wi-*, which is normal with animal terms and also apparently occurs with 'female animal'.

man, person (1)

noun person

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

- Proto-Siouan **wą́•ke*
  - Proto-Crow-Hidatsa
    - Crow *bacheé* 'man'
  - Pre-Mandan
    - Mandan *rụwą́k* 'man' RTC
  - Proto-Mississipi-Valley
    - Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **wą́•ke*
      - Chiwere *wą́ŋe* 'man' W:236b
      - Hoocąk *wąąk#* ~ *wąąg-* 'man' JWE , *wąąk*
  - Proto-Southeastern **wą•ki, *wą•(hk-)*
    - Proto-Biloxi-Ofo
      - Biloxi *ʔąya•deʔ* 'person, man' MRH , *ąya•diʔ* MS , *aⁿyá, haⁿyá, áⁿya, aⁿyádi, hąyadí* D&S:178b
      - Ofo *áñkwa* , *†ą́kwa* 'person, someone' D&S:323a , *aⁿk-hő́shka* , *†ą́kwa* 'baby' D&S:323a
    - Proto-Tutelo-Saponi
      - Tutelo *†mą•ki* 'husband' GO, H:1879 , *mą'ganą'kasit'* , *†mąhkanąka* 'negro' ES , *māxkanakā´sit* , *†mąhkanąka* 'negro' LJF , *wā´xkanaka* ~ *waxkanáka* , *†mąhkanąka* 'whiteman' LJF , *wáhtahka, waaiyuā; waiwaq* , *†mąhkanąka* N, H
- Proto-Catawba
  - Catawba *yę* 'man' FGS

General comment

Cf. 1st inclusive actor prefix, which is apparently derived from, or remodeled on the basis of, this noun. The Catawba term is doubtfully related, but if the Proto-Siouan form had the initial sequence *wų* rather than *wą* dissimilation would be in order and Catawba might be related. Additional segmentation is possible, as the initial syllable may be absolutive **wa-*. In Crow *bacheé* the consonants and vowels match except for V length and accent.

man, person (2)

noun person

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **ŕ̨hka*

Proto-Dakota **wičhá*

Lakota *wičhá* ‘person’ RTC

Dakota *wičhášta* ‘man’ PD:92

Assiniboine *wičhášta* ‘man’ PD:92

Yanktonai *wičháša* ‘man’ PD:92

Stoney *wį̨čhá* ‘man’ NOL , *wį̨čhásta* ‘man’ NOL

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *ware-nį́ka* ‘worker, wageman, slang for white man’ [N.B. waré ‘work’] KM:3432 , *wareṇika, wareį̨ka (> ware-nį̨k-ga)*

Proto-Dhegiha **níhka*

Omaha-Ponca *níkka* ‘man’ RR

Kanza/Kaw *níkka, nį́kka* ‘man’ RR

Osage *níhka* ‘man’

Quapaw *níkka* ‘man’ [Cf. *oṇį* ‘gens’]

General comment

Since discovery of the Hoocąk cognate, we tend to look upon the Dakota forms as perhaps influenced by Caddoan (Cf. Parks 1979 #14 ‘man’ (does not = person) Arikara *wí:ta*, Pawnee *pí:ta*, Kitsai *wí:ta*, Wichita *wí:c*). These Siouan forms are apparently related to each other, but not to ‘man, person (1)’.

Distribution of the Dakotan forms suggests that *wičhášta* is the older variant. JEK suggests *-šta* is related to the intensifier, *-xta, -xča* ‘real, true’. This would make *wičháša* ‘red man’ a folk etymology in the geographically central dialects, Teton and Yankton-Yanktonai.

many, much

verb abstract_amount

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **ahu•* ~ **ahų•*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **ahú*

Crow *ahú* ‘many’ RG, GG:4, RGG:80

Hidatsa *áhu* ~ *ahú* ‘many’ J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *hų* ‘many’ H:79

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **hu•* ~ *hų•*

Proto-Dakota **huχ*

Lakota *húχ* ‘some, a part of’ RTC

Dakota *huŋȟ* , *†huχ* ‘some, a part’ SRR:157b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *huų* ‘article of emphasis’ GM

Proto-Dhegiha **hü•*

Omaha-Ponca *áhigi* ‘abundant, plenty, many’ MAS:208

Kanza/Kaw *hü•* ‘much’ RR

Osage *hü* ‘much’ RR

Quapaw *hi-* ‘times, -fold’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *ohó, ohó^{n}* , *†ohúį•* [H. (under ‘marry’)] HW , *ohōn, ohōteha* , *†ohúį•* H

General comment

Vowel length may be affective rather than phonologically distinctive here. The Quapaw form is used with numerals as a multiplier.

maple

noun plant

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dhegiha

Osage *weshabethe hiu* , *†wešapeðe hü* ‘maple sugar’ LF:292a

Quapaw *wésade hi* ‘black dye tree; soft maple’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *tóhayudi* , *†tóhayudi* ‘blue wood tree, maple’

General comment

Frequent rendering by descriptive terms such as ‘black dye tree’, or ‘blue dye tree’, etc. is common. Parallel derivation here is high but cognacy is low to nonexistent.

marked > spotted, striped (1)

verb perceptual_visual

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **kré•sE*

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *kréreš* 'be dirty, streaky' H:118

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **krézE*

Proto-Dakota **krézA*

Lakota *glézA* 'striped' RTC , *-gléglezA, na-* 'be checkered or marked' EB:343 , *-glézA, ka-* 'mark across or around by cutting; to make in stripes or figures' EB:272 , *-glézelA, ka-* 'stripe, make striped' EB:272 , *-glézA, pa-* 'make spotted or ringed by rubbing.' EB:423

Dakota *hdéza* 'striped, in ridges or rows' SRR:131b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **kréze*

Chiwere *glédðe* 'spots, patches' GM

Hoocąk *hokerés* 'color' KM:1802 , *hokereš*

Proto-Dhegiha **kréze*

Omaha-Ponca *gtheze* , *†gðéze* 'striped' MAS:166

Kanza/Kaw *léze* 'striped' RR

Osage *gthéçe* , *†léze* 'striped' LF:54a

Quapaw *kdéze* 'striped' RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **kré•si*

Biloxi *nDɛ•se?* 'snake (striped)' MRH , *ndɛ•se?* MS

Ofo *o^{n}ktéfi* , *†-ktéfi* 'snake' [striped] D&S:328a

General comment

On Ofo 'snake' v. also 'sacred (2a), snake'.

marked > spotted, striped (2)

verb perceptual_visual

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **kré•xE*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **kré•xE*

Proto-Dakota **kréɣA*

Lakota *gléɣA* ‘spotted’ RTC , *-glégA, ka-* ‘mark across or make stripes or figures, to make rough’ EB:272 , *-glégA, pa-* ‘mark off e.g. names on a list’ EB:423

Dakota *hdéǧa* ‘spotted, figured’ SRR:131a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **kré•ɣe*

Chiwere *gre•gréɣe* ‘spotted’ RR

Hoocąk *-kerex* ‘tattoo, v.; be tattooed’ [(no gloss in Miner)] KM:1804 , *-kerex* ‘tattoo, v.’ KM:59 , *-kérex, boo-* KM:2689 , *bookerex* , *-keréx, ru-* , *rukerex*

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **kréxi*

Biloxi *kdě´xi, kdě´xyi, kŭděx, kŭdě´xyi* , *†kdéxi* ‘spotted, striped’ D&S:206b

Ofo *k’adési* , *†kadési* ‘spotted’ D&S:325b

General comment

Ofo **x* > *š* normally, but occasionally it surfaces as *s*, cf. ‘chase’, Ofo *nŭ^{n}sě*. Proto-Siouan **š* normally becomes *č* in Ofo, while Proto-Siouan **s* is Ofo *f*, so it is doubtful that attested Ofo *s* and *š* contrast. Tutelo does not contrast *s* and *š* (Oliverio 1996). Ofo *k’* also appears in the Ssf, but what it might represent phonologically remains unknown.

marked > spotted, striped (3)

verb perceptual_visual

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **kré•šE*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **kré•šE*

Proto-Dakota **kreš-ká*

Lakota *glešká* ‘spotted, speckled’ RTC

Dakota *hdešká* ‘speckled, spotted’ SRR:131b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **kré•še*

Chiwere *gré•ye* ‘spotted’ RR

Hoocąk *-kereš, kerekéreš* ‘be spotted’ KM:1799 , *kereš, kerekereš* ‘brand, v.; be branded’ KM:58 , *-kéreš, boo-* , *bookereš*

Proto-Dhegiha **kréže*

Omaha-Ponca *gthezhe* , *†gðeže* ‘spotted’ MAS:162

Kanza/Kaw *ležé* ‘spotted, striped’ RR

Osage *gthezhé* , *†ležé* ‘spotted’ LF:55a

Quapaw *-kdéže* ‘spotted’ RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *kděckŭ´dědětá* , *†kdeš-* ‘striped’

mark, scratch > score, mark

verb physical_contact_deformation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **xohe*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **-ɣo*

Proto-Dakota **-ɣó*

Lakota *-ɣó, ka-* 'draw a line, i.e. on land, as a Reservation line to mark, make marks, cuts or gashes, to vaccinate' EB:273 , *-ɣo, owá-* 'score' EB:411 , *-ɣó, pa-* 'carve, engrave; to mark e.g. by a line for a race, to pace ground' EB:424 , *-ɣó, ya-* 'make a mark with the teeth' EB:619 , *-ɣó, yu-* 'make scratches' EB:636b , *-ɣóɣo, na-* 'make scratches, as on the floor by walking, with the shoes etc.' EB:343

Dakota *†kaɣó* 'mark, make marks, etc.' SRR:248b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **-ɣó*

Chiwere *wixó* , *†wiɣó* 'mark with something' JGT:182

Hoocąk *-ɣó, gi-* 'grind, sharpen' KM:339 , *giğo*

Proto-Dhegiha **-ɣó*

Omaha-Ponca *wabaxú* , *†wabaɣó* 'make marks, write' MAS:190

Kanza/Kaw *-ɣó, yü-* 'make marks, scratch' RR

Osage *thixu* , *†ðüɣo* 'make marks, lines' LF:152a

Quapaw *-ɣó, da- dé* 'decrease, lower' RR , *-ɣó, di-* 'mark, scratch, draw line' RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *dũkxohí, tũkxohí* , *†-xohí, dak-* 'make smooth with a knife, scrape, shave' D&S:222a

General comment

Cf. 'make marks > mark, scratch' 'point at' for further fricative grades.

marrow

noun physical_somatic_body_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **yu•pe* ~ **yu•pa*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **ru•pa*

Crow *dúupa* ‘marrow’ RG, GG:45, RGG:104

Hidatsa *rú•pa* ‘marrow’ J , *nú•pa*

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *ríp̣e* ‘bone marrow’ H:182

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **yúpe*

Proto-Dakota **čhupé*

Lakota *čhupé* ‘bone marrow’ RTC

Dakota *ćupé* ‘marrow’ SRR:105a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *wayíwe* ‘marrow’ GM

Proto-Dhegiha **žúpe*

Omaha-Ponca *†žíbe* ‘lower leg’

Kanza/Kaw *žüwe* ‘marrow’ RR , *žübe* ‘marrow’ JOD

Osage *wazhibe* , *†wažüpe* ‘animal’s leg bone’ LF:210a

Quapaw *žíwe* ‘marrow’ JOD

mean, intend

verb psychic_cognition

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **kahÉ*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **khÉ* < **kVhÉ*

Crow *-hče* ‘mean’ RG

Hidatsa *khÉ* ‘mean, intend’ J , *khí*

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *woke*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **(wa-)kVhÉ*

Proto-Dakota **khA´*

Lakota *khA´* ‘to mean’ RTC

Dakota *ká* ‘to mean, signify’ SRR:245a

Stoney *khá* PAS:473

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **waké*

Chiwere *wage* ‘to mean’ JGT:183

Hoocąk *wagé* ‘mean (intend to convey)’ KM:3252 , *wage*

Proto-Dhegiha **wakhé*

Omaha-Ponca *waké* , *†wakhé* ‘to mean’ JOD

Kanza/Kaw *wakhé* ‘to mean’ RR

Osage *wakše* , *†wakhé* ‘mean’ JOD , *éwaka* , *†éwakha* ‘mean, have in mind’ LF:42

Quapaw *wakě* , *†wakhe* ‘to mean’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *kahá* , *†kahá* ‘to mean’ D&S:204b

General comment

The correspondence of Proto-Dhegiha **kh* and Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **g* indicates that Proto-Mississipi-Valley had **kVh*. Hidatsa and, more directly, Biloxi confirm this.

medicine

noun social_culture

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **wą•hką*

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *pą́kahro* ‘unidentified medicine plant’ H:136

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **mą•hką*

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **mą́•khą*

Chiwere *mánka, mánkan* , *†mą́khą* ‘medicine’ JGT:42

Hoocąk *mąąką́* ‘medicine’ KM:1975 , *mąąką*

Proto-Dhegiha **mąhką́*

Omaha-Ponca *†makką́* ‘medicine’

Kanza/Kaw *makką́* ‘medicine’ RR

Osage *mo^{n}ǫ́^{n}* , *†mąhką́* ‘drugs, any kind of medicine except poisons’ LF:100

Quapaw *makką́* ‘medicine’ RR

Proto-Southeastern **mąk- ‘snake’*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **ąk + *kré•si ‘snake + spotted’*

Biloxi *nDɛ•se?, ndɛ•se?, ndĕ́si, indesí* , *†ndé•si* ‘serpentm snake’ D&S:234b, MRH, MS

Ofo *o^{n}ktéfi* , *†ąktéfi* ‘snake’ D&S:328a

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Saponi *Moka* , *†mǫka* ‘snake’ F

General comment

This term, apparently originally meaning ‘medicine’, has been specialized in OVS to mean ‘snake’. This parallels the cooption of **wahką́* ‘sacred’, q.v., to mean ‘snake’ in Chiwere/Hoocąk and probably DH and Tutelo as well. In late prehistoric and/or early historical times these languages all shared a geographical location at the peripheries of the Ohio Valley and adjacent areas in which Mississippian culture and religion presumably penetrated.

Diffusion of the meaning ‘snake’ could possibly have something to do with that fact. Biloxi and Ofo lose initial labial resonants but seem clearly related to the rest of this set. See further discussion under **wahką́* ‘sacred (2a), snake’.

meet

verb physical_contact

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **ki-hi•(-hpa)*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **hí•*

Crow *híi* ‘meet’ RGG, GG:48

Hidatsa *wakhí•* ‘meet, assemble’ J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *kíhi?š* ‘they meet, gather together’ H:107

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **ahkihpa*

Proto-Dakota **akhípha*

Lakota *akhípha* ‘meet’ RTC

Dakota *akípa* ‘meet, come upon one’ SRR:28b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **-khípha*

Chiwere *akhípha* ‘meet, encounter’ GM

Hoocąk *hikipá* ‘meet; run into, collide with’ KM:928 , *hikipa*

Proto-Dhegiha **áhkihpa*

Omaha-Ponca *akipa* ‘meet’ MAS:119

Kanza/Kaw *ákkippa* ‘meet’ RR

Osage *áḳipa* , *†áhkihpa* ‘meet’ LF:12a

Quapaw *ákkippa* ‘meet’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern **o-khi(-pa)*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *ókxipa* , *†ókxipa* ‘meet’ D&S:209b

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *oaki* , *†oaki* ‘I met’ H

General comment

Comparing MRS and OVS it looks as though **hí•* (‘arrive there’??) is originally compounded with **ki* (probably ‘reciprocal’) and when this contracted to **k-hi•* and became opaque a new stem **hpa* was added. Now this augmented stem can be “reciprocalized” in DH by prefixing yet another **hki*. DH *kh* rather than *hk* is predicted, so analogy has played a role here; the earlier **khi* has been reinterpreted as a simple ‘reciprocal’.

Hidatsa *wak-* is reciprocal.

melt (1)

verb physical_condition_change

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **sire (?)*

Pre-Mandan **šre-*

Mandan *rášere?š* ‘it melted’ RTC

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *sĭnĕ´* , *†siné* ‘melted, thawed’ D&S:256a

General comment

Ordinarily *n* in an oral environment, as here, in Biloxi represents the reflex of an earlier cluster, often **hr* or **ʔr*. There is insufficient information here to allow us to determine its function.

melt (2)

verb physical_condition_change

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **ską*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa *cúkE* ‘melt’ J

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **ską*

Proto-Dakota **skĄ́*

Lakota *skĄ́* ‘melt (like snow)’ RTC , *skĄ, opá-* ‘melt by lying on’ EB:401 , *skĄ́, wo-* ‘cause to melt and flow off, as rain does snow’ EB:608 , *skĄ́, ya-* ‘let dissolve in one’s mouth’ EB:626

Dakota *skaŋ* ‘dissolve, disappear, melt away’ SRR:436a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **skᵠ́*

Chiwere *daθgᵠ́* JOD

Hoocąk *sgąąñé* ‘be molten; melt, v.intr.; dissolve, v. intr.’ KM:2821 , *sgąąre* ‘deep-fry, v.tr.’ KM:393 , *sgᵠ́, gi-* ‘suck on something within the mouth, like hard candy’ KM:1653 , *gisgą* ‘melt by heat, v.tr.’ KM:3082 , *sgᵠ́, ióra-* ‘mixture of things that dissolve, solution, n.’ KM:3837 , *ii horasgą* , *sgᵠ́, taa- hű́i* , *taasgą hii* , *sgᵠ́, woru-* , *woorusgą*

Proto-Dhegiha **Rá-skᵠ́*

Omaha-Ponca *naçkoⁿ* , *†náskᵠ́* ‘melt’ MAS:119

Kanza/Kaw *dáskᵠ́* ‘melt’ RR , *dáskᵠ́, daska* ‘melt’ RR , *budáskᵠ́* ‘melt sth. by sitting or lying on it’ JOD, RR , *nądáskᵠ́* ‘thaw ice or snow walking on it’ RR , *yadáskᵠ́* ‘melt in the mouth, as an icicle’ JOD, RR

Osage *dáskoⁿ* , *†táskᵠ́* ‘melt, liquefy’ LF:34a

Quapaw *táskᵠ́* ‘melt’ RR , *diskᵠ́* ‘melt sth. w. the hands’ RR

General comment

Biloxi, if related, is of a separate fricative ablaut grade. Cf. ‘soft (2)’, ‘wet’ for *s/š* grades.

metal, copper, iron

noun physical_material

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **awą́•se*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **ú•waca*

Crow *ú•wata* ‘iron, metal’ RG, GG:58, RGG:92

Hidatsa *ú•waca* ‘iron, metal’ J

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **mą́•ze*

Proto-Dakota **máza*

Lakota *máza* ‘metal’ RTC

Dakota *máza* ‘metal’ SRR:309b

Sioux Valley *máza* PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **mą́•ze*

Chiwere *mąðé, mą́ðe* ‘metal’ RR , *mąðéθka, mą•ðéθka* ‘money’ RR

Otoe *mą́ze-* RR

Hoocąk *mą́ąs* ‘metal, axe’ KM:2008 , *mąąs*

Proto-Dhegiha **mą́•ze*

Omaha-Ponca *mǫ́•ze* ‘metal’ RTC

Kanza/Kaw *mą•ze* ‘iron, metal’ RR

Osage *mó^{n}çe* , *†mą́ze* ‘iron, any kind of metal’ LF:96a

Quapaw *mą́ze, mǫ́ze, mazé* ‘iron’ RR

Proto-Southeastern **amą́•si*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **amą́si*

Biloxi *másą, mas, másí, masĭ́, amasí, hamásą* , *†mąsi* ‘iron, metal’ D&S:229b

Ofo *amô^{n}fi, amófi* , *†amáfi* ‘iron, a pot, pottery’ D&S:320b

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *mañs, mās, masīqorak* , *†mą•si* ‘metal’ H

General comment

The original meaning of this form is presumably ‘metal’, probably with specific reference to copper. This raises the possibility that in pre-Proto-Siouan this root was actually bimorphemic, a compound of **amą́* ‘earth’ with **Sá* ‘red’. It is interesting that all of the daughter languages show a common semantic drift to the meaning ‘iron’, frequently forming a new compound with ‘red’ to denote copper, as in Lakota *máza-ša* ‘copper, penny’.

The Proto-Crow-Hidatsa initial **tí•-* is unexplained, as is the absence of length in the second syllable.

middle

noun physical_spatial

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **rą́ta*

Pre-Mandan **rą́t-*

Mandan *rą́t-ha* ‘in between two’ H:170 , *rą́sta* ‘between, in middle’ H:171

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **rąta*

Biloxi *nata, nátaxti* , *†nąta* ‘middle’ D&S:233a

Ofo *tą́tá, tą́tą* , *†tətə* ‘middle’ D&S:330a

General comment

Cf. ‘heart’ for a Mandan homonym and a possible source of contamination in MVS. Ofo *ą* frequently is the denasalized reflex of **ą*.

middle; inside

adverb physical_spatial

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **yó•ka ~ *ró•ka*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **ro•ka* AWJ

Crow *bíilukaa* ‘our people; we Crows’ GG:29 , *apsáalooka* ‘Crow’ GG:12, RGG:15

Hidatsa ro•ka:, *no•ka* ‘people of one’s clan or family’ AWJ

Pre-Mandan **rokE*

Mandan *wí•roke* ‘sack’ RTC , *tíroke* ‘in the house’ RTC , *wąrąrokta* ‘in the woods’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *róka:

Proto-Dakota *čhoká:

Lakota *hóčhoka*: ‘center of camp’ RTC , *čhokáƞ* ‘middle’ RTC , *čhokáta* ‘in the middle’ RTC , *ćókab* ‘in the midst, central’ EB:132b , *cokápa* ‘in the midst, in the center’ EB:133a , *cokál* ‘in the midst’ cont. of cokata’ EB:133a , *cokáyą* ‘the middle; in the middle’ EB:133a , *icókab* ‘before’ micókab, ùkicokab’ EB:208 , *icókabya* ‘before; between’ EB:208 , *icókąyą* ‘in the middle, between’ EB:208

Dakota *†čhoká, čoká-* ‘middle’ SRR:103a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *lótata* ‘inside’ GM

Hoocąk *róok* ‘inner, interior;inside’ JWE , *rook* ‘inside’ JWE , *roogéja* ‘indoors’ KM:240 , *rookeja* ‘inside, n.’ KM:2638 , *čiirok* , *ciirok (> cii + rook)* , *róok* , *rook*

Proto-Dhegiha **-roka*

Omaha-Ponca *hóðoga* ‘camp circle’

Osage *ṭsiúthuga* , *†hci-óðoka* ‘interior of house’ LF:164a

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Ofo *tcóka* , *†čóka* ‘in, under’ D&S:329b , *tcókta.ta.* , *†čóktata* ‘in the middle’ D&S:329b

General comment

Hidatsa *ro•ka* ‘people of one’s clan or family’ contrasts with Hidatsa *ruxpa•ka* ‘people in general’; similarly, Crow *bíilukaa* ‘our people’ contrasts with *bilaxpáaka* ‘people; person’. The **ro•k* form seems to refer to camp or village organization by clans. This term may well have been inalienably possessed to the extent that it refers to one’s kin. If this is true, a Proto-Siouan **i-ró•ka* is implied and the Lakota form is explained, as *čh* is the normal reflex of **r* following 3s inalienable possessive prefix. This leaves Ofo forms with apparent **y* unexplained, however. If Proto-Siouan was **i-yó•ka* then the DH forms remain unexplained.

mire (1)

verb physical_spatial_aquatic

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **SatakE*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Crow *alaxsachí* ‘step in (soft matter)’ RGG , *dúxsachi* ‘squeeze through fingers’ RG

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dhegiha

Quapaw *kastáke* ‘be soaked’ RR

General comment

This is derived from **sata•* ‘mire (2)’ with the common *-kE* root extension. The vowel has shortened. Cf. ‘stick (6)’

mire (2)

verb physical_spatial_aquatic

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **satá•*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa *núcata•* ‘put hand in mud, sth. soft, sth. sticky’ AWJ , *pácata•* ‘put stick in mud’ AWJ , *aracáta•* ‘get foot in mud, sth. soft’ AWJ , *nacáta•* ‘chew sth. sticky’ AWJ

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dhegiha

Kanza/Kaw *dásta* ‘melt’ MR, RR , *dá•sta* ‘melt’ MR, RR , *ánąstásta* ‘step into water and mud’ JOD, RR , *yastásta* ‘resin chewed by the Kaws’ JOD, RR

General comment

We have reconstructed the initial syllable vowel from Hidatsa, since the vowel length suggests it was there. Cf. ‘stick (7)’ for derivations; Cf. ‘strike (3)’ for a homonymous root. Mandan *ratáho?š* ‘he sinks into mud’ (H-243) may reflect this root minus the *s* pre-extension, or may reflect a contamination from ‘shake (3)’.

miss

verb physical_contact

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **-krąra*

Proto-Dakota **-kráyA*

Lakota *kagnáyĄ* ‘miss partly while striking’ EJ , *pagnáyĄ* ‘miss sth. partly trying to rest on sth. and thus fall down e.g. from a chair; miss in pushing’ EJ , *wagnáyĄ* ‘miss in attempting to strike with a knife’ EJ , *wanágnayĄ* ‘slip, slide; deceive’ EJ , *wognáyĄ* ‘miss partly in shooting or striking with end of a stick, i.e. not hitting e.g. an animal well so that it can get away’ EJ , *yagnáyĄ* ‘miss sth. partly with the mouth in attempting to catch; tell a falsehood’ EJ , *yugnáyĄ* ‘miss, as in trying to grasp sth.’ EJ , *yugnágnayĄ* ‘to take a loose hold of; you don’t quite have control over it yet’ EJ

Dakota *yuhnáyaŋ* , *†yuhnáyą* ‘miss, as in attempting to grasp’ SRR:624b

Proto-Dhegiha **-krąra*

Kanza/Kaw *báląya* ‘fail cutting, sawing, to miss’ RR , *balą́ya* ‘miss a thrust with stick, spear’ RR , *bóląya* ‘make a mistake in shooting, or blowing’ RR , *bulą́ya* ‘miss while trying to jump upon’ RR , *dáląya* ‘miss, as sparks’ RR , *galą́ya* ‘fail to knock down or in chopping’ RR , *nąlą́ya* ‘miss one’s footing, miss kicking or jumping’ RR , *yalą́ya* ‘deceive, call names, snap at’ JOD, RR , *yulą́ya* ‘miss or fumble in trying to grasp’ JOD, RR

Quapaw *páknọda* ‘miss cutting sth. elusive’ RR , *póknọda* ‘miss in shooting or thrusting’ RR , *baknǫ́da* ‘miss when thrusting at’ RR , *biknǫ́da* ‘miss, slip from under’ RR , *daknǫ́da* ‘snap at and miss’ RR , *dikdǫ́da* ‘fumble, let slip, fail to hold’ RR , *kaknǫ́da* ‘fail in hitting at sth.’ RR , *nąknǫ́da* ‘kick at and be evaded’ RR

mix (1)

verb physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **wrą*

Proto-Dakota **mnA*

Lakota *mnayą́* ‘gather together, collect, to save for a giveaway’ EJ , *wakámnA* ‘collect, gather; earn, make money, earn or merit’ EJ , *yamnÁ* ‘win over by talking, acquire by talking or in any other way with the mouth; gain’ EJ , *wópamnayą* ‘collected together’ EJ

Dakota *mnayáŋ* , *ṫmnayą́* ‘gather together, collect’ SRR:318a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *hikirúpąną́* ‘be mixed together; blended’ KM:934 , *hikirupąną*

Proto-Dhegiha

Quapaw *dűkkidíbną* ‘mix together’ RR

mix (2)

verb physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **-hihe*

Pre-Mandan **:hį̣h*

Mandan *íruhį̣ho?š* ‘mix’ RH:89 , *ká•hį̣ho?š* ‘mix’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **i-hi*

Proto-Dakota **(i-)ká-hi*

Lakota *kahí* ‘stir, mix’ EJ , *ičáhi* ‘stir, mix’ EJ

Dakota *kahí* ‘stir, rummage’ SRR:249b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **i-hi*

Chiwere *ihi* ‘stir, mix sth.’ LWR:11

Hoocąk *wehi* ‘sort out, pick up’ KM:806 , *wehi* ‘stir’ KM:1116 , *hiwahí* ‘rake berries’ KM:841 , *hiwahi* , *higihí* , *higihi (> hi + gihi)*

Proto-Dhegiha **í-ka-hi*

Omaha-Ponca *ígahi* ‘mix’ MJS:121

Kanza/Kaw *ígahi* ‘mix tobacco, make kinnikinick’ RR

Osage *ígahi* , *†íkahi* ‘mixing of several ingredients’ LF:71b

Quapaw *íkkikdahi* ‘mix together, mixed’ JOD

General comment

The root is **-hihe* typically used with the prefix **í•-* with frequent addition of **raka* ‘by striking’ in MVS.

moccasin (1)

noun physical_artefact_dress

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **huṛ•pE*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **hu•pá*

Crow *huupá* ‘shoes’ RG

Hidatsa *hu•pá* ‘moccasin, shoe’ AWJ , *watahpa, matahpa* ‘my moccasin’ AWJ

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *huṗé* ‘shoes’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **húṗE* ~ **háṗE*

Proto-Dakota **háṗA*

Lakota *háṗA* ‘moccasin’ RTC

Dakota *háŋpa* , *†hápa* ‘moccasins’ SRR:124a

Sioux Valley *háp-a pas*

Proto-Dhegiha **hǫpé*

Omaha-Ponca *híᵑbe* , *†hįbé* ‘moccasin’ MJS:121 , *hįbé* , *†hįbé* ‘moccasin’

Kanza/Kaw *hǫbé* ‘moccasin’ RR

Osage *hǫpé* ‘moccasin’ RR

Quapaw *hǫpé* ‘moccasin’ RR

General comment

This may have been an inalienably possessed, or, at least, typically possessed noun, and as such would normally have carried a prefix that would explain its behavior with regard to accent. Both the Dakota accent and Crow/Hidatsa vowel length suggest proto-accent on the penultimate vowel, which in turn suggests such a monosyllabic possessive prefix. Differences in the final vowel are not as easily accounted for, and the fact that the vowel ablauts in Dakota is not really explicable. Nor are differences in reflexes of the accented proto-vowel easy to explain. DH frequently undergoes merger of **ų* and **ą* to *ą* but Dakota does not normally follow this pattern.

The Omaha-Ponca vowel is simply irregular, and the peculiar behavior of Mandan accent and the Hidatsa possessed form round out the roster of interesting irregularities. It might be worth noting that syncope in the Hidatsa possessed form parallels syncope of the analogous vowel in Crow *dog, q.v.*, another ablauting noun.

moccasin (2)

noun physical_artefact_dress

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **a•kúte*

Chiwere *a•gúje* ‘moccasin’ RR , *agúthą* ‘legging’ GMsf

Hoocąk *wagujé* ‘shoe’ KM:1695 , *waguje* ‘moccasin’ KM:120 , *caahá-wagujé* , *caaha waguje (> caa + haa waguje)*

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *āgōre, āgōdē, añgohlēi* , *†a•ko•hre* ‘moccasin’ H

General comment

Paucity of data makes a secure reconstruction very difficult. The subgroups appear to agree on the length of the initial vowel, which may represent the locative prefix. Accent would lengthen the second vowel, which we find in Tutelo if not in Chiwere, but we would expect it to have caused aspiration of the second consonant also. Alternate forms with differing suffixes show clearly that these are highly derived forms in both subgroups. They may, in fact, represent parallel innovations or borrowings and the term may not really be reconstructible at all. If ‘shoes’ follows the pattern set by terms such as ‘trousers’, it may well be based on an expression meaning essentially, ‘stand within’, in which case Ofo *(a)skhóle* ‘stand’ may be related. Cf. ‘cranberry’ for a possible parallel treatment of **h + r*.

moist (1), soft, wet

verb perceptual

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **Ró•(-he)(-ka)*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **irú(-ka)*

Crow *ilúka* 'meat' RG, GG:88, RGG:104 , *irúššiši* 'meat, fresh' GG:88 , *ilússhishi*

Hidatsa *iru* 'flesh of, meat of' AWJ , *irúka* 'dried meat, jerky' AWJ , *irúkšitE* '(fresh) meat' AWJ

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *óro* 'fruit, seed, nut, meat, acorn' RH:129

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **Ró•h-ka*

Proto-Dakota **Ró*

Lakota *thaló* 'fresh meat' RTC , *ločhį* 'be hungry' RTC , *lo* 'soft, tender, moist stuff' EJ

Dakota *do* 'food, moist, soft' SRR:108b , *dó*

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **Ró•(-khe)*

Chiwere *tó•khe* 'damp' RR

Otoe *dó•khe* 'damp' RR , *ulóðe* 'damp' GMsf

Hoocąk *tooké* 'be wet' KM:3133 , *tooke*

Proto-Dhegiha **Róhka*

Omaha-Ponca *nókka* 'wet' RR

Kanza/Kaw *dókka* 'wet' RR

Osage *dóḳa* , *†tóhka* 'damp, wet, moist' LF:38a

Quapaw *tókka* 'moist' RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *kŭdotcí, kûdótci* , *†kudoči* 'wet, muddy' D&S:216a

General comment

Cf. 'flesh' for a possible doublet. Vowel length, accent and the presence of **R* all suggest a missing initial syllable that is not represented in any of the reflexes. There is clear evidence for the presence of **-he* in MVS, and equally clear evidence for its absence in Crow/Hidatsa and Mandan. We suspect that the **-he* was absent in the noun ('meat') but present in the stative verb ('damp'), as Proto-Siouan **-he* is predominantly a verbal suffix.

moist (2)

verb perceptual

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **takį́ (?)*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Crow *tatassači* ‘damp’ RG

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **tkį*

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *otkį́* ‘become damp in’ EB:409a , *otkiŋ´*

Proto-Dhegiha **htį*

Omaha-Ponca *ti*^{n} , *†ttį* ‘moist’ MJS:121

Osage *ṭsi*^{n} , *†hcį* ‘moist, damp’ LF:163a

General comment

**tk* > **kt* > **ht* regularly in DH. If the Crow is cognate, then *-ssaki* = *-taki* except that gemination is unexplained. Note the reduplicating preceding syllable; this looks like **šašataki* -- at best a compound.

moist, thaw, soft

verb perceptual

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **xpą́he*

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *xąwą́h* ‘small’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **xpą*

Proto-Dakota **xpą*

Lakota *xpą* ‘softened; (has to be in water) waterlogged’ EJ , *yaxpą́* ‘moisten or soak in the mouth, dissolve in the mouth’ EB:620 , *yuxpą́* ‘soak and make soft (e.g. a piece of leather)’ EB:639 , *naxpą́yą* ‘moisten with the foot’ EB:345 , *waxpą́yą* ‘soak anything; soak and take the hair off’ EB:520

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *wixwún* , *†wixwų́* JGT:254

Hoocąk *hoxąwą́* ‘be humid, damp’ KM:3874 , *hoxąwą* ‘soften, v.tr. (by heat?)’ KM:3094 , *taaxą́wą* , *taaxąwą*

Proto-Dhegiha **-xpą*

Kanza/Kaw *dáxpą* ‘thaw (by heating)’ RR

Osage *daxpo^{n}* , *†taxpą* ‘thaw out’ LF:219b

Quapaw *dixpą́* ‘thaw in the hands’ JOD

General comment

Cf. ‘soft (2)’. The Chiwere vowel is irregular here. The Mandan semantics renders our reconstruction less secure than it would otherwise be.

moon, sun, orb

noun physical_celestial_body

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **wí•rą*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **wiri*

Crow *bilítaačii* ‘moon’ GG:32, RGG:6 , *bíliiwaxpi* ‘sunset’ GG:32 , *bilasíi* ‘sunrise’ GG:31 , *bilíchilee* ‘new moon’ RGG:6

Hidatsa *wíri* ~ *wirí, míri* ~ *mirí* ‘orb, sun, moon, month’ AWJ

Pre-Mandan **wi•*

Mandan *wį́•nąk* ‘sun, moon’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **wí•*

Proto-Dakota **wí*

Lakota *wí* ‘sun, moon’ RTC

Dakota *wí* ‘sun, moon’ SRR:564a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **Wi•*

Chiwere *bi* ‘sun’ RR , *bi•-* ‘in star’ RR , *(m)pí•* ‘sun’ CFV

Hoocąk *wíi* ‘sun; moon; month’ KM:3640 , *wii*

Proto-Dhegiha **mi(-ǫpa)*

Omaha-Ponca *mi* ~ *mį* ‘moon, sun’ RR

Kanza/Kaw *míǫba,* mį́:*yǫba* ‘moon, sun, month’ RR

Osage *mí* ‘moons (from a ritual)’ LF:90a , *míoⁿba* , *†míąpa* ‘the moon’

Quapaw *miǫ́pa, miąba* , *†miąpa* ‘moon’ JOD , *†mi* ‘sun, moon, orb’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern **mi•-rą*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **irą*

Biloxi *iná* , *†iná* ‘sun’ D&S:200a

Ofo *íla* , *†íla* ‘sun or moon’ D&S:324a

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *mī* , *†mi•* ‘sun’ H , *mīnōsā* , *†mi•no•sa•?* ‘moon’ N, H , *mīmahēi* , *†mi•mahe•i* ‘moon’ H , *mimeⁿhĩ̄* , *†mimąhį•* ‘moon’ HW

Saponi *mi* ‘sun’ F , *My*

Proto-Catawba

Woccon *Wittapare* , *†wi-* ‘sun’ JL

General comment

Cf. ‘sun’, ‘star (1)’. Nasalization of the initial syllable vowel and preceding consonant in this set is due to nasalization in the second syllable that spread across the glide to the first. The second syllable may be a suffixed reflex of **rą(ke)* ‘be sitting, dwell’. Chiwere may argue for initial **W* which represents a conflation of a root-initial **w* with a prefixed **wV*, usually the syncopated reflex of absolutive **wa-* or **wi-*. So there may have been an initial syllable, at least in some subgroups, arguing for Proto-Siouan **wa-wí•rą* The long vowel in Chiwere supports this also, as does the intriguing cluster recorded by Voegelin. MRS would then be expected to have a long vowel, but it does not. The Fontaine Saponi form may represent either *†mi* or *†mai*, the latter corresponding to the last two syllables of the attested Tutelo forms. In languages which have both *mi* and *miǫ́pa* the former may mean either ‘sun’ or ‘moon’, but the latter always means ‘moon’.

mortar

noun physical_artefact_tool

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **ho•*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **ho•-*

Proto-Dakota **huƞphe*

Lakota *húƞphe* ‘digging stick’ EJ

Dakota *hoŋpé* , *†huƞphé* ‘digging stick, pestle’ SRR:154

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *hoonį́* ‘large wooden mortar and pestle’ KM:1450 , *hoonį*

Proto-Dhegiha **hó-e*

Omaha-Ponca *úhe* , *†óhe* ‘mortar’

Kanza/Kaw *hophé* ‘mortar of gouged out wood’ RR , *hówe* ‘mortar’ JOD , *howé* ‘mortar’ RR

Osage *hówe* ‘mortar, coffee mill, grist mill’ LF:67b , *hówe* ‘mortar’ LF:63a , *hóe* , *hóe*

Quapaw *húṭ̌ĕ* , *†hóde* ‘mortar for pounding corn’

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *o, xo* , *†ho* ‘break to pieces’ D&S:222a

General comment

Cf. ‘pound, mortar’, ‘grind, pound’. The Dakota forms may possibly be a recent compound of **ho•* with **ʔų* ‘do’ and **phe* ‘grind, pound’. Cf. also Kanza/Kaw. DH forms generally reflect *ho-e* with a variety of epenthesized glides. The second element here might be ‘food’, q.v.

mosquito

noun animal_insect

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *[old reconstruction only]*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **apá•ka*

Crow *apáaka* ‘mosquito’ RG

Hidatsa *apá•ka* ‘mosquito’ AWJ

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *háparaka* ‘fly’ RH:67

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **ra•phąke ~ *ya•phąke (?)*

Proto-Dakota **čhaphúǰka*

Lakota *čhaphúǰka* ‘mosquito’ RTC

Dakota *ćapóŋka* , *†čhaphúǰka* ‘mosquito’ SRR:96b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **ra•wą́ke*

Chiwere *ðawúǰŋe* ‘mosquito’ RTC , *láwąŋe* ‘mosquito’ GMsf , *ra•wą́ñe* ‘mosquito’ JDH

Otoe *ra•wą́ŋe* ‘mosquito’ RR

Hoocąk *raawą́k* ‘mosquito’ KM:2533 , *raawąk*

Proto-Dhegiha **raphąke (?)*

Omaha-Ponca *náhǫga* ‘mosquito’ RTC , *náhǫge* ‘mosquito’ JOD

Kanza/Kaw *yáphąige, yáphoige* ‘mosquito’ RR

Osage *ðáphąke* ‘mosquito’ [sg] RR , *laphaį* [pl] RR , *lapxain* RR , *laphąke* , *lapxanke*

Quapaw *dahóke* ‘mosquito’ JOD , *daphąke* ‘mosquito’ RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **ya•mąki*

Biloxi *yamąkí* , *†yaməkí* ‘mosquito’ D&S:288a

Ofo *tcā´mąki* , *†čá•məki* ‘mosquito’ D&S:329a, JSS

General comment

Lack of an initial consonant in MRS is not accounted for and the consonant that does occur here in the other subgroups is not regular (often even within subgroups), although its irregularity is of a somewhat familiar sort (**r* ~ **y*). Osage is the only language in which initial *ð* ~ *l* (< **kr?*), although Omaha-Ponca *n* is irregular also. Chiwere and DH both show reflexes of *ą* ~ *ų* medially here. DH shows variation in final vowels in both Omaha-Ponca and Osage. This word appears to be a widespread form, perhaps an old compound that has undergone folk reanalysis several times. Note these look-alikes in Algonquian and Muskogean: Miami *sakimia* (pl. *-aki*) (cf. Osage sg and pl). Choctaw *sapóntak*, Chickasaw *sapóntaki*, with no Eastern Muskogean cognates. Choc./Chick. *s* may be < earlier **c*. Unlike the other language families however, Siouan appears to have reflexes of this noun in every major subgroup. All the same, the term has no completely secure reconstruction in which all of the sound correspondences are understood and followed.

mother (1) (referential)

noun social_kin

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **i-hų́•*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa *ihú•* ‘mother’ J

Pre-Mandan **hų•-*

Mandan *kohú•we* ~ *kohú•re* ~ *kohú•s* ‘his mother’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **i-hų́•*

Proto-Dakota **hų́-ku*

Lakota *hų́ku* ‘his mother’ RTC

Stoney *húgu* ‘mother’ PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **i-hų́•*

Chiwere *ihú, ʔihú* RR

Hoocąk *hų•* RKH , *huų ?*

Proto-Dhegiha **i-hǫ́*

Omaha-Ponca *ihǫ́* ‘his mother’ RTC

Kanza/Kaw *ihǫ́* RR

Osage *ihó^{n}* , *†ihǫ́* ‘mother’ LF:295b

Quapaw *ihą́* ~ *ihǫ́* JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **ǫnį*

Biloxi *û^{n}ní, û^{n}níya^{n}, û^{n}niya^{n}* , *†ǫnį* ‘mother (referential)’ D&S:284b

Ofo *o^{n}ni, oní* , *†ǫnį* ‘mother (referential)’ D&S:328a

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *éhu^{n}, ḗho^{n}* , *†ihǫ* ~ *†ihą* LJF , *ehě^{n}e^{n}, ihě^{n}e^{n}* , *†ihǫ* ~ *†ihą*

General comment

The problem of the third person inalienable prefix is not easily resolved. Numerous transcribers noted both *i-* (usually) and *e-* (sometimes) for this prefix in OVS and DH languages. The Tutelo forms are hard to interpret in that they show potential length and accent on both syllables. Tutelo *ę* in the later transcriptions of JOD, Sapir and Frachtenberg is the consistent reflex of **ą*. Hoocąk *hiʔųnį́* ‘mother’ (KM-814) probably belongs to this set as well, although we are unable to account for the loss of root-initial *h*.

mother (2) (vocative)

noun social_kin

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **i-rą́*

Pre-Mandan **rą*

Mandan *rąʔé•* ‘mother (vocative)’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **i-ną*

Proto-Dakota **iná́*

Lakota *iná* ‘mother’ RTC

Assiniboine *iná* PAS:659

Stoney *iná* PAS:659

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *hį́nąhą* RR

Proto-Dhegiha **i-ná́*

Omaha-Ponca *nọ́háw* , *ṭ́ṇąhą* ‘my mother’ JOD

Kanza/Kaw *i̧ná́* ‘mother’ RR

Osage *i̧ná́* ‘mother’ RR

Quapaw *i̧dá* ‘mother’ RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *hīnā´* , *†(h)i•nąˑ* LJF , *īnā, henā, henùñ* , *†(h)i•nąˑ* H , *hinéⁿẹⁿ* , *†(h)i•nąˑ* HW

General comment

Accent and length are uncertain in this reconstruction. Both Tutelo (length) and Chiwere suggest initial syllable accent, and Tutelo also suggests that the root vowel was long. Quapaw inexplicably has an oral consonant.

mountain

noun physical_spatial_mountaneous

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **xé*

Proto-Dakota **xé*

Lakota *xé* ‘mountain, badlands’ RTC

Dakota *ȟé* , *†xé* ‘high hill, ridge of hills, mountain’ SRR:163b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *xée* ‘mountain’ KM:3878 , *xee* ‘mountain’ KM:3882 , *xeexéte* , *xeexete (> xee + xete)*

Proto-Dhegiha **xéhki*

Omaha-Ponca *qéi̯ki* , *†xékki* ‘foot of bluffs’

Osage *xéi̯ki* , *†xéhki* ‘foothills’ LF:218a

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *ĕ ́kta^{n}nihíxyĕ* , *†-híxe* ‘hills, peaks’ D&S:191b

General comment

The Dhegiha forms are probably from Proto-Dhegiha **xé + *hkü* ‘under, beneath’. Mandan *óxaxare, wąxáxara ~ waxáxa* ‘mountain’ (H-310) may be related via ablaut in reduplication. Alternatively it may belong with Hidatsa *awaxá•wi* ‘mountain’, Crow *awaxaawé* ‘mountain’. Chiwere *ahé* ‘mountain’ is listed with ‘hill’, q.v.

mourn

verb psychic_emotion_expression

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **kikhą́*

Proto-Dakota **kičhą́*

Lakota *kičhą́* ‘call on the dead’ EB:299b , *kicáŋ*

Dakota *kićáŋ* , *†kičhą́* ‘call on the dead’ SRR:277b

Proto-Dhegiha **kikhą*

Omaha-Ponca *gíkhą* ‘to condole with her’ , *gíka^{n}*

Kanza/Kaw *gikhą́* ‘condole with sone.’ RR

Osage *gíko^{n}* , *†kíkhą* ‘mourn, lament’ LF:51a

mouse

noun animal_rodent

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **i•tuha*

Crow *íisuukaata* ‘mouse’ RG

Hidatsa *i•tahú* ‘mouse’ AWJ

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *wį̨htik* ‘mouse’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **hįthúka*

Proto-Dakota **hithúka*

Lakota *hithúkala* ‘mouse’ RTC , *ithúkala* ‘mouse’ EJ

Dakota *hithúkadą* ‘mouse’ SRR:148

Yanktonai *hithúkana* ‘mouse’ SRR:148

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *hįdúŋe* ‘mouse’ GMsf

Hoocąk *wiǰukxéte* ‘rat’ KM:3723 , *wijukxete*

Proto-Dhegiha **į̌čhǫ́ka* < **įthǫ́ka*

Omaha-Ponca *i^{n}chú^{n}ga* , *†į̌čhǫ́ga* ‘mouse’ MJS:123

Kanza/Kaw *ičhǫ́ga* ‘mouse’ RR

Osage *i^{n}chó^{n}ga* , *†į̌čhǫ́ka* ‘mouse’ LF:75a

Quapaw *†į̌čhǫ́ka, †į̌čhąka* ‘mouse’ JOD

General comment

If the proto-form had **rh* Lakota should have *h* rather than *th*. On Crow *-suu* = Hidatsa *tahu*, cf. Thunder: Hidatsa shows rightward vowel exchange. All in all, this is not a satisfying set. Many animal names are diffused widely and this may well also have been borrowed and passed from language to language. Many animal terms had the prefix **wi-*, but it is unclear whether this was one of them.

mouth

noun physical_somatic_body_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **ʔí•he*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **í•*

Crow *íi* ‘mouth’ RG

Hidatsa *í•* ‘mouth’ AWJ

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *í•h* ~ *í•he* ‘mouth’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **ʔi•(ha)*

Proto-Dakota **í*

Lakota *í* ‘mouth’ RTC

Dakota *í* ‘mouth’ SRR:169b

Sioux Valley *í pas*

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **ʔí•*

Chiwere *ʔí•* ‘mouth’ RTC, RR

Hoocąk *íi* ‘mouth’ KM:1625 , *ii* ‘mouth’ JWE , *ʔíi-* , *ii*

Proto-Dhegiha **ʔí(-ha)*

Omaha-Ponca *ʔí* ‘mouth’ RTC

Kanza/Kaw *i* ‘horse’s mouth’ RR , *íha* ‘mouth, top of mouth’ RR

Osage *i* , *†i* ‘mouth’ LF:68a

Quapaw *íha* ‘mouth’ RR

Proto-Southeastern **i•hi* ~ **ihi•*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **i•hi* ~ **ihi•*

Biloxi *ihí, íhi* , *†ihi* ‘mouth’ D&S:199b

Ofo *ī́hi, ihī́* , *†í•hi* ~ *†ihí•* ‘mouth’ JSS

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *ihī* , *†ihi•* ‘mouth’ H , *īh* , *†i•h* ‘mouth’ H

General comment

Cf. ‘tooth (1), edge, point’, ‘lip’. Kanza/Kaw and Quapaw perhaps come from **ih* + **ha*, *mouth* + *skin*, as in the Lakota *iha* ‘lips’. Since this is an external body part, it presumably would have been inherently possessed and would have carried the prefix **i-* This would yield a reconstruction **i-í-(ha)* with *ʔ* possibly inserted to mark the boundary at some point giving **iʔi-(ha)*. This might account for the glottal stop that surfaces in several languages and for the long (initial) vowel in languages that typically preserve length (Tutelo, Chiwere, Hoocąk, Crow, Hidatsa, Mandan). This does not explain why a *ʔ* is inserted here when the more common epenthetic glide is *r*, however. Cf. ‘chin’.

mouth, instrumental

instrumental prefix physical_somatic_body_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **ra-*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **ra-*

Crow *da-* ‘mouth instrumental’ [1s bala-, 2s dalá-, 3s da-]

Hidatsa *rá-* ‘mouth instrumental’ [1s wara-, 2s rára-, 3s rá-]

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *ra-* [1s warά-, 2s darά-, 3s ra-]

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **ra-*

Proto-Dakota **ra-*

Lakota *ya-* ‘mouth instrumental’ [1s bla-, 2s la-, 3s ya-] EJ

Dakota *ya-* ‘mouth instrumental’ [1st bda-, 2s da-, 3s ya-, suus gla-]

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **ra-*

Chiwere *ra-* ‘mouth instrumental’

Hoocąk *ra-* ‘mouth instrumental’ [1s taa-ˊ, 2s šara-, 3s ra-] , *ra-*

Proto-Dhegiha **ra-*

Omaha-Ponca *ða-* ‘mouth instrumental’ [1s bðá-, 2s šná-, 3s ða-ˀ]

Kanza/Kaw *ya-ˊ* ‘mouth instrumental’ [1s blá-, 2s hná-, 3s ya-ˀ]

Osage *ða-* ‘mouth instrumental’

Quapaw *da-ˊ* ‘mouth instrumental’ [1s bdá-, 2s ttá-, 3s da-ˊ]

Proto-Southeastern **ra-*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **ra-*

Biloxi *da-* ‘mouth instrumental’ [1s nda-, 2s ida-, 3s da-]

Ofo *ta-* ‘mouth instrumental’ [1s ta- ~ bata- ta- ~ bata-, 2s ita- ~ čita- ~ čata- ĭta- ~ tcĭta- ~ tcata-, 3s ta- ta-]

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *la-* ‘mouth instrumental’ [1s wala- wala-, 2s yala- yala-, 3s la- la-]

Proto-Catawba

Catawba *rą* ‘eat’ , *rą ~ nąˀ* ‘eating’ , *ya^{n}*

General comment

An inner instrumental. A Proto-Siouan-Catawba form may ultimately be reconstructible.

mucus

noun physical_somatic_liquid

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **xrį*

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *páxringe* , *†pháxrįge* ‘snot’ JGT:232

Proto-Dhegiha **hpa-xrį̂*

Omaha-Ponca *paxthi*^{n} , *†ppaxðį* ‘snot’ MAS:160 , *žexðį̂* , *†ppaxðį* ‘semen’

Kanza/Kaw *ppaxlį̂* ‘snot’ RR , *xlį* ‘mucus’ RR

Osage *paxthí*^{n} , *†hpaxlį* ‘snot’ LF:126b

Quapaw *ppaxnį̂* ‘snot’ JOD

General comment

Cf. ‘ooze’

mud, dirt, earth

noun physical_substance

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **mą́•ha*

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **mą́•ha*

Chiwere *mą́ha* ‘earth, muddy’ RR

Hoocąk *mąąhá* ‘mud, be muddy’ KM , *mąąha*

Proto-Dhegiha **mąha*

Omaha-Ponca *šódemąhą* ‘fog’ , *cúdemaha*^{n}

Kanza/Kaw *mąhá* ‘land’ JOD

Osage *nímo*^{n}*ho*^{n} , *†nį́mąhą* ‘marsh, marshy land’ LF:109a

General comment

This is one of a large number of terms apparently incorporating reflexes of **wą-* ‘earth, ground, land’. This and other composite terms may be recently derived in various subgroups.

muskrat, prairie dog (1)

noun animal_rodent

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **sįtpe*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **cihpa*

Crow *čihpá* ‘prairie dog’ RG

Hidatsa *cíhpa* ‘prairie dog’ AWJ

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *šopká?* ‘groundhog, prairie dog’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dakota **sįt-pé*

Lakota *sį́kpxé* ‘muskrat’ EJ , *sį́kpé* ‘muskrat’ RTC

Dakota *siŋtpé* , *†sįtpé* ‘muskrat’ SRR:435a

Stoney *sų́kpe* [Sask.] PAS , *sopte* [Alta.] PAS , *sųpte* RV

General comment

A phonetically similar term is reconstructible in Algonquian which may have provided a morphologically opaque loanword. The Algonquian analogs include: Miami *sakwa*, Shawnee *hoθaškwa* ‘muskrat’; PA **wa?šaškwa* Aubin:2143. A loan based on forms like this might have been reinterpreted by Dakotan speakers as a compound of *sįt-* ‘tail’ and *phe* ‘sharp’, but Stoney forms would reflect a certain lack of uniformity in the spread of the folk etymology. An Omaha form, *sįsnéde wágiðe* ‘muskrat’ (JOD1890:168), does not seem to be truly cognate but also refers to the animal’s long tail. Mandan **kp* > *pk* normally, so Algonquian could still be the source, but Hollow (p. 232) analyzes the term as being derived from *šop* ‘whistle’. This could represent a different folk reanalysis. Crow and Hidatsa match the Lakota form. The Lakota form with aspiration definitely represents reanalysis as ‘tail’ + ‘sharp’.

n

name

noun social

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

- Proto-Siouan **yá•še*
  - Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **ra•ši*
    - Crow *dáaši* ‘name’ GG:40
    - Hidatsa *ra•šį́* ‘name’ AWJ , *na•šį́*
  - Pre-Mandan
    - Mandan *ráse* ‘name’ RTC
  - Proto-Mississipi-Valley **yá•že*
    - Proto-Dakota **čhažé*
      - Lakota *čhažé* ‘name’ RTC
      - Dakota *ćaz´é* ‘name’ SRR:97a
      - Stoney *čhažé* PAS
    - Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **rá•že*
      - Chiwere *rá•ye* ‘name’ RR
      - Hoocąk *raaš* ‘name’ KM:2530 , *raaš*
    - Proto-Dhegiha **žá•že* < **i-žá•že:*
      - Omaha-Ponca *žá•že* ‘name’ RTC , *ižáže* ‘name’ JEK
      - Kanza/Kaw *žá•že* ‘name’ RR
      - Osage *žá•že* ‘name’ RR
      - Quapaw *žáže* ‘name’ JOD
  - Proto-Southeastern
    - Proto-Biloxi-Ofo
      - Biloxi *yátcĕ, yatcĕ́, yatcí* , *i̱yáče* ‘name’ D&S:288b
- Proto-Catawba
  - Catawba *yadi* ‘name’ RKH

General comment

Evidence for possessive **i-* here is weaker than in the case of kin terms and body parts. Semantically it is not uncommon for *name* to be inalienable. Morphologically, the prefix actually occurs here only in Omaha-Ponca, where it may have been restored. Phonologically, the accented long vowel of the initial syllable suggests that a vowel has been lost to the left. The Catawba form is invitingly similar, but we cannot yet account for the Proto-Siouan **š* : Catawba *d* correspondence.

narrow, small

verb perceptual_visual

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **kisú•ke*

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *kšukó?š* ‘it’s narrow’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *ksuksík* ‘small, skinny’ , *ksuuksik* ‘fine, narrow’ KM:1893 , *suuksík* , *suuksik*

General comment

Biloxi *†miska*, Ofo *†ki•ska*, and Tutelo *†kutska*, all glossed ‘little’, do not appear to be cognate.

navel

noun physical_somatic_body_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba **i-pa(t) (?)*

Proto-Siouan **i-ré•tpa*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **-réhpa*

Crow *ištéhpa* RG

Hidatsa *réhpa* ‘navel’ J , *néhpa*

Pre-Mandan **rétpa*

Mandan *répta* ‘navel’ H:179

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **i-ré•tpa*

Proto-Dakota **čhekpá*

Lakota *čhekpá* ‘navel’ RTC , *čhekpá* ‘navel, twins’ EJ

Dakota *cekpaȟdoka* , *†čhekpa* ‘navel’

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **ré•twa*

Chiwere *retwa* ‘navel’ LWR:24

Hoocąk *reečáwa* KM , *reecawa(šų)*

Proto-Dhegiha **réhtašǫ*

Omaha-Ponca *thétashoⁿ* , *†ðéttašą* F&LF:108

Kanza/Kaw *yéttašü* ‘navel’ RR

Osage *théṭashoⁿ* , *†ðéhtašǫ* ‘navel, umbilicus’ LF:143b

Quapaw *déttašǫ* ‘navel’ JOD

Proto-Catawba

Catawba *hipat* ‘his navel’ FS

General comment

The options in reconstructing Proto-Siouan: **i + é•tpa > yé•tpa* would leave Chiwere/Hoocąk, DH unexplained as they have reflexes of Proto-Siouan **r*. The better solution **i + é•tpa > i + r + é•tpa* (with **r* epenthetic) accounts for all but the OVS forms (that have numerous other irregularities). Lakota typically shows *čh < *y < *r* following this prefix. Here **i-* is 3sg. inalienable possessor; the rest is 'navel'. The Biloxi/Ofo forms Biloxi *†čįpǫ́ , tciⁿpóⁿ ~ -yaⁿ* (DS-265a), Ofo *†čhį́•pu , tchĕ́mpu* (DS-329b, Ssf) may be related, but it is still uncertain how. There are several other problems with this set. Apart from the initial resonant, Crow and Hidatsa should normally inherit a long, accented vowel. The Catawba form, assuming it is cognate, suggests that the word is morphologically complex with a boundary between **-re•t-* and **-pa*. Any Proto-Siouan-Catawba reconstruction is always extremely tentative. This entry also shows that in DH, Proto-Siouan **tp > *pt > *ht* just as **tk > *kt > *ht*. In Lakota **tp > kp*. Cf. also 'tongue', 'kettle'. Inherited Crow/Hidatsa *e > i* unless the magic of glottalization preserves it. The fact that we've got an (irregular) short *e* here could be explained by shortening.

near

adverb physical_spatial

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **á•ška*

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *askac* , *†aska?š* ‘near’ Will , *-ska* in: *ąska* , *†aska?š* ‘that’s right’ H:60

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **á•ška*

Proto-Dakota **ašká*

Lakota *ašká* ‘near’ [same as *iyeštuka laka*] RTC , *áška* ‘he himself, even he’ [this may be der. of *hee-ca-ška*] EJ , *-ška-* in: *íyeškalaka* ‘still, nevertheless’ [same as *heecašk*a] EB:255 , *-ška* in: *héecašk*a ‘still, nevertheless’ [also *šehą́škalaka*] EB:171 , *-šká* in: *hecašká* ‘at any rate’ EB:169 , *-ška* in: *šehą́ška* ‘Who is this?’ EB:461 , *-ška* in: *tuwéška* EB:503

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **á•ške*

Chiwere *á•ški* ‘near’ RR , *ásge, aské, ashgí* ‘near; close; next’ JGT:189 , *-sgé* ‘near; next’ JGT:220, LWR , *-sgé* in: *asgé / asgi/ ashgí* JGT:230 , *-ske* , *-ske* in: *áske/ ásge*

Hoocąk *aašgé* ‘near’ KM:15 , *aašge* ‘almost’ KM:15 , *-šgé* in: *aašgé* KM:273 , *-šge*in: *aašge* , *-šge* in: *coowéšge* , *-šge*in: *coowešge*

Proto-Dhegiha **áška*

Omaha-Ponca *áška* ‘near’

Kanza/Kaw *áška* ‘near’ JOD, RR , *-ška-* in: *áškahiga, -žiga* ‘nearby, pretty close, closer’ JOD, RR , *-ška-* in: *áškaxci* ‘nearby, very close’ JOD, RR , *-ška-* in: *áškažigáxci* ‘time, a very short space of’

Osage *áshka* , *†áška* ‘near, close by, short distance’ LF:14b

Quapaw *ašká* ‘near’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern **á•ška*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **áčka*

Biloxi *átcka, atckáya^{n}, átckaxtí* , *†áčka* ‘close by, near’ D&S:174b

Ofo *ąktcápi* , *†ənkčápi* ‘near’ D&S:320a

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *āskai* , *†a•skai* HH

General comment

Tutelo lacks the expected *č* perhaps due to MVS influence.

However, there are several sets in which Tutelo shows *s* instead of *č* as the reflex of **š*, cf. ‘neck (2), side of neck (?)’, ‘nine’. Ofo appears to have metathesized **šk*. Most Siouanists have analyzed the initial *á•-* as locative.

neck (1), nape

noun physical_somatic_body_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **i-htá•-hu*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Crow *išúu* ‘back of neck’ RG

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *î•tahịrų* ‘neck’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **htá•hu*

Proto-Dakota **thahú*

Lakota *thahú* ‘back of neck’ RTC

Dakota *tahú* ‘back of the neck’ SRR:453a

Proto-Dhegiha **htáhü*

Omaha-Ponca *tai* , *ṭttai* ‘nape’ MJS:125

Kanza/Kaw *ttáhü* ‘neck’ RR

Osage *htáhü* ‘nape’ RR

Quapaw *ttáittá* ‘neck’ JOD, RR

General comment

Cf. ‘neck (2), side of neck (?)’, which shares **hta•* and justifies reconstructing length. Cf. ‘mouse’, *thunder*, in which **tahu* > *šuu* in Crow.

If indeed ‘neck (2), side of neck (?)’ shares this root, then the **-hu* is segmentable, with the possible meaning of ‘bone’, q.v.

neck (2), side of neck (?)

noun physical_somatic_body_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **i-htá•-še*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **thá•še*

Chiwere *thá•še* ‘neck, throat’ RR

Hoocąk *čaašé* ‘neck (n.), body part’ KM:144 , *caaše*

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *tasēi* , *†tase•i* ‘neck’ HH

General comment

Cf. ‘neck (1), nape’ which shares **hta•*. Tutelo, having lost Poss3 **i-* has length on the new second syllable.

This is another set in which Proto-Siouan **š* apparently becomes Tutelo *s* rather than the expected *č*.

neck (3)

noun physical_somatic_body_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **ą́•pe*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **á•pE*

Crow *áapa* ‘neck, fore’ GG:2 , *áape* ‘neck’ RGG:69a

Hidatsa *á•pa* ‘neck’ J , *(m)apidu* , *†a•piru* ‘back of the neck’ HWM

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **wanáp?į*

Proto-Dakota **wanáp?į*

Lakota *wanáp?į* ‘necklace’ RTC

Dakota *wanápiŋ* , *†wanáp?į* ‘medal, necklace, anything worn around the neck’ SRR:522b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **wanąp?į*

Chiwere *wanąp?į* ‘necklace’ JDH

Hoocąk *wanąp?į* ‘necklace’ KM:3396 , *wanąp’į*

Proto-Dhegiha **wanáp?į*

Omaha-Ponca *wanáp?į* ‘necklace’ RR

Kanza/Kaw *wanáp?į* ‘necklace’ RR

Osage *wanó^{n}p?į* , *†wanáp?į* ‘necklace’ LF:197b

Quapaw *wanáʔį* ‘necklace’ RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *a^{n}pní* , *†qpní* ‘necklace’ D&S:178a , *a^{n}pŭ̃ní* , *†qpəní* ‘necklace’ D&S:176b

General comment

Cf. ‘wear around the neck’, ‘neck (3)’ In Proto-Mississipi-Valley and Biloxi the root for ‘neck (3)’ is preserved only in a fossilized form with meaning ‘necklace’, q.v.

necklace

noun physical_artefact_dress_jewelry

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **wa(-r-)ą́•pe-ʔį*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **á•peʔe*

Crow *áapii* ‘necklace’ RG

Hidatsa *á•peʔ* ‘necklace’ J , *á•peʔe*

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *waráp̣inp̣ʔ* ‘necklace’ RTC , *ráp̣ir̥ire* ‘necklace, collar’ H:150

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **wanáp̣ʔį*

Proto-Dakota **wanáp̣ʔį*

Lakota *wanáp̣ʔį* ‘necklace’ RTC

Dakota *wanápiŋ* , *†wanáp̣ʔį* ‘medal, necklace, anything worn around the neck’ SRR:522b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **wanąpʔį*

Chiwere *wanąpʔį* ‘necklace’ JDH

Hoocąk *wanąpʔį* ‘necklace’ KM:3396 , *wanąpʾį*

Proto-Dhegiha **wanáp̣ʔį*

Omaha-Ponca *wanáp̣ʔį* ‘necklace’ RR

Kanza/Kaw *wanáp̣ʔį* ‘necklace’ RR

Osage *wanóⁿp̣ʔį* , *†wanáp̣ʔį* ‘necklace’ LF:197b

Quapaw *wanąʔį* ‘necklace’ RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *aⁿpní* , *†ąpní* ‘necklace’ D&S:178a , *aⁿpĭ̆ní* , *†ąpəní* ‘necklace’ D&S:176b

General comment

Cf. ‘wear around the neck’, ‘neck (3)’. This term is polymorphemic and appears to refer to ‘sth. worn around the neck’: **wa-* ‘indef. obj.’; **ą•pe-* ‘neck (3)’; **ʔį•(he)* ‘wear’. The last two morphemes form a compound meaning ‘wear around the neck’, q.v. The *n* < **r* between **wa-* and **ą•pe-* is the expected epenthetic glide that breaks up vowel clusters. The 3*s* and citation form of *wear* is **ʔį*, but Biloxi appears to have lost *ʔ* and replaced it with the reflex of another epenthetic *r* from one of the conjugated non-3*s* forms of the verb. This phenomenon is found elsewhere, and in Chiwere and Hoocąk analogous forms combining both *r* and **ʔ* even yield synchronic *tʔ*. So morphemically the Proto-Siouan form is most likely **wa(-r-)ą́•pe-ʔį*. The expected Hoocąk and Chiwere long *ą•* appears in ‘wear around the neck’. The Mandan form is included because of its phonetic similarity, but it is probably not cognate: it appears to derive from **ra-*, possibly referring to the head, plus the root *prį•-* ‘to hang something up’.

negative (1), dubitative

n/a

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **ku*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **-kú-*

Chiwere *š-kú-ñį* ‘not’ RR

Hoocąk *š-gų́-nį* ‘weak dubitative’ , *šgųnį, gųnį*

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *ku-* ‘part of many negative sentences’

General comment

Cf. ‘negative (2)’, ‘negative (3)’. *ku* is clearly a correlative, similar to Tutelo *ki-* (HH:28,30), and Hoocąk *ke-* cf. Lk.. These various correlative prefixes are functionally the same, but derive historically from various sources, presumably deictics or demonstratives which have come to mark off clauses.

Hoocąk/Chiwere forms are clearly segmentable historically. Cf. Dakota *-š-ni* neg, Biloxi bipartite negative and the DH sibilant negative. Hoocąk nasalization is probably a product of long association with *-nį* Assiniboine/Stoney show similar aberrant nasalization in the semantically related *šį* Lack of attestation in most languages makes it unclear the extent to which **ku* was associated with negation.

negative (2)

enclitic n/a

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **aši*

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *-xi-* ~ *-rį̀x-* ‘negative’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **ašE*

Proto-Dakota **-šE*

Lakota *-š* ‘adversative’ RTC , *-šnį-* ‘negative’ RTC

Assiniboine *-šį* ‘negative’

Stoney *-šį* ‘negative’

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **ži*

Chiwere *š-* [š- in the compound š-ku-ñį neg] RR

Hoocąk *-ži* ‘at least; focus marker’ WL , *-ži* ‘weak dubitative (neg 1)’ , *’š-gų́-nį* , *šgųnį, gųnį*

Proto-Dhegiha **aži*

Omaha-Ponca *aži* ‘neg.’ JOD

Kanza/Kaw *aži* ‘neg.’ RR

Osage *aži* ‘neg.’ RR

Quapaw *aži* ‘neg.’ RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *atcí* , *†ačí* ‘oh, no!’ D&S:174b

General comment

Biloxi maintains this root as an independent interjection. In DH *ažį* usually functions as a conjugated negative auxiliary. Mandan, Lakota, Dakota and Chiwere/Hoocąk have reanalyzed (resegmented) the initial *a-* of the enclitic as a verb stem-final ablauted vowel. This morpheme has undergone additional reduction like most of the negative morphology in several of the subgroups. Mandan shows the *x* fricative symbolism grade. In Mandan the negative has two allomorphs, *-xi* after vowels, and *-rįx* after consonants. The first of these is a reflex (in the x-grade) of Proto-Siouan **ašį* the second is a complex of Proto-Siouan **-rį* 'negative (3)' and **ašį*. Lakota also combines 'adversative' *-š-* (Boas and Deloria's term), the local reflex of **ašį*, with *-ni* the reflex of 'negative (3)', to form the most common Dakotan negative. Assiniboine and Stoney nasalization is probably a product of long association with **-rį* cf. Lakota and Dakota *šni* 'negative'; the nasalization is found nowhere else in Siouan. However, although 'adversative' requires the *-a* ending of a preceding verb stem, the general negative requires the *-e* ending. This leads some Siouanists to suspect that *-š* 'adversative' and the initial *š-* of the general negative have different etymologies. Cf. *'emphatic, contrastive, but'*.

negative (3)

n/a

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **rį*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **-tha•* < ***-rha•* < ****rV-ha•*

Crow *-ssaa* ‘not’ GG

Hidatsa *-tha•* ‘not’ J

Pre-Mandan **-rį-*

Mandan *-xi-* ~ *-rįx-* ‘negative’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **-nį*

Proto-Dakota **-nį*

Lakota *-ni* ‘negative (narrow scope)’ RTC , *-šni* ‘negative (clausal scope)’ RTC

Dakota *tákuni* , *†-ni* ‘nothing’ SRR:455b , *-śni* , *†-šni* ‘adverb of negation; no, not’ SRR:447a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **-nį*

Chiwere *†-nį škúñį* ‘negative’ RR

Hoocąk *-nį* , *†-nį šgų́nį* ‘negative’ RR

Proto-Southeastern **nį*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **ni*

Biloxi *ni* ‘negative’ PFE:86

Ofo *ni* ‘not’ D&S:326b

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *ki-ą-na* ~ *-ni* ‘negative’ GO

General comment

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **-ha•* is the adverbializer.

nephew (1), male's sister's son

noun social_kin

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **i-htíį•-*

Pre-Mandan **-tụhą-*

Mandan *kotụhąka* 'female's sister's child' H:258

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **i-htíį•šk<u>a</u>*

Proto-Dakota **thụšk<u>á</u>*

Lakota *thụšk<u>á</u>* 'nephew male speaker, sister's son; Oglala also for brother's son' RTC , *thụšk<u>á</u>* EJ

Dakota *toŋśk<u>á</u>* , *†thụšk<u>á</u>* 'nephew, male speaker' SRR:478

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *čų́ụšge, hičụšg<u>é</u>* 'grandson, nephew' [< mother's brother] KM:833 , *cụụšge, hicụšge*

Proto-Dhegiha

Quapaw *ittǫ́šk<u>a</u>* ~ *ittą́šk<u>a</u>* 'nephew, cousin, son of female's brother or female's sister' JOD

General comment

**i-htíį•-* may have been Proto-Siouan, but with a distribution only in Mandan and MVS this is hard to prove. The sibilant present in the MVS forms may well represent an analogical development based on 'nephew (2), female's brother's son'.

nephew (2), female's brother's son

noun social_kin

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **i-htó•S- (?)*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **i-htó•ška*

Proto-Dakota **thošká*

Lakota *thošká* 'nephew, both male and female speaker' RTC , *thošká* EJ

Dakota *tošká* , *†thošká* [female speaker] SRR:478

Assiniboine *thošká* 'female's sister's son' [Sask.] PAS

Stoney *thošká* 'female's brother's son' PAS:674

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *hi•tho•škémį* 'niece' RR

Otoe *hįthó•ške* 'nephew (male speaking)' RR

Proto-Dhegiha **ihtóška*

Omaha-Ponca *ittóška* RR

Kanza/Kaw *iččóška* 'man's sister's son; his or hers' RR

Osage *ihcóška* 'nephew' RR , *hcošką́* 'vocative' RR

Proto-Southeastern **itoska- ~ *itoski (?)*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *tŭ́ksĭki, tŭksĭkiya^{n}* , *†túksiki* 'male's sister's son, etc.'

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *eṭoskaĩ̃* , *†etoskaí•*

General comment

DH affrication may be conditioned by a combination of the preceding *i-* and the following *š*. Cf. **ihtóšpa*. The only other instances of such affrication preceding a non-front vowel in Kanza/Kaw/Osage involve (other?) diminutives, e.g., 'some, short'. This term, like many other kin terms, is polymorphemic. Inalienable possession accounts for **i-* and the root seems reconstructible to Proto-Siouan, but OVS disagrees on the sibilant and on aspiration, and Biloxi on the ending generally, making reconstruction of this lexeme insecure outside of MVS. It seems likely that there has been considerable analogical restructuring throughout the developments in the kinship systems.

new (1)

verb time

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **rą́•-ka*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **hi-rá•-ka*

Crow *hiláa* ‘just now’ RG , *hilaaká* ‘new’ RG , *dáaka* ‘offspring’ GG:40, RGG:22

Hidatsa *hirá•* ‘new, recent, fresh’ AWJ , *ra•ka, na•ka* ‘the young of sth.’ AWJ

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *rą́•ka?š* ‘it’s new’ RTC

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Ofo *nąksha, nąkąsą* , *†náksa* ‘young, fresh’ D&S:326b

new (2)

verb time

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **hté•ka*

Proto-Dakota **théča*

Lakota *théča* ‘new’ RTC

Dakota *téća* ‘new’ SRR:465b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **thé•ke*

Chiwere *čhé•ge* ‘new, clean’ RR

Hoocąk *čéek* ‘the first, the beginning’ KM:188 , *ceek* ‘at first’ KM:185 , *čeegéja* , *ceekeja (> ceek + eeja)*

Proto-Dhegiha **hté•ka*

Omaha-Ponca *tté•ga* ‘new’ RR

Kanza/Kaw *ččéga* ‘new’ RR

Osage *ṭséga* , *†hcéka* ‘recently, anew, early, new’ LF:158b

Quapaw *ttéka* ‘new’ JOD

niece (1), male's sister's daughter

noun social_kin

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **i-htíį•-*

Pre-Mandan **-tų-*

Mandan *túíhą* 'male's sister's child' H:258

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **ihtíį•žą*

Proto-Dakota **thu-* ~ **thų-*

Lakota *thųžą́* 'female's brother's daughter' EJ

Assiniboine *thuža* 'male's sister's daughter' [Sask.] PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *hičųžąk* ~ *číųžąk* 'niece from mother's brother, granddaughter' KM:834 , *hicųžąk* ~ *cųųžąk*

Proto-Dhegiha **ihtížǫ* < ***ihtúžǫ*

Omaha-Ponca *ittížǫ*

Kanza/Kaw *iččížo*

Osage *itsízho*^{n} , *†ihcížǫ* LF:81a

Quapaw *ittížǫ* 'male's sister's daughter'

General comment

Quapaw and Dakota preserve both 'niece' terms. Shaw notes no nasalization in the Saskatchewan Assiniboine form. J RTC has noted that speaker differences in 'nephew' and 'niece' involve nasalization. I would only add that nasalization correlates with same sex: 'woman's niece, man's nephew'.

Only MVS has a male, female speaker distinction.

RR: **i-htíį•-* may have been Proto-Siouan, but with a distribution only in Mandan and MVS this is hard to prove. The sibilant present in the MVS forms may well represent an analogical development based on 'nephew, female speaker?, sister's son (1)'.

JEK The morpheme *žą* in the MVS forms is from Proto-Siouan **yąka* ~ **yąkE* 'daughter'. DH *hti* may be by analogy with DH **ihtipro* (?) 'woman's elder brother'. The Mandan term also occurs in 'nephew (1), male's sister's son'.

niece (2), female's brother's daughter

noun social_kin

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *[old reconstruction only]*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **i-htó•žą* < ***i-htó•š-žą* JEK

Proto-Dakota **thožą́*

Lakota *thožą́* 'female's brother's daughter' EJ

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *hį•thó•škemį* 'niece, Otoe male speaking' RR

Proto-Dhegiha **ihtóžąke, *ihtóžǫke*

Kanza/Kaw *iččóžǫge* 'niece, woman's brother's girl' RR

Osage *iṭsúzho^{n}ge* , *†ihcóžąke* LF:81a

Quapaw *ittóžąke* 'niece, woman's elder brother's daughter' RR

Proto-Southeastern **ito-*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *tûsŭ́ñi̱ki, tusuñi̱kiya^{n}* , *†tusí̱ki* 'his elder sister's daughter' D&S:282a

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *eṭosĭñ'k* , *†etosí̱k* 'his sister's daughter' HW

General comment

This is yet another term that does not really seem to be reconstructible outside of MVS. The OVS forms seem clearly to involve compounding with a similar but non-corresponding second root. The second root, *žąke* ~ *žą*, in the MVS forms is from Proto-Mississipi-Valley **ižą́ke* 'daughter'.

The root, *tó•š*, evidently loses its sibilant in compounding. The Biloxi form appears to be an exact parallel, though the forms are not cognate. The form means something like 'junior female member of an *i-htoš* lineage'. N.B. Quapaw and Dakota preserve both 'niece' terms. Only MVS has the male-female speaker distinction?

nine

noun abstract_number

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *[old reconstruction only]*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **kšą́hka (?)*

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *ʔšą́khe* ‘nine’ RR , *θą́khe* ‘nine’ RTC

Proto-Dhegiha **šą́hka*

Omaha-Ponca *šą́kka* ‘nine’ RR , *šǫ́kka* ‘nine’ RTC

Kanza/Kaw *šą́kka* ‘nine’ RR

Osage *šą́hka* ‘nine, archaic, card game’ RR

Quapaw *šąkka* ‘nine’ RR

Proto-Southeastern **kišą́•hka (?)*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *tckanĕ´* , *†čkané* ‘nine’ D&S:265

Ofo *kĭ´shtAshga* , *†kíštəška* ‘nine’ , *kĭ´ctạcga* , *†kíštəška* ‘nine’ D&S:325b

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *tça; sā, sāñ, ksañk, ksāhkai, kasankai, ksākai* , *†kisą́•hkai* ‘nine’ N, HH , *ksä^{n}hk‘* , *†kisą́•hkai* ‘nine’ HW , *sęk‘* , *†kisą́•hkai* ‘nine’ ES , *kse^{n}k* , *†kisą́•hkai* ‘nine’ LJF , *kisé^{n}g, kisén* , *†kisą́•hkai* ‘two’ LJF

General comment

The recorded Chiwere forms imply different underlying sibilants. Proto-Siouan **š*

none, be/have, lack

verb abstract_amount

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **-įkE*

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *wįkó?š* ‘none, have none’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **rįkE*

Proto-Dakota **nįkA*

Lakota *waníčA* ‘there are none’ RTC, EJ , *níčA* ‘to be destitute of, have none of’

Dakota *nítʼa* ‘be destitute of, have none of’ SRR:340b

Stoney *nǐǰa pas*

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **nǐke*

Chiwere *ñǐŋe* ~ *ñǐge* ‘none, be without’ RR

Missouria *ning ga, niing g’, nega, neeg’* , *†nǐge* ‘blind’ L&C

Hoocąk *-nįk* ‘blind’ KM:1090 , *hišjara nįk*

Proto-Dhegiha **rįke*

Omaha-Ponca *-ðigé* ‘be none’ JEK

Kanza/Kaw *-yige* ‘be nothing’ RR

Osage *thíⁿge* , *†ðǐke* ‘have none, nothing’ LF:148a

Quapaw *niké* ‘have none’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **níki*

Biloxi *níki, níki* , *†nǐki* ‘be without, have none’ D&S:236b

Ofo *aⁿtoníki* , *†-nǐki* ‘blind’ D&S:323a , *abáthe tĭnĭñki* , *†-nǐki* ‘I have no dress’ D&S:324b

General comment

The DH forms show varying consonant nasalization and accent that are not regular. Biloxi and Ofo in turn lack any indication of vowel nasalization that should have been reinforced by a preceding *n* (we might have expected Biloxi **niñki*). So there are some interesting irregularities here that may have something indirectly to do with the Mandan initial. We suspect that the **r* here is one of those inserted to break up clusters of vowels, in this case, a late pronominal prefix vowel and a root-initial **i* What we are suggesting is that **wį•, *rį•* 1sg, 2s patient were separate clitics, not prefixes, in Proto-Siouan (and there is much independent evidence to support this analysis). We suppose the Mandan *w* could come from *wa absolutive* with collapse of V1V1.

nose (2), end, point, tip (2)

noun physical_somatic_body_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **hpa-sú•*

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *pá•xu* ‘nose’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **hpasú*

Proto-Dakota **phasú*

Lakota *phasú* ‘nose, beak’ RTC

Dakota *pasú* ‘nose, snout, beak’ SRR:413b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *pháθu* ‘nose’ RR

Proto-Dhegiha **hpasű́*

Omaha-Ponca *hoppási* ‘gar’ MJS:84 , *hupáçi çnede*

Kanza/Kaw *ppasű́* ‘tip, point, corner’ RR

Osage *paçí* , *†hpasí* ‘point, top of tree’ LF:124a

Quapaw *hó ppási stétte* ‘gar’ RR , *mazéppasí* ‘nipples (of breast)’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern **pasú•*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *(?) psohĕ´* , *†psohé* ‘having corners or angles’ D&S:248a , *ó psahedí* , *†psahedi* ‘corner fish’ D&S:248a

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *pasūye; pasūi* , *†pasu•-* ‘head’ N

Saponi *posse* , *†pasi* ‘head’ F

Proto-Catawba

Catawba *hipįsu•?* ‘his nose’ FS , *dəpęsu?* ‘my nose’ MAS, KS:166

General comment

Cf. ‘head, nose (1), front end’. This shows an old compound of **ahpá* ‘head, nose’ and **sú•* ‘kernel, seed’. Mandan has altered the fricative grade. The Catawba form may go with ‘nose (3), nostril’, *q.v.* Note that, in this compounded form, ‘head’ does not show the initial vowel which it displays in the simplex.

Interestingly there is also no trace of (inalienable) possessive morphology with this body part term.

nose (3), nostril

noun physical_somatic_body_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **phíį-*

Chiwere *phíįxa* ‘nose’ RTC , *phíįglaǰe* ‘nostril’ GMsf

Hoocąk *pųsopox, pǫsopox* ‘nostrils; holes-in-nose’ MM:364 , *pųųšje hopox*

Proto-Dhegiha

Quapaw *ppąkdátte* ‘palate, roof of mouth’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *putco^{n}, pŭtcu^{n}, ptcû^{n}, ptco^{n}* , *†pučǫ* ‘nose’ D&S:248

Ofo *apĭ´ntcu* , *†apíču* ‘nose’ D&S:321a

Proto-Catawba

Catawba *hipíʃsu•ʔ* ‘his nose’ FS

General comment

This form shows a pervasive nasalization, and differences in fricative grade. Aspiration of the intial consonant is to be expected, but is missing in Ofo. If, as JOD’s transcription suggests, Quapaw conflates Proto-Siouan **ų* and **ą*, the above Quapaw form may fit here. All in all, however, this is a very insecure set due to differences in vowel quality and nasalization. This is also one of several places in which Catawba and either Ofo, Biloxi or both, (Ofo and Catawba in this instance) coincide in ways that would seem to be beyond coincidence. We believe that contact and borrowing have played a role, although given the historical locations of the Biloxi, Ofo and Catawba, it is hard to see just how. Because the sound correspondences between Siouan and Catawban are so poorly understood, the Catawba entry is listed under two distinct ‘nose’ terms. Cf. also Yuchi *tǫpʔi* ‘nose’ (LB).

now

adverb time

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley ***rhą***

Proto-Dakota ***hą***

Lakota ***lehą́*** ‘next’ EJ , ***lehą́yą*** ‘(used in story telling)’ EJ

Dakota ***dehą́ŋ*** ‘now, thus far’ SRR:107b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk ***ǰaaǰą́ną*** ‘when’ KM:1673 , ***jaająną***

Proto-Dhegiha ****įthą***

Omaha-Ponca ***i^{n}chu^{n}*** , ***†íčhą*** ‘now’ MJS:127 , ***įthą*** , ***†įthą*** JOD

Osage ***įchą*** ‘modern, new’ LF:78a , ***i^{n}tso^{n}***

Quapaw ***íčho^{n}*** JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi ***naxáxa, naxáx*** , ***†naxáxa*** ‘just now’ D&S:231b

General comment

The MVS cluster ****rh*** is virtually always secondary as far as we can tell, and the normal syncope of the initial, short unaccented syllable in that subgroup would yield the correct sequence, ****rVhą́•*** > ****rhą́•***.

nudge

verb physical_contact

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **rihe*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **kirihe*

Crow *alachílee* ‘push with the foot’ RG , *dúuchilee* ‘nudge’ RG , *dáachilee* ‘draw, attract toward’ RG , *páachilee* ‘push’ RG

Hidatsa *arakiria* ‘push with foot’ AWJ , *núkiria* ‘pull on rein and make horse turn, steer’ AWJ , *pákiria* ‘push away’ AWJ

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **nį*

Proto-Dakota **-ni*

Lakota *épani* ‘to nudge someone. to get his attention’ EJ , *wópaniyą* ‘nudge, give a signal or sign’ EJ , *paníni* ‘push or jog with the elbow or hand; to wake out of sleep by jogging’ EJ , *naní* ‘touch or jog with the foot, rouse up’ EJ , *waní* ‘shake in cutting, as jelly; cut off; to rip’ EJ , *yuní* ‘touch one, so as to call his attention to sth.’ EJ

Dakota *yuní* ‘touch one, so as to call his attention to sth.’ SRR:633a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *ni_kere* ‘to fondle (handle?), baby-talk, sweet-talk’ MM:347 , *nįįkere*

o

oak (1)

noun plant

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **htá•ška hu*

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **thá•ške hu*

Chiwere *tháška* ‘burr oak’ GMsf

Hoocąk *čaašgégu* ‘oak’ KM:146 , *caašgegu*

Proto-Dhegiha **htáška hü*

Omaha-Ponca *ttáška hí* ‘white oak’ RTC , *ttáška* MRG , *tashka*

Kanza/Kaw *ttaška hü* ‘burr oak’ RR , *ttaská* ‘hog acorns; acorns of burr oak’

Osage *ṭáshka hi* , *†htáška hü* ‘buckeye, white oak’ LF:138b , *ṭashká çkiue* , *†htašká skiüwe* ‘sweet acorn’ LF:138b

Quapaw *ttašká hi* ‘burr oak’ JOD , *ttašká* ‘acorn’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern **ta•Ska hu• (?)*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *tcaxḳú* , *†čaxk-ú* ‘oak’ D&S:261b , *taxkudí, tcûtcáxkudí* , *†čaxk-ú* D&S:261b

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *taskahūi; tāskahōi* , *†ta•ska-hu•i* ‘oak’ HH, N

General comment

Cf. ‘basket’, ‘tree, bone, leg, stalk, stem, trunk’. This may be a southeastern Sprachbund form. Two possible etymologies: 1. ‘acorn + tree’ 2. ‘basket + tree’. The Biloxi word may be an independent borrowing. Only Kanza/Kaw and Osage have the meaning ‘acorn’ with this root, perhaps from a folk etymology? The wide usage of white oak splints for basketry in the southeast makes the second etymology plausible: note Catawba *watká* ‘white oak’, Seneca *-(h/•)wę?ka(œ)* ‘basketry splint’.

The oak term appears to have been widely borrowed, so the fact that Tutelo has *s* instead of *š* or *č* may simply indicate that the word is a loan. There are a number of other instances in the data in which Tutelo appears to have *s* for Proto-Siouan **š* however. Compare these other strongly resemblant southeastern forms: Yuchi *y?ọt?ašk?a* ‘post oak’ *Crawford*; Creek *tcoska* ‘white oak’ JRS; Alabama *tcisha* ‘post oak’ JRS; Hitchiti *tciski* ‘white oak’ JRS; Tunica *čuhki* ‘oak’ MRH.

oak (2)

noun plant

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **ú•te-hu•*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **ú•tehu*

Proto-Dakota **útahu*

Lakota *úṫahu* , *†útahu* ‘oak tree’ EB:508b , *úṫahu caŋ* , *†útahu čhą* ‘burr oak’ EB:508b

Dakota *útahu* ‘oak tree’ SRR:487a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *búthugaįñe* ‘burr oak’ GMsf , *bú•thu* ‘oak’ RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **ú•ti(-hu)*

Biloxi *tcûtcáxkudí* , *†čučáxkudi* [Q. nigra] D&S:261b , *utí* , *†utí* ‘mast, acorns’ D&S:283a , *údi* , *†údi* ‘oak’ D&S:261b

Ofo *ū´tu* , *†ú•tu* ‘oak’ D&S:331b, JSS

General comment

Cf. ‘oak (1)’, ‘acorn’, ‘base, root, stump’. Here the evident meaning is ‘acorn tree’, though this is an irregular set. The Biloxi and Ofo forms look as though they may have been influenced by western Muskogean terms for *chestnut*: Choctaw *oti, uti* ‘chestnut’ (By:307b). Obviously this term has been widely borrowed from some unidentified ancient source and may not be SI at all.

oak (3)

plant

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan ***

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *itáhu* ‘oak’ RH:95

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dakota **ithú-hu*

Lakota *ithúhu* ‘black oak’ RTC

Dakota *utúhu* ‘black oak’ SRR:487b

General comment

Cf. ‘oak (2)’. This term, apparently restricted to Proto-Dakota and Mandan, has no transparent meaning for the first root, although it is clearly a compound with **hu* ‘tree’.

offering

spiritual

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Pre-Mandan **wo•pašE*

Mandan *wópaše* ‘offering to corn’ H:225

General comment

This is an extremely small sample on which to base a reconstruction, however the fricative correspondence seems to indicate that the Mandan term is a cognate, not a borrowing from Hidatsa. The aspiration status of **p* here is unknown and Hidatsa *hC* normally implies an old obstruent cluster or geminate *s*. It appears that locatives *o-* ‘in, locative’ and *a-* ‘on, locative’ may both have been possible with this term.

old

time

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **x?ó•he*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **x?o•h-*

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *x?okhá* ‘sing with the drum, a singer’ EJ

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *x?oóke* ‘adult of parent type, no sex distinction’ JWE , *x’ooke* ‘parent’ MM , *x’oke* , *x’ooke*

Proto-Dhegiha **wax?ó*

Omaha-Ponca *waʔó* ‘woman’ RR

Kanza/Kaw *wak?ó* ‘woman’ RR

Osage *wak?ó* ‘woman’ RR

Quapaw *wax?ó* ‘woman’ RR

Proto-Southeastern **xó•hi*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **xohi*

Biloxi *xohí* , *†xohí* ‘old’ D&S:222a

Ofo *shóhi* , *†shóhi* ‘old’

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *hoakai, hōhka* , *†ho•hka* ‘old’ HH:41

General comment

The Dakota form is of doubtful cognacy; cf. DH *xokká* ‘sing’ without *?*. This is one of several roots (cf. ???) in which Ofo shows *sh* as the regular correspondent of **x?*. Whatever glottalization represented, it seems to have separate reflexes from ordinary consonants in Ofo. Although DH has *xokká* ‘sing’ without *?*, the Dakota and DH forms may be partially cognate via fricative symbolism.

old, Ancient of - (Suffix)

suffix time

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **-nąⁱ*

Proto-Dakota

Stoney *įs?aguwį́na* ‘old man’ PAS

Proto-Dhegiha

Quapaw *wax?ónąⁱ* ‘old woman’ SRR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *skákana* ‘Ancient of Possums’ D&S:230b

General comment

This is probably a contraction of (or root from) **rąⁱ- old, mature*. Apparently always unstressed, *-nąⁱ* would represent a grammaticalization whatever its source.

old man

noun person

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **įšʔá•ke*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **įšʔá•(-ke)*

Proto-Dakota

Stoney *įsʔaguwį́na* ‘old man’ PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **šʔá•ke*

Chiwere *tsʔá•ge* ‘old, elderly, aged’ RR

Otoe *sʔá•ge* JGT

Hoocąk *gišʔák* ‘to respect’ KM:403 , *giš’ak* ‘be old, parent’ KM:2890 , *šʔáak* , *š’aak*

Proto-Dhegiha **išʔáke*

Omaha-Ponca *įšʔáge* ‘old man’ JOD , *iⁿc’age* ‘elder’ MJS:67 , *iⁿshage*

Kanza/Kaw *cʔágehíŋa* ‘tribal elder’ RR

Osage *iṭs’age* , *†icʔáge* ‘little old man, sister-in-law's father’ LF:80b

Quapaw *šʔaké hí* ‘elder, an old man’ JOD , *šʔákehí* ‘aged’

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *hayasáhi iⁿtcyá* , *†įčya* ‘old Indian man’ D&S:203b , *iⁿtcĭtcyá* , *†įčya* ‘old’ D&S:203b , *iⁿtitcyá* , *†įčya* ‘old man’ D&S:203b , *haⁿyá iⁿˊtcya txa* , *†įčya* ‘the ancients’ D&S:203b

old, mature

time

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **rų́•*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dakota **-nų-*

Lakota *winúxča* ‘man’s mother-in-law, old woman’ RTC

Yanktonai *winóȟća* , *†winóxča* ‘old woman’ SRR:577a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *nú, nún* , *†nų́* ‘grow up, be growing’ JGT:51 , *núñyegi* , *†nų́yegi* ‘adults, after they are grown up’ JGT:51

Proto-Dhegiha

Osage *nǫ́hǫ* , *†nąhą* ‘older person’ LF:114b

Quapaw *nąhą* ‘old, grown up, mature’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern **nǫ́•-*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *noxtí* , *†nǫxtí* ‘the eldest’ D&S:238a

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *enó^{n} o^{n}q* , *†inǫ́x* ‘his elder sister’ HW , *mino^{n}onq* , *†inǫ́x* ‘my elder sister’ JOD, HW

old, mysterious(?)

time

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **xʔihe*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa *xiʔéˑ* ‘old’ AWJ

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *xihóʔš* ‘he’s old’ RTC

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **xi* < **xih*

Biloxi *xi, xidí* , *†xidi* ‘chief’ D&S:221a

Ofo *shíhuⁿ* , *†šíhų* ‘holy (?)’ [cf. nóⁿpi shíhuⁿ ‘Sunday’] D&S:329a

General comment

Cf. ‘old’ **xʔo*, also ‘wrinkle (1), ruffle’, ‘wrinkle (2)’. The Ofo may be a compound of *ših* < **xih* and **ʔų* ‘do, make’; *h* in this instance, then, could be interpreted as either the Ofo reflex of **ʔ* (as it is in Biloxi) or of the *h* that appears in Mandan. This is a questionable set at best because of its lack of semantic cohesion and because of lack of proper matches among the post vocalic laryngeals.

Unfortunately, this latter problem is not uncommon in this lexicon.

one (1)

numeral abstract_number

Proto-Siouan-Catawba **rų•-*

Proto-Siouan **rų•-sa*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Crow *hawáta* ‘one’ RG

Hidatsa *ruwáca, ruwáca* ‘one’ AWJ

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dhegiha

Quapaw *nǫxtį* ‘once, one time’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern **nų•sa*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **nǫ́sa*

Biloxi *so^{n}´sa, so^{n}sá* , *†sǫsa* ‘one’ D&S:257b

Ofo *nû´fha, nû´fhá* , *†nǫfhá* ‘one’ D&S:327a

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *noñç; noñs, nosāi, noñsa* , *†nǫ́•sa, †nǫsá•, etc.* ‘one’ N, HH:20 , *blǭs* , *†nǫ́•sa, †nǫsá•, etc.* ‘two (sic)’ ES:296 , *nǭs* , *†nǫ́•sa, †nǫsá•, etc.* ‘one’ ES:296 , *no^{n}s* , *†nǫ́•sa, †nǫsá•, etc.* LJF:16

Proto-Catawba

Catawba *napę́, dəpę* ‘one’ KS:171, FGS

Woccon *tonne* ‘one’ JL , *soone noponne* ‘one ten’ JL

General comment

Hidatsa *nuwáca* probably includes the *-ca* ‘all of’ suffix.

However, this analysis is not transparent to speakers. In both Crow and Hidatsa, *one* appears to be related to *some*: Crow *hawá*; Hidatsa *nuwá*. In connection with this, cf. the similarity of Catawba *dapę* ‘one’, *dopa* ‘something’ (Voorhis). We seem to have evidence for an ancient association between the numeral and the indefinite. Perhaps Crow and Hidatsa (and perhaps Catawba) are not really cognate here, but reflect an old process.

Alternatively, Crow may have replaced the cognate portion of the root. Biloxi initial *s-* is presumably due to assimilation at a distance, but it is not regular. Cf. ‘collective suffix’.

one (2)

abstract_number

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dakota **wą-*

Lakota *wąží, wą́či* ‘one’ RTC, EJ

Dakota *wąži, wą́ča* PAS

Sioux Valley *wąži, wą́ča* PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **i(•)žą-khi*

Chiwere *i•yą́khi* RR

Hoocąk *hižą́ ~ hižąkíira* KM:1133 , *hižą ~ hižąkiira*

Proto-Dhegiha **wįa-xti*

Omaha-Ponca *wį* ‘one’ RTC , *wį́xti* RR , *wíaxči* RR

Kanza/Kaw *mį́xči* ‘one’ RR , *mą́xčą* ‘once, one time’ JOD

Osage *wį́xci* ‘one’ RR , *wi^{n}áxtsi-o^{n}* , *†wįáxci-ǫ* ‘once’

Quapaw *mį́xti* ‘one’ RR , *míaxči* ‘one’ RR

General comment

There are numerous problems with this set, and, although a fair amount of reconstruction is possible within subgroups, matches are only very partial among them. This set represents the replacement term for ‘one’ in the MVS languages. It coincides with the indefinite article in the respective subgroups, but usually shows some sort of augment. Cf. also ‘quantifier (2)’.

one of a pair, another

abstract

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **ụmą*

Proto-Dakota **ụmá*

Lakota *ụmá* ‘one of a pair, the other’ EJ

Dakota *uŋ́ma* , *†úma* ‘the one, the other’ SRR:486

Proto-Dhegiha **ǫmą*

Omaha-Ponca *áma* ‘other’

Kanza/Kaw *ǫmǫ́* ‘other one’ RR

Osage *oⁿ́moⁿ* , *†ǫ́mǫ* ‘one of two things’ LF:122a

Quapaw *imą́* ‘other’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *kiyówowo* , *†kiyówowo* ‘other, another’ D&S:287a

onion

plant

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **šį́•*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **pšį́•* < **w-šį́•*

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *pšį́* ‘onion’ RTC

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **šį́•*

Chiwere *šį́•xáǰe* ‘onion’ RR

Hoocąk *šį́ų́yóp* ‘onion’ KM:2965 , *šį́ų́ǧop*

Proto-Dhegiha

Quapaw *šį́ka* ‘onion’

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *ûñktcí^{n} sayí* , *†-čį́* ‘onions’ D&S:284b

General comment

The Lakota form suggests a Proto-Siouan reconstruction **wa-šį́•*.

on, locative

locative prefix physical_spatial

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **á•-*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **á-*

Crow *á-*

Hidatsa *a(a)k-* [sawj]

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *á•-* ‘locative’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **a-*

Proto-Dakota **a-*

Lakota *a-* ‘locative on’ EJ

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **a-*

Chiwere *a•-*

Hoocąk *(h)a-* , *ha-*

Proto-Dhegiha **á-*

Omaha-Ponca *á-*

Kanza/Kaw *á-*

Osage *á-*

Quapaw *á-*

Proto-Southeastern **a-*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **a•-*

Biloxi *a-*

Ofo *á•-*

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *a-´*

General comment

This locative prefix is accented or long in enough subgroups to make us believe that it was probably accented in Proto-Siouan. It appears to be quite productive except in the far North, but its analogical syntactic adjustments *vis-a-vis* the actor pronominals have obscured the original accentual patterns. This prefix precedes actor pronouns except in Mandan and MVS languages. In Crow it is non-productive; in Crow/Hidatsa the actor pronouns metathesize to VC form before it. It is also non-productive in Mandan, where it acts like a preverb.

ooze

verb physical_somatic

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **xripE*

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *waxríwe* ‘mash’ JGT:88

Hoocąk *rusiríp* ‘squeeze sth. soft, like mud, so it oozes through fingers’ KM:2720 , *rusirip*

Proto-Dhegiha

Quapaw *dixdíwe* ‘dip hand into sth.’ RR , *dixdíxdiwe* ‘make sticky from handling’ RR

General comment

Cf. ‘lick’. This is derived from **xri* ‘squeeze (9)’ with the common *-pE* root extension.

open

verb physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **ru-šé-*

Pre-Mandan **sé?-*

Mandan *sé?ro?š* ‘it fell apart’ H:204 , *rase?r* ‘open with the foot’ H:204 , *ruse?r* ‘open sth.’ H:204 , *kase?r* ‘knock down, cut down’ H:204 , *pase?r* ‘push sth. over’ H:204

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *rušé* ‘open sth.’ JGT:62

Otoe *rusé* ‘open sth.’ JGT:62

General comment

Chiwere also has the *xé ~ -ɣé* fricative grade with the meaning ‘open sth. thin or light’ (JGT92-196). If this followed the general Siouan pattern, it should have a long vowel in those languages that preserve length. Neither the addition of a *ʔ* in Mandan nor its loss in Chiwere is regular.

open > break open

verb physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **-paSE*

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *kapas* ‘to cut sth. open’ H:137 , *kapáso?š* ‘it fell apart’ RTC , *rapas* ‘to kick open’ H:137 , *rupas* ‘to break open’ H:137

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *dupaxí* , *†-paxí* [used by men and boys; eyéwi dupaxí GL open a door] D&S:243 , *dupaxka$^{n´}$* , *†dupaxkᵠ* ‘to open a door (used by females)’ D&S:243

open up

verb physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **-xotE*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **xutE*

Crow *axúshi (a-)* ‘cut open, slice, cut through’ GG:16 , *daxxushí (dak)* ‘crush, smash’ RGG:53 , *daxxushí (dak)* ‘bruised, smashed, squashed’ GG:43 , *dúuxshi (du-)* ‘open up, pull apart, make gash’ GG:45 , *alaxshí (ala)* ‘trample, squash with foot’ GG:9 , *páaxshi (paa)* ‘burst, cause to discharge’ GG:53, RGG:54

Hidatsa *araxutE* ‘have shoes all worn out; disembowel with feet’ AWJ , *náxutE (ra)* ‘disembowel by teeth’ AWJ , *aráxutE* ‘explode’ AWJ , *haxútE* ‘cut open with knife’ AWJ , *naxxútE (rka)* ‘break it by dropping, open sth. sealed (e.g. a can)’ AWJ , *paxutE* ‘bust open sack’ AWJ , *núxutE* ‘disembowel by hand; open up a package’ AWJ

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *paxóto?š* ‘it hatches’ H:322 , *ruxóto?š* ‘he unties it’ H:322

order > control

verb social

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **ší*

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *síʔš* ‘he hires, gives orders to’ RH:205

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **ší ~ *ži*

Proto-Dakota **-ši*

Lakota *-ši* ‘tell to, command to’ RTC

Stoney *-ši* ‘command’

Sioux Valley *-ši* PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *wayį* ‘command’ GMsf

Hoocąk *šíi* ‘tell someone to do sth.’ KM:2945 , *šii*

Proto-Dhegiha **ákaži*

Omaha-Ponca *ágaži* ‘dictate, command, order’ RR

Kanza/Kaw *ágažį* ‘order’ RR

Osage *ágazhi* , *†ákaži* ‘dictate, command, order’ LF:9a

Quapaw *ákaži* ‘command’ JOD

General comment

If this set is really cognate throughout, it is one of the few in which there is any actual variation between voiced and voiceless fricatives within MVS, cf. ‘price, wages’. These are probably two derivations from a single root.

O

Osage

noun social_nation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **wayáše*

Proto-Dakota **važáže*

Lakota *waja˚je* , *†važáže* ‘DA clan name’ EB:523

Dakota *ważáža* , *†važáže* ‘Osage’ [dotted z’s] JPW:123

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *wara˚íye* , *†waraʔíye* ‘Osage’ JGT:196 , *wásasi* , *†waraʔíye* ‘Osage’ JGT:196 , *wásasi* , *†waraʔíye* ‘Osage’ JGT:196 , *wášaši* , *†waraʔíye* , *wáshashi* , *†waraʔíye*

Hoocąk *waráš* ‘Osage’ KM:3426 , *waraš*

Proto-Dhegiha **važáže*

Omaha-Ponca *važáže* ‘Osage, Ponca subclan name’ F&LF:101

Kanza/Kaw *važáže* ‘Osage’ RR

Osage *važáže* ‘Osage’ RR

Quapaw *važáže* ‘Osage’ RR

General comment

Cf. ‘brave (2)’. This may have been a Proto-Mississipi-Valley clan name; Ponca, Kanza/Kaw and Osage have Osage clans, and Lakota has an Osage band. The Hoocąk and first Chiwere words suggest **wara(i)že* or **wayáše* rather than the otherwise obvious proto-MVS **važáže* There would be no reason for Chiwere/Hoocąk to have this form unless it were a relic; Proto-Dakota probably borrowed the DH term. JOD claims this term is/was connected with snakes, q.v. It has been borrowed outside of Siouan, cf., among others, Tunica *wášaše* ‘cry of a captive’ MRH; Yuchi *wešášiha* Osage (LB).

other, distant

particle physical_spatial

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **-ką*

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *-ką* in: *tokȟá, tokhą́l* ‘in another place, elsewhere; another way; another, as another person’ EB:495b , *-ką-* in: *ítokąl* ‘in another place away from; opposed to sakib’ EB:241 , *-ką-* in: *toką́ltąhą* ‘from another source, place or person’ EB:495b , *-ką-* in: *tokáyą* ‘having ref. to another place’ EB:495b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *-gą-* ‘facing that way (away from speaker)’ JGT:860, DOR , *-gą-* in: *étadaganˆtúhwa* ‘facing that way (facing speaker)’ JGT:1150 , *-gą-* ‘facing this way’ JGT:2016 , *-gą-* in: *gósigantuxwa* , *-gą-* , *-gą-* in: *jágantuxwa*

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *†ka*^{n} ‘into’ D&S:205a , *ka*^{n} in: *yahéya*^{n} *ka*^{n} , *†ka*^{n} ‘away off’ D&S:287b , *-ka*^{n} in: *tcak, tcaka*^{n} , *†-ka*^{n} ‘where’ D&S:261a

General comment

This is not a secure set. The Lakota and Chiwere forms should be compared with ‘beyond > other, across (1)’, ‘beyond > other, across (2)’ and perhaps also with ‘long, extended in time or space > distant, then’.

Otoe

noun social_nation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **watókta*

Chiwere *wat’óhta* , *†wathóhta* [(archaic)] LWR:64 , *wadóhda* , *†wathóhta* JGT:196

Hoocąk *waǰokǰáǰa* ‘Otoe Indian’ KM:3330 , *wajokjaja*

Proto-Dhegiha

Omaha-Ponca *wathútada* , *†waðóttada* ‘Otoe’ MJS:130

Kanza/Kaw *wadóttatta* ‘Otoe’ RR , *wadóttadą* ‘Otoe’ RR

General comment

Probably a loanword. The Hoocąk and Lakota/Dakota clusters do not match. If one is to be reconstructed, it should be the stop cluster **kt*, cf. DH *tt*, not *xt* (which would have remained in DH). We would suggest that the Dakota form has been contaminated by the other term for Otoe, Kanza/Kaw *ważóxla*, Osage *ważóxða*, etc., which has *x*. Omaha-Ponca should have *d* in place of *ð*, so there is indeed quite a bit of borrowing evident here, even though it is not always possible to discover the direction.

otter

noun animal_mammal

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **Ro•šnáⁱ-ke (?)*

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **Ro•šnąke*

Chiwere *dostánge* , *†dostáŋe* ‘otter’ JGT:196 , *dostáñye* , *†dostáñe* ‘otter’ JGT:196

Hoocąk *toošąnąk* ‘otter’ KM:3137 , *toošąnąk*

Proto-Dhegiha **Rošnáⁱ-ke*

Omaha-Ponca *nuzhnoⁿ´* , *†nošnáⁱ* ‘otter’ F&LF:104

Kanza/Kaw *dohnáge ~ ttohnáge* ‘otter’

Osage *ṭohnóⁿge* , *†htohnáke* ‘otter’ LF:155a

Quapaw *tošnáke* ‘otter’ RR

Proto-Southeastern **mo-šrụke*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *xanaxka* , *†xanaxka* ‘otter’

Ofo *oⁿfnatkạ* , *†ǫfnatkə* ‘mouse’

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *munaxka* , *†munaxka* ‘beaver’

Saponi *Mosnukhe* F

Proto-Catawba

Woccon *chaunoc* JL

General comment

Cf. Tunica *húhki* (MRH); Mohawk *onu:kote* ‘weasel’ *Bonvillain*; Tuscarora *chaunoc* ‘otter’ (Lawson). The *-nu/ahk-* root turns up for various kinds of (mostly) Mustelidae all over eastern NA, probably via diffusion. The Kanza/Kaw *tt* variant and the listed Osage form may represent a conflation of **ptą-* with **-Ro•šrą́ke*. Cf. the non-cognate Lakota *ptą* ‘otter’ (EB:664a). Cf. ‘beaver’.

outside

adverb physical_spatial

Proto-Siouan-Catawba **tą•*

Proto-Siouan **htą•-*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa *ata•ši* ‘outside’ AWJ

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **htą́•kE*

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *thąkáta* ‘outdoors’ EB:479b , *taŋkáta*

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **thą́•ke*

Chiwere *tháglida* ‘outdoors’ GMsf , *tángri* ‘out/out of doors’ JGT:3785

Hoocąk *čąąk* ‘outdoors’ KM:175 , *cąąk* ‘outside’ KM:172 , *čąągéja* ‘outside the house’ KM:175 , *cąąkeja* , *-čąk* in: *číičąk* , *cąąk*

Proto-Catawba

Catawba *tą•* ‘outside’ KS:173

owl (1), moth

noun animal_bird

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **(wa-)qhpó•ka*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **pó•ka (?)*

Crow *póopahta* ‘owl’ GG:53

Hidatsa *apó•ka* ‘butterfly’ AWJ

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *waqpákokoka* ‘butterfly’ RH:270 , *pá•šošo•hka* ‘butterfly’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **(wa-)hpóka (?)*

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *popótka* ‘screech owl’ EB:445a , *popótka*

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **pho-*

Chiwere *phóxliįñe* ‘screech owl’ GMsf

Hoocąk *hąąpók* ‘owl’ KM:768 , *hąąpok* ‘moth’ KM:767 , *hąąpógnįk* , *hąąpok, hąąpokįk*

Proto-Dhegiha **wahpǫ́ka*

Omaha-Ponca *wapúgahahada* , *†wappóga* ‘barred owl’ LF:105, F

Kanza/Kaw *wappǫ́ga* ‘small owl’ RR , *giyą́ wappǫ́ga* ‘owl moth’ JOD

Osage *waqóga* , *†wahpóka* ‘gray owl’ LF:198b

Quapaw *wappǫ́ka* ‘Bogey Man’ RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **aphó-*

Biloxi *podádĕ, pódadi, podi, pâ´di* , *†podadi* ‘swamp owl’ D&S:247a

Ofo *aphó* , *†əphó* ‘owl’ D&S:321a , *aphó nągí, aᵐphónąkĭ* , *†aphónəki* ‘screech owl’ D&S:321a

General comment

Hidatsa regularly changes *aku* to *o•* before *k-* in the prefix *aku-* Should the same rule have operated here, Hidatsa *apo•ka* would reflect earlier **apakuka*. Since at least some Proto-Siouan short *o*'s rise to Hidatsa *u*, **apakuku* might reflect an even earlier **apakoka*. Compare the Mandan form. On the other hand, Hidatsa closely resembles Hoocąk, and a simpler explanation of both Crow and Hidatsa would postulate an earlier **po•ka* with Crow irregularly assimilating the *k* to the preceding *p* and adding a suffix (meaning unknown). The extension to 'butterfly' is through 'moth', q.v. The Lakota may be an old loan, as it should show aspiration. It is similar to Ofo *náphĭ́tka* 'butterfly'. This term has widespread look-alikes in unrelated languages. Chickasaw, for example, has *(h)o(•)pa* 'short-eared owl; a kind of large moth' with the same semantic breadth encompassing both 'owl' and 'moth' (Munro 1988:256), and there are cognates in other Muskogean languages. The word has obvious sound symbolic connections in the case of 'owl' and has pretty clearly undergone a certain amount of diffusion and remodeling. The 'moth' terms are typically derived from 'owl' by means of a diminutive suffix.

owl (2)

noun animal_bird

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **hį́•rhą*

Proto-Dakota **hįhą́*

Lakota *hįhą́* 'owl' RTC

Stoney *hįhą́* PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **hį́•ta' (?)*

Chiwere *hį́da* 'owl' JGT

Hoocąk *hįįhą́hą* 'short-eared owl' KM:1144 , *hįįhąhą* 'duck species?; great horned owl?' , *hįįją́* , *hįįją*

Proto-Dhegiha **į́thą*

Omaha-Ponca *iⁿ´chuⁿçuⁿ* , *†į́čhǫ* 'snowy owl' F&LF:105

Kanza/Kaw *íkhą* 'owl' RR

Osage *íthą* ~ *íkhą* 'owl' RR

Quapaw *†į́thą* 'owl, nighthawk' JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *txitû´mi hayí* , *†txitúmi hayí* 'horned owl' D&S:277a

General comment

Loss of DH *h-* is unexpected. Hoocąk *hįįǰą́* exists but seems related to *wįįǰą́* ‘goose’. It refers to a species of duck (wood duck?), v. (KM:1145,3661). Wood ducks nest in holes in trees.

Homonymy between ‘owl’ and ‘wood duck’ may have forced replacement of the ‘owl’ word. ‘Short earred owl’ would have to be a borrowing from Dakotan where **rh* > *h*. The Biloxi term may be related, but we have so few OVS sets to match the DH aspirates that the potential correspondences are not well understood yet. The accentual pattern suggests that there was an initial syllable that has been lost.

p

paddle, swim

verb physical_motion

Proto-Siouan-Catawba **wąhi ~ *wąyi*

Proto-Siouan **i-wą́he*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **iwą*

Proto-Dakota **niwą́*

Lakota *nuŋwáŋ* , *†nuŋwą́* ‘swim’ EB:365b

Dakota *niwą́* SRR:341 , *niwáŋ*

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **iwą́*

Chiwere *bačhímą* ‘paddle a boat’ GMsf

Hoocąk *nįįwą́* ‘paddle’ KM:2355 , *nįįwą*

Proto-Dhegiha **nį-įwą*

Omaha-Ponca *níwa*^{n} , *†nį́wą* ‘swim’ , *niu wo*^{n} , *†ni ową* ‘swim’ MJS:167

Kanza/Kaw *nį́ma ~ nįmą́* ‘swim’ RR

Osage *nímo*^{n} , *†nį́mą* ‘swim’ LF:109a

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **imahį*

Biloxi *imahí*^{n} , *†imahį́* ‘paddle’ D&S:199b

Ofo *mā˝hi* , *†má•hi* ‘paddle’ D&S:326b, JSS

Proto-Catawba

Catawba *yəmayi* ‘boat’ PV:113

General comment

The Chiwere term *baǰe* ‘boat’ provides the clues for proper segmentation of the other cognates. The Omaha-Ponca term contains locative *o-* and refers to paddling ‘in’, i.e., inside, *nį̂* ‘the water’. This set shows incomplete nasalization of **w* to *m* in MVS and should probably be considered a recent derivation for that reason. It is possible that the nasalization may originate with *water*, q.v., but note that Dakotan forms have *nį̂* rather than the expected *mnį̂* The Catawba *yə-* is probably ‘water’.

P

Padouca

noun social_nation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dhegiha **hpátǫhka*

Omaha-Ponca *pádu^{n}ka* , *†ppádǫkka* ‘Comanche’ F&LF:102

Kanza/Kaw *ppádokka* ‘Comanches or Paducah Indians’ JOD

Osage *pádo^{n}ka* , *†hpátǫhka* ‘Comanche Tribe’ LF:125a

General comment

This set may well be made up entirely of loanwords. *Padouca* was a name used by Prairie groups to refer to more than one tribe of High Plains people (mostly Apachean and Comanche) to their west and southwest. Nothing is reconstructible except perhaps at the lowest subgroup level. Hoocąk vowels do not match those in DH for example.

past (suffix or post clitic)

n/a

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *-rą < *ʔų (?)*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *-rą < *ʔų*

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *-nąˀ* ‘it is’ GMsf

Proto-Dhegiha *-rą < *ʔų*

Omaha-Ponca *ðą* ‘up to now, heretofore, past’

Kanza/Kaw *-na* JOD

Osage *no* , *ṭ́nąˀ* ‘does’ LF:112a

Quapaw *-na* ‘past action; imperfective \\quso JOD; RR’

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *naxó* , *ṭ́nąˀ-* ‘sign of past time’ D&S:232a , *náⁿni* , *ṭ́nąˀ-* ‘a sign of past action (?)’ D&S:234b , *nani, naⁿni* , *ṭ́nąˀ-* ‘can, might’ D&S:232a

General comment

Care must be taken here to exclude particles which are homophones, e.g.

in some languages the *šnąˀ* ‘habitual’ loses its fricative. Some of these forms are derived from **ʔų* ‘do’, as in Quapaw *nąˀ* is conjugated *mąˀ*, *nąˀ*, *nąˀ*. The initial *n* of the citation form would be the epenthetic glide, *r*, in a nasal environment. This explains 2nd and 3rd person homophony in Quapaw. In Omaha *ðą* cooccurs with *šnąˀ* ‘habitual’, so the situation there appears to parallel Quapaw grammatically.

Pawnee, Arikara

noun social_nation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **hpá•-rį (?)*

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *phaláni* ‘Pawnee, Arikara’ RTC

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *paanį́* ‘Pawnee’ KM:2429 , *paanį*

Proto-Dhegiha **hpárį*

Omaha-Ponca *páthi*^{n} , *†ppáðį* ‘Pawnee’ F&LF:102

Kanza/Kaw *ppáyį* ‘Pawnee’ RR

Osage *páthi*^{n} , *†hpáðį* ‘Pawnee’ LF:126a

General comment

This ethnonym presumably diffused throughout MVS as there is no reason to believe that Proto-Mississipi-Valley speakers were in contact with Caddoans, which archaeologists identify with sites in Louisiana, Arkansas and Texas before their movements northward.

paw the earth

verb physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **mąnáɣe* ~ **mą inąɣe*

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **tha máį̨nąɣe*

Chiwere *tamínaxemodha* , *†thamį̨nąxemąða* ‘September’ WW

Hoocąk *čaa-máį̨nąɣowirá* ‘October’ KM:128 , *caa mąą hinąǧo-wii=ra*

Proto-Dhegiha **mąnáɣe*

Omaha-Ponca *maⁿnoⁿxa ike* , *†mąnǫɣai khe* F&LF:111

Kanza/Kaw *mąnáɣabe* ‘(when the deer) are in rut’ RR

Osage *moⁿnoⁿxa-bi* , *†mąnąɣapi* ‘June’

General comment

Cf. ‘earth, ground, land’, ‘foot, instrumental’, ‘bury’. These examples are mostly taken from the names of months when the deer, buffalo, etc. are in rut, so most forms are 3rd singular verbs. In Chiwere, Omaha-Ponca and Osage *x* is most likely really *ɣ*, as most workers have missed this distinction. A pseudo-Proto-Siouan form could be reconstructed, since the constituent morphemes of this compound are individually reconstructible, but the lexeme appears for the moment to be restricted to MVS. In this compound: **wą* ‘earth, ground, land’ **rą* ‘foot, instrumental’, **xe* ‘bury’.

Cf. ‘chase’.

peek

verb perceptual_visual

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **-s?į•*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **cí•ši*

Crow *áatchiichi* ‘peek’ GG:3 , *chíitdee* ‘to scout’ GG:37

Hidatsa *a•kci•ši* ‘peek’ AWJ , *cí•ši* ‘scout’ AWJ

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **o-(ka)-s?į*

Proto-Dakota **o-ká-s?į*

Lakota *éyokas?į* ‘peep in, look in by stealth’ EB:146 , *okás?į* ‘look into’ EB:385 , *wás?į* ‘covet’ EJ

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **-s?į*

Chiwere *ótxiN* , *†óθ?į* ‘peeping’ JGT:199

Hoocąk *hois?į-* ‘look in while passing by; peek in’ KM:1324 , *hois'į*

Proto-Dhegiha **okás?į*

Omaha-Ponca *uga•s'iⁿ* , *†ogás?į* ‘(she) peeped’

Kanza/Kaw *ogác?į* ‘look in upon, as through a window’ RR

Osage *u-gá-ṭs'iⁿ* , *†okác?į* ‘peep into’ LF:168b

Quapaw *okás?į* ‘peep, peek at’ RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *ákûdûksáye* , *†-dak-sá-ye* ‘peeping through a crack’ D&S:216b

peel (1)

verb physical_contact_deformation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **-sku(he)*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **-sku*

Proto-Dakota **-sku*

Lakota *kaskú* ‘peel off (e.g. bark with an ax)’ EB:289 , *waskú* ‘pare or shave off (as the skin of a potato or apple and as flesh from a hide)’ EB:549 , *yaskú* ‘bite off or peel off with the teeth’ EB:627 , *yuskú* ‘peel off the skin with the hand; pare’ EB:649 , *hánaskusku* ‘crack and peel off as the skin of potatoes do by boiling’ EB:165

Dakota *kaskú* ‘to peel off, as bark with an axe; blaze’ SRR:266

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *waθkú* ‘shell off (corn)’ JGT:86 , *wathgu*

Otoe *giθkú•* ‘break off, break loose’

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *dĭxkuhi´* , *†dixkuhi* ‘to shell’ D&S:221b , *aye´kidĭxkuhi´* , *†dixkuhi* ‘to shell corn’

peel (2)

verb physical_contact_deformation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **-šku*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **-šku*

Crow *dášku* ‘draw out by mouth, suck out’ RG , *dáshku* ‘cut’ RG , *páška* , *páshku*

Hidatsa *náška* ‘open by mouth or teeth’ AWJ , *naškhu* ‘knock out of place’ AWJ , *našku* ‘open (by hand?)’ AWJ , *pášku* ‘pry out, open by force, pushing; dislodge, break free, break out’ AWJ , *araškú* ‘open by feet, dislodge, break loose’ AWJ

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **-šku*

Proto-Dakota **-šku*

Lakota *hípašku* ‘pick the teeth’ EB:178 , *kaškú* ‘scrape off, as scales from a fish, corn from a cob’ EB:291 , *waškú* ‘cut off (e.g. corn from the cob)’ EB:552 , *yuškú* ‘shell off (e.g. corn with the hand)’ EB:652

Dakota *yuškú* ‘to shell off, as corn with the hands’ SRR:642a , *yuśku´*

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **-šku*

Chiwere *waskú* ‘shell off (corn)’ JGT:85 , *wasgu*

Hoocąk *gišgú* ‘clear off’ KM:411 , *gišgu* ‘to shell (corn, anything with kernels)’ KM:3484 , *wašgú* , *wašgu*

General comment

The *š* forms appear to refer to the removal of particulate matter, scales, kernels, pieces, etc. rather than peel per se.

peel (3)

verb physical_contact_deformation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **-sápE*

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *šápoʔš* ‘it’s chipped’ H:224 , *kašáp* ‘to chip sth.’ H:224 , *rušáp* ‘to peel tripe’ H:224

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *hiruzáp* ‘take a thin layer off’ KM:1070 , *hiruzap*

Proto-Dhegiha **zaza*

Omaha-Ponca *hegázaza* ‘Split Horns’ [proper name]

Kanza/Kaw *bázazábe* ‘cut to slivers with a knife’ RR , *bazázabe* ‘push apart, into slivers’ RR , *gazázabe* ‘beat a stick into slivers’ RR , *yazázabe* ‘chew into slivers’ JOD , *yuzázabe* ‘twist to pieces yuzazabe’ RR

Quapaw *bazázatte* ‘cut, stab to shreds’ RR

General comment

Cf. ‘peel (4) > skin’, ‘peel (5) > skin’. These verbs certainly appear to be cognate, but there is still no really clear principled way to derive the modern forms with the voiced fricatives given that we also reconstruct one of the roots for ‘black’, **sápE* and this root, **-sápE* with the same shape. The only major difference is the fact that this root typically takes an instrumental prefix; the fricative is voiced whether or not the root is reduplicated. Quapaw has a different root extension from that appearing in Mandan and Kanza/Kaw. Omaha-Ponca shows the unextended (but reduplicated) root.

peel (4) > skin

verb physical_contact_deformation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **-šá-pE*

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *rusápo?š* 'he peels it' RH:199 , *patap* 'to peel, slice' H:244 , *rutap* 'to peel' H:244

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **-žape*

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *ružáp* 'strip' [ii 'mouth'] KM:4001 , *ružap* 'be open-mouthed' KM:4001 , *iižáp* 'shine, v.tr. ; slip, slide, v.intr.' KM:4001 , *iižap* 'go beyond, go all the way through' KM:4001 , *gižáp* 'slip, v.intr.' KM:4001 , *gižap* 'slip, v.intr.' KM:4001 , *hibožáp* , *hibožap* , *nąąžáp* , *nąąžap* , *wažáp* , *wažap*

Proto-Dhegiha **-žape*

Omaha-Ponca *ɬijabe* , *†ðižábe* JOD

Kanza/Kaw *bážabe* 'skin, pare, strip bark from' RR , *bažábe* 'peel, whittle bark off' RR , *yüžábe* 'peel sth.' RR

Osage *thizhábe* , *†ðüžape* 'peel bark off' LF:152a

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *tcûtcapi* 'slippery' D&S:267a , *tûtcápyi* 'slippery' D&S:267a , *tûtca´pyixtiyĕ´* , *†tučápixtiyé* 'make very slippery' D&S:267a

General comment

Cf. 'peel (3)', 'peel (5) > skin'. Quapaw *dižáke* 'peel, pull open' (JOD) is only partially cognate; the root matches, but the root extension is different.

peel (5) > skin

verb physical_contact_deformation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **-xapE*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **-xapE*

Crow *dúuxapi* ‘peel off, tear down’ RG , *páaxapi* ‘break, tear’ RGG

Hidatsa *rúxapi* ‘peel, husk, open’ AWJ , *náxxapE* ‘peel by axe or fist’ AWJ , *núxapE* ‘peel by hand, husk, uncover, skin’ AWJ , *araxapE* ‘peel (e.g. bark off with feet)’ AWJ , *naxapE* ‘peel by teeth’ AWJ , *páxapE* ‘peel with stick’ AWJ

Pre-Mandan **-xap-*

Mandan *ruxápo?š* ‘he peeled it’ RTC , *kaxápo?š* ‘he peeled it’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **-ɣapE*

Proto-Dakota **-ɣapA*

Lakota *yuɣápa* ‘skin sth.’ RTC , *kaɣápa* ‘cut, spread open by cutting, to spread open’ EB:272 , *kaġáṗa* ‘strip off the skin with the foot’ EB:342 , *naɣápa* ‘push off with the hand (e.g. the skin of an animal)’ EB:423 , *naġáṗa* ‘bite off (e.g. the skin or bark from anything)’ EB:618 , *paɣápa* ‘skin animals, be in the habit of taking off skins’ EB:556 , *paġáṗa* , *yaɣápa* , *yaġáṗa* , *wawáɣapa* , *wawáġaṗa*

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **-ɣápe*

Chiwere *ru•xáwe* ‘skin’ RR

Hoocąk *ruɣáp* ‘to skin’ KM:479 , *ruğap* ‘turn up earth with shovel’ KM:3262 , *waɣáp* ‘scorched in places’ KM:3047 , *wağap* , *taaɣáɣap* , *taağağap*

Proto-Dhegiha **-ɣape*

Omaha-Ponca *waðíɣabe* ‘sacred bag’ , *wa¢íxabe*

Kanza/Kaw *baɣábe* ‘skin’ JOD , *baxábe* ‘skin’ RR, MR , *yüɣábe* ‘skin, flay’ RR , *wayúɣabe* ‘sacred bag’

Osage *thixábe* , *†ðüɣápe* ‘to flay, strip off the skin’ LF:151a

Proto-Southeastern **-xa•pi*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *dúxapi, duxpí, duhąpí* , *†duxapi* ‘skin, pull off’ D&S:223a

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *qāpi* , *†xa•pi* ‘bark’

General comment

‘peel (3)’, ‘peel (4) > skin’, ‘peel (6)’. ‘husk, pull off (1), flay’ shows this same root minus the *-pe* root extension. The Kanza/Kaw forms with *ɣ* are probably correct. Tutelo shows vowel length, but reconstruction of it is not supported by Proto-Crow-Hidatsa, Pre-Mandan, or Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere.

Perhaps cf. the Tutelo form (a noun) and the Crow/Hidatsa words for ‘thin’, listed under ‘flat (3)’ q.v. Cf. also ‘hide, skin, cloth’.

peel (6)

verb physical_contact_deformation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **raka-xipE*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **raka-xipE*

Crow *daxxípi* ‘to skin’ RG

Hidatsa *náxxipE* ‘to skin’ AWJ

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *kaxípo?š* ‘he skins it’ RH:315 , *kašípo?š* ‘he skinned it’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *kažípA* ‘shave with a knife or drawing-knife, plane’ EB:279

Dakota *kaz´ípa* , *†kažípa* ‘shave w. a knife, plane’ SRR:274b

General comment

Cf. ‘peel (5) > skin’.

pelican

animal_bird

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **wréɣe*

Proto-Dakota **wréɣa*

Lakota *blega* , *†bléɣa* ‘loon’ EB:669b

Dakota *mdéġa* , *†mdéɣa* ‘pelican’ SRR:312b

Proto-Dhegiha **bréɣe*

Omaha-Ponca *bthexe* , *†bðeɣe* ‘pelican’ MAS:213

Quapaw *bdéɣa* ‘pelican’ JOD

General comment

Cf. ‘loon’. The disagreement in final vowels between Omaha-Ponca and Quapaw is unexpected.

penis

noun physical_somatic_body_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **i-yé*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **i-ré*

Crow *iré* ‘penis’ GG:87

Hidatsa *iri* ‘penis’ J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *re* ‘penis’ RH:175

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **ye*

Proto-Dakota **čhe*

Lakota *čhé* ‘penis’ RTC

Dakota *čhe* ‘penis’ PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **ré•*

Chiwere *re•* ‘penis’ RR

Hoocąk *rée* ‘penis’ KM:2590 , *ree*

Proto-Dhegiha **žé*

Omaha-Ponca *žé* ‘penis’ RTC

Kanza/Kaw *žé* ‘penis’ RR

Quapaw *žé* ‘penis’ RR

permit

verb social_communication

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **i-ho + causative*

Proto-Dakota **iyó + causative*

Lakota *iyówįkhiyA* ‘permit, allow’ EB:261a, EJ , *iyókhišni* ‘forbid’ EB:258b

Dakota *iyówįkhiyA* ‘permit’ SRR:238a , *iyówiŋkiyA*

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **ihó*

Chiwere *iwó-* ‘allow, let’ GMsf , *ihó-* ‘allow, let’ GMsf

Hoocąk *hihó, hú* ‘ask permission’ KM:867 , *hiho hii*

Proto-Dhegiha **í-ho*

Omaha-Ponca *wahu the* , *†wahoðe* ‘permission’ MJS:136

Osage *ſhuthabi* , *†ſhoðapi* ‘From-whom-permission-is-obtained (personal name)’ LF:73a

Quapaw *ſhode* ‘ask, consult’ JOD

General comment

Proto-Dakota **y* and Chiwere *w* are epenthetic following loss of Proto-Mississipi-Valley **h*.

persimmon

noun plant_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dhegiha **sta(r)ịke*

Kanza/Kaw *stáyịge* ‘persimmon’ RR , *stǫ́ịge* ‘persimmon’ RR

Osage *staðíke* ‘persimmon’ JOD , *çtaí"ge* , *†staíke* ‘persimmon preserving’ LF:32b

Quapaw *stanąke* ‘persimmon’ RR , *stanąhi* ‘persimmon tree’ JOD, RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *stíiñkí* , *†stíịki* ‘plum’ D&S:258a

General comment

The DH doublets and Biloxi suggest that MVS *-r-* may be epenthetic and the original construction **sta + ịke* (with neither portion of the compound identified semantically). The Otoe analog must have been borrowed after **s* > *θ* and **š* variably > *s* in that language. The numerous irregularities and geographic distribution of this term suggest that it diffused across the more southerly Siouan languages from an original compounding in one of them or from some unrelated and, as yet, unidentified language. The chronology of borrowing and sound change in Otoe suggest that movement was from South to North at a relatively late period. This probably corresponds to the time when the Otoes moved southwest and encountered DH speakers.

pick fruit

Verb physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **ru-wé*

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *ruwé* ‘pick/snap (e.g. corn off stalk)’ KM:2758 , *ruwe*

Proto-Dhegiha

Quapaw *diwé* ‘pick fruit, berries, etc.’ RR

pierce

physical_contact_deformation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **-xlokE*

Proto-Dakota **-xlókA*

Lakota *woxlókA* ‘shoot or punch a hole, by shooting to make a hole’ EB:598 , *yaxlókA* ‘bite a hole in, to bite open, to gnaw.’ EB:620 , *yuxlókA* ‘make a hole, using the hand’ EB:638 , *waxlókA* ‘cut a hole in anything with a knife’ EB:519 , *naxlókA* ‘make or wear a hole with the foot; as by walking’ EB:345 , *apáxlokA* ‘pierce or make a hole in, on anything’ EB:88 , *wakáxlokA* ‘make a hole in’ EB:524

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *wixróge* ‘pierce hole in with sth. sharp’ JGT:200

Proto-Dhegiha

Kanza/Kaw *baxlóge* ‘pierce, impale, hold w. a fork’ RR , *buxlóge* ‘pierce by pressing w. a pointed object’ RR , *gaxlóge* ‘holes, make in an object’ RR , *nąxlóge* ‘wear a hole in moccasins’ RR , *yaxlóge* ‘bite a hole in sth.’ RR , *yuxlóge* ‘pinch, grasp in the claws’ RR

pinch (1)

physical_contact

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **-skápE*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **-ckapE*

Crow *dáchkapi* ‘squeeze, clamp with teeth’ RG , *dúchkapi* ‘pinch, bind’ RG , *alachkapí* ‘walk stealthily, cautiously’ RG , *alashkapí* ‘step on’ RG , *dúshkapi* ‘press, squeeze, hold’ RG

Hidatsa *núckapE* ‘pinch’ AWJ , *páckapE* ‘press with stick to hurt’ AWJ , *arackápE* ‘pinch with toes, walk along edge’ AWJ , *nackápE-* ‘pinch with teeth, nibble, gnaw’ AWJ

Pre-Mandan **-škap-*

Mandan *ruškáp* ‘to pinch someone’ H:230 , *rašká́p* ‘to pinch between the toes’ H:230 , *rašká́p* ‘to nibble on’ H:230 , *wášḱap* ‘to prick, pin sth.’ H:230 , *wí•waškap* ‘a fork (eating utensil)’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **skápe*

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *withgáwe* , *†wiθkáwe* ‘press, bear down on sth.’ JGT:205

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Ofo *túfkopi* ‘to pinch’ D&S:331a

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *lutckep* , *†lučkep* ‘to twist, wring’ HW

General comment

Cf. ‘hit’ *ka s.p* where we are dealing with a homonymous set. The Tutelo form looks like a contamination. It looks as though we have mixed fricative grades in Crow and Tutelo. The Ofo vowel is unexplained and the form looks generally non-cognate. In Tutelo final stops are aspirated where a final vowel was lost.

pinch (2)

verb physical_contact

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **-wįS*

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *kawîšo2š* ‘it hurts’ RH:293

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *giwîš* ‘hit on the edge lightly, as on edge of paper bag’ KM:426 , *giwįš* ‘pinch with knife’ KM:2037 , *mąqwîš* ‘pinch with the foot’ KM:2260, WL:18.17 , *mąąwįš* ‘carry sth. long in the mouth by the end’ KM:2578 , *nąqwîš* ‘pinch, v.tr.’ KM:2762 , *nąąwįš* ‘get pinched in a crack’ KM:3513 , *rawîš* ‘pinch, v.tr.’ KM:2760 , *rawįš* , *ruwîš* , *ruwįš* , *wawîš* , *wawiš* , *ruwîš* , *ruwiš*

pine tree

noun plant

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **Wa•si*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **wá•ci*

Crow *báačii* ‘pine tree’ RG

Hidatsa *wá•hci* ‘pine tree’ AWJ , *má•hci*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **Wá•zi*

Proto-Dakota **wazí*

Lakota *wazí* ‘pine’ RTC

Dakota *wazí* ‘pine’ SRR:563a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **Wá•zi*

Chiwere *ba•ðí* ‘cedar’ RR , *bá•ði* ‘cedar’ RR , *báði* ‘cedar’ JGT:118 , *bádhi*

Hoocąk *waazí* ‘pine tree’ KM:3232 , *waazi*

Proto-Dhegiha **Wá•zą(-hü)*

Omaha-Ponca *má•zi* ‘cedar, pine’ RTC

Kanza/Kaw *báząhü* ‘pine’ RR

Osage *pázą* ‘spruce or pine’ LF:19b , *báço^{n}*

Quapaw *pásą* ‘pine’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern **wa•si(•)-(hu)*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *a^{n}sudí, a^{n}sûdí, a^{n}su* , *†ąsu* ‘pine’ D&S:178a

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *wāsti, wāstī, wāste* , *†wa•sti* ‘pine’ HH

General comment

The first syllable is strikingly long in Omaha. The second vowel of Quapaw, Osage and Kanza/Kaw is unexplained, as are the *ą* of Biloxi, *t* of Tutelo, and the *hc* cluster of Hidatsa. Quapaw *s* may be a mistranscription by JOD, or it may somehow be related to the cluster found in Hidatsa. Osage has been normalized with *z* but may follow Quapaw. Omaha-Ponca *má•zi* may be from earlier **má•są hi*, i.e., its unique (for DH) final *i* may be a reflex of **hi* 'tree'. Biloxi *u* ~ *û* is a reflex of **hu* 'tree, stalk'. Tutelo *-t-* appears to be intrusive; cf. 'black (1)'. Length on the final vowel in Tutelo is unexplained. If the various problems with the putative cognates can be resolved, a Proto-Siouan reconstruction with initial absolutive **wa-* is likely, as **W* normally evolves from a geminate *ww* that has undergone verschärfung: ***wa-wá•si* > ***w-wá•si* > **Wá•si*. This scenario would at once account for *W-*, accent and length. It is not out of the question for the prefix to have been applied only within MVS however, since direct evidence for **W* is wanting outside this subgroup. H-WM explains 'pine' as 'yellow wood', no doubt a folk etymology but an instructive one.

Cf. 'red (1a)' for Hidatsa *hihci* 'pink' with preaspiration matching that in 'pine tree'. Cf. also 'yellow' and 'yellow > tawny' for a discussion of *h* augmented color terms and an association between 'yellow' and 'pink'. If there were an augmented 'yellow' in Proto-Crow-Hidatsa (whether folk etymology or not), then we might propose alternate reductions: **wa•sihi* > *wa•sii* in Crow vs.

**wa•sihi* > **wa•shi* > *wahsi* in Hidatsa.

play (1)

verb social

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **warį́xE*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **wVráx-*

Crow *aláxshi* 'tease; tickle' SFS, GG

Hidatsa *wiráxatihkE* 'play' J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *wįrį́x* 'to play' RTC

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **ani•xi*

Biloxi *ánĭx, ánĭxyi* , *†ánixi* 'play' D&S:173b , *anixyá* , *†ánixi* 'play ball' D&S:173

Ofo *anī´si* , *†ani•si* 'play' D&S:321a, JSS , *i"tõnisi* , *†įtó•nisi* 'make fun of, joke, play with' D&S:325, JSS

General comment

Biloxi and Ofo lose initial labial resonants, **w-* and **m-* while the northern languages lose the vowel via regular syncope and retain the labial. There are numerous other examples of this, e.g., 'water'.

Unfortunately the vowel is wrong in the putative Crow/Hidatsa cognates, so we are left with many uncertainties.

play (2)

verb social

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **šká•tE*

Proto-Dakota **škátA*

Lakota *škátA* ‘play’ RTC

Dakota *škátA* ‘play’ PAS

Sioux Valley *škátA* ‘play’ PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **šká•te*

Chiwere *šká•je* ‘play’ RR

Hoocąk *šgáač* ‘play’ KM:2936 , *šgaac*

Proto-Dhegiha **šká•te*

Omaha-Ponca *šká•de* ‘play’ RR

Kanza/Kaw *škáje* ‘play’ RR

Osage *shkádse* , *†škáce* ‘play, sport’ LF:132a

Quapaw *škátte* ‘play’ RR

General comment

‘play (1)’ is found in Mandan and Proto-Southeastern; ‘play (2)’ is found only in MVS.

This is an excellent example of the periphery effect, with a central replacement.

plum

noun plant_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **akáṭe*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa *wá•kata, má•kata* ‘plum’ AWJ

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *wá•kta* ‘wild plums’ RTC , *katék* ‘chokecherries’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **hkáṭE*

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *kháṭa* ‘plums’ RTC

Dakota *kaⁿte* , *†kháṭe* ‘prunus americana’ , *kaŋ́-ta* , *†kháṭa* ‘plums’ SRR:260b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **kháṭe*

Chiwere *kháǰe* ‘plum’ RR

Hoocąk *kąąč* ‘plum’ KM:1760 , *kąąc*

Proto-Dhegiha **hkáṭe*

Omaha-Ponca *kkáḍe* ‘plum’ RR

Kanza/Kaw *kkáǰe* ‘plum’ RR

Osage *hkáce* ‘plum’ RR

Quapaw *kkáṭte* ‘plum’ RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Ofo *akôˆⁿti, akôˆⁿt, akóⁿt* , *†akáṭi* ‘peach, plum’ D&S:320a

General comment

In Mandan (a) nasalization is wanting and (b) vowel syncope in medial syllables seems irregular. The former suggests the word is a borrowing from Hidatsa. The final vowel in Hidatsa and Mandan is unexpected as is the Dakotan variation, but cf. ‘wing (1)’, ‘ball’, ‘fire’. Ofo, interestingly, lacks aspiration here even though the *k* begins a second, stressed syllable and Swanton transcribed it several times. The length and accentual patterns in Mandan, Crow and Hidatsa might explain the apparent irregularity in Ofo in terms of a post-Proto-Siouan accent shift, but this is suspicious because the Ofo aspiration rule was synchronically active quite late. Post-Proto-Siouan accent shift could also explain the lack of length of the accented vowels in DH and Chiwere (Hoocąk lengthens all monosyllables) however, but if this is the case, terms like ‘plum’ will force us to interpret vowel length as distinctive in Proto-Siouan. Biloxi *tkấnâ, tokonấ* ‘peach, apple’ (DS:276b) is clearly either borrowed from, or contaminated by, a phonetically similar form found in slightly different shapes in a variety of southeastern languages, cf.

Choctaw *tákkonlošli* ‘plum’; *tákkon* ‘peach’ (RR) (also Chickasaw and Alibamu); Tunica *téhk?elu* (stem for several fruits) (MRH); Shawnee *t?kana* ‘plum’ (Pentland).

plural

n/a

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **-(a)pi ~ *-(a)pe*

Proto-Dakota **-pi*

Lakota *-pi*

Dakota *-pi*

Proto-Dhegiha **-(a)pi ~ *-(a)pe*

Omaha-Ponca *-(a)bi*

Kanza/Kaw *-(a)be*

Quapaw *-(a)we*

General comment

This marker of plurality in predicates can refer to either agent or patient if both are animate. In DH languages it also apparently marks 3 sg.

non-continuative verb forms. The presence of initial **a-* is controversial, since it would be identical with the “ablaute” *-a* of many verb forms. The analysis depends on diachronic segmentation, which may not be agreed upon. Crow *áappaa* ‘with’ (GG-63), Hidatsa *aapi* ‘with’ may shed some additional light on developments here. Crow reflects *†áap-haa*, where the second morpheme is the common adverbializer. Cf. also Lakota *ob* ‘with, together with’ (C), Lakota *obtu* ‘with (more than one)’ (B-367b).

point at

verb social_communication_gesture

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **sohe*

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *šóho?š* ‘it’s pointed’ H:231 , *šóhe* ‘be pointed’ H:232

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **-zo*

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *épazo* ‘point at’ EJ , *pazó* ‘show’ EJ

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **-zo*

Chiwere *-ðo* ‘point with long object’ GMsf , *wílaðo* ‘pointer’

Hoocąk *hogizózo* ‘line’ KM:3991 , *hogizozo*

Proto-Dhegiha **ápa-zo*

Omaha-Ponca *ábaçu* , *†ábazo* ‘point at’

Kanza/Kaw *ábazo* ‘point at’ RR

Osage *ábaçu* , *†ápazo* ‘indicate, point at’ LF:5a

Quapaw *ábazo* ‘point at’ JOD , *íkazo* ‘write, draw’ RR , *dizó* ‘feel, palpate’ RR

pole(s), lodge

noun physical_artefact_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **htí•šu*

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *thušúhu* ‘tent poles that cross at top; cross pole when tent is square’ EJ

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **thí•šu*

Chiwere *čhíšu, čhíšų* ‘tipi poles’ GMsf

Hoocąk *čiišú* ‘lodge pole, camp post, stud’ KM:246 , *ciišu*

Proto-Dhegiha **htíšü*

Omaha-Ponca *ttíši* ‘tent poles’ , *ṭíci*

Kanza/Kaw *ččíšü* ~ *ččúšü* ‘tipi pole(s)’ RR

Osage *ṭsishi* , *†hcišü* ‘poles that support roof/sides of house’ LF:163a

Quapaw *ttíši* ‘tent pole’ JOD

porcupine

noun animal_rodent

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **ahpá•hį*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *apá•ri?*

Crow *apáalii* ‘porcupine’ GG:11

Hidatsa *apá•ri?, apá•ri?i* ‘porcupine’ AWJ

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *pą́•hį* ‘porcupine’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **hpá•hį*

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *phahį́* ‘porcupine’ RTC

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *hį́ phahį* ‘porcupine’ RR , *hį pháhį* ‘porcupine’

Proto-Dhegiha **hpáhį*

Omaha-Ponca *baʔhi*^{n} , *†ppáhį* ‘porcupine’

Kanza/Kaw *ppáhį* ‘porcupine’ RR

Osage *páhi*^{n} , *†hpáhį* ‘porcupine’ LF:125a

Quapaw *ppahį́* ‘porcupine’ JOD

General comment

Cf. ‘sharp (2)’. Internal analysis of this term is difficult because of the possible independent meanings of the apparent constituent elements, **ahpá•hi* ‘sharp (2)’ and **hį́* ‘hair, fur, feathers’. The order here is wrong for an original compound however, so the form seems to be the product of folk etymology. Omaha-Ponca *†pp* < *b* is not a regular pattern; we would expect *paʔhi*^{n} in the Swetland entry. MRS *-r-* is unexplained but also occurs in *goose*.

Many animal terms bear the prefix **wi-*, but there is no evidence for it here.

portative, comitative, have

n/a

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *ʔa-

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *E?-k-

Crow *aák-* ‘with (comitative)’ RG , *eé* ‘have’ GG:47

Hidatsa *a?ak-* ‘portative, comitative (with motion verbs)’ J , *e?e* ~ *a?a* , *†E?* ‘have’ AWJ

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *á•-* ‘portative (with motion verbs)’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *a-*

Proto-Dakota *a-*

Lakota *á-* ‘portative (with motion verbs)’ RTC

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *añyi* , *†añi* ‘have, hold’ JGT:3

Hoocąk *hanį́* ‘own; have; take along’ KM:634 , *hanį*

Proto-Dhegiha **a-*

Omaha-Ponca *a-ðį́* ‘have’ JOD

Kanza/Kaw *a-yį́* ‘have’ RR

Osage *a-thí*^{n} , *†a-ðį́* ‘have’ LF:15b

Quapaw *a-nį* ‘have’ RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *a-*

Biloxi *a-* , *†a-* ‘transitivizer’ PJE:111

Ofo *áni* , *†a-* ‘to take’ D&S:321a

General comment

Hidatsa and Chiwere suggest that the notion ‘portative’ developed out of the notion ‘having’. The DH forms cited mean *have* with *a-* but ‘be’ without the prefix. The innovated verbs ‘to have’ of Chiwere and DH are used with motion verbs as portative-comitative coverbs in a fashion paralleling the Crow-Hidatsa portative-comitative participial construction. The Omaha-Ponca reflexive possessive *agðáðį* ‘to have one’s own’ (JOD1890:183.17) and the cognate Chiwere *égrañį* ‘to take care of one’s own’ (JGT92-249), plus the lack of expected stress on *a-* in Hoocąk/Chiwere and DH show that this *a-* is not the locative *a-*. Lakota verbs with this element have irregular possessive and dative forms prefixed to the ‘portative’, making it look as though ‘portative’ may once have been an independent verb. The Lakota form is also unusual in that it is inherently stressed when used with *yá* ‘go’ (but not with *ú* ‘come’); when we compare this fact with the length in Mandan and the *V?* of Hidatsa, it suggests that the inherent accent may be a trace of old vowel length. Cf. EB:94-95.

In Crow and Hidatsa *-k* marks subordination. The Crow *aá-*, Hidatsa *a?a* are the verb *E?* ‘have’ in participial form. Thus the construction is *having, ą*. The ‘have’ forms in Crow/Hidatsa are clearly independent verbs.

possessive root

possession

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **hta(-we)*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **-ta*

Crow *PRO-š-N, PRO-s-N* ‘alienable possession’ [vowel *-a-* surfaces in some irregular possessive forms] RG , *PRO-š-N, PRO-s-N SS*š/_C, s/_V: RG

Hidatsa *PRO-ta•-N* ‘alienable possession’ [1s wata-N; 2s rita-N; 3s ita]

Pre-Mandan *ta- ‘alienable possession’*

Mandan *PRO-ta-N* ‘alienable’ [1s pta-N; 2s ṛita-N; 1du ṛuta-N] RTC , *PRO-ta-N*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **-hta*

Proto-Dakota **tha(-wa)*

Lakota *PRO-tha-N RTC* ‘alienable possession’ [1s mitha-; 1du ųkítha- RTC] , *N PRO-thawa* , *PRO-tha-N* ~ *N PRO*-tha:wa:

Stoney *-tha* ‘alienable possession’ PAS

Sioux Valley *-tha* ‘alienable possession’ PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *N PRO-tha* ‘alienable possession’ RR , *N PRO*-tha: ~ *-tháwe* , *†-tháwe* [1s mįtháwe, mitáwe, mintáwe] JGT:188

Proto-Dhegiha **-hta*

Omaha-Ponca *N (PRO-)PRO-tta* ‘alienable possession’ JEK

Kanza/Kaw *-tta* ‘alienable possession’ RR

Osage *-hta* ‘alienable possession’ RR

Quapaw *-tta* ‘alienable possession’ RR

Proto-Southeastern **-tha(-we)*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **-tha*

Biloxi *-ta, itá* , *†i-tá* ‘have’ D&S:268a

Ofo *N PRO-txa* ~ *PRO-txa-N* ‘have, own, possess’ D&S:324b , *txa, itxa*

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *kitawi, kitowe, kitom- /_p* , *†ki-ta-we* ‘alienable possession’

General comment

Tutelo, Lakota, and Chiwere all show reflexes of *-we* so this particle, to which we can assign no meaning at present, may have played a role in alienable possessive constructions.

potato, ground nut

noun plant_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba *wVto-*

Proto-Siouan **waRó•, *wiRó•*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **wRó•*

Proto-Dakota **wro*

Lakota *bló* 'potato' RTC

Dakota *bdo* , *†bdo* 'potatoes' SRR:73a , *mdo* , *†mdo* 'potatoes' SRR:313a

Sioux Valley *bdo* PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **Ró•*

Chiwere *†dó•* 'Indian potato, Indian turnip' JDH

Hoocąk *tóo* 'potato' KM:3127 , *too*

Proto-Dhegiha **Ro*

Omaha-Ponca *nu* , *†no* 'potato' RR

Kanza/Kaw *do* 'Indian potato' RR

Osage *do* , *†to* 'potato' LF:37a

Quapaw *to* 'potato' RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **aró*

Biloxi *adɔ?* 'potato' MRH , *adó?* 'potato' MS , *aṭó, adó* 'potato' D&S:175a

Ofo *ạtó* , *†ətó* 'potato, sweet potato' D&S:322a

Proto-Catawba

Catawba *witəki•* 'potato' KS:181 , *witəi?* 'potato' PV:102

General comment

Cf. 'turnip, Psoralea (2)' to justify reconstruction of Proto-Siouan vowel length.

pound

physical_contact_impact

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **-ški*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Crow *daschí* ‘pound; bead, do beadwork’ GG:42

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *kašką* ‘to pound, grind (e.g. cherries)’ EB:291 , *wošką* ‘to pound e.g corn not well dried’ EB:609

General comment

Cf. ‘squeeze (4)’ which may have the same root with the extension *-ke*.

pound, mortar

physical_contact_impact

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **-htą*

Proto-Dakota **ka-thą́*

Lakota *kathą́* ‘pound meat’ RTC

Dakota *ka-taŋ* , *†kathą́* ‘pound on’ SRR:270a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *hobočą́* ‘pound on sth.’ KM:1171 , *hobocą*

Proto-Dhegiha **ka-htą́ha (?)*

Kanza/Kaw *gattą́hą* ‘break sth. up’ RR , *gattą́* ‘pound’ RR

Osage *gaṭó^{n}he* , *†kahtą́he* ‘pound into a fine powder’ LF:48a

Quapaw *kattą́ha* ‘pound, pulverize’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **i-thą́*

Biloxi *ita, itaní, itá^{n}, itá^{n}ni, haitáni* , *†itą́* ‘mortar’ D&S:200b

Ofo *ĭtcąthô^{n}* , *†ičə-thą* ‘mortar’ D&S:324b

General comment

Ofo *ĭtca.tópka* ‘pestle’ (DS:324b) confirms that *†ičə-* is separable.

powder

verb, noun physical_substance

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **prú* , **wrú*

Proto-Dakota **wrú*

Lakota *blú* ‘fine, powdered’ EB:111 , *nablú* ‘pulverize with the foot; become dry and fine, as sugar stirred up’ EB:341 , *pablú* ‘crush, pulverize by pushing, as hogs do running their snoots through the ground; to flatten’ EB:422 , *woblú* ‘pound up fine, crush’ EB:595 , *yablú* ‘make fine by chewing’ EB:617 , *yublú* ‘make mellow; to pulverize, plough’ EB:634 , *kablú* ‘pound fine, pulverize’ EB:270b

Dakota *mdú*

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **bru*

Chiwere *blup’e* ‘flour, fine’ GMsf , *wabrú* ‘powder’ JGT:205

Hoocąk *rupurú* ‘plough, v.’ KM:2712 , *rupuru*

Proto-Dhegiha

Omaha-Ponca *bthipe* , *†bðíppe* ‘powder’ MJS:140 , *níbɸi* , *†níbði* ‘you pulverize it’

General comment

With rightward vowel exchange, Hidatsa *pirapu•ri* might be derived from an earlier **pirupa•ri* in which **piru-* might reflect yet earlier ***pru-* However, the remnant of the word is then unexplained. The Chiwere form is taken from GMsf, who got it from JOD, whose exact notation we have not seen. His *p’* does not always represent *p?*.

prairie

noun physical_spatial_area

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *takohó*^{n} , *†takohǫ́* ‘prairie’ D&S:269a

Ofo *akhṍhi* , *†akhó•hi* ‘prairie’ D&S:319b

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *latāhkói* , *†lata•hkói* ‘prairie’ HH:1883

General comment

The Shawnee term makes this set interesting, cf. Shawnee *laata?w?škote* (First *?* here may be CFV's accent.) (C.F. Voegelin's notes on Shawnee/Tutelo loans, ms.)

precipitate

verb physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **hį̨he*

Proto-Dakota **hį̨hą́*

Lakota *†hį̨hą́* 'to fall, as rain or snow' EB:176b

Dakota *†hį̨hą́* 'to fall, as rain or snow' SRR:146b

Proto-Dhegiha

Kanza/Kaw *oyógahį̨he* 'blow hard, as the wind' RR

press

verb physical_contact_impact

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **-šípE*

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *-sípo?š, ru-* ‘he pushes it down, squeezes air out’ H:207 , *-sípo?š, pa-* ‘he pushes it down, squeezes air out’ H:207

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **-žípE*

Proto-Dakota **-žípA*

Lakota *ayážipA* ‘pinch upon with the teeth’ EB:101 , *yužípA* ‘pinch’ EB:640 , *nažípA* ‘prick or pinch with the toes; punch or touch with the foot’ , *pažípA* ‘prick with a pin, press against and make penetrate; sting’ EB:427 , *anáyipA* ‘clamp, hold fast, pin, as the spring of a trap does a mouse’ EB:79b, EJ

Dakota *yuzípa* , *†yužípa* ‘pinch’ SRR:648b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *boozíp* ‘mash by shooting, blowing, great force’ KM:107, WL:21.2 , *boozip* ‘stir sth. soft’ KM:437, WL:19.17 , *gizíp* ‘smear with knife’ KM:2049 , *gizip* ‘mouth (v) sth. soft’ KM:2585 , *mąązíp* ‘get fingers in sth. soft or sticky’ KM:2772, WL:20.5 , *mąązip* ‘knead, v.tr.; mash by pressure or pushing’ WL:19.1 , *razíp* , *razip* , *ruzíp* , *ruzip* , *wazíp* , *wazip*

Proto-Dhegiha

Quapaw *nąžíwe* ‘flush out with the foot’ RR

General comment

Hoocąk has a different fricative grade.

press down

verb physical_contact_impact

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **-sų́te*

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **awásųte*

Chiwere *awáθųje* ‘press on sth.’ GMsf

Hoocąk *hawasų́c* ‘press down, hold down, be on top of’ KM:722 , *hawasųc* ‘be near, be approaching’ KM:1127 , *hiwusų́c* , *hiwusųc*

Proto-Dhegiha **-są́te*

Omaha-Ponca *ábaçoⁿde* , *†ábasąde* ‘push against’

Kanza/Kaw *ábüisąje* ‘press down on, wrestle’ RR , *ánąsą́je* ‘stamp on sth.’ RR , *áyusąje* ‘clamp sth., hold firmly’ RR , *ábasąje* ‘push against sth., have sex with’ RR , *ágasąje* ‘nail down tight’ RR , *áyasąje* ‘hold firmly with the teeth’ RR

Osage *ábaçoⁿdse* , *†ápasące* ‘push against’ LF:5a

Quapaw *ábisątte* ‘hold down on one’s back, pin’ JOD

General comment

Chiwere/Hoocąk generally preserve the **ų/ą* distinction faithfully, whereas DH has merged the two in some languages. Therefore **ų* is reconstructed here.

press, instrumental

prefix physical_contact_impact

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **pu-*

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *pu-* [1s wapu-, 2s yapu-, 3s pu-]

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *wu-*

Chiwere *wi-* 'by pressing' JGT:206

Hoocąk *wu-* [1s puu-, 2s šuwu-, 3s wu-] , *wu-*

Proto-Dhegiha **pü-*

Omaha-Ponca *bi-* [1s ppí-, 2s špí-, 3s bi-ˀ]

Kanza/Kaw *bü-* ~ *bi-* 'by pressure' [1s ppü-, 2s špü-, 3s bü- ~ bi-] RR

Osage *pü-, pi-* , *ɬpü-*

Quapaw *bi-* [1s ppi-, 2s špi-, 3s bi-]

General comment

Cf. '<u>shooting instrumental</u>'.

price, wages

verb social_transfer

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **wa-iši*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **wa•ši*

Crow *íiwishi* ‘price’ GG:86 , *báaši* ‘hire’ RG

Hidatsa *íiwaši* ‘price’ AWJ , *wa•šE, ma•šE* ‘to hire, buy’ AWJ

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **wa-i-ši*

Proto-Dakota **(wa-)išíˀ*

Lakota *išíˀ* ‘to pay wages’ EJ , *wíši* ‘wages’ EJ

Dakota *išíˀ* ‘to pay wages’ SRR:208a , *wíši* ‘wages’ SRR:578

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *hiwaci* , *†hiwaši* ‘tell’ MM:151 , *hiwaši ?* , *†hiwaši*

Proto-Dhegiha **wa-iši*

Omaha-Ponca *waweshi* , *†waweši* ‘wage’ MJS:184 , *†wawáši* ‘employ’ , *washí* , *†waší* ‘employ’

Osage *washí* , *†waší* ‘employ’ LF:199a

General comment

Cf. ‘order > control’. These may be two derivations.

from a single root, or they may be homophones.

pull, push (1)

physical_motion_caus

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **-tíze*

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *wąjís* ‘shove away’ KM:1708 , *wąjis*

Proto-Dhegiha **-tíze*

Kanza/Kaw *bąǰíze* ‘push’ RR

Osage *thidsíçe* , *†ðücíze* ‘remove’ LF:145b

Quapaw *†ditttíze* ‘pull’ JOD

General comment

RR: The putative Quapaw cognate may have been mistranscribed by JOD.

pull, push (2)

verb physical_motion_caus

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **ru-tí*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **ru-tí*

Proto-Dakota **yu-tí-tą*

Lakota *yutítą* ‘pull’ RTC

Assiniboine *badidą* ‘push’ PAS

Stoney *yudidą* ‘pull’ PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *ru•ǰíge* ‘pull’ RR

Hoocąk *rutí* ‘pull’ KM:2739 , *ruti*

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *ludȟ´* , *ṫrutí* ‘pull’ HW

General comment

Lakota is a compound of this form + *tą 0.0*. Hoocąk *-t-* is not entirely regular here; it would normally reflect **R*. Chiwere is ambiguous; hence no Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere form is possible.

push (2)

verb physical_motion_caus

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **htą́•*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **-htą́*

Proto-Dakota **-thą́*

Lakota *pathą́* ‘mash up’ EB:435b , *pathą́yą* ‘pushing against’ EB:436a

Dakota *pat’a*^{n} , *ṫpathą* ‘push against with the hand’

Proto-Dhegiha **htą*

Omaha-Ponca *okkíppattą* ‘roll self’ , *ukíp̣ata*^{n}

Osage *ohkíhpahtǫ* ‘Rolls himself (personal name)’ LF:172a , *Uḳíp̣aṭo*^{n}

Quapaw *dittą́* ‘pull a bowstring’ JOD, RR , *ádittą* ‘aim at sth.’ RR

General comment

Cf. ‘touch’ (**tą h.0*).

push instrumental

prefix physical_motion_caus

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **pa-*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **pa-*

Crow *pa-* RG

Hidatsa *pa-* AWJ

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *pa-* ‘push instrumental’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **pa-*

Proto-Dakota **pa-*

Lakota *pa-* ‘push instrumental’ RTC

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **wa-*

Chiwere *wa-* ‘push instrumental’

Hoocąk *wa-* ‘push instrumental; by downward pressure’ KM, WL , *wa-*

Proto-Dhegiha **pa-*

Omaha-Ponca *ba-* ‘push instrumental’

Kanza/Kaw *ba-* ‘push instrumental’ RR

Osage *pa-* ‘push instrumental’ LF

Quapaw *ba-* ‘push instrumental’ RR

Proto-Southeastern **pa-*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **pa-*

Biloxi *pa-* ‘push instrumental’

Ofo *pa-* ‘push instrumental’

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *pa-* , *†pa-* ‘push instrumental’ HW

Proto-Catawba

Catawba *wawe* ‘rub on’ KS:190

General comment

An inner instrumental prefix. The morphophonological behavior of these instrumental prefixes suggests that they were, in fact, separate verb roots at least in pre-Proto-Siouan and perhaps also in Proto-Siouan. This is corroborated by the independent status of several of them in Catawba. Their phonological development is still not entirely understood. They fail to undergo the generalized Siouan aspiration rule in instances where it should surely apply. At the same time, the fused pronoun allomorphs found with the instrumental prefixes are the same as those found in the most conservative verb morphology. Chiwere/Hoocąk show reflexes of what would normally be postaccentual *p* in those languages.

push (pull)

physical_motion_caus

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **-tą•*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Crow *páasaa* ‘push through’ GG:53

Pre-Mandan **-tą•-*

Mandan *patą́ro?š* ‘pushes along the ground’ RH:244 , *katą́ro?š* ‘he pushes it’ H:244 , *rutą́•ro?š* ‘he drags it’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **patą*

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *ipátą* ‘a prop or brace’ EB:231 , *yutítą* ‘pull’ RTC , *okátą* ‘drive in a nail or pin’ EB:386a , *oka´ŋ*

Dakota *pa•taŋ´* ‘to be unwilling to part with’ SRR:415a

Assiniboine *badídą* ‘push’ PAS , *badidą* ‘push’ PAS

Stoney *yudidą* ‘pull’ PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **-watą*

Chiwere *a•wádą* ‘push down on’ RR

Hoocąk *hawaǰą́* ‘push’ KM:714 , *hawają*

Proto-Dhegiha **-tą́*

Omaha-Ponca *badą́* ‘pull the bow’ RR , *ðidą́* , *¢ida^{n}*

Kanza/Kaw *badą́* ‘push, push away, push off’ RR , *badą́* ‘press on, bear down on a planki, etc.’ RR , *büdą́* ‘pull one’s own’ RR , *lüdą́* ‘stand one’s ground, take a stand’ RR , *nądą́* ‘pull on sth. with a rope’ RR , *nądą́* ‘ram tightly into, punch into’ RR , *obódą* ‘drive a nail into sth.’ RR , *ogádą* ‘bite hard on, suck hard on’ RR , *yadą́* ‘pull on sth.’ RR , *yüdą́*

Osage *badó^{n}* , *t́patą́* LF:20a

Quapaw *okáttą* ‘drive in, as nails in a board’

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *paxta^{n}ní* , *t́paxtąní* ‘push with a stick’ D&S:223b

General comment

This set and the next one may be doublets: Proto-Siouan **pa-tą•* and **pa-htą•* The second presumably developed after instrumentals became true prefixes rather than clitics.

put

verb physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **k-rą(-kE)*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **krą(-kE)*

Proto-Dakota **krąkA*

Lakota *gnąkA* ‘lay, place’ EB:162a , *ognąkA* ‘place in’ EB:371b

Dakota *hna´-kA* ‘day or place’ SRR:150b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **krąke*

Chiwere *gląŋe* ‘lay, hang’ GM

Hoocąk *hokąñák* ‘wear on the head’ [‘to wear a feather on the head’ is *hokere*] KM:1366 , *hokąnąk*

Proto-Dhegiha **krą*

Omaha-Ponca *†žéadigðą* ‘breech cloth’

Kanza/Kaw *olá* ‘put a sitting object into or on’ RR

Osage *ugthó*^{n} , *†olą* ‘put in, inclose’ LF:170a

Quapaw *okną* ‘put a sitting object into’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Ofo *óktąfĩgĭ* , *†óktəfigi* ‘shoe (what (you) put (your) feet inside)’ D&S:327b

General comment

This is derived from **rą•-kE* ‘sitting, be; sitting positional’.

put (2)

physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Pre-Mandan **re•he + *hre 'go + causative'*

Mandan *réhere* , *†ré•here* 'put' H:175

General comment

Hollow analyzes the Mandan form as a derivation from 'go'. However, one might also consider a derivation from Mandan and Proto-Siouan *re,* 'this, here, now', in the sense 'cause to be here'. Cf. also 'put, set upright'.

put in, fill, plant

verb physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **ó•-šu*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **ó•še•*

Crow *óošii* ‘dip, scoop’ GG:52

Hidatsa *ó•še•* ‘plant, pour’ J

Pre-Mandan **ó_su + hre ‘pour + causative’*

Mandan *ósuhere?š* ‘he pours it’ H:219

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **ó-žu*

Proto-Dakota **o-žú*

Lakota *ožú* ‘plant’ RTC , *žu* ‘put, place’ RTC

Dakota *ožú* ‘plant, put in ground’ SRR:401a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **(wa)-ózu*

Chiwere *óyu, wó•yu* ‘container’ RR

Hoocąk *hožú* ‘plant, put in’ KM:1591 , *hožu*

Proto-Dhegiha **ózü*

Omaha-Ponca *ují* , *†ozí* ‘planted’

Kanza/Kaw *ózü* ‘plant, put many small objects into’ RR

Osage *úzhu* , *†ózü* ‘to plant’ LF:306b

Quapaw *ózi* ‘fill, plant’ RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *utcú* , *†u-čú* ‘plant’ D&S:266b , *tcu, tcudi* , *†u-čú* ‘put, plant’ D&S:266a

General comment

The problematic Crow/Hidatsa forms may derive from PProto-Crow-Hidatsa **o-šu-hre*, i.e. a formation with the causative directly comparable to that found in Mandan.

put, set upright

physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **kré* < **k-rhe*

Proto-Dakota **kré*

Lakota *glé* ‘put, place, stand on end’ RTC

Dakota *hdé* ‘put, place, make stand’ SRR:131

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **kré*

Chiwere *glé* ‘put’ GM

Hoocąk *keré* ‘put sth. long, place upright’ KM:1791 , *kere*

Proto-Dhegiha **a-kre*

Omaha-Ponca *agðe* ‘erect’

Kanza/Kaw *ále* ‘stand sth. up’ RR

Osage *ágthe* , *†ále* ‘place on top of another in an upright position’ LF:9b

Quapaw *akdé* ‘set upright upon’ JOD

General comment

These MVS verbs reflect **rahÉ* > **rhé* ‘standing, inanim. classifier’ with a *ki-* prefix. The sequence **k-rhé* > **kré* in MVS. These verbs of placing are routinely used with the locative prefixes *i-, o-, a-*. DH forms show a locative prefix.

q

quail, prairie chicken

animal_bird

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **šı-o*

Proto-Dakota **šıyó*

Lakota *šıyó* ‘grouse, prairie hen’ EB:403b

Dakota *šíyo* ‘grouse, prairie hen’ SRR:445b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *šo xą́ñe* ‘prairie chicken’ GM

Hoocąk *kšoo* ‘prairie chicken’ KM:1912 , *kšoo*

Proto-Dhegiha **šıyó*

Omaha-Ponca *šyu* , *†šyo* ‘prairie chicken’ JOD

Kanza/Kaw *šúttaŋa* ‘prairie hen’ JOD , *šúšta* ‘quail’ RR

Osage *ushiṭsithe* , *†ošihciðe* ‘startler, the quail (because of its sudden noisy and startling flight)’ LF:175a , *šǫhpáze* , *†ošihciðe* ‘quail, bobwhite’ RR

Quapaw *šíšta* ‘quail’ RR , *šóšta* ‘quail’ JOD

General comment

The DH forms are somewhat irregular, but all clearly descend from something like **šıyó*, the attested Lakota form. This is not a possible Proto-Mississipi-Valley reconstruction, however, because **y* is obstruentized (*ž, čh*) in all MVS dialects. **ši-o* seems the most likely reconstruction here, though VV clusters usually generate an epenthetic *r*, the reflexes of which do not occur here. This has to be a word which entered the vocabularies of all of the subgroups represented here after the normal sound changes described above had run their course. Cf. DH **súhka* ~ **síhka* ‘chicken, turkey’. For another example of unexpected Hoocąk *kš*, v. ‘red (1b), red hawthorn’ (‘apple’).

quantifier (1)

particle n/a

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *-*rą*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *-*ną*

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *-na* in: *iyéna* ‘as many (as), so many’ EB:255 , *-ná* in: *henákeca* ‘so many; enough, sufficient; finished, all gone’ EB:172 , *-ná-* in: *lenákeca* ‘so many, so much’ EB:324 , *-ná-* in: *lenála* ‘only so many, so few’ EB:324 , *-na* in: *tóna* ‘how many, which?’ EB:499 , *-na-* in: *tónagna,* also: *tónagnag, tónagnakeca;* of: *tonakeca* ‘how many?’ EB:499 , *-na-* in: *tónakeca* ‘some, a few. also, interrog. how many, how much?’ EB:499 , *-na-* in: *tónakiya* ‘how many, how many times? in how many ways’ EB:499

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *-*nąˀ*

Chiwere *-na-* ‘so many it is’ JGT:653 , *-na-* in: *dánahe/ dáhnahe* ‘so many; great many; a lot’ JGT:636 , *-na-* , *-na-* in: *dáhnahe/ dáhnaha*

Hoocąk *-nąˀ* in: *hinąˀ* ‘enough’ KM:951 , *-nąˀ* in: *hinąˀ* ‘how often? how many times?’ KM:1678 , *-nąˀ-* in: *jaanąˀhą* ‘how many, how much? quite a number’ KM:1677 , *-nąˀ-* in: *jaanąhą* ‘that much’ KM:4006 , *-nąˀ-* in: *jaanąga* ‘just that much (FW)’ KM:4007 , *-nąˀ-* in: *jaanąga* , *-nąˀ-* in: *žeenąga* , *-nąˀ-* in: *žeenąga* , *-nąˀ-* in: *žeenąˀxjį* , *-nąˀ-* in: *žeenąxjį*

Proto-Dhegiha *-*nąˀ*

Omaha-Ponca *-nąˀ* in: *ánąˀ* ‘how many’ JEK , *-nąˀ* in: *énąˀ* ‘so many’ JEK

Kanza/Kaw *-nąˀ* in: *hánąˀ* ‘how many, how much?’ [yéną, yénǫ] RR , *-nąˀ* in: *gašénąˀ* ‘enough, that is enough’ RR , *-na* in: *góze éna* ‘equal, even in number or quantity, even nr.’ JOD, RR , *-nąˀ* in: *šégonąˀ, šégonǫha* ‘enough, just that number’ MR, RR , *-nąˀ* in: *yénąˀ* ‘this many, this much, this number’ MR, JOD, RR

Osage *-nąˀ-* in: *énoⁿ-ha* , *†-nąˀ-* ‘as many as there are’ LF:41a , *nąˀ* in: *gá noⁿ* , *†nąˀ* ‘this much; this or that many’ LF:46a , *-nąˀ* in: *há-noⁿ* , *†-nąˀ* ‘how much or how many?’ LF:58a , *-nąˀ* in: *thé-noⁿ* , *†-nąˀ* ‘this much’ LF:143b

Quapaw *-nąˀ* in: *dešenąˀ* ‘quantity, this much, many’ RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *-nąˀ-* in: *tenaní, teénani* , *†-nąˀ-* ‘this many; so many’ D&S:273a , *-nąˀ* in: *tcĭ´na* , *†-nąˀ* ‘that many’ D&S:264a , *tcĭnáni, tcĭnaní (1)* , *†-nąˀ-* ‘how much? how many?’ D&S:264a , *tcĭnáni, tcĭnaní (2)* , *†-nąˀ-* ‘some’ D&S:264a

quantifier (2)

n/a

Proto-Siouan-Catawba **wi*

Proto-Siouan **wi*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **wi*

Crow *-we* in: *sá•we* ‘how many, so many, several’ L:159

Hidatsa *-wi-* in: *táhawia* ‘how many times?, several times’ [? question marker] H&V , *-wi-* in: *ta•wi?* ‘how much, how many?’’ J , *-wi-* in: *šiawiruk* ‘how many times, sometime later’ H&V

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dhegiha **wi-*

Omaha-Ponca *ṫwį́ą́watta* ‘in which place?’ , *ṫwį́ą́wa* ‘which one?’

Kanza/Kaw *wi-* in: *wią́ma* ‘which, which one?’ JOD, RR , *wi-* in: *wią́maškidą́* ‘whichever, whichever one’ JOD, RR , *wi-* in: *wi´ąmatta* ‘whose is it? which one are you going to’ JOD, RR

Proto-Catawba

Catawba *-wi* in: *čuwi* ‘many, much’ KS:152 , *-wi-* in: *cuwəre* , *ṫ-wi-* ‘much’ KS:152 , *-wí•* in: *tcuwí•* , *ṫ-wi-* ‘many’ KS:152

General comment

All DH examples occur in nasalizing contexts but appear to be cognate.

quiet; rustle

verb perceptual_auditory

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Pre-Mandan **í-hap-*

Mandan *íhapinista* ‘Be quiet!’ [imperative plural] RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **xá•pE*

Proto-Dakota **xápA*

Lakota *xápA* ‘rustle, make a rustling noise’ EB:192a

Dakota *†xápa* ‘make a rustling noise’ SRR:162a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **xa•p-*

Chiwere *xap’are* ‘Sh!’ LWR:38

Hoocąk *xaapgų́nį* ‘be still, quiet’ KM:3853 , *xaapgųnį*

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *xyĭ´wahĕ´di, xyuwáhedí* , *†xíwahédi* ‘make rustling noise’ D&S:226a

General comment

If Mandan is really cognate, it should have a long vowel and *x* instead of *h*. Biloxi *-wahĕdi* means ‘make a noise, cry out’.

quiver (for arrows)

noun physical_artefact_container

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dakota **wą́žu*

Lakota *wą́žu* ‘quiver’ RTC

Dakota *wáŋžu* , *†wą́žu* ‘quiver’ SRR:527a

Proto-Dhegiha **mą́-ožü* RR

Omaha-Ponca *mo^{n}´zhiha* , *†mą́žiha* ‘quiver’ MAS:143

Kanza/Kaw *mą́žü* ‘quiver’ RR

Osage *mo^{n}´zhu* , *†mą́žü* ‘quiver’ LF:104b

Quapaw *mą́oží* ‘quiver’ JOD

General comment

A compound of ‘chert, flint’ (=‘arrow’) and ‘put in, fill, plant’, q.v. Chiwere *mą wíkʔį* is not cognate beyond ‘arrow’. Since the bow and arrow were not introduced until ca. a.d. 500, these DH and Dakota terms are most likely separate coinages, just as the term for ‘bow’ was borrowed separately in the several MVS subgroups.

r

rabbit

noun animal_mammal

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **wąšeṭi̱ka (?)*

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *wą́•xtik* ‘rabbit’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **mąštį́ke* ~ **mąštį́ka*

Proto-Dakota **mąštį́ka*

Lakota *maštį́ča* ‘rabbit’ RTC

Dakota *maštíŋća* , *†maštį́ča* ‘rabbit’ SRR:309a

Stoney *maštíyą* ‘rabbit’ PAS

Sioux Valley *maštį́ča* ‘rabbit’ PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **-štį́ke*

Chiwere *mi̱šč̀i̱ŋe; mi̱šč̀i̱ʔxą́ñe* ‘jackrabbit’ GM

Hoocąk *wašj̃i̱k* ‘rabbit’ KM:3480 , *wašj̃i̱k*

Proto-Dhegiha **mąštį́ka* ~ **mąštį́ke*

Omaha *mǫštį́ga* ‘rabbit’ RTC

Ponca *mąšč̀i̱ge* ‘rabbit’ [So. Ponca] RR

Kanza/Kaw *mąšč̀i̱ge* ~ *mǫšč̀i̱ge* ‘rabbit’ RR

Osage *mąšcį́ka* ‘rabbit’ RR , *mo"shti"ge* , *†mąštį́ge* ‘cottontail rabbit’ LF:102a

Quapaw *mǫštį́ke* ‘rabbit’ RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **ačhétka*

Biloxi *čɛtka?* ‘rabbit’ MRH, MS , *tcětká* , *†četká* ‘rabbit’ D&S:262b

Ofo *ačhétka* ‘rabbit’ D&S:321b , *ą́tchétka, atchĕ´tka*

General comment

There is considerable variation in the precise form of this trickster term including quality/nasalization of initial V, the following fricative, and the suffix and its vowel. Outside of MVS the variation is more extreme.

The lack of nasalization of the Hoocąk initial syllable vowel as well as Chiwere initial syllable *į* are not accounted for. The final syllable of the Stoney form is not accounted for. If the Mandan and MVS forms, on the one hand, are cognate with the Proto-Biloxi-Ofo, on the other, then Proto-Siouan might have been something like **wąšetįka* with different vowels lost in the different subfamilies. Crow *iischí* 'jack rabbit' (GG-80, DEC-3) is cognate with Hidatsa *i•taki* 'jack rabbit' and does not belong to this set.

raccoon

noun animal_mammal

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **wi-he(-ka)*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **wihká*

Proto-Dakota *wičhá*

Lakota *wičhá* 'raccoon' RTC

Dakota *wićá* 'raccoon' SRR:565a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *mįkhé* 'raccoon' RR

Hoocąk *waké* 'raccoon' KM:3351 , *wake*

Proto-Dhegiha **mihká*

Omaha-Ponca *mikká* 'raccoon' RR

Kanza/Kaw *mikká* ~ *mįkká* 'raccoon' RR

Osage *mįhka* 'raccoon' RR

Quapaw *mikka* 'raccoon' RR

Proto-Southeastern **wihá•*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Ofo *iyá* 'raccoon' D&S:325a

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *wihá-'* , *†wihá•* 'raccoon' HW , *miką* , *†wihá•* 'raccoon' HW

General comment

Ofo apparently has lost the *h* and an epenthetic *y* appears in its place, cf. ‘berry, grape’ for a parallel case. MVS *-ka* is presumably suffixal, i.e. **wịh-ká*, but nasalization and the treatment of *á•* are still unexplained. In this regard however, cf. ‘raw’. Hoocąk presumably has reformulated a term similar to that in Chiwere, cf. ‘rabbit’. A non-cognate Biloxi form may have spread areally. Compare Biloxi *atukạ́* ~ *atŭkí* < **watuka/i* with Creek *wó•tka* ‘raccoon’ (other Muskogean is distinct). Tutelo *mika* could be the inherited form plus *ka*, as found elsewhere, or could be a borrowing.

rain (1)

natural_force_weather

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **nịžú*

Proto-Dakota **maɣážu*

Lakota *maɣážu* ‘to rain’ RTC

Dakota *maġáz´u* , *†maɣážu* ‘rain’ SRR:304a

Stoney *maʕázu* PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **nį́•žu*

Chiwere *ñį́yu, ñí•yu* ‘rain’ RR

Hoocąk *nį́žú* ‘rain’ KM:2365 , *nį́žu*

Proto-Dhegiha **nįžű́*

Omaha-Ponca *no^{n}zhi^{n}´* ‘rain’ MAS:144

Kanza/Kaw *nüžű́* ‘rain’ RR

Osage *nizhiú* , *†nižű́* ‘rain’ LF:111b

Quapaw *nižį́* ‘rain’ RR

General comment

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere and Proto-Dhegiha show a compound of ‘water’ with ‘put in, fill, plant’, here in the sense ‘pour’. Dakota is aberrant in its first root, which might be Dakotan *máya* ‘field’ or Proto-Mississipi-Valley **mą́•xi* ‘cloud’.

rain (2)

verb natural_force_weather

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **xo•he*

Pre-Mandan **xe?h-*

Mandan *xé?ho?š* 'it's raining' RTC

Proto-Southeastern **wa-xó•-hi*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **(wa-)xóhi*

Biloxi *xóhi, xohí* , *†xohi* 'rain' D&S:222a

Ofo *ashóhi, ashói, áshohi* , *†ašóhi* 'rain' D&S:321b

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *qawōi; qawōqa, hāwōhā, qawō* , *†xawo•-* N, HH

General comment

Cf. 'frost (1)'. This is a relatively insecure reconstruction, which hinges on assuming that the Mandan is contaminated by *se?h, še?h* 'drip (3)'. It looks as though there has been a simple metathesis of consonants in Tutelo.

rattle (1a)

perceptual_auditory

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **sawúhe*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **sawúa*

Crow *tawuá* 'ring, sound of bell' GG:57, RGG:93

Hidatsa *tawúa* 'ring, jingle, rattle' J , *cawúa* 'jingle, clang' J

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **swú*

Proto-Dakota **swú*

Lakota *swú, pa-* 'push into, bury, as in a barrel of corn; cut into strings' EB:434 , *swúya, pa-* 'rattle by pushing' EB:434 , *swú, ya-* 'take in small bead-like pieces with the mouth' EB:627 , *swú, yu-* 'make a rattling noise, as in taking hold of shelled corn' EB:651

Dakota *yusbú* 'make a rattling or rustling' SRR:638a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *-suwu* 'feel a grainy thing' [Vroot only] KM:2284 , *-suwu*

General comment

The Hidatsa *t-* form is another example of *t* patterning with the spirant series. Crow *t* is the expected reflex of **s*.

rattle (1b)

perceptual_auditory

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **šawúhe*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa *šawúa* ‘jingle’ J

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *šuwú* ‘itch’ KM:2996 , *šuwu* ‘make itchy or scratch’ KM:2997 , *-šuwu* , *-šuwu*

Proto-Dhegiha **-špú́*

Omaha-Ponca *bašpí* ‘sliced’

Kanza/Kaw *bašpú́* ‘shell corn’ RR

Osage *thishpi´* , *†ðišpú́* ‘shell corn’ F&LF:149a

Quapaw *dišpí* ‘shell corn’ JOD

rattle (1c)

perceptual_auditory

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **xawúhe*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **xawúa*

Crow *xawuá* ‘roar, growl (as stomach)’ GG:61, RGG:93

Hidatsa *xawúa* ‘to rattle’ J

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *xwú, ya-* ‘make a noise, as in chewing snow or ice, make crunching noise’ EB:621

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *xwûdiẹ* , *†xwudike* ‘loose, loosely’ D&S:225a

rattle (2a)

noun perceptual_auditory

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **suráhe*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dakota **sná*

Lakota *sná* ‘ring, rattle, rustle’ RTC , *sná* ‘tinkle’ EJ

Dakota *sná* ‘to ring, rattle’ SRR:437a

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *sûnawí, sûnâhé* , *†sunahé* ‘dressed in silver and rattling with it, rattling’ D&S:258b

Proto-Catawba

Catawba *sę́sərе?ha* ‘rattle’ FGS:88b , *səré?sərе?howe* ‘rattling may make’ FGS:92

rattle (2b)

perceptual_auditory

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **širáhe*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *íčičašlašlayela* ‘with a rattling noise’ EB:204b , *íčičašnašna* ‘strike each other and ring’

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *tcĭnásedí* , *†činase-dí* ‘make a rattling sound (chain)’ D&S:264b , *tcĭnáseyĕ´* , *†činase-dí* ‘make a chain rattle’ D&S:264b

rattle (2c)

perceptual_auditory

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **xirehe*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dakota **xrá*

Lakota *xlá* ‘rattle’ RTC

Dakota *ȟda* ‘rattle’ SRR:162b

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *xyídě nedí* , *†xíde* ‘make the sound heard in sawing’ D&S:226a

rattle, rumble

perceptual_auditory

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **kʔóꞏhe*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **kʔo*

Proto-Dakota **kʔóꞏA*

Lakota *kʔóꞏA* ‘make grating noise with a knife against metal’ EJ

Dakota *ḳoʻǧa* , *†kʔóꞏa* ‘to rattle’ SRR:302a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **kʔó*

Chiwere *kʔó* ‘thunder’ RR

Hoocąk *kʔóo* ‘thunder’ KM:1731 , *kʼoo*

Proto-Dhegiha **kʔó*

Omaha-Ponca *kʔo* ‘sound of wings’

Kanza/Kaw *dákʔokʔo* ‘blaze’ JOD

Osage *ḳʼóḳʼo* , *†kʔókʔo* ‘commotion, disturbance’ LF:88a

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *koḳó sědí* , *†kokó* ‘give forth a cracking sound’ D&S:212a , *ḳoḳohé* , *†kokohe* ‘making rattling sounds’ D&S:212a

raw

verb physical_condition

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **sá•he(-ka)*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa *cá•* 'raw, uncooked, unripe' J , *cáhca•* 'raw' J

Pre-Mandan **šą?h-*

Mandan *šą?ho?š* 'it's raw' RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **sá•hka*

Proto-Dakota **sáka*

Lakota *sáka* 'hard, dried' EB:452a

Dakota *sáka* 'raw, uncooked, hard, dried' PAS

Sioux Valley *sáka* 'raw, uncooked, hard, dried' PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **sá•khe*

Chiwere *θa•khé* 'raw' RR , *θá•khe* 'raw meat' RR

Hoocąk *saaké* 'be raw' KM:2786 , *saake*

Proto-Dhegiha **sáhka*

Omaha-Ponca *saka thide* , *†sakka* 'watermelon' MAS:186

Kanza/Kaw *sákką* 'raw' RR , *gisákka* 'fresh, virginal' JOD

Osage *çáḳa* , *†sáhka* 'raw, uncooked' LF:29a

Quapaw *sákka* 'raw' JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *sáhi* , *†sáhi* 'raw, wild, uncivilized' D&S:251a

General comment

Cf. ‘hard (1)’. Kanza/Kaw *-q* remains unexplained. This bimorphemic set contains further evidence that there was an active Siouan rule that converted preaspirated stops into post aspirates (**hC* > *Ch*). It is another case of a root with apparent *-h* and an affix with an unaspirated stop in which the sequence **hk* > *kh* in the languages which have post-aspirated rather than preaspirated stops, here, v. Hoocąk and Chiwere, and cf.

‘raccoon’. The suffix vowel is difficult to pin down because so many of the languages have altered the term. Dakota and DH dialects show contamination from *saka* ‘hard’; Dakota lacks the expected aspiration while both Dakota and DH have altered the final vowel. Mandan nasalization is irregular. The Hidatsa reduplicated form preserves the final *h* and short vowel. The long vowel is from **aha* > *a•*.

red (1a)

perceptual_visual_color

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **se*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **hí•c(V)hi*

Crow *hiítchi* ‘pink’ GG:48

Hidatsa *híhci* ‘pink’ J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *šéʔ* ‘pink’ RTC

General comment

Cf. the discussion of the *h* augment under ‘yellow’ and the citation of DH ‘pink’ forms (with the augment) under ‘yellow > tawny’.

Crow/Hidatsa *hi-* is perhaps a pronominal stem (and a red herring in the analysis of the color term). The pre-Proto-Crow-Hidatsa form would seem to have been **sVhV* > **shV*. If so, Hidatsa has metathesized to *hs*. Cf. also ‘pine tree’.

red (1b), red hawthorn

verb perceptual_visual_color

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **šE*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **hišE*

Crow *híššɨ* 'red' RGG:85, GG:48

Hidatsa *hišÉ* 'red' J

Pre-Mandan **se*

Mandan *sé?* 'red' RTC , *ráse?š* 'it's red hot' RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **še*

Proto-Dakota **šá*

Lakota *šá* 'red' RTC , *šá, pa-* 'make red by rubbing' EB:434 , *šá, yu-* 'make red by rubbing or touching' EB:651

Dakota *šá* 'red' SRR:440a

Sioux Valley *šá* 'red' PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **šé•*

Chiwere *se, še* 'red haws, apple' RR

Hoocąk *kšee* 'apple' KM:1900 , *kšee*

Proto-Dhegiha **še*

Omaha-Ponca *še* 'red haws' MRG

Kanza/Kaw *še* 'red haws, apple' RR

Osage *she* , *ŧše* 'red haw (archaic)' LF:131a

General comment

Cf. 'quail, prairie chicken' in which Hoocąk also has *kš* for the epected **š*. Cf. also 'nine'. Crow/Hidatsa initial *hi-* may be a pronominal stem. Crow gemination of the spirant may reflect an *h* augment; Cf. 'red (1a)' for discussion and additional references. There is some areal distribution of similar fruit terms. Cf. Choctaw *shąnafila* 'black hawthorn' (By-328a); *shakuląp* 'crabapple' (By-325b), also a Choctaw variant *chąnafila* in which *ch* (=*č*) would have undergone the normal change in that language from an older **š*, a change shared with Biloxi, Ofo, Tutelo. Cf. also *šímina*, A.S.

Gatschet Peoria-Miami dictionary file, NAA. Catawba *siką* 'red' (Kanza/Kaw-185) is vaguely similar, but not clearly related, Yuchi *ša* (LB) even less so.

red (2)

verb perceptual_visual_color

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **ašú•te*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **šú•te*

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **šú•če*

Chiwere *šú•je* ‘red’ RR

Hoocąk *šuuč* KM:2993 , *šuuc*

Proto-Dhegiha **žű•te*

Omaha *ží•de* ‘red’ RTC

Ponca *ží?de* ~ *žítte* ‘red’ [So. Ponca] RR

Kanza/Kaw *žű•je* ‘red’ RR

Osage *žű́ce* ‘red’ RR

Quapaw *žítte* ‘red’ RR

Proto-Southeastern **ačhú•ti*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **əčhú•ti*

Biloxi *ạtcūtka, tcūt, tctí* , *†əču•t-ka* ‘red’ D&S:266a

Ofo *ạtchúti, tcúti* , *†əčhúti* ‘red’ D&S:321b

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *atsūti, atçūti, atçūt* , *†aču•ti* ‘red’ H , *‘tcuṭq* , *†aču•ti* HW

General comment

Dakotan shows a total merger of ‘red’ and ‘ripe’ through contamination.

Thus Lakota *lúta* ‘red’ and Dakota *dúta* ‘red, scarlet’ (R-109) have the meaning of comparable forms in this entry, but the phonemic shape of entries in the ‘ripe, cooked’ entry. The Biloxi forms *čtí* and *(a)čú•t* are both frequently attested, and may reflect a canonical rule in that language. The DH forms should have initial *š* rather than *ž*, so there are interesting initial irregularities in two of the three MVS subgroups.

remember

verb psychic_cognition

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **ki-ksú(-re)*

Proto-Dakota **kiksúyA*

Lakota *kiksúyA* ‘remember’ RTC

Dakota *kiksúya* ‘remember’ SRR:287b

Sioux Valley *kiksúyA* PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *giʔθú, gláʔθu* ‘remember, think about’ GM

Proto-Dhegiha **kisíre*

Omaha-Ponca *kiçithe , †gisiðe* ‘remember’ MAS:146

Osage *giçíthe , †kisíðe* ‘remember, recollect, memorize’ LF:50a

Quapaw *kíside* ‘remember’ JOD

General comment

This root, not attested outside of MVS, looks at least superficially as though it already incorporated **ki-* ‘dative, reflexive’ at an earlier time. An original Proto-Siouan **ki-sú* would have undergone normal first syllable syncope to a more opaque **ksu-* and then undergone a second cycle of reflexivization in pre-MVS.

rib

noun physical_somatic_body_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **i-rú•te ~ *i-rú•ta*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **rú•ta*

Crow *dúusa* 'ribs' GG:45, RGG:70

Hidatsa *rú•ta* 'rib' J , *nú•ta*

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *rúte, rút* 'ribs' H:194

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **i-rú•te-(hu)*

Proto-Dakota **čhuté*

Lakota *cut•íc'in* < *čhut-i-k?į* , *†čhutíč?į* 'carry at the side, as a powderhorn strapped over the shoulder and coming down under the arm' [• goes over t] EB:135a

Dakota *ćuté* 'side under arms' SRR:105a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *rú•thu* 'rib' [-hu 'bone'] RR

Proto-Dhegiha **rű́te(-hü)*

Omaha-Ponca *thíte* , *†ðítte* 'rib' MAS:148 , *ṭe-ȼíṭi*^{n} , *†tteðíttį* 'buffalo ribs'

Kanza/Kaw *yű́čči* 'rib' JOD , *yű́ččühe* 'rib'

Osage *thítsi* , *†ðű́hci* 'ribs' LF:150b

Quapaw *†dítti* 'rib' JOD

General comment

For other examples of MVS **r* : Dak. *čh* v. 'ice', and other body parts having the inalienable possessor prefix, **i-*. Dakota and Omaha-Ponca match for final -V, so Omaha may be borrowed. The final V remains a problem in any event however, since Proto-Crow-Hidatsa appears to have *-a* rather than *-e*.

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa accentual pattern suggests a missing initial syllable, no doubt the marker of inalienable possession indicated by the palatalized Dakota initial consonant. The overall reconstruction in DH is clear despite the variant forms and transcription problems. Osage *ts* would normally represent *ch* but is probably an error for *hc*. LF made many such mistakes.

rib; back, lower

physical_somatic_body_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **ru•hi*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **rú•rV*

Crow *dúula* ‘back’ GG:45, RGG:70

Hidatsa *rú•ri* ‘back, spine’ J , *nú•ri*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **i-rú•hi*

Proto-Dakota **čhuwí*

Lakota *čhuwí* ‘lower back’ RTC

Dakota *ćuwí* , *†čhuwí* ‘side, pleura’ SRR:105b , *ȩ́uwíhu* , *†čhuwíhu* ‘ribs’ SRR:105b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *ruuhí* ‘rib, side’ KM:2749 , *ruuhi*

Proto-Dhegiha

Kanza/Kaw *čči̋•be* ‘ribs’ RR , *yű́čči̋he* ‘ribs’ JOD

General comment

The Kanza/Kaw forms are problematic. The expected form would be *yű́hi* or *yű́wi*.

rice, wild, Zizania aquatica

noun plant

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **wa-sį́*

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *pšį́•xa•* ‘sage’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **psį́*

Proto-Dakota **psį́*

Lakota *psį́* ‘rice’ RTC

Dakota *psį́* ‘rice’ SRR:425b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **sį•*

Chiwere *thínhgañye* , *†θį* ‘wild rice’ JGT:216

Hoocąk *sį́į* ‘rice’ KM:2856 , *ʂį́į*

Proto-Dhegiha **sį*

Omaha-Ponca *sin* , *†sį* ‘wild rice’ JOD:256.15

Kanza/Kaw *sį* ‘wild rice’ RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *so^{n}yitį́* , *†sǫ-* ‘rice’ D&S:257b , *so^{n}pxó^{n}ni* , *†sǫ-* ‘wheat, flour, dough’ D&S:257b

General comment

Cf. ‘onion’, ‘arrowleaf (Sagittaria latifolia)’ for similar initial cluster. Without Crow or Hidatsa cognates it is very hard to know whether to reconstruct the cluster or absolutive **wa-*. Virtually all known MVS *#pC-* clusters go back to bimorphemic Proto-Siouan **wa-C* sequences in which *wa-* is either ‘absolutive’ or ‘1st singular actor prefix (underlying)’. The Biloxi vowel is aberrant, however, and the form may not be cognate.

right (hand)

noun physical_spatial

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **išró*

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *i-śló´-ya* , *†išlóya* ‘the right hand’ SRR:208a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **(o-)išró*

Chiwere *ušdó* ‘right (hand)’ JGT:78

Otoe *uštó* ~ *u•štó* ‘right’ RR

Hoocąk *hoišóro* ‘right’ KM:1336 , *hoišoro*

Proto-Dhegiha **i-šróke* ~ **i-šrǫ́ka*

Omaha-Ponca *išnóga* ‘right side’ JOD

Kanza/Kaw *ištǫ́ga* ‘right side’ JOD , *ištóge* ‘right side’ RR

Osage *ištǫ́ka* ‘right side’ JOD , *ísdoge* , *†ísdoke* ‘right side’ LF:320b

Quapaw *štǫ́ka* ‘right side’ JOD

General comment

š ~ *s* */_t* sporadically in La Flesche’s Osage dictionary. This set shows a certain amount of internal variation. Nasalization appears in those forms having the suffix *-ka* in DH. The Kanza/Kaw/Osage subgroup of DH have variant forms with *-ke* but no nasalization.

right (side)

noun physical_spatial

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **rati(-ke)* or: **Rati(-ke)*

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *rątí* ‘right’ H:173

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **Rat-ké*

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *u•ráhǰe* ‘on the right side’ RR

Proto-Dhegiha

Quapaw *tatté* ‘right’ JOD , *tattétta* ‘on the right’ JOD

General comment

There are other instances of sporadic nasalization in Mandan but none of denasalization in both Chiwere and DH, so we have chosen tentatively to reconstruct the oral vowel. Chiwere shows a reflex of **r*, Quapaw of **R*.

rim, bottom of kettle

noun physical_artefact_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **(i-)ré•te*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **ré•ta*

Crow *déesa* ‘on the bank, edge’ GG:65

Hidatsa *re•ta* ‘edge, rim’ J , *ne•ta* ‘lips’ J , *í•re•ta*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **(i-)rete*

Proto-Dakota **(i-)čheté*

Lakota *čheté* ‘bottom of vessel’ EJ , *ičhéte* ‘lip or rim of vessel’ EJ

Dakota *ćeté* , *†čheté* ‘bottom of a vessel’ SRR:99b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **(i-)réte*

Otoe *iréje* ‘bottom of a kettle’ JDH

Hoocąk *réeč* ‘bottom’ KM:2591 , *reec*

Proto-Dhegiha **(i-)réte*

Omaha-Ponca *íthede* , *†íðede* ‘corner of mouth’ MAS:123

Kanza/Kaw *yéje* ‘peninsula, inside bend of a stream’ JOD

Osage *thédsewaçpe* , *†ðéce-* ‘dregs, sediment’ LF:143a

General comment

This term behaves phonologically as if it were an inalienably possessed noun in Dakotan, Proto-Siouan **r* > **y* > *čh* following possessive **i-*. In this instance however, the *i-* may actually be derived from ‘mouth’, q.v., as in Hidatsa.

rip (1)

verb physical_contact_deformation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **parásE (?)*

Pre-Mandan **:praš- (?)*

Mandan *párašo?š* ‘it’s pointed’ H:148

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **-wrázE*

Proto-Dakota **-wrázA*

Lakota *blazáhą* ‘ripped open’ RTC , *bláza, ka-* ‘make rip open or burst by striking, throwing down; burst something open, as a ball by striking’ EB:270 , *bláza, na-* ‘kick open, make burst by kicking e.g. a football; burst, as a kettle by freezing; burst open, as hominy by boiling’ EB:341 , *bláza, pa-* ‘burst open, tear open, e.g. a bag by sitting on it’ EB:422 , *bláza, wa-* ‘rip open lengthwise, as in butchering an animal’ EB:511 , *bláza, wo-* ‘tear open by shooting, e.g. the bowels of an animal’ EB:595 , *bláza, ya-* ‘tear open with the teeth’ EB:617 , *bláza, yu-* ‘burst open’ EB:634

Dakota *mdazáhą* ‘ripped open’ SRR:312b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *lubláðe* ‘tear by hand’ GM , *bráðe, na-* ‘tear open, e.g. one’s foot’ LWR:19

Proto-Dhegiha **-bráze*

Omaha-Ponca *b¢ažě* , *†bðáze* ‘torn’ JOD

Kanza/Kaw *bláze* ‘torn’ RR , *babláze* ‘cut, tear, puncture sth.’ RR , *báblaze* ‘split open with a knife’ RR , *bóblaze* ‘shoot open, tear open by shooting’ RR , *bübláze* ‘split, tear, as clothes that fit too tightly’ RR , *dáblaze* ‘burst from heat’ RR , *gabláze* ‘burst open, cut a gash, from impact’ RR , *nąbláze* ‘tear or split with the foot’ RR , *yabláze* ‘tear with the teeth’ RR , *yübláze* ‘tear, rip open, break open’ RR

Osage *bthá¢e* , *†bráze* ‘tear paper or cloth’ LF:342a

Quapaw *dibdáze* ‘tear, rip, rupture’ RR , *kabdáze* ‘burst’ RR , *nąbdaze* ‘tear, rip one’s shoes’ RR

General comment

Forms here appear to be in complementary distribution, semantically, with forms found under ‘spread > flat (2)’. If Mandan is a prelengthening root, then the Proto-Siouan reconstruction to **pa* is justified.

rip (2)

verb physical_contact_deformation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **-wrážE*

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *páraš, nąą-* ‘explode, v.intr.; burst of own accord, e.g., a balloon’ KM:2210 , *nąąparaš* ‘tear apart with the teeth, especially at the seam’ KM:2559 , *paráš, ra-* ‘rip seam on a garment’ KM:2705 , *raparaš* , *paráš, ru-* , *ruparaš*

Proto-Dhegiha **-braže*

Omaha-Ponca *gabðábðaže* ‘wide apart’

Kanza/Kaw *báblaže* ‘split open with a knife’ RR , *babláže* ‘split using a pointed object, puncture’ RR , *gabláže* ‘straddling an obj., legs apart’ RR

Quapaw *ákabdaže* ‘straddle’ JOD

General comment

Forms here appear to be in complementary distribution, semantically, with forms found under ‘spread > flat (5)’

rip (3)

verb physical_contact_deformation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **-paráxE*

Pre-Mandan **:prax (?)*

Mandan *páraxoʔš* ‘it’s pointed, standing upright’ H:149

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **bráɣe*

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *blaga, okhína-* , *†-bláɣa* ‘burst open, as corn in boiling’ EB:389

Proto-Dhegiha **bráxe*

Kanza/Kaw *bláxe* ‘edge of something’ RR

Osage *bthaxe* , *†bráxe* ‘spread out’ LF:28a

Quapaw *bdáxa* ‘wide, as a road’ RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *lubl’q´* , *†lublax* ‘rip, tear by pulling’ HW

General comment

Forms here appear to be in complementary distribution, semantically, with forms found under ‘spread > flat (3)’. If Mandan is a prelengthening root, then the Proto-Siouan reconstruction to **pa* is justified.

ripe, cooked

verb physical_condition

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **aRú•tE*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **ó•tE (?)*

Crow *óoši* ‘ripe; cooked; burnt; dyed’ GG:52

Hidatsa *ó•tE* ‘ripe, cooked, burnt, done’ J

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *Rú•te*

Proto-Dakota **Rúta*

Lakota *lúta* ‘red’ RTC

Dakota *dúta* ‘red’ SRR:109

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **Rú•te*

Chiwere *dú•ǰe* ‘ripe’ RR

Hoocąk *túuč* ‘ripe, cooked’ KM:3144 , *tuuc*

Proto-Dhegiha **Rú́•te*

Omaha-Ponca *ní•de* ‘ripe’ KS

Kanza/Kaw *ǰüǰe* ‘burned (cooking)’ RR

Osage *DSiúdse* , *†cű́ce* ‘ripe, mature’ LF:39b

Quapaw *títte* ‘ripe, cooked’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **atúti* or: **arúti*

Biloxi *atûtí* , *†atutí* ‘ripe’ D&S:277b

Ofo *atúti* , *†atúti* ‘ripe, cooked, done’ D&S:322b

General comment

If the Crow/Hidatsa forms are cognate, they suggest that the **R* of this term is one of the epenthetic glides. On Hidatsa *ó•ti* (Crow *óoši* compare Hidatsa *aru* > o•/_r; aku > o•/_k). If the Proto-Crow-Hidatsa form were **atuti* (cf.

Biloxi) and if the *aru/aku* rules were more general, then Proto-Crow-Hidatsa ***atuti* > **o•ti*. Proto-Biloxi-Ofo is difficult because the two attested forms suggest different sources. Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **atuti* should give Biloxi *atuti* but Ofo *athuti*; Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **aruti* should give Biloxi *aduti* but Ofo *atuti*. The evidence that Ofo was *t* and not *th* is strong, whereas there are several examples where Biloxi forms are recorded with both *t*and *d*. We therefore conclude that Biloxi may be a transcription error, and posit **r*. Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **r* for Proto-Siouan **R* is regular. If BO actually is **r*, however, the Proto-Crow-Hidatsa comment no longer applies and Crow and Hidatsa are not cognate.

river

physical_spatial_aquatic

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **awá•tahi (?)*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **awá•tVhi*

Crow *áaši* ‘river valley, river’ GG:3, RGG:65

Hidatsa *awá•thi* ‘river’ J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *wą́•ta, wą́•tahe* ‘river’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dhegiha **wathíška*

Omaha-Ponca *wačhíška* ‘creek’ RR , *watícka* , *†wathíška* ‘creek’

Kanza/Kaw *wačhį́ška* ‘small river, stream, creek’ JOD

Osage *waṭsíshka* , *†wachíška* ‘brook’ LF:206b

Quapaw *wathíška* ‘creek’ RR

General comment

This is one of the relatively rare instances of both DH and Hidatsa aspiration. The Mandan term, if it is cognate, may represent an older stage. If this is true, the other languages have undergone irregular syncope (and other unexpected modifications) creating the aspirate secondarily, i.e., **wą•tahe-(ška)* > **wątheška* > *wathiška*. The Hidatsa aspiration is clearly secondary. Crow seems to lack the *h* shown in Hidatsa.

road (1), path

physical_spatial

Proto-Siouan-Catawba **yą-*

Proto-Siouan **yą́•ku*

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *rą́•ku* ‘road’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **yą́•ku*

Proto-Dakota **čhąkú*

Lakota *čhąkú* ‘road’ RTC

Dakota *ćaŋkú* ‘road, way, path, trail’ SRR:90a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **ną́•-*

Chiwere *ną́•wų* ‘road’ RR

Hoocąk *nąągú* ‘road, path’ KM:2146 , *nąągu*

Proto-Dhegiha **ožą́ke*

Omaha-Ponca *ožą́ge* ‘road, path’ RR

Kanza/Kaw *ožą́ge* ‘road, path’ RR

Osage *uzhó^{n}ge* , *†ožą́ke* ‘trail, path, road’ LF:182b

Quapaw *ožą́ke* ‘road, path’ RR

Proto-Catawba

Catawba *yą?* ‘trail, road, path’ KS

Woccon *yaub* JL

General comment

Cf. ‘road (2)’. DH has generalized the common nominal suffix *-ke*.

Chiwere *ną́•wų* apparently contains a different suffix (or perhaps it is a second root), with only the first half cognate with Hoocąk. JGT92-216 contains several competing Chiwere forms which he transcribes *náwun, naˆún, náˆun, náun, náwo*, where ˆ is ordinarily used for both ‘ and ‘. In this instance it probably represents a glottal stop. The *w* of the form is probably a replacement glide.

road (2)

physical_spatial

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Southeastern **(n)ątkhó•hi*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **nətkhóhi (?)*

Biloxi *nětkohí, natkohi, natkohí, nĭtkohi, nŭtkuhi, nŭtkohi* , *†nətkohí* ‘path, road, street’ D&S:235b

Ofo *nąkhŏhi* , *†nəkhó•hi* ‘trail, road’ D&S:326b, JSS

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *hĕⁿṭkóoq* , *†hątkó•x* ‘road, path’ JOD , *hĕⁿṭkóoq* , *†hątkó•x* HW

Saponi *hodke* ‘way’ F

roast (1)

Verb physical_condition_change

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **yó•-kʔį*

Pre-Mandan **rókrį•-*

Mandan *rókirįro?š* , *†rókįri•ro?š* ‘she roasted’ H:188

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **yó•_kʔį*

Proto-Dakota **čho_kʔį́*

Lakota *čho_kʔį́* ‘roast’ RTC

Dakota *ćoḳíŋ* , *†čho_kʔį́* ‘roast’ SRR:103a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **ró•_kʔį*

Chiwere *rók?į* ‘fry, bake’ LWR:25

Hoocąk *roo_kʔį́* ‘roast, bake, cook in oven’ KM:2639 , *rook'į*

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *áyukûnĭ˝, áyuḳûni* , *†áyukuni* ‘roasted’ D&S:296a

General comment

This form appears to be a compound of **(i)yo•* ‘flesh’ and an unidentified second element. Mandan and Biloxi seem reasonably close and the treatment here is reminiscent of clusters in ‘wear around the neck’ or ‘necklace’. Biloxi *k̲* quite generally corresponds to MVS *k?*. The MVS forms may be cognate but the complex morphology here is not yet well understood. Initial syllable accent ordinarily presumes a missing initial vowel. In this instance it would be inalienable *i-*, but there is no trace of the inflectional prefix in this loosely incorporated form. This suggests that, even though accent is very largely predictable in Proto-Siouan on the second vowel, there were instances in which it was distinctive.

Predictability was not complete .

roast (2)

verb physical_condition_change

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **pa-snų́*

Proto-Dakota **pasnų́*

Lakota *snų́, pa-* ‘to roast e.g. meat on a spit or stick’ EB:434

Dakota *pasnóŋ* ‘to roast, as meat on a spit or stick’ SRR:413b , *pasnúŋ* ‘to roast, as meat on a spit or stick’ SRR:413b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **wa-srų́*

Chiwere *wáthrun, wathrún, wathnún* , *†waθrų́* ‘roast meat over fire’ JGT:217, DOR

Hoocąk *sųnų́, wa-* ‘roast on a spit’ KM:3473 , *wasųnų* ‘roast, v.tr.’ KM:3494 , *šųnųną́, wa-* , *wašųnų*

Proto-Dhegiha **pa-sną́*

Omaha-Ponca *bas.ná*^{n} , *†basną́* ‘stuck on sticks to roast’ [underdotted s]

Kanza/Kaw *hną́, ba-* ‘roast, spit a piece of meat’ RR

robin

noun animal_bird

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dakota **šišóka*

Lakota *šišóka* ‘robin’ EB:463b

Dakota *†šišóka* ‘robin’ SRR:445a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *šįįkókok* ‘robin’ KM:2965 , *šįįkokok*

Proto-Dhegiha **šį̄hkohkoke*

Osage *shíⁿkuk̨uge* , *†šį̄hkohkoke* ‘robin, redbreast’ LF:131b

Quapaw *šį̄kkokkoge* ‘robin’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *siñkukí* , *†siką́kí* ‘robin’ D&S:256a

General comment

This is a widely borrowed/imitated term. Chickasaw *šikonkok*; Choctaw *biškohkok*, *biškonlok*; Tunica *wišk?ohku* (MRH); numerous Iroquoian *tsisko(:)ko* or the like, (Mithun 1984). The Hoocąk and DH forms are technically reconstructible to **šį̄•hkohkoke*, but the word is too widespread in various forms to represent a good etymology.

rock (1)

noun physical_spatial_mountaneous

Proto-Siouan-Catawba **ʃ̨•-*

Proto-Siouan **(wa-)ʔʃ̨•(-re)*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **wiʔí*

Crow *bií* ‘rock’ GG:29, RGG:92

Hidatsa *wíʔ* ‘stone’ J , *míʔi*

Pre-Mandan **wįʔre (< **wa-ʃ̨•re)*

Mandan *wʃ̨ʔre* ‘stone’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **ʔʃ̨•-*

Proto-Dakota **ʃ̨ya*

Lakota *ʃ̨yą* ‘stone’ RTC

Dakota *íŋyaŋ* , *ʔʃ̨yą* ‘stone’ SRR:201a

Stoney *iyá* PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **ʃ̨•-*

Chiwere *ʃ̨•no* ‘rock’ RR , *ʃ̨ro* JOD

Hoocąk *ʃ̨įnʃ̨* ‘rock, stone’ KM:1636 , *ʃ̨įnį*

Proto-Dhegiha **ʔʃ̨*

Kanza/Kaw *ʃ̨* ‘rock’ RR

Osage *ʃ̨* ‘rock’ RR , *i’ⁿ, ʻiⁿ* , *ʔʔʃ̨* ‘rock’ LF:74

Quapaw *ʃ̨* ‘rock’ RR

Proto-Catawba

Catawba *ʃ̨•ti* ‘stone’ KS

General comment

Cf. ‘blood’ in Catawba, where *t* also seems to match Proto-Siouan **r*. In Mandan synchronically, prefixes before long vowels regularly trigger inserted *ʔ* as here: V1-V2• > V2ʔ. Saponi *wicco* ‘rock’ (Byrd) is probably not Siouan. Crow, Hidatsa, and Mandan may have **wa-ʔʃ̨•*; the MVS languages seem to favor (different) suffixes. Chiwere *-o* or *-ro* remains unexplained, but may be related irregularly to Lakota *-ya*. Apart from basic **ʔʃ̨•*, the Proto-Siouan reconstruction is still a problem. Independent **-(r)E* seems more widespread here than normal. It’s usually found only in Mandan and Biloxi. In verbal inflection, at least, Proto-Siouan sequences of **wa-ʔV-* surface as **m-V-*.

rock (2)

noun physical_spatial_mountaneous

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dakota **thuⱪáⱬ*

Lakota *thuⱪáⱬ* ‘sacred stone’ RTC

Dakota *tuŋkáŋ* , *†thuⱪáⱬ* ‘in the sacred language, a stone’ SRR:481a

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Ofo *tūk* , *†tu•k* ‘stone’ D&S:331a, JSS

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *nistēk; histéki* ‘stone’ N, H

General comment

Cf. ‘shell > spoon’, ‘rock (1)’. The vowels here are all bad matches, but the set is worth calling attention to. The first part of the Tutelo form matches yet another root represented in Hoocąk *nįįs* (KM-2341), cf. ‘rock (3)’.

rock (3)

noun physical_spatial_mountaneous

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **rį́•sV*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *nįįs* ‘rock’ KM:2341 , *nįįš*

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *nistēk, histēk* , *†(n)iste•k* ‘rock’ H

General comment

Cf. ‘rock (1)’, ‘rock (2)’. Tutelo *-tēk* presumably goes with Ofo *tuk*, leaving Hoocąk and Tutelo *nį•s-* as a match. Hoocąk characteristically loses final unaccented *e* and most Siouan languages lose them in compounds, so there are some indeterminacies here, and any reconstruction remains quite tentative. There is also the possibility that this set is derived from ‘rock (1)’, q.v. Any prefix might have generated the common glide **r* to separate the affix-final and stem-initial vowels: **CV- + į•- > *CV-r-į•- > CV- n-į•-* with subsequent loss of the prefix and reanalysis of the root.

rock (4), pebble

noun physical_spatial_mountaneous

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **į-xʔe*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **įxʔe*

Proto-Dakota **ixʔé*

Lakota *ixʔé* ‘pebble, small rock’ RTC

Dakota *iȟ'é* , *†ixʔé* ‘gravel, a stony place’ SRR:191b

Proto-Dhegiha **įxʔe*

Omaha-Ponca *įʔe* ‘rock’ RR, RTC

Osage *į̂ⁿxe shtoⁿga* , *†į̂xe* ‘soft stone’ LF:78a

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *áⁿxu, aⁿxudí* , *†ą́xu* ‘stone’ D&S:178a

General comment

In order to be properly cognate Osage should have **įkʔe*, Lakota should have nasalization and Biloxi should have different vowels throughout. This, in other words, is a very tentative set. Nevertheless, it appears, at least superficially, that this may be another derived term < **ʔį•* + **xʔe ?* based on ‘rock (1)’, q.v.

roll

verb physical_motion

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **-rąhe*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *waginą́* ‘string; rope; n.’ KM:3254 , *waginą; wiginą* ‘roll, v.’ KM:717 , *hawanáą́* , *hawanąą(nąą)*

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *kidúnahí* , *†náhi* ‘turn around, roll over’ D&S:231a , *dunahí, dunahi$^{n´}$* , *†náhi* ‘to turn’ D&S:236a , *kidúnanahí* , *†náhi* ‘turn round and round’ D&S:231a , *kĭpánahi kudí* , *†náhi* ‘give back an object to the owner’ D&S:215b

General comment

This set and reconstruction are extremely tentative, but interesting since it would be another **-he*.

rough (1)

perceptual_tactile

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **xá•*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **xá•*

Crow *xaxá•* 'rough to the touch' GG:61, RGG:98 , *-xaxxía, a-* 'file' GG:15

Hidatsa *xaxá•* 'rough' J , *háxaxE•* 'file sth.' J

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **xá•*

Proto-Dakota **xa*

Lakota *-xa, aná-* 'rough, roughened up' EB:80 , *-xá, pa-* 'make rough by rubbing' EB:425 , *-xá, ka-* 'curl, knot; make rough or notch by striking; a curl, a knot' EB:274 , *-xá, yu-* 'curl, branch out' EB:638

Dakota *ȟá* , *†xa* 'curled, rough' SRR:160a , *naȟá* , *†naxá* 'become rough' SRR:322a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **xá•reke*

Chiwere *xálege* 'rough like tree bark, sandpaper' RR

Hoocąk *xaarék* 'rough to the touch' KM:3854 , *xaarek, xerexerek*

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *xahí, xaxahí* , *†xahí* 'rough, rough here and there' D&S:219a , *daxká* , *†daxká* 'rough' D&S:215a

rough (2)

perceptual_tactile

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **ɣatE*

Proto-Dakota **-ɣátA*

Lakota *waɣáta* ‘hack, carve, etc.’ EB:515a

Dakota *paȟátka* ‘make rough, rub against the grain’ SRR:405b

Proto-Dhegiha **paɣáte*

Kanza/Kaw *baɣáǰe* ‘Mohawk haircut, roach’ RR

Osage *baxádse* , *†paɣáce* ‘roached, a style of haircut’ LF:24b

rough (3)

perceptual_tactile

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **xá•ka*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **xá•ka*

Crow *xá•ka* ‘rash, sores, measles’ GG:60, RGG:102

Hidatsa *xá•ka* ‘have sores’ J

Pre-Mandan **xá•koh- (?)*

Mandan *xákoho?š* ‘he itches’ H:309

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *yąka* ‘bushy’ EB:148a

Proto-Dhegiha **xáka*

Omaha-Ponca *xaxaga* ‘rough’ MAS:149 , *xága* ‘rough’

Kanza/Kaw *waxága* ‘thorns’ RR

Osage *xága* , *†xáka* ‘bristling, rough in appearance’ LF:217a

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *daxká* , *†daxká* ‘rough’ D&S:215a

General comment

Introduction of Mandan *-ohe*, presumably a locative as it is in DH and other dialects, complicates reconstruction.

rough (4)

perceptual_tactile

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **xá•pE*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Crow *xa•pí•* 'rough (complexion)' GG:60

Pre-Mandan **xap-*

Mandan *xaxápo?š* 'have rough skin' H:310

General comment

J On Crow and Mandan 'rough skin', compare Hidatsa *xí•pE* 'wrinkled'.

There may be contamination here.

round (1)

perceptual_visual_shape

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **pšų́*

Proto-Dakota **-pšų́*

Lakota *pšų́pšų, yu-* 'roll into a wad.' EB:648 , *psų́psų́la, pa-* 'rub and make smooth and round, as an arrow shaft' EB:432 , *pšų́khá* 'round, short, and thick' B&D:447a , *pśuⁿk'a´*

Dakota *yupśúŋka* , *†yupšų́ka* 'double up in a round bunch' SRR:637b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *urúˆshan* , *†urú?šą* 'round, circle around' JGT:218

Proto-Dhegiha

Quapaw *šǫ́šǫ, di-* 'mould spherical hands' RR , *šǫ́šǫ* 'round, like pills' RR

General comment

Most if not all Proto-Mississipi-Valley **pC-* roots are reflexes of Proto-Siouan **wa-C-*, and this is probably no exception. Note that Chiwere often retains *?S* reflexes of both earlier *kS* and *pS* clusters in careful transcription. Earlier workers often omitted *?*. Aspiration in Lakota *pšų́khá* suggests that the Proto-Mississipi-Valley root may have ended in *-he*.

round (2)

verb perceptual_visual_shape

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **wró•*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa *póhorowE ~ póhorawE ~ póharawE* 'spherical' J

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **wró•(-ka)*

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **pró•(-ke)*

Chiwere *bró•ge* 'round' RR

Hoocąk *porók* 'round' KM:2501 , *poroke* 'be spherical' KM:2502 , *poropóro* , *poroporo*

Proto-Dhegiha **bró•ka*

Omaha-Ponca *bðóga* 'round' RR

Kanza/Kaw *bló•ga* 'whole dollar' RR

Osage *bthóga* , *†bróga* 'a whole, dollar' LF:28a

Quapaw *bdóka, bdóka* 'all, round' RR, JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Ofo *plócka, plótka, -plóska* , *†plóška ~ †plótka ~ †plóska* 'round' D&S:328b

Proto-Catawba

Catawba *warup-* 'round'

General comment

Cf. similar Muskogean terms: Choctaw *bolokta* 'round' (CB); Alabama *bolotka ~ bonotka* 'round' (KJL); Mikasuki *wo'lo'kii* 'round' (JDW) *wolooki* 'round' (RG). All of these terms in Siouan and Muskogean involve sound symbolism to a considerable degree. We take the ones with clear reflexes of **wro* to be cognate but suspect all the others because of the near-universal tendency for 'round' to include labials, rounded vowels and liquids the world over. If Proto-Siouan **w-* is a reflex of 'absolutive', the reconstruction would be **wa-ró•*. Cf. Catawba. Hidatsa might fit, if from earlier **porohawi*, with metathesis of *r* and *h*.

round (3)

verb perceptual_visual_shape

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **poska*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *tapóposka* , *†thapóposka* ‘ball shaped thing; anything nicely round’ [dot over both p’s] EB:482a, EB:760b , *tapóposka* , *†thapóposka* ‘tadpoles’ SRR:461a

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *poská, potcká* , *†poská ~ †počká* ‘rounded, globular, curvilinear’ D&S:247a

Ofo *plócka, plótka, -plóska* , *†plóška ~ †plótka ~ †plóska* ‘round’ D&S:328b

General comment

Ofo is probably contaminated by ‘round (2)’.

rub (1)

verb physical_contact

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **-hi̧tE*

Proto-Dakota **-hi̧tA*

Lakota *hi̧tA, ka-* ‘sweep or brush up, as a floor’ EB:273 , *hi̧tA, na-* ‘scrape or wipe off with the foot’ EB:344 , *hi̧tA, pa-* ‘rub, brush or wipe off’ EB:425 , *hi̧tA, wo-* ‘sweep off by shooting as men in a battle field; blow away’ EB:597 , *hi̧tA, ya-* ‘brush away with the mouth, to eat all up’ EB:619 , *hi̧tA, yu-* ‘rake away, to rake a field, yard’ EB:637

Dakota *kahíŋta* , *†kahi̧ta* ‘sweep or brush up, as a floor’ SRR:249b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **-hi̧te*

Chiwere *wahínje* , *†wahĭ̧je* ‘rub on something’ [Otoe] JGT:218

Hoocąk *hi̧c, wa-* ‘rub with the hand’ [= wahi̧c] KM:3278 , *wahi̧c* ‘rub with hand’ KM:3840 , *hi̧c, wu-* , *wuhi̧c*

General comment

Cf. ‘glance off’

rub (2)

verb physical_contact

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **štútE*

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *-štútA, pa-* ‘rub, as the feet with snow’ EB:435 , *-štútA, yu-* ‘rub or soak the feet, as with snow’ EB:653

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *štúštuje* ‘smooth, even’ GM , *áwastuje* ‘rub on something’ JGT:218

Proto-Dhegiha **-štüte*

Omaha-Ponca *iðištíde* ‘make comfortable’

Kanza/Kaw *íyüščüje* ‘push on one side of something’ JOD , *büštű́je* ‘cause to be comfortable by pressing on’ JOD

Osage *dástsudse* , *†táscüce* ‘radiate, shimmer’ LF:36b

Quapaw *distítte* ‘pull out, milk, pull open’ JOD

General comment

This root shows every sign of having a long, accented vowel in Proto-Mississipi-Valley, **štú•te* normal with secondary shortening */_CC* in Chiwere, the only one of the languages represented here for which length was transcribed reasonably faithfully. Note that LaFlesche frequently wrote Osage *šc* as *sc*, so that the Osage form here may be fully cognate or, like the Quapaw, represent a second fricative symbolism grade.

run (1)

verb physical_motion

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **rąkE*

Proto-Dakota **i-yąkA*

Lakota *íyąkA* ‘run’ RTC

Dakota *íyąka* ‘run’ SRR:201b

Sioux Valley *iyąka* ‘run’ PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **ną•ke*

Chiwere *nąŋe* ‘run’ RR

Hoocąk *nąąk* ‘run’ KM:2178 , *nąąk*

Proto-Dhegiha **nąke*

Omaha-Ponca *nąge* ‘run’ RR

Kanza/Kaw *nąge* ‘animal or machine to run’ RR

Osage *nó^{n}ge* , *†nąke* ‘run, 4-legged, gallop’ LF:114a

Quapaw *nąke* ‘run as an animal’ JOD

General comment

The Dakotan forms could arise from a prefixed locative *i-* ‘toward’, with nasal spreading in Lakota and Dakota. The Sioux Valley form would support this.

run (2)

verb physical_motion

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **wa-htą́he*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Crow *basáa* 'run' GG:28

Pre-Mandan **ptÉ́h-*

Mandan *ptéhoʔš* 'he's running' RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dhegiha **htą́-_rį*

Omaha-Ponca *tóⁿthiⁿ* , *†ttą́ðį* 'run' MAS:150

Kanza/Kaw *ttáye ~ ttąyį* 'human to run' RR

Osage *tóⁿthiⁿ* , *†htą́ðį* 'run (two-legged)' LF:156a

Quapaw *ttónį* 'run' RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **athą́hi*

Biloxi *taⁿhíⁿ, táⁿhiⁿ* , *†tą́hį* 'run' D&S:271b

Ofo *ā´thoⁿhi* , *†á•thąhi* 'run' D&S:322a, JSS , *abatxa´abĕ* , *†abathá?abe* 'I am going to run' D&S:322a

General comment

The Mandan, Biloxi, and Ofo forms look like *he*-final roots. Biloxi seems to have spread the nasalization to the final syllable. Loss of nasalization in Mandan, though frequently paralleled in other words, is not as yet accounted for. Although there are irregularities in this set, it does appear that DH may have lost post tonic **he*, as it normally does, and reanalysed the verb as a compound with Proto-Dhegiha **_(r)į* 'be in motion'. This was a natural reanalysis because **mą-_(r)į* 'walk' presented such a close parallel.

It should be noted however that the presence here, whether as an innovation or retention, of *į* is an areal feature found only in the South. There are still many unanswered questions about this set. Cf. 'walk (1)'. The Crow vowel length here is probably due to syllable collapse, which obscures possible evidence for vowel length in Proto-Siouan.

run (3), get out

verb physical_motion

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **hątá*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dakota **hą́ta*

Lakota *hą́ta* ‘get away, begone, make way (imperative only)’ EB:167b

Dakota *háŋta* , *†hą́ta* ‘get away, get out of the way (imperative only)’ SRR:124b

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *hantá; hinda* , *†hątá* ‘run’ N, H , *hĕⁿ-ṭĕⁿ´-he-se* , *†hątą́hese* ‘the running man’ HW

General comment

Attested only in Lakota and Tutelo. Cf. ‘road (2)’ for possible cognates in other languages.

s

sacred (1a)

verb spiritual

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **xópE*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **xupá• < **xopáhe (?)*

Crow *baaxpáa* , *†ba•xpá•* ‘holy, sacred’ GG:24, RGG:84

Hidatsa *xupá•* ‘holy, sacred’ J

Pre-Mandan **xoprį*

Mandan *xopįrį̂ʔš* ‘it’s holy’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **xópE*

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *waxóbe* ‘consecrated, blessed, holy’ JGT:87 , *waxóbrį* ‘person with supernatural power’ JDH

Proto-Dhegiha **xópe*

Omaha-Ponca *qubé* , *†xobé* ‘sacred’ , *†waxóbe* ‘sacred thing’

Kanza/Kaw *waxóbe* ‘sacred bundle’ JOD, RR

Osage *xúbe* , *†xópe* ‘holy, supernatuarl power, sanctity’ LF:221a , *waxóbe* , *†waxópe* ‘talisman’ LF:208a

Quapaw *wažį́ka xówe* ‘eagle, holy bird’ RR

General comment

Mandan and the second Chiwere form look like a compound of **xop* and **rį*, the latter possibly being ‘live, exist’. Cf. ‘sacred (1b)’ for further cognates with the Mandan forms. Very frequently, Crow/Hidatsa forms in *-a•* correlate with **-he* forms in other languages or with doublet *-ia* < **ihe* forms in Crow/Hidatsa. Thus our Proto-Crow-Hidatsa suggestion here. It is impossible to tell whether the postulated form represents a Proto-Crow-Hidatsa innovation or an inherited form (with loss of *-he* and reanalysis in Proto-Mississipi-Valley).

sacred (1b)

verb, noun spiritual

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **xopE-rį*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **xupá•ri*

Crow *xapá•lia* ‘medicine’ GG:61

Hidatsa *xupá•ri* ‘medicine’ J

Pre-Mandan **xoprį*

Mandan *xopįrį̂ʔš* ‘it’s holy’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **waxóprį*

Chiwere *waxóbrin* , *†waxóbrį* ‘blessed, sacred, holy’ JGT:87

Hoocąk *waxopį̂nį* ‘spirit’ KM:3528 , *waxopįnį*

General comment

The evolution of the vowels and accent in this compound is not really understood. The Crow/Hidatsa long vowel is due to the influence of the simplex root. Cf. ‘sacred (1a)’.

sacred (2a), snake

verb, noun spiritual

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **wa•hką́*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **wahką́*

Proto-Dakota **wakhą́*

Lakota *wakhą́* ‘spirit, sacred’ RTC

Sioux Valley *wakhą́* ‘spirit, sacred’ PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **wakhą́*

Chiwere *wakhą́* ‘snake’ RR , *wa•khą́da* ‘god’ RR

Hoocąk *waką́* ‘snake’ KM:3337 , *waką* ‘holy’ KM:3338 , *wakąčą́k* ‘witch’ KM:3348 , *wakącąk* , *wakąwą́x* , *wakąwąx*

Proto-Dhegiha **wahką́-*

Omaha-Ponca *wakką́da* ‘sacred, god’ RR , *wakką́dagi* ‘water monster’

Kanza/Kaw *wakką́da* ‘holy, god’ RR

Osage *wahką́ta* ‘holy, god’ RR

Quapaw *wakką́tta* ‘spirit, god’ RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *wageni; wagenī; wāgenī* , *†wa•kąnį•* ‘snake’ H:1878, H:1883a, H:1879

General comment

This term, meaning ‘sacred’ originally, acquired the meaning ‘snake’ in several languages. The ‘snake’ extension of the term is found in Chiwere/Hoocąk with possible further intrusion into DH shown by the derived ‘water monster’ form in Omaha-Ponca (‘medicine man’ in other DH languages.) All of DH may once have been included since (a) the simple form **wahkᵠ́* is lacking, and (b) ‘snake’ has been systematically replaced with **wesʔáˀ* ‘one that drips or hisses (?)’ throughout DH. Possible extension of this ‘snake’ term to Virginia Siouan may ultimately tell us something about the chronology of movements of Tutelo and Saponi into the East. Tutelo apparently has a reflex of the present term while Saponi has a reflex of ‘medicine’ like Ofo and Biloxi. Proto-Siouan **wąhkᵠą*, ‘medicine’, q.v., with its initial-syllable nasal vowel, is not derivationally related to *wahkᵠ́* in any obvious way. Nevertheless, the two terms, perhaps because of their superficial similarity, have become intertwined semantically. Each has undergone specialization to ‘snake’ in certain languages. Ives Goddard (p.c.) reports that the sacred/snake mixture is found in adjacent Algonquian languages also. Paul H. Voorhis (p.c.) suggests that this mixture may be just euphemism. Snakes obviously have a large dose of mystic power, and one refers to them by this, rather than by their proper names so as not to attract them. Fox and Kickapoo have also merged ‘god’ and ‘snake’ in *manetoowa*, and then created new expressions to distinguish them, Fox *(manetoowa) kiiyootaata* ‘crawling manitou’ for ‘snake’, and Kickapoo *(manetoowa) kiisihiaata* ‘creating manitou’ for ‘god’. Throughout central Algonquian ‘bugs’ are literally ‘little gods’, a similar euphemism? Anyway, *wakhą* ‘snake’ and *wakhą* ‘sacred’ are surely the same word in origin. Chiwere and DH forms in **-ta* are included to indicate the presence of the root **wahkᵠ́* in those languages. They properly occur in ‘sacred (2b), god’ q.v.

The DH replacement forms are to be found at ‘hiss (1)’ etc., q.v.

sacred (2b), god

noun spiritual

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **wahkᵠ́ta*

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **wakhᵠ́ta*

Chiwere *wa•khᵠ́da* ‘god’ RR

Hoocąk *wakąǰá* ‘thunder; Thunderbird; battery’ KM:3340 , *wakąja*

Proto-Dhegiha **wahkᵠ́ta*

Omaha-Ponca *wakkᵠ́da* ‘god’ RR

Kanza/Kaw *wakkᵠ́da* ‘god’ RR

Osage *wahkᵠ́ta* ‘god’ RR

Quapaw *wakkᵠ́tta* ‘spirit, god’ RR

General comment

Cf. ‘sacred (2a), snake’; ‘medicine man’.

salt (1)

noun physical_substance

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **mnį•-skú•(-re)*

Proto-Dakota **mniskúya*

Lakota *mniskúya* ‘salt’ RTC

Sioux Valley *mniskúya* ‘salt’ PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **nį•skú*

Chiwere *ñį•hkú, ñíhku* ‘salt’ RR

Hoocąk *nįįsgú* ‘salt, be salty’ KM:2344 , *nįįsgu*

Proto-Dhegiha **nįskű•-e* RR

Omaha *nįskí•re* ‘salt’ RR

Ponca *niskí•ðe* ‘salt’ RR

Kanza/Kaw *nįskű́•we* ‘salt’ RR

Osage *nįskű́e* ‘salt’ RR

Quapaw *niskíde* ‘salt’ RR

General comment

A compound of ‘water’ and ‘sweet (1)’, q.v. ‘sweet (1)’ may be too narrow a translation here, but it is the unmarked rendering of the term in all of the languages. Muskogean: Creek-Seminole and Hitchiti-Mikasuki derive ‘salt’ from ‘water’ and ‘sweet’. Cherokee *ama* ‘water’ and ‘salt’.

salt (2)

noun physical_substance

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **awaxó•ta*

Crow *awaxó•sa* ‘salt’ GG:14, RGG:13

Hidatsa *awaxó•ta* ‘salt’ [lit. ‘gray earth’] J

Proto-Southeastern **amą-šikú-e*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Ofo *amąskū´wĕ* , *†aməskú•we* ‘salt’ D&S:320b, JSS

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *matcigoⁿyóⁿ* , *†mačĭkǫ́yǫ* ‘salt’ , *matsigǫ́yǫ* , *†mačĭkǫ́yǫ* ‘salt’ ES

General comment

This is one of those interesting conundra. Proto-Siouan speakers must have had a word for ‘salt’. However in the subgroups, Crow/Hidatsa and OVS have ‘earth, ground, land’ in common but the adjective is different; OVS and MVS (Cf. ‘salt (1)’) have ‘sweet (1)’, the adj., in common, but the noun is different. This particular term is actually not reconstructible. Many of the terms for ‘salt’ in Siouan and sundry southeastern languages incorporate one of about four roots, sometimes compounding them. The compounds were often made up of the predictable items: ‘sweet, gray, water, earth’ with ‘sweet’ and ‘water’ predominating. Such terms seem to be fairly widely diffused.

sand (1)

noun physical_substance

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **hpú•sahe*

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *púšak* ‘coarse sand’ H:160

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **hpu•zá(h-ke)*

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *phu•θá-khe* ‘sand’ RTC, RR

Hoocąk *pųųzáke* ‘sand’ KM:2515 , *pųųzake*

Proto-Dhegiha **hpü•zá*

Omaha-Ponca *ppi•zá* ‘sand’ JOD, RR

Kanza/Kaw *ppü•zá* ‘sand’ RR

Osage *piçá* , *†hpüzá* ‘sand, silt’ LF:128b

Quapaw *ppíza* ‘sand’ RR, JOD

General comment

Cf. ‘dry (3)’, ‘sand (2)’ for possible related ablaut series. Chiwere suggests that this was a **-he* final root. The Hoocąk and Chiwere forms present some phonological problems. The unexpectedly nasal vowels are a common feature of this subgroup and, while irregular, are no surprise. The voicing distinction in the fricative is much less common.

sand (2)

noun physical_substance

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **hpu•xáh-kE*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **pu•xaka*

Crow *puuxká* ‘dirt, dust’ GG:54, RGG:92

Hidatsa *pú•xaka* ‘sand’ J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *púxak* ‘fine sand’ H:161

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *pxaki´* , *†pxaki* ‘sand’ D&S:246a

General comment

Cf. ‘dry (1)’; ‘sand (1)’. We reconstruct an anomalous accent/length pattern.

‘sand (1)’ appears to be an *-he* final stem. ‘sand (2)’ may also be. The Hidatsa form appears to be an old nominalization (with suffixal *-ka*) from *pu•xE* ‘crush fine, grind’ (see ‘crush (1)’). At the very least, we should suspect contamination from this verb of an inherited noun.

say

verb transitive social_communication

Proto-Siouan-Catawba **he? (?)*

Proto-Siouan **e-_he•(-re)*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **he•*

Crow *he•* 'say' L , *he* 'quotative' RG , *sheé* 'say' RGG:51

Hidatsa *he•* 'say, quotative' J , *šé•* 'say' J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *é_he-* 'say' [1s é•pe?š, 2s é•te?š, 3s éhero?š, 3p éhekere?š 3p éhekere?š] RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **e-_he*

Proto-Dakota **e_hA*

Lakota *eyá* 'say' [1s ephá, 2s ehá (vowel ablauts)] RTC

Dakota *éya* 'say' SRR:118

Stoney *eyá* 'say' PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **e-_hé ~ *i-_hé*

Chiwere *e•* 'say' [1s ihé, 2s ise, 3s é] RR

Hoocąk *ée* 'say' [1s hihe, 2s hiše, 3s ee, 3p aire] KM:295 , *ee*

Proto-Dhegiha **e-_hé*

Omaha-Ponca *e* , *†é•* 'say' [1s ehe, 2s eše, 3s e, 1p ąðai] JOD

Kanza/Kaw *é•`* 'say' [1s ephé, 2s ešé, 3s ê•] RR

Osage *e* , *†é* 'say' [1s ephé, epše, 2s eše, 3s e] LF:40a

Quapaw *ié, iyé* , *†ié* 'say' [1s ihé, 2s išé] JOD

Proto-Southeastern **e-_he•(-ri)*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **é-_he(-ri)*

Biloxi *e, ě, ě´di, ědí* , *†é(di)* 'say' D&S:189a , *he, hedí, hě´di* , *†hé(di)* 'say it or that' [1s ě´ṭûñḳédi, 2s ě´ṭiḳiyě´di, 3p ě´tu] D&S:189b

Ofo *(l)éhe* , *†éhe* 'say' [1s béhe, 2s tcéhe, 3s lehé, 1p oⁿehé, 3p lehetú] D&S:326a

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *hahēwa* , *†ha_hé•-* 'say' [1s hawahēwa, 2s hayihēwa, 1p hamañkhēwa; the final *-wa* is an aspect suffix] H

Proto-Catawba

Catawba *-eʔ* ‘quotative’ KS

General comment

Conservative conjugation. Cf. ‘think (1)’, ‘speak, talk’. Most MVS languages contract the citation form to *e•* but reintroduce **e-he* in the 1st and 2nd person forms. Our reconstructions in MVS are internal, based on the inflected forms. The *y* in the Dakotan third person is an epenthetic glide, breaking up the vowel sequence that was created by loss of the *h*. The basic root compounds freely with demonstratives, and part of the confusion we see in the Southeastern languages has been produced by this; in particular, the initial *l* in Ofo comes from this. Similarly, the Crow and Hidatsa forms in *š* show demonstrative *šʔe* ~ *šeʔe*. Though Ofo now prefixes the agreement markers, Biloxi and Tutelo both retain the kind of infixing we see elsewhere. This argues in favor of Proto-Biloxi-Ofo having gone through the same type of contraction process that we see in MVS. Mandan and Biloxi have evidence for final *r*, although its appearance in Mandan is irregular. The reconstructible demonstrative preverb was *e-*, but Chiwere, Hoocąk, and Quapaw suggest *i-*, a possible contamination from *íe* ‘speak’.

scar (1)

verb, noun physical_somatic_disease

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **srą-*

Proto-Dakota **snązA*

Lakota *snąza, snáza* ‘draw up, as burnt skin; to be scarred; a scar’ [o- is a nominalizing prefix] EB:457b , *osnáze* ‘scar’ EB:404b

Dakota *sná-za* ‘a scar’ SRR:437b , *sná-za* ‘be drawn up, as burnt skin; be scarred’ SRR:437b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *šąną́* ‘a trace (still to be visible)’ KM:2924 , *šąną ?*

Proto-Dhegiha **sRá*

Omaha-Ponca *çna* , *†sná* ‘scar’ MAS:152

Osage *usdá* , *†ostá* ‘top of the head bared with age, bald’ LF:175a

Quapaw *sta* ‘scar’ JOD

General comment

Varying nasality is problematic here. Cf. ‘scar (2)’.

scar (2)

physical_somatic_disease

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **širá• (?)*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *pha'•stá•kha* 'scar' [<h final] RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *tcĭdá, tcĭstcĭdá* , *†čidá* 'scar, be scarred' D&S:263b

General comment

Cf. 'scar (1)'. This is not a secure set.

scatter (1)

verb physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **-hi*

Proto-Dakota **-hí*

Lakota *-hí, ka-* 'stir, to rummage' EB:273 , *-hi, oyú-* 'scatter about' EB:419 , *yuhí* 'startle, drive off' EB:637b

Dakota *yuhí* 'drive off, as game' SRR:624a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *cf. wehí* 'sort out' KM:806 , *wehi* 'spread out (e.g., corn kernels to dry); stir' KM:1116 , *-hí, hiwa-* , *hiwahi*

Proto-Dhegiha **-hí*

Osage *thihí* , *†ðiihí* 'flush out' LF:147a

Quapaw *dihí dede* 'scare an animal' JOD , *ádahi-* 'spill out and scatter' RR , *dihí-dede* 'scare off (an animal)' RR

scatter (2)

physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **sirihe*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa *-círia, nak-* ‘he cracked it, it’s cracked’ J , *-círia, íru-* ‘cracked’ J , *šíria* ‘rustle’ J , *-xiria, arú-* ‘frying, sizzling’ J

Pre-Mandan **šrih-*

Mandan *širího?š* ‘it’s spread out, scattered’ H:235 , *širíhe* ‘spread’ RTC , *-širiho?š, ka-* ‘he scatters it by striking’ H:235 , *-širiho?š, ra-* ‘he scatters it by kicking’ H:235 , *-širiho?š, ru-* ‘he scatters it’ H:235 , *í paširiho?š* ‘he thought about it’ RTC

General comment

This root is apparently restricted to the northern languages. The forms that are there suggest Proto-Siouan **Sirihe*. Without more information we are unable to reconstruct accent and vowel length.

scrape (1)

verb physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **-sképE*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa *-ckípE, na-* ‘peel, slice, pare’ [striking prefix] J

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *withgéwe* , *†wiθkéwe* ‘mark an object’ JGT:91 , *wíthgewe* , *†wíθkewe* ‘scrape right/left suddenly’ JGT:222 , *awáhgewe* , *†awáhkewe* ‘scrape onto’ JGT:222

scrape (2)

verb physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *-*tké*

Pre-Mandan *-*tke*

Mandan -*tkE* ‘touch, poke, scrape’ H:253 , *ítke* ‘flesher’ RTC , -*tke?š, wá-* ‘he scrapes hair from hide, pokes with pointed object’ H:253 , -*tké?š, ra-* ‘he pokes with the foot’ H:253 , -*tké?š, ru-* ‘he touches s.t., pokes s.t.’ H:253

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *-*tkÉ*

Proto-Dakota *-*tkA*

Lakota -*tkA´, wa-* ‘scrape as one does hides’ EB:554a

Dakota -*tká, wa-* ‘scrape’ SRR:539a

General comment

Cf. ‘scrape (4)’.

scrape (3)

verb physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *-*k?óxE*

Pre-Mandan *-*kox-*

Mandan -*kóxo?š, ka-* ‘shave a pig’ H:116

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dakota *-*k?oɣA*

Lakota -*k?óɣa, ya-* ‘bite or gnaw off e.g. something hard’ EB:623 , -*k?óɣa, yu-* ‘scratch up, make rough with the nails’ EB:643 , -*k?oɣa, hutípa-* ‘scoop up taking everything along’ EB:802 , -*k?oɣe, ičá-* ‘a scraper’ EB:201

Dakota *yaḳóġa* , *ṫyak?óɣa* ‘bite or gnaw off’ SRR:609a , *yuḳóġa* , *ṫyuk?óɣa* ‘scratch up, make rough with the nails’ SRR:631b

General comment

The absence of glottalization in Mandan is not predictable. And with so few cognates, the etymology is not well established, but cf. other fricative symbolic extensions of this same root, at least one of which appears to have had vowel length.

scrape (4)

physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **tká*

Pre-Mandan **tka•-*

Mandan *tkáro?š* 'he scrapes it' H:252

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **-tká*

Proto-Dakota **-tkA*

Lakota *-tkA´, wa-* 'scrape as one does hides' EB:554a

Dakota *-tká, wa-* 'scrape' SRR:539a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *-čgá, gi-* 'try, dig for' , *higicga*

General comment

The fact that Lakota shows ablaut yet the vowel appears to have been Proto-Siouan **a* in the other languages strongly suggests that Lakota ablaut is analogical here and not reconstructible. On the other hand, the Lakota form here may go with the reflexes of Proto-Siouan **tkE*. The Mandan form suggests that the Proto-Siouan root may have had a long vowel, but in the absence of independent confirming evidence from a second language, we prefer not to reconstruct length to Proto-Siouan.

scrape clean > scrape up, scrape off, clear off

verb physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **-xąhe*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **xa• < *xahe*

Hidatsa *-xa•, na-* ‘bite sth.’ [ra] J , *-xa•, ara-* ‘push away with feet’ [rka] J , *-xa•, ára-* ‘burning, burnt’ J , *-xa•, náx-* ‘sweep, scrape’ J , *-xa•, nú-* ‘spread out flat, e.g. blanket on floor’ J , *-xa•, pá-* ‘push away with both hands with palms outspread; drive herd; iron clothes’ J

Pre-Mandan **-sąh-*

Mandan *-są́ho?š, ka-* ‘he clears it off’ H:198

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **-ɣą*

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *-ɣą́, nąą-* ‘scratch like chicken’ KM:2148 , *nąąğą* ‘uncover’ KM:2670 , *-ɣą́, ru-* , *ruğą*

Proto-Dhegiha

Quapaw *-ɣą́, di-* ~ *diɣǫ́* ‘gather up in the hands’ RR

General comment

Some of the Hidatsa forms may go with ‘spread out’, q.v.. There are not enough data here to make vowel length reconstruction easy. Hidatsa, assuming it is cognate, and Hoocąk disagree. Proto-Siouan may have been either **-xąhe* or **-xą́•he*, as Hidatsa length can be a reflex of the loss of *h.* Cf. also ‘rough (1)’.

scrape clean > wipe clean, clear off

verb physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **-Suhe*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **-xua* < **-xuhe*

Crow *-xua, páa-* 'scrape' GG:53, RGG:29 , *-xxua, alá* 'fry' GG:9

Hidatsa *-xua, pá-* 'tan hides, clean hides' J

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dakota **izúza*

Lakota *izúza* 'whetstone' EB:266

Dakota *izúza* 'whetstone' SRR:244a

Proto-Dhegiha **-sühü*

Omaha-Ponca *-sí̀hi, ga-* 'clear' MAS:40

Kanza/Kaw *-sű́hü, ba-* 'clean out, brush clean' RR , *-sühü, bó-* 'blow out sth., as the muzzle of a gun' RR, JOD , *-sű́hü, bü-* 'wipe clean, rub clean' RR, JOD , *-sühü, dá-* 'burn off, burn bare as a prairie fire' RR , *-sű́hü, nq- ~ nąsühü* 'wipe the feet clean, wear grass from a path' RR , *-sű́hü, yü-* 'clean, to pick clean or wash clean' RR

General comment

Proto-Siouan *he* sequences normally have this relex in Hidatsa. In DH and MVS generally reflexes of *he* are most often lost. The partial reduplication shown here in the vocalism is paralleled in several color terms, cf.

'white (1)', 'yellow', 'blue, green'.

scrape > **dig, scratch**

verb physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **kʔá(-re)*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **-kʔá*

Proto-Dakota **kʔA´*

Lakota *-kʔA´, wa-* ‘dig’ EB:534

Dakota *ka* , *†kʔá* ‘dig’ SRR:301a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *-kʔá, nąą-* ‘scratch with the foot’ KM:2179 , *nąąk’a* ‘scratch with the fingers’ KM:2681 , *-kʔá, ru-* , *ruk’a*

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *ky’’di* , *†kyádi* ‘scrape, paw the ground’ D&S:207b

General comment

This form is most likely related derivationally to the similar term with *e* in place of *a*.

scrape > **peel**

verb physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **-xikE (?)*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Crow *-xči, pá-* ‘poke or stir by prodding (eg a fire)’ RGG:29 , *páxchi* ‘dig with hands or claws’ RGG:27 , *-xči, dú-* ‘stop suddenly’ GG:8 , *dúxchi* , *-xičí, ala-* , *alaxichí*

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *ádŭkŭxkĕ´* , *†-xke, adaka-* ‘peel vegetables’ D&S:221b , *duxkĕ´* , *†-xké, du-* ‘bark a tree; to flay or skin an animal’ D&S:221b , *tcĕmúk adaxkĕ´* , *†-xké, ada-* ‘make a gnawing sound, as a mouse does; to gnaw on a bone, as a dog does’ D&S:221b

scrape > scrape around, heap up

verb physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **-kʔo*

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *-kʔo, iyú-* ‘enlarge a hole by reaming’ EB:808

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **-kʔo*

Chiwere **wikʔó* ‘(elk antler) scraper’ JGT:222

Hoocąk *-kʔó, gi-* ‘scrape’ [Vroot only] KM:359 , *gikʼo* ‘rake together to discard’ KM:2683 , *-kʔó, ru-* ‘scrape; wipe after defecation’ KM:3334 , *rukʼo* ‘eat everything up’ KM:3678 , *-kʔó, wa-* ‘scrape etc.’ KM:1730 , *wakʼo* , *-kʔo, wüirá-* , *wüirakʼo* , *-kʔó* , *-kʼo*

Proto-Dhegiha **-kʔo*

Kanza/Kaw *-kʔo, ába-* ‘push up, heap over and cover’ RR , *-kʔó, ga-* ‘hoe, scrape off, paw away’ RR , *-kʔó, nąˀ-* ‘scrape dirt, snow with the feet, paw the ground’ RR, JOD , *-kʔó, yü-* ‘scrape clean, dig up’ RR

Osage *ábaḳʔu* , *†ápakʔo* ‘cover with a spade’ LF:5b

Quapaw *-kʔó, di-* ‘dig with knife, spade or paws’ RR , *-kʔo, wakáˀ-* ‘paw the ground, as dog/horse’ RR , *-kʔo, wéba-* ‘scraper or flesher for hides’ RR

scrape > scratch, grate, rake

verb physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **k?éxE*

Pre-Mandan **-kEx-*

Mandan *kÉx* ‘scrape, rake’ H:106 , *-kéxo?š, pa-* ‘he scrapes it, rakes it’ H:106 , *-kéxo?š, ka-* ‘he rakes it clean’ H:106 , *-kéxo?š, ra-* ‘he scrapes it with feet’ H:106 , *-kéxo?š, ru-* ‘he scrapes, rakes, cleans it’ H:106

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **k?éɣE*

Proto-Dakota **k?éɣA*

Lakota *k?éɣa* ‘grate, scrape’ EB:320b , *-k?éga, ya-* ‘make a grating noise with the teeth’ EB:623 , *-k?éga, ka-* ‘make a grating noise’ EB:281 , *-k?éga, pa-* ‘scrape with the hand and with glass’ EB:429 , *-k?éga, wa-* ‘butcher; also, to choke or strangle’ EB:534 , *-k?éga, na-* ‘scratch, using the spurs upon a horse’ EB:350 , *-k?éga, yu-* ‘scratch, as after itching’ EB:643

Dakota *ḳe´ġa* , *ṫk?éɣa* ‘grate, scrape’ SRR:301a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *-k?ex* ‘scrape, scratch’ [Vroot only] KM:1726 , *-k’ex* ‘slip, as on ice’ KM:2182 , *-k?éx, nąą-* , *nąąk’ex*

General comment

Cf. also ‘make marks > mark, scratch’ and ‘scrape > peel’.

scrape > scratching noise, scraping noise, sweep

verb perceptual_auditory

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **k?á•xE*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **-ka•xE*

Crow *-kaaxi, dúu-* 'scratch, make marks' GG:45, RGG:26 , *-kaaxi, páa-* 'scratch' RGG:97 , *-kaxí, da-* 'sweep aside, away' GG:41

Hidatsa *-ka•xE, ara-* 'scratch with toe' J , *-ka•xE, nú-* 'make single scratch, mark off, measure' J , *-ka•xE, pá-* 'make mark by dragging' J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *kax, ra-* 'eat corn from cob' H:104 , *írukaxka* 'willow rake' H:106

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dhegiha **k?áɣe*

Kanza/Kaw *yük?ák?aɣe* 'scratching or rattling sounds' RR

Osage *k?áxe* 'sound of dishes scraping together' RR

Quapaw *kak?áxe* 'make scraping sound' JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Ofo *dūkhā́fẽ* , *†du•khá•fe* 'scratch' D&S:323b, JSS

General comment

Here the Ofo vowel matches, but the fricative is different, cf. 'scrape > smooth, shave (1)'. It appears that within a given subgroup either **k?a-* or **k?e* forms predominate. Cf. 'dig > scratch'. This root may be secondarily derived from 'scrape > scratch, grate, rake' q.v. The Crow, Hidatsa, and Mandan forms may actually go with 'make marks > mark, scratch' q.v. Catawba *kakasəna* 'scratch' (Sp-8) (analysis obscure) is phonetically similar.

scrape > smooth, shave (1)

verb physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **k?ésE*

Pre-Mandan **-kes-*

Mandan *kakéso?š* 'he scraped it' RTC , *-késo?š, ru-* 'he shovels it, gathers it by scraping' H:106

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **k?ézE*

Proto-Dakota **k?ézA*

Lakota *k?éza* 'hard, smooth, trodden down' EB:320b , *-k?eza, aná-* 'make smooth with the foot by treading on' EB:80 , *-k?eza, apá-* 'make smooth by scraping on' EB:88 , *-k?éza, ka-* 'leave hard and bare, as wind does the ground' EB:281 , *-k?éza, wa-* 'smooth over by shaving' EB:534 , *-k?éza, ya-* 'make smooth with the teeth, making a grating noise' EB:623 , *-k?éza, yu-* 'shear, clip off close e.g. the hair of the head; also, perhaps, to make hard and smooth' EB:643

Dakota *ḳe´za* , *†k?éza* 'hard, smooth, trodden hard' SRR:301b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **-k?éze*

Chiwere *-k?éðe, gi-* 'scrape off (leeches)' GM

Hoocąk *-k?es* 'scrape, shave' [Vroot only] KM:1725 , *-k'es* 'scrape with knife' KM:1972 , *-k?és, mąą-* 'ice skate; move foot so as to separate grass blades' KM:2181 , *mąąk'es* 'shave one's beard; scrape' KM:3332, WL:19.7 , *-k?és, nąą-* , *nąąk'es* , *-k?és, wa-* , *wak'es*

General comment

Mandan has unpredictably lost glottalization.

scrape > smooth, shave (2)

verb physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **-k?ósE*

Pre-Mandan **-koš-*

Mandan *-kóšo?š, ka-* 'scrape, cut' H:115

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **k?ózE*

Proto-Dakota **-k?ozA*

Lakota *-k?óza, ka-* 'make the ground bare and thus harden it, to make hard, to lea ve hard and bare as the wind does the ground, or by sweeping, etc.' EB:281 , *-k?oza, oná-* 'trample on and make hard' EB:396 , *-k?óza, pa-* 'rub and make smooth and hard' EB:429 , *-k?óza, ya-* 'make smooth with the mouth; to eat all off smooth' EB:623 , *-k?óza, yu-* 'make smooth and hard by taking off the grass or hair, etc.' EB:643

Dakota *yuḳóza* , *†yuk?óza* 'to make smooth and hard by taking off the grass' SRR:632a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *k?óos* 'be concave (kettle, dome, inside of cave)' [Vroot only] , *k'oos*

General comment

The absence of glottalization in Mandan is not predictable. The Hoocąk form is semantically questionable, and with so little to go on, this etymology is insecure at present. Proto-Siouan may have had a long vowel, but Hoocąk is the sole attesting language at present.

scratch

verb physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **-xrátE*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **-xratE*

Proto-Dakota **-xratA*

Lakota *-xláta, na-* ‘scratch with the toes’ EB:344 , *-xláta, pa-* ‘scratch or scrape along’ EB:425 , *-xláta, ya-* ‘speak as one dying; to bite or peel off the skin or rind of anything with the teeth; to tell a lie’ EB:620 , *-xláta, yu-* ‘scratch, as does a cat’ EB:638

Dakota *naȟdáta* , *†naxdáta* ‘scratch with the toes’ SRR:322b

Proto-Dhegiha **-xrate*

Kanza/Kaw *-xlá̆je, ga-* ‘peck’ RR

Quapaw *-xdátte, di-* ‘catch in the claws, scratch’ RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *konaxlōtisel* , *†-xlo•ti-* ‘scratch with the foot’ [*-sel* is aspectual or evidential] H:31

General comment

Although the Tutelo form appears to be an otherwise good cognate, the vowel does not regularly correspond with that attested in the MVS languages. Riggs lists numerous Dakota derivations (R-405b, R-605b, R-625b).

scratch > dig, dig out

verb physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **-škE*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **-škE*

Crow *-sči, dú* 'take out, open' [< ški] GG:41 , *dúschi* 'snatch, steal' RGG:53 , *-sčíhči, du-* , *dúschíhchi*

Hidatsa *-škE, pá-* 'poke; poke sth. out, push sth. out' [-škhi ?] J , *-škE, nu-* 'open, pull out' J

Proto-Southeastern **-ške*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *dutckĕ´* , *†dučke* 'dig it up' D&S:207

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *†ilačke* 'scratch with the foot' JOD , *†olaške* 'bite' JOD , *†oluskese* 'to claw' JOD

General comment

Tutelo *s* and *š* do not contrast, so two of these are just pronunciation variants from Proto-Siouan *s*. Ofo *q-tu-skhé* 'knife' may contain the *x* fricative symbolism grade of this root.

second daughter

noun social_kin

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **wí•hą*

Chiwere *mį́•hą* ‘second born daughter’ RR

Hoocąk *wíihą, wihą́* ‘second daughter’ KM:3639 , *wiihą*

Proto-Dhegiha **wihé*

Omaha-Ponca *wihé* ‘fourth daughter’ , *wihé* ‘younger sister’ RTC

Kanza/Kaw *wihé* ‘second daughter’ RR

Osage *wihé* ‘name by which the second daughter is called’ LF:216b

Quapaw *wíhežika* ‘third daughter’ JOD

General comment

The offspring numbering system, which shares several look-alikes with ‘man’s sister’ (e.g., DH *wihé* ‘second daughter’), seems to center on MVS and represents an innovation in that subgroup. Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere and Proto-Dhegiha are analogous responses to similar cultural stimuli -- not necessarily cognates.

see (1)

verb perceptual_visual

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **arąwE(-he) (?)*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa *árawE* 'notice' J

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **tą́w- (?)*

Proto-Dakota **tuwA´*

Lakota *tuwą́* 'see, look at, sorcery power' RTC

Dakota *toŋwáŋ* , *†tuwą́* 'look, see' SRR:478a , *toŋwéya* , *†tuwéya* 'go to see' SRR:478a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **tą́pe*

Chiwere *dą́we* 'open one's eyes, wink' GM

Hoocąk *jąąp* 'look, sight; have eyes open' KM:1693 , *jąąp*

Proto-Dhegiha **tǫ́pe*

Omaha-Ponca *dą́be* 'see' RR

Kanza/Kaw *dǫ́be* 'see' RR

Osage *tǫ́pe* 'see' RR

Quapaw *tǫ́we* 'see' RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **arų́hi*

Biloxi *dóⁿhi, doⁿhí* , *†dǫ́hi* 'see, look at' D&S:184a , *dóⁿdąhá; yídoⁿdąhá* , *†dǫ́hi* 'look at them; he saw you (pl.)' D&S:185a

Ofo *atóⁿhi, atúⁿhi* , *†atǫ́hi* 'see, look' [2s ctóⁿhi]

Proto-Catawba

Catawba *wi•sərą´re* 'watch' KS

General comment

Biloxi *dó"dạhá* etc. suggest that the first syllable of these forms is separable from the variable elements which follow in the several languages.

This set is problematic for several reasons. (a) The stressed vowels do not match. It is possible to reconstruct **ą́* (thus matching Catawba) and derive the rounding from a following **w*, or reconstruct **ų́* and explain the *ą́*'s, especially in Chiwere/Hoocąk, in terms of contamination from the second root (doublet?) 'see (2)', q.v. (b) OVS consistently shows reflexes of **r* in this set whereas MVS seems to have reflexes of **t*, but this verb is unique in DH (and possibly throughout MVS) in that it is the only T-stem (i.e. unaspirated) in any of the languages; the vast majority of Siouan verbs beginning with a dental stop would, and do, show an aspirated *th* initially. It seems possible therefore that the original consonant was indeed an **r* with secondary, and irregular, development to *t* in MVS. Ofo and DH show parallel conjugated forms in the 2s that suggest ultimate cognacy, but at the moment the initial consonants are irreconcilable in this set. These interesting irregularities may derive from contamination between 'see (1)' and 'see (2)'. We would tend to reconstruct **arą́we* with secondary addition of the **-he* root extension, *w* + *h* yielding *p* postaccentually in MVS. This last is speculative however. Riggs' compound form shows that nasalization of the final syllable in Dakotan is secondary. Cf. 'town (1)' for a similar form which also argues for rounding assimilation in Dakotan.

see (2)

verb perceptual_visual

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **atá•(-re)*

Pre-Mandan **ta•-*

Mandan *i̱ taro?š* 'he peeks' H:244

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **atá*

Chiwere *wą́•da, wa•da, adá* 'see, watch' RR

Hoocąk *hą̆já* 'see, watch' KM:586 , *haja*

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **atá*

Biloxi *watá* , *†watá* 'watch, watch over' D&S:286b , *waṭáye* , *†watáye* 'cause to watch' D&S:286b

Ofo *akthá* , *†akthá* 'watch' D&S:320a

General comment

Cf. 'see (1)'. There are irregularities with the OVS forms. Biloxi should have no initial inherited labial resonants; Ofo *-k-* is unexplained, presumably a reflexive or possessive. Ofo *-th-* is a product of the synchronically active Ofo aspiration rule. (And this set is one of those that shows clearly that there is indeed a separate OVS aspiration rule.)

separate (1)

verb physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **sąhe*

Pre-Mandan **šąhe*

Mandan *šą́ho?š* 'he divides it in half, cuts piece by piece, trims it' [< í- + šąh] H:222 , *íšąhe* 'half, part, price' H:222 , *-šą́ho?š, ka-* 'he sorts, separates, divides them' H:223

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **-zą*

Proto-Dakota **-zą*

Lakota *-zą́, pa-* 'part or separate e.g. the hair; to hurt or kill by striking' EB:438 , *-zą́, yu-* 'part or separate e.g. tall grass, to push aside; to raise up e.g. a curtain' EB:657

Dakota *-zą́, yu-* 'part or separate e.g. tall grass, to push aside; to raise up e.g. a curtain' SRR:647b

Proto-Dhegiha **-zą*

Kanza/Kaw *gakkízą* 'scatter by striking' RR

Quapaw *-zą́, di-* 'pull open, pull apart' RR , *-zą́zą, ba-* 'comb, run fingers through hair' RR

General comment

Cf. 'separate (1)' and 'separate (4)'

separate (2)

verb physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **-wesE*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa *-wicE, pá-* ‘tear to pieces with sharp inst., mince’ J , *-wicE, naka-* ‘cut down brush or weeds with a scythe’ J , *-wicE, nú-* ‘tear to pieces; make change from a dollar’ J

Pre-Mandan **-wéš-*

Mandan *pawéšoʔš* ‘he cut it’ RTC , *-wéšoʔš, ka-* ‘he chops it, picks it out, selects it’ H:284 , *-wéšoʔš, ra-* ‘he cuts it with teeth’ H:284 , *-wéšoʔš, ru-* ‘he cuts it’ H:284

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *-wés, ru-* ‘a pinch (amount, e.g., of salt)’ KM:2759 , *ruwes*

separate (3)

verb physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **xa•-*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **xa•wi*

Crow *xaawí* ‘forked; pronged’ GG:60, RGG:98

Hidatsa *xa•wi* ‘branching overhead’ J , *-xa•wi, ki-* ‘messed up’ J , *xaʔwi* ‘tousled, disheveled’ J , *-xaʔwi, aru-* ‘branching’ J

Pre-Mandan **xa•-*

Mandan *xároʔš* , *ϯxá•roʔš* ‘they are spread apart’ H:310 , *óxaxa* , *ϯxá•roʔš* ‘tree branch’ H:310

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dakota **xa-*

Lakota *xáka* ‘branching, having many prongs’ EB:191b , *yuxá* ‘to curl or branch out’ EB:638a , *yuxátka* ‘to ruffle, e.g. the hair or feathers’ EB:638a

Dakota *ϯxáka* ‘branching, having many prongs’ SRR:161a

General comment

At the moment this root is attested only with different extensions, *-re* in Mandan, *-we* in Crow and Hidatsa, and *-ka* in Dakotan.

separate (4)

verb physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *-xąhe*

Pre-Mandan *-xąh-*

Mandan *-xą́ho?š, ru-* ‘reach for’ H:309

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *-ɣą*

Proto-Dakota *-ɣą*

Lakota *-ɣą́, ka-* ‘open, make an opening in, come through, as the wind does through one’s clothing; open by itself, or by the wind’ EB:272 , *-ɣą́, na-* ‘gape open, as a wound’ EB:342 , *-ɣą́, pa-* ‘be able to spare, i.e. for the giving away; part with, give away, spare; open by pushing, open up e.g. land’ EB:423 , *-ɣą́, ya-* ‘open with the mouth’ EB:618 , *-ɣą́, yu-* ‘open e.g. a door’ EB:635

Dakota *ṫkaɣą́* ‘open’ SRR:248a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *-ɣą́, wa-* ‘raise by pressure or pushing’ KM:3263, WL:19.6 , *waǧą* ‘open, uncover’ KM:482 , *-ɣą́, ru-* , *ruǧą*

Proto-Dhegiha *-ɣą*

Kanza/Kaw *-ɣą, obá-* ‘thrust into the belt’ RR

Quapaw *-ɣą́, di-* ‘gather up in the hands’ JOD

General comment

Although the meaning of the Mandan form is not particularly close to that of other entries in this set, the correspondences work very well, particularly when compared with related sets.

separate (5)

verb physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **-žu*

Proto-Dakota **-žužu*

Lakota *-žúžu, ka-* ‘knock off; blot out, efface; pay off, as one’s debts’ EB:279 , *-žúžu, wa-* ‘quarter, cut up, e.g. beef; cut in pieces, cut up, e.g. an animal’ EB:523 , *-žúžu, na-* ‘kick to pieces; come to pieces of itself’ EB:347 , *-žúžu, pa-* ‘rub out, cross out, erase; get out of joint by pressure, as a box loosening where the nails hold the corners’ EB:427 , *-žúžu, wo-* ‘break to pieces or destroy by shooting; knock or punch to pieces; break, as the rain does ice, or as a flood does’ EB:601 , *-žužu, wó-* ‘take to pieces; demolish; unpack’ EB:601 , *-žúžu, ya-* ‘tear down; tear to pieces with the mouth; refute or demolish an argument’ EB:622 , *-žúžu, yu-* ‘tear down, destroy, deface; pull in pieces, undo, open e.g. a bundle; make void, e.g. an agreement, etc.’ EB:641

Dakota *yuzúzu* , *†yužúžu* ‘tear down, destroy, deface; pull in pieces, undo, open e.g. a bundle; make void, e.g. an agreement, etc.’ SRR:648b

Proto-Dhegiha

Kanza/Kaw *-žú, ga-* ‘flail’ RR , *-žüžü, yá-* ‘bite off the hull or skin, eat corn on the cob’ RR, MR

separate > forked

verb physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **šąh + ka < *šą́he*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **SahkV*

Crow *sáhka* ‘opening, gap’ RGG:98

Hidatsa *šahki* ‘gap’ J , *cahki* ‘full of holes’ J

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dhegiha

Kanza/Kaw *oížą́kka* ‘fork in a road or stream; mouth of a stream’ RR

Proto-Southeastern **čąk-*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *tcáⁿxkoⁿní, kutcáⁿxkoⁿni* , *†čą́k-* ‘be forked’ D&S:262b

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *ogitcěñkai, ogi´tciñka´i* , *†-čąk-* ‘forked, branching, spreading out’ HW

General comment

Tutelo nasal *ę* in its various guises, *eⁿ, eñ*, etc., is the twentieth century reflex of what was written by Hale and Dorsey as nasal *ą* with *aⁿ, añ*, etc. Apparently the bilingual Cayuga speakers used by Hewitt, Sapir and Frachtenberg as Tutelo informants simply substituted the nearest Cayuga equivalent. It is quite consistent. As far as we know it does not vary or alternate with *į*. Note that the Crow and Hidatsa sets recorded for the non-nasalized equivalents may, of course come from either the nasal or non-nasal set; there is no way of knowing which. (Cf. ‘split (7)’.) The Kanza/Kaw form bears a suffix *o-í-žąk-ka*, which accounts for the geminate in that language. Biloxi *k > x* before *k*. The Biloxi form would have to be analyzed as *čąx-* ‘forked’, *k(i)* ‘reflexive’, *ǫnį* ‘do’ also apparently a past tense auxiliary in Biloxi. Preaspiration in the Crow and Hidatsa forms is also presumably due to a *k*-initial suffix. Hidatsa *cahki* represents the *s* grade of the root.

set upright

verb physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **-hsa*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **-hcE*

Crow *pátchi* ‘stick in ground, set up’ GG:53, RGG:29

Hidatsa *-hcE, pá-* ‘set upright, offer to holy things’ J

Pre-Mandan **-še-*

Mandan *-še?š, pa-* ‘he offers it ceremonially’ H:225

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **-za*

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *-zá, pa-* ‘put up sticks or bushes’ EB:437b , *ṗazá*

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *-zá, boo-* ‘drive into the ground, as stake or pole’ KM:106 , *booza*

Proto-Dhegiha **-za*

Kanza/Kaw *bóza* ‘plant a post or stick in the ground’ JOD

Quapaw *nąza* ‘fence’ RR , *póza* ‘plant a post in the ground’ RR , *kazá* ‘whip’ RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *paxá* , *ṫpaxá* ‘stuck in’ D&S:246b

General comment

The Mandan, Crow, and Hidatsa roots appear to be that found in *rušE* ‘grasp, hold’, which corresponds with Lakota *yúza*, same meaning. Convincing evidence of cognacy may involve the semantics (and mechanics) of making offerings in these northern societies. The Hidatsa and Mandan forms certainly look good, and, although borrowing is not uncommon between these two languages, it cannot be presumed. The ‘stick upright’ sets match well. The Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **hc* Proto-Mississipi-Valley **z* equation is an interesting and uncommon one but support from the semantics of these forms is strong. Our Proto-Siouan reconstruction is provisional.

Cf. ‘grasp > hold, take’.

seven (1)

numeral abstract_number

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **ša•kú•pa*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **šáhpua < possible *šákupVhV*

Crow *sáhpua* ‘seven’ GG:55, RGG:82

Hidatsa *šáhpua* ‘seven’ J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *kú•pa* ‘seven’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dakota **šakówį*

Lakota *šákowį ~ šakówį* ‘seven’ RTC

Dakota *šákowį ~ šakówį* ‘seven’ SRR:440

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **ša•k-*

Chiwere *są́?hmą* ‘seven’ [Otoe: są́?hmą] RTC , *sáhmą ~ šáhmą* ‘seven’ [Iowa: sáhmą ~ šáhmą] RR , *sá•hmą ~ sáhmą* ‘seven’ [Otoe: sá•hmą ~ sáhmą] RR

Hoocąk *šaagóowį* ‘seven’ KM:2900 , *šaagoowį*

Proto-Southeastern **sa•ku•mį*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Ofo *fą́kumĭ* , *†fą́kumi* ‘seven’ D&S:323b , *fA ̓kumî* , *†fákumi* ‘seven’ MAS:485

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *saagom; sagomēi, sāgōmią, sagomíñk* , *†sa•kó•m(į) ~ †sa•kú•m(į)* ‘seven’ N, H , *s’gúm* , *†sakúm* ‘seven’ HW , *sakų́* , *†sakúm* ‘seven’ ES , *sagóm* , *†sakúm* ‘three, seven’ LJF

General comment

Like several other numbers, ‘seven’ is difficult to reconstruct with certainty. The available forms may represent two stages of development. The less transparent found in Crow/Hidatsa, Mandan, Chiwere (three subgroups) may be older. An approximate reconstruction might be **ša•ku•pa* or **ša•ku•pą*. Dakota and Hoocąk show an apparently remodeled late form clearly based on **ša•k-* ‘hand’ and *-wį* ‘one’, based in turn on the hand signal for ‘seven’ in the sign language. The second fist (closed) represents ‘six’ and the same with the index finger extended ‘seven’, i.e., ‘fist + one’. The *-o-* is interpretable as ‘locative’ but may just be a relic of an original, unanalizable *-u-*, folk etymologized as ‘locative *o-*’. The reanalysed form would presumably have diffused through parts of MVS. DH and Biloxi innovate, using an entirely non-cognate, quinary term. The OVS forms look primitive, not remodeled, for two reasons: a) OVS quite regularly shows **č* < ***š* in ‘hand’, while ‘seven’ has only **s*, and b) the **wį* root, ‘one (2)’, seems to be restricted to MVS (and possibly Mandan); OVS shows only ‘one (1)’. Also, shared remodeling in the neighboring Dakota and Hoocąk seems quite ordinary; if the OVS forms are following the same pattern, then it would presumably be a convergence, rather than a shared innovation, and we find that more exceptional. Another possible argument has to do with the **wį* root itself: this root is one of those where the **w* does not nasalize to *m*. In Chiwere and OVS, however, the word for ‘seven’ does exhibit this nasalization. We think the Dakota alternants with first syllable stress are due to contamination with ‘six’, presumably from serial counting. This is one of the terms in which Tutelo *s*, instead of the expected **č*, corresponds to Proto-Siouan **š*. The two long vowels plus the Mandan form suggest that the word was morphemically complex to begin with. We know that Crow/Hidatsa *-ua* represents loss of an intervocallic glide -- typically *h*, possibly *w*. We also know that Crow/Hidatsa *hp* results from a cluster, here most likely **kp*. That enables us to back up from the attested forms to something like **šakpuha*. The last steps come from the reasonably well-attested rightward vowel transposition, which generally swaps a *u* for some vowel in the succeeding syllable. The exchanged vowel has evidently been lost. Restoring it gives us **šakVpuha*, from which undoing rightward vowel transposition gives us **šakupVha*. The nasality of the Proto-Siouan final vowel remains unresolved.

seven (2)

numeral abstract_number

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dhegiha **hpé•-rǫpa*

Omaha-Ponca *ppéðǫba* ‘seven’ RTC

Ponca *ppé•ðąba ~ ppéąba (fast)* ‘seven’ [So. Ponca] RR

Kanza/Kaw *ppéyǫba* ‘seven’ RR

Osage *hpéǫpa* ‘seven’ RR

Quapaw *ppénǫba* ‘seven’ RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *náⁿpahudí* , *ɬnápa-hudi* ‘two + stem, bone’ D&S:238b

General comment

Cf. ‘eight’. In DH and Biloxi the counting system has shifted independently to a partial quinary pattern (similar to neighboring central Algonquian and Muskogean systems). DH **hpe•-* is unidentified, and apparently unattested outside the counting words. Initial *hC* always indicates a lost initial syllable in DH, so the stem might conceivably be *nąpé* ‘hand (1)’ (i.e., the ‘second hand’ in counting, cf. the use of **šak-* ‘hand’ in ‘seven (1)’), or it might be some other term; at this point it is impossible to recover the missing syllable. Biloxi *ná"pahudí* ‘two’ + ‘stem, bone’ (DS-238b) shows a morpholexically dissimilar but semantically parallel quinary development.

The Proto-Dhegiha and Biloxi forms are not cognate.

sew

verb physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **-hta•*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Crow *-taa, páa-* ‘hem a garment’ GG:53

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **-ȟta*

Proto-Dakota **-tȟa*

Lakota *-thá, pa-* ‘cut out and sew up’ EB:435b , *ṗatá*

Dakota *patá* , *ṫ-thá, pa-* ‘cut out and sew up’ SRR:415a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *-čák, ru-* ‘sew up’ KM:2653 , *rucak*

General comment

The following Dhegiha forms: Omaha-Ponca *bathé* ‘sew’, Kanza/Kaw *bačhé* ‘sew’, Osage *ṫpaché* , *batsé* ‘sew’ (LF-24b), Quapaw *pathé* ‘sew’ may be related, but DH post-aspiration in this set would be unique.

shadow, soul

noun spiritual

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **rą́•xi*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **-ráaxE*

Crow *iláaxe* ‘spirit’ GG:87 , *iláaxaxee* ‘shadow’ GG:86 , *aahpaláaxa* ‘ghost’ RG, GG:1

Hidatsa *irá•xi* ‘his ghost, spirit, soul’ J , *irá•xixE* ‘shadow’ J , *irá•xixi*

Pre-Mandan **rų•x*

Mandan *írų•xik* ‘shadow’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **nąǿ•ɣi*

Proto-Dakota **nayí*

Lakota *nayí* ‘soul, spirit, shadow’ RTC

Dakota *naǧí* ‘soul, spirit; shadow’ SRR:320b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *nąąɣírak* ‘shadow, ghost; soul’ KM:2150 , *nąąğirak*

Proto-Dhegiha **nąǿye*

Omaha-Ponca *kkínaxðe* ‘shadow’

Kanza/Kaw *kkinąǿye* ‘faint’ JOD , *nąǿyeska* ‘be wise’ JOD

Osage *no^{n}´xe* , *†nąǿye* ‘spirit, sanity’ LF:117b

Proto-Southeastern **nąǿ•či*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **nąǿ•či*

Biloxi *natcí* , *†načі* ‘cloud’ D&S:233a , *tŭnatcí* , *†načі* ‘shadow’

Ofo *i^{n}tconā^{n}´tci* , *†-nąǿ•či* ‘ghost, spirit, soul of the dead’ D&S:325a

General comment

The bare root means ‘soul, shadow’; the prefix **wa-* with this root produces the meaning ‘ghost’, q.v. The Mandan words are now seen by native speakers as compounds of *rų•* ‘spirit’ + *xik* ‘bad’, a folk etymology; i.e., **rų•x* + *xik* > *rų•* + *xik*.

shake (1)

physical_motion

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **hʊzE*

Proto-Dakota **huhúza*

Dakota *hu-hú-za* ‘shaking, trembling’ SRR:157a , *yu-hú-hu-za* ‘shake with the hand’ SRR:625a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *hudhe* , *†huðe* JGT:28

shake (2)

verb physical_motion

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **-hų́hų*

Proto-Dakota **-hų́hų*

Lakota *huhų́* ‘shake, tremble, as a tree in the wind’ EB:188a , *huhų́za* ‘shaking, trembling’ EB:188b , *-hų́hų, wa-* ‘make loose by cutting, to cut off, e.g. ropes in different places’ EB:518 , *-hų́hų, yu-* ‘move, shake something not firm’ EB:637

Dakota *yu-huŋ-ka* , *†yuhų́ka* ‘shake, rock from side to side’ SRR:625a

Yanktonai *yuhóŋhoŋza* , *†yuhų́huza* ‘shake’ [i.q. yuhuhuza] SRR:625a

Proto-Dhegiha

Quapaw *-hǫ́hǫ, di-* ‘shake something’ RR

shake (3)

verb physical_motion

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **-tahe*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Crow *tattáahi* ‘stagger, trip, stumble’ [redupl] GG:57

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *-táho?š, pa-* ‘he shakes something’ H:243

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **-táta*

Proto-Dakota **-tata*

Lakota *-táta, ka-* ‘shake off, e.g. dust from a blanket; perhaps to brush off with the hand or with a brush’ EB:293 , *-táta, na-* ‘shake off, e.g. dust from one’s feet or blanket’ EB:360 , *-táta, yu-* ‘shake off, e.g. dust from a garment; to scrape or brush off with the hand’ EB:654

Dakota *-táta, ka-* ‘shake off, brush off’ SRR:270a , *kata´ta*

Proto-Dhegiha

Osage *bamoⁿ´dada* , *†pamą́tata* ‘rub the hands with joy; satisfaction’ LF:22a

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **tahi*

Biloxi *dŭktahí* , *†-tahi, dak-* ‘shake, as a blanket’ D&S:269a

Ofo *tạtāʔhi* , *†tatá•hi* ‘shake, tremble’ D&S:329b, JSS

General comment

Cf. ‘knock (2)’. ‘strike (6)’ It is curious that the Ofo reduplication form shows no aspiration. In fact, this stem should show reflexes of aspiration up and down the line. Cases like this show that, however predictable aspiration appears to be, even in Ofo it was not phonologically conditioned in its entirety. In all languages but Ofo this root seems to require an instrumental prefix. We are not sure aspiration worked in that environment, at least in Lakota. In MVS, the root seems to occur only in reduplicated form.

shake (4)

verb physical_motion

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **yąyą́•he, *rąrą́•he*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **rará•*

Crow *tannaá* ‘tremble, shiver’ GG:57

Hidatsa *rará•* ‘tremble’ J , *narú•*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **yąyą́*

Proto-Dakota **čhąčhą́*

Lakota *čhąčhą́* ‘shake, tremble’ EB:115b , *čhą́čha, na-* ‘to shiver, tremble; to make shake with the foot’ EJ , *čhą́čha, pa-* ‘push someone gently to wake him up’ EJ , *čhą́čha, pu- iyaya* ‘pass under, stooping’ EJ , *čhą́čha, wo-* ‘be very much attached to one’ EJ , *čhą́čha, ya-* ‘make shake with the mouth, as a dog does its prey; to get people’s attention in a meeting’ EJ , *čhą́, yu-* ‘sift, shake in a sieve; fig., not to have, be without’ EJ , *čhą́čha, yu-* ‘make shake, in sifting’ EJ , *čha, iká-* ‘sift or shake as in sifting’ EJ

Dakota *ćaŋ́ćáŋ* , *†čhąčhą́* ‘shake, tremble, have the ague’ SRR:86b

Proto-Dhegiha **žą*

Kanza/Kaw *žą, íga-* ‘sift, as flour or sand’ RR , *-žą́že, yü-* ‘shake something, rock a cradle’ RR

Quapaw *žǫžǫ́* ‘shake’ JOD , *žǫ́žǫ, ídi-* ‘shake, as a person or tree’ RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *nana´yĕ* , *†nanáye* ‘loosened, as teeth’ D&S:231a , *nana´yĕyĕ´* , *†nanáyeyé* ‘shake a tree to get fruit’ [causative] D&S:231a , *duna´nayĕyĕ´* , *†-nánayeyé, du-* ‘shake a person’ [causative] D&S:231a

Ofo *tạtā hi* , *†tətá•hi* ‘shake, tremble’ D&S:329, JSS

General comment

This is an irregular set as MVS forms uniformly suggest **yą*; Biloxi has a reflex of **rą*. Double M’s in Crow seem to be from *rw* after loss of an intervening vowel. Thus double N is most likely from *rr*, probably the cognate part here. The unexplained Crow *ta-* is perhaps the first element of a compound. If **r* > *n* early in Ofo, or in Proto-Biloxi-Ofo or even earlier, there should be Ofo *n* rather than Ofo *t* here. This tends to argue against interpreting *a*-dot as a reflex of **ą* in this instance. Catawba *činá* ‘shake’ (Ss/Sw in Kanza/Kaw) is vaguely similar.

shake > move (1)

verb physical_motion_caus

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **xakáꞏhe*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **xakáꞏ*

Crow *xakáa* 'move' [xakáa/_a] RG , *xačíi* 'shake' GG:60 , *xachíi*

Hidatsa *xakáꞏ* 'move, shake' J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *xkąho?š* 'he moves' H:316 , *inúxkąho?š* 'it's moving' RTC , *-xkąho?š, pa-* 'he pushes s.t. away' H:317 , *-xkąho?š, ka-* 'he shakes s.t.' H:317 , *-xkąho?š, ru-* 'he shakes s.t., moves it away' H:317

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **xkąꞏ*

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *yukaŋ´* , *†-khą, yu-* 'shake off' EB:641a , *-khą, čuglú-* , *†-khą, yu-* 'shake off, as a tree shaking (from the wind) off snow, ice etc., or dew (ču)' EB:134

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **xkąꞏ*

Chiwere *gikán* , *†-khą, gi-* 'shake s.t.; shake out/up' JGT:20

Hoocąk *hixgą* 'move' KM:1130 , *hixgą* 'be energetic, be a fast mover' KM:3897 , *xgąąsák* , *xgąąsak*

Proto-Dhegiha **-khą*

Kanza/Kaw *-khą, ga-* 'shake, shake off something' RR

Osage *gaḳóⁿ* , *†kakhą* 'shake or rug a blanket' LF:46a

Quapaw *-khą, ádi-* 'pull over' JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *kõ´kxahe´ni* , *†kóꞏkxaheni* 'not to move' [< kV- + okxahe + -ni] D&S:240a

General comment

Cf. 'shake > move (2)'. Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **-aꞏ* may reflect earlier **-ahe*, parallel to the reduction of **-uhe* to *-ua* and of **-ihe* to *-ia*. Alternatively, the inherited vowel should have been long anyway from second syllable stress. Mandan and Biloxi both preserve the final *h*. Here the usual pattern of development of Proto-Siouan **xVk-* is broken by Hoocąk, which shows *xg* instead of the expected **k*. This Hoocąk form may not be cognate. Biloxi should have *ą*. It is now fairly clear that Mandan *xk* corresponds to DH *kh*, at least when Mandan is not merely the juxtaposition of *-ka* to a root ending in *-x*. The La Flesche Osage entry probably represents a transcription error.

shake > move (2)

verb physical_motion_caus

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **šką*

Proto-Dakota **šką*

Lakota *-šką, íoya-* ‘get one to talk’ EB:229 , *-šką, na-* ‘jostle, jolt’ EB:816 , *-škąšką, ka-* ‘be shaking, being shaken up, as when sitting on a heavy wagon, i.e. bumping or hitting’ EB:290 , *-škąšką, ya-* ‘make move about by talking to’ EB:628 , *-škąšką, yu-* ‘cause to move about, to shake up somebody or something’ EB:651

Dakota *šką́* ‘do, act, move about’ SRR:445b

Stoney *šką* ‘energetic movement’ PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **šką*

Chiwere *šką́* ‘be active, diligent’ GM

Hoocąk *hoišgą́ňe* ‘sum total of a man’s activities’ [dacritič over n] KM:1331 , *hoišgąre*

Proto-Dhegiha **šką*

Omaha-Ponca *škǫ́* ‘move’ RTC

Kanza/Kaw *šką* ‘move around’ RR

Osage *shko^{n}* , *†šką* ‘move, stir, be active’ LF:132a

Quapaw *škǫ* ‘move’ JOD

General comment

Cf. ‘shake > move (1)’. The x-grade has a final *-h*, and we might expect the same here. Lacking cognates in languages which regularly preserve *-h*, we seem to have an indeterminacy.

shake > tremble

verb physical_motion

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **psąpsą́*

Proto-Dakota **psąpsą*

Lakota *psąpsą́ka* ‘vacillate’ EB:446a

Dakota *yupsáŋpsaŋ* , *†yupsápsą* ‘wag, as a tail’ SRR:637a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **sąsą*

Chiwere *withánthanje* , *†wiθą́θaǰe* ‘shake (vegetation)’ JGT:225

Hoocąk *gisąsą* ‘shake nervously’ MM:385 , *gisąsą*

Proto-Dhegiha **sąsą*

Omaha-Ponca *ço^{n}ço^{n}* , *†sąsą́* ‘tremble’ MAS:176

Kanza/Kaw *wásąsą* ‘shake, chatter as the teeth’ RR

Osage *ço^{n}có^{n}* , *†sąsą́* ‘tremble’ LF:31b

General comment

Cf. ‘unstable’ for a very similar form with *ų́* rather than *ą*.

Chiwere shows a **-tE* root extension. Proto-Mississipi-Valley **psą* would normally imply Proto-Siouan **wa-są́*, but there are not enough attested forms to be certain here.

shallow

verb perceptual

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **xé•pE*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **xé•pi*

Crow *xé•pi* ‘shallow’ GG:61, RGG:98

Hidatsa *xé•pi* ‘shallow (of water)’ J

Pre-Mandan **spi•-*

Mandan *psí•ka?š* RTC , *it’s shallow*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **xépE*

Proto-Dakota **-xepA*

Lakota *-xépa, ka-* ‘bail out, throw out, as water with the hand or a cup, until it is all gone’ EB:274 , *-xépa, ya-* ‘drink up, to empty, e.g. water’ EB:620 , *-xépa, yu-* ‘empty a vessel by lading out’ EB:638

Dakota *-xépa, ya-* ‘drink up’ SRR:605a , *-xépa, yu-* ‘absorb, empty, exhaust, as a fluid, by lading out’ SRR:626a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **yépe*

Chiwere *xéwe, ghéwe* , *†yéwe* ‘shallow’ JGT:225 , *xéwe* , *†yéwe* ‘shallow, very shallow’ JDH

Hoocąk *yéep* ‘be shallow’ KM:485 , *ǧeep* ‘boil down’ KM:3885 , *horaxép* , *horaxep*

Proto-Dhegiha **xépe*

Omaha-Ponca *xébe* ‘shallow’ MAS:154

Osage *xébe* , *†xépe* ‘shallow, not deep’ LF:218a

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *xyépi* , *†xépi* ‘shallow, dry (emptied of water)’ D&S:225b

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *Mony shap* , *†šep* ‘ford’ Byrd

General comment

Hoocąk and Chiwere *ɣ* is unexplained, but the active verb form has the expected *x*. Mandan shows the *š*-grade, rather than the expected *x*-grade; perhaps cf. Tutelo.

sharp (1)

perceptual_tactile

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **pusa*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **apcá*

Crow *attá* ‘sharp’ GG:105

Hidatsa *apcá* ‘sharp’ J , *wiʔpcá* ‘axe’ J , *miʔipcá* ‘axe’ WM , *maĭptsa*

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *pû´tsa, pŭtsa, pŭtsŭ, pŭtsí* , *ṫpútsa* ‘sharp, sharp-edged’ D&S:250a

Proto-Catawba

Catawba *pasé’* ‘axe’ FGS

General comment

Cf. ‘axe’. The modern Hidatsa form is from *wiʔ* ‘stone’ + *pca* ‘sharp’.

The form recorded by Washington Matthews is *wa-* ‘absolutive’ *-i-* ‘instrumental’ *-pca* ‘sharp’. In uncompounded form, Hidatsa has *apca*.

sharp (2)

verb perceptual_tactile

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **hpá•hi*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **hpá•hi*

Proto-Dakota **phé*

Lakota *phé* ‘sharp’ RTC

Sioux Valley *phé* ‘sharp’ PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **phá•hi*

Chiwere *phá•hį* ‘sharp’ RR

Hoocąk *paahí* ‘sharp’ KM:2426 , *paahi*

Proto-Dhegiha **hpá•hi*

Omaha-Ponca *ppáe* ‘sharp’ RR

Kanza/Kaw *ppá•hi* ‘sharp’ RR

Osage *pahí* , *†hpahí* ‘sharp’ LF:125a

Quapaw *ppohį́* ‘sharp’ MR, RR , *ppoí* ‘sharp’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Ofo *ó^{n}phi* , *†-phi* ‘sharp’ D&S:328a

General comment

The sporadic nasalization seems to be attested in widely separated languages. It is possible but speculative that the form has been contaminated by ‘porcupine’, q.v., but see also the *hį* of ‘knife’. It appears that in Dakotan the intervocallic *h* was irregularly lost (cf.

Omaha-Ponca), with subsequent vowel coalescence. Aspiration in the Ofo post-accentual syllable can only have come from syllable collapse *pVh* > *ph*. Possibly derived from this form are Biloxi *†psųti* , *psû^{n}tí, pso^{n}ti* ‘sharp pointed’ (DS-248b) and Ofo *†pəfhųíti* , *pąfxû´nti* ‘a point’ (DS-328b). This may be a compound of **hpá•hi* ‘sharp’ and Biloxi *sǫti* ‘pointed’; cf DS-257a.

sharpen, grind

verb physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **-mą́*

Proto-Dakota **-mą́*

Lakota *pamą́* ‘file’ EB:430b , *yumą́* ‘sharpen by grinding’ EB:643b

Proto-Dhegiha **-mą*

Omaha-Ponca *we bamoⁿ* ‘a file’ MAS:77

Kanza/Kaw *bamą* ‘rub, file’ RR

Osage *bamoⁿ* , *†pamą́* ‘file’ LF:22a , *thimoⁿ* , *†ðimą* ‘whet, sharpen’ LF:148a

Quapaw *kamǫ́* ‘sharpen’ JOD

General comment

Cf. ‘chert, flint’.

shell > spoon

noun physical_somatic_body_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **watóˑki*

Crow *bišóˑči* ‘musselshell, seashell’ GG:34, RGG:9

Hidatsa *watóˑki* ‘clam, musselshell, seashell’ J , *matóˑki*

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *tóˑki* ‘shell’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **htúˑki*

Proto-Dakota **thukí*

Lakota *thukí* ‘clam’ EB:501b

Dakota *tuki hasaŋ* , *†thukíhasą* ‘mussel shells’ SRR:480b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **thúˑki*

Chiwere *thúge* ‘horn (!) spoon’ GM

Hoocąk *čuugí* ‘spoon; shell’ KM:282 , *cuugi* ‘clam, oyster’ KM:285 , *čuugísą* , *cuugisą*

Proto-Dhegiha **htű́ke*

Omaha-Ponca *tíhaba* , *†ttíhaba* ‘clam (shell)’ MAS:40

Kanza/Kaw *ččihóba* ‘clamshell spoon’ RR

Osage *ṭsiúge* , *†hcű́ke* ‘spoon, shell spoon’ LF:163b

Quapaw *ttíke* ‘horn (!) spoon’ [in *maze ttíke* ‘metal spoon’] RR , *ttíkemani* ‘clam’ JOD , *ttíke* ‘spoon’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Ofo *tūk* , *†tuˑk* ‘stone’ [v. ‘rock’] D&S:331a, JSS

General comment

The initial aspiration in MVS implies an earlier but now missing initial syllable. There is evidence that this term is widely borrowed, cf.

Choctaw *sha^{n}ha toba* ‘oyster shell’ (*toba*) < Proto-Musk. **tokwa*.

Iroquoian Moh. *atókwa*; Onei. *atókwat*; Onon.

ató:kwat; Sen. *atókwa-*; Huron *estoqua*, Mithun, p.277. All are ‘spoon, ladle’. So the missing initial may simply have been *a-*. The word may represent a relatively early borrowing throughout Siouan. The vowels do not match properly, nonetheless, it does seem to be reconstructible at the subgroup level.

shin

noun physical_somatic_body_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **i-rą́-kpe*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **i-rą́kpe*

Proto-Dakota **čhąkpé*

Lakota *čhąkpé* ‘knee, tibia’ RTC

Dakota *ćaŋkpé* , *†čhąkpé* ‘the tibia’ SRR:89b

Yanktonai *ćaŋkpé* , *†čhąkpé* ‘the kneepan or the knees’ SRR:89b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *nągwe* ‘shin’ GM

Proto-Dhegiha **nąxpe*

Omaha-Ponca *no^{n}xpéhi* , *†nąxpéhi* ‘shin’ MAS:155

Kanza/Kaw *náxpe* ‘leg below knee’ JOD

Osage *no^{n}´xpehi* , *†náxpehi* ‘shin’ LF:118a

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *yukpě´, yukpeya^{n}´* , *†-kpé* ‘legs’ D&S:296a

Proto-Catawba

Catawba *ɨpke•* ‘leg’ FS

General comment

Dakota *-kp-* and DH *-xp-* do not regularly correspond, and the DH forms cannot therefore be considered properly cognate. This term appears to be trimorphemic however. Prefixal **i-* marks inherently possessed body parts and accounts for Dakota *čh* < **r*, accent and vowel length. The prefix is generally lost throughout MVS, but can be reconstructed through comparison with other body part terms. **-rą́•-* is not identified but is segmentable comparing the DH forms in which the last morpheme is non-cognate and the Biloxi form in which the middle morpheme is non-cognate. Catawba tends to confirm this analysis to the extent that Catawba can be said to confirm anything in Siouan.

shinbone

noun physical_somatic_body_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **i-chú•pa* < **i-cVhú•pa*

Crow *ičhú•pa* ‘shinbone’ GG:96 , *itchú•pa*

Hidatsa *ichú•pa* ‘shinbone’ J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *šú•pa* ‘shinbone, ankle’ RTC

General comment

J Crow and Hidatsa aspirated *c* suggest that this form is bimorphemic, with the second morpheme beginning in *h*. This morpheme may be **hu•pa* ‘stem’ q.v., here with its original (?) sense ‘(long) bone’ q.v also. This etymology is far from secure, and may represent nothing more than a folk “correction” of the form attested in Mandan.

shine (1)

perceptual_visual

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **ré•xE*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **ré•xi* , **ré•xe*

Crow *déaxi* ‘clear, transparent, light in color’ RG, GG:43, RGG:85

Hidatsa *re?exi* ~ *re•xi* ‘light in color, clear, off-white’ J , *ne?exi* ~ *ne•xi*

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *rex* ‘glisten’ H:179 , *wárex* ‘glass’ H:179 , *írexe* ‘light’ H:180 , *réxkak* ‘light in color’ H:180 , *rárex* ‘to be hot’ H:179 , *rárešo?š* ‘it’s hot (to touch)’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *léɣa* ‘glittering’ EB:323 , *iléɣa* ‘shine, glitter’ RTC , *léga, ka-* ‘to fan, perhaps; to make shine by striking’ EB:282 , *léga, na-* ‘make shine or sparkle, as in pushing up or kicking the fire with the foot; to sparkle, scintillate’ EB:350 , *léxlega, na-* ‘kick or punch up the fire with the foot’ EB:350 , *léga, pa-* ‘encourage during an intermission, as fighting between two other conflicts, or poking and stirring a fire. Thus, to thre’ EB:823 , *léxlega, pa-* ‘poke the fire’ EB:430

Dakota *yéġa, iyéġa* ‘shine, glitter’ SRR:620a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *ré•xe* ‘kettle’ RR , *réxe* ‘kettle, bucket’ JDH

Hoocąk *réex* ‘bucket, pail’ KM:2601 , *reex*

Proto-Dhegiha **réɣe*

Omaha-Ponca *ðéɣe* ‘kettle’

Quapaw *déɣe* ‘pot, kettle’ JOD , *deɣé zi* ‘brass’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *awodéx* , *†awodéx* ‘sunshine’ D&S:287a

General comment

Lakota forms with *l* are irregular and presumably a secondary development.

Chiwere/Hoocąk and DH forms reflect confusion of ‘shine’ and ‘kettle’, q.v. Quapaw accentual patterns suggest that perhaps ‘kettle’ originally had a prefix which has vanished leaving accent on the initial syllable while ‘shine’ did not. Crow, Hidatsa and Mandan seem to confirm this pattern. In Quapaw **r* and **R* fall together as *d*, although in Dorsey’s notes **R* is also found as *t*. Quapaw ‘brass’ may show the original accentual pattern of ‘shine’, if it is not due to compounding.

shine (2)

verb perceptual_visual

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **xą•*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **-xa•tE* ~ **-xaxa•tE*

Crow *áxxa•ši* ‘sun’ GG:16, RGG:6 , *áxxa•shi*

Hidatsa *awáxa•tE* ‘light (lux)’ J , *óxxa•tE* ‘white, sunlight’ J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *xą́t* ‘explode’ H:311

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **ɣąɣą*

Proto-Dakota **ɣąɣą́*

Lakota *ɣąɣáyela* ‘clearing, as clouds’ EB:147b , *ġaŋġaŋyela*

Dakota *ġaŋġáŋna* , *†ɣąɣą́na* ‘thin, open, full of small holes’ SRR:120a

Proto-Dhegiha **ɣąɣą*

Omaha-Ponca *wanáxoⁿxoⁿ* , *†wanáɣǫɣǫ* ‘lightning bug’ MAS:113

Kanza/Kaw *wadáɣąɣą* ‘lightning bug’ RR , *xą́xą* ‘shine’ RR

Osage *xoⁿxoⁿ´moⁿiⁿ* , *†ɣąɣą́mąį* ‘Shines-as-he-moves’ [personal name] LF:219b

General comment

‘shine (4)’, ‘white (1)’. Some of the DH forms are probably mistranscribed. Most likely all are *ɣą*. The Mandan may not be cognate. We consider here the possibility that an older (unattested) sense of ‘flash’ (cf. DH lightning bug) was more recently associated with explosions. The Crow and Hidatsa *xx* may result from earlier reduplication of the root **xaxa•* with subsequent syncope. Crow, Hidatsa, and Mandan all show the root with a *t* extension.

shine (3)

perceptual_visual

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **žaža*

Proto-Dakota **žažá*

Lakota *žažáyela* ‘clearly, distinctly’ SRR:651b

Dakota *žažáya* ‘exposed; clearly, plainly’ SRR:651b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *hatažáža* ‘be shiny; light’ KM:3998 , *hatažaža; hataža*

General comment

Cf. also ‘shine (4)’

shine (4)

verb perceptual_visual

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **šą•*

Pre-Mandan **są•si-*

Mandan *są́si?š* ‘it’s smooth, shiny, slick’ H:199 , *kasą́•si?š* ‘he polished it’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **žąžą́*

Proto-Dakota **žąžą́*

Lakota *žąžą́, ožą́žą* ‘glass’ RTC , *žąžą́la* ‘clear, transparent’ EB:267a , *ja^{n}ja^{n}ʔla*

Dakota *z´aŋ-z´áŋ* , *†žąžą́* ‘a vial, bottle, glass’ SRR:651a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *wadáyanyan* , *†wadáyąyą* ‘shine, (made to) glitter by filing’ JGT:226

General comment

Cf. also ‘shine (2)’, ‘shine (3)’ and **-są•* ‘white (1)’. The second syllable of the Mandan form is not explained but may be and old reduplication pattern. (Cf. Mandan *pą•pi* ‘thin’.) Crow *sáašii* ‘shining’ (GG-55, DEC-48) presumably reflects Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **tá•ti* or **tá•ši*. The former looks possible as a t-grade spirant ablaut form here.

shoot

verb physical_action

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **rį́ʔ*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **riʔ*

Crow *dií* ‘shoot at’ GG:44, RGG:53

Hidatsa *riʔ* ‘shoot at’ J , *níʔi*

Pre-Mandan **:rįʔ-*

Mandan *nį́ʔroʔš* ‘he shot it’ RTC

General comment

This root is apparently restricted to the northern languages, where **hkú•te* kept its original meaning of ‘throw’. This is is nice additional confirmation of the diffusional nature of shooting in Siouan.

Generally Hidatsa VʔV = Crow VV with rising pitch in monosyllables.

shooting instrumental

instrumental prefix physical_artefact_tool_weapon

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **Wo•-*

Proto-Dakota **Wo-*

Lakota *wo-* ‘by shooting, poking, blowing’ RTC

Dakota *bo-* ‘by shooting, poking, blowing’ SRR:73a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **po•-*

Chiwere *bo•-* ‘by shooting, poking, blowing’ RR

Hoocąk *boo-* ‘by shooting, poking, blowing’ KM , *boo-*

Proto-Dhegiha **Wó-*

Omaha-Ponca *mó-* ‘by shooting, poking, blowing’ RR

Kanza/Kaw *bó-* ‘by shooting, poking, blowing (pronouns precede if locative, follow otherwise)’ RR

Osage *bó-* , *†po-* ‘by shooting, poking, blowing’ LF:27b

Quapaw *pó-* ‘by shooting, poking, blowing’ RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **apúx-*

Biloxi *apúx ho"ní* , *†apúx* ‘blowgun, use a blowgun’ D&S:249b

Ofo *pû´suhi* , *†púsuhi* ‘to blow’ D&S:328b

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *opata"sel* , *†opatąsel* ‘shoot off’ H

Proto-Catawba

Catawba *pu•-* ‘blow’ FS, KS , *pu•su•?* ‘shoot with blowgun’ FS

General comment

Cf. ‘wound’, ‘blow (2)’, ‘press, instrumental’. The OVS forms are only very doubtfully related. They are perhaps related only via the universal *pu/o-* ‘blow, puff’ symbolism. This prefix may be compounded of **pa-* or **Wa-* ‘by pushing or cutting’ plus verb stems that already had the **o-* ‘into’ locative. Vowel length in Chiwere/Hoocąk supports this, as does the Tutelo form. The Ofo and Catawba forms here are only one pair out of numerous in which there is close similarity between OVS and Catawba languages.

short

verb perceptual_visual

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **tápE*

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *katáptapA* ‘hew off small pieces’ EB:292 , *kaṫáptapa*

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *gĭják* ‘break off’ JWE , *gijap*

Proto-Dhegiha **táhpa* < **tap* + **ka*

Omaha-Ponca *dáppa* ‘short’ JOD

Kanza/Kaw *dáppa, ǰáppa* ‘short’ RR

Osage *táhpa, tą́ppa, cáhpa* ‘small’ RR

Quapaw *táppa* ‘short’ [Dorsey says it is an OS loan] JOD

General comment

The DH forms derive from **tap* + **-ka* ‘qualifier’, with the usual DH **pk* > **kp* > *hp* = *pp*. Note the use of palatalization to create diminutive variants. The root is restricted to MVS.

shoulder

noun physical_somatic_body_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **(a)-į-xkéte*

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *ąxkít* ‘shoulder’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dhegiha **įkhéte*

Omaha-Ponca *įkhéde* ‘shoulder’ JOD

Kanza/Kaw *ikhéǰe* ‘shoulder; 2 parts of a tent’ JOD, RR

Osage *įkšéce* , *†įkhéce* ‘shoulder’ JOD, RR

Quapaw *įkhétte* ‘shoulder’ RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *axĕ´* , *†axé* ‘shoulder’ D&S:172b , *axe´ya, kŭděsk axe* , *†axéya* ‘wings’ D&S:172b

General comment

Cf. ‘ball joint > shoulder’, ‘arm’. Mandan (and perhaps Biloxi) *a-* likely is a compounded reflex of **á•-(re)* ‘arm’. Mandan *xk* corresponds to DH *kh* frequently. The relationship of the Biloxi form, if any, is unclear. Note especially that two of the terms for ‘shoulder’ have an irregular **(h)į-*. This suggests that this may not be merely an irregular form of the possessive **i-*. More specifically, it suggests that the other term for ‘shoulder’ in Dakotan, *hį-yete*, q.v., is probably not borrowed from Hoocąk but rather also contains this older, prefixed portion that refers to the shoulder. While we have no doubt that Mandan and the DH forms are (irregularly) cognate, we are dubious about the cognacy of Biloxi, as Proto-Siouan /*xk/ is usually preserved there.

While Mandan *xk* can be organic, it can also derive from a morphologically produced *k* + *k*.

shoulder > scapula

noun physical_somatic_body_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **á•wro*

Proto-Dakota **awró*

Lakota *abló* ‘shoulder, scapula’ EB:54b

Dakota *amdó* ‘shoulder, scapula’ SRR:32b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *á•bro* ‘shoulder’ RR

Proto-Dhegiha **ábro*

Kanza/Kaw *abló* ‘shoulder’ RR

Osage *ábtho* , *†ábro* ‘shoulder, scapula, upper arm’ LF:6b

Quapaw *ábdo* ~ *abdó* ‘shoulder’ JOD

General comment

In Proto-Mississipi-Valley this may be a compound of Proto-Siouan **a•re* ‘arm’ and **wro* ‘round (2)’. The variation in accent placement suggests various degrees of loss of distinctiveness in vowel length.

shout

noun social_communication

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **srekE*

Pre-Mandan **šrek*

Mandan *šerék* ‘warhoop (sic), noise’ H:235

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dhegiha

Quapaw *sdeké* ‘bawl’ JOD

General comment

This term may be considered to involve sound symbolism, cf. English ‘shriek’. This is true of dozens of Siouan terms with the shape **SrV-*.

show

verb perceptual_visual_caus

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **owíhe*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **ó•wia* < **ó•wihe*

Crow *óowia* ‘show’ GG:52 , *óowee* ‘point out’ GG:52

Hidatsa *ó•wia* ‘point at, teach, show’ J

Pre-Mandan **owíh-*

Mandan *owíhoʔš* ‘he pointed at it’ RTC

side (1)

adverb physical_spatial

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **są́•he*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **a-cahcah-E*

Crow *áhta* 'near' GG:64

Hidatsa *achá•* 'near' J

Pre-Mandan **šą•he*

Mandan *šą́•h* 'be on the other side, across' [*šą́•h dé•hožš* 'he went across'] RTC , *íšąhe* 'half, part, price' H:222

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **są́•(ŋ́)*

Proto-Dakota **sąní*

Lakota *sąní* 'on one side, sideways' RTC , *saŋníca* , *†sąníca* 'on one side, sideways' EB:452b

Dakota *saŋ-ní* , *†sąní* 'of one side, on one side' SRR:431a , *saŋ-ní-ća* , *†sąníca* 'on one side' SRR:431a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **sá•nįk-*

Chiwere *θáñikhe* JOD , *étaˆthañyigun* , *†-θą-* 'on that side' JGT:869

Hoocąk *saaną́k* 'side; direction' KM:2788 , *saaną́k, sąąną́k?*

Proto-Dhegiha

Quapaw *disą́* 'side, edge' JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *saⁿhíⁿ, saⁿhíⁿyaⁿ* , *†sąhį́* 'on the other side' D&S:251b , *saⁿhíⁿxa* , *†sąhį́xa* 'one of a pair' D&S:251b , *isáⁿhiⁿ* , *†isą́hį* 'at one side or end' D&S:251b

General comment

The following Lakota forms may be related but lack nasalization: *sakhíb* 'together' B-452 *isákhib* 'on the side of, along side of' *mísakhib* 'at my side' B-233 *isákhibya* 'on the side of, beside' B-233 Cf. 'brave (2)' for a parallel to the Crow/Hidatsa developments postulated here. In Proto-Crow-Hidatsa the final *-ahe* would reduce to the *a•* still attested in Hidatsa. Reduplication is the key to the internal developments: **a-cahcah-E* > **a-chca•*. The cluster *chc* simplifies to *ch* in Hidatsa and to *hc* > *ht* before *a* in Crow.

side (2)

physical_spatial

Proto-Siouan-Catawba **su*

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **cua* < **cúhe*

Crow *čúa* 'other side, other of a pair' GG:39 , *chúa* 'half dollar' GG:39 , *chúusa*

Hidatsa *cu* 'one side of' J , *cú•* 'on other side, across' J , *cú•hka* 'across, directly across' J , *cú•hta•* 'across to' J , *cú•ta* 'half' J , *itáhcu* 'half, one side, one of a pair' J

Proto-Catawba

Catawba *sude%a* , *†sude?a* 'at the side of' PV:122 , *hisuyi* , *†sude?a* 'his side' PV:122

similar

particle evaluative

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **se*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Crow *-chi* in: *-lichi/-aachi* 'kind of, sort of, like that' GG:64

Hidatsa *-ci* in: *-raci/-a•ci* 'similative' J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *-š* in: *-rąš* 'typifier' H:467

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *sé-* in: *séca* 'as, though, seemingly' [same as *s?elececa*] EB:453a , *sé-* in: *séhiŋla* 'so happening' [se + ?e] EB:453b , *sé-* in: *sékse* 'as it were' EB:453b , *se-* in: *seksel* 'like' EB:453 , *s?e* 'like, similar' RTC

similitive

enclitic n/a

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **ska*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa *-cki* in: *hicki* ‘it must be’ J , *-cki* in: *ícki* ‘to fit; approach perfection’ J , *-ck-* in: *íckha•* ‘accurate(ly); (to go) straight to’ J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *-šká* ‘how’ H:483 , *-šká* in: *tašká* ‘similitive’ H:434 , *-ška* in: *-eška*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **-ska*

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **-ske*

Chiwere *ihgé; hgé; ihgá* , *†-θke* ‘like that; be thus’ JGT:1661 , *dahgé/dáthke (old)* , *†-θke* ‘then it was; it was thus; is that right?’ JGT:632 , *étasjehge/ étaxchithke* , *†-θke* ‘more than’ DOR, JGT:868 , *se árehgé/ she árethke* , *†-θke* ‘like that/ be like that’ DOR, JGT:3392 , *sehgé/ shethké* , *†-θke* ‘like that/ be like that’ DOR, JGT:3423 , *-xge-* , *†-θke* ‘like that; it’s like that; about’ LWR, JGT:188 , *-xge-* in: *aréxgeda/ arexkéda* , *†-θke*

Hoocąk *-sge* in: *éejaxjįnų́įsge* ‘about there; about that time’ KM:300 , *-sge* in: *eejaxjįnųįsge* ‘thus, be thus’ KM:791 , *-sgé* in: *heesgé* = *žeesgé* ‘be correct, true; truely’ KM:1074 , *-sge* in: *heesge* = *žeesge* ‘thus, be thus’ KM:4009 , *-sgé* in: *hisgé* ‘surely’ KM:4010 , *-sge* in: *hisge* , *-sgé* in: *žeesgé* , *-sge* in: *žeesge* , *-sgé-* in: *žeesgéxjį* , *-sge-* in: *žeesgexjį*

Proto-Dhegiha **-ska*

Omaha-Ponca *é-na-ska* ‘that large’ , *gá-na-ska* ‘that large’ , *šé-na-ska* ‘that large’ , *ðé-na-ska* ‘this large’ , *e-ki-na-ska* ‘as large as that one’

Kanza/Kaw *-ska* in: *háyǫska* ‘how big, what size?’ RR , *-ska* in: *gašéyąska* ‘of a certain size, it’s that big’ RR , *-ska* in: *šéyǫska* ‘that size; it was that big’ RR , *-ska* in: *yéyąska* ‘size, this size, this large’ RR

Osage *-ska* in: *á-thoⁿ-çka* , *†-ska* ‘of what size is it? how large?’ LF:16b , *-ska* in: *thé-thoⁿ-çka* , *†-ska* ‘this size’ LF:144a

Quapaw *denaská* ‘size, of this size’ RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *-ska* in: *ténaska* , *†-ska* ‘this large’ D&S:273a , *-ska* in: *tcánaska ko énaska* , *†-ska* ‘as large as’ D&S:211a

sinew

noun physical_somatic_body_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **-sų́he*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **wacua* < **wacuhe*

Crow *bachua* ‘sinew’ GG:24

Hidatsa *wacua* ‘sinew’ J , *macua*

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *šų́he* ‘sinew’ RTC

General comment

This term may have been inherently possessed and borne the prefix *i-*. This would account for position of the accent but should have produced vowel length.

sing

verb social_culture

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Pre-Mandan **rą•-*

Mandan *waxkaną•ro?š* ‘he is singing’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dakota **Rową́*

Lakota *lową́* ‘sing’ RTC

Dakota *dową́* ‘sing’ [- ablaut] SRR:109

Assiniboine *nową́* ‘sing’ PAS:374

Stoney *nową́* ‘sing’ PAS:374

Sioux Valley *dową́* ‘sing’ PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *yą́•we* ‘sing’ RR

Otoe *yą•wé* ‘sing’ RR

Hoocąk *nąąwą́* ‘sing; song’ KM:2256 , *nąąwą*

Proto-Dhegiha **waʔą́*

Omaha-Ponca *wamą* ‘sing’ RKH , *waʔą́*

Kanza/Kaw *wayǫ́* ‘sing’ RR

Osage *waðǫ́* ‘sing’ RR

Quapaw *wanáą* ‘sing non-dancing songs’ RR

Proto-Southeastern **(ya ~ wa)-úǰhi*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **ǫ́*

Biloxi *yaoⁿ, yaoⁿni* , *†yaǫ-ni* ‘sing’

Ofo *ạtóⁿhi* , *†ətǫ́hi* ‘sing’ D&S:322b

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *yāmùñiyēm (ù = ə or ʌ)* , *†ya•mąiye•m* ‘sing’ H

Proto-Catawba

Catawba *mọ?-* ‘sing’ FGS:9a

General comment

A very difficult set. Chiwere and Hoocąk frequently, but not always, collapse the reflexes of Proto-Siouan **y* and **r*. Here they differ in their treatment, so Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere is not directly reconstructible. We suggest an ancient derivational relationship between ‘song’ (q.v.) and ‘sing’, the original **wų* having been reinterpreted as Proto-Siouan **ʔų* ‘make, do’ in many languages in the verbal form. Preposing an onomatopoeic syllable *ya* ~ *wa* followed this reinterpretation in several languages as an opacity-reducing measure. Tutelo appears to preserve the ‘song’ root as *-mą́ị* < **-mų́hị*, while Ofo seems to have dissimilated the root to **-rų́hi*. Cf. Mandan *mąhe* ‘song’. Such dissimilation of Proto-Siouan **wų* is not uncommon. Clearcut reconstruction of either the verbal or nominal with this meaning is made more difficult due to constant interference from sound symbolism. Some languages make a distinction between ‘sing’ (as here) and ‘sing dancing songs’, which is **xóhka*.

singe

verb physical_contact_deformation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **Rá•-sote*

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *taasóč* ‘singe’ KM:3083 , *taasoc*

Proto-Dhegiha

Kanza/Kaw *odásoje* ‘burn up, singe’ JOD, MR, RR , *dásotta* ‘burn bare’ RR

General comment

The geminated Kanza/Kaw term is derived from *†sot-ka* with the usual DH metathesis and subsequent assimilation. The prefix is a reflex of Proto-Siouan **aRá•-* ‘heat/cold, instrumental’.

sink > drown

verb physical_motion

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **sipE*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **cipE*

Crow *čipí* ‘drown’ RG, GG:38 , *óhčipi* ‘dive’ RG, GG:52 , *daššipí* ‘sink, cave in’ RG

Hidatsa *cipE* ‘drown’ J , *kicipE* ‘dive back’ J

Pre-Mandan **-šip-*

Mandan *ksíp* ‘go under water’ H:121 , *kšíp* ‘drown, go under water’ H:122

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **spé(-CAUS)*

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *aspé_ya* ‘cause to sink’ EJ

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *sawaré* ‘sink, drown’ KM:2799 , *saware*

Proto-Dhegiha **spe*

Kanza/Kaw *ágaspe* ‘cover completely’ RR

Quapaw *spe* ‘sink’ RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *kĭduspĕ´yĕ* , *†kiduspéye* ‘cause to sink in’ D&S:208 , *kĭduspĕ´* , *†kiduspéye* ‘it sank in the water’ D&S:208a

General comment

Crow *daššipí* ‘cave in, sink’ GG-42, DEC-96 shows *š* grade of the root, which may be paralleled in Mandan *ksip-*. Hoocąk shows a reflex of **spa-re*, which may be a frozen ablaut variant of this root.

sister (1) mSiEl

social_kin

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **wíįhe*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **-wía* < ***-wíhe*

Crow *išbía* 'his sister' RG, GG:90, RGG:22

Hidatsa *itawía* 'his elder sister' J

Pre-Mandan **tawį•he*

Mandan *wį•he* 'woman' RTC , *kótawįhe* 'his sister' H:285 , *ptawį•* 'my sister (male speaker)' RTC

General comment

The offspring numbering system, which shares several look-alikes with 'man's sister' (e.g., DH *wihé* 'second daughter'), seems to center on MVS and represents an innovation in that subgroup. Proto-Siouan *-he* is lost in MVS; thus the two forms must be historically separate. In fact, this form is the pan-Siouan root for 'woman', with the alienable possessive prefix. Matthews (1959) has argued that those forms that are transparently alienably possessed represent innovations, in which case this is probably a replacement for an earlier term. Tutelo *ṭ'ko•mihą•* , *kōmqāñ* (N) 'girl' (H.) may be related.

sister (2) mSiEl

noun social_kin

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *i-htą•ke*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **i-htą́ke*

Proto-Dakota **thąké*

Lakota *thąké* ‘man’s elder sister’ RTC

Dakota *thąké* ‘man’s elder sister’ SRR:458a

Assiniboine *thąge* ‘man’s elder sister’ PAS

Stoney *thąkú-* ‘man’s elder sister’ PAS:693

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **ithą́ke*

Chiwere *ithą́ŋe* ‘male’s or female’s younger sister’ RR

Hoocąk *hičą́k* ‘female’s younger sister’ KM:829 , *hicąk*

Proto-Dhegiha **ihtą́ke*

Omaha-Ponca *ittáge* RR

Kanza/Kaw *ittáge* ‘his sister, her younger sister’ RR

Osage *ihtą́ke* RR

Quapaw *ittą́ke* RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *táñke ṭopí* , *†tą́ke* ‘his younger sister (rare form)’ D&S:272a , *táñki, tañk, tañkiya*^{n} , *†tą́ki* ‘man’s older sister’ D&S:272a

General comment

This appears to be the prototype of various sister terms, others being derived from it by several distinct means. It seems to have been originally a term used by male speakers to refer to their sisters; it was later extended to use by female speakers in a few instances. The “elder than Ego” versus “younger than Ego” distinction was seemingly less strong for sisters than for brothers, given the wide variety of sister terms derived from this prototype.

Crow *isahká* ‘mother’ (GG-89, DEC-22), although superficially similar, does not match phonologically or semantically. Cf. ‘sister (3) mSiYo’, ‘sister (5) wSiYo’.

sister (3) mSiYo

noun social_kin

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **i-htą́-*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dakota **thąk-šį́*

Lakota *thąkšį́* ‘man’s younger sister’ RTC

Dakota *thąkšį́* ‘‘man’s younger sister’ SRR:458a

Assiniboine *thąkši* ‘man’s younger sister’ PAS:680

Stoney *thąksí* ‘man’s younger sister’ PAS

Proto-Dhegiha

Osage *iṭó^{n}’e zhi^{n}ga* , *†ihtą́ʔe* ‘younger sister’ LF:80a

Proto-Southeastern **i-thą́ska*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **i-thą́ska*

Biloxi *tá^{n}ska* , *†tą́ska* ‘female’s younger sister’ D&S:272a

Ofo *ithó^{n}fka* , *†ithá́fka* ‘sister’ D&S:324b , *mo^{n}´ni ta^{n}´fka* , *†tá́fka* ‘my mother’s sister’ D&S:328

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *witañsk, witáŋsk* , *†-tą́sk* ‘my elder brother’ H

General comment

This term is seemingly derived from ‘sister (2) mSiEl’, but by different means in the different subgroups. It typically refers to younger sisters, and is typically used by a male Ego. Although the Tutelo gloss is surprising, even casual inspection reveals that the kinterms recorded from that language were mixed, confused, and poorly remembered by its last speakers; hence we feel justified in including it here. Given the distinct patterns of derivation, these forms are not truly cognate; only the root of ‘sister (2) mSiEl’ is common to all.

Crow *isahčí•ta* ‘his younger sister’ (GG-89, DEC-22) and Hidatsa *itáhki•ša* ‘his younger sister’ (J) seem to be derivatives from the form mentioned in the note to ‘sister (2) mSiEl’: Crow *isahká* ‘mother’. Like that term they do not fit phonologically with forms found elsewhere in Siouan. Specifically, the preaspirated *hk* suggests an earlier *Ck* which we cannot explain through comparison. The final Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *-í•ša* is also unexplained.

sister (4) wSiEl

noun social_kin

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **i-yų́•(-ʔi)*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa *irú•* ‘her older sister’ J

Pre-Mandan **-rųk*

Mandan *wįrúk* ‘my elder sister, female speaker’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **iyų́•ʔi*

Proto-Dakota **čhų-*

Lakota *čhuwé* ‘woman’s elder sister’ RTC

Dakota *ćuŋ*

Assiniboine *čhųgu* [Sask.] PAS

Yanktonai *ćuŋwí*

Stoney *čhųgú-* PAS:670

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **iyų́•nąk*

Chiwere *hiyúnąk* ‘my older sister’ RR

Otoe *iyų́•nąk* ‘woman’s sister’ JDH

Hoocąk *nų́ųnų* ‘(man or) woman’s older sister’ KM:2392 , *nųųnų*

Proto-Dhegiha **ižǫ́re* ~ **ižǫ́ʔe*

Omaha-Ponca *žǫðihą* ‘woman’s elder sister (voc.)’ RTC , *izhú"the* F&LF:316

Kanza/Kaw *ižówe* RR

Osage *izhó"the* , *†ižǫ́ðe* ‘her elder sister’ LF:82b

Quapaw *ižǫ́de, ežǫ́de* RR, JOD

General comment

Since Hoocąk, Mandan and MRS merge **y/*r*, mixing with ‘old’ is possible. Cf.

**rų•* ‘old, mature’. Loss of post accentual *ʔ* leads to insertion of the usual intervocalic *r* glide in several languages, *w* in others. Final *-i* rather than *-e* is the lectio difficilior here and therefore may be the reconstruction.

sister (5) wSiYo

noun social_kin

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **i-htą́•ke-aka*

Pre-Mandan **tą•ka*

Mandan *kotą́•ka* ‘her younger sister’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **i-htą́ka*

Proto-Dakota **thąka*

Lakota *thąká* ‘woman’s younger sister’ RTC

Dakota *táŋka* , *†thą́ka* ‘a woman’s younger sister’ SRR:457b

Assiniboine *thąga* [Sask.] PAS

Stoney *thągá* PAS:694

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *hičą́kara* ‘her younger sister’ JWE , *hicąk*

Proto-Dhegiha

Omaha-Ponca *ittą́ga* RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *tañkáka, ta^{n}kákaya^{n}* , *†tąkáka* ‘male’s younger sister’ D&S:272a

General comment

Here the root *htą́ke* of sister (2) mSiEl’ is extended to younger sisters, and the derived form is typically used by a female Ego. The nature of the derivation is best shown in Biloxi, which has a transparent compound: *tąk-aka* = ‘sister (2) mSiEl’ + ‘younger’. The second root *áka* is encountered in several other kinterms, where it always designates younger members of a category.

This scenario requires postulating haplology in MVS: *-kaka* > *-ka*.

Crow *iso•ká* ‘her younger sister’ (GG-94, DEC-23) Hidatsa *itá•ku* ‘her younger sister’ (J) do not fit phonologically with forms found elsewhere in the family. The pre-Crow form was **to•ka*, pre-Hidatsa perhaps **tu•ka* with rightward vowel exchange and length fixed as a syllable feature. Vowel exchange typically affects *u*, not *o*. In addition, only short *o*’s raise to *u* in Hidatsa. Thus it is difficult to be certain of the Proto-Crow-Hidatsa form.

sister (6)

noun social_kin

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **(i-)rų́(-rį)*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa *irú•* ‘her older sister’ J

Pre-Mandan **-rųk*

Mandan *wį́rų́k* ‘my elder sister, female speaker’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **inų́(-nį)*

Chiwere *i•nų́ñį* ‘sibling of same sex’ RR

Hoocąk *hinų́* ‘older sister, male or female speaker’ KM:966 , *hinų*

Proto-Southeastern **inų́•-(ni)*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *inó^{n}ni* , *†inǫ́ni* ‘her elder sister’ D&S:200a

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *minōn* , *†mį́nǫ́* ‘younger brother’ H

General comment

OVS shows a possible reflex of **rų•* ‘old, mature’.

sister-in-law (1) mWiSi, mBrWi

noun social_kin

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **i-hą́ka*

Pre-Mandan **-hąk*

Mandan *taróhąk* ‘his sister-in-law’ H:244

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **ihą́ka*

Proto-Dakota **hąká*

Lakota *hąká* ‘man’s sister-in-law’ RTC

Stoney *hągá* PAS:699

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *ihą́ŋe* GM , *ihą́ga* GM

Hoocąk *hí̋iwągé* ‘sister-in-law of male’ , *hiiwąge*

Proto-Dhegiha **ihą́ka*

Omaha-Ponca *ihó^{n}ga* , *†ihą́ga* ‘wife’s sister’ F&LF:317

Kanza/Kaw *ihǫ́ga* ‘his potential wife, sister-in-law’ RR

Osage *wihą́ka* ‘my sister-in-law’ RR

Quapaw *ihą́ka, ihǫ́ka* JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *tahañk* ‘sister’ H , *etahĕ̃ñk* ‘his sister’ HW

General comment

In Hoocąk **w* is normally replaced by *h*, not the other way around, so this Hoocąk form is not directly cognate. Mandan and Tutelo both have initial *ta-*, possibly from the old ‘man’s sister’ term or perhaps from the alienable possession base.

sister-in-law (2) wHuSi, wBrWi

noun social_kin

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **i-šíkhą*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **išíkhą*

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *ščéphą* ~ *sčéphą* ‘woman’s sister-in-law’ RTC

Dakota *ićépaŋ* ‘woman’s husband’s sisters’ SRR:176

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **išíką*

Chiwere *išígą* GM

Hoocąk *hišigą́* ‘sister-in-law of female’ KM:1078 , *hišigą*

Proto-Dhegiha **išíkhą*

Omaha-Ponca *wišíkhą* ‘my sister-in-law’ RR

Kanza/Kaw *išíkhą* RR

Osage *šikhą́* RR , *šithą* RR

Quapaw *išíkhą* JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *tcká^{n}ni* , *†čkąni* D&S:265a

General comment

RR Biloxi has undergone syncope. The Dakotan forms are not directly relatable at present < *šíke* + *hą*.

sitting, be; sitting positional

verb physical_somatic_posture

Proto-Siouan-Catawba **wų*

Proto-Siouan **rą́•-kE* < ***wų́•-ke*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **rá•kE* , **ráhku* < ***ruk-ka*

Crow *da•čí* ‘remain voluntarily’ GG:40 , *dahkú* ‘stay, live at’ GG:41 , *awá•chi* ‘sit’ GG:107

Hidatsa *rá•kE* ‘be siting, be there (sitting)’ [beside *wáhku, háhku,* pl. *á•hku*] J , *ráhku* ‘continue, stay, remain’ J , *awá•kE* ‘sit down’ J , *wá•kE* ‘lie, be reclining, stay’ J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *rąk* ‘in a sitting position, hanging’ H:164 , *rą́ke* ‘be alive, sit, hang from’ H:165 , *rąkó?š* ‘he’s sitting’ RTC , *á•kąrąk* ‘sit on something, ride horseback’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **rą́kE*

Proto-Dakota **yąkA´*

Lakota *yąká* ‘be sitting, exist’ [+ ablaut] RTC

Dakota *yaŋ-ká* , *†yąká* ‘be, exist’ SRR:610a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **ną́ke*

Chiwere *nąį́ŋe* ‘be sitting’ GM , *mį•ną́* ‘sit’ RR

Hoocąk *mįį́nąk* ‘sit’ KM:2091 , *mįį́nąk*

Proto-Dhegiha **rą*

Omaha-Ponca *ðą* ‘sitting object, definite article’ RR

Kanza/Kaw *yą* ‘sitting object, definite article’ RR

Quapaw *ną* ‘the singular sitting inanimate’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern **nąk-*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **nąki*

Biloxi *na´ñi̱* , *†nąki* ‘sitting object, curving object’ D&S:233b

Ofo *nô´ñi̱* , *†nąki* ‘be sitting, live in a place, stay’ D&S:327a

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *mahan’ñ´ka* , *†maha_nąka* ‘sit down’ [pronouns infix] H , *nañka* , *†nąka* ‘stay, remain’ H , *nañ´i̱ke* , *†nąke* ‘put down’ DSF

Proto-Catawba

Catawba *wą* ‘sit’ KS

General comment

DH has doublets from Proto-Siouan **rą-ke* (1) the above definite articles and (2) positional auxiliaries based on **rį-* with vowel mutation. Cf. ‘be lying’. We propose a single Proto-Siouan-Catawba root **wų•-* ‘stay, be in a place’ that gave rise to doublets in Proto-Siouan, **wą•-* ‘lie’ and *rą•-* ‘sit’ via the independently documented dissimilation of **wų* to *wą* ~ *rų* ~ *rą* (cf. ‘ask’, ‘lie’, ‘sing’, ‘song’). This has the advantage of explaining three things via a known process: (1) the fact that Catawba *wą(?)* means ‘sit’, not ‘lie’, (2) the fact that Dakotan ‘sit’ is conjugated in the first and second persons like a W-stem, and (3) the fact that Hidatsa ‘sit down’ and ‘lie’ differ only by a transitivizing prefix. In addition, while Crow and Hidatsa reflect earlier **wa* in these forms, they reflect a co-existent **ru* in the positional forms in *-hku*. These are from **ruk* + *ka* > **ruhka* > **rahku* by the usual Crow/Hidatsa rightward vowel exchange. It is interesting to note that Mandan and Biloxi have ‘hanging’ as a possible gloss for this root. We doubt that such a shift is convergent, and suspect that this is an old positional meaning. On this point, we note that ‘be hanging’ is the fourth ‘positional’ in Muskogean languages, although it isn’t derivationally related to ‘sit’.

six

numeral abstract_number

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **aká•we*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **aka•wa*

Crow *akaawá* ‘six’ GG:4, RGG:80

Hidatsa *aká•wa* ‘six’ J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *kí•wą* ‘six’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *(*šák +) *akwe*

Proto-Dakota **šákpe*

Lakota *šákpe* ‘six’ RTC

Dakota *šák-pe* , *†šákpe* ‘six’ SRR:440b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **akwe*

Chiwere *šákwe ~ sákwe* ‘six’ RR , *θágwe* ‘six’ RTC

Hoocąk *hakewé* ‘six’ KM:597 , *hakewe*

Proto-Dhegiha **šáhpe*

Omaha-Ponca *šáppe* ‘six’ RTC, RR

Kanza/Kaw *šáppe* ‘six’ RR

Osage *šáhpe* ‘six’ RR

Quapaw *šáppe* ‘six’ RR

Proto-Southeastern **aká•pe (?)*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *akŭxpĕ´* , *†akəxpé* ‘six’ D&S:172b

Ofo *akąpĕ´* , *†akəpé* ‘six’ D&S:319b , *akApê´* , *†akapé* ‘six’

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *agās, akás, akāsp, akáspē, akaspé, akāspei, agùs* , *†aká•spe* ‘six’ N, H , *āg´´sp* , *†aká•spe* ‘six’ HW

General comment

This set, like the other second quine numerals, exhibits considerable irregularity, the Mandan being especially problematic. OVS and MRS clearly represent the older structure. Hoocąk, too, seems to preserve an old form, but it, like the other MVS language, has undergone syncope, the pre-Hoocąk being **akwe* with the lost vowel subsequently replaced by Dorsey's law. If we assume that this syncopated form was the old form in Pre-Proto-Mississipi-Valley, then MVS has reanalyzed the numeral as **ša•k-* 'hand' plus the remainder of the original form, perhaps in accordance with sign language symbology. Cf. 'seven' and Lakota *šaglóyą* 'eight'. Though the change from Proto-Siouan **aká•we* to Proto-Mississipi-Valley **akwe* is not motivated, such syncope is attested elsewhere in the family. In Proto-Mississipi-Valley **kw* was not a permitted cluster. Its replacement is evidently **kp*; the clusters of Chiwere and Hoocąk resulted from the secondary development of post-accentual *p* to *w* generally in those languages.

Just as with the numeral 'three', there has been interaction between Tutelo and the Illinois Algonquian dialects. Proto-Algonquian 'six' is reconstructed as **nekwetwa•ši*, but Miami-Illinois has a basically unrelated *†kaakaatswi* (Costa MS 1991), which is clearly comparable to Tutelo *†aka•spe*. The interaction may have been mutual however, as the Algonquian ending is necessary to account for Tutelo *-s-*. We are unable to account for the *x* (preaspiration?) in Biloxi.

skim (1)

verb physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **-se(-re)*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **-ze*

Proto-Dakota **-ze*

Lakota *-zé, ka-* 'ladle or dip out with a spoon or ladle' EB:296 , *-ze, wíka-* 'a gravy strainer' EB:585 , *-ze, wína-* 'a strainer, a filter' EB:587 , *-zé, ya-* 'take out with the mouth from something, as food from a kettle the way a dog does, or a killed duck from a pond' EB:631 , *-zé, yu-* 'dip, ladle out, e.g. food from a kettle; to skim' EB:657

Dakota *yuzé* 'dip, lade out, as food from a kettle; to skim' SRR:647b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *wiigíze* 'ladle' KM:3969 , *wiigize (> wa-hi-gize)*

Proto-Dhegiha **-zéze*

Kanza/Kaw *áttazéze* 'fill out, fill up, raise level' RR

Quapaw *ákkizéze ithéde* 'pile up many flat objects one on another' RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *adŭkse´* , *†adakse* 'she spread over him' D&S:213a , *dŭkse´ka*^{n} , *†dakséką* 'sweep it!' D&S:205 , *dŭksedi, dûkse´di* , *†daksédi* 'sweep a room' D&S:213a

General comment

Cf. 'skim (3)' for evidence of the possible relatedness of these meanings.

skim (2)

verb physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **-ptÉ*

Proto-Dakota **ptA*

Lakota *ptA´, ka-* ‘ladle or bail out’ EB:288a , *ptA, ka-* ‘fill up’ EJ

Dakota *kaptá* ‘lade or bail out’ SRR:264a

Proto-Dhegiha **ka-hté*

Omaha-Ponca *gaṭé* , *†gatté* ‘lump (of blood)’

Kanza/Kaw *ccé, ga-* ‘skim a liquid, skim grease’ JOD, RR

Osage *gaṭsé* , *†kahcé* ‘skim grease off’ LF:48a

Quapaw *tté, ka-* ‘dip or ladle out, as food’ RR

skim (3)

verb physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *-*xe•(re)*

Pre-Mandan *-*xe•r*-

Mandan -*xéro?š, ra*- ‘he grabs it with his mouth’ H:312 , -*xéro?š, ru*- ‘he grabs it’ H:312

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *-*ɣé*

Proto-Dakota *-*ɣé*

Lakota -*ɣé, ka*- ‘skim off, e.g. cream from milk’ EB:272 , -*ɣé, yu*- ‘take out with the hand’ EB:636 , -*ɣéɣe, yu*- ‘gather up in the hand, to take up by handfuls’ EB:636 , -*ɣéɣe, ya*- ‘gather with the mouth, as cattle do grass’ EB:618

Dakota *yu-ġé* ‘to take out with the hand’ SRR:623a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *-*ɣé*

Chiwere *gixé* , *ɬgiɣé* ‘to skim milk or cream, lift a blanket’ JGT:21

Hoocąk -*ɣé, gi*- ‘bring out, as fish with net’ KM:337 , *giğe* ‘fish out of a liquid with the mouth’ KM:2547 , -*ɣé, ra*- ‘rescue one from drowning; pull out of water’ KM:2671 , *rağe* , -*ɣé, ru*- , *ruğe*

Proto-Dhegiha *-*ɣé*

Kanza/Kaw -*ɣé, ga*- ‘sweep up, scrape together’ RR , -*ɣé, yü*- ‘dip’ RR

Quapaw -*xé, di*- ‘rake, sweep litter away’ RR

General comment

Cf. ‘skim (1)’. This set complements the *s* grade of the root.

skin

noun physical_somatic_body_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **ha*

Proto-Dakota **ha*

Lakota *há* ‘skin’ EB:164

Sioux Valley *há* ‘skin’ PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **ha*

Chiwere *ha* ‘skin’ RR

Hoocąk *háa* ‘skin (non-human); bark of tree’ [xuu = skin of a human] KM:514 , *haa* ‘hide (of animal); skin or hair (human) ?’ KM:514 , *háa* , *haa*

Proto-Dhegiha **ha*

Omaha-Ponca *ha* ‘skin’ RR

Kanza/Kaw *ha* ‘skin’ RR

Osage *ha* ‘skin’ RR

Quapaw *ha* ‘skin’ RR

General comment

Cf. ‘cover (2)’ and ‘horn’. It is possible that these three are derivationally related.

skinny, thin

verb perceptual

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **xaráhe*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **xaráxxi*

Crow *xaláxxi* ‘skinny’ GG:60, RGG:98

Hidatsa *xaráxxi* ‘thin, skinny’ H&V

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **xra*

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **xra*

Chiwere *xláñį* ‘hunger’ GM

Hoocąk *-xara* ‘thin’ KM:3858 , *-xara*

Proto-Dhegiha **xra*

Kanza/Kaw *xlá* ‘skinny’ RR

Osage *xtha* , *†xlá* ‘emaciate, loss of flesh, waste away’ LF:219b

Quapaw *xdá* ‘skinny’ ASG, RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *snáhi* , *†snáhi* ‘slim, slender’ D&S:256b

General comment

Biloxi shows a different fricative grade. Biloxi also provides evidence for final **h*, which might explain the Crow *-xx-* < **-xhi* (?). Then again, the inexplicable Proto-Crow-Hidatsa may simply be some archaic version of reduplication. If this term is like others with the Proto-Siouan shape **Sará-*, the second *a* should be long, with evidence for the length retained in Crow and Hidatsa. Here Crow/Hidatsa have closed syllables which may have served to shorten the vowel. This would imply Proto-Siouan **xará•he*.

skunk

noun animal_mammal

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **awąka*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **awakV•*

Crow *awačíi* ‘badger’ GG:14, RGG:1

Hidatsa *awaká•* ‘badger’ J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *wąhték* ‘badger’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **mą́ka*

Proto-Dakota **mąká*

Lakota *mąká* ‘skunk’ EJ

Dakota *maŋ-ká* , *†mąká* ‘skunk’ SRR:308b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *mų́kha* ‘skunk’ GM

Proto-Dhegiha **mą́ka*

Omaha-Ponca *mą́ga* ‘skunk’ RR

Kanza/Kaw *mą́ga* ~ *mǫ́ga* ‘skunk’ RR

Osage *mą́ka* ‘skunk’ RR

Quapaw *mą́ka* ~ *mǫ́ka* ‘skunk’ RR

General comment

The Chiwere first-syllable vowel is irregular, and Chiwere aspiration is also unexplained, but cf. ‘dog’. Mandan and Chiwere both suggest an old *-h* final stem, but such a reconstruction is not supported by the other languages. The Mandan appears to be an old compound with an unknown second root. The northern languages have ‘badger’ as the meaning, while it was ‘skunk’ in Proto-Mississipi-Valley. Since both animals have white stripes, the semantic shift seems quite reasonable, whichever way it went. Kanza/Kaw and Quapaw also show one form with *ǫ*, which would match the Chiwere *ų*. In DH there is a common tendancy to round reflexes of *ą* to *ǫ* following a bilabial. Cf. also ‘badger’.

sky

noun natural_phenomenon

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **wą́•xi*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **ahpá•xE (?)*

Crow *awáxa* ‘sky’ GG:14, RGG:6 , *ahpaaxí* ‘cloud’ GG:4, RGG:6, RG

Hidatsa *ahpá•xE* ‘cloud’ J , *ahpá•xi*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **mą́•xi*

Proto-Dakota **mąx-pí*

Lakota *maxpíya* ‘cloud, sky’ RTC

Sioux Valley *maxpíya* PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *mąąxí* ‘sky, clouds (collectively)’ KM:2041 , *mąąxi*

Proto-Dhegiha

Osage *mo^{n}´xe* , *†mą́xe* ‘sky’

Proto-Southeastern **mąxi*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Ofo *ócigwĕ* , *†óšikwe* ‘cloud’ D&S:328a

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *maqōsi* ‘cloud’ N, HH

General comment

The final vowel here seems to vary between the very commonly attested *-E* found in Proto-Dhegiha and Crow/Hidatsa and the less common *-i* from Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere. We have chosen the latter for Proto-Siouan simply because it seems to be the lectio difficilior here. The Proto-Siouan form could just as easily have been **wą́•xE*. In addition, this accentual pattern presumes a missing initial syllable. The MRS case is peculiar: the regular cognate appears in Crow *awáxa*. The form **ahpáaxi* looks like a prefixed version of the same root. Ofo *š* is the reflex of Proto-Siouan **x* and labial resonants are lost, so the Ofo form only lacks nasalization to be a good candidate for cognacy. Cf. ‘cloud’.

sleep

verb psychosomatic

Proto-Siouan-Catawba **hiwų́• (?)*

Proto-Siouan **hiyą́•(-re)*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **hiráwE, *ihá•wE*

Crow *hiráwi* ~ *iháwi* ‘sleep’ GG:48, GG:73

Hidatsa *hiráwi* ~ *ihá•wi* ‘sleep’ J

Pre-Mandan **hrą?-*

Mandan *hąrą́?ro?š* ‘he’s sleeping’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **yą́•*

Proto-Dakota **čhą*

Lakota *čhą* ‘day, sleep’ [used in counting days (sleeps) as in OM, BI] EB:115b

Dakota *ćaŋ* , *†čhą* ‘a night or day’ SRR:86a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **yą•*

Chiwere *žą́(•)* ~ *ɣyą́•* ~ *yą́•* ‘sleep’ [Iowa] RR , *yą* ‘sleep’ [Otoe] RR

Hoocąk *nąą* ‘sleep’ KM:2105 , *nąą*

Proto-Dhegiha **žą́*

Omaha-Ponca *žą́* ‘sleep’ RR

Kanza/Kaw *žą́* ‘sleep’ RR

Osage *žą́* ‘sleep’ RR

Quapaw *žą́* ‘sleep’ RR

Proto-Southeastern **(hi-)yą́•(-ri)*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **yą́•(ri) (?)*

Biloxi *yaⁿ´ni* , *†yąni* ‘sleep’ D&S:290b , *yaⁿ´te* , *†yąte* ‘be sleepy’ D&S:290b , *yaⁿ* , *†yą́* ‘a sleep, a day’ D&S:290b

Ofo *tcą́ftu* , *†čą́ftu* ‘go to bed, lie down’ D&S:329a , *batcā´ftu* , *†bačá•ftu* ‘I go to bed, lie down’ D&S:329a, JSS

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *hīy'ñ; hianta, hiantkapewa* , *†hiyą* ‘sleep’ N, H , *híyaⁿ* , *†hiyą* ‘sleep’ DSF

Proto-Catawba

Catawba *himų́re* ~ *imų* ‘sleep’ [numerous other transcriptions] SS , *cf. hí•mbare* ‘sleep’

General comment

Cf. ‘dream’. Crow and Hidatsa have conflated the roots for ‘sleep’ and ‘dream’. Third person conjugated forms reflect ‘sleep’, while first and second person conjugated forms are based on ‘dream’. ‘sleep’ **hiyą* has been extended with the **-wE* < **-wre* of ‘dream’ **ihą́wre*. In Ofo *ą* is very frequently the reflex of earlier **ą*. Evidently vowel centralization occurred before denasalization. Chiwere once again has *y* where *r* is expected. Chiwere *y* is a reflex of earlier *ž* and should only come from Proto-Siouan **š*. This suggests either that the merger of **y* and **r* in Chiwere was not as complete as we had thought or that these terms are borrowings from DH. We have a number of examples of this. Catawba may also be cognate as **-wų-* dissimilates in Siouan. The correspondence is not regular however, as the dissimilation product is normally *r*, not *y*.

slide (1)

physical_motion

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **xróte*

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *waxróje* , *†waxróǰe* ‘push off a scab’ JGT:208

Proto-Dhegiha **-xróte*

Omaha-Ponca *†xðóde* ‘pull out’

Kanza/Kaw *gaxlóǰe* ‘skin, abrade some part of the body’ RR

Osage *thixthúdse* , *†ðïixlóce* ‘peel bark’ LF:152a

slide (2)

physical_motion

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *-*xro*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *-xoró, ru-* ‘husk, peel off in a layer’ KM:2766 , *roxoro*

Proto-Dhegiha *-*xró*

Omaha-Ponca *ba xthu* , *†xðó, ba-* ‘pierce’ MAS:136

Kanza/Kaw *baxló* ‘crawling, stooping while pushing through’ RR , *ogáxlo* ‘chip or cut out the inside’

Quapaw *baxdó* ‘pierce, stab, perforate’ RR , *odíxdo* ‘take food from a cache’ RR , *póxdo* ‘ooze, penetrate, as water from the ground’ RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *-*xro*

Biloxi *dĭxdó* , *†dixdó* ‘hull beans or green nuts’ D&S:219b

Ofo *atce᷈k tu᷈sto* , *†tusto* ‘husk (corn)’ D&S:329a

Proto-Catawba

Catawba *sto?, štu, štų* ‘husk’ KS

slide (3)

physical_motion

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **šrókE*

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *srók* ‘bare, bald’ H:218

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dakota **-šroka*

Lakota *yušlóka* ‘pull off’ EB:652 , *wanášlogya* ‘hull corn’ EB:539

Dakota *kašdóka* ‘knock off or out’ SRR:267b , *pošdóka* ‘push or shove off, as one’s coat sleeve’ SRR:414a , *po-śdo´-ka*

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *tcdópi, tcdopí* , *†čdo-* ‘smooth’ , *tcdoyě´* , *†čdo-* ‘make smooth’

General comment

Cf. ‘slide (1)’ for possible related forms, contaminations, etc.

Omaha-Ponca *gaçnu, baçnu* ‘slide’ (SW-158) *-snó* is related via fricative symbolism.

slide (4)

verb physical_motion

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **siróhe*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **-Sirua* < **-Siruhe*

Crow *-čílua, dač-* 'skate' [dak] GG:42 , *datchílua* 'drag' [dak] GG:45 , *-čilua, dúu-* 'slide' [stative] GG:42 , *dúuchilua* 'peel off, skin animal' GG:45, RGG:26 , *-šílua, daš-* 'push (dead weight)' GG:53 , *dasshílua* 'drag' GG:45 , *-šilua, dúu-* 'slide' GG:52 , *dúushilua* 'slide, skate' GG:43 , *-xalua, páa-* 'slip, slide' L:336 , *-xalua, dúu-* , *-xalua, óo-* , *-xálua, dax-* , *daxáru*

Hidatsa *-carua, ara-* 'drag feet, shuffle' [ara] J , *-carua, ná-* 'drag away with teeth' [ra] J , *-carua, nak-* 'slide, skate' J , *-carua, nú-* 'drag, pull' J , *-carua, pá-* 'slide it away, push with stick' J , *-xaru(a), pá-* 'push along' J , *-xarua, nú-* 'move something' J

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dakota **srohą́*

Lakota *slohą́* 'crawl' [note ablaut] RTC , *-slohe, wó-* 'a drag, a sled' EB:608 , *-slóhą, ka-* 'make something or somebody slide by striking' EB:289 , *-slóhą, na-* 'make slide by kicking, e.g. a dog' EB:357 , *-slóhą, pa-* 'push or shove along, e.g. a sled' EB:433 , *-slohą, wá-* 'crawl' EB:549b , *-slohą, wayá-* 'drag along with the mouth, as a wolf or other animal does his prey' EB:565 , *-slóhą, wo-* 'make slide by shooting' EB:608 , *-slóhą, yu-* 'pull a sled, to drag or draw along' EB:650 , *-slohąhą, iwó-* 'to fly over the ground, as snow in a blizzard' EB:247

Dakota *sdo-haŋ* , *†sdohą́* 'crawl' SRR:432b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *-θlúįhų, li-* 'lead pulling' GM , *-θlúįhų, gi-* 'slide, as in baseball' GM

Proto-Dhegiha

Omaha-Ponca *gaçnu* , *†-sno, ga-* 'crawl' MAS:158

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *siduhi´* , *†siduhi* 'worn smooth' D&S:262b

Proto-Catawba

Catawba *kus sərá́hę́?* 'corn husked' FGS:110

General comment

Chiwere and Dakotan may have both lost Proto-Siouan **-he*, then compounded the root with (different) *-h*-initial elements. Alternatively, Chiwere and Dakotan may have compounded the root with a nasal vowel (morpheme) which preserved the *h*. The quality of the Biloxi and Crow/Hidatsa vowels argues for a short accented vowel here, even though most of these phonesthemic *S(V)r* roots have long vowels. We reconstruct first syllable *-i-* based on Crow and Biloxi. Crow shows lowering to *-a-* under the influence of an adjacent velar. Hidatsa may have extended *-a-* to all spirant grades of the root.

slip (1)

verb physical_motion

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **-šrótE*

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **-šróte*

Chiwere *lišlóje* ‘pull out, off’ GM , *lištóje*

Hoocąk *-šoróč, ru-* ‘pull loose, take off clothes’ KM:2987 , *rušoroc*

Proto-Dhegiha **-šróte*

Omaha-Ponca *†-šnode, ná-* ‘slip off of its own accord’ JOD

Kanza/Kaw *-štóje, yii-* ~ *yiščóje* ‘pull up’ RR

Quapaw *-štótte, di-* ‘pull off’ JOD

slip (2)

physical_motion

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **-srúkE*

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *paslúka* ‘masturbation, onanism’ EB:433

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *hiwasúruk* ‘push sth. through so it appears on the other side’ KM:1118 , *hiwasuruk* ‘be soaking wet, wet through and through’ KM:85 , *nį́į boosúruk* ‘push all the way through, v.tr.’ KM:819 , *nįį boosuruk* , *hibosúruk* , *hibosuruk*

slip (3)

verb physical_motion

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **-srútE*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa *-cu•ti* 'slip, slide' J , *cu•cu•ti* 'slippery' J

Pre-Mandan **-šrut-*

Mandan *-širúto?š, ru-* 'drop s.t.' H:238 , *-širúto?š, ka-* 'strike at and miss' H:237 , *-širúto?š, pa-* 'miss one's target' H:237 , *-širúte, ka-* 'a blizzard' RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **srútE*

Proto-Dakota **-srutA*

Lakota *-slútA, ya-* 'pull out with the mouth' EB:627 , *-slútA, na-* 'kick out with the feet, as from one's bed; to slip out, as a foreign object from an ulcer' EB:357 , *-slutA, oká-* 'hit the center, as in shooting and knocking out a piece perhaps' EB:385 , *-slútA, pa-* 'push out of, as dirt from a pipe stem' EB:433 , *-slútA, yu-* 'pull out, to draw out from under, as a splinter from under a fingernail, or a book from a shelf' EB:650

Dakota *yu-sdú-ta* , *†yusdúta* 'pull out, to draw out from under' SRR:638b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *surųjré* 'slide down slowly' KM:2875 , *surucre* 'be naked' KM:2877 , *surusúruč* , *surusuruc*

Proto-Dhegiha **-stúte*

Kanza/Kaw *gasčúsčüje* 'fringe' MR, RR

Osage *thistsu´dse* , *†ðüscúce* 'draw off, pull off' LF:149b

Quapaw *distítte* 'pull out, milk, pull open' JOD

General comment

The Hidatsa form without *r* but with long vowel may reflect earlier reduction of the **sr* cluster. Cf. 'lick' in Hidatsa for a similar development. Cf. also Catawba *sərét* 'pull off'.

slip (4)

verb physical_motion

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **šrúkE*

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *pašlúka* ‘masturbation, onanism’ EJ

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *wašurúk* ‘push back foreskin’ KM:3492, WL:48.13 , *wašuruk* ‘accomplish by cutting’ KM:2047 , *mąąxúruk* ‘step on and go all the way through; fig. be good at fancy dancing; accomplish’ KM:2272, WL:18.7 , *mąąxuruk* ‘be able to do sth.; earn, v.tr.’ KM:2769 , *nąąxúruk* , *nąąxuruk* , *ruxurúk* , *ruxuruk*

General comment

The languages with cognates do not show reflexes of vowel length, so that feature cannot be reconstructed. But cf. *-xru* ‘push through’, which lacks vowel length in Hoocąk.

slip (5)

verb physical_motion

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **-šrútE*

Pre-Mandan **:srut- (?)*

Mandan *-síruto?š, ra-* ‘he slips’ H:218 , *rusírutak* ‘it slipped (sub.)’ RTC , *síruru?to?š, sírurutto?š* ‘it’s slippery’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dakota **šruta*

Lakota *šlušlúta* ‘slippery, as a road; smooth, as ice’ EB:465b , *-šluta, ayá-* ‘have the teeth slip on anything’ EB:103 , *-šlúta, wo-* ‘glance, as a bullet’ EB:609 , *-šlúta, ka-* ‘strike and make glance off’ EB:291 , *-šlúšluta, na-* ‘slip often; to make smooth with the feet’ EB:359 , *-šlúta, pa-* ‘loom up thence coming up and into sight’ EB:435 , *-šlúta, yu-* ‘slip out, to let slip from one, as a fish’ EB:652

Dakota *šdúta* ‘slipping’ SRR:442a

slip (6)

verb physical_motion

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **-šutE*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **-šutE*

Crow *dússhishi* 'break by hand' GG:44, RGG:26 , *dásshushi* 'break with mouth' GG:42

Hidatsa *-šutE, ara-* 'lose footing, climb and slip' J , *-šutE, ná-* 'drop from teeth' J , *-šutE, nak-* 'glance a blow off, slip out of place and drop suddenly' J , *-šutE, nú-* 'drop out of hand' J , *-šitE, nú-* 'drop out of hand, lose one's grip' J , *-šutE, pá-* 'drop a stick, push and glance off' J

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dakota **-šuta*

Lakota *-šúta, wa-* 'shoot and miss' EB:553

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *natcûpĭ´* , *†načupí* '(her) foot slipped' D&S:267a , *datcpí, datcû´p* , *†dačpí, dačup* 'miss with the mouth, lips, teeth, etc.' D&S:267a , *dutcpi´, dutcû´p* , *†dučpí, dučup* 'miss, as in trying to catch a ball; it falls, because it slips from his grasp' D&S:267a , *ánatcpi* , *†ánačpi* 'kick an object and miss it' D&S:267a , *datcpí* , *†dačpí, da-* 'miss an object in grasping after it, or in reaching out to an object' D&S:267a , *dŭkŭtcpi´* , *†dakačpí* 'miss in pushing or punching; to let a knife or an axe slip by the object without hitting or cutting it' D&S:267a , *kĭdutcpí* , *†kidučpí-* 'drop another's property from the hand' D&S:267b , *natcpi´, natcûpĭ´* , *†načpí* 'let the foot slip' D&S:267a

General comment

Both Crow and Hidatsa show dissimilation of the root *u* to *i* following the *ru-* instrumental prefix. Biloxi shows a different root extension in *šup*. The Biloxi *špi* forms may or may not belong with the Biloxi *šup* forms. Gemination of Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **š* in Crow is not explained.

slow

verb evaluative

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **srátE*

Proto-Dakota **srátA*

Lakota *slátA* ‘slow, feeble’ EB:456b , *-slátA, na-* ‘go softly up to something, crawl up to’ EB:357a , *-slatA, oná-* ‘make one’s way slowly by foot’ EB:820 , *-slatA, wayú-* ‘do a thing slowly’ EB:572

Dakota *sdá-ta* , *†sdáta* ‘slow, feeble’ SRR:432a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **sráte*

Chiwere *thráje* , *†θráǰe* ‘straight, upright’ JGT:70

Hoocąk *-sárač, nąą-* ‘walk on tiptoe’ KM:2795 , *nąąsarac* ‘do slowly and carefully’ KM:2795 , *-sárač, hiru-* , *hirusarac*

Proto-Dhegiha

Kanza/Kaw *nąstáǰĩ* ‘step lightly, quietly’ RR

General comment

Cf. the homophone ‘upright, insert’.

slowly

adverb physical_motion

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **srúte*

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *θlíje* ‘leisurely’ GM , *thníje* ‘slow, taking time, softly, easily’ JOD, JGT:71

Proto-Dhegiha **srúte*

Omaha-Ponca *snide* ‘slow’ MAS:158 , *çnide*

Kanza/Kaw *sčúje* ‘straight, correct, exact’ RR

Osage *waçtu´dse* , *†wastúce* ‘slow walking or moving’ LF:186b

Quapaw *óstitte* ‘slowly’ JOD

General comment

Cf. ‘slow’. Chiwere *i* does not correspond to *u*. However, the Dorsey form *thníje*, with its impossible Chiwere cluster *thn* suggests that the Chiwere form may have been borrowed from Omaha-Ponca.

smell

verb perceptual_olfactory

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **-wrą*

Proto-Dakota **-mna*

Lakota *ó_mna* ‘smell something’ RTC , *wó_mna* ‘smell something; an odor’ EB:605a

Stoney *xomná* ‘coffee (it smells)’ PAS:101

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **-prą*

Chiwere *ó•brą* ‘smell’ RR

Hoocąk *-pą́nąʔ, horu-* ‘to smell’ [transitive] KM:1499 , *horupąnąʔ*

Proto-Dhegiha **-brą*

Omaha-Ponca *blą́, brą́, bðą́, bną́* ‘smell’ RR

Kanza/Kaw *bablą́* ‘spoil, puncture and give off an odor’ RR , *bóblą* ‘smell of gunpowder, cause by shooting’ RR, JOD , *büblą́* ‘smell, cause to rise from lying on grass’ RR, JOD , *dáblą ~ dáblą́be* ‘smell, give off a burning odor’ RR, JOD , *gablą́* ‘smell, give off an odor’ RR , *yüblą́* ‘smell, make the hands, make smell handling’ RR

Osage *uthíbthoⁿ* , *†oðű́brą* ‘to smell’ LF:176b

Quapaw *-bnąʔ, di-* ‘smell (hands)’ RR , *-bnąʔ, tá-* ‘to smell of sth. burning’ RR , *-bdą́, di-* ‘smell (hands)’ RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Ofo *nąphíhi* , *†nəphíhi* ‘smelling good’ D&S:326b

General comment

Biloxi *paʹni* ‘inhale, smell’ (DS-244a) and Tutelo *uwalahʹʔha* ‘to smell’ (Hw.) are apparently not related. If Ofo *nąʔ-* is the cognate, then Proto-Siouan would be **wa-rąʔ*.

smoke tobacco, pipe

noun social_culture

Proto-Siouan-Catawba **ɥpa*

Proto-Siouan **ɥ́pa*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **ó́pV*

Crow *óopa* ‘tobacco’ GG:52

Hidatsa *ó́pi* ‘tobacco’ J

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **ɥpa*

Proto-Dakota **ɥ́pA*

Lakota *ʔɥ́pa* ‘to smoke’ RTC , *čhanɥ́pa* ‘pipe < tobacco + smoke’

Dakota *uŋpa* , *ɬɥpa* ‘to smoke (tobacco)’ SRR:86b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *láhnɥwe* ‘pipe’ GM

Proto-Dhegiha **-ǫpa*

Omaha-Ponca *ninípa* ‘pipe’ MAS:137

Kanza/Kaw *nąnǫ́•ba* ‘pipe’ RR

Osage *no^{n}nío^{n}ba* , *ɬnąnį́ǫpa* ‘pipe’ LF:116a

Quapaw *tanípa* ‘pipe’ RR

Proto-Catawba

Catawba *ɥpa•* ‘tobacco’ KS, ASG , *ʔę•pa•* ‘tobacco’ KS, MAS , *ɬ́pa* PV:11

General comment

Cf. Iroquoian terms (under ‘tobacco’), where *kw* substitutes for *p*. This is another term with look-alikes found all the way to the Pacific coast, although it may have arrived in Siouan-Catawban early enough to be reconstructible. It generally no longer means ‘tobacco’ in most of Siouan. The DH initial vowel correspondences are explained by the fact that this term is only found compounded with **Ranɬ́-hü* ‘tobacco’. Cf. also ‘drink, inhale smoke’. Mandan is not represented among the cognates here as the term would be homophonous with ‘copulate (1)’, q.v. Terms of roughly this shape are common loanwords in much of North America, so it is not at all certain that this is a native Siouan-Catawban etymon; it may well have been a very early loan.

smooth (1)

verb perceptual_tactile

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **štuką*

Proto-Dakota **štuka*

Lakota *štúka* ‘soft, of something that should be hard’ EJ

Dakota *śtuŋ-ká* , *†štuką* ‘unripe, as fruit’ SRR:449a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *wistúnge* , *†wistúge* ‘soften by pressure’ JGT:234

Proto-Dhegiha **štǫká*

Omaha-Ponca *shto^{n}ga* ‘soft’ MAS:160

Kanza/Kaw *štǫgá* ‘soft’ RR

Osage *štǫka* ‘soft’ RR

Quapaw *štǫká* ‘soft’ JOD

smooth (2)

verb perceptual_tactile

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **xó•he*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **xohxE (?)*

Crow *daxxóxxi* ‘peel, rasp’ GG:43

Hidatsa *araxo•xE* ‘erase with foot, wipe off with foot’ J , *páxo•xE* ‘smooth a hide after tanning’ J

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *dŭkxohí, tûkxohí* , *†-xohí* ‘make smooth with a knife, to scrape’ D&S:222a , *kĭtû́kxohí* , *†-xohí* ‘scrape for another’ D&S:222a , *paxoxí* , *†-xohí* ‘scrape an object by pushing’ D&S:222a

General comment

The Biloxi form with *x* may be a transcriptional variant of *h*. Cf. ‘skinny, thin’ for another form in which Biloxi *-h* matches Crow *xx* when Crow and Hidatsa show a possible **-he* suffix or extension. Cf. ‘scrape clean > scrape up, scrape off, clear off’ for other Crow and Hidatsa forms.

sneeze

verb physical_somatic_function

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dakota *pša*

Lakota *pšá* ‘sneeze’ RTC

Sioux Valley *pša* PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **hé•pšį*

Chiwere *hé?šį* RR

Hoocąk *heepšį* KM:789 , *heepšį*

Proto-Dhegiha **hečhį*

Omaha-Ponca *hechiⁿ* MAS:160

Kanza/Kaw *hečhį́* RR

Osage *hétsiⁿ* , *†héchį* ‘sneeze’ LF:59b

Quapaw *héšį* JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **amíse*

Biloxi *mĭsí* , *†mįsí* D&S:230b

Ofo *ámifĕ* , *†ámife* D&S:320b

General comment

Phonologically there are at least two, and probably three or four, roots here, most involving at least some irregularities and all onomatopoeic. Cf. ‘cough’.

snipe (sandpiper, killdeer)

noun animal_bird

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dhegiha **htǫ́(w)į*

Omaha-Ponca *ttǫ́į* ~ *ttǫ́wį* RR

Kanza/Kaw *ttǫ́i* ~ *ttǫ́wį* RR

Osage *ṭoⁿiⁿ´* , *†htǫ́į* ‘curlew’ LF:155b

General comment

Cf. Tunica *túwin* ‘plover (killdeer, roadrunner)’ (MRH). Since in this environment DH *o* is generally [u] phonetically, the fit with Tunica is nearly exact, although it is of course not possible to prove borrowing with such an imitative term. Crow *čuuwáawili* and Hoocąk *čweek* are separate attempts to imitate, but Crow *č* does not equal Hoocąk *č* historically.

snot

noun physical_somatic_liquid

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **-pxíta*

Crow *axpísa* ‘snot, mucus’ GG:15

Hidatsa *ša•kapxíta* ‘algae (lit. frog snot)’ J

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **hpa-xrį*

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *phaxlí* ‘snot’ RTC

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *páxringe* , *†pháxrįge* ‘snot’ JGT:232

Proto-Dhegiha **hpaxrį́*

Omaha-Ponca *paxthiⁿ* , *†ppaxðį* MAS:160

Kanza/Kaw *ppaxlį́* ‘snot’ RR

Osage *paxthíⁿ* , *†hpaxlį́* ‘mucus from the nose’ LF:126b

Quapaw *ppaxnį́* JOD

General comment

Here we group the forms which compound ‘head, nose (1), front end’ with either **xrį* ‘mucus’ or **xri* ‘ooze’ to generate the meaning ‘snot’. The Crow and Hidatsa forms are probably not cognate since Crow *s*, Hidatsa *t* do not correspond to Proto-Siouan **r*. The *p* in the Crow and Hidatsa forms might have come from ‘head, nose (1), front end’, though not through known sound changes.

snow (1)

noun natural_force_weather

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **(wa-)wá•*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **wá•*

Crow *bíi* ‘fallen snow’ GG:29, RGG:6

Hidatsa *wá•* ‘fallen snow’ J , *má•*

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *wáʔhe* ‘snow’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **Wá•*

Proto-Dakota **wá*

Lakota *wá* ‘snow’ RTC

Dakota *wá* ‘snow’ SRR:487a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **Wá•*

Chiwere *ba* ‘snow’ RTC, RR, JGT

Hoocąk *wáa* KM:3179 , *waa*

Proto-Dhegiha **Wa*

Omaha-Ponca *ma* RR

Kanza/Kaw *ba* RR

Osage *ba* LF:17a

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **(a-)Wahú*

Biloxi *wahú* , *†wahú* D&S:285b

Ofo *abahó* , *†abahó* ‘hail’ D&S:319a

Proto-Catawba

Catawba *wa; waʔwə, wa•ʔ* FGS, SS, KS:206

Woccon *wawawa* JL

General comment

Cf. ‘snow (3)’. Biloxi *#w-* indicates (as Ofo suggests) that there was an initial syllable in the word earlier, since actually initial **w* is lost in Biloxi. **wa-* ‘absolutive’ + *wa-* ‘snow’ with the usual vowel syncope in ‘absolutive’ is the most likely source of **W*, i.e., ***wa-wa* > **w-wa* > **Wa*. We take Mandan *-he* to be a root extension peculiar, in this instance, to that language. Cf. ‘spring (season)’, ‘sun’, ‘hail’. As regards Proto-Siouan **(-hu)*: there seems to have been a distinction between ‘fallen snow’ and ‘snow which is in the air, or in a storm’. The form with **(-hu)* refers to the latter. Cf. ‘blizzard’. The Woccon form probably corresponds with Catawba *wa?wo we* < *wa?wə* + *we* ‘future, potential’, and means ‘it’s going to snow’.

snow (2)

verb natural_force_weather

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **-hpi*

Crow *bűihpi* ‘falling snow’ GG:29, RGG:6

Hidatsa *wa•* + *hpi* ‘to snow’ J , *ma•hpi*

Pre-Mandan **-kpe (?)*

Mandan *kapké?* ‘to snow’ RTC

General comment

If Crow and Hidatsa reflect **kp*, Mandan may have metathesized the cluster.

However, with Hidatsa *wa•hpi* ‘to snow’ compare Hidatsa *wirihpi* ‘bathe’ and *tipihpi* ‘sink into mud’. Evidently, *-hpi* is separable, with a meaning like ‘be immersed in’. Here, perhaps cf. Proto-Siouan **spe* ‘cover’, implying a possible *x* grade in Hidatsa *-hpi*. This, however, leaves Mandan unrelated. On Crow vocalism, cf. ‘snow (1)’.

snow (3)

verb natural_force_weather

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **(wa-)wá•-hu(-re)*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **Wa•-(hu)(-re)*

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **Wá•hu*

Chiwere *bá•hu* RR

Hoocąk *waahúhi* KM:3198 , *waahuhi*

Proto-Dhegiha **Wa-(hü)-re*

Omaha-Ponca *máthe* , *†máðe*

Kanza/Kaw *bahúya* RR

Osage *bahúthe* , *†bahúðe* ‘snow’ LF:21a

Quapaw *poíde* RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **(a-)Wahú(-ri) (?)*

Biloxi *wahudí* , *†wahudí* D&S:285b

Ofo *abahó* , *†abahó* ‘hail’ D&S:319a

General comment

Cf. ‘snow (1)’. Forms with *-hu* occur frequently in both the noun and the verb. Doubtless there has been a lot of mixing and we find it difficult to decide which forms are basic. Incorporation of the root **hu•(-re)* ‘come’ is certainly one possibility, in which case the noun has been reanalyzed in terms of the verb. For another possibility, cf.

**hu•hi* ‘blizzard’.

snowshoe

noun physical_artefact_dress

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **pse• (o-hųpe)*

Proto-Dakota **pse-ohąpa*

Lakota *psohánpa* EB:446b

Dakota *pse* 'snowshoe' SRR:425b , *pse-yá-pi* 'the water ash, so called because used for making snow-shoes' SRR:425b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *sée* 'snowshoes' KM:2809 , *see*

Proto-Dhegiha

Omaha-Ponca *sé hįbe*

General comment

To the extent that this is analyzable, it seems to be a compound of a root **pse* and, apparently, locative **o-* and local reflexes of **hú•pe* 'shoe'. Parallel instances of *#ps-* clusters point to an older **wa-sé•* where *wa-* is 'absolutive'. Riggs' explanation of 'water ash' perhaps reverses the direction of derivation. That is, rather than the tree being named for the snowshoe, the snowshoe is probably an 'ash shoe'.

soak, spill (1)

verb physical_action

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **-xtą́*

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *xtą, ka-* 'soak up, to soak in, as does grease in wood' EB:275

Proto-Dhegiha **-xtą́*

Kanza/Kaw *xtą, ba-* 'spill, push over a container' RR , *xtą, ga-* 'pour out, throw out dirt' RR

Quapaw *xtą, di-* 'pull at, pull over, upset' RR , *xtą, ka-* 'pour out, empty sth.' RR , *xtą, ną-* 'kick over, spill' RR , *xtą, bi-* 'rub onto' RR , *xtąxtą, áka-* 'sprinkle' RR

soft (1)

verb perceptual_tactile

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **tapą́•-he*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **tapá•* < **tapahe; *tapia* < **tapíhe*

Crow *sapíi* 'soft' GG:108, RGG:98 , *apashpía* 'moose' GG:11, RGG:1

Hidatsa *tapá•* 'soft' [nose soft] J , *apatapa•* 'moose'

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *títipoʔš* 'it's soft' [lit. soft nose] H:252 , *páxu títip* 'moose' H:252

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **tpą́*

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *paⁿpaⁿʼla* 'soft, as a deerskin; tender, like meat' EB:431a , *kpą́, kpą́la* 'fine, soft' EB:317a , *kpąyá* 'tan a skin'

Dakota *tpą́* 'soft, as dressed leather; or fine, as flour' SRR:479b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *hdą* 'rotten (vegetable)'

Proto-Dhegiha **rühtą́hą*

Kanza/Kaw *yüttą́ttąhą* 'soften by working with the hands'

Quapaw *dittą́hą* 'soften by pulling' JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *tpaⁿhį̨ⁿ* , *†tpąhį̨* 'any soft part of the body' D&S:280a

General comment

Whether primary or secondary, *tp* is unstable and dissimilates in different ways even within Dakotan. There are so few cases that we are not certain of the expected outcome in Chiwere. The Crow *-ia* fits the Biloxi form and suggests that in Crow/Hidatsa the common loss of post accentual *-h-* has taken place with subsequent vowel transposition. The DH final syllable represents an innovation, as reflexes of *-he* are not normally preserved in MVS languages. Mandan vocalism is irregular.

soft (2)

verb perceptual_tactile

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **špą*

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *špą* ‘cooked, burnt or frozen’ EB:467a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **šwą́*

Chiwere *šwą́la* ‘soft’ GM

Hoocąk *-šąwą* ‘soften’ [Vroot only] KM:2925 , *-šąwą* ‘mangle with hand to soften’ [as, hide] KM:2728 , *šąwą́, ru-* , *rušąwą*

Proto-Dhegiha **špą́*

Omaha-Ponca *ɯshpoⁿ* , *†ošpą* MAS:160

Kanza/Kaw *špą́ye* ‘soak something in water’ RR

Osage *shpoⁿ* , *†špą* ‘sodden, softened by soaking in water’ LF:134b

Quapaw *špǫ* ‘be wet’ JOD

General comment

Cf. ‘moist, thaw, soft’

soft (3)

verb perceptual_tactile

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **šró*

Pre-Mandan **šro•-*

Mandan *šeróro?š* ‘it’s mushy, loose’ H:237

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dakota **šro*

Lakota *šlo* ‘soft’ RTC

Dakota *šdo* ‘soft’ SRR:442

Sioux Valley *šdo* ‘soft’ PAS

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *tcdo, tcdópi* , *†čdó* ‘smooth’ D&S:262b

soldier

noun social_war

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **a-hkíta*

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *akíčhita* ‘soldier’ RTC

Proto-Dhegiha **áhkita*

Kanza/Kaw *ákkida* ‘soldier, policeman’ RR

Osage *áḳida* , *†áhkita* ‘officer; soldier;’ LF:11a

some, a little

particle abstract_amount

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Pre-Mandan **tu-*

Mandan *túʔšˇ* ‘there are some, he has some’ H:258

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **to-*

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *dokhíla* ‘few, less, a little’ GM

Hoocąk *čoowéxʃ̨ˇį* ‘just a little’ KM:274 , *coowexjį*

Proto-Dhegiha **tópa*

Omaha-Ponca *dóba* RR

Kanza/Kaw *dóba* ‘some’ RR

Osage *dúba* , *†tópa* ‘some’ LF:40a

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **tu*

Biloxi *-tu* ‘pluralizer, evidential’ D&S:281a

Ofo *tu* ‘pluralizer’

Proto-Catawba

Catawba *tu̧ʔ* ‘little in size’ FGS:2

General comment

The Hoocąk initial consonant does not match; it should be *ǰ*. It is also hard to reconcile the vowels. Mandan and OVS clearly support *u* while MVS has *o* or *o•*. The clitic status in OVS might possibly have affected the vowel, but the Mandan form has the same lexical status as the MVS cognates. Cf. the DH forms w. ‘indefinite/interrogative (2)’

something (1)

particle abstract

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **ta•kú*

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *táku* ‘something’ [also, *tákowe*] EB:475 , *táku* ‘What?’ EB:475 , *táku-* in: *tákuca* ‘What?’ EB:476 , *táku-* in: *tákušni* ‘nothing’ EB:476 , *táku-* in: *tákuwe* ‘Why, What for?’ EB:476

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *dagú* ‘what; something; what?’ JGT:614 , *dagú-* ‘something; whatever (is)’ JGT:620 , *dagú-* in: *dagúre*

Hoocąk *ǰaagú* ‘what? which? beg pardon?’ KM:1668 , *jaagu* ‘anything’ KM:856 , *higų ǰaagú* ‘why?’ KM:1669 , *hegų jaagu* , *ǰaagú-* in: *ǰaagú’ų* , *jaagu-* in: *jaagu’ų*

something (2)

pronoun abstract

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **ta•pa*

Crow *sáapa* ‘what’ GG:66

Hidatsa *ta•pa-* in: *ta•pato•k* ‘what could it be?’ [-? question marker] J , *ta•pa-* in: *ta•pa?* ‘what is it?’ J

Proto-Catawba

Catawba *ta´pə* ‘something’ KS:208 , *tapa* ‘something’ KS:208

General comment

Cf. ‘indefinite/interrogative (3)’, ‘indefinite/interrogative (2)’.

The Catawba forms appear in a very muddled set of forms meaning “something”, some of which probably reflect **topa* or **ropa* ‘something’. Thus the existence of this form in Proto-Siouan-Catawba is uncertain.

son

noun social_kin

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **i-yį́ke*

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *korį́ks* ‘his son’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **i-yį́ke*

Proto-Dakota **čhįkšį́*

Lakota *čhįkšį́* ~ *čhį́kš* ‘son’ RTC

Assiniboine *čįkši* [Sask.] PAS

Stoney *čhįški*

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **iyį́ke*

Chiwere *iyíŋe* GM

Otoe *ižį́ŋe*

Hoocąk *hįnį́k* KM:1157 , *hįnįk*

Proto-Dhegiha **ižį́ke*

Omaha-Ponca *ižį́ge* ‘son’ RTC

Kanza/Kaw *ižį́ge* ‘son’ RR

Osage *izhíⁿge* , *†ižį́ke* ‘son’ LF:82a

Quapaw *†ižį́ke* ‘son’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *yiñķi, yiñķiyáⁿ* , *†yįki* ‘his or her son’ D&S:294a

General comment

Chiwere again shows incomplete merger of Proto-Siouan **r* and **y* here, while Hoocąk merges the two completely. This term is a possessed extension of ‘little, young, child’, q.v.

son, first or eldest

noun social_kin

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **į-krų́*

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **(į)-krų́*

Chiwere *hįgrų́* ‘1st son’ RR , *hį́glų* ‘1st son’ GM

Hoocąk *kúnuka* JOD

Proto-Dhegiha **ikrǫ́* ~ **į́krǫ́*

Omaha-Ponca *igðǫ́* ‘birth name of first son’ JOD , *igðǫ́* ‘grown son’ MAS

Kanza/Kaw *ilóhiŋa*

Osage *i^{n}gthó^{n}* , *†į́lǫ́* ‘first son (special kinship)’ LF:75b

Quapaw *į́kdą́ žíka* ‘first born son’ JOD

General comment

Nasalization of the possessive prefix is irregular but apparently widespread, occurring as it does in both subgroups in which the term is attested. Some sort of assimilation at a distance, while possible, is not an explanation. The restricted nature of this term suggests an areal origin.

song

noun social_culture

Proto-Siouan-Catawba **wiį-*

Proto-Siouan **wiįhé*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **wiı•*

Crow *buú* ‘song’ GG:35

Hidatsa *itú•* ‘his song’

Pre-Mandan **wąhe*

Mandan *wąhé* ‘song’ RTC

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *yoⁿni , †yǫni* ‘song’ D&S:288b

Proto-Catawba

Catawba *mǫ?* ‘sing’ FGS:9a

General comment

Cf. ‘sing’. Catawba, Crow, and Hidatsa suggest **wiį•*, from which Mandan may have dissimilated to **wą*. Cf. ‘ask’. Cf. several DH terms in *-mą* referring to ringing sounds. Biloxi appears to be derived from ‘sing’ via contraction. Had Biloxi dissimilated **wų*, one would expect *dǫ* rather than *yǫ*.

son-in-law (1)

noun social_kin

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **i-htúṭe* , **i-hta-úṭe (?)*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Crow *bucé* , *†bušé* 'my son-in-law' L:339 , *usshí* , *†bušé* 'his mother-in-law, her son-in-law; relative with whom one does not speak' GG:58

Hidatsa *itúti* 'son-in-law' HWM

Pre-Mandan **tutE*

Mandan *kotúts* 'his son-in-law' H:259 , *ptúts* ~ *ptúte* 'my son-in-law' H:259

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **ihtúṭe*

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *udwą́je* [only in texts] LWR:31 , *udwą́čhi* GM

Proto-Dhegiha **ihtǫ́te*

Omaha-Ponca *ittą́de* RR

Kanza/Kaw *ittǫ́je* RR

Osage *ittó^{n}dse* , *†ihtǫ́ce* LF:332b

Quapaw *ittǫ́tte* JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *tóndiya^{n}* , *†tą́diyą* 'son-in-law (= daughter's husband)' D&S:279b

General comment

Cf. 'cat', 'pumpkin' (and Algonquian terms borrowed into Chiwere in which Algonquian *kw* is adapted as Chiwere *dw*). Chiwere apparently has doublets. Both Chiwere terms have apparently been contaminated from some outside source. One of the Algonquian terms for son with *kw* may be involved, but cf. also Tunica *-éti-kumaši* 'son-in-law' (any in-law) Haas-208, *éti* 'kin'. According to JGT92-235, the Chiwere doublet terms *udwą́je* ~ *udwą́čhi* represent "cat in the house", an informal, colloquial term for son-in-law. This folk etymology accounts for *je* > *čhi* 'house'.

son-in-law (2)

noun social_kin

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **-Róhą*

Pre-Mandan **rohąka*

Mandan *taróhąkas* ‘his son-in-law’ H:185

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **waRó(hą) ~ *wąRó(hą)*

Chiwere *wandóhan* , *†wątóhą* ‘son-in-law’ JGT:235

Hoocąk *watohóoči* KM:3505 , *watohooci*

son, second born

noun social_kin

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **(ki)-hé•*

Proto-Dakota

Dakota *he- in* ‘second son’ SRR:45 , *hepáŋ* ‘third son’ , *he- in* , *hepí*

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **hé•nąˀ*

Chiwere *he•ną́* ‘second son’

Hoocąk *héenąˀ, heenąˀ* ‘second son’ KM:787 , *heenąˀ*

Proto-Dhegiha **(į)-khé*

Omaha-Ponca *įkhé* ‘last son’ JOD

Kanza/Kaw *khéga* ‘second son’ RR , *ikhé* ‘birth name, 2nd boy’ RR

Osage *kshó^{n}ga* , *†khé-ǫka* ‘second son (a special kinship term used by members of a family only)’ LF:90b

Quapaw *†įkhé žíka* ‘second son’ JOD

General comment

RR DH combines **ki-* ‘ones own’ with **he*. The common initial syllable syncope yields the aspirate. Note that once again the DH possessive prefix is nasalized irregularly, cf. other birth names for sons. This needs explanation. Perhaps there were only two roots for ‘sons’ in Proto-Siouan/Proto-Mississipi-Valley: one for ‘first’ and one for ‘last’. As additional sons are born, the ‘last’ term is moved down to the new child, and a derivational process modifies the name of the penultimate son.

son, third or younger

noun social_kin

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **i-há•ka*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **(i-)(ki-) hake* , **(ki-)há•ka*

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *haké* ‘fifth son, last child’ RTC

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **há•ka*

Chiwere *há•ga* ‘3rd son’ [also *hagáyiŋe*] RR , *hagáyiŋe* ‘5th boy’ RR

Otoe *ikhága* ‘brother, of a sort’ RR

Hoocąk *háaga, haagá* ‘third son’ KM:515 , *haaga*

Proto-Dhegiha **kháka* , **kháke*

Omaha-Ponca *khága* ‘third son birthname’ JOD , *khagé* ‘4th son, birthname’ JOD , *ikhágе* ‘friend’ RR

Kanza/Kaw *khága* ‘third son’ RR , *khagé ppahą́le* ‘1st khage’ ‘3rd son’ RR , *kháhiŋa* ‘5th son’ JOD, RR

Osage *kházį* ‘4th, 5th son’ [check gloss] RR , *kháke* ‘third son’ RR

Quapaw *kháke* ‘third son’ [check gloss] RR , *kházį* ‘4th, 5th son’ RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *áka* , *†áka* ‘youngest’ [cf. *so^{n}tkaka*] D&S:170b , *ákaya^{n}* , *†áka* ‘her youngest brother’

General comment

The third, fourth, and fifth son terms, while equivalent in that they share the same root and postpose ‘little’, are not properly cognate. DH is derived from *k(i)* ‘ones own’, *hake/a* ‘birth name of one of several sons’ and *žį(ka)* ‘little’. Chiwere is likewise made up of *haka* and *yį́ke* ‘little’. Note that there are alternants *hake* and *haka* for this root. Semantics, distinct truncations and morph replacements make these parallel innovations. DH terms with final-syllable accent are vocative. Cf. ‘end, finish > last (1)’

so, thus

verb n/a

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **kų*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **-kų*

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **-kų*

Chiwere *-gų́* in: *igún* , *†-gų́* ‘thus; this/ that way’ JGT:1646

Hoocąk *-gų́* in: *heegų́* ‘so, thus’ KM:468 , *-gų* in: *hegų* ‘any’ KM:468 , *-gų́* in: *higų́* ‘this way’ KM:309 , *-gų* in: *higų* ‘so, thus’ KM:468 , *-gų́* in: *gaagų́* , *-gų* in: *gaagų, gaigų* , *-gų́* in: *žeegų́* , *-gų* in: *žeegų*

Proto-Dhegiha **-kǫ*

Omaha-Ponca *-gą* in: *égą* ‘so, like that; he’s like that’ [where X is any dem.] JEK , *-gą* in: *X -gą* ‘like X; he’s like X’ JEK

Kanza/Kaw *-go* in: *égo* ‘like, as, so’ [hagó, hágo] RR , *-gó* in: *hagó* ‘why’ MR, JOD, RR , *-gó* in: *gagó* ‘enough’ RR , *-go-* in: *šégoną, šégonǫha* ‘enough, just that number’ MR, RR

Osage *-kǫ* in: *e-go^{n}* , *†-kǫ* ‘verily; very’ LF:40b , *-kǫ* in: *gá-go^{n}* , *†-kǫ* ‘in this manner’ LF:45a , *-kǫ* in: *thé-go^{n}* , *†-kǫ* ‘like this, this kind’ LF:143b , *-kǫ* in: *shé-go^{n}* , *†-kǫ* ‘that kind or sort’ LF:130b

Proto-Catawba

Catawba *kún* , *†kų* ‘this one, he, she, it’ KS:224 , *kų-* , *†kų* ‘this one, he, she, it’ KS:225 , *kų-* in: *kúnkĕ* , *†kų*

General comment

Loss of nasalization in Kanza/Kaw is unexplained, but cognacy is precise.

Cf. ‘that (2) > demonstrative, reference marker, relative’ and ‘beyond > other, across (1)’ and ‘beyond > other, across (2)’. Some of these entries are compounds of a particle *ki* with the verb *ʔų* ‘be, do’ as they are conjugated **m-ų, *ž-ų* So this may not be a proper cognate set, or, it may represent more than one.

soup

noun physical_consumption

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **htanį́ (?)*

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *táñį* , *†tháñį* [IO] , *čáñį* , *†čháñį* W:237b

Proto-Dhegiha **htaní*

Omaha-Ponca *ttaní* RTC

Kanza/Kaw *ttaní* ‘meat + water; soup’ RR

Osage *ṭaní* , *†htanį́* ‘soup, broth’ LF:138a

Quapaw *ttanyúhǫ, ttanű́hǫde* [ü < i + o] RR

General comment

This is presumably **hta* ‘meat’ < ‘deer’ + **nį* ‘liquid’. It could have been innovated separately in Chiwere and DH. Quapaw *-ohǫ-de* refers to ‘causing it to boil in it’. Cf. ‘juice, liquid’.

sour (1)

verb perceptual_taste

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **sʔa*

Proto-Dakota **sʔa*

Lakota *sʔamná* ‘smell (mná) sour’ EB:469b

Proto-Dhegiha **sʔáre*

Omaha-Ponca *çʔáthe* , *†sʔáðe* ‘sour’ MAS:161

Kanza/Kaw *cʔáye* ‘sour, bitter’ RR

Osage *ṭsʔáthe* , *†cʔáðe* ‘sour’ LF:157a

General comment

Kanza/Kaw, Osage *c?* could be a reflex of either **t?* or **s?*, but Omaha-Ponca is a certain cognate. Cf. 'sour (2)', which has **t?*.

sour (2)

verb perceptual_taste

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *t?a-*

Proto-Dakota **t?áɣA*

Lakota *t?áɣA* 'lukewarm; to have a puckery or bad taste in the mouth' EJ

Dakota *ṭáġa* , *†t?áya* 'rough: bitter, astringent, as oak bark' SRR:482a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *t?a* 'bitter' LWR:30

Hoocąk *t?éek* 'be rotten' , *t'eek*

Proto-Dhegiha

Kanza/Kaw *c?áye* 'bitter' RR

Osage *ṭs?áthe* , *†c?áðe* 'sour' LF:157a

General comment

Kanza/Kaw, Osage *c?* could be from either **t?* or **s?* or they may represent a conflation of both Proto-Siouan forms. Cf. 'sour (1)'. This is another set arguing that *t* participated marginally in the spirant ablaut series.

sour (3)

verb perceptual_taste

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **-Seka*

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *-zeca* ‘bitter (words)’ EB:671a

Proto-Dhegiha

Quapaw *waxéka* ‘blackberry’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *pạxká* , *ṭ-xká* ‘sour’ D&S:243b

General comment

Cf. ‘bitter’, ‘dry (?)’

south

adverb physical_spatial_region

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **ák?a*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Crow *bulúaka* ‘downstream; south’ GG:34

Pre-Mandan **áka-*

Mandan *ákahąkt* ‘south’ H:54

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dhegiha **ák?a*

Kanza/Kaw *ák?a* ‘south wind and deity’ RR

Osage *ák?a* ‘south wind’ LF:332b, LF:136b

Quapaw *ák?a* ‘west wind’ JOD

General comment

Cf. ‘south’. The Mandan form is a compound of *áka* ‘south’ + *hąk* ‘stand’ + *ta* ‘locative’. All Mandan direction names are formed in this way.

south > downstream

adverb physical_spatial_region

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **(o)-káɣ-(pa)*

Proto-Dakota **-okaɣ-*

Lakota *íyoȟkąġa* , *†íyokaɣa* ‘south’ EB:257a , *itókąġa* , *†itókaɣa* ‘south’ EB:241b , *itókaȟwapa* , *†itókaxwapa* ‘towards the south’ EB:241b

Dakota *ókąġa* , *†ókaɣa* ‘the south; southwards, downstream’ SRR:359b

Proto-Dhegiha **o-káxpa*

Kanza/Kaw *ogáxpa* ‘Quapaw’ RR

Osage *okáxpa* ‘Quapaw’ RR , *†káxpa* ‘the east, where the sun rises’ LF:49a

Quapaw *káxpa* ‘south, wind or quarter’ JOD , *okáxpa idé* ‘south, wind or quarter’ JOD, RR

General comment

The distribution of meanings of this set suggests that it does refer to the south. It is often translated ‘downstream’ in both Dakota and DH, particularly Quapaw, but, while this may be its meaning, the translation more likely derives from a combination of (a) the fact that the Mississippi flows south and, (b) the fact that ‘tree branch, creek, stream’ is *kaxá*, and folk etymology has connected it with *okáxpa*. A second folk etymology has affected the semantics of the word in Osage, where *kax-pa* has been reanalyzed as *ka-* ‘by striking’ and *-xpa* ‘fall’, cf. *o-xpá-ðe, ka-xpa* ‘cause to fall, strike down’. Identification of the term with the rising/setting (falling) of the sun may have caused the meaning to be reinterpreted along an east-west axis (v. discussion LF-49a and cf.

-xpa ‘fall, go down’). Cf. ‘towards (2)’ for the suffix here.

speak, talk

verb social_communication

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **i-(r)ʔe*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **ireʔ*

Crow *ilíi* ‘talk’ GG:87, RGG:51

Hidatsa *iréʔ* ‘speak, talk’ J

Pre-Mandan **kirąʔ-*

Mandan *kirąʔroʔš* ‘he told it’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **i-(r)ʔe*

Proto-Dakota **iyA*

Lakota *i-yA´*

Dakota *iá* ‘speak’ SRR:169b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **itʔé*

Chiwere *itʔá* LWR:13 , *utʔá, učʔé* GM

Hoocąk *hi-tʔe* KM:1099 , *hit’e*

Proto-Dhegiha **íe*

Omaha-Ponca *íe, íye* ‘speak, talk; language’ RR

Kanza/Kaw *íe* ‘speak, talk; language’ RR

Osage *íe* ‘speak, talk; language’ RR

Quapaw *íe, íye* ‘speak, talk; language’ RR, JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **i-(r)é*

Biloxi *kíyě* , *†-íe* ‘say that to or about him’ D&S:189a, EB , *adě´* , *†adé* ‘to talk, speech, language’ D&S:190a

Ofo *ilě´* , *†ilé* ‘speak’ D&S:324a

General comment

Here, presumably, the **(r)* would have been epenthetic in those first and second person forms in which **ʔ* normally disappears (cf. ‘use, do with’). The **r* is then extended analogically to 3rd person forms where **ʔ* normally remains, and the resultant cluster **rʔ* > **tʔ* in Chiwere, Hoocąk in parallel with **rh* > **th*. For other examples of the same phenomenon cf. ‘jump’, ‘lay’, ‘fly (1)’; v. also ‘do, make’, ‘say’. The Hidatsa form conjugates with what appear to be inalienable possessive pronouns. This verb is the only example of this odd inflectional pattern.

spider

noun animal_arachnid

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **-kox-*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **awáko•xV*

Crow *awáko•xa* ‘spider’ GG:14, RGG:1

Hidatsa *awako•xi* ‘spider’ J

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *koxodé niká* , *†koxodé* ‘spider’ D&S:212a

General comment

Cf. ‘bee (2)’. Because of general lack of cognates, this is a very difficult set to do any reconstructive work with. *-kox-* is only a skeletal suggestion.

spill

physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **waxų́-he*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **waxúa* < **waxúhe*

Crow *bixúa* ‘spill’ GG:108

Hidatsa *maxua* ‘spill’ J

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *waxṹn* , *†waxų* ‘spill, pour out’ LWR:36

General comment

Cf. ‘turn over (3)’

spine (1)

noun physical_somatic_body_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **rą́xa-hu*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **raxa-*

Crow *alaxaaló* ‘spine; backbone’ GG:8, RGG:67 , *annáakku* ‘saddle’ GG:11, RGG:106, RG , *ara’xá•ra* ‘his spine’ L:341

Hidatsa *ra•xukhe* ‘saddle’ J , *na•xukhe* ‘vertebral processes’ WM:76 , *daȟaȟa*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **(i-)rą́xa-hu*

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *tacáŋȟaȟaka* , *†tačhą́xaxaka* ‘1st bones of buffalo’s spine’ EB:472b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *nąxathu* GM

Proto-Dhegiha **nąxa hü*

Omaha-Ponca *nóⁿxahi* , *†nąxa hi* ‘spine; backbone’ F&LF:108

Kanza/Kaw *nąxa hű́* ‘backbone’ RR

Osage *nóⁿxa’hi, nóⁿxahi* , *†nąxa hü* ‘spine, backbone’ LF:117b

General comment

The Lakota cognate is analyzed *čhą́xa* < **i-rąxa*, with the possessed body part prefix. Cf. ‘back’, ‘rough (1)’, etc.

spine (2)

noun physical_somatic_body_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **rą-hú•(-re)*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **rú•ri*

Crow *dúuli* ‘back’ GG:45

Hidatsa *ru•ri* ‘spine’ J , *nu•ri*

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *rąhú•re* ‘spine, backbone’ RTC

General comment

Cf. ‘back’, ‘spine (1)’. Hidatsa *nuuri* < *na* (see HWM 74-75 *da* ‘middle of horse’s back under the saddle’) + **huri* ‘bone’.

spit (1)

verb physical_somatic_liquid

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **šó•*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **šua* < **šuhe*

Crow *šuá* ‘spit’ GG:56

Hidatsa *šua* ‘spit’ J

Pre-Mandan **kso-*

Mandan *ksó?š* ‘he’s spitting’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **šo•*

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *thašóšA, thaɣóša* ‘spit’ RTC

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *šoo* KM:2978 , *šoo*

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *tûtckú* , *†tučkú* ‘to spit’ D&S:282a

General comment

This is not a secure reconstruction, given the number of putative cognates. One problem of course is the onomatopoeic nature of the set. The vowels do not match. With regard to the Biloxi, Cf. *tcu* ‘spill’ (DS-266b) (?)

spit (2), foam

noun physical_somatic_liquid

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **htá•Se*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **htá•ɣe*

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *tháɣa, thaɣé* ‘saliva’ RTC

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *čaax* ‘foam, saliva’ KM:155 , *caax*

Proto-Dhegiha **htáxe*

Omaha-Ponca *taxe chu* , *†ttaxe čho* ‘spit’ MAS:162

Quapaw *ni ttáxe* ‘foam’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *tatckĕ´* , *†tačké* ‘saliva’ D&S:282a

Ofo *ā´ktchĕ* , *†á•kče* ‘to spit’ D&S:320a

General comment

Biloxi and Ofo disagree on the order of *k* and *š*; they agree, however, in showing reflexes of **š* rather than **x*.

split (1)

verb physical_contact_deformation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *[old reconstruction only]*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **sré-kE*

Proto-Dakota **srékA*

Lakota *-sleča* ‘split, e.g. wood with an ax’ RTC , *-sléča, ka-* ‘crack or split; to crack or split of itself, as a board or the earth in winter’ EB:289 , *-sléča, na-* ‘split, e.g. a hide, sack, etc., with a knife’ EB:357 , *-sléča, pa-* ‘saw, to slit or rip up by sawing; to split something with a knife’ EB:433 , *-sléča, wa-* ‘split by shooting or punching’ EB:549 , *-sléča, wo-* ‘split with the teeth’ EB:608 , *-sléča, ya-* ‘split with one’s hands, to tear, e.g. meat’ EB:627 , *-sléča, yu-* EB:649

Dakota *sdéća* SRR:432

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **sréke*

Chiwere *waθlége* GM

Hoocąk *serék* ‘be long and thin’ , *serek* ‘cut long and thin’ KM:2015 , *-séreserek, mąą-* , *mąąsereserek*

Proto-Dhegiha **sRé-ke*

Omaha-Ponca *ugaçne* , *†ogasne* ‘split’ MAS:162

Kanza/Kaw *sčége* ‘split’ RR

Osage *stsége* , *†scéke* LF:135a

Quapaw *disté* ‘split, pull off string’ JOD

General comment

Dakota has a complete Ablaut set *-sleča, -šleča, -xléča* B&D-17. Some languages have the *-ke* root extension but others do not. Note that the *š* grade in Quapaw does show *-ke*. Wolff reconstructed Proto-Siouan on the basis of MVS forms alone; there are no cognates outside of that area.

split (2)

verb physical_contact_deformation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **xré-kE*

Proto-Dakota *xrékA*

Lakota *xléča* ‘cracked’ B&D:17 , *-xléča, ka-* ‘tear open by striking to split open, to fracture’ EB:275 , *-xléča, na-* ‘rend or tear open with the foot’ EB:344 , *-xléča, yu-* ‘tear in pieces with the hands’ EB:638 , *-xléča, pa-* ‘tear to pieces, pull to pieces; to tear something by pushing or leaning against it’ EB:42 , *-xléča, wa-* ‘cut or break in pieces with a knife, rend in cutting’ EB:519 , *-xleča, awó-* ‘split by shooting or punching on anything’ EB:100 , *-xléča, ya-* ‘tear with the mouth something from something else, as a piece from a newspaper’ EB:620

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *xléxlege* ‘jagged’ GM

Proto-Dhegiha **xré-ke*

Kanza/Kaw *xlége* ‘jagged, serrated’ RR , *-xlége, ba-* ‘crack sth., break an egg’ RR , *-xlege, bó-* ‘crack or shatter by shooting’ RR , *-xlége, ga-* ‘crack, smash, break a solid, hard obj.’ RR , *-xlége, ya-* ‘crack with the teeth, as a nut’ RR , *-xlége, yü-* ‘crack something’ RR , *-xléxlege, ya-* ‘crack with the teeth, as eating ice’ RR

Osage *gaxthége* , *†kaxléke* ‘crack something brittle’ LF:49a

General comment

Cf. the other two fricative symbolism grades. Morphemic segmentation is done on the basis of the *s* forms, q.v.

split (3)

verb physical_contact_deformation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **šré-ke*

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *šléča* ‘split’ B&D:17

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *gišerék* ‘have hurt feelings’ KM:2932 , *gišerek*

Proto-Dhegiha

Quapaw *štéke* ‘split in two’ JOD

General comment

RR Cf. the other two fricative symbolism grades. Morphemic segmentation is done on the basis of the *s* forms, q.v.

split (4)

verb physical_contact_deformation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **-sa•tE*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa *-ca•ti, pá-* ‘poke at, stab at’ J , *-ca•ti, ara-* ‘climb’ J , *ópca•ti* ‘thread a needle’ J , *ma•ʔi•pacá•ti* ‘a fork’ J

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dhegiha **zaza(-te)*

Omaha-Ponca *záza* ‘split’ , *zázade* ‘jagged’ MAS:104

Kanza/Kaw *yazázabe* ‘chew into slivers, chew to pieces’ RR , *bázazabe* ‘cut to slivers with a knife’ RR

Quapaw *-zázatte, bi-* ‘split from pressure’ RR , *-zazatte, pá-* ‘split, shred, cut to splinters’ RR , *-zázatte, ba-* ‘cut, stab to shreds’ RR , *-zázatte, di-* ‘pull to shreds’ RR , *-zázatte, da-* ‘chew something to slivers’ RR , *-zázatte, ka-* ‘chop to pieces, slivers’ RR , *-zázatte, nąˀ-* ‘kick to pieces, splinters’ RR , *-zazatte, pó-* ‘punch, shoot to pieces’ RR

General comment

The following Hoocąk forms show the root with a different extension: *hiruzák* ‘split (wood) lengthwise; pull limb down and off tree; make into slivers’ KM-1069, *waazák* ‘spread apart’ KM-3967. The Kanza/Kaw root is unquestionably cognate but occurs with a different root extension. In Omaha-Ponca the root is also found without extensions.

split (5)

verb physical_contact_deformation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **-ɣáka*

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *ɣák, nąą-* ‘break off of own accord, splinter’ KM:2147 , *nąąǧak* ‘break a splinter off’ KM:2668, WL:20.12 , *ɣák, ru-* , *ruǧak*

Proto-Dhegiha

Kanza/Kaw *ɣaga, bá-* ‘cut or break sth.’ RR , *ɣága, ba-* ‘saw or file sth.’ RR , *ɣaga, gíiya-* ‘bite in two for someone’ RR , *ɣága, yü-* ‘smooth sth. by pulling it along, as arrows’ RR

split (6)

verb physical_contact_deformation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **-ɣátV*

Proto-Dakota **-ɣáta*

Lakota *gálgata, ya-* ‘make forked with the mouth, prevaricate’ EB:618 , *gáta, ka-* ‘spread out, as the hands or fingers’ EB:272 , *gáta, na-* ‘stretch out the foot’ EB:342 , *gáta, wa-* ‘make marks, mark or cut with a knife; carve or hack’ EB:515 , *gáta, yu-* ‘stretch out the hand and arm upwards, swear’ EB:636

Dakota *ġáta* , *ṫɣáta* ‘forked, pronged’ SRR:120b

Proto-Dhegiha **ɣáhta* < **ɣát-ka*

Kanza/Kaw *wahúkka ɣátta* ‘fork’ RR

Quapaw *-ɣáttą, di-* ‘stretch apart’ RR

General comment

Quapaw nasalization is probably a grammaticalized reflex of Proto-Siouan **ʔų* 'do, make' which makes an active verb of this stative stem: Proto-Dhegiha **yát-ka ʔǫ* with the normal **tk* > **kt* > *ht* ~ *tt* development common to DH and Chiwere.

The final vowel of the independent stem was probably **-E*, but since Dakotan extends *-a* analogically and the form is always suffixed in DH, it is impossible to know for certain.

split (7)

verb physical_contact_deformation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **-šakE*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **šakE*

Crow *-sachí, das-* 'split lengthwise' GG:42 , *-ssachi, dú-* 'tighten' GG:44 , *-ssachi, pá-* 'prick, stick with pointed object' GG:53 , *-ssachi, dá-* 'drink vigorously' GG:42 , *-ttachi, dú-* 'break apart' GG:45 , *-ttachi, dá-* 'break with mouth' GG:43 , *-ttachi, alá-* 'be cold' GG:8 , *-ttachí, ala-* 'break with foot' GG:8

Hidatsa *šakE, ná-* 'split by teeth' J , *šakE, ará-* 'split from intense cold' J , *šakE, nák-* 'cut, split' J , *šákE, ara-* 'split by foot' J , *šakE, pá-* 'crack in two with a stick' J , *šakE, há-* 'cut and saw in middle, slice, split w. knife' J , *šakE, nú-* 'shell corn, split by hand, break apart e.g. an orange' J , *šakE, op-* 'dip, dunk' J

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **-žákE*

Proto-Dakota **-žákA*

Lakota *žáka, yu-* 'pull open or strain open somebody's eyes' EB:640 , *žáka, ka-* 'squeeze open, as a wound; strain or knock open' EB:279

Dakota *z´áka* , *†žáka* 'rolling or straining, as the eyes' SRR:651a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *wayáke* , *†wayáge* 'forked; enlargen' JGT:88

Proto-Dhegiha **-žáke*

Kanza/Kaw *bážage* 'split, as with a knife' RR , *bažáge* 'split, ream out, punch apart' RR , *büžáge* 'split sth. by pressure or weight' RR , *dážage* 'split, enlarge a hole by burning' RR , *gažáge* 'split, as wood with an axe' RR , *yažáge* 'open the mouth wide' RR , *yüžáge* 'split something, tear a larger hole' RR

Quapaw *dižáke* 'pick, pull open, peel' RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *kdutcâ´ka, kdutcâ´ktcâká; ayáⁿ kdutcâ´ktcâká* , *†-čáka* 'cut notches in wood with a knife' B&D:261

General comment

In Crow, both *t* and *s* are possible reflexes of Proto-Siouan **š* before a low vowel.

It may be that these Crow forms are derived from two different verbs.

Gemination in Crow is not explained.

split (8)

verb physical_contact_deformation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **šátE*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **cáhtE*

Crow *sáhta* ‘forked, pronged’ GG:55

Hidatsa *ípatsa’ti* , *†ípacahti* ‘fork’ WM

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **žátE*

Proto-Dakota **žátA*

Lakota *žáta* ‘forked’ RTC , *-žálžata, pa-* ‘make forked by punching or thrusting something into’ EB:427 , *-žata, awá-* ‘make a split on’ EB:98 , *-žáta, gla-* ‘bite and make forked’ EB:149 , *-žáta, ka-* ‘make forked by cutting with an ax’ EB:279 , *-žáta, na-* ‘make forked by kicking, to split’ EB:346 , *-žáta, wa-* ‘make forked by sawing or cutting, as one end of an arrow notched for the string; to cut into a fork’ EB:523 , *-žáta, wo-* ‘make forked by punching as is done to a turnip digger’ EB:601

Dakota *žáta* ‘forked, as a stick, stream, etc.’ SRR:651b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *-žac* ‘spread out at the top like a bucket’ KM:4000 , *-žac*

Proto-Dhegiha **žáte* ~ **žát-ka*

Omaha-Ponca *zhata* , *†žátta* MAS:80

Kanza/Kaw *žátta* ‘forked’ [bü-, bu:́-] RR , *-žátta, bü-, bu:́-* ‘split, make forked by pressing’ JOD, MR, RR , *-žátta, ga-* ‘straddling, spraddle legged’ RR , *-žatta, bá-* ‘cut a notch to brand animals’ JOD, RR , *-žátta, ba-* ‘notch by pushing or punching’ RR , *-žáje, ga-* ‘straddle, spraddle legged’ RR

Osage *zháṭa* , *†žáhta* ‘cloven, parted as the foot of deer, buffalo or cow’ LF:222a

Quapaw *-žátte, ka-* ‘straddle, (stand) astride’ RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *útûtcatí* , *†-čati, úta-* ‘split, as wood, with an ax; split by cutting with a knife’ D&S:262a , *dutcatí* , *†-čati, du-* ‘split an object by pulling apart with the hands; make a splinter by cutting’ D&S:262a

General comment

Most of the DH forms of this root have suffixed **-ka*: the resulting geminate cluster develops regularly; i.e. **žát + ka > *žákta > žáhta > žátta*. Proto-Crow-Hidatsa shows an earlier CC, though we cannot tell that it was *tk*.

split (9)

verb physical_contact_deformation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **ša*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa *-ša, kirak-* ‘break up dirt clods in garden’ [striking prefix] J , *šáša* ‘fork, divide’ WM

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dakota **žá*

Lakota *ža, yawá-* ‘split fork-like with the mouth. to make a noise with the mouth; something squeaks against your teeth’ EB:630b , *žá, ka-* ‘split a little, to make gape to hit and split’ EB:278b , *žá, na-* ‘crush by trampling on e.g. rice’ EB:346b , *ža, wayú-* ‘stir up; to make mush or hasty pudding’ EB:569b , *žáhą, ka-* ‘make open out by striking, to press open; open out by striking, to press open; be opened out’ EJ , *kažáyA* ‘be Y-shaped’ EJ

Dakota *kaz´á* ‘split a little, make gape’ SRR:274a

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *dŭkŭtcá so^{n}´sa dutcatí* , *†daka-čá* ‘cut in two at one blow; split’ [given as meaning ‘cut in two at one blow’, but it should be rendered ‘split’] D&S:214a , *dûktcá ksá xtahó* , *†daka-čá* ‘fell, as a tree’ D&S:214a , *duktcádi* , *†daka-čá* ‘chop wood, etc.’ D&S:214a , *düktcą́ hutpĕ´* , *†daka-čá* ‘cut a hole through with an ax’ D&S:214a

General comment

Cf. ‘separate > forked’; ‘split (7)’

spotted (1)

verb perceptual_visual

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **(a-)pų́•sE*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Crow *puuchí* ‘striped, corrugated’ GG:54, RGG:97

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *pų́š* ‘spotted’ H:160

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *apsû$^{n\prime}$* , *†apsǫ́* ‘smallpox’ D&S:248b , *sipí* , *†sipí* ‘a pustule, as in small pox’ D&S:256a , *sipsipí* , *†sipsipí* ‘pitted’ D&S:256a

General comment

Although poorly attested and with irregular phonological developments, this set is supported by both the *x* and *š* grade fricative symbolism. All meanings are ‘spotted’ or ‘striped’. Nevertheless, doubts about cognacy remain. The Mandan form in Hollow occurs only in the word *sípų́ška* ‘prairie chicken’, literally “spotted feathers”. More recent informants say *sípu•ška*, no nasalization and long vowel.

spotted (2)

verb perceptual_visual

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **pų́•xE*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **pu•xi*

Crow *puuxí* ‘spotted, speckled, freckled’ GG:54, RGG:97

Hidatsa *pú•xi* ~ *pu?xi* ‘spotted, freckled, speckled’ J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *pų́xo?š* ‘it’s spotted’ H:161

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *tcipúxi, tcpúxi, tcpuxwi* , *†čipúxi* ‘blanket’ D&S:266a

Ofo *†aməphó•ska, †aməphúska* ‘partridge’ D&S:320, JSS

General comment

Cf. ‘marked > spotted, striped (1)’ *s* and ‘marked > spotted, striped (3)’*š* grades. Mandan form is probably *píį•xoʔš*. Cf. ‘blanket (2)’. The Ofo form may also be influenced by ‘drum’, Ofo *†qphó•ska*.

spotted > striped

verb perceptual_visual

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **píį•šE*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **pu•šE*

Crow *puuší* ‘multi-colored’ GG:54, RGG:97

Hidatsa *pú•šE* ~ *puʔšE* ‘multicolored, speckled, striped’ J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *píįsoʔš* ‘it’s striped’ H:159

General comment

Mandan form is probably *píį•soʔš*.

spouse

noun social_kin

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **i-rarą* or: **i-rarį*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **ną́ (?)*

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *hinnage* , *†hįnąge* ‘wife’ JGT:281

Proto-Dhegiha

Omaha-Ponca *ðaną́hau* ‘spouse, m.voc.’ JEK , *ðanąhaⁿ*

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Ofo *ĭthä́ʼnąni, tä́ʼnąni* , *†ithá-inəni* ‘his wife’ D&S:324b

General comment

If Ofo *t* is from PS **r*, as it would have to be in order to be cognate with Omaha-Ponca *ð*, then it should not be aspirated. So Ofo should probably be analyzed as *ithá* 'his, someone's' and *inani* 'spouse, wife'. This analysis would not only explain the aspiration but would account nicely for the otherwise very peculiar vowel that Swanton recorded: *á + i > ä́*.

spread (1)

verb physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **wra-re*

Proto-Dakota **wrárA*

Lakota *bláya* 'level, plane' [šina wą yuha hinapa na - egnaka] RTC , *bláya, yu-* 'open, spread out, unfold, make level' EB:634 , *bláblaya, yu- egnaka* 'lay out and spread e.g. a blanket' EB:634 , *bláya, ka-* 'make level by beating, e.g. a holy place; to open, as the eyes of a young dog for its first sight' EB:270 , *bláya, na-* 'make level or smooth with the foot; to become level, spread out' EB:341 , *bláya, pa-* 'spread out, e.g. dough; to make level; to iron e.g. clothes, to make smooth.' EB:422 , *bláya, wa-* 'make flat with a knife, to have off lumps etc.' EB:511 , *bláya, wo-* 'spread out by blowing or punching' EB:595 , *bláya, ya-* 'make level with the teeth' EB:617

Dakota *mdáya* 'level, plain' SRR:312a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **prara*

Chiwere *brára* 'level, spread out' JOD, JGT , *gibrára* 'level' JGT:175

Hoocąk *párara* 'wide' JOD , *parara?*

Proto-Dhegiha **brára*

Omaha-Ponca *b¢a¢a* , *†bðáða* 'wide' JOD

Kanza/Kaw *bláya* 'level' RR , *bláya, ba-* 'level out by pushing' RR , *bláya, ną-* 'spread out or level by treading on sth.' RR , *bláya, yü-* 'open out, unfold, pull open' RR

Osage *bthátha* , *†bráða* 'broad, wide' LF:28a

Quapaw *bdáda* JOD

General comment

Comparison of this with the several forms meaning 'spread' strongly suggests that this term had vowel length.

spread (2)

verb physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **-wra*

Proto-Dakota **-wrA*

Lakota *bla, óka-* ‘spread out on or perhaps over; enlarging, as the foot of a stand’ EB:381 , *bla, wapá-* ‘spread out, make level; iron e.g. clothes’ EB:544 , *bla, wípa-* ‘a sadiron, flatiron; anything to flatten things with, or to smooth with’ EB:588

Dakota *okámda* ‘a piece cut off, broad and flat, as meat cut for drying; a slice’ SRR:361b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **-prá*

Chiwere *brá, ru-* ‘level something; to spread’ LWR:25 , *bla* ‘separated’ , *rubrábra* ‘separate by hand’ JGT:224

Hoocąk *pará, ra-* ‘unravel with the teeth’ [Vroot only] KM:2558 , *rapara* ‘unravel, untangle’ KM:2436 , *-pará* , *-para*

Proto-Dhegiha **(rü)-brá*

Kanza/Kaw *bla, ága-* ‘blame someone’ RR , *blá, ga-* ‘open, as the eyes or a bird’s tail, spread’ RR , *blá, ną-* ‘spread out or level by treading on sth.’ RR , *blá, yü-* ‘spread out or hang up to dry, corn/clothes’ RR , *blábla, yü-* ‘spread out pieces of corn or meat to dry’ RR , *blá* ‘spread out, as dishes’ RR

Osage *thibthá* , *†ðübrá* ‘spread a rope or a blanket’ LF:144b

Quapaw *dibdá* ‘pull apart, separate’

spread (3)

verb physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **pa•rí(-he), *pa•rı́(-he)*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa *pápa•re* ‘spread out something’ J , *pápa•ri* ‘spread out to dry’ J , *pa•ri*

Pre-Mandan **prih-*

Mandan *rupirí́ho?š* ‘he spread it out’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **wrı̨*

Proto-Dakota **mnı́*

Lakota *mní* ‘spread out to dry’ [Noun] RTC , *mní, pa-* ‘divide, distribute’ EB:430a , *mnimni, óna-* ‘be on one’s way’ EB:396a , *mní, wa-* ‘dry by spreading out e.g. shelled corn’ EB:536a , *mnípi, wa-* ‘fruit etc. spread out thinly’ EB:536a , *kpamní* ‘distribute’ EJ , *opámni* ‘flatten the contents of a bag’ EJ , *owákpamni* ‘lit. distribution place; agency’ EJ , *wamníyąpi* ‘fruit’ EJ

Dakota *wamní* ‘dry by spreading out’ SRR:519a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *warųpı́nı̨* ‘scatter; put out to dry’ KM:2494 , *warųpinı̨*

Proto-Dhegiha

Kanza/Kaw *blı̨* ‘scatter things about’ RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Ofo *tukbā́ti* ‘spread cloth’ D&S:331a

General comment

This is one of several entries in which Hidatsa, Biloxi, and/or Ofo forms suggest an initial Proto-Siouan **pá(•)rV-* sequence. MVS, Mandan (and perhaps Biloxi) evidently shift the accent rightward one syllable, undergo the usual initial syllable vowel syncope, and produce the cluster that is a conflation of earlier **pr-* and **wr-*. Compare ‘spread > flat (2)’, ‘spread > flat (5)’, ‘spread > flat (3)’, ‘spread (3)’, ‘sprout’. In this set however there is a lack of matching between MVS and the other subgroups for nasalization, so the MVS forms may not be cognate even though the meanings are similar.

spread > flat (1)

physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **parás-ka*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **wráska*

Proto-Dakota **wraská*

Lakota *blaská* ‘flatten by beating, to make flat by striking, as a leaden bullet, or as done with an axe to hew’ RTC , *-bláska, ka-* ‘flatten with the foot’ EB:270 , *-bláska, na-* ‘press out flat, to flatten’ EB:341 , *-bláska, pa-* ‘make dull or flat on the edge, as a knife by shaving’ EB:422 , *-bláska, wa-* ‘flatten by shooting, as in shooting a bullet against a stone’ EB:511 , *-bláska, wo-* ‘flatten with the mouth’ EB:594 , *-bláska, ya-* ‘talk about unimportant things per longum et latum, to make much of a little thing, to add details; to thrash out’ EB:617 , *-blaskaska, wayá-* ‘make flat’ EB:561 , *-bláska, yu-* EB:634

Dakota *mdaská* SRR

Stoney *mnaθká* PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *bráthge* , *†bráθge* ‘flat; broad; lid; plate; flat dish’ JGT:8

Proto-Dhegiha **bráska*

Omaha-Ponca *bðáska* RTC

Kanza/Kaw *bláska* ‘cut straight, straighten by cutting.’ RR , *báblaska* ‘plane even, flat or straight’ RR , *babláska* ‘straighten or even the edge of sth.’ RR , *bubláska* ‘flatten, mash flat, knock flat’ JOD, RR , *gabláska* ‘flatten by treading on sth.’ RR , *nąbláska* RR

Osage *gabtháçka* , *†kabráska* ‘flatten out by hammering’ LF:43a

Quapaw *bdáska* ‘flatten, fold flat’ [vt *bdíbdaska ttíbdaska dibdaska*] RR , *bdáska, di-* RR

General comment

Comparison of this with the several forms meaning ‘spread’ strongly suggests that this term had vowel length.

spread > flat (2)

verb physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **pará•sE*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *parás* 'be flat, be wide' KM:2439 , *paras* 'flatten out with the fingers' KM:2704 , *ruparás* 'flatten, v.tr.' KM:3420 , *ruparas* , *waparás* , *waparas*

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **parasi*

Biloxi *ptçasí* , *†pdasí* 'wide, broad, flat' D&S:249a

Ofo *pą́dāfi* , *†pada•fi* 'flat' D&S:328b, JSS , *pąda᷄fi* , *†pada•fi* 'flat' D&S:323, JSS

General comment

This is one of several entries in which Hidatsa, Biloxi, and/or Ofo forms suggest an initial Proto-Siouan **pá(•)rV-* sequence. MVS, Mandan (and perhaps Biloxi) evidently shift the accent rightward one syllable, undergo the usual initial syllable vowel syncope, and produce the cluster that is a conflation of earlier **pr-* and **wr-*. Forms here appear to be in complementary distribution, semantically, with forms found under 'rip (1)'

spread > flat (3)

physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **parа́•xE*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **-wraɣe*

Proto-Dakota **-wraɣa*

Lakota *bláɣa* 'wide at one end, tapering' RTC , *blaga, áka-* 'spread out over, as one's wings; to open e.g. the armpits or underparts of the wings for' EB:67 , *blága, yu-* 'spread out e.g. an umbrella, or the toes, as of a duck' EB:634

Dakota *mdaȟá* , *†mdaxá* 'broad at one end; tapering' SRR:312a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *ébraxe* , *†ébraɣe* 'spread; open out on' JGT:238

Proto-Dhegiha **bráxe*

Omaha-Ponca *b¢axe* , *†bðáxe* 'wide at one end' JOD

Kanza/Kaw *bláxe* 'edge of something' RR

Osage *bthaxe, bðáxe* , *†bráxe* 'spread out' LF:28a

Quapaw *bdáxa* 'wide, as a road' JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **parax-*

Biloxi *ptçaxé, ptçaxi, ptçax* , *†pdaxí* 'wide, broad, flat' D&S:249a

Ofo *akoⁿ´t pal'ska* , *†palaska* 'orange, lemon' D&S:320

General comment

The various 'spread > flat' (e.g. 'spread > flat (1)') terms (several related derivationally by fricative symbolism) apparently differ systematically from the many instances of *br, bl*, etc. clusters in which the *b* is a reflex of Proto-Siouan **wa-*. The present cases go back to a Proto-Siouan initial syllable **pa*.

The evidence is found in the OVS languages and in Mandan, but all the terms must be examined in order for this to become clear. Since, in Proto-Siouan the modern instrumental prefixes were not subject to initial syllable syncope and so are probably best thought of as having been proclitics, the **pa* of these terms cannot be identified with the instrumental prefix of the same shape. Vowel length is also reconstructed examining the entire set of related terms. The Ofo term supplied here shows the additional derivational suffix common to many of these related roots. Forms here appear to be in complementary distribution, semantically, with forms found under 'rip (3)'.

spread > flat (4)

physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **wráška*

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *bráshge* , *†brášge* ‘flat; broad; lid; plate; flat dish’ JGT:8

Proto-Dhegiha

Kanza/Kaw *-bláška, ba-* ‘stretch’ RR , *-bláška, bu-* ‘flatten something by pressure’ RR , *-bláška, yu-* ‘stretch sth., undo sth.’ JOD, MR, RR

General comment

Comparison of this with the several forms meaning ‘spread’ strongly suggests that this term had vowel length.

spread > flat (5)

physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **paráśE*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **-wrážE*

Proto-Dakota **-wraža*

Lakota *kabláža* ‘spread wide, straddle’ RTC

Dakota *kamdáz´a* , *†kamdáža* ‘spread open, as the legs; straddle’ SRR:258b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *bráshge* , *†brášge* ‘flat; broad; lid; plate; flat dish’ JGT:8

Proto-Dhegiha **ka-bráže*

Kanza/Kaw *gabláže* ‘straddling’ JOD

Osage *gabtházhe* , *†kabráže* ‘sit Turk fashion, as a tailor’ LF:43a

Quapaw *kabdáže* ‘stand with knees apart’ JOD , *bdáže, ka-* ‘spread, stand with knees apart’ RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Ofo *paląā´tci* , *†pəlá•či* ‘wide’ D&S:328b, JSS

General comment

The only clue as to whether this reconstruction should have Proto-Siouan initial **wa-r-* or **par-* comes from Ofo. Normally unaccented **wa-* leaves *a-* in both Ofo and Biloxi where initial labial resonants were lost, so the reconstruction should be with **pa-*. This is not the homophonous instrumental prefix, as that prefix would never have undergone syncope in MVS. Forms here appear to be in complementary distribution, semantically, with forms found under ‘rip (1)’.

spread out

verb physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *-*xá•*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *-*xa•*

Crow -*xaa, dúu-* ‘spread out’ GG:45 , -*xaá, dax-* ‘cut from group, hedge along’ GG:43

Hidatsa -*xa•, na-* ‘bite sth.’ [ra] J , -*xa•, ara-* ‘push away with feet’ [rka] J , -*xa•, ára-* ‘burning, burnt’ J , -*xa•, náx-* ‘sweep, scrape’ J , -*xa•, nú-* ‘spread out flat, e.g. blanket on floor’ J , -*xa•, pá-* ‘push away with both hands with palms outspread; drive herd; iron clothes’ J

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *-*ɣá*

Proto-Dakota **yuɣá*

Lakota -*gága, na-* ‘spatter or fly out, as grease on the fire’ EB:342 , -*gága, wo-* ‘shoot out in different directions, as rays of light or the branches of a tree’ EB:596 , -*gá, na-* ‘gape open, as a wound’ EB:342 , -*gága, yu-* ‘spread out, open out, display’ EB:635

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk -*ɣá, gi-* ‘clear away’ KM:336 , *giğa* ‘be in such a position that legs, horns, twigs, etc. protrude chaotically’ KM:51 , -*ɣá, boo-* , *booğa*

Proto-Dhegiha *-*ɣa*

Kanza/Kaw *yüwáɣa* ‘uncover’ RR , *ccíboɣa* ‘tipi, tent with poles tied at the top’ JOD

Quapaw *dixé* ‘rake, sweep litter away’ JOD

General comment

Some of the Hidatsa forms may go with ‘scrape clean > scrape up, scrape off, clear off’, q.v. Cf. ‘husk, pull off (1), flay’ for a homonym,.

spring (season)

noun time_phase

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **(wa-)wé•he ~ *(wa-)wé•h-ʔų*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **cawé•*

Crow *tawée* ‘hot’ GG:57

Hidatsa *cawé•* ‘warm, summer, fever’ J

Pre-Mandan **wé•hrų•re (?)*

Mandan *wéhirų ~ wéhirų́re* ‘Spring’ H:283

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **Wé•*

Proto-Dakota **wé-*

Lakota *wétu* ‘spring’ RTC , *wéhą* ‘last spring’ RTC

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **Wé•-*

Chiwere *béhu* ‘spring’ GM

Hoocąk *weenáˀ* ‘spring’ KM:3624 , *weenąˀ*

Proto-Dhegiha **We*

Omaha-Ponca *me* ‘spring’ MAS:162

Osage *be* , *†pe* ‘spring’ LF:26b

Quapaw *pe* ‘spring’ RR

Proto-Southeastern **(a-)wé•h-*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **amį́•h-*

Biloxi *mihiⁿˊ, amiˊhi* , *†amį́hį* ‘be warm, warm (as weather)’ D&S:229b , *amihiˊyĕ* , *†amį́h-* ‘to warm something’ D&S:230a , *amihoⁿˊ* , *†amį́h-* ‘fever’ [< amį•h + ɸ(ni)] D&S:230a , *amihiⁿˊ, amiˊhiⁿ, amiˊx, amiⁿˊ* , *†amį́hį* ‘summer, year’ D&S:230a

Ofo *amīˊhuⁿ, amiⁿˊhuⁿ* , *†amį́•h-* ‘fever’ [< amį•h + ų] D&S:320b , *amīˊshu* , *†amį́•h-* ‘to fan, a fan’ D&S:320b , *amĭfhiˊpi* , *†amį́h-* ‘parasol, umbrella’ D&S:320b

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *wehahempēi, wehaéhīmpē* , *†we•ha-* ‘spring’ H , *wēhē pīwa* , *†wé•he-* ‘summer’ H

General comment

The Mandan form is probably *wé•hįnų•re*. Proto-Biloxi-Ofo has nasalized and raised the vowel of the first syllable, the nasalization then spreading to the theme vowel. The initial **a* in Proto-Biloxi-Ofo argues for an old cluster here, as does the **W* in Proto-Mississipi-Valley. The first syllable in Proto-Crow-Hidatsa probably arises from an old compounding with **są* 'heat', q.v. Proto-Crow-Hidatsa and Proto-Southeastern meanings seem to cluster around 'warm weather, feel warm, fever', which may have been the earlier gloss, with semantic extension to 'spring'. 'Snow' and 'sun' provide a similar phonological sequence. Since initial labial resonants, *w-* and *m-*, were lost in both Biloxi and Ofo, it is probable that the initial syllable was absolutive **wa-*. This reduces through the usual syncope to **w-wé•-* and thence to **Wé•-*. We suspect the Ofo *amį•hų* and Biloxi *amihǫ* forms are cognate with the MVS forms from **We•hą* in Dakota and perhaps Hoocąk. Whether these go back to a compound of **(wa-)Wé•h-ʔų* in which **ʔų* is 'do, make' ('past' auxiliary in the SE and in Chiwere), is very difficult to say. The cognates here are obviously morphemically complex, but a definitive analysis of the postposed morphemes is elusive. A nasalized suffix is required in order to account for nasalization of the accented vowel in Biloxi and Ofo. This is also another clear instance in which Ofo *hC* clusters surface as *Ch*, illustrating once again how Siouan aspiration really works historically.

spring (water) (1)

noun physical_substance

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **nįsnį (?)*

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *ñyíthrinhji* , *†nį̃θrį̃hji* 'spring' JGT:238

Proto-Dhegiha **nį-snį́*

Kanza/Kaw *nį̃hnį̃* 'well, pump' JOD, MR

Osage *ni-çni´* , *†nį̃snį̃* 'spring of cold water' LF:106

Quapaw *nį́ snį* 'spring' RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *aní snihí* , *†anį́ snį̃hí* 'spring' D&S:173a

General comment

'water' + 'cold'. May be an areal feature here, or might be simply a parallel innovation. Omaha-Ponca *nihąga* is partly cognate.

spring (water) (2)

noun physical_substance

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **wi*

Proto-Dakota **wiwí*

Lakota *wiwíla* ‘water spring’ EB:591a

Dakota *wiwí* ‘bog, quagmire’ SRR:580b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **wi*

Chiwere *wiwíxa* ‘spray (by mouth), sprinkle’ JGT:238

Hoocąk *mąą?í* ‘spring, fountain’ KM:1935 , *mąą'i (> mąą + ii)* ‘narrow channel between bays; isthmus; small of the waist’ KM:1579 , *howiwís* , *howiwis*

Proto-Dhegiha

Osage *ui* , *†owi* ‘spring of water and its flows’ LF:171a

General comment

Cf. ‘blood’.

sprout

noun physical_spatial_aquatic

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **apá•re*

Crow *apáali* ‘grow’ RG, GG:11, RGG:24

Hidatsa *apá•re* ‘grow’ J , *apá•ri*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **ya wrį̀*

Proto-Dakota **čhamní*

Lakota *camní* , *†čhamní* ‘sprout, bud, germ’ EB:115a

Dakota *ćamní* , *†čhamní* ‘a sprout’ SRR:85a

Proto-Dhegiha

Osage *zhabthíⁿga* , *†žabrį́ka* ‘a sprout, a shoot from a plant’ LF:222a

General comment

Cf. ‘spread (3)’, ‘beans’.

squeeze (1)

verb physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **-šką•tE*

Pre-Mandan **-skat-*

Mandan *-skáto?š, ra-* ‘he bites it’ H:211 , *-skáto?š, ru-* ‘he squeezes it firmly in the fist’ H:211

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *withgáwe* , *†wiθkáwe* ‘squash sth.’ JGT:239

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *tcká^{n}ti, du-* , *†dučkąti* ‘mash fruit, etc., in the hands’ B&D:265a , *tcká^{n}ti, dŭ́kŭ-* , *†dǿkəčkąti* ‘mash fruit, etc., by sitting on it or hitting’ B&D:265a , *tcká^{n}ti, na-* , *†načkąti* ‘mash, as fruit, by kicking or treading on’ B&D:265

General comment

Nasalization is irregular in either the Mandan or Biloxi cognate. Without further cognates it is impossible to know which because the two languages should agree for this feature, but v. ‘squeeze (4)’ in which both nasal and oral variants are common. Cf. ‘play (2)’ The Chiwere form shows a *p* or *w* post-extension. Cf. ‘squeeze (3)’. It fits phonologically with the other set but semantically with this one. Derivational suffixes differ.

squeeze (2)

verb physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **-sképE*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **-sképE*

Proto-Dakota **-sképA*

Lakota *sképa, ka-* ‘empty something, as a bucket, gradually by drinking from it; bail out, empty e.g. a pond etc.’ EB:289 , *sképa, na-* ‘leak out, be empty’ EB:357 , *sképa, pu-* ‘pour all out, empty’ EB:449 , *sképa, ya-* ‘drink up’ EB:626 , *sképa, yu-* ‘cause to escape, drain off, evaporate’ EB:649

Dakota *nasképa* ‘leak out’ SRR:334b

Proto-Dhegiha

Kanza/Kaw *baskébe* ‘scrape by pushing or punching, sponge off’ RR , *büskébe* ‘wipe a substance from another, scrape off’ RR , *gaskébe* ‘scrape, shave’ RR , *nąskébe* ‘scrape mud off the moccasins’ RR , *yüskébe* ‘scrape, as the fat from a hide’ RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *daskĭpí* , *†daskipí* ‘get the juice out of sugar cane by chewing’ B&D:213b

General comment

There are some notable irregularities here. The Biloxi form should have *e* rather than *ĭ*.

squeeze (3)

verb physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **-šképE*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dakota **-šképA*

Lakota *šképa, ka-* ‘strike and press out, as water’ EB:291 , *šképa, ya-* ‘suck dry, as a calf does all the milk’ EB:832 , *škéškepa, ya-* ‘suck and spit out’ EB:832 , *šképa, yu-* ‘wring out e.g. water from wet clothes’ EB:651

Dakota *kaśképa* , *†kašképa* ‘strike and press out, as water’ SRR:268b

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *†lučkep* ‘twist, wring’ D

General comment

Cf. ‘choke’

squeeze (4)

verb physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **-skíkE* ~ **-skį́kE*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Crow *chkichi, dú-* 'wring out; milk a cow' GG:44, RGG:26

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **skikE* ~ **skį́kE*

Proto-Dakota **-skičA*

Lakota *kaskíča* 'press' RTC , *skíča, ka-* 'settle down, as does a haystack; press, press down on by striking' EB:289 , *skíča, na-* 'press down with the feet, as a man walking on a hay wagon to get it down; go down or become less of itself' EB:357 , *skíča, pa-* 'press down on with the hand; slang: swipe, i.e. steal' EB:433 , *skíča, pu-* 'be very heavily burdened' EB:824 , *skíča, wo-* 'press down tight by pounding' EB:608 , *skíča, ya-* 'press with the mouth, to suck or lick e.g. bones' EB:626 , *skíča, yu-* 'press, make tight' EB:649 , *skíča, wa-* 'press out with a knife' EB:549

Dakota *naskíća* , *†naskíča* 'press down with the foot' SRR:334b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *gisgį́k* 'wring out' KM:396 , *gisgik* 'strike something saturated with water to wash it ("old time method")' KM:81 , *sgį́k, boo-* 'beat laundry to wring out dirt' KM:396 , *boosgik* 'press with foot to wring out' KM:2220 , *sgį́k, gi-* 'chew (as gum) to get liquid out' KM:2562 , *gisgik* 'wring out by hand' KM:2718 , *sgį́k, nąą-* 'press down to get liquid out, e.g., mop' KM:3471 , *nąąsgik* , *sgį́k, ra-* , *rasgik* , *sgį́k, ru-* , *rusgik* , *sgį́k, wa-* , *wasgik*

Proto-Dhegiha **skíke*

Omaha-Ponca *skíge* 'heavy' JOD

Kanza/Kaw *skį́ge* 'heavy' RR

Osage *çkíge* , *†skíke* 'heavy' LF:277b

Quapaw *skíke* 'heavy' RR , *skíke, di-* 'clench, pack in the hands' RR , *skískike, di-* 'pack, e.g. snowballs, with the hands' RR

General comment

Note that sporadic nasalization of this root is fairly pervasive not only here but in the other fricative grades as well. Crow *dúchkichi* 'wring out; milk a cow' (GG-44, DEC-26) may belong to this set or may be cognate with Hidatsa *nuckišE* 'wash, squeeze juice out' (J), Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **-ckišE*.

squeeze (5)

verb physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **-xkíkE* ~ **-xkį́kE*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Crow *hchichí, ala-* ‘crush with foot’ GG:7 , *hchichi, dá-* ‘crush with teeth’ GG:41 , *hchichí, da-* ‘smash (?)’ GG:53 , *hchichi, pá-* ‘defeat completely’ , *chichi, páa-* ‘put pressure on, overpower’ GG:11, RGG:52 , *hchichi, áp-* ‘touch with something harmful’

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *xgį́k, wa-* ‘use pump handle, draw water’ KM:3521 , *waxgik*

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Ofo *tuckĭ́kĭ* , *†tuškíki* ‘wring as clothes’ D&S:331a

General comment

Cf. the other two fricative grades of this root. Crow may or may not fit; see comment under ‘squeeze (4)’.

squeeze (6)

verb physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **-škíkE ~ *-škį́kE*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Crow *schichí, ala-* 'step on, press down w. foot' [< ški] GG:8 , *schichi, dú-* 'crush in hands' GG:44

Pre-Mandan **-skik-*

Mandan *-skíko?š, pa-* 'he squeezes it' H:213 , *-skíko?š, ka-* 'he squeezes juice from berries' H:213 , *-skíko?š, ra-* 'he squeezes it between the teeth' H:213 , *-skíko?š, ra-* 'he squeezes it between the toes' H:213 , *-skíko?š, ru-* 'he squeezes it in the hands' H:213

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **-škíkE*

Proto-Dakota **-škíča*

Lakota *škiča, waká-* 'press, pound' EB:527 , *škiča, wapá-* 'press, squeeze' EB:547 , *škíča, ya-* 'press with the teeth or mouth' EB:628 , *škíča, na-* 'press with the foot, press out by trampling on' EB:358 , *škiča, oyú-* 'press out, as juice from grapes' EB:420 , *škíča, wa-* 'squeeze by cutting; to press out e.g. water from a cloth with a knife; to scrape out' EB:552 , *škíča, wo-* 'squeeze out by ramming' EB:609 , *škíča, pu-* 'press or rub out with the hand' EB:450

Dakota *kaśkíća* , *†kaškíča* 'press by striking, pound or batter out' SRR:268b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **škíke ~ *škį́ke*

Chiwere *sginge, shginge* , *†škįge* 'squeeze' JGT:239 , *dot?úrusgįge* , *†škįge* 'choke someone' JDH , *rušKíge* , *†škįge* RR

Hoocąk *šgį́k, boo-* 'take a poke at (so you can hear the bump)' KM:90 , *boošgik* 'chew to obtain juice (as, tobacco, to get juice out to apply to cut)' KM:2572 , *šgį́k, ra-* 'twist in bag to extract juice' KM:2731 , *rašgik* 'rub on a washboard' KM:3483 , *šgį́k, ru-* 'pound' KM:410 , *rušgik* , *šgį́k, wa-* , *wašgik* , *šgį́k, gi-* , *gišgik*

Proto-Dhegiha **ka-škíke*

Kanza/Kaw *škíge, bii-* 'rub clothes on a washboard, bear down on' RR , *škíge, yii-* 'wring out' RR , *škíge, ya-* 'chew something' RR , *škige, bó-* 'shoot and nearly penetrate' RR , *škíge, ga-* 'dent a surface, beat laundry' RR

Osage *gashkíge* , *†kaškíke* 'make a indentation by striking' LF:47a

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *lutchkíñk* , *†lučkįk* 'wrench' HW

General comment

Cf. the other two grades of this root. Several languages show this root both with and without the extension *-ke*, cf. 'pound'. Crow may or may not fit; see comment under 'squeeze (4)'.

squeeze (7)

verb physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **ru-ški*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dhegiha **(rü)-škí*

Omaha-Ponca *thíshki* , *†ðiškí* MAS:190

Kanza/Kaw *yüškí* ‘wring out’ RR

Osage *thishkí* , *†ðüškí* ‘wash, wring’ LF:149a

Quapaw *daškí* ‘chew’ RR , *ídiški* ‘apply substance like salve’ RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *tcĭtcki, dutcĭtckí* , *†čički* ‘squeeze, wring, knead’ D&S:264b

squeeze (8)

verb physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **srí*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **-srí*

Proto-Dakota **-slí*

Lakota *slí* ‘ooze out’ EB:457a , *sli, iná-* ‘crush with the feet’ EB:226 , *sli, ípu-* ‘be close to, press upon, touch anything’ EB:232 , *slí, ka-* ‘strike and force something out, as water from a bladder or rubber ball, or grease from the same’ EB:289 , *slí, pa-* ‘squeeze out by pressure’ EB:433 , *slí, wa-* ‘press out with a knife or by cutting’ EB:549 , *slí, wo-* ‘push down in, as in churning; to squirt’ EB:608 , *slí, ya-* ‘bite and press out, as grease from a bag’ EB:627 , *slí, yu-* ‘squeeze out, as matter from a sore; to milk.’ EB:650

Dakota *ka-sdí* ‘strike and force some out’ SRR:265b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **srí*

Chiwere *waθríθri* ‘thrust in mud’ JGT:86 , *wathríthri* ‘ooze (out); muddy ground’ GM , *θlíθli*

Hoocąk *-siri* ‘ooze out’ [var. hokiwáširi] KM:2853 , *-siri* ‘vomit’ KM:2563 , *sirí, ra-* ‘squeeze out, e.g., toothpaste from tube’ KM:2719 , *rasiri* ‘be crowded’ KM:1390 , *sirí, ru-* , *rusiri* , *sirí, hokiwú-* , *hokiwusiri*

Proto-Dhegiha

Quapaw *distítte* ‘milk (a cow)’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *sĭ́nĭ̃hoⁿ́, siⁿhuⁿní, sûⁿ́nihoⁿní, sinhúni* , *t́sịnị-* ‘mush’ D&S:256a

General comment

Quapaw contains a *te* post-extension.

squeeze (9)

verb physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **xri*

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *xlí* ‘break out in sores, running sores’ EB:194a , *kaxlí* ‘get stuck’ EJ , *naxlí* ‘step into mud’ EB:344 , *opúxli* ‘stuff anything into’ EB:403 , *paxlí* ‘stick in the ground (e.g. a stake or stick)’ EB:426 , *yuxlíxli* ‘make dirty, slimy, slippery’ EB:638

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **xrí*

Chiwere *xlí* ‘be sore’ GM

Hoocąk *xirí* ‘be festering’ KM:3917 , *xiri* ‘mash by shooting, blowing, great force’ KM:100 , *booxíri* ‘squash sth. smeary by hand (harder substance than horuzíp)’ KM:1510 , *booxiri* ‘melt metal; cook sth. thick’ , *horuxíri* ‘smash with pressure or pushing away from body’ KM:3522 , *horuxiri* , *taaxíri* , *taaxiri* , *waxirí* , *waxiri*

Proto-Dhegiha **xrí*

Omaha-Ponca *xthi* , *†xðí* ‘pus’ MAS:142

Kanza/Kaw *xlíxli* ‘mirey, mud with water oozing up through it’ RR , *-xli, -xlį* ‘running sore’ RR

Osage *xthi* , *†xlí* ‘fester, suppurate’ LF:220b

Quapaw *xdí* ‘mucus, pus’ RR

General comment

Cf. ‘mucus’

squirrel (1)

noun animal_rodent

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **sį̂•ka* ~ **zį́•ka*

Proto-Dakota **zičá*

Lakota *zičá* ‘squirrel’ RTC

Dakota *zićá* , *†zičá* ‘squirrel’ SRR:649b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *θį̂ŋe* GM

Hoocąk *zíik* ‘squirrel’ KM:3977 , *ziik*

Proto-Dhegiha **sį̂ka*

Omaha-Ponca *sį́ga* ‘squirrel’ RR

Kanza/Kaw *sį́ga* ‘squirrel’ RR

Osage *çí^{n}ga* , *†sį́ka* ‘squirrel’ LF:30b

Quapaw *sį́ka* ‘squirrel’ RR

General comment

Cf. ‘squirrel > flying squirrel’. We note that entries with *į* have *s* while those with oral *i* have *z*. ‘squirrel (2)’ shows a nasal prefix that would, if cognate with ‘squirrel (1)’, provide a nasalized and/or intervocalic environment for voicing of the above fricatives. Otherwise, it looks as if this is a diffused form more than a collection of cognates. Look-alikes in Tunica and Keresan would tend to confirm this latter analysis. Even the subgroup reconstruction should be considered insecure and extremely tentative.

squirrel (2)

noun animal_rodent

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *nsûkí, nasŭkí, nasŭ́k, nsûk* , *†nasəki* ‘squirrel’ D&S:238b , *incke?* , *†nasəki* MRH , *Inṭske?* , *†nasəki* MS

Ofo *tóstąkĭ* , *†tóstəki* D&S:331a

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *nistāqkai* , *†nista•xkai* ‘squirrel’ H

General comment

This may be a case of the intrusive *-t-* in both Ofo and Tutelo or loss in Biloxi. Cf. ‘squirrel (1)’. The various irregularities plus the geographical distribution of this form make this a likely diffused form.

squirrel > flying squirrel

noun animal_rodent

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **šíka*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **-šíka* ~ **-šį́ka*

Proto-Dakota **pšičá* ~ **pšį́čá*

Lakota *pšičá* ‘flying squirrel’ EB:447a

Dakota *pšiŋcá* , *†pšį́cá* ‘flying squirrel’ SRR:426b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **-šį́ke*

Chiwere *singe* , *†sį́ge* ‘squirrel’ JGT:239 , *shíñye* , *†šį́ñe* ‘squirrel’ JGT:239

Hoocąk *kšį́įk* ‘flying squirrel’ KM:1911 , *kšį́įk*

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *tcíká* , *†číká* ‘flying squirrel’ D&S:264a

General comment

Cf. ‘squirrel (1)’. This term too shows as much evidence of diffusion as inheritance. The reconstructions should be considered extremely tentative.

Dakotan suggests a fused prefix, possibly Proto-Siouan **wi-*, found with many anaimate absolutive animal terms, i.e., Proto-Siouan **wišíka* is a possibility.

squirrel > ground squirrel

noun animal_rodent

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **hé•t-ka*

Proto-Dakota **hetká-*

Lakota *hetkála* ‘ground squirrel’ EB:173b

Dakota *hetkádaŋ* , *†hetkádą* ‘ground sqirrel, Sciurus’ SRR:144b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *héečge(nįk)* ‘chipmunk’ KM:784 , *heecge(nįk)*

Proto-Dhegiha **héxrį* ~ **hétka*

Omaha-Ponca *héxthi*^{n} ‘ground squirrel’ MAS:163

Kanza/Kaw *héxlį žį́ga* ‘ground squirrel’ RR

Osage *héxthi*^{n} *žiga* , *†héxlį* ‘little ground squirrel’ LF:59b

Quapaw *hétta* ‘ground squirrel’ RR

General comment

Cf. Osage *hexthi*^{n} ‘mink, ermine, weasel’ LF-59b. Hoocąk *héerąǰóx* ‘monkey’ KM-790. Within DH only Quapaw preserves reflexes of **hé•t-ka* (with the usual metathesis and assimilation).

stab (1)

verb physical_contact_impact

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **yá•phe*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **-ráhpE*

Crow *aláhpi* ‘stab, puncture’ GG:7

Hidatsa *iráhpE* ‘stab’ J

Pre-Mandan **ráp̣e-*

Mandan *dáp̣e?š* ‘he stabbed it’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **yá•phe*

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *čha_phá* ‘stab’ RTC

Sioux Valley *čha_phá* ‘stab’ PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *žá•we* ‘stab’

Otoe *yá•we* ‘stab’ RR

Proto-Dhegiha **žáphe*

Omaha-Ponca *gi•žahe* ‘stab’ RR , *žahe* ‘stab’ JOD

Kanza/Kaw *žáphe* ‘stab’ RR

Osage *zhápshe* , *†žáphe* ‘stab’ LF:222a

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *pxwĕ´di* , *†pxuwédi* ‘stab, punch, gore, thrust at’ D&S:246a

General comment

Cf. ‘stab (2)’. It is possible that these forms with postaspiration in DH were formed by syncope, i.e., from something like **pVxe* or **pVhe* in which we might expect to find the vowel still preserved in Crow and Hidatsa.

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa preaspiration is unexplained.

stab (2)

verb physical_contact_impact

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **póxE*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **puxE*

Crow *púxi, a-* ‘bite into, cut into, vaccinate’ GG:12

Hidatsa *puxE, ná-* ‘bite and leave mark’ J , *puxE, nú-* ‘bruise’ J , *púxE, ha-* ‘slit, lance’ J

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *póx, ru-* ‘make a hole in’ KM:2711 , *rupox* ‘poke; stab’ KM:3423, WL , *póx, wa-* ‘poke holes in something’ KM:200 , *wapox* , *pópox, mąą-* , *mąąpopox*

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *pxu, pxwĕ, pxo, pxwĕ́di* , *†pxuwe* ‘punch, stab, thrust at, gore’ D&S:246a

General comment

Cf. ‘stab (1)’. The Biloxi forms are doubtfully cognate as there is little evidence of the vowel between *p_x*.

stagger

verb physical_motion

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **tékE*

Proto-Dakota **čeka*

Lakota *čéka, čekčéka* ‘stagger’ EB:129b , *čekčéka* PAS

Dakota *ćéka* , *†čéka* ‘stagger’ SRR:98b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *gijéjék* ‘trot, jog’ KM:1699 , *gijejek*

stand

verb physical_somatic_posture

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **nąˀ-_žį*

Proto-Dakota **nąˀ_žį*

Lakota *nážį* ‘stand’ RTC

Dakota *nážį* ‘stand, rise up; stand still, stop; stand on the ground, get down, alight as from a horse’ SRR:340a , *názˀiŋ*

Stoney *nązį* PAS

Sioux Valley *nažį* PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **nąˀ-_žį*

Chiwere *nąˀyį* W:242b , *nąˀ-yį* RR

Hoocąk *nąąžį* KM:2279 , *nąąžį*

Proto-Dhegiha **nąˀžį*

Omaha-Ponca *nąžį* RTC , *nąˀžį* RR

Kanza/Kaw *nąˀžį* RR

Osage *no^{n}ʒhi^{n}* , *†nąžį* ‘rise, stand’ LF:119a

Quapaw *nąžį* RR

General comment

na- does not appear to be the ‘foot, instrumental’ here.

Cf. ‘erect’ for the simple root.

standing, continue, standing positional

verb physical_somatic_posture

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **hą́(-kE)*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **háhku*

Crow *áahku* ‘remain’ RG

Hidatsa *háhku* ‘remain’ J

Pre-Mandan **hąk-*

Mandan *hąk* ‘in a standing position’ H:65

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **r-hą*

Proto-Dakota **(r)hą*

Lakota *hą* ‘stand upright’ EB:165b

Dakota *haŋ* , *†hą* ‘stand, stand upright or on end; remain’ SRR:123a

Stoney *hą* [+ablaut] PAS

Sioux Valley *hą* [+ablaut] PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *ǰą* ‘nearby standing position’ WL , *ją*

Proto-Dhegiha **thą*

Omaha-Ponca *thą* ‘standing animate def. art. and continuative aux.’ RR

Kanza/Kaw *khą* ‘standing animate def. art. and continuative aux.’ RR

Osage *thą* ‘standing animate def. art. and continuative aux.’ RR

Quapaw *thą* ‘standing animate def. art. and continuative aux.’ RR

Proto-Southeastern **hą-*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *hánde* , *†hą́de* ‘be (sign of continuous or incomplete action)’ D&S:193b

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *-heⁿg* , *†-hąk* LJF , *-hęk* , *†-hąk* ES

General comment

In Chiwere and Hoocąk Proto-Siouan **hąke* 'standing, continue, standing positional' and **wųke* 'lie, be lying, positional' have fallen together with loss of **#w-* and replacement with *#h-*, cf. the 1st person pronoun prefixes. **hąke* has apparently yielded doublets in DH, the classificatory auxiliary and definite article *t-hą* on the one hand and DH forms using the root *-hą* with the meaning 'raise' or 'rise' on the other: Omaha-Ponca *ðihą́* 'raise' RR; Kanza/Kaw *dahą́* 'rise, of bread' RR; Osage *tahą́* , *dahó^{n}* 'rise, of bread' LF-320b. In Hidatsa the continuatives are *wahku, rahku, hahku*. On the development of *wahku, rahku*, cf. 'lie, be lying, positional'. An inherited **hą + kE* has presumably been reshaped to fit the sitting/lying pattern with preaspirated *-hku*. Also in Hidatsa, the plural stem for all three positionals is *ahku*, with which compare the Crow form. Tutelo and Mandan show the **kE* suffix.

standing, inanim. classifier

verb n/a

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **rahÉ*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa *nahí* , *†rahÉ* 'stand' J

Pre-Mandan **te* < ***rhe*

Mandan *te* 'it's there, stands there, exists' H:246 , *tɛ* EK , *téʔš* RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **rhe*

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **te•*

Chiwere *ǰe* 'in a standing position' JGT:241

Hoocąk *ǰee* 'distal st. positional' , *jee* JEK, WL , *ǰe* , *jee*

Proto-Dhegiha **the*

Omaha-Ponca *the* 'standing, inan. classifier' RR

Kanza/Kaw *čhe* 'standing, inan. classifier' RR

Osage *che* 'standing, inan. classifier' RR

Quapaw *the* 'standing, inan. classifier' RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **rhe*

Biloxi *ne, ně, nédi* , *†ne* 'standing an. or inan.', 'this'

Ofo *akạléwa* , *†akəléwa* 'stand up' D&S:319a

General comment

The expected initial syllable syncope explains most of the cognates here. DH aspirated stops seem clearly to be a secondary development from syncope. Biloxi *n* before an oral vowel reflects the earlier **rh* cluster. The same explanation may account for Ofo *l* for expected *t*. In Mandan, the development of underlying *rh* to surface *t* is explained by Hollow, p. 42. Synchronically, Lakota *he* has become connected to *hą*, cf. 'standing, continue, standing positional'. Tutelo *né* 'stand, trans.; lean, trans.' is probably related.

star (1)

noun physical_celestial_body

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **įtka*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **ihka*

Crow *ihká* 'star' GG:74, RGG:6

Hidatsa *íhka* 'star' J

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *íⁿtka, iⁿtká , †įtka* D&S:203b

Ofo *oⁿtaskĕ́, ontaskĕ́, óⁿtaske , †ątaske* D&S:328a

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *tabunītçkai; tapniñskai , †taburį•čkai* N, H

General comment

The Ofo and Tutelo forms resemble the established cognates here, but contain numerous irregularities. The similarities between 'egg' and 'star (1)' led Matthews (1958:125) to consider them a single etymon. We have chosen to regard 'egg' and 'star (1)' as a case of homophony rather than polysemy.

star (2)

noun physical_celestial_body

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **Wi•hkáx(-ʔe/-pi)*

Proto-Dakota **wičháxpi*

Lakota *wičháxpi* ‘star’ RTC

Dakota *wićáŋḣpi* , *†wičhą́xpi* ‘a star, the stars’ SRR:568a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *bi•kháxʔe* ‘star’ RR

Proto-Dhegiha **mihkáxʔe*

Omaha-Ponca *mikkáʔe* ‘star’ RR

Kanza/Kaw *mikkákʔe* ‘star’ RR

Osage *mihkákʔe* ‘star’ RR

Quapaw *mikkáxʔe* ‘star’ RR

General comment

The first vowel of Mandan *kéxe* does not correspond to the *a* found elsewhere in this set. Nasalization of the initial syllable vowel and preceding consonant in this set is explained by the fact that this term incorporates the term for ‘moon, sun, orb’, q.v., in MVS. The latter term apparently had nasalization in a second syllable that spread across the glide to the first. This accounts for the nasalized reflexes of Proto-Mississipi-Valley **W* in DH. See ‘moon, sun, orb’ for a fuller discussion of **W* here and the long vowel in Chiwere.

star (3)

noun physical_celestial_body

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **Ske (?)*

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *xkék* ~ *xkéke* ‘star’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *wiirágųšgé* ‘star’ KM:3674 , *wiiragųšge*

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Ofo *oⁿtaskĕ´, ontaskĕ´, óⁿtaske* , *†ą́•taske* D&S:328a, JSS

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *tabunītçkai; tapniñskai* , *†taburį•čkai* N, H

General comment

Basically a set of leftover but possibly related forms.

steal (1)

verb social_transfer

Proto-Siouan-Catawba **-rų́*

Proto-Siouan **wa-_rų́•*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **aša•ri*

Crow *ataalí* ‘steal’ GG:13

Hidatsa *aša•ri* ‘steal’ J

Pre-Mandan **rų́•-*

Mandan *wąrų́•* ‘steal’ RTC , *rų́•re* ‘steal’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **mą•-_nų́*

Proto-Dakota **ma-_nų́*

Lakota *manų́, mawánų* RTC

Sioux Valley *ma-nų* PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **mą́•nų́*

Chiwere *(wa)mų́nų́* GM

Hoocąk *mąąnų́* KM:2001 , *mąąnų́*

Proto-Dhegiha **mǫ(r)ǫ < *mǫ-ʔǫ (?)*

Omaha-Ponca *wamoⁿthoⁿ* MAS:164

Kanza/Kaw *wamǫ́yǫ* ‘steal pl. an. objects’ RR , *gímǫyǫ* ‘steal something from someone’ RR

Osage *moⁿthóⁿ* , *†mąðą́* ‘steal, filch, rifle’ LF:102b

Quapaw *mądá, mǫdá* JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *manoñ, manōma H; manóma, manóⁿ, manúⁿ* , *†mąnų́•* JOD

Proto-Catawba

Catawba *hiinų́-, inų́-* ‘steal’ FGS

General comment

Comparing the most conservative Siouan conjugational patterns and Catawba, the oldest form of the root appears to have been *-rų*. It then seems likely that the initial morpheme, **mą(•)-* is the object prefix, *wa-*, which has assimilated nasalization from the root and in some cases undergone a little irregular vowel harmony. In such cases its identity became opaque, and we see the same prefix reapplied in MVS. Frequent reapplication of *wa-* 'something' leaves the old initial syllable in second position, and vowel length has naturally shifted to it in MVS. The DH forms look as though they have been additionally restructured recently. They should have uniform reflexes of the final syllable **-nǫ*. The oral consonant, falling between two nasal vowels, betrays the reanalysis that has occurred here. Evidently the initial syllable, *mǫ* (the older incorporated object), was interpreted as the root, and the final syllable was reinterpreted as an instance of Proto-Dhegiha **ʔǫ* 'do, make', the original *n* was dropped and the common intervocalic glide, *r* inserted. The Crow and Hidatsa forms may be compounds of 'travel' (Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **ašÉ*) and 'steal' (with reference, perhaps, to stealing by war parties). If so, 'steal' has lost its initial *w* intervocalically and the final vowel has been reshaped. The Crow and Hidatsa terms may not be cognate at all. Catawba appears only to have the second root.

steal (2)

social_transfer

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **aša•ri*

Crow *ataalí* 'steal' GG:13

Hidatsa *aša•ri* 'steal' J

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *kĭšĭně´ , ṫkisiné* 'steal from another' D&S:256a

General comment

The Biloxi form may explain the Crow and Hidatsa forms in *-rí*, though Biloxi has a different spirant. To explain the long *a•* in Crow and Hidatsa, one might appeal to a folk etymology along the lines suggested in the comments to 'steal (1)'.

stick (1)

verb physical_contact

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **skapE*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa *kadĭtskapa* , *†karickapa* ‘stick to, adhere as a glued or pasted surface’ WM:99b

Pre-Mandan **škáp-*

Mandan *škápo?š* ‘it’s dirty’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **skapE*

Proto-Dakota **skapA*

Lakota *óškabya* , *†óskabya* ‘sticking to, adhering’ EB:404a

Dakota *áskapa* ‘to stick to or on, adhere to’ SRR:48a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **skápe*

Chiwere *aráhgawe* ~ *aráthgawe* , *†aráθkawe* ‘stick, adhere, be fast’ JGT:242

Hoocąk *sgaasgáp* ‘be sticky’ KM:2819 , *sgaasgap* ‘be stuck on something; have something adhere to one’ , *xgáp, hara-* ‘ride on someone’s back’ KM:689 , *haraxgap* , *xgáp, haru-* , *haruxgap*

Proto-Dhegiha **skape*

Omaha-Ponca *çkáçkabe* , *†skáskabe* ‘be sticky’ MAS:164

Kanza/Kaw *baskábe* ‘thrust a stick into the mud’ RR , *baskáskabe* ‘thrust in mud many times’ RR , *büskáskabe* ‘make sticky by kneading’ RR

Osage *çkáçkabe* , *†skáskabe* ‘sticky, miry, muddy’ LF:316b

General comment

Mandan *skap* ‘be wet’ has a different spirant grade. The Chiwere and Hoocąk forms represent a compound with ‘stick (5)’ as the first element.

stick (2)

verb physical_contact

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **-ska*

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *sge, hokirú-* ‘be stuck together’ KM:1378 , *hokirusge* ‘be solidified, curdled, caked’ KM:394 , *sgé, gi- gisgesgé* , *gisge, gisgesge*

Proto-Dhegiha

Quapaw *ádaska* ‘stick on’ JOD

General comment

Hoocąk forms may also be from *ske*

stick (3)

verb physical_contact

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **-ske*

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *ske, oká-* ‘bunch or lump of things sticking together as candy, sugar etc.’ EB:384

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *sge, hokirú-* ‘be stuck together’ KM:1378 , *hokirusge* ‘be solidified, curdled, caked’ KM:394 , *sgé, gi- gisgesgé* , *gisge, gisgesge*

Proto-Dhegiha

Quapaw *diské* ‘mix sticky substance with the hands’ RR

General comment

Osage *ðisképe* ‘to scrape’ shows this root with the *-pe* extension.

Likewise Kanza/Kaw *yüskébe* ‘scrape, as the fat from a hide’. Hoocąk forms may also be from *ska*

stick (4)

Verb physical_contact

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **a-rakE*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dakota

Dakota *ik'óyaka* 'adhere to, stick to' EB:222a , *ikóyaka* 'adhere to, stick to' SRR:195a

Proto-Dhegiha

Kanza/Kaw *áyage* 'glue feathers on a shaft'

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **a-raki*

Biloxi *daki, dag, tûki, tûg; añksi adaki* , *†(a)daki* 'be glued, stick, adhere; glued on arrow = arrow feathers' D&S:180a

Ofo *atąkíti* , *†atəkiti* 'a lock' D&S:322a

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *masīgorāk* , *†mąsi•kora•k(i)* 'iron' H:1878

General comment

Cf. 'stick (5)'

stick (5)

verb physical_contact

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **a-ra*

Proto-Dakota **-ra*

Lakota *o-yá* ‘stick to’ EB:417a

Dakota *o-yá* ‘stick to’ SRR:396b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *aláha* ‘stick on’ GM

Proto-Dhegiha **ára-*

Kanza/Kaw *áyaha* ‘stick to one, to wear’ RR

Osage *áthaha* , *†áðaha* ‘to stick to one as does mud.’ LF:15a

Quapaw *áda* ‘glue feathers on arrow’ JOD

General comment

Cf. ‘stick (4)’

stick (6)

verb physical_contact

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **-stakE*

Proto-Dakota **-stakA*

Lakota *akástaka* ‘throw or daub on e.g. plaster, to bespatter’ EB:69b , *okástaka* ‘throw on or in, make stick on, as in daubing a house’ EB:385 , *okástaka* ‘throw on or in, make stick on, as in daubing a house’ SRR:363a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **awástake*

Chiwere *awátage* ‘patch’ [Ioway] LWR:65 , *abátage* ‘patch (Otoe)’ JGT:199 , *awáhdage* ‘patch’

Hoocąk *hawasták* ‘patch’ KM:721 , *hawastak*

Proto-Dhegiha **-stáke*

Kanza/Kaw *iyáyüstáge* ‘binding for cradleboard’ RR , *stáge, áyü-* ‘tie together’ JOD, RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **staki*

Biloxi *ádustûkí* , *†staki* ‘adhere or stick to’ D&S:180b , *staḳ, apástaḳoⁿní* , *†staki* ‘patch’ D&S:257b , *kĭpstûkí* , *†staki* ‘sewed together; a seam’ D&S:249 , *kĭpstûkyĕ´* , *†staki* ‘sew together’ D&S:249 , *apstû´ki, apstûkí* , *†staki* ‘sew habitually’ D&S:249

Ofo *náftąki* , *†náftəki* ‘tie’ D&S:326b

General comment

Chiwere **st* > *θt* ~ *ht* ~ *t*, so these are not aberrant forms. Cf. ‘mire (1)’

stick (7)

verb physical_contact

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **-sta*

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *hirustą* ‘be plastered with’ KM:2869 , *hirustą*

Proto-Dhegiha **sta*

Omaha-Ponca *ákithaçta* , *†ákkiðasta*

Kanza/Kaw *áyasta* ‘stick together’ RR , *íyüsta* ‘stick, tie to’ RR , *sta, ába-* ‘patch, put on a patch’ RR , *sta, áya-* ‘adhere, (one object), stuck’ RR

Osage *áḳithaçta* , *†áhkiðasta* ‘the sticking of one object to another’ LF:12a , *ábaçta* , *†ápasta* ‘patch’ LF:302b , *áthuçta* , *†áðüsta* ‘bind’ LF:235a

Quapaw *sta, ába-* ‘patch’ RR

General comment

Cf. ‘mire (2)’

stiff

verb perceptual_visual

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **sáta*

Proto-Dakota **sáta*

Lakota *sáta* ‘drying pole, kettle pole’ RTC

Dakota *sáta* ‘the horizontal stick on which the kettle is placed’ SRR:431b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **sata*

Chiwere *wathára* , *†waθára* ‘straighten out’ JGT:86

Hoocąk *ksáač* ‘stiff’ KM:1889 , *ksaac*

Proto-Dhegiha **sáta*

Kanza/Kaw *sáda* ‘stiff, straightened out’ RR

Osage *çáda, çadá* , *†sáta* ‘stiff, rigid, stiff-jointed’ LF:29a

General comment

There are at least three other instances of *kS-* in Hoocąk matching initial sibilants elsewhere. Cf. ‘nine’, ‘quail, prairie chicken’, ‘apple’ (under ‘red (1b), red hawthorn’). If the *k* were inherited, it would presumably have been preserved in Lakota. This would not seem to be a case in which **ki-* ‘dative, possessive’ would explain the Hoocąk form. The Proto-Mississipi-Valley form probably had a long accented vowel.

stink (1)

noun perceptual_olfactory

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **kwųźe (?)*

Proto-Dakota **kmúźa*

Lakota *gmúźa* ‘strong or fishy smell’ EB:162a

Dakota *hmuŋ́za* , *†hmúźa* ‘slimy, fish-like, smelling strong, like spoiled meat’ SRR:150b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *čųwús* ‘fishy smell or taste’ KM:288 , *cųwųs*

Proto-Dhegiha **krǫ́ze*

Kanza/Kaw *lǫ́ze, lóze* ‘smell of food or smoke’ JOD

Osage *gthóⁿçe* , *†lą́ze* ‘smell of spoiled food’ LF:55b

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *yaⁿsí* , *†yąsí* ‘having a fishy odor’ D&S:290b

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *wihóoq gupsuá* , *†kupsuá* ‘fishy smell’ HW

General comment

Cf. ‘cat’ for correspondences. Cf. also ‘stink (3)’. While it is possible that these, primarily MVS, *kw* clusters may turn out to have Proto-Siouan sources, they do not occur in really basic vocabulary, and it seems much more likely that they represent early borrowings. the Tutelo analog is clearly related historically in some way, but it has undergone irregular syncope or metathesis, showing that it is not a cognate in the accepted sense of the word. It may represent a borrowing from a different but related language or adoption at a different time. Biloxi may have been contaminated from *yaⁿxí* ‘strong odor’. The dissimilation product should be *n* rather than *y*, but the semantic match is so exact that the Biloxi word must be related to this term in some way. All of the forms taken together suggest something like *kuwųsa, kumusa, kumuswa* or the like, but we do not suggest them as Proto-Siouan reconstructions, rather they may represent a shape to search for in a potential source language.

stink (2)

verb perceptual_olfactory

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **(i)xu-*

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *xų́•pe* ‘stink’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **xo•wį*

Proto-Dakota *xųwį̂*

Lakota *xųwį̂* ~ *xwį̂* ‘stink, become putrid, as does meat’ RTC

Dakota *xųwį̂* ~ *xwį̂* ‘stink, become putrid, as a dead body’ SRR:168

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **xų́•wį*

Chiwere *xų́•mį* ‘stink’ RR

Hoocąk *xųųwį̂* ‘have pungent odor or stink’ KM:3959 , *xųųwį*

Proto-Dhegiha *xowį̂*

Omaha-Ponca *xuí*^{n} MAS:164

Osage *xwí*^{n} , *†xwį̂* ‘fetid, offensive smell’ LF:221b

Quapaw *xowį̂, xwį̂* ‘stink’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **ixúhi*

Biloxi *xúhi, xyúhi, xuhí* , *†xúhi* ‘omit a bad odor, stink’ D&S:197b

Ofo *ĭshúhi* , *†išúhi* ‘stink, smell bad’ D&S:324a

Proto-Catawba

Catawba *sų́wə* ‘smell’ FGS:105 , *sųwi•tcúwe* ‘stinks much will’

General comment

This root seems clearly a product of symbolism, although it may also be partially inherited in some cases. There are too many *w*’s between nasal vowels for these to be cognates. The *w*’s should have all become *m*’s long ago in most of the languages represented here. We suspect that there is an inherited portion of the form that is related historically to the Catawba forms, but we would not propose a Proto-Siouan reconstruction because of the obvious intervention of sound symbolism.

stink (3)

noun perceptual_olfactory

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **yą́ɣe*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **yą́ɣe*

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *wačhą́ɣa* ‘sweetgrass’ EJ

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **nąxe*

Chiwere *nąxe* ‘be stinky, acrid’ GM

Hoocąk *nąąx* ‘smell of urine, bad smell’ KM:2262 , *nąąx*

Proto-Dhegiha

Kanza/Kaw *mažą́ɣe* ‘onion’ RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *yaⁿxí* , *†yąxí* ‘strong odor from a goat’ D&S:290b , *nto yaⁿxí* , *†yąxí* ‘the odor from a negro’ D&S:290b

General comment

Cf. ‘stink (1)’, also ‘ice’ for correspondences. Kanza/Kaw ‘onion’ is sometimes analyzed as *mąžą́* ‘earth’ and an unidentified derivational suffix *-ɣe*, but comparison with Dakota here shows that to be a folk etymology. It now seems clear that Lakota ‘sweetgrass’ is cognate, and the earlier meaning was not ‘earth-something’ but ‘that which smells (strongly)’. Nasalization of the initial syllable in Kanza/Kaw either took place via the usual nasal spread before **y* > *ž*, or represents a native attempt to justify the folk analysis.

stomach, paunch

noun physical_somatic_body_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **a-į́•xe*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **í•xi*

Crow *íaxa* ‘tripe’ GG:71, RGG:104

Hidatsa *í•xi* ‘tripe, paunch, first stomach of a ruminant’ J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *é•xi* ‘stomach’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **nį́•ya ~ nį́•xe*

Proto-Dakota **niɣé*

Lakota *niɣé* ‘stomach’ RTC

Dakota *niġé* , *†niɣé* SRR:340b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **nį́•xa*

Chiwere *nį́•xa* ‘upper stomach’ RTC, RR, JDH

Hoocąk *nįįxá* KM:2359 , *nįįxa*

Proto-Dhegiha **nį́ɣa*

Omaha-Ponca *níxa* RTC, RR

Kanza/Kaw *nį́ɣa* ‘animal’s stomach’ RR

Quapaw *ttaníya* ‘animal’s belly’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *yíxya^{n}, ayíxi, ayíxiya^{n}* , *†ayíxi* ‘stomach, paunch’ D&S:293a

General comment

Another instance of initial *n-* in MVS that is wanting in MRS and OVS. The most likely analysis is that it represents the epenthetic glide that is inserted preaccentually between a prefix vowel and vowel-initial stem. If the prefix is the bound inalienable possessor prefix, *i-*, Dakota would have modern initial *čh* in place of *n* however. The prefix vowel was probably the *a* still reflected in Biloxi. Crow and Hidatsa evidently reflect the form without the *a* prefix or epenthetic glide. Crow *ia* is from *i•* before *x*. Mandan initial *e•* might reflect collapse of an earlier *a-i*; however, the Mandan final vowel is wrong and suggests a possible borrowing from a Crow or Hidatsa dialect. The final vowels vary widely throughout the set and cannot really be accounted for at all.

stop (1)

physical_motion

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **stąhe*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **-stą*

Proto-Dakota **-stą*

Lakota **-stą*

Dakota *-stą* ‘stop’

Stoney *-stą* ‘stop’ PAS

Sioux Valley *-stą* ‘stop’

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *hakurustą́* ‘go to sleep (said of arm/leg, etc.)’ KM:2869 , *hakurustą*

Proto-Dhegiha

Quapaw *ádistą* ‘stop, cease’ CS, RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *stáⁿhiⁿ* , *†stą́hį* ‘enough, reach, sufficient’ D&S:258a

General comment

The Hoocąk form is truly anomalous; it should have *sǰ* rather than *st*. *st* should not even be admissible in Hoocąk. The remaining DH languages have the *š* form of this root. The Stoney form here is probably also reflects the *š* form as the expected reflex of the *s* form would be *-θtą*.

stop (2)

verb physical_motion

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **-štą́*

Proto-Dakota **-štą*

Lakota *yuštą́* ‘finish’ RTC , *štą́, ya-* ‘finish speaking, to keep quiet’ EB:629 , *štą́, yu-* ‘finish anything, to perfect; to settle e.g. a question in a meeting; to have decreed.’ EB:653

Dakota *yuštą* ‘finish’

Stoney *yuštą* ‘finish, stop’ PAS

Sioux Valley *yuštą* ‘finish’

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **-štą́*

Chiwere *rustã* , *†rustą́* ‘let go, stop, cease’ LWR , *rustą* , *†rustą́* ‘stop’ LWR:26 , *rusdą* , *†rustą́* LWR:71

Hoocąk *rušją́* ‘stop (activity)’ KM:2734 , *rušją* ‘be strong (physically), hard; be loud’ KM:2026 , *šją́, mąą-* ‘release’ WL:18.8, KM:2242 , *mąąšją* ‘stop telling, finish telling; finish singing’ KM:2574 , *šją́, nąą-* ‘stop, v.intr. (activity)’ KM:2734 , *nąąšją* , *šją́, ra-* , *rašją* , *šją́, ru-* , *rušją*

Proto-Dhegiha **-štą*

Omaha-Ponca *thishtoⁿ* , *†ðištą́* ‘finish’ MAS:77 , *áðištą* , *†ðištą́* ‘stop’ JOD

Kanza/Kaw *áyüštą* ‘stop’ RR , *štą, bá-* ‘stop cutting or sawing’ RR , *štą́, ba-* ‘stop pushing sth.’ RR , *štą, bó-* ‘stop shooting, blowing, etc.’ RR , *štą́, bü-* ‘stop, cease rubbing, pressing’ RR , *štą, dá-* ‘stop burning, as a fire’ RR , *štą́, ga-* ‘stop hitting, stop blowing’ RR , *štą́, ną-* ‘stop moving and stand still’ RR , *štą́, ya-* ‘stop eating, drinking, talking, crying’ RR , *štą́, yü-* ‘stop, be finished, let go’ RR

Osage *thishtóⁿ* , *†ðüštą́* ‘stop, finish’ LF:149a , *áðüštą* , *†ðüštą́* ‘stop’ JOD

Quapaw *ádištą* ‘stop’ JOD , *štą, áda-* ‘stop oral activity’ RR , *štą́, di-* ‘finish, complete’ RR

store away

verb physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **-tku-*

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *tkuga, paó-* ‘push and thereby lock, e.g., a door with a night latch’ EB:432 , *tkuga, yuó-* ‘lock a door with a key or by hand’ EB:646

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *cgús, waru-* ‘be stored away’ KM:3445 , *warucgus* ‘do a work completely’ KM:1540 , *cgús, howa-* ‘store away’ KM:2658 , *howacgus* , *cgús, ru-* , *rucgus*

Proto-Dhegiha

Quapaw *wattíxe* ‘cache, cellar’

General comment

The expected Quapaw form from **tku* would be *ttí* via the normal metathesis and assimilation of the cluster and fronting and unrounding of *u*.

straight

verb perceptual_visual

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **ru-ohtą*

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *yuóta*^{n} ‘make straight’ EB:646b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **ro•thą́*

Chiwere *lothą́* GM

Hoocąk *roočą́* ‘be straight, be in a straight line’ KM:2627 , *roocą*

Proto-Dhegiha **rohtą*

Omaha-Ponca *thuto*^{n}*´* , *†ðottą́* ‘beeline or straight’ MAS:278

Kanza/Kaw *yóttą* ‘straight up’ RR

Osage *-íthuṭo*^{n} , *†-ðohtą* ‘in a straight line, cut across’ LF:80a

Quapaw *dottą́* ~ *dottǫ́* JOD

strawberry

noun plant_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dakota

Dakota *waz´úšteća* , *†wažúšteča* ‘strawberries’ SRR:563b

Yanktonai *wazhushtecha* , *†wažušteča* ‘strawberries’ [prob. Yankton]

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **há•šte-(ke)*

Chiwere *hášče* ‘strawberries’ GM, RR

Hoocąk *haašjék, haasjék* ‘strawberries’ KM:536 , *haašjek, haascek*

Proto-Dhegiha **pašté-(ka)*

Omaha-Ponca *bašté* ‘strawberries’ RR

Kanza/Kaw *ppąščéga* ‘strawberries’ RR

Osage *pašcéka* ‘strawberries’ JOD

Quapaw *paštéka* ~ *mastéka* ~ *wasteka* ‘strawberries’ RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *ástĕpáx kotká* , *†ástepáx* ‘strawberries’ [*kotká* ‘wild’] D&S:174b

General comment

This term shows all the earmarks of a borrowed and adapted form. There have been different reanalyses in the different subgroups. Chiwere and Hoocąk show possible contamination from *ha•s-* ‘berry, grape’. Kanza/Kaw folk etymologizes the initial syllable as *ppą* ‘nut’. And cf. Dakota *wašté* ‘good’. Quapaw has competing forms, some with *s*. The Biloxi form (also with *s*) is analyzed by Dorsey and Swanton as consisting of *ası́* ‘berry’ and an unidentified, compounded element, (like the Chiwere/Hoocąk forms), but it could just as well be yet another restructuring of the same elements found in MVS. Lakota *†wazíškeca* , *wazíškeca* ‘strawberry’ B-575a represents yet another folk etymology.

stretch (1)

physical_contact_deformation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *-*ra*•

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **ra*• , **ra*

Crow *ihkalaá* ‘stretch oneself’ GG:74

Hidatsa *í•ra•* ‘yawn’ J

Pre-Mandan **wre*•

Mandan *í•hwere•ro?š* ‘he yawned’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *-*ra*

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *iyóya* ‘yawn, gape’ [1s iyo-wa-ya] RTC

Dakota *iyówa* ‘yawn’ [1s iyo-wa-wa] SRR:237

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *iˆára* ‘yawn’ JGT:29

Hoocąk *?iyaára* JWE , *iiyaara*

Proto-Dhegiha

Quapaw *iáda* ‘yawn’ JOD

General comment

Cf. ‘yawn’.

stretch (2)

verb physical_contact_deformation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **-zíkE*

Proto-Dakota **-zičA*

Lakota *zilya, ka-* 'stretch out, straighten' EB:296 , *zíča, na-* 'over-stretched, as a machine belt that becomes too wide; to stretch e.g. a rope by means of the knees or feet' EB:362 , *zíča, pa-* 'roll out or stretch with the hand, to stretch by pressing against' EB:438 , *zígziča, yu-* 'stretch, make pliable.' EB:657 , *zíča, ya-* 'stretch anything with the teeth' EB:632

Dakota *pazíća* , *†pazíča* 'rub, roll out or stretch with the hand; stretch by pressing against' KR:417b

Proto-Dhegiha **-zíke*

Omaha-Ponca *†ðizízi* 'stretch'

Osage *baçi´ge* , *†pazíke* 'spiked' LF:19

Quapaw *zíke, bi-* 'stretch from pressure/weight' RR , *zíke, da-* 'stretch with the mouth' RR , *zíke, di-* 'stretch by pulling' RR , *zíke, ną-* 'stretch sth. by treading on it' RR

General comment

Omaha-Ponca *ðizízi, gazízi* 'stretch' (JOD1890:166) shows this root without the extension.

stretch (3)

verb physical_contact_deformation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **šį̨he*

Pre-Mandan **-sį̨h-*

Mandan *-sį̨ho?š, ka-* 'he stretches s.t. out' H:206

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *žį, howa-* 'stretch (e.g., skin) out to dry, put in a form to dry' KM:1566 , *howažį*

strike (1)

verb physical_contact_impact

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **(o)-rhį*

Proto-Dakota **hį*

Lakota *hįhé* ~ *hįhą́* ‘fall, as rain or snow’ EB:176b , *hįxpáya* ‘fall’ EB:176b , *hįxpéya* ‘throw down’

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **o•jį̃*

Chiwere *u•jį̃* ‘strike’ RR

Hoocąk *hojį̃, rujį̃* ‘hit’ KM:1709 , *hojį, rujį*

Proto-Dhegiha **othį́*

Omaha-Ponca *othį́* ‘hit’ RR

Kanza/Kaw *očhį́* ‘hit’ RR

Osage *útsi*^{n} , *†óchį* ‘maul, beat, pound’ LF:180b

Quapaw *othį́* ‘hit’ JOD, RR

Proto-Catawba

Catawba *ti•ʔtí•ʔhade* ‘beat it up do’ FGS:109

strike (2)

verb physical_contact_impact

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **tpa*

Proto-Dakota

Dakota *katpá* ‘strike’ SRR:271b

Proto-Dhegiha **hté*

Omaha-Ponca *no^{n}te* , *†nątté* ‘kick’ MAS:107

Kanza/Kaw *waččé* ‘count coup; victory’ RR , *ččé, nį-* ‘kick up the heels, animal kicks, man dances’ JOD, RR

Osage *waṭsé* , *†wahcé* ‘victorious returning with a large war party’ LF:205b

Quapaw *tté, nį-* ‘kick (said of animals in KS)’ RR

strike (3)

verb physical_contact_impact

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **-satá•*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa *núcata•* ‘squash sth.’ AWJ , *pácata•* ‘press down hard, flat; smash, mash, crush’ AWJ , *aracáta•* ‘mash w. foot’ AWJ , *nakcáta•* ‘smash flat, crash’ AWJ

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dhegiha **-stá*

Omaha-Ponca *nąstá* ‘step lightly’ JOD

Kanza/Kaw *sta, íbo-* ‘punch at with, nudge with’ RR , *stá, nį-* ‘kick someone, as a human, not as an animal’ RR , *stá, ga-* ‘hammer flat, beat until flat and long.’ RR , *stá, ya-* ‘chew on, flatten by chewing’ RR

Quapaw *stá, ka-* ‘strike, fall on’ RR

General comment

Osage *†nąstáke* ‘trample down’ (LF-113) shows this root with an extension.

Cf. numerous partial cognates in the *s* and *š* forms. Cf. ‘mire (2)’ for a homonymous root.

strike (4)

verb physical_contact_impact

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **-xtákE*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **xtakE*

Crow *xsachi, pá-* 'massage, knead' GG:53

Hidatsa *xtaki, nú-* 'fumble around in, e.g. a purse' J , *xtaki, pá-* 'poke, nudge' J

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **-xtákE*

Proto-Dakota **-xtákA*

Lakota *xtaka, iwó-* 'hit or strike against, bump' EB:247 , *xtáka, na-* 'kick anything' EB:345 , *kíxtaxtaka, na-* 'kick one's own e.g. horse' EB:349 , *xtaka, waká-* 'be easily hurt, touchy, nervous' EB:525 , *xtáka, wo-* 'pound, punch or knock with the end of anything' EB:598 , *xtáka, ya-* 'bite, to take a hold of with the mouth' EB:620

Dakota *yaȟtáka* , *†yaxtáka* 'bite' SRR:606a

Sioux Valley *yaxtáka* 'bite' PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **-xtáke*

Chiwere *raxdáge* 'bite' RR

Hoocąk *xják, nąą-* 'kick, v.tr. (person)' KM:2268 , *nąąxjak* 'bite (as, animal)' KM:2582 , *xják, ra-* , *raxjak*

Proto-Dhegiha **ra-xtáke*

Kanza/Kaw *xtáge, ya-* 'bite, as dogs, horses, etc.' RR

Osage *thaxtáge* , *†ðaxtáke* 'bite' LF:142b

Quapaw *daxtá* 'bite' RR

General comment

The following Lakota forms show *š* grade of this root: Lakota *štaka, íyapa-* 'be taken by surprise' B-251; Lakota *štaka, íyopa-* 'excite, incite, encourage, actuate, urge' B-259; Lakota *štaka, iyú-* 'soften, make soft, press'. B-809; Lakota *štáka, ka-* 'strike, beat, whip' B-292; Lakota *štaka, awó-* 'rebound, as an arrow on something hard not going in' B-101 The following Hoocąk forms show *s* grade of this root: Hoocąk *ták, boo-* ('dent by shooting, blowing, great force', Lk-20.2fb) KM-84; Hoocąk *ták, gi-* ('pound flat, dent', Lk-19.18fb) KM-400; Hoocąk *ták, nąą-* 'step on someone's foot' KM-2223; Hoocąk *ták, ra-* ('dent with the mouth', Lk-19.13fb) KM-2565; Hoocąk *ták, wa-* 'flatten by pressing with palm' KM-3472

strike (5)

verb physical_contact_impact

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *-šta•

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *-šta•

Crow *-schii, dá-* ‘chew’ GG:42, RGG:31

Hidatsa *šta•, ara-* ‘trample’ J , *šta•, ná-* ‘chew’ J

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dhegiha

Kanza/Kaw *šca, ogá-* ‘flatten by action of the water’ RR

General comment

Quapaw *xtá, da-* ‘bite sth.’ shows the *x* grade.

strike (6)

verb physical_contact_impact

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **-htÉ*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa *(x)the* ‘pound, grind’ J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *-teʔš, ka-* ‘he pounds it, shoots a gun’ H:247

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *ka-htá* , **ka-htÉ*

Proto-Dakota **kathatha*

Lakota *kathátha* ‘blunt by striking’ EB:293a, ED

Dakota *kat’át’a* , *†kathátha* ‘make blunt by striking’ SRR:270a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *gičé* ‘strike, knock off a piece’ KM:321 , *gice*

Proto-Dhegiha **ka-htá(-hta-)ra*

Kanza/Kaw *gattáya, gattáttaya* ‘knock to pieces’ RR

Osage *gaṭátha* , *†kahtáða* ‘crumble or ruin’ LF:138b

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Ofo *uⁿthě´* , *†ųthé* ‘fall’ D&S:331b

General comment

Cf. ‘shake (1)’, ‘strike (2)’. The DH forms may well be cognate if they are back formations from the reduplicated form, which typically requires the *a*-grade. This set is aberrant in that there is no Dakotan **kathé* or *kathá*. These do seem to be reduplicated forms though, because both *t*’s are aspirated.

struggle

verb physical_action

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **(o-nąˀ-)šaša (?)*

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *sása, ona-* ‘be kicking around’ LWR:22

Proto-Dhegiha

Quapaw *šaša, onáˀ-* ‘struggle kicking’ RR

General comment

This modest set may be from Proto-Mississipi-Valley **kša*, cf. Lakota *kšą́kšą* ‘wiggle, as a fish’ B-318b.

stuff

verb physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **xíhe*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa *xia, o•p-* ‘stuff sth. in a hole’ [pa] J

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dakota **-ɣi*

Lakota *-gí, ka-* , *†-ɣi* ‘stop one’s progress, to be in one’s way, as a river; not to be able to proceed; to hold in esteem to respect’ EB:272 , *-gi, opú-* , *†-ɣi* ‘push into, as hay into moccasins; to stuff, fill, as with hay’ EB:403

Dakota *opúġi* , *†opúɣi* ‘push into, as hay into moccasins; to stuff, fill, as with hay’ SRR:384a

General comment

Cf. Lakota *pazí* ‘push into, as a stick into the sand in hunting for turtle eggs’ (B-438).

stun, kill

verb psychosomatic_caus

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **-sáki*

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **-sáke*

Chiwere *githáge* , *†giθáge* ‘knock down, possibly kill’ JGT:245

Hoocąk *sák, gi-* ‘sock, hit, beat up’ [kill, knock unconscious, Lk-19.13] KM:386 , *gisak* ‘ramrod’ KM:1044 , *sak, hirowá-* ‘kill with the mouth’ KM:2561 , *hirowasak* , *sák, ra-* , *rasak*

Proto-Dhegiha **-sáki*

Kanza/Kaw *ságį, ba-* ‘stun, strike dead, stab to death’ RR , *sagį, bó-* ‘stun or kill by shooting or punching’ RR , *ságį, bü-* ‘stun, knock down, knock over’ RR , *ságį, ga-* ‘stun by striking, be stunned by a fall’ RR , *ságį, ną-* ‘stun or kill by kicking, stamping’ RR , *ságį, ya-* ‘stun or kill by biting’ RR , *ságį, yü-* ‘stun or kill by squeezing, choking’ RR

Osage *gaça´gi* , *†kasáki* ‘give a stunning blow’ LF:43

Quapaw *disáki* ‘hard, moulded with hands’

General comment

We reconstruct **-i* since *-e* is the most common unaccented ending and the class into which many verbs are regularized.

suck (1)

verb physical_action

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **-xoke*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **-xukE*

Crow *xuchi, dáa-* ‘suck in (eating)’ GG:41 , *xáchi, kulu-* ‘comb, spur’ GG:51

Hidatsa *xukE, ná-* ‘suck up’ [(ra); also -xoki] J , *xukE, (h)kiru-* ‘comb hair’ [also ra-] J

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **-zókE*

Proto-Dakota **yazókA*

Lakota *-zókA, ya-* ‘sip’ RTC

Dakota *yazoka* ‘sip’ WM:207b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *ɣók, hora-* ‘siphon, v.’ KM:1474 , *horaǧok*

Proto-Dhegiha

Quapaw *ádazokka* ‘point with the lips; close the lips and stick out the mouth’ RR

General comment

Cf. ‘suck (2)’. Cf. ‘slip (6)’ for another instance in which Crow or Hidatsa seems to have altered a root vowel *u* following the *ru-* prefix. Lakota and Quapaw show a different spirant grade, and the Quapaw form has a *-ka* root extension.

suck (2)

physical_action

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **ra-xópE*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa *ráxupE* ‘drink it all up’ J , *náxupi*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **-ɣópE*

Proto-Dakota **-xépa* ~ **-ɣópA*

Lakota *yaxépa* ‘drink up’ RTC , *yaɣópA* ‘sip, suck up’ RTC, EJ

Dakota *yaȟépa* , *†yaxépa* ‘drink up’ SRR:605a , *yaġópa* , *†yaɣópa* ‘suck up’ SRR:603a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **-ɣópe*

Chiwere *raghówe* , *†raɣówe* ‘suck’ JGT:245

Hoocąk *ɣóop* ‘gift of healing’ KM:502 , *ğoop* ‘cure by traditional means’ KM:563 , *haɣop* , *hağop*

Proto-Dhegiha **raxó(-we)*

Omaha-Ponca *thaxu* , *†ðaxo* ‘suck’ MAS:166

Kanza/Kaw *yaxówe* ‘make a tearing or sucking sound’ RR

Osage *thaxúe* , *†ðaxówe* ‘dragged with the teeth’ LF:143a

Quapaw *daxówe* ‘draw into the mouth’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *oxpá* , *†oxpá* ‘eat up’ D&S:240b , *yaⁿ́xkĭyóxpa* , *†oxpá* ‘they drink up for me’

Ofo *ąshópi* , *†əshópi* ‘drink’ D&S:321b , *utacĭ́pi* , *†utašípi* ‘suck’ D&S:331b

General comment

Omaha-Ponca may show the unextended root, though all of DH is problematic because post-accentual **p* is generally retained. Dakotan *-e-* is unexplained, though note the correlation of *e* with *x* and *o* with *ɣ*.

Lakota *ɣ* is not explained since *x* > *ɣ* only postonically. DH probably has *ɣ*, mistranscribed as *x* by most workers because, unlike the other pairs of fricatives, this one does not involve voicing. DH has a different root extension. Ofo seems to show the same two vowels that we find in Lakota.

s and *š* apparently do not contrast in Ofo, and both are reflexes of Proto-Siouan *x*.

suck (3)

physical_action

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Pre-Mandan **o_sop-*

Mandan *osópo?š* ‘he sucks it’ H:215

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *utcĭtcpí* , *†učičpí* ‘kiss, suck’ D&S:284b

sudden action (1)

verb physical_action

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **rhi-krÉ (?)*

Proto-Dakota **hį-krA (?)*

Lakota *hįglá* ‘sudden action’ EB:175b

Dakota *híŋhda* , *†híhda* ‘become, commence (implying suddenness)’ SRR:146b , *hihdá* , *†hihdá* [variant of *híhda*] SRR:145b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *-jigre-* , *†jĭgre* ‘suddenly become’ JGT:245

Hoocąk *jĭkeré* ‘start’ KM:1707 , *jikere*

Proto-Dhegiha **thi-kré*

Osage *ṭsigthé* , *†chilé* ‘sudden action, suddenly’ LF:163a

Quapaw *thikdé* ‘become suddenly’ JOD

General comment

Dakota sporadic nasalization is unexplained.

sudden action (2)

verb physical_action

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley ***rhi-rÉ***

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *ǰire, uǰire* ‘begin’ JGT:76

Proto-Dhegiha *_*thi-_*ré*

Omaha-Ponca *†thiðe*

Kanza/Kaw *čhiyé* ‘sudden action in this direction’

Osage *ṭsithé (sic)* , *†chiðé* ‘denoting, sudden action’ LF:163a

Quapaw *thıdé* ‘start, passby, come forth at birth’ JOD

General comment

Osage “ṭs” clearly should be *ts* = *ch*. La Flesche often makes mistakes with the tense vs. aspirated affricate. See ‘sudden action (1)’, which complements this set. These **rh* clusters are all generally secondary products of syncope from an earlier Proto-Siouan **rVh-*.

summer

noun time_phase

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **waRó•ke*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **wRó•ke*

Proto-Dakota **wrokétu*

Lakota *blokétu; blokéhą* ‘summer; last summer’ RTC

Dakota *mdokétu* ‘summer’ SRR:313b , *bdokétu* ‘summer’ SRR:73a

Stoney *mnogédu* PAS , *mndogétu-xti* DR

Sioux Valley *bdokétu* PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **Ró•ke*

Chiwere *to-ˀke, ṭoḳe* , *†dóge* ‘summer’

Hoocąk *tóok* KM:3132 , *took*

Proto-Dhegiha **Ro•ké*

Omaha-Ponca *no•gé* ‘summer’ RR

Kanza/Kaw *dogé* ‘summer’ RR

Osage *dogé* , *†toké* ‘summer’ LF:38a

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **ató•ki*

Biloxi *toke* ‘calm, no breeze stirring’ D&S:279a , *toḳe*

Ofo *atõk(i), atok* , *†ató•ki* ‘summer, spring, south, year’ D&S:322a, JSS

General comment

Cf. ‘loon’, ‘male’. This is one of the few nice, polysyllabic sets containing clear reflexes of Proto-Siouan **R*.

sun

noun physical_celestial_body

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **(wa-)wi•rą*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **wiri*

Crow *bilíiwaxpi* ‘sunset’ GG:32 , *bilítaačii* ‘moon’ GG:32, RGG:37 , *ammílasii* ‘east’ GG:10 , *ammíliiwaxpi* ‘west’ GG:10

Hidatsa *wirí* ~ *wíri* ‘sun, moon, orb’ J , *mirí* ~ *míri*

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *wį•rą?k, wį•rąk* ‘sun, moon’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **Wi•*

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *wí* ‘sun’ RTC

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *bí, bi•* ‘sun’ [bi• in ‘star’] RTC, RR , *(m)pí•* CFV

Hoocąk *wíi* ‘sun, moon, month’ KM:3640 , *wii*

Proto-Dhegiha **mi*

Omaha-Ponca *mi* ‘sun’ RR

Kanza/Kaw *mi* ‘sun’ RR

Osage *mí* ‘sun’ RR

Quapaw *mi* ‘sun’ RR

Proto-Southeastern **mi•rą*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **irą*

Biloxi *iná* , *†iną́* D&S:200a

Ofo *íla* , *†íla* D&S:324a

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *mĩn; mĩe, mi, mi^{n}* , *†mį•* ‘sun’ N, H, JOD

Saponi *My* , *†mį* ‘sun’ F, RR

Proto-Catawba

Catawba *mį́?* ‘rise’ PV

Woccon *Wittapare* ‘sun’ JL

General comment

Cf. ‘moon’ (‘moon, sun, orb’), generally the same as ‘sun’; cf. also ‘star (1)’. The apparently sporadic nasalization of the initial syllable comes from the second syllable via the expected nasal spread. The original accentual pattern of this term is difficult to reconstruct, but this very difficulty, plus the clear reflex of **W* or an initial cluster in Chiwere provides a hint of the solution to the problem. **W* seems always to represent a conflation of a root-initial **w* with a prefixed **wV*, usually the syncopated reflex of absolutive **wa-*. Thus there was an initial syllable. The long vowel in Chiwere, Mandan and Tutelo (expected on the second syllable) supports this analysis also, as does the intriguing cluster recorded by Voegelin. Crow/Hidatsa would be expected to have a long vowel, but they do not. Hidatsa at least shows variable accent. Cf. ‘snow (1)’ and ‘spring (season)’ for similar phonological sequences.

sunflower

noun plant

General comment

The Mandan form occurs in *ma?pé? ósere*, which may derive from *wa-* ‘absolutive’ + *qp* ‘day, dawn’ + *ó-* ‘nominalizer’ + *sre* ‘to bloom’, meaning ‘dawn flower’. The word is unusual, in that it has third-mora accent. The Hidatsa formation is similar: *wa•p-* ‘day’ plus *-ha•* ‘plant’ (compare Hidatsa *wa•cu* ‘cherry’, *wa•cua•* ‘cherry tree’). The sunflower is attested archaeologically all up and down the eastern plains as a common food source. There is strong evidence that it was domesticated fairly early. The fact that there do not appear to be cognates in most of the languages may suggest further refinement in our chronologies for subgroup development and/or may point to development outside the plains area. However, cf. ‘chinquapin, lotus, cattail’.

surround

verb physical_spatial

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **xa*

Crow *huupaxáa* ‘socks, men’s’ GG:49 , *áaxaa* ‘around’ GG:3

Hidatsa *í•xa* ‘net’ J , *í•xaxihe* ‘corral’ J , *íʔaxa* ‘surround’ J , *hu•paxá* ‘socks, stockings; lining of shoe’ J

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *hasá* ‘fasten’ WL:16.6, KM:693 , *hasa*

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *axí* , *†axí* ‘they swarmed on’ SRR:172b , *atcá* , *†ačá* ‘to kill many’ SRR:259b

Ofo *oⁿ́sxa* , *†ąsha* ‘hunt for game’ D&S:328a

General comment

Cf. ‘surround, head off, intercept’.

surround, head off, intercept

verb physical_spatial

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **(a-)ąSE*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **axa*

Crow *áaxaa* ‘around’ GG:3

Hidatsa *íʔaxa* ‘surround’ J

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **(a-)nąsE*

Proto-Dakota **nąsá*

Lakota *nąsá* ‘surround and kill, hunt buffalo’

Dakota *nasá* ‘hunt buffalo, surround and kill’ SRR:334a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **ánąse*

Chiwere *nathé* , *†nąθé* ‘close’ JGT:48 , *anáthe, nanthé* , *†anąθe* ‘close, impede’ JGT:48

Hoocąk *hanąsé* ‘shut off from doing sth.; lock in; cover’ KM:630 , *hanąse* ‘fasten’ WL:16.6 , *hasá* , *hasa*

Proto-Dhegiha **ánąse*

Omaha-Ponca *†ánase* ‘obstruct’

Kanza/Kaw *ánąsa* ‘cut off, surround’ RR

Osage *ánoⁿçe* , *†ánąse* ‘surround’ LF:13b

Quapaw *ánase* ‘intercept, head off’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Ofo *oⁿ́sxa* , *†ąsha* ‘hunt for game’ D&S:328a

General comment

Ofo exhibits the *x*-grade, as does Proto-Crow-Hidatsa. Assuming cognacy of the Ofo and Proto-Crow-Hidatsa forms for the moment, the lack of initial **r* before the vowel in Ofo/Proto-Crow-Hidatsa suggests that this is the older form and that MVS has inserted a glide between the locative prefix and stem that has been reanalyzed as a stem-initial consonant. All three fricative grades appear to exist in this set. Cf. ‘surround’.

swallow (bird)

noun animal_bird

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **awą́•-šo(-kE)*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa *awašóʔriša* ‘swallow (bird)’

Pre-Mandan **wą•sok (?)*

Mandan *wą́sok* ‘swallow’ H:276

General comment

Cf. Hidatsa *aʔriša* ‘crow (bird)’. The reconstructed term is a compound of ‘bird’ (q.v.) and an adjective. Kanza/Kaw has a vaguely similar descriptive term for this bird: *úbe žąkka* ‘forked tail’. Biloxi *tcoká* ‘(to have) a piece broken out at the top’ suggests that the reference in Hidatsa/Mandan may also be to the swallow’s distinctively forked tail. (Biloxi *č* < Proto-Siouan **š* regularly).

sweat

verb physical_somatic_function

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **-wrį*

Proto-Dakota **-mnį́*

Lakota *the_mní* ‘sweat, pant’ EB:487

Dakota *themní* ‘sweat, pant’ SRR:466b

Proto-Dhegiha **oRábrį*

Omaha-Ponca *unábthiⁿ* , *†onábðį* ‘sweat’ MAS:167

Osage *udabthi* , *†otabri* ‘sweat, perspire, perspiration’ LF:167a

General comment

Cf. Dakota *iní thí* ‘sweat lodge’. Several Dakotan forms with *-ni-* suggest this stem is bimorphemic, probably **wa-rį́* originally. It seems likely that this form arose in MVS though, since if it were Proto-Siouan it should be treated exactly like ‘water’, with which it would have been homophonous.

Note that nasalization is complete only in Dakotan.

sweet (1)

verb perceptual_taste

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **sikú•-e*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **cikua* < **cikúhe*

Crow *čikúa* ‘sweet’ GG:37

Hidatsa *cikúa* ‘sweet’ J , *xikua* ‘sour’

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **skú•(-re)*

Proto-Dakota **skúyA*

Lakota *skúya* ‘sweet’ RTC , *kiskúyA* ‘go sour’ RTC

Stoney *skúya* ~ *skúwa* ‘sweet’ [+ablaut when derived nominal] PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **skú•*

Chiwere *θkú* ~ *hkú* ‘sweet’ RR

Hoocąk *sgúu* ‘sweet’ KM:2832 , *sguu*

Proto-Dhegiha **skú•re*

Omaha-Ponca *skíðe* ‘sweet’ RTC , *skí•ðe* ‘sweet’ RR

Kanza/Kaw *skii•ʹwe* ‘sweet’ RR

Osage *skii•ʹwe* ‘sweet’ RR , *çkiʹthe* , *†skíðe* ‘sweet’ LF:31b

Quapaw *skíde* ‘sweet’ RR

General comment

Cf. ‘sweet (2)’ for the corresponding *š*-forms. Both ‘sweet’ terms must be reconstructed together, and by and large they jibe. There are three interesting questions. (a) Was there a vowel separating S from *k*? We reconstruct one, as it appears in several languages and renders accent and length in the second syllable completely regular. (b) What accounts for the Mandan and Tutelo nasalization? We have no answer, except to point out that this is not the first time we have found aberrant nasalization. Mandan and Chiwere are the usual offenders. (c) The toughest and most interesting question obviously involves the final syllable and the glide or consonant that introduces it.

It has generally been the case that Proto-Siouan did not allow vowel sequences. So Proto-Siouan presumably had a phonetic glide preceding *-e*, which probably had morphemic status. We are unable to reconstruct the glide. The second element itself might be ‘food’, q.v. As both Lakota and Hidatsa indicate, an earlier gloss for this series might be ‘strongly flavored’; cf. also the ‘salt’ meanings with the *š*-grade.

sweet (2)

verb perceptual_taste

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **šikú•-e*

Pre-Mandan **skıhe*

Mandan *skúho?š* 'it's sweet' H:214 , *apskú* 'wild anise' H:214 , *wá•skıhe* 'sugar' RTC

Proto-Southeastern **čikú•-e*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **čikú•-e*

Biloxi *kɔ•čkúye?* 'watermelon' [< kó• 'gourd' + čkú•ye 'sweet'] MRH , *kɔ•čku•ye?* 'watermelon' MS , *tckuyě´, tckúyě* , *†čkúye* 'sweet' D&S:265b , *tcĭkúyixti´* , *†čĭkúyixtí* 'very sweet' D&S:265b

Ofo *amąskū´wĕ* , *†aməskú•we* 'salt' D&S:320b, JSS , *atk amąskúwĕ* , *†aməskú•we* 'sugar' D&S:320b

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *matsıgǫ́yǫ* , *†mačikǫ́yǫ* 'salt' ES , *matcigo"yó"* , *†mačikǫyǫ́* 'salt' LJF

Proto-Catawba

Catawba *hičwa* 'sweet' [nasalized ą] PV:40 , *hičəware* 'sweet' [nasalized ą] KS , *mąčuware* 'taste sweet' PV:40, FGS:113.25 , *hičwahę?* 'sweet' FGS:105.15 , *hičəwačú we* 'sweet' FGS:115.2 , *híčwado?* 'taste sweet' FGS:112.1 , *ičwáhę?* PV:63 , *mąčuwa* PV:63 , *mačowa* FGS:22.7 , *mąhčuware* FGS:101.8 , *imąčowáhę?*

General comment

Cf. '<u>sweet (1)</u>' for the corresponding s-grade, and for comments on the reconstructions.

swell (1)

verb physical_condition_change

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *-pá•he*

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *pá•ho?š* ‘it’s swollen’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **-pá*

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *u•wá* ‘swell’ RR

Proto-Dhegiha **íp̨a*

Omaha-Ponca *íba* ‘swell’ MAS:167

Kanza/Kaw *íba* ‘swell’ RR

Osage *íba* , *t́íp̨a* ‘swell, become swollen’ LF:68a

Quapaw *íp̨a* ‘swell’ JOD

swell (2)

verb physical_condition_change

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **phó*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **póSSV-*

Crow *póssee* 'pop; crackle' GG:54 , *póttee* 'plop' GG:54, RGG:93 , *poppasshí* 'popping sound' RGG:93

Hidatsa *póššahi* 'a popping sound' J

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **pho*

Proto-Dakota **phópa*

Lakota *naphópa* 'burst, explode' RTC , *phópa* 'burst' EB:445a , *pópa, na-* 'burst, as a boiler, a gun, corn (popcorn); burst something' EB:355 , *pópa, pa-* 'make burst or pop squeezing or pressing' EB:432 , *popa, wayá-* 'make burst by biting' EB:564 , *popa, wayú-* 'cause to burst' EB:571 , *pobá, ka-* 'burst with a noise' EB:287 , *pobá, na-* 'burst with a noise' EB:354 , *pobá, pa-* 'burst' EB:432

Proto-Dhegiha **phohki*

Omaha-Ponca *gaphókki* 'make sound by hitting' , *gapúki*

Kanza/Kaw *dáphokke* 'pop' RR , *phokke, bó-* 'smacking sound' RR , *phókke, bü-* 'make a popping sound from bursting' RR , *phókki, ba-* 'pop, give off a popping noise (also causative)' RR , *phókki, ga-* 'popping sound made when hitting' RR , *phophokke, dá-* 'popcorn, be continually popping' RR

Osage *dápoḳi (sic)* , *†dáphohki* 'explode' LF:36a , *poḳié (sic)* , *†phohkié* 'a sound like the report of a gun or a popgun' LF:129b

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **pho*

Biloxi *tŭpó* , *†-pó* 'burst' D&S:282a

Ofo *pophû´ti* , *†pophúti* 'swell, puff out' D&S:328b

Proto-Catawba

Catawba *bo?* 'shoot, explode' KS , *pu•su•?* 'shoot with blowgun' KS

General comment

The Catawba forms are presumably not both cognate with the Siouan forms, but out understanding of Siouan/Catawban sound correspondences does not permit us to determine which properly fits. Sound symbolism is evident here also.

swell (3)

verb physical_condition_change

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **poh*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **pu•a* < **po•he J*

Crow *púa* ‘rotten’ GG:54

Hidatsa *pú•a* ‘rot, spoil, be swollen’ J

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **pó*

Proto-Dakota **pó*

Lakota *pó* RTC

Dakota *po* ‘swell’ SRR:423b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *nąąwó* ‘swell’ JWE , *nąąwo* ‘rise, as bread’ , *nąąwú* , *nąąwo*

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *po* ‘swell’ D&S:246b

Ofo *pophû´ti* , *†pophúti* ‘swell up’ D&S:328

General comment

See ‘swell (1)’, also the ‘shooting instrumental’ prefix.

Virtually every language in the world has a word meaning ‘swell, blow up, inflate’, etc. with the canonical form PUH where H is zero or nearly any fricative. Cf. English puff. Sound symbolism plays an important if not predominant role here. Compare howl for **o•he* > *Hidatsa u•a*.

swell (4)

verb physical_condition_change

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **pox-*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **-po•ši*

Crow *dappúši* 'swollen' GG:42, RGG:101 , *dappóoši* 'inflated' GG:42 , *dappóoxi* 'swollen, blistered' GG:42

Hidatsa *puši, naka-* 'swell, puff up, inflate' J

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *poxya, oná-* 'swell out, puff up' EB:396 , *poxya, waná-* 'leaven, cause to rise' EB:538

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *pópoxtyí* , *†pópoxti* 'swelling medicine' D&S:246b

General comment

It is always difficult to distinguish cognacy from sound symbolism with these *po ~ pu* 'puff' words since every language has them. Crow and Hidatsa also show *š* grade. Crow seems to preserve an earlier long vowel which in some derived forms shortens and raises in both Crow and Hidatsa.

sycamore ? (birch, maple)

noun plant

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **(wa)-yą• są* ‘white wood/tree (?)’

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **wirVhaci*

Crow *biliichí* ‘willow’ GG:32, RGG:11

Hidatsa *wirahaci* ‘shrub willow’ J , *mirahaci*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **yą-(ha)-są (?)*

Proto-Dakota **čhą-há-są*

Lakota *caŋhásaŋ* , *†čhąhásą* ‘sugar maple’, ‘white birch’ EB:116a

Yanktonai *cha^{n}hasa^{n}* , *†čhąhásą* ‘sugar maple’

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **ną•-są*

Chiwere *nąθą* ‘sycamore’ LWR:20

Hoocąk *nąąsąk* ‘sugar maple’ KM:2218 , *nąąsąk*

Proto-Dhegiha **žą-są*

Omaha-Ponca *žą są* JOD, D&S:176a

Kanza/Kaw *žą́są* ‘sycamore’ JOD

Osage *zho^{n} çó^{n} hi* , *†žą są́* ‘sycamore’ LF:225a

Quapaw *žǫ są* ‘sycamore’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *ayá^{n} sa^{n}há^{n}* , *†ayą́ sąhą́* ‘sycamore’ D&S:176a

General comment

These forms mean either ‘white tree’ or ‘white-barked tree’; such descriptive constructions are very apt to have developed independently, and we really have no way of knowing whether they are cognate or not. The Kanza/Kaw form at least has compound stress; other DH languages simply have a descriptive phrase. The Chiwere/Hoocąk and DH forms could, in principle, be contractions of the fuller Lakota form with dropping of the intervocalic *-h-*. If the Hidatsa is cognate, it must be a relict form; neither **ha* ‘skin’, nor **są* ‘white (1)’ being preserved in Hidatsa. Cf. ‘willow, Salix sp.’.

t

tail (1)

noun physical_somatic_body_part_animal

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **(i-)sį́•te*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **cí•ta*

Crow *čĩisa* GG:37, RGG:2

Hidatsa *cí•ta* ‘tail’ J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *šúṭ* ‘tail’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **sį́•te*

Proto-Dakota **sịté*

Lakota *sịté* RTC

Stoney *sį́ta•luta* ‘Red Tail’ PAS

Sioux Valley *sịté* PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **sį́•te*

Chiwere *θį́•ǰe* ‘tail’ RR

Hoocąk *sį́ič* ‘tail’ , *sịic*

Proto-Dhegiha **sį́•te*

Omaha-Ponca *sį́•de* ‘tail’ RTC

Kanza/Kaw *sį́ǰe* ‘tail’ RR

Osage *çi^{n}´dse* , *†sį́ce* ‘tail’ LF:30b

Quapaw *sį́tte* ‘tail’ RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **i-sį́ti*

Biloxi *síndi, sindiya^{n}, si^{n}, si^{n}t, isínti, sĭnt* , *†isį́ti* ‘tail’ D&S:255b

Ofo *fxi^{n}´te, fxi^{n}´ti, fhi^{n}´tĕ* , *†fhį́ti/e* ‘tail’ D&S:323b

General comment

Mandan rounding is unexplained, but this is not the only example of such rounding. Mandan rounding occurs before a labial in 'copulate (1)', 'clumsy', and 'soup' (this last supported by a round vowel in Hidatsa). Mandan rounding occurs before non-labials in this word as well as 'hand' and 'five (1)' (the last again supported by a round vowel in Hidatsa). 'lay' suggests that there may have been some rounding variation already in Proto-Siouan. The accentual and vowel length pattern here is best explained in terms of a prefix of inherent possession, even though such prefixes are normally found with parts of the human body (and kin terms). Chiwere and Hoocąk have a related form **šį•te* 'whole bottom, rump, rear end (all animals, birds, etc.)' (JDH). It is fairly common for fricative symbolism to relate groups of nouns in this fashion. Stoney may have a reflex of *š*, as otherwise *θ* would be expected.

tail (2) > bird tail

physical_somatic_body_part_animal

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **í•pi (?)*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **í•pi*

Crow *íipi* 'bird's tail feathers' GG:79, RGG:3

Hidatsa *í•pi* 'bird's tail' J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *ip* 'bird tail, tail feather' H:89

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **í•pi*

Proto-Dakota *upí*

Lakota *sitúpi* 'tail feathers' RTC

Dakota *upí* 'bird tail' SRR

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *hiwí* KM:1126 , *hiwi ?*

Proto-Dhegiha **(hį)-üpe*

Omaha-Ponca *xitha iⁿbe* , *†įbe* 'tail feather' [eagle + X] MAS:75

Kanza/Kaw *ú́•be, íbe* 'bird's tail' RR

Osage *iⁿ ʔbe* , *†íp̨e* 'the tail of a bird' LF:74b , *oⁿ ʔbe* , *†óp̨e* 'buttocks; tail of a bird' LF:121b

Quapaw *íbe* JOD

General comment

In Crow, Hidatsa, Mandan this root is in homonymic clash with ‘copulate (1)’. There has been compounding with, or contamination from, *hį* ‘hair, fur, feathers’ in DH and possibly other languages. The final vowel in DH has undergone analogical change to join the widespread set of *-e* stems. The back vowel in various forms is unexplained, but cf. ‘tail (1)’. We reconstruct **i•* in Proto-Siouan under the assumption that sporadic rounding before a labial obstruent is the more likely reformation. Cf. ‘guts, intestines’.

tear

physical_contact_deformation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **-kásE*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **-kacE*

Crow *-kačí, rak-* ‘emerge, come into the open’ GG:41 , *dakkachí* ‘slash, slit, gash’ GG:4 , *-káči, a-* , *akáchi*

Hidatsa *-kácE, ha-* ‘butcher’ J , *kaci-re•* ‘go hunting’ J

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *-gás, boo-* ‘cause paper or cloth to tear by shooting’ KM:49 , *boogas* ‘tear paper or cloth by striking’ KM:328 , *-gás, gi-* ‘cut paper or cloth with tearing motion’ KM:1949 , *gigas* ‘tear paper or cloth with the foot’ KM:2137 , *-gás, mąą-* ‘tear paper or cloth with the teeth; make a faux pas’ KM:2546 , *mąągas* ‘cause paper or cloth to tear by heat’ KM:3048 , *-gás, nąą-* ‘tear paper or cloth by pressure or pushing’ KM:3250 , *nąągas* , *-gás, ra-* , *ragas* , *-gás, taa-* , *taagas* , *-gás, wa-* , *wagas*

General comment

The forms here all typically accent the root but have neither aspiration nor vowel lengthening. This, then, is the sort of stem that causes us to interpret those phenomena as at least marginally phonemic. Cf. ‘cut (1)’.

teen formative

enclitic n/a

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **ake*

Pre-Mandan **a•k-*

Mandan *á•k-* ‘over; teen formative’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *akhé* ‘again; teen formative’ RTC

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *age-, aki-, agi-* , *†aki-* ‘teen formative’ H

Proto-Catawba

Woccon *Tonne hauk pea* , *†hak* ‘eleven’ JL

General comment

This seems to be a specialization of ‘across > over, beyond, above’. In Lakota the inherited, unaspirated teen formative has merged with (been replaced by) the near homonym *akhé* ‘again’. Chiwere and DH use reflexes of **a-krį* ‘sitting upon’ to form numerals between ten and twenty.

tell

verb social_communication

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **(o-)_rá•ke*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **o_ráke*

Proto-Dakota **o_ráka*

Lakota *o_yáka* ‘tell’ RTC , *o_gláka* ‘tell one’s own’ RTC

Dakota *o_yáka* ‘relate, tell’ SRR:397a , *o_hdáka* ‘tell one’s own’ SRR:350b

Stoney *o_yaga* ~ *e_yaga* PAS:591 , *o_hnága* PAS:591

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **o_ráke*

Chiwere *ulége* ‘tell about something, tell to’ W:244a , *urége* ‘news, story’ LWR:32 , *worage* ‘tell stories, tell about something’ LWR:37 , *worage* LWR:37

Hoocąk *ho_rák* ‘tell, relate’ KM:1476 , *horak*

Proto-Dhegiha **o_rá(-ke)*

Omaha-Ponca *utha* , *†oða* ‘tell’ MAS:170

Kanza/Kaw *oyáge* ‘tell’ RR

Osage *uthége* , *†o_ðáke* ‘tell a tale or a story’ LF:175b , *uḳígthage* , *†ohkílake* ‘speak of oneself’ LF:171b

Quapaw *odáke* ‘tell about something’ RR

Proto-Southeastern **o-ki-rá•ki*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **oktaki*

Biloxi *kû´tĭki´* , *†kətiki* ‘tell what one has perceived himself’ D&S:217a

Ofo *oktąki* , *†oktəki* ‘tell’ D&S:327b

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *oaklaka* , *†oklάka* ‘speak’ H , *gelāki* , *†kelá•ki* ‘call’ H , *oḳlaxá, oḳlάkaⁿ* , *†oklάka* ‘speak, tell’ JOD

General comment

Cf. ‘speak, talk’. The derivational morphemes, **o-* and **-ke* are so widespread that we suspect that the one or two cases in which they are lacking represent instances of loss, not independent constructions. The last of the Tutelo forms shows a suffixed reflex of *ʔǫ* ‘do, aux.’. The Biloxi forms are not technically cognate since they have *t* and *i* where they should have *d* and *a*. The case for the end reconstruction is just as strong without them however. Overall, this verb appears to be a doublet of **ra-* the ‘mouth, instrumental’ prefix with the requisite derivational paraphernalia. This would match Siebert’s analysis of the Catawba cognates for Siouan instrumental prefixes according to which all were active verbs which participated in serial verb constructions in Catawba.

temporal subordination

particle n/a

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *čá* in: *haⁿtcá* , *†čá* ‘implies uncertainty’ D&S:196a , *-tca* in: *kaⁿʻtca* , *†čá* ‘when (for some time)’ D&S:196a

General comment

compare *-ta* ‘locative (6)’.

ten (1)

abstract_number

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *[old reconstruction only]*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **kyé•wrą*

Proto-Dakota **wikčémną*

Lakota *wikčémna* RTC

Dakota *wikćémna* ‘ten’ SRR:575b

Stoney *wikčémna* ‘ten’ RTC

Sioux Valley *wikčémna* ‘ten’ RTC

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **kré•prą*

Chiwere *gléblą* ‘ten’ RTC , *gré•brą* ‘ten’ RR

Hoocąk *kerepą́ną* ‘ten’ KM:1800 , *kerepąną*

Proto-Dhegiha **krébrą*

Omaha *†gðébðą* ‘ten’ [v. below] SAY

Omaha-Ponca *gðébọ* ‘ten’ RTC

Kanza/Kaw *léblą* ‘ten’ RR

Osage *gthébtho*^{n} , *†lébrą* ‘ten’ LF:54a

Quapaw *kdébną* ‘ten’ RR

General comment

James 1823:lxxxii, lxxviii. 10 kra1-ba3-ra2 fa1te; fa3ll; fa2r *†grebða* 20 kra1-ba3-ra2-no2m-ba3 mo2ve These show that in 1823 Omaha still had the final syllable cluster. Biloxi is doubtful as Proto-Siouan **wr* usually *> d* there. Ofo is equally doubtful. As for the Lakota, we already have a number of instances of **r > čh* when preceded by possessive *i-*. It is possible that the *i* of the preceding syllable here has had the same effect. Then, barring any evidence of a Proto-Siouan **y* in other languages, the best reconstruction might be Proto-Mississipi-Valley **kré•wrą* rather than **kyé•wrą*.

ten (2)

abstract_number

Proto-Siouan-Catawba **pi-*

Proto-Siouan **piraka (?)*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **piraka*

Crow *pilaká* GG:53, RGG:82

Hidatsa *píraka* ‘ten’ J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *pirák* ‘ten’ RTC

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *pōtsk; putçk, būtçk’, putskai, putçka, etc.* , *†pu(•)čka* N, HH , *putck, putckai*^{n} , *†pu(•)čka* JNBH , *bitská’* , *†pu(•)čka* ES , *butsk* , *†pu(•)čka* LJF

Saponi *-bosque* F

Proto-Catawba

Catawba *pičanə* FGS:106 , *picə* PV:77

Woccon *†pi ~ †wi-; Tonne hauk pea; Wiinnop* ‘eleven; twenty (?)’

General comment

At the moment we can only be certain of the northern forms. Tutelo may not be related. This may be an ancient root however, as there are potentially Catawba and even Woccon cognates.

testicle (1)

physical_somatic_body_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **ašų́•t-ka*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **á•šuhka*

Crow *áaška* ‘testicles’ GG:3 , *áaxuhka* ‘kidney’ GG:3

Hidatsa *á•šuka* ~ *a•šúka* ‘testicles’ , *á•xuka* ~ *á•xuhka* ‘kidney’

Pre-Mandan **asųt-*

Mandan *asúṭka* ‘testicle’ H:59

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **ašų́•t-ka*

Proto-Dakota **ažúṭka*

Lakota *asúǩta* ‘kidney’ EB:93a , *ažúṭka* EB:67a

Yanktonai *†ažúṭka* ‘kidney’ SRR:64b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **ašų́•tke*

Chiwere *a•štúšče* ‘kidney’ RR , *shúnhje* , *†šų́hǰe* ‘testicle’ JGT:171

Hoocąk *šųųčgé* ‘testicle’ KM:2999 , *šųųcge*

Proto-Dhegiha **áZǫhta*

Omaha-Ponca *†-ázoⁿttasí* ‘kidney’

Quapaw *ážǫtta* ‘kidney’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *tcoⁿtkûtsi* , *†čǫtkutsi* ‘castrated cattle’ D&S:265b

General comment

The Chiwere clusters are unexpected; *šč* is probably secondary < *hǰ*. The Omaha-Ponca, one Dakota, and MRS forms show different fricative symbolism grades. The vowel length pattern in Hoocąk suggests that initial *a-* was once present in this language. Ordinarily, all MVS languages agree on fricative voicing. This is a rare exception. This term seems to have undergone multiple derivations and meaning shifts. The reconstruction seems fairly secure however with the original meaning ‘kidney’.

testicle (2)

physical_somatic_body_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **i-šíį•te*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **i-šíį•te*

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **šíį•te*

Chiwere *-ašnuje* , *ashtúnje* , *†aštúje* ‘kidney’ JGT:171 , *ashrúje* , *†ašrúje* ‘kidney’ JGT:171

Hoocąk *šíįųč* KM:2999 , *šųųc ?*

Proto-Dhegiha **šǫte*

Omaha-Ponca *sho^{n}de* , *†šąde* ‘testicles’ MAS:267

Kanza/Kaw *šǫ́je* ‘testicles’ RR

Osage *sho^{n}dsé* , *†šǫcé* ‘scrotum’ LF:133a

Quapaw *šǫté* ‘testicles’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *tco^{n}dití* , *†čǫdití* ‘penis’

General comment

Cf. ‘testicle (1)’, the same root with the addition of **-ka*.

The patterns of length and accent suggest a missing initial syllable, almost certainly the inalienable possession prefix typically found with external body parts.

thank you

social_communication

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **hahó*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **hahó*

Crow *ahó•* ‘thank you’ GG:4

Hidatsa *hahó* ‘thank you’

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *hahó* ‘thank you’ H:65

General comment

The DH forms Omaha-Ponca *†ðahą́-bi* ‘thanked him’ (JOD1890:194), Osage *†ðahǫ́* ‘thank you’ do not really match phonologically. *ra-* is most likely ‘by mouth’, the instrumental prefix here.

that (1)

pronoun n/a

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **ka•*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Crow *kaka* ‘again (repetition)’ GG:63 , *káma, kámo* ‘ago’ L:138 , *kan, kar* ‘then; already’ L:138 , *kan, kam, kar* ‘when; as’

Hidatsa *ka•* ‘to be there’ J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *ká-* in: *kárį* ‘and’ H:102

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **ka•*

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *ka* ‘there, that yonder’ [it is used when the thing spoken of is not quite close, when we use le] EB:269 , *kaná* ‘the plural’ [of ka ?] EB:269 , *ká-* in: *káe* ‘that is he’ [this word is used when one is pointing at the same time, as in saying: He emph.] EB:271 , *ka-* in: *kahą* ‘to this, thus far’ EB:273 , *ka-* in: *kahą́l* ‘to this, at this, thus far’ EB:273 , *ka-* in: *kahą́tu* ‘to that, so far, so long’ EB:280 , *ká-* in: *kákhi* ‘there, yonder’ EB:293 , *ká-* in: *kátkiya* ‘that way, over yonder (pointing) somewhere’

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **ka•*

Chiwere *ga-* ‘that one over there’ JGT:18 , *ga-* in: *gaˆigi* ‘that (one) over there’ DOR, JGT:905 , *gá/ gáˆe/ ká* ‘at’ JGT:906, LWR , *gá-* ‘at last; that’s the last’ JGT:913 , *gá-* in: *gáda/ káta* ‘just then; there; in that place’ JGT:915 , *ga-* ‘at that time’ JGT:924 , *ga-* in: *gahédan* ‘now; all right; enough’ , *ga-* ‘that; those’ JGT:928 , *ga-* in: *gída/ ga ída* , *gá-* , *gá-* in: *gáreda* , *ga-* , *ga-* in: *gasún/ gashún/ gasón* , *gá-* , *gá-* in: *gástan*

Hoocąk *ga-* in: *ga’a* ‘that (near him)’ KM:305 , *ga-* in: *ga’a* ‘this way’ KM:309 , *gaa-* in: *gaagį́* , *ga-* in: *gaagų, gaigų*

Proto-Dhegiha **ka•*

Omaha-Ponca *ga* ‘yon, that (out of sight)’ JEK

Kanza/Kaw *ga* ‘that (unseen)’ JOD , *ga* ‘that’ MR, RR , *gá•*

Osage *ga* , *†ka* ‘thus, him, that’ LF:42a

Quapaw *ka* ‘that not visible’ RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *ka* in: *ka* , *†ka* ‘what, something, somewhat’ D&S:203b , *ka-* |*and*| *-ká* in: *kaká* , *†ka* ‘what sort or kind?’ , *ká-* in: *káta* , *†ka* ‘whose?’ D&S:204b , *ká-* in: *káwa* , *†ka* ‘what? Who?’ D&S:204a

Proto-Catawba

Catawba *†kat* ‘now’ KS:168 , *kát* , *†ká-* ‘indeed’ KS:168 , *káte’* , *†ká-* ‘indeed’ KS:168 , *yę́•ca? kərɛ́* , *†kə-* ‘that boy there’ KS:225 , *kəre* , *†kə-* ‘these, this’ KS:225

General comment

The Catawba entries appear to be quite flexible morphotactically and are listed with both the prefixed and suffixed Siouan forms which are best considered distinct morphemes.

that (2) > demonstrative, reference marker, relative

particle n/a

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **ko*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Crow *kó* 'that' [abstract reference] GG:65 , *ko* 'referential marker (non-agent)' GG:63 , *kon* 'referential marker (agent)' GG:63 , *kón* 'there/then' GG:66 , *kúh* 'also' GG:63

Hidatsa *kuh* 'that one' [x + c 'clause final'] J , *kuac* 'it's that one' [ní•ku•há 'by yourself'] J , *kua-* in: *kúari* 'that one (emphatic)' J , *-ku* in: *aku(-)* 'relativizing prefix; agentive' J , *-ku•há* in: *mí•ku•há* '(I did it) by myself' J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *ko-* 'agentive, relative' H:451, EK:15a

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *ko* , *†ko* 'a demonstrative; used in several ways' D&S:210a

General comment

Cf. 'so, thus' *†kʔų* ~ *kʔǫ*, and 'beyond > other, across (1)' and beyond > other, across (2). Hidatsa *kua* reflects an earlier **kuha*. Note the final *-h* in Hidatsa *kuh*. Final *-n* in Crow should be compared with Hidatsa *-ri* focus marker and *-ru* locative.

that (3)

pronoun n/a

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **še•*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa *še-* in: *še?e-* 'demonstrative stem' [-?e question marker] J , *še-* in: *še?eri* 'that one, subject marker' J , *še-* in: *še?eru* 'then, there' J , *še-* in: *še?ehkua* 'there' J , *še-* in: *še?ehta•* 'toward that' J , *-še•* in: *kúaše•* 'in that manner' J , *-šé-* in: *kuašé?e* 'that one instead' J , *-še-* in: *to•še?e* 'what's the matter, what did he do?' J , *-še•-* in: *to•še•wa* 'why is it' J

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **še•*

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *še-* in: *šehą́leš* 'how much more; how much less' EB:461 , *-še-* in: *éšeš* 'it indicates finality and a mark of contrast in judgment or fact' EB:143

Stoney *že* 'that' ART

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **šé•*

Chiwere *šé?e* 'that, those' RR , *sé/shé* 'that near you' JGT:3381 , *shé-* 'there/ right there' JGT:3411 , *shé-* in: *séda/ shéda* 'here/ right here/ right there (near you)' JGT:3420 , *shé-* , *shé-* in: *ségi/ shégi* , *she-* in: *según/ shegún* , *†še* 'that' JGT:3421

Hoocąk *že?é, žée* 'this (near you)' KM:4003 , *že'e, žee* 'this (near you)' KM:4003 , *že-* in: *že'é* 'that much' KM:4006 , *že-* in: *že'e* 'just that much (FW)' KM:4007 , *žee-* in: *žeenąga* 'thus, be thus' KM:4009 , *že-* in: *žeenąga* 'surely' KM:4010 , *žee-* in: *žeenąxjį* 'so, thus' KM:468 , *že-* in: *žeenąxjį* , *žee-* in: *žeesgé* , *že-* in: *žeesge* , *žee-* in: *žeesgéxjį* , *že-* in: *žeesgexjį* , *žee-* in: *žeegį́* , *že-* in: *žeegų*

Proto-Dhegiha **še*

Omaha-Ponca *še* 'that' JOD, MAS:265 , *šé-na* 'that much, enough' , *šé-ta^{n}* , *†šétha^{n}* 'that long, of that length' , *šé-ta^{n}-ha* , *†šéta^{n}ha* 'that high, of that height, or depth'

Kanza/Kaw *še* 'that (visible)' RR , *šé-* in: *šéga, šegá* 'yonder, in that vi. place' JOD, RR , *še-* in: *šeyó* 'there in the distance, yonder' RR

Osage *she* , *†še* 'that one; there' LF:130b , *shé-* in: *shé-go^{n}* , *†še* 'that kind or sort' LF:130b

Quapaw *še* 'that' RR, JOD

Proto-Catawba

Catawba *-ce-* in: *det hacerɛ* 'I'm here' KS:128 , *čę-* in: */čęba/* 'there' KS:227 , *čę-* in: *tcębárina* , *†čę-* 'there he was' KS:53

General comment

Hoocąk and Stoney have voiced fricatives; all others are voiceless and the discrepancy is unexplained.

the

particle n/a

Proto-Siouan-Catawba **kį•*

Proto-Siouan **-kį*

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *-ki* ‘subordination marker’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *kį, ki* ‘def.art.; subordination marker’ EB:308b

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *ḳi^{n}hi^{n}* , *†kįhį* ‘the’ D&S:315b

Proto-Catawba

Catawba *kį* ‘the’ PV:55f , *-kį•* ‘the little one’ KS:223 , *-kį•* in: *túḱkį•* ‘the’ KS:223 , *-kį•-* ‘the’ KS:223 , *-kį•-* in: *-kį•ye ‘the’* in: *tusikį•ye ‘the dove’* , *kį•-* , *kį•-* in: *kį•t‘*

General comment

The Mandan form may be a switch-reference marker. There is a Tutelo cognate for the article.

thick

verb perceptual

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **šó•kE*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa *šó•ki* ‘dull edged’ J

Pre-Mandan **su?k-*

Mandan *sú?ko?š* ‘it’s dull, not sharp’ RTC , *sų́ko?š* ‘it’s dull’ H:221

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **šó•ka*

Proto-Dakota **šóka*

Lakota *šóka* ‘thick’ RTC , *-šóka, na-* ‘thicken, swell, as a piece of wood in water; to get a thick skin on one’s feet from walking’ EB:359 , *-šóka, wo-* ‘puffed out, enlarged, ending in a knob’ EB:609

Dakota *śoka* , *†šóka* ‘thick, of solids’ SRR:447a

Stoney *sóga* ‘thick’ PAS:142

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **šó•ka*

Chiwere *só•ga, sogá* ‘thick’ RR

Hoocąk *šoogá* ‘be thick’ KM:2980 , *šooga* ‘cut thick’ KM:2028 , *-šóga, mąą-* , *mąąšoga*

Proto-Dhegiha **šoká*

Omaha-Ponca *šogá* ‘thick’ RR

Kanza/Kaw *šóga, šogá-* ‘thick’ RR

Osage *shogá* , *†šoká* ‘thick’ LF:132b

Quapaw *šoká* ‘thick’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *tcâki´* , *†čakí* ‘thick’ D&S:261b

General comment

It appears we may have a little phonosymbolism here in the vocalism. We may also have mixed sets. Swanton describes “å” (as in Biloxi) as “like the *o* in *stop*” (DS-4). Haas (1968) recorded Biloxi *o* often as very open, so the Biloxi form cited here could have either an *o* or an *a*.

The vowel length and accentual pattern suggest that this lexeme normally had an initial syllable or prefix (as most stative verbs). Crow *shúhka* ‘wide (strip)’ GG-56 is comparable to Hidatsa *cuhka* ‘flat, bottomland’, forms which do not belong in this set. The final vowel here is problematic. MVS shows non-ablauting *a*, but Biloxi and Hidatsa suggest Proto-Siouan **i* or possibly **E*. We cannot be certain which groups have reanalyzed the form.

thigh

noun physical_somatic_body_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **ų•te* ~ **ą•te*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **rá•t* + **hure*

Crow *dáasshuli* ‘thigh’ GG:40

Hidatsa *ná•thiru* ‘thigh, flank’ J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *rątáh* ‘thigh’ H:173

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dakota **-úte*

Dakota *ćećúŋte* , *†čhečhúte* ‘thigh bone’ SRR:97

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Ofo *nąkhó^{n}ti* , *†nəkhą́ti* ‘knee’ D&S:326

General comment

The Dakota form is related to DH *žeká* ‘leg, thigh’, which matches the Dakota *čhečh-*. This implies a Proto-Mississipi-Valley **yek-*, which is in another set. If the part we consider cognate here is *-ųte*, the initial *r* of the northern languages needs to be accounted for. Here we suggest that the *r* is the epenthetic glide that we normally find between inalienable **i-*, which occurs with most body parts, and vowel initial stems. The difference in quality of the nasal vowels is still not accounted for in this analysis, although we have many other apparent *ą/ų* matches.

thin

verb perceptual

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **waréhe*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **wréh-(ka)*

Proto-Dakota **wrečá*

Lakota *blečá* ‘get poorer and poorer from sickness’ EJ

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **preh(ka)*

Chiwere *brekhé* ‘thin’ RR

Hoocąk *peré* ‘be thin’ KM:2473 , *pere*

Proto-Dhegiha **bréhka*

Omaha-Ponca *bðékka* ‘thin’ JOD

Kanza/Kaw *blékka* ‘thin’ RR

Osage *bréhka* ‘thin’ RR

Quapaw *bdékka* ‘thin’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern **habréh-*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *hadeʔhi* , *†hadéhi* ‘thin’ D&S:192b

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *hableʔha* , *†hablého* ‘thin’ HW

General comment

In MVS we see suffixing of derivational **-ka*. Note also that Proto-Dhegiha gemination and Chiwere aspiration are being produced across a morpheme boundary from the older **hk* cluster. Therefore Lakota aspiration is also expected here.

think (1)

verb psychic_cognition

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **e_yehe*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **(h)iríha-cE*

Crow *hilíači* GG:48

Hidatsa *iríacE* ‘think, opine’ J , *iríaci*

Pre-Mandan **é_reh-*

Mandan *éreho?š* ‘he wanted it, thought about it’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **é_re* ~ **e_yé*

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *ečhá* ‘think’ B&D:102

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **i_ré*

Chiwere *ilé* ‘think’ GM

Hoocąk *hi_giré* ‘think of’ KM:845 , *higire (hi<gi>re)* ‘think, hope ?’ KM:1016 , *hi_ré* , *hire*

Proto-Dhegiha **é_re*

Omaha-Ponca *e_ðegǫ* ‘think’ JOD, MAS:58

Kanza/Kaw *hą́_ye* ‘think, suppose’ [cf. ‘dream’] JOD

Osage *e´the* , *†éðe* ‘think’ [conj. éki_ðe as an R-stem] LF:41b

Quapaw *í_nią* ‘think what precedes’ [< *ídi + ?ą] JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *yihí, yuhí, yŭ ̓hi* , *†yihi* ‘think’ [regular conjugation] D&S:292a, EB

Ofo *hĕ´tani* , *†hétani* ‘think’ [regular conjugation] D&S:323b

General comment

There have been several restructurings of this interesting verb. Hoocąk and Quapaw have replaced **e-* with what appears to be instrumental *í-*. In Kanza/Kaw the verb has been contaminated by the semantically related 'dream', q.v.

Dakota and Biloxi suggest a reconstruction with **y*, the other languages show reflexes of **r*. Dakota in particular has a relic conjugated form, 1s *epčá* (defective), which makes **y* the more attractive reconstruction. In Crow, Hidatsa and Mandan **r* and **y* normally fall together as *r*, and since, in the more southerly languages **r* and **y* seem to fall together in certain consonant clusters (those created in 1st and 2nd person conjugated forms), the neutralization product, **r*, may have been generalized to 3rd person forms. So the most probable reconstruction is with the more exceptional **y*. Cf. 'think (3)'. The Ofo form may simply have lost the main portion of the verb stem, leaving only the extension shown elsewhere in Mandan and Biloxi.

think (2)

verb psychic_cognition

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **(ru-)ki-yą́*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **rukyą*

Proto-Dakota **yukčą́*

Lakota *yukcáŋ* , *†yukčą́* 'comprehend, know, guess, have an opinion' EB:641b , *iyúkčą* , *†yukčą́* 'know' RTC , *kčáptepte* , *†yukčą́* 'seemingly occupied with one's thoughts' EJ

Dakota *yukčáŋ* , *†yukčą́* 'comprehend' SRR:629a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **-rukrą*

Chiwere *i•lugrą, wi•rúgrą* 'think' RR , *rugrán* 'consider, judge, think on' JGT:61

Hoocąk *warukąną* 'go into a trance to recover something lost' KM:3451 , *warukąną* 'manage; control' KM:2686 , *rukąną́* , *rukąną*

Proto-Dhegiha **-rükrą*

Omaha-Ponca *wathigtho^{n}* , *†waðígðǫ* 'mind' MAS:120

Kanza/Kaw *í_yüląą* 'decide, form an opinion, judge' RR

Osage *íthigtho^{n}* , *†í_ðüląą* 'think, consider, study, contemplate' LF:79b , *wathi´gtho^{n}* , *†waðúląą* 'intellect, sense, sound judgment, reverie, daydreaming, meditate' LF:201b

Quapaw *í_dikną* 'think' JOD , *dikną́* 'try, make effort, decide' JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *kikna´ni* , *†kiknáni* 'perhaps (I think)' D&S:208b

Ofo *áktạti* , *†áktəti* 'love' D&S:320a

General comment

Proto-Siouan *ky > *kr; *xy > *xr in Chiwere/Hoocąk and DH. Cf. ‘hawk (1), falcon’, ‘flower (1)’, ‘ten (1)’. Only Dakota and Biloxi tend to preserve independent reflexes of *Cy and *Cr clusters. If the Biloxi is cognate, then it suggests *kr rather than *ky, and shows no trace of the MVS *ru-. The root extension *-re is found only in Biloxi where it is productive. Without further attestation we hesitate to reconstruct it. Mandan most frequently provides examples, but the cognate is missing here. Cf. also ‘think (1)’, ‘think (3)’, ‘dream’, ‘hawk (1), falcon’.

think (3)

verb psychic_cognition

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *-ʔį

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *e(-ya-)ʔį

Proto-Dakota *ečhá_į

Lakota *ečhį́* ‘think something’ [1s ečhámį, 2s ečhánį, 1du ų́kéčhį] RTC

Dakota *ećíŋ* , *†ečhį́* ‘think’ SRR:113a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *-į

Chiwere *iráyį* , *†iráyį* ‘think’ JGT:256

Hoocąk *wewį́* ‘think about; ponder’ [1s pewį] KM:3627 , *wewį* , *1s peewį́*

Proto-Dhegiha *ážą-ʔį

Kanza/Kaw *ažį́* ‘think, suppose’ [1s ažamį, 2s ažažį] JOD

Osage *ázhi*^{n} , *†ážį* ‘think, suppose’ [1s ázhami, 2s ázhazhi^{n}] LF:17b

Quapaw *ážį* ‘think’ [1s ážąmį́, 2s ádažą (mixed conjugation)] JOD

Proto-Southeastern *-(h)į

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *yandíhi*^{n} , *†-hį* ‘think of him or it continually’ [yandi = ‘heart’] D&S:288a

Ofo *hĕ́tani* , *†hétani* ‘think’ D&S:323b

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *opemíha* , *†-mi-* H

General comment

-ʔį is conjugated as a glottal stem, cf. ‘wear about the shoulders’; Hoocąk/Tutelo suggest a W-stem, cf. ‘ask’. There is evidence for an initial vowel throughout MVS. If, as some feel, Chiwere/Hoocąk are closer to DH than to Dakota, and both Chiwere/Hoocąk and Lakota show *e-*, then it seems likely that DH has replaced this vowel with *á-*. The spatially least marked demonstrative has the form *e-* and this demonstrative is the most likely source of the prefix here. Reflexes of Proto-Siouan **ya* are found in other constructions with demonstratives and an approximate meaning of ‘thus, in that way’, cf. Lakota *ečh-úṭ* ‘do, work’, which is conjugated analogously. This is one of a number of Biloxi forms in which Proto-Siouan **ʔ* has the reflex *h*, cf. **ʔų* ‘do, make’. Cf. ‘think (2)’

third daughter

noun social_kin

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **sí́ke*

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **haksí•ka*

Chiwere *haʔθíga* ‘third daughter’ RR

Hoocąk *haksíiga, haksigá* ‘third daughter’ KM:619 , *haksiiga, haksigaga*

Proto-Dhegiha **sí́ke*

Omaha-Ponca *sigé* ‘second daughter’ [voc?]

Kanza/Kaw *sigé* RR

Osage *çíge* , *†sí́ke* ‘third daughter (special kinship term)’ LF:30a

Quapaw *sí́ke* ‘second daughter’ JOD

General comment

Within the groups cognacy seems likely, although this may be a diffused term in Chiwere/Hoocąk where the final sequence **-ka* normally (but not here) becomes *-ke* with great regularity. Forms which accent the rightmost syllable are vocatives. For the final V, see also ‘daughter, youngest’, which has *-a* consistently. Cf. Omaha-Ponca *isíno* (JOD) ‘son’ (FLF *wiçinu*) which, taken with the Hoocąk term, shows that the root here is *si•-*.

this, here, now (1)

particle n/a

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **hi*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Crow *hilaá* ‘just now’ [progression toward goal] GG:65 , *hilaakée* ‘now’ GG:65 , *hileelíak* ‘this’ GG:65 , *hinné* ‘these’ GG:65 , *hileén* ‘here; there; thither; these; hither’ GG:65 , *hir"é, hir"én, hiré, hirém* ‘off there, this way’ L:101 , *hiré•kyo* ‘at the same time, meanwhile’ L:101 , *hilíko* ‘like this, in this way’ GG:66 , *hilía* ‘here’ GG:63 , *hilihtáa* ‘thus; this kind; like’ GG:65 , *hiría(te), hiríate* ‘just so far’ , *hiría'kaka'•ta* ‘this way, in this way’ L:102 , *hiríse, hiríce* ‘here they are’ L:102 , *hiró•k* ‘nearly’ L:101 , *hí•ru* L:102

Hidatsa *hi-* in: *hicki* ‘it must be’ J , *hi-* in: *hihé* ‘now’ H&V , *hi-* in: *hirá* ‘next time’ H&V , *hi-* in: *hirá•ruk* ‘next time’ H&V , *hi-* in: *hirí* ‘this; subject marker; now’ J , *hi-* in: *hirîhka* ‘this size’ J , *hi-* in: *hirihkarúk* ‘about this time’ H&V , *hi-* in: *hirihtá* ‘this way’ H&V , *hi-* in: *hirikha•* ‘by this time’ J , *hi-* in: *hiró•še•* ‘by way of here’ J , *hi-* in: *hiró•ha•* ‘around here’ J , *hi-* in: *hiró•ha•k* ‘motion from here’ J , *hi-* in: *hiró•* ‘here, at this place’ J , *hi-* in: *hi•ruk* ‘when, by the time’ J , *hi-* in: *hiruká* ‘on this side’ J , *hi-* in: *hiruš•a•* ‘this one’ J , *hi-* in: *hiša* ‘like, similar to, kind of’ J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *-hi-* in: *hą́hik* ‘time, occasion’ H:65

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **-hi*

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *-hi* in: *iyóhi* ‘each, every one’ EB:256 , *-hi-* in: *iyóhila* ‘each one’ EB:256 , *-hi-* |*and*| *-hi* in: *otóiyohihi* ‘some of each, perhaps’ EB:409

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **hi*

Chiwere *hi-* ‘here and there; become’ JGT:2044 , *hi-* in: *jirára/ hirára*

Hoocąk *hi-* in: *higų* ‘any, any whatever’ KM:856 , *hi-* in: *higų* ‘right now, right away’ KM:857 , *hi-* in: *higų́ąną* ‘there’ KM:892 , *hi-* in: *higųąną* ‘to or from that extent or point in time or space’ KM:981 , *hi-* in: *hijá* ‘enough’ KM:951 , *hi-* in: *hija* ‘some, a portion of sth.’ KM:1073 , *hi-* in: *hipá* ‘also’ KM:1077 , *hi-* in: *hipa* , *hi-* in: *hiną́* , *hi-* in: *hiną* , *hi-* in: *hisgé* , *hi-* in: *hisge* , *hi-* in: *hišgé* , *hi-* in: *hišge*

Proto-Dhegiha **-hi*

Omaha-Ponca *-hi* in: *gá-hi* ‘in that place’ , *-hi* in: *shé-hi* , *†šéhi* ‘in that place’ [= DA hé-chi] , *-hi* in: *dhé-hi* , *†ðéhi* ‘in this place’ [= DA de-chi]

Quapaw *-hi* in: *hą́thąhi* ‘then, at length’

Proto-Catawba

Catawba *hi-* in: *de hira* ‘that’s me’ KS:224 , *hi-* in: *yé hire* ‘that man’ KS:224 , *hi-* ‘who’s that’ KS:249 , *hi-* in: *təw□́ hinɛ* ‘who (relative)’ KS:249 , *hi-* ‘that tree over yonder’ KS:224 , *-hi-* in: *yóp ihisē* ‘he standing over yonder’ KS:256 , *hi-* in: *hisare* ‘up yonder’ KS:256 , *-hí* in: *datkuhí* ‘a long time ago’ KS:150 , *-hi-* ‘many, more’ KS:153 , *-hi-* in: *akę•hire* , *-hi-* , *-hi-* in: *mähire*

General comment

It is not unusual in Siouan languages for a single word or morpheme to be translated ‘this, here, now’. Thus the DH locative suffixes may be cognate with the more northerly demonstratives.

this, here, now (2)

pronoun n/a

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **Re•-*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **Re-*

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *le-* in: *le* 'this' [it may be placed before nouns or after articles] EB:323 , *le-* in: *léca* 'such as this' [this, and also *hee* and *ee*, contain the substantive verb] EB:323 , *le-* in: *léci* 'here, in this place' EB:323 , *le-* in: *lée* 'this is it' EB:323 , *le-* in: *lehą́* 'now, thus far; at this place' EB:324 , *le-* in: *lehą́tu* 'to this, thus far; now' EB:324 , *le-* in: *léna* 'these' EB:324 , *le-* in: *letą́* 'from this place, from this time; after' EB:324 , *le-* in: *létkiya* 'this way, pointing towards one's self' EB:324 , *le-* in: *létu* 'here, at this place or time literally, now' EB:324

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **Re•*

Chiwere *ǰe-* in: *jehá* , *ϯǰe-* 'this is' JGT:2022 , *ǰe-* in: *jehádan* , *ϯǰe-* 'far; this far' JGT:2023

Hoocąk *te-* in: *te'e, tée* 'this' [Compare *re* 'this, here, now' and *te* 'this, here, now] KM:3107 , *te-* in: *te'e, tee* 'over this way' KM:269 , *-te-* in: *cootégi* 'but' KM:3119 , *-te-* in: *cootegi* , *tée-* in: *téeži* , *tee-* in: *teeži*

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **Re*

Biloxi *ně́tka* , *ϯnétka* 'right here' D&S:236a

Ofo *lě́khati* , *ϯlékhati* 'now' D&S:326, JSS , *lemôⁿ́ti* , *ϯlemą́ti* 'here, this' D&S:326, JSS

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *né•* 'this, here' GRO

General comment

There are clear doublets for this set, one with **R* and one with **r*. Generally, but not always, only one of the forms is found in any one language. Vowel length is clear only in Hoocąk and Tutelo.

this, here, now (3)

pronoun n/a

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **re*

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *re* ‘this’

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dhegiha **re*

Omaha-Ponca *ðé-* in: *ðéðu* ‘here’ JEK

Kanza/Kaw *ye* ‘this, here, hither’ RR , *ye-* in: *yegá* ‘here, right here’ RR , *ye-* in: *yegáha* ‘here, to this place, hither’ RR

Osage *the* , *†ðe* ‘this’ LF:143a , *thega* , *†ðe* ‘here, at this place’ LF:143b

Quapaw *de* ‘this’ RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *te, de, dě* , *†de* ‘this, here, now’ D&S:273a , *de-* in: *dehéda^{n}, téheda^{n}* , *†de-* ‘this high, as high as this’ D&S:273a

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *lé•* ‘this, here’

General comment

Compare *†Re* ‘this, here, now (2)’ and *†te* ‘this, here, now’

this side (1)

physical_spatial

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **ro•*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Crow *do•-* in: *doosá* ‘on this side, on the near side’ GG:65

Hidatsa *ro•-* in: *ro•tá* ‘this side’ [< X + Dem. †ta] J , *no•tá*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *ró-* ‘side (of body, house, tree)’ JGT:3203 , *ró-* in: *rógri*

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *dowá* , *†dowá* ‘in this direction this way, to this place’ D&S:183b , *nṭówa* , *†dowá* ‘this way’ D&S:234a , *ndoḳú* , *†dowá* ‘back hither’ D&S:234a , *ndo-* in: *ndosaⁿʔhiⁿ* ~ *ndosaⁿ′yaⁿ* , *†ndo-* ‘on this side of’ D&S:252a

General comment

The Biloxi nasal is not accounted for in our analysis or reconstruction. In numerous instances Dorsey transcribed [ə̨], the centralized variant of *ą* as a syllabic nasal, so its identity here is hard to determine. Cf. the analogous particle, **to-* in MVS languages.

this side (2)

particle physical_spatial

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **to*

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *dó-* ‘side; on this side’ JGT:728 , *dó-* in: *dórigi* ‘side; on this side’ JGT:730 , *dó-* , *dó-* in: *dórigu/ dóriko/ doriku*

Proto-Dhegiha **to*

Omaha-Ponca *dú-* in: *dú-a* , *†do* ‘nearer to me than that place, closer to speaker than to another; on this side’ [adverbial prefix] , *dó-* in: *dú-a-hi* , *†do* ‘on this side of the place’

Kanza/Kaw *dó-* in: *dóda* ‘this way, the one on this side’ RR

Osage *tó-* in: *dó-da* , *†tó-* ‘in this direction’ LF:37b

Quapaw *tóhinį* ‘that sg/mv/an object that arrived on this side’ JOD

three

abstract_number

Proto-Siouan-Catawba **ra•wrį*

Proto-Siouan **rá•wrį*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **rá•wi•*

Crow *dáawii* GG:40, RGG:81

Hidatsa *rá•wi* ‘three’ J

Pre-Mandan **rá•wrį*

Mandan *rą́•wį́rį* ‘three’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **rá•wrį*

Proto-Dakota **yámnį*

Lakota *yámni* ‘three’ RTC

Sioux Valley *yámni* ‘three’ RTC

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **Rá•nį*

Chiwere *dáni* ‘three’ RTC , *dá•ñį* ‘three’ RR

Hoocąk *taanį́* ‘three’ KM:3062 , *taanį*

Proto-Dhegiha **rá•brį*

Omaha-Ponca *ðá•bðį* ‘three’ RTC, RR , *ðáʔabðį* ‘three’ RR

Kanza/Kaw *yá•blį* ‘three’ RR

Osage *ðá•brį* ‘three’ RR

Quapaw *dábnį* ~ *dápnį* ‘three’ RR

Proto-Southeastern **rá•rį*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **rá•nį*

Biloxi *dáni, daní* , *†dánį* ‘three’ D&S:180b

Ofo *táni* , *†tá•nį* ‘three’ D&S:330a , *tā́ni* , *†tá•nį* JSS

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *nān; lāt, nāni, lāni, lāniq* , *†la•nį* N, H , *nā* , *†la•nį* ES

Proto-Catawba **ná•mnV*

Catawba *ná•mnaʔ* ‘three’ FS

Woccon *Nam-mee* ‘three’ JL

General comment

This is one of the few really good Siouan-Catawban sets. The accentual pattern suggests that this word was originally a compound, since initial syllable accented long vowels should not be possible in polysyllabic words.

It is strange that nasalization has not reached the initial resonant except in Catawban.

throat

physical_somatic_body_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **i-Ró•te*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **ro•tiška*

Crow *déešiška* GG:44, RGG:70

Hidatsa *ro•tiška* ‘throat, windpipe’ J , *no•tiška*

Pre-Mandan **rų́t-*

Mandan *rų́tka* ‘throat’ H:195 , *rų́tiske* ‘throat’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **Ró•te*

Proto-Dakota **Roté*

Lakota *loté* ‘throat’ RTC

Dakota *doté* ‘throat’ SRR:109

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **Róte*

Chiwere *dóǰe* ‘throat’ JGT:257

Hoocąk *tooc* , *†tó•č* ‘throat’ MM:171 , *dotc* , *†tó•č*

Proto-Dhegiha **Ró•te*

Omaha-Ponca *nó•de* ‘throat’ RR

Kanza/Kaw *dó•ǰe* ‘throat’ RR

Osage *tóce* ‘throat; gullet’ LF:37b , *dódse*

Quapaw *tótte* ‘throat’ RR

Proto-Southeastern **i-ró•ti*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **i-ró•ti*

Biloxi *dódi, dotí* , *†dóti* ‘throat’ D&S:183b

Ofo *ĭtcṓti* , *†ičó•ti* ‘throat, neck’ D&S:324b, JSS

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *lōti* , *†lo•ti* H

General comment

Stress shift in Dakota probably postdates loss of initial syllable in MVS.

This is a particularly interesting form because normally a stem initial Proto-Siouan **r* becomes Lakota/Dakota *čh* following possessive **i-*; there are many instances. Here we have a clear instance of **R* rather than **r*, and it does not affricate (except in Ofo where it is totally unexpected). *R* here behaves like a former cluster *Cr*, where the identity of *C* remains unknown. *C* has the action here of protecting *r* from being affricated in Lakota (i.e. showing an apparent reflex of **y*). This is an attractive solution to the problem of *R* because in various known **Cr* clusters **r* has *R*-like reflexes, i.e., we are not proposing an absolutely neutralized phoneme without specific motivation. It remains to determine the identity of the missing *C*. Most obstruent consonants already cluster with *r*; the laryngeals *ʔ* and *h* remain the best bets. If *h*, it would have to precede, because **rh* > DH *th*, Lakota *h*, Chiwere *d*. In summary, *R* may be from a Proto-Siouan cluster, perhaps **ʔr* or **hr*.

throw away

physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **ɪ́ɻ́•re*

Pre-Mandan **:kɻte-*

Mandan *ɪ́•kɻteʔš* ‘he threw it’ RTC , *ɪ́wa•kɻteʔš* ‘I threw it’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **ʔɻ_-re*

Proto-Dakota **ʔɻ_-ya*

Lakota *ɻyą* ‘lose’ EB:508a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *ʔɻ́ɻñe hii* ‘throw, trans.’ KM:3158 , *ɻɻrehi, ɻɻreehi* ‘discard, abandon’ KM:3038 , *tʔɻné* , *t’ɻɻre*

Proto-Dhegiha **ǫ́•_re*

Omaha-Ponca *oⁿtha* ‘discard’ MAS:59

Kanza/Kaw *ǫ́•ye* [R-stem] RR, MR , *ǫ́ye* JOD , *ǫ_ye*

Osage *ǫ́ⁿtha* , *†ǫ́ðа* ‘throw away, dispense’ [double conj.] LF:122b

Quapaw *ǫdé* ~ *ǫ́de déde* ‘throw’ [ǫ_de, R-stem] JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **nɻ•ré, *nɻ́•ri*

Biloxi *noⁿdě´, nûdě´, nóⁿ dedí* , *†nǫde(-di)* ‘throw away something, lay’ [prefixed conj] D&S:238a

Ofo *nūti* , *†nɻ•ti* ‘throw away’ [prefixed conj] D&S:327a, JSS

General comment

Cf. ‘fly (1)’, ‘lay’, ‘jump’ for other sets with Hoocąk (and Chiwere) *t?* (< **r-?*), Dakota *?*, and sometimes a velar in Mandan. This looks both phonologically and semantically like a relic causative, i.e., **?ų* ‘fly (or jump?)’ + **(r)e* ‘causative’. The causative has been reanalyzed as an ordinary derivational suffix in Mandan, Proto-Biloxi-Ofo and Hoocąk but has remained a (relic) R-stem in the other languages.

throw dart

verb physical_action

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **hkú•te*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Crow *kussshúchi* ‘throw at; throw in’ [< kuss + shíichi] GG:51

Pre-Mandan **:kų•te*

Mandan *í•kų•te?š* ‘he threw it’ RTC , *íwa•kų•te?š* ‘I threw it’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **hkú•te*

Proto-Dakota **khuté*

Lakota *khuté* ‘shoot’ RTC

Stoney *khudé* ‘shoot’ PAS

Sioux Valley *khuté* ‘shoot’ PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *khúje* ‘shoot’ GM

Hoocąk *gúuč* ‘shoot’ KM:465 , *guuc*

Proto-Dhegiha **hkṹ•te*

Omaha-Ponca *kkí•de* ‘shoot’ RR

Kanza/Kaw *kkṹje* ~ *kkṹ•je* ‘shoot’ RR

Osage *ḳu´dse* , *†hkṹce* ‘shoot’ LF:90b

Quapaw *kkítte* ‘shoot’ RR

Proto-Southeastern **kité•*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *kte, kĭtĕ´, kitĕ´, ktedí, kĭtédi* , *†kité(di)* ‘hit, shoot at’ D&S:214b

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *kitē, ktē, kitēse* , *†kité•* ‘kill, shoot’ H

General comment

This root has interesting irregularities, Mandan nasalization, Hoocąk voicing and the possible partial conflation with ‘kill’ in OVS, q.v. Either it was used with the meaning ‘throw’ with atlatl darts, as in Mandan, or it represents a lexical innovation, as the bow and arrow diffused to the Mississippi Valley and adjacent areas long after the breakup of Proto-Siouan. Diffusion would have affected different subgroups at different times. V. ‘bow’ for some evidence of diffusion. The verb may have been borrowed, then diffused and mixed with ‘kill’. In fact, there may have been two roots that were confused by the early linguists. In Biloxi, the root occurs with and without final *-di*, as we have come to expect. However, if the *-di* is there, the gloss is always ‘hit’; if the gloss is ‘shoot’ it is never there.

(This may, of course, be purely accidental.) In Tutelo, we see variable recording of vowel length.

thunder (1)

natural_force_weather

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

- Proto-Siouan **-krų•*
  - Proto-Mississipi-Valley **krų*
    - Proto-Dakota **wikrųke*
      - Lakota *wignúke* ‘rainbow’ EB:755a
      - Dakota *wíhmuŋke* , *†wíhmųke* ‘rainbow’ SRR:574b
    - Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere
      - Chiwere *grongron* , *†grųgrų* ‘thunder’ JGT:259
    - Proto-Dhegiha **krǫ́*
      - Omaha-Ponca *i^{n}gthú^{n} huto^{n}* , *†įgðǫ́ hottą* ‘thunder’ MAS:173
      - Kanza/Kaw *glo* ~ *lo* ‘thunder’ JOD , *lo* ‘thunder’ RR
      - Osage *gtho^{n}* , *†lǫ* ‘Thunder deity’ LF:55b
      - Quapaw *kanǫ žike* , *†knǫ* ‘thunder’ RR, OM
  - Proto-Southeastern
    - Proto-Tutelo-Saponi
      - Tutelo *tūhangrūa* , *†tu•hą-kru•a* ‘thunder’ H

General comment

Tutelo and Kanza/Kaw fail to preserve nasalization.

thunder (2)

natural_force_weather

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **tú•ha*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **tú•ha*

Crow *súua* RG , *suú* GG:56, RGG:7

Hidatsa *tahú* ~ *táhu* 'thunder' J

Proto-Southeastern **tú•ha* ~ **tú•he*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *ṭuhé, ṭúhe* , *†ttuhé* 'thunder' D&S:281b

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *tūi, tūhangrūa* , *†tu•h-* 'thunder' H

General comment

Cf. 'thunder (1)'. *tahu* shows rightward vowel exchange. From PSi *t* we would expect Crow *š/_u*; however, Crow *s* is regular for pre-Crow *t /_a*. This suggests a series of developments like the following: **tahu* > **sahu* > **sau* > **suu*. *-uu* is the stem vowel in Crow; *-uua* is the citation form -- with added *-a* (?). The implications are that rightward vowel exchange occured in Proto-Crow-Hidatsa (not just in Hidatsa) and its product was reduced in Crow. Cf. 'visible'.

tie (1)

verb physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **-šké*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **-škhe*

Crow *schí, da-* ‘bead, do beadwork’ [dak; < ški] GG:42

Hidatsa *ckhí, na-* ‘do quill work’ [rka] J , *škhe, na-* ‘weave, lace, splice, knit, crochet’ [rka] J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *skE* ‘tie, twine, braid’ H:211 , *-skéʔš, pa-* ‘he builds a fence’ H:211 , *kaskéʔš* ‘he tied it’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **-šké*

Proto-Dakota **-ška*

Lakota *-ška* ‘tie, untie’ RTC , *šká, ka-* ‘tie, bind; imprison’ EB:290 , *šká, na-* ‘untie with the foot; to come untied of itself’ EB:358 , *šká, pa-* ‘loosen by pressure, as in untieing a knot’ EB:434 , *šká, ya-* ‘untie with the mouth’ EB:628 , *škéškeke, ya-* ‘untie with the teeth.’ EB:832 , *šká, yu-* ‘loosen, to untie.’ EB:651

Stoney *-ška* ‘tie, untie’ PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **ru-šké*

Chiwere *i•réške* ‘tie or untie a knot’ RR , *ske, ru-* LWR:26

Hoocąk *-šge* ‘untie’ KM:2940 , *-šge* ‘untie of own accord’ KM:2238 , *-šgé, nąą-* ‘untie with the mouth’ KM:2571 , *nąąšge* ‘untie, v.tr.’ KM:2730 , *-šgé, ra-* , *rašge* , *-šgé, ru-* , *rušge*

Proto-Dhegiha **-šké*

Omaha-Ponca *thishke* , *†ðiške* ‘untie’ MAS:181

Kanza/Kaw *gašké* ‘tie a knot’ RR , *yüšké* ‘untie’ RR , *ške, bó-* ‘untie by punching, shooting’ JOD, RR , *šké, bü-* ‘untied, cause to come undone from weight’ RR , *šké, ya-* ‘untie, undo with the teeth’ RR , *šké, yü-* ‘untie something’

Osage *gáshke* , *†káške* ‘tie’ LF:46b

Quapaw *kašké* ‘tie a knot’ RR , *dišké* ‘loosen’ JOD, RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **-ške*

Biloxi *dükŭtckĕ´* , *†dəkəčké* ‘tie any object’ D&S:265a

Ofo *atipó^{n}tuska* , *†atipą́tuska* ‘weave’ D&S:322a

General comment

Aspiration in Hidatsa and the Ofo final vowel remain unexplained, and the Ofo seems to be a reflex of *-xka*. The following Mandan forms show *s* grade of this root: Mandan škE ‘weave, twine, braid’ H-230 Mandan *paškéʔš* ‘he builds a fence’ H-230 Mandan *kaškéʔš* ‘he braided it, tied it up’ C Mandan *ruškéʔš* ‘he weaves it’ H-231. Tutelo *lakački•hA* ‘kill by force/striking’; *lački•hA* ‘kill by hand’ fit phonologically, but the meanings make cognacy questionable.

tie (2)

physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **skitE*

Proto-Dakota **skitA*

Lakota *skítA, yu-* ‘bind or tie something hard with a string or so’ EB:649 , *skískitA, yu-* ‘wrap around and round, as in fastening a child on a board’ EB:649

Dakota *skíta* ‘bound, fastened, as a child on a board’ SRR:436b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **-skite*

Chiwere *igrúhgiže* ‘tie ones own’ JGT:259

Hoocąk *-sgíc, ru-* ‘tie, v.tr.’ KM:2717 , *rusgic*

Proto-Dhegiha **rü-skíta*

Osage *thi-çki´-da* , *†ðiskíta* ‘tie something tightly, to make an indentation’ LF:145a

Quapaw *diskítta* ‘tie tightly leaving mark’ RR

tie (3)

physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **xtE*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **xtE*

Crow *daxčí* ‘tie up’ [dak; ?] GG:43, RGG:26

Hidatsa *paxtE* ‘plug up’ J

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **xtE*

Proto-Dakota **-xtA´*

Lakota *pa_xtá* ‘tie up’ EB:426b , *xta, apá-* ‘bind or tie on anything’ EB:88 , *xtáxta, pa-* ‘tie and make into bundles’ EB:426

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *waxǰaxǰá* ‘embroider’ KM:3925 , *woorucak waxjaxja ųų*

Proto-Dhegiha **-xte*

Omaha-Ponca *wapáxte* ‘bundle’ MAS:28

Kanza/Kaw *baxčé* ‘tie up a bundle’ RR

Osage *wabáxtse* , *†wapáxce* ‘portable shrine, pack, bundle’ LF:184a

General comment

At least in MVS, reduplication of verb roots seems most frequently to be in the *-a* ablaut grade. There may be exceptions. This could be one source of back formations in which **-e* apparently > *-a*. Cf. ‘tie (1)’.

time reference

adverb n/a

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **s?i*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **s?i•*

Chiwere *thˆí* , *†θ?í-* ‘time: enduring for a long time’ JGT:3617 , *thˆí wéxa* , *†θ?í-* ‘time: a very long time’ JGT:3618 , *thˆíanna* , *†θ?í-* ‘time: a very long time’ JGT:3619 , *thˆída* , *†θ?í-* ‘ago: long ago’ JGT:3620 , *thˆíyinge (dáha)* , *†θ?í-* ‘while: a little while’ JGT:3630, DOR

Hoocąk *s?íi* ‘be a long time; for a long time’ KM:2780 , *s’ii*

Proto-Dhegiha

Omaha-Ponca *çidadi* , *†sidadi* ‘yesterday’ MAS:192

Kanza/Kaw *?sídoǰi* ~ *sidóǰi* ‘yesterday’ RR

Osage *çidódsi* , *†sitóci* ‘yesterday’ LF:30a

Quapaw *siótti* ‘yesterday’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *setoŋle* , *†sitǫ́•le* ‘yesterday’ , *sitō* , *†sito•* ‘yesterday’ H:1883a , *šitóre* , *†sito•* JOD:1882 , *citóre* , *†sito•*

tipi, conical tent

physical_artefact_shelter

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Pre-Mandan **ti + *šohe 'pointed'*

Mandan *tišóhe* 'tipi' H:250

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *čiábokíyake* 'tipi, teepee' KM:212 , *ciabokiğake, cii habokiğake*

Proto-Dhegiha **htí-poɣV*

Kanza/Kaw *ččíboɣa* 'tipi, tent with poles tied at top' RR

Osage *ṭsíboxe* , *†ccípoxe* 'conical tent, tipi' LF:162b

General comment

Cf. 'dwell, dwelling, house'. Chiwere *čhibóθraje* 'upright house' (JGT) is a different descriptive term. These are apparently all terms innovated during the plains occupation period. There are separate forms in the northern languages and southern languages. Little can be reconstructed with certainty.

tobacco

noun plant

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *[old reconstruction only]*

Pre-Mandan **wrąš*

Mandan *wąráš* ‘tobacco’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dakota **čhąRí*

Lakota *čhąlí* ‘tobacco’ RTC , *čhanúpa* ‘pipe < tobacco + smoke’

Dakota *ćaŋdí* , *†čhądí* ‘tobacco’ SRR:86 , *ćaŋ-dú-hu-pa* , *†čhądúhupa* ‘a Dakota pipe’ SRR:87a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *rá•ñį* ‘tobacco’ [in ‘pipe’, q.v.] RR , *láhn-* GM

Hoocąk *taanį́* ‘tobacco’ KM:3062 , *taanį*

Proto-Dhegiha **Ranį́-hü*

Omaha-Ponca *nini, ninihi* ‘any kind of tobacco’ MAS:174

Kanza/Kaw *nąnű́, nąní, nọnű́* ‘tobacco’ RR

Osage *nąnű́hü* ‘tobacco’ RR

Quapaw *taní, tanį́* ‘tobacco’ JOD, RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **iyá•nį*

Biloxi *yáni, yaní* , *†yanį* ‘tobacco’ D&S:288b

Ofo *itcā´ni* , *†ičá•nį* ‘tobacco’ D&S:324b

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *yéhni, yihnū* , *†yéhnį* ‘tobacco’ H , *nọní’* , *†nąnį́* ‘tobacco’ ES , *nonē´* , *†nąnį́* ‘tobacco’ LJF

General comment

Cf. ‘smoke tobacco, pipe’, also ‘ice’, which has the same pattern of initial consonants in DH. Proto-Dakota **čhąRí* is from an earlier ***čhaRį́*, by shift of the nasal feature across the intervening glide. The compound form in ‘pipe’, l.c., was developed prior to this shift, hence the absence of nasalization on its first syllable (i.e., *čha núpa*). A Chiwere variant *láhn-* found in ‘smoke tobacco, pipe’, q.v., may be borrowed. The Tutelo form *yéhni, yihnū* is pretty clearly borrowed from or at least modeled on Tuscarora or modern Cayuga, among whom the Tutelo lived. The second of the Hale forms seems to be a compound of ‘tobacco’ and *hu•* ‘tree, bone, leg, stalk, stem, trunk’. Sapir and Frachtenberg probably recorded the more native Siouan term. Look-alikes for ‘tobacco’ occur far afield in North America from Iroquoian to Uto-Aztecan. Cf. PUA **yena* ‘smoke tobacco’ (verb) Miller #394. Cf. also Iroquoian (Mithun-274) Oneida and Mohawk *oy`v:kwa?*; Susq.

ojeengqua; Onondaga, Cayuga, Seneca *oyę́:kwa?*; Tuscarora *ù:yv´?kweh* ‘smoke’, all others ‘tobacco’. It seems possible that this term is not really reconstructible in any of the families. The Proto-Dakota, Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere, and Proto-Dhegiha correspondences are too irregular to permit a Proto-Mississipi-Valley or Proto-Siouan reconstruction.

This may be due to taboo or other affective avoidance forcing irregular distortions, but diffusion is the most likely source of the irregularities.

tongue

physical_somatic_body_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **i-ré•ši*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **ré•ši*

Crow *déeši* GG:44, RGG:70

Hidatsa *ré•ši* ‘tongue’ J , *né•ši*

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *ré•sike* ‘tongue’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **i-ré•zi* ~ **i-ré•ži*

Proto-Dakota **čheží*

Lakota *čheží* RTC

Dakota *ćez´í* , *†čheží* ‘tongue’ SRR:100a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **ré•zi*

Chiwere *ré•ðe* ‘tongue’ RR

Hoocąk *reezí* ‘tongue’ KM:2606 , *reezi*

Proto-Dhegiha **ré•ze*

Omaha-Ponca *dé•zi, déizi* ‘tongue’ RR , *ðéze* JOD

Kanza/Kaw *léze* ‘tongue’ RR , *yéze* ‘tongue’ JOD

Osage *ðéze* ‘tongue’ RR

Quapaw *déze* ‘tongue’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern **iré•či*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *yětcí´* , *†yečí* D&S:292a

Ofo *ilétci, ĭletcí* , *†iléči* ‘tongue’ D&S:324a , *ālētci* , *†a•le•či* ‘to lap’ JSS

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *netçi, netsi, letçi, nētçi, nētsi, lētçi* , *†re•či* H

General comment

There are clear reflexes of *y- in those cases (Dakota, Biloxi) where stress is final (assuming Hoocąk accent shift to be recent). Dakota/Lakota, however, normally shift *r to *y (>čh) following inalienable possessive *i- so Biloxi is the only language whose form can only come from *y.

The better reconstruction, then, is probably with *r. Chiwere/DH shift *š > s > z. Accent, vowel length and the Lakota/Dakota initial consonant all suggest that this was one of the inherently possessed body part terms, so it is appropriate to reconstruct that prefix. Ofo tends to confirm this classification. This term has been assimilated into the common class of -e stems in DH, but recent field work suggests that Dorsey may have mistranscribed the form.

tooth (1), edge, point

physical_somatic_body_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **i-hí•*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **(h)i*

Crow *íí* GG:75, RGG:75

Hidatsa *hi' [or i]* 'a sharp point, the point of an instrument' [commonly suffixed] WM:85a , *i* 'point, edge, tooth' [same as *hi*] WM:89a

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *hí?* 'tooth' RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **hí•*

Proto-Dakota **hi*

Lakota *hí* 'tooth' RTC

Dakota *hi* 'tooth; bit or edge; point of anything' SRR:145a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **hí•*

Chiwere *hí•* 'tooth' RTC, RR

Hoocąk *híi* 'tooth' KM:870 , *hii*

Proto-Dhegiha **hí*

Omaha-Ponca *hí* 'tooth' RTC, RR

Kanza/Kaw *hí* 'tooth' RR

Osage *hí* 'tooth or teeth' LF:59b

Quapaw *hí* 'tooth' RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *ihī* N, H

General comment

The Hidatsa form *hi'* (= *hi?* ?) is probably from Mandan. Rising pitch in Crow indicates an earlier **ihí* (cf. 'hair, fur, feathers'). Thus both Crow and Tutelo preserve evidence that this term is a member of the inherently possessed body part class.

tooth (2)

physical_somatic_body_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **í•h-Sa (?)*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **ihša*

Crow *ihtá* ‘molar, eye tooth’ GG:75, RGG:72

Hidatsa *í•šša* ‘tooth’ J

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **í•hsa (?)*

Biloxi *iⁿsú, iⁿ´su* , *†įsu* ‘tooth’ D&S:203a

Ofo *ī´fha* , *†í•fha* ‘tooth’ D&S:323b, JSS

General comment

Although the fricatives do not correspond properly, and true cognacy of this set therefore remains in question, this appears, at least superficially, to be another **hs > fh* case in Ofo. The southeastern languages lose initial *h-* routinely, so this form could be related to ‘tooth (1), edge, point’.

touch

physical_contact

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *-*htą́*•

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa *ta•tE, ara-* ‘nudge with foot, kick in’ J , *ta•tE, ná-* ‘grab hold gently by teeth’ J , *ta•tE, nú-* ‘massage, apply pressure with hand’ J , *ta•tE, pá-* ‘nudge, poke, tap’ J

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *-*htą*

Proto-Dakota *-*thą́*

Lakota *thĄ, na-* ‘touch with the foot, feel with the foot’ EB:360 , *thĄ, ya-* ‘touch with the mouth, to pull as in sucking’ EB:629 , *thĄ, yu-* ‘touch, to feel’ EB:653 , *thĄ, épa-* ‘touch with the hand’ EB:142

Dakota *yut’áŋ* , *ƭyuthą́* ‘touch, feel up’ SRR:643a

Proto-Dhegiha *-*htą*

Omaha-Ponca *thitó^{n}to^{n}* , *ƭðottą́ttą* ‘feel’ MAS:277

Kanza/Kaw *ttą, áya-* ‘bite sth. that is underneath’ RR , *ttą́, ba-* ‘feel for something, poke into’ RR , *ttą́, bü-/bi-* ‘feel sth., feel for in the dark’ RR , *ttą́, ną-* ‘feel the way with the foot’ RR , *ttą́, yü-* ‘touch, feel with the hands’ RR

Osage *bato^{n}* , *ƭpahtą* ‘feel by poking the ground’ LF:267b , *nó^{n}ṭo^{n}* , *ƭnąhtą* ‘feel in the water with foot’ LF:267a

Quapaw *ttą́, di-* ‘feel, touch sth.’ RR

General comment

The Hidatsa forms show a root extension *-*tE*.

toward

particle physical_spatial

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **-pa*

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *-pa* in: *akhówapa* ‘further on, beyond a certain object mentioned’ EB:76 , *-pa* in: *ihéktapa* ‘behind’ EB:216 , *-pa* in: *tókhiyapa* ‘where’ EB:498b , *-pa* in: *itókaxwapa* ‘towards the south’ EB:241b

Proto-Dhegiha

Quapaw *okáxpa* ‘Quapaw, downstream, southward’ RR

General comment

Other languages have the Quapaw ethnonym, but these may not be cognates.

towards (1)

particle physical_spatial

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **-kta•*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **hta•*

Crow *kussaá* ‘towards’ RG , *-ssaá* ‘towards’ RG

Hidatsa *-hta•* in: *Xhta•* ‘towards X’ [plural *íro?hta*] J , *-hta•* in: *akuhta•* ‘the other way’ J , *-htá* in: *hirihtá* ‘this way’ H&V , *-hta* in: *í•hta* ‘towards him’ J , *-hta* in: *íahta* ‘towards that place’ J , *-hta•* in: *kuhta•* ‘that way, in that direction’ J , *-hta•* in: *o•khíhta•* ‘the other way, that way, otherwards’ J , *-hta•* in: *ro•táhta•* ‘this way, hither’ J , *no•táhta•* ‘towards’ J , *-hta•* in: *še?ehta•* ‘toward that’ J , *-hta-* in: *še?ehtaha•* ‘whither?’ J , *-hta•* in: *tóhta•* ‘any way, carelessly’ J , *-hta•-* in: *to•hta•ruš*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **-kta*

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *-ktá* in: *ektá* ‘at, to, into’ EB:141 , *-ktá-* in: *ektákiya* ‘to, towards’ EB:141 , *-ktá-* in: *ektána* ‘there behind, after’ EB:142

Proto-Dhegiha **-hta*

Omaha-Ponca *-ttá-* in: *ettáthą* ‘from there’ [*tti-* house] JEK , *-tta* in: *étta* ‘thither’ JEK , *-tta* in: *ttiatta* ‘to, towards the tent’ JEK

Kanza/Kaw *-tta* in: *étta* ‘there, towards that place (?)’ MR, RR , *-tta-* in: *éttaha* ‘there, over there, thither’ MR, RR , *-tta* in: *hašítta* ‘behind, in the rear’ RR , *-tta* in: *gáyįgetta* ‘over there, to that place’ RR , *-tta-* in: *gójettaha* ‘far off, remote in time or space’ JOD, RR

Osage *ṭa* , *†hta* ‘in that direction’ [Term used in ceremonial ritual] LF:135a , *ṭa ha* , *†hta* ‘toward’ LF:137a , *-ṭa* in: *e-ṭa ú-ga-xthe* , *†-hta* ‘facing in that direction’ LF:41b , *-ṭa-* in: *gá-ṭa-to*^{n} , *†-hta* ‘from that direction’ LF:47 , *-ṭa* in: *ga-xá-ṭa* , *†-hta* ‘at a distance away’ LF:48b , *á-ṭa* , *†áhta* ‘beyond’ LF:14b

Quapaw *étta ttétta ídišą* ‘direction, around in that’ RR

General comment

Lakota preserves the original cluster, the source of Hidatsa preaspiration and DH *ht*. There has almost certainly been some contamination of ‘towards’ **hta* and ‘side, other’ **ta*. Compare *†tka †tki*

towards (2)

particle physical_spatial

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **hpa*

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *-pa* in: *éepa* ‘ever since then, from that point in space’ KM:301 , *-pa* in: *eepa* ‘from that time’ KM:1692 , *-pa-* in: *éeparejáą* ‘to or from that extent or point in time or space’ KM:981 , *-pa-* in: *eepareją* , *-pá* in: *hipá* , *-pa* in: *hipa*

Proto-Dhegiha

Kanza/Kaw *-ppa-* in: *ettáppale* ‘facing something, facing that way’ RR , *-ppa-* in: *gagóppale* ‘facing that way’ RR , *-ppa* in: *gódappa, gódappale* ‘facing that way’ RR , *-ppa-* in: *yegáppale* ‘face this way’ RR

General comment

There may be a derivational connection (or contamination) between ‘towards’ **hpa* with ‘forehead (2)’ **hpe* and ‘head, nose (1), front end’ **hpa*. Compare the seeming relationship of ‘towards’ **hta* and ‘face’ **te* or ‘forehead (1)’ **hte*.

town (1)

physical_spatial_place

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **htą́wą*

Proto-Dakota **thų́wą*

Lakota *othų́wąhe* ‘town’ RTC, EJ , *-thų́wą* ‘clan name suffix’ EJ

Dakota *o-toŋ´-we* , *†othų́we* SRR:389

Sioux Valley *o-tų́we* ‘to live, dwell’ PAS , *tų́wą*

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *Tomah* ‘Wisconsin town (?)’

Proto-Dhegiha **htą́wą (?)*

Omaha-Ponca *ttǫ́wǫ* ‘town’ RTC , *ttą́wą* ‘town’ JOD

Kanza/Kaw *ttą́mą* ‘town’ RR

Osage *ṭoⁿ´woⁿ* , *†htą́wą* ‘town, city’ LF:156

Quapaw *ttǫ́, ttǫ́wą* ‘town’ RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *taⁿ, taⁿyaⁿ´, taáⁿ* , *†tąyą́* ‘town, village’ D&S:271a

General comment

Given its use in clan/band name compounds in Dakotan, this may well be an old term, albeit a widely diffused one, in and outside of Siouan. The term may not be reconstructible in any of the major Siouan subgroups. It is possible that it diffused into the later subgroups like Dakota or DH in time to be reconstructible there if the correspondence sets match. Note that this term apparently had the sequence **-wą* at a time when most of the languages which assimilate the sequence to *mą* had already done so, thus creating *wą/mą* contrasts. This is a widespread form with look-alikes in several language families in the eastern part of North America. Cf. Arikara *ituúnu* Parks; Choctaw: *tomaha* ~ *tamaha* (RR); Mobilian: *tamaha* (JMC-93); Chitimacha: *namu* Swadesh. Cf. ‘town (1)’. Cf. ‘see (1)’ for a similar form which also argues for rounding assimilation in Dakotan.

town (2)

physical_spatial_place

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *wį́•t- (?)*

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *wį́•ti* ‘village’ RTC

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Ofo *ĩⁿ´tuſa, iⁿ´tuſi* ‘town’ D&S:325a

Proto-Catawba

Catawba *we•, wi* ‘town’ KS

General comment

The Mandan form looks as if it might simply be the old, inherently possessed word for ‘my house’ or ‘our house(s)’. The Ofo form could possibly be the same. (No separate inclusive or plural possessive prefix is reconstructible for the inalienable paradigm in Siouan.) With so few purported cognates, chance resemblance could be a problem here.

trade

social_transfer

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Pre-Mandan **í_kaʔ-*

Mandan *wíkaroʔš* , *ɨ́wí•kaʔroʔš* ‘he sells, buys, trades something’ [root is probably *-kaʔ-* ‘have, possess’] H:102, RTC

trap

physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **kų*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa *wa•ʔi•kiku* ‘trap; lit. sth. w. which to trap sth.’ J , *ma•ʔi•kiku* ‘fishhook’ J , *íhkikua* ‘fishing tackle’ J , *mua ihkikua*

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *kų́•roʔš* ‘he trapped it’ RTC , *póʔiʔikų* ‘fishing tackle’ RTC

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *ḳa^{n}, ka^{n}* , *†ką* ‘noose, trap’ D&S:202a , *kañḳo^{n}, ḳa^{n}ḳo^{n}ni* , *†ką* ‘trapping, trap’ D&S:202a , *ûⁿḳoḳóⁿ* , *†ką* ‘fishhook’ , *okŭki* , *†ką* ‘to fish’

Ofo *okhô˝ñki* , *†okhą́ki* ‘to fish’

General comment

Lakota *†gmų́ka* ‘trap’ (B-162a) and Dakota *†hmų́ka* ‘set a trap, to trap’ (R-150b) probably do not belong to this set. Dakotan *gm-* clusters usually turn out not to have cognates elsewhere in Siouan, and often seem to be from borrowed Algonquian *kwVn* clusters, cf. ‘cucurbit (1)’ and ‘cucurbit(2)’. In this instance, compare Miami *kimiha* ‘trap’, ‘deadfall’; *kokimikotakani* ‘spring or steel trap’ (Voegelin 1939:305) and Shawnee *nakwaaka* ‘steel trap’ (ibid. p. 378) for suggestive similarities. In addition, cf. the following Ojibwe (and related dialect) forms (Rhodes 1985: 295-6): *ngwaagan* ‘rainbow, trap, spider’s web’ (n.i.)(p. 296) pl.

ngwaagnan; *n’gwaadang* (vti) ‘snare’ (p. 295); *n’gwaanaad* (vta) ‘snare s.o.’ (p. 296). The Biloxi ‘trap’ terms may be derived from ‘cord, sinew, vein (1)’ and thus not be cognate.

travel

physical_motion

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **-ši*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **ašE*

Crow *aashí* ‘hunt’ GG:3

Hidatsa *ášE* ‘travel, wander’ J , *áši*

Pre-Mandan **si-*

Mandan *síʔš* ‘he travels’ H:205

tree, bone, leg, stalk, stem, trunk

physical_somatic

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **-hú•(-re)*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **huri J*

Crow *hulí* 'bone' GG:49, RGG:71 , *iihulí* 'leg' GG:76

Hidatsa *hirú* 'bone' J , *wata•hiru* 'my legs, foundation' J , *mata•hiru* 'table (four legs)' J , *itá•hirutó•pa*

Pre-Mandan **hu•-*

Mandan *húr* , *†hú•r* 'bone, stem, stalk' H:82 , *dokhú•re tó•p* , *†hú•r* 'table, lit. four legs' RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **hú•*

Proto-Dakota **hú*

Lakota *hú* 'leg, stalk, tree trunk, bone' RTC

Dakota *hú* 'bone, leg, stock, stem, bone' SRR , *wićahu* 'leg' SRR:156b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **hú•*

Chiwere *hú* 'leg' RR

Hoocąk *húu* 'leg, from the hip down' KM:1600 , *huu* 'bone' KM:1609 , *húušerék, huušérek* 'handle' KM:1606 , *huušerek* 'front of leg' KM:1603 , *húuną* , *huuną* , *huučówe* , *huucowe (> huu + coowe)*

Proto-Dhegiha **hü*

Omaha-Ponca *hí* 'leg' RTC , *hi* 'stalk' F&LF:106

Kanza/Kaw *hű́* 'tree' RR

Osage *hú́* 'tree trunk' RR

Quapaw *hí* 'tree' RR

Proto-Southeastern **hú•(-ri)*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **hu•ri*

Biloxi *udí* , *†hudí* 'stalk, trunk, stem, root' D&S:283a , *pi^{m}hudí* , *†hudí* 'hickory tree' D&S:246a , *pi^{n}ʔhu aya$^{n\prime}$* , *†hudí* 'hickory wood' D&S:246a

Ofo *ūʔli* , *†ú•li* 'a handle' D&S:331b, JSS

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *taskahūi, tāskahōi* , *†-hu•* 'oak' H

General comment

Cf. ‘bone’ for an important derivation from this form. The Mandan forms are probably *hu•r* and < *rok* ‘leg’ + *hu•r* ‘stalk’ and *to•p* ‘four’. The Hidatsa form, vis-à-vis the Crow, shows rightward vowel exchange together with raising of short *e* to *i*. Crow and Hidatsa differ in showing vowel exchange in this form and in ‘sister (5) wSiYo’. Such differences suggest that rightward vowel exchange was spreading lexically at about the time of the Crow/Hidatsa split. Initial syllable accent and vowel length suggest that there was a missing initial syllable. Since this term has a variety of related meanings, it is possible that when it referred specifically to ‘bone’ or ‘leg’ it was inherently possessed and required possessive **i-* ‘someone’s, his, her’. In MVS ‘bone’ takes the absolutive *wa-* today.

tree, wood

plant

Proto-Siouan-Catawba **yą*

Proto-Siouan **wiyą́•*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **wVrá*

Crow *balá* GG:25, RGG:11

Hidatsa *wirá* ‘tree, wood’ J , *mirá*

Pre-Mandan **:wrą*

Mandan *wą́rą?* ‘wood’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **yą*

Proto-Dakota **čhą́*

Lakota *čhą́* ‘wood’ RTC

Stoney *čhą* ‘wood’ PAS

Sioux Valley *čhą* ‘wood’ PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **ną́•*

Chiwere *ną•* ‘wood’ RR

Hoocąk *ną́ą* ‘wood’ KM:2104 , *nąą*

Proto-Dhegiha **žą́ ~ *ną́-(ha)*

Omaha-Ponca *žǫ́* ‘wood’ RTC , *ðą-ha* in: *(zhoⁿ) thoⁿha* , *†ðą-ha* ‘bark’ MAS:13

Kanza/Kaw *žą* ‘wood’ RR , *ną́-ha* in: *ną́ha blak?a* ‘board’ RR

Osage *zhoⁿ* , *†žą* ‘tree, wood, fuel’ LF:224b , *nóⁿha* , *†ną́-ha* ‘board’ LF:114a

Quapaw *žą, žǫ* ‘wood’ RR

Proto-Southeastern **wiyą́*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *ayáⁿ* , *†ayą́* ‘tree, trees, wood, a stick’ D&S:175b

Ofo *itcóⁿ, itcáⁿ, ĭ́tcoⁿ* , *†ičą́* ‘tree, stick, wood’ D&S:324b, JSS

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *wiéñ; mīéñ, miyéñi, miéñ, miyēi* , *†wiyą́* ‘lacrosse stick’ N, HH , *yą̈hé?* , *†wiyą́* ES , *yeⁿhē´* , *†wiyą́* LJF

Proto-Catawba **yąne (?)*

Catawba *yanąpís* ‘tree bark’ FGS

Woccon *yonne*

General comment

Doublets *žą* ~ *ną* occur in DH. *žą* is the general term; *ną* is found only in fossil compounds. *ną* is missing so far in Quapaw. Forms with reflexes or at least possible reflexes of **y* are found in all subgroups, so this is probably the best reconstruction. Recall however, that in Dakota **r* > **y* if preceded by prefixal **i-*, so the prefix vowel may have had a role in the development of this term even though it does not mark inalienable possession here. Both Crow/Hidatsa and Proto-Southeastern show reflexes of both **wi-* and **wa-*. The prefix may have been **wi-* which marks Proto-Siouan animates.

turn (1) > roll

physical_motion

Proto-Siouan-Catawba **parą?*

Proto-Siouan **parą́(-he) (?)*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **wrų-*

Proto-Dakota

Stoney *mnuŋa* ‘twisted, gnarled’ PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *rubrún* , *†rubrų́* ‘twisted’

Proto-Dhegiha **-brǫ*

Kanza/Kaw *büblǫ́blǫze* ‘roll paper/cord between hand/knee’ JOD

Osage *i ̨́kithibtho^{n}* , *†íhkiðibrą* ‘mix together, intermixing’ LF:74a

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **-nąhi (?)*

Biloxi *pana, kĭpánahi, kĭpanáhi* , *†-nąhi* ‘turn back, hand over’ D&S:243b

Ofo *atū́nahi* , *†atú•nahi* ‘turn back’ D&S:322b, JSS

Proto-Catawba

Catawba *diksitóparą́?sere* ‘my back turn I’ FGS:6 , **parą́?; parą́?hure* ‘turn; roll away’ FGS:69

General comment

Reconstruction and even cognacy here are problematic. MVS forms all suggest **wr* (from probably earlier **wa-r*) here. The following vowels are also poor matches. Such a cluster in the present nasal environment would yield *n* in both Biloxi and Ofo (cf. ‘three’). If the MVS clusters go back to Proto-Siouan **pa-r* however, the Biloxi form may be conservative, thus matching the Catawba (cf. ‘spread (1)’). In order for the Ofo to be properly cognate in this latter scenario, the proto form would have to be analyzed as bimorphemic, with Ofo retaining only the second half.

turn (2)

physical_motion

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **-wį́yE*

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *yuwį́yA* ‘turn around, back’ EB:656a , *yuwį́žA* ‘bend (e.g., wire)’ EJ

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **-wį́xe*

Chiwere *luwį́xenąˀ* ‘turn’ GM

Hoocąk *wawį́x* ‘hour’ , *wawį́x*

Proto-Dhegiha **hkówį́ye*

Omaha-Ponca *kkówį́ye* ‘wandering about’

Kanza/Kaw *bakkómį́ye* ‘turn something, spin’ RR

Osage *baḳúwiⁿxe* , *t́pahkówį́ye* ‘turn something by pushing’ LF:22a

Quapaw *tákkowį́yáya* ‘turn in circles by fire’ JOD

General comment

The various combinations of morphemes found under ‘turn’, ‘twist’ suggest a compound root in DH. The elements seem most frequently to be **hko* and **wį́,* or both, with the extension **Se*, and they seem to be relatively independent. Cf. ‘twist (1)’ for more of the same. In addition, this root is peculiar and probably recent in several languages in that the *w* has not nasalized. There may be a Catawba cognate, *-wąče* ‘twist’ (Kanza/Kaw-235) although the sound correspondences are poorly understood at best.

turnip, Psoralea (1)

plant

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **wa-ǫhe*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **ahí*

Crow *ihí* ‘wild turnip’ GG:74, RGG:12

Hidatsa *ahí* ‘turnip, tipsin’ J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *wǫ́he* ‘wild turnip’ RTC

turnip, Psoralea (2)

plant

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **Ró•kwe-(hi)*

Chiwere *dógwehi* ‘Indian turnip’ [Otoe] JGT:265 , *dógwe* ‘Indian turnip’ [Ioway] JGT:265

Hoocąk *tookéwehí* ‘be hungry’ [Cf. tóo ‘potato’] KM:3134 , *tookewehi*

Proto-Dhegiha **Ró•kre*

Omaha-Ponca *no•gðe* ‘turnip’ RR

Kanza/Kaw *dóle* ‘turnip, carrot’ RR

Osage *dógthe* , *†tó•le* ‘Psoralea esculenta (turnip)’ LF:38a

General comment

This compound is derived from the much older and better attested term for ‘Indian potato’. The discrepancy between Chiwere/Hoocąk with **kw* and DH with **kr* cannot be accounted for.

turn over (1), roll (1)

physical_motion

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **ptą•(-he)*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **hta•*

Crow *páššíi* 'overturned' GG:53 , *čípaššíi* 'turn over' GG:38 , *páttatchia* 'rolling' GG:53

Hidatsa *hta•, pa-* 'tip over, roll over' [rka] J , *htahtE, ná-* 'bite down on a hidden bone or something hard' J , *htáhtE, ara-* 'step on sth. and rock, twist ankle' J , *tahtE, nak-* 'shaky, unstable' J , *tahtE, pá-* 'roll, roll over' J

Pre-Mandan **-ptąh-*

Mandan *kiptą́ho?š* 'he turned back' RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **-ptą*

Proto-Dakota **ptą*

Lakota *ptą́* 'turn' EB:785b , *ptáptą, ka-* 'turn over and over' EB:288 , *ptą́, pa-* 'turn over' EB:433 , *ptą́ptą, pa-* 'wallow about, roll over, to writhe' EB:433 , *ptáptą, yu-* 'turn or roll back and forth with the hand, to rock' EB:648 , *ptą, ú́na-* 'sidling, inclined toward one side' EB:507

Proto-Dhegiha **-htą́(-ra)*

Omaha-Ponca *pato^{n}* , *†battą* 'roll' MAS:149

Kanza/Kaw *ttą́, ga-* 'throw the lead to measure depth' RR , *ttą́hą, yü-* 'pull around, make turn by pulling' RR

Quapaw *ttą́ni, di-* 'spin someone around, whirl' RR

General comment

Normally *pC* clusters in Lakota and Mandan and their various reflexes in the other languages come from Proto-Siouan **wa-C-* sequences. Here, however, even Hidatsa has a reflex of **pt* in *ht*, so the cluster must at least provisionally be reconstructed. Here the DH cognates show a variety of different root extensions.

turn over (2), roll (2)

physical_motion

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **-ptą́-ra*

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *ptáŋą, pa-* ‘cause to turn over, upset or turn over by pushing’ EB:433 , *ptáŋą, wo-* ‘make glance off, as in shooting; to make turn over by shooting e.g. a boat’ EB:607 , *ptáŋą, ya-* ‘turn over with the mouth’ EB:626

Proto-Dhegiha **-htą-ra*

Kanza/Kaw *ttąya, obá-* ‘roll something, roll over, like a tumblebug’ RR , *obáttąya* ‘roll something, roll over’ RR

Osage *thiṭó^{n}tha* , *†ðühtą́ða* ‘roll’ LF:150b

Quapaw *obíttąttą́da* ‘roll over and over’ JOD , *ttąda, odí-* ‘turn something, pull around’ RR , *ttąttą́da, obí-* ‘roll something repeatedly in something’ RR , *ttąttą́da, odí-* ‘roll something over and over’ RR

General comment

This form is derived from **ptą́•*, q.v., with a root extension and appears to be restricted to MVS.

turn over (3)

physical_motion

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Pre-Mandan **:šųh-*

Mandan *-šųho?š, pá•-* ‘he spilled it’ RTC , *-šųho?š, ká-* ‘he spills it by striking’ H:238 , *-šųho?š, rá-* ‘he spills it by kicking’ H:239 , *-šųho?š, rú-* ‘he empties it, dumps it out’ H:239

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **-sų*

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *thányige* , *†θą́yige* ‘tipping over, leaning’ JGT:70

Hoocąk *sųųñé* ‘tipped over’ KM:2888 , *sųųre* ‘tip over, v.intr., as when in hammock’ KM:80 , *sų́, boo-* ‘tip over, v.tr., by standing up, e.g. canoe’ KM:2232 , *boosų* ‘tip over, v.intr.’ KM:2189 , *sų́, nąą-* ‘upset’ WL:19.19, KM:402 , *nąąsų* , *kísų, nąą-* , *nąąkisų* , *sų́, gi-* , *gisų*

Proto-Dhegiha **-są*

Omaha-Ponca *nąsą* ‘legs stretched out’

Quapaw *są́, di-* ‘side, edge, on its side’ RR

General comment

Cf. ‘spill’ for the *x*-grade. The following Kanza/Kaw and Quapaw forms show *š* grade of the root: Kanza/Kaw *šą, bakkúla-* ‘turn upside down, push over’ RR; Kanza/Kaw *šą, bókkúla-* ‘knock upside down by shooting or water’ RR; Kanza/Kaw *šą, bükkúla-* ‘turn upside down, overturn by pressure’ RR; Kanza/Kaw *šą, gakkúla-* ‘knock upside down, turn “summersets”’ RR; Kanza/Kaw *šą, nąkkúla-* ‘kick over, to upset’ RR; Kanza/Kaw *šą, yákkúla-* ‘flip over, turn upside down with the mouth’ RR; Kanza/Kaw *šą, yűkkúla-* ‘roll over, turn upside down, tr. or intr.’ RR; Quapaw *šą, kkikdá-* ‘lie on ones stomach’ RR; Quapaw *šą, di-* ‘spill, pull over a vessel’ RR; Quapaw *šǫ́, ba-* ‘spill, push over and spill’ RR; Quapaw *šǫ́, di-* ‘pull over and spill (liquid)’ RR; Quapaw *šǫ, dikkíkda-* ‘turn upside down, pull over’ RR; Quapaw *šǫ, kkikdá-*, *kkikdášą* ‘turned upside down’ RR; Osage *†pašǫ́ða, bashó"tha* ‘spill’ LF-23 Kanza/Kaw[*bašǫ́* ‘close a knife blade, fold shut’ RR

turn over (4)

physical_motion

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **kxúįhe*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **-xxua* < **-xxuhe*

Crow *iluxxúa* ‘rest, lie down’ RG, GG:88

Hidatsa *xxúa* ‘lie, fall’ [rka] J , *xúa* ‘knock down with fist’ [< *xua* fall down] J , *xxúa, na-* ‘run over, kick over’ [ra] J , *xxua, ara-* ‘throw down by teeth’ J , *xxua, ná-* ‘throw down, pull down’ J , *xxua, nú-* ‘push down, push over’ J , *xxua, pá-*

Pre-Mandan **-kxų•h-*

Mandan *irúįkxų•ho?š* ‘he lay down’ RTC , *kxúįho?š* ‘he lays [sic] down v.i.’ H:126 , *-kxúįho?š, ka-* ‘he knocks it over’ H:127 , *-kxúįho?š, ra-* ‘he kicks it over’ H:127

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **-kšúį*

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *kšúį, nąą-* ‘tip over something standing; spill with foot’ KM:2196, WL:18.8 , *nąąkšų* ‘tip over; bend down without breaking, tr.’ KM:3372 , *kšúį, wa-* ‘shed (as, deer his antlers)’ KM:3373 , *wakšų* , *kšúį, wa-* , *wakšų*

Proto-Dhegiha **-šǫ́*

Kanza/Kaw *bašǫ́* ‘close a knife blade, fold shut’ RR

Quapaw *dišǫ́* ‘pull over and spill’ RR

General comment

The MVS forms show a different fricative symbolism grade from the rest.

turtle (1)

animal_reptile

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **wa-hké, *wi-hké*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Crow *dáakko* ‘snapping turtle’ GG:40, RGG:2

Hidatsa *ra•káka•* ‘snapping turtle’ J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *pké?* ‘snapping turtle’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **hke*

Proto-Dakota **khe(-ya)*

Lakota *khé* ‘large turtle’ RTC , *kheyá* ‘large turtle’ RTC

Dakota *kéya* , *†khéya* ‘large tortoise’

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **khé•*

Chiwere *khe* ‘turtle’ GM

Hoocąk *kée* ‘turtle’ KM:1778 , *kee; keecąk*

Proto-Dhegiha **hké*

Omaha-Ponca *kké* ‘turtle’ RTC

Kanza/Kaw *kke* ‘turtle’ RR

Osage *ke* , *†hke* ‘turtle’ LF:84b

Quapaw *kke* ‘turtle’ RR

Proto-Catawba

Catawba *kayá?* ‘terrapin’

General comment

Cf. ‘turtle (2)’. The two terms are doubtfully related. Vowel development, especially in Mandan where it should be uniform, is divergent. Proto-Siouan most likely had the long vowel by position, even though direct evidence is found only in Hoocąk, where length is neutralized in monosyllables. Although there are look-alikes in Algonquian, the Proto-Siouan aspiration can be accounted for by Carter’s Law. On Catawba *kasəmí?* ‘stink turtle’ (Sa-12) cf. Choctaw *kosoma* ‘stink’. Other animal terms show reflexes of the prefix **wi-*.

There is no direct evidence of the prefix vowel here, but **i* seems likely although the prefix **wa-* is possible.

turtle (2)

animal_reptile

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **wa-hkí•-(se)*

Pre-Mandan **kis-pą (?)*

Mandan *kípsą* ‘painted turtle’ H:110

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *kiizúč* ‘soft shelled turtle’ [archaic] KM:1843 , *kiizųc*

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Ofo *akhĭ́si, akísi* ‘turtle’ D&S:319b

General comment

Cf. ‘turtle (1)’.

twin, pair

person

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **rųSka*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **rucka*

Crow *dačká* ‘twins’ GG:41

Hidatsa *rúcka* ‘twins’ J , *núcka*

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *rúxka* ‘twins’ H:196

twins (2)

person

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **nųpá-ita (?)*

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *nuwéda* , *†nųwéda* ‘twins’ JGT:265

Proto-Dhegiha **nǫpá-ita*

Omaha-Ponca *no^{n}ba ida, no^{n}beda* , *†nąba ida* MAS:178

Osage *no^{n}báda* , *†nǫpáta* ‘twins’ [2 + born] LF:112a

Quapaw *nąpátta* ‘twins’ JOD

General comment

Cf. ‘two’. This pattern does not extend beyond DH and Chiwere and is transparent. The terms consist of ‘two’ and ‘born’ and could have been innovated separately.

twist (1)

verb physical_contact_deformation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **pe + *wrį*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **péwrį*

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *pemní* ‘warped, twisted’ EB:441b , *pemni, iyá-* ‘wrap around, wind up in’ EB:252 , *pémni, na-* ‘twist of itself’ EB:353 , *pémni, wa-* ‘make crooked or twisted by shaving’ EB:548 , *pemni, waká-* ‘twist, to swing e.g. a lasso’ EB:526 , *pémni, wo-* ‘turn aside or twist by blowing or shooting’ EB:607 , *pémni, ya-* ‘twist, turn or make crooked with the mouth’ EB:625 , *pémni, yu-* ‘twist, make warp, as a board.’ EB:647 , *pémnimni, yu-* ‘warp, crook, twist.’ EB:647

Dakota *pemní* ‘warp, twist’ SRR:419b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *anáwebrin* , *†anáwebrį* ‘twisted together’ JGT:266

Otoe *anáwedhin* , *†anáweðį* ‘twisted together’ JGT:266

Proto-Dhegiha **pébrį*

Omaha-Ponca *thibethi*^{n} , *†ðibeðį* ‘twisted’ MAS:178 , *bébðį* , *†ðibeðį*

Kanza/Kaw *yübéblį* ‘twist until coarse between hand and knee’ RR , *béblį, bü-* ‘twist something with the hands’ JOD, RR , *béblį, yü-* RR

Osage *thibébthi*^{n} , *†ðïpébrį* ‘twist’ LF:144b

Quapaw *bibébni* ‘twist, roll with the palms’ RR , *dibébnį* ‘twist with the hands’ RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *apĕní, apĕ́ni* , *†apenį* ‘go around’ D&S:174a

Ofo *atubanī́tci* , *†-baní•-* ‘twist, wrap up’ JSS

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *waqópenĭ* , *†-penį* ‘twist, as a cord’ HW

General comment

Tutelo *waxu•* ‘string, cord’.

twist (2)

physical_contact_deformation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **ru-rį́•*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *hikurunį́* ‘be tangled’ KM:948 , *hikurunį*

Proto-Dhegiha

Omaha-Ponca *thi bethi*^{n} , *†ðibðį* MAS:178

Proto-Southeastern **ru-nį́•*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *dunį́* , *†dunį́* ‘twist’ D&S:236a , *dunį́ ta*^{n}*ĭ*^{n}*hĕxtį́* , *†dunį́* ‘roll up very tightly, as a bundle’ D&S:236a , *dunį́ni* , *†dunį́* ‘roll or fold up an object, as a blanket, etc., several times’ D&S:236a , *dunį́ni xwû´diḳĕ´di* , *†dunį́* ‘roll up loosely, as a bundle’ D&S:225a

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *lu•nį́* , *†lu•nį́* ‘twisted’ HW

General comment

The Omaha-Ponca form shows an intervening *be-* but the rest seems cognate.

Cf. ‘twist (3)’. for a compound form of this root.

twist (3)

physical_contact_deformation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **wirį́, *wí•rį*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **-wi•re*

Crow *mmiiili, dú-* ‘turn, twist, braid’ GG:44 , *wiili, dúu-* ‘turn, twist, braid’ GG:45 , *ímmiili* ‘circle’ GG:88

Hidatsa *wi•re, nú-* ‘twist, wind, wring’ J , *wi•re, ná-* ‘turn it with teeth, mouth’ J , *wi•re, pá-* ‘turn by pushing’ J , *wí•re, ara-* ‘has heels twisted, twist with heel’ J , *wí•re, naka-* ‘bend by leaning against, stagger, slant, set off center, sway’ J

Pre-Mandan **-wrį*

Mandan *ikáwirį* , *†ikáwį́rį* ‘be twisted’ H:303 , *irúwirį* , *†irúwį́rį* ‘to wind, twist’ H:303

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **-wrį́*

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *mní, na-* ‘turn back when going on a journey it is used with verbs’ EB:350 , *mnímni, na-* ‘swing, e.g. one’s blanket’ EB:351 , *mní, yu-* ‘turn round e.g. a crank’ EB:644 , *mnímni, yu-* ‘turn round and round, to whirl’ EB:644 , *mníomni, wa-* ‘a whirlwind, a hurricane; a whirlpool; a small worm or pupa, a cocoon’ EB:536 , *mníyeya, ya-* ‘turn or change the course or plan of one by speaking to or with’ EB:624 , *mnímni, ka-* ‘hang loosely, dangle; to swing, as a blanket in the wind’ EB:283

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **prį́*

Chiwere *ubrį́* ‘twist’ JGT:265 , *ubrín*

Hoocąk *pį́nį, hiru-* ‘twist, v.tr. & intr.’ KM:1059 , *hirupį́nį* ‘roll, v.intr’ KM:1545 , *pį́nį, howa-* ‘put out to dry, spread to dry on a surface’ KM:3453 , *howapį́nį* ‘be twisted continuously’ KM:937 , *pį́nį, waru-* , *warupį́nį* , *pį́nįpį́nį, hikirú-* , *hikirupį́nįpį́nį*

Proto-Dhegiha **rü-brį́*

Kanza/Kaw *blį́, yü-* ‘twist or turn something around’ RR

Quapaw *bdí, ódi-* ‘spiral motion’ JOD

twist > curly (1)

physical_contact_deformation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **wrîṣE*

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *rúwiṛįš?oš* ‘fold up, roll up, etc.’ H:303 , *páwiṛįšo?š* , *†-mįṇįšo?š, pá•-* ‘he folded it up, rolled it up’ H:305 , *rúwiṛįšo?š* , *†-mįṇįšo?š, rú•-* ‘he goes around in circles’ H:305 , *-mįṇįšo?š, pką•-* , *†-mįṇįšo?š, rú•-* ‘he folded it’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *piríš, ru-* ‘wrinkle, v.tr.’ KM:2707 , *rupiris* ‘be opening and closing, like mosquito larva or measuring worm’ KM:2706 , *piripíris, ru-* ‘shrivel up in heat’ KM:3074 , *rupiripiris* , *píris, taa-* , *taapiris*

twist > curly (2)

physical_contact_deformation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **wrîxE*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *mníga, na-* ‘shrink, draw up, as cloth by washing’ EB:350 , *mníga, ya-* ‘make shrink by biting, as some big bite of food through chewing’ EB:624

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *piríx, ru-* ‘coil up, v.intr.’ KM:2709 , *rupirix*

twist > curly (3)

physical_contact_deformation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **wrį́šE*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dakota **-wrį́ža*

Lakota *-mniža* ‘curled, ruffled’ RTC , *mnímniža, yu-* ‘to curl’ EB:644

Dakota *yumníz´a* , *†yumníža* ‘curled, not straight, as hair’ SRR:633a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *-piriš* ‘curly’ KM:2485 , *-piriš* ‘curl, v.tr.; be curly’ KM:2708 , *piríš, ru-* , *rupiriš*

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Ofo *atubanítci* ‘wrap up, twist’ D&S:322b

twist > wrap, fold

verb physical_contact_deformation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **ape•*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **apé•*

Crow *ápaalia* ‘wrapped around’ GG:11

Hidatsa *apé•* ‘wrap, coil, wind’ J

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **pe-*

Proto-Dakota **pe-*

Lakota *pemní* ‘wrapped, twisted’ RTC , *pemní* ‘warped, twisted’ EB:441b , *pémni, na-* ‘twist of itself’ EB:353 , *pémni, wa-* ‘make crooked or twisted by shaving’ EB:548 , *pemni, waká-* ‘twist, to swing e.g. a lasso’ EB:526 , *pémni, wo-* ‘turn aside or twist by blowing or shooting’ EB:607 , *pémni, ya-* ‘twist, turn or make crooked with the mouth’ EB:625 , *pémni, yu-* ‘twist, make warp, as a board.’ EB:647 , *pémnimni, yu-* ‘warp, crook, twist.’ EB:647

Dakota *pemní* ‘warp, twist’ SRR:419b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *anáwebrin* , *†anáwebrį* ‘twisted together’ JGT:266

Otoe *anáwedhin* , *†anáweðį* ‘twisted together’ JGT:266

Proto-Dhegiha **-pe-*

Omaha-Ponca *thibethi*^{n} , *†ðibeðį* ‘twisted’ MAS:178 , *bébðį* , *†ðibeðį*

Kanza/Kaw *yübéblį* ‘twist’ RR , *bubéblį* ‘twist until coarse between hand and knee’ JOD, RR , *yübéblį* ‘twist sth. with the hands’ RR , *béšį* ‘folded over, hanging down’ RR , *bábešį* ‘bend by cutting, (knife blade)’ JOD, RR , *babéšį* ‘bend sth. pushing or punching’ RR , *yubéšį* ‘bend sth. slightly, roll up the sleeves.’ RR

Osage *béshi*^{n} , *†péšį* ‘flared LF-26b’ , *beṭó*^{n} , *†pethą́* ‘fold goods’ LF:26b , *thibébthi*^{n} , *†ðipébrį* ‘twist’ LF:144b

Quapaw *bibébni* ‘twist, roll with the palms vt’ [ppíbebni špíbebni bibebni] RR , *dibébnį* ‘twist with the hands vt’ [bdíbebnį ttíbebnį dibebni] RR , *bešǫ́* ‘wrinkled, fold’ [bdíbešį ttíbešį dibes/i] JOD , *béšį, ka-* ‘dull a tool trying to sharpen’ [bdíbex?į ttíbex?į dibex/i] RR , *bešį, di-* ‘bend sth. backwards v’ RR , *bex?į, dí-* ‘bend down, pull down vt’ RR

Proto-Southeastern **aphe•ni*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **aphé•ni*

Biloxi *apĕní, apĕ´ni* , *†apenį* ‘go around an object’ D&S:174a

Ofo *aphĕ́ni* , *†aphé•nį* ‘fold’ D&S:321a, JSS

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *waqópenĭ* , *†-penį* ‘twist, as a cord’ HW

General comment

Tutelo *waxu•* ‘string, cord’.

two

abstract_number

Proto-Siouan-Catawba **rɪ̨p-, *rąp-*

Proto-Siouan **rį́•pa*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **rú•pa*

Crow *dúɪ̨pa* GG:45, RGG:8

Hidatsa *rú•pa* ‘two’ J , *nú•pa*

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *rį́p ~ rį́pa* ‘two’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **rį́•pa*

Proto-Dakota **nį́pa*

Lakota *nį́pa* RTC

Dakota *nóŋpa* ‘two’ WM:250b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **nį́•pe*

Chiwere *nį́•we* RTC, RR

Hoocąk *nį́ɪ̨p* KM:2343 , *nɪ̨ɪ̨p*

Proto-Dhegiha **nǫ́pa*

Omaha-Ponca *nǫbá* ‘two’ RTC , *nɪ̨bá ~ nąbá* RR

Kanza/Kaw *nǫbá* ‘two’ RR

Osage *noⁿbá* ‘two’ LF:112a , *ðǫpá* ‘two’ RR

Quapaw *nǫpá* ‘two’ RR

Proto-Southeastern **nį́•pa*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **nį́•pa*

Biloxi *noⁿ́pa, noⁿpá* , *†nǫpa* D&S:238a

Ofo *nɪᵐ́pha, núpha* , *†nį́•p-* D&S:327a , *nū́p-ha* , *†nį́•p-*

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *nomp; nombāi, numbāi, nomba, nūmba, noñpa, nōmbāh* , *†nɪ̨•pa* ‘two’ N, H , *noⁿp* , *†nɪ̨•pa* ‘two’ HW , *noᵐp* , *†nɪ̨•pa* LJF

Proto-Catawba **nąp-*

Catawba *nąpre, nąpəre* ‘two’ FGS

Woccon *Num-perre, Nupsau, Winnop* ‘eight, twenty’

General comment

The Ofo aspirate is unexpected, since accent is on the initial syllable.

Ofo *-ha* could well be a suffix, cf. Kanza/Kaw *nǫbáha* ‘in 2 places’ where *-ha* is a locative. The reason that *n* reverts to a reflex of oral *r* in certain DH forms is not understood either. Cf. Omaha-Ponca *ppéðǫba* ‘seven’. Proto-Siouan clearly has **ų́•* but Proto-Catawba is unclear. Catawba itself has *ą*, while Woccon *-o-* can be interpreted as either [u] or [ə ~ a].

u

uncle, mother’s brother

social_kin

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **i-Ré•ki*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **(i-)Ré•ki*

Proto-Dakota **Rekší*

Lakota *lekší* RTC

Dakota *dekší* SRR:108

Stoney *nekší* PAS:665

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **i-Ré•ka*

Chiwere *iǰégą* GM

Hoocąk *téega, tegá* KM:3110 , *teega, hitek*

Proto-Dhegiha **iRéki*

Omaha-Ponca *inégi* RTC

Kanza/Kaw *iǰégi* ‘uncle, mother’s bro.’ RR

Osage *idségi* , *†icéki* ‘uncle’ LF:70a

Quapaw *ittéke* ‘man’s mother’s brother’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *mi nēk’* , *†i-ne•kV* H , *enēk’* , *†i-ne•kV* HW

General comment

We do not believe that Biloxi *tukáⁿni, tukaní* ‘man/woman’s mother’s brother’ and Ofo *tokmítha* ‘my brother’ are cognate. Biloxi should have *d*, not *t*, and, of course, the vowels do not even match within the subgroup.

The Quapaw form should not have *tt* or final *-e*, but these may have been mistranscribed by Dorsey.

unstable

perceptual

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **psų́*

Proto-Dakota

Dakota *psųpsų-* ‘face down, bendable, rounded, teeth on edge’ SRR:426a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **sų•*

Chiwere *ʔθą* ‘curved, bent’ , *akíru’than* , *†akíruʔθą* ‘bend over to meet’ LWR , *akhíluʔθą* , *†akíruʔθą* GM

Hoocąk *nąąsų́* ‘with legs outstretched ?’ , *nąąsų*

Proto-Dhegiha **są*

Kanza/Kaw *alį́ sąį́yaya* ‘rocking chair’ RR , *są́ya* ‘fall’

Osage *ço^{n}thá ithatha* , *†sąðá* ‘rock to and fro’ LF:32a

General comment

The DH and Chiwere vowel does not match perfectly with the expected *ų*, but there are numerous instances of *ą/ų* matches that are still poorly understood. Biloxi *psuⁿti, psoⁿti* ‘sharp pointed’ (DS-248b) fits phonologically and may be the proper Biloxi cognate. Cf. ‘shake > tremble’, ‘spill’.

This form is not found beyond MVS, but Proto-Mississipi-Valley **pC* cluster would go back to Proto-Siouan **wVC*, in this instance **wa-sų*.

untie, untwist

physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **krá*

Proto-Dakota **krá*

Lakota *glá, na-* ‘uncoil of itself; loose, not tied tight; untied’ EB:343 , *glá, yu-* ‘untwist, unroll, uncoil; to stretch’ EB:636 , *glá, wa-* ‘take off, as tallow from entrails, with a knife; to shave off wi th a knife; fig., to sicken one’ EB:515 , *gla, wawá-* ‘make uncoil by cutting’ EB:556 , *glá, wo-* ‘shell off by shooting or punching’ EB:596 , *glá, ya-* ‘bite off, as a dog does the fat from entrails with the mouth’ EB:618

Dakota *-hda* SRR:126

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **ru-krá*

Chiwere *rugráge* ‘rattle, loosen something’ LWR:26

Hoocąk *rukará* ‘unravel’ JWE , *rukara*

Proto-Dhegiha **rü-kra(-ra)*

Omaha-Ponca *thigtha* , *†ðigða* ‘untie’ MAS:181

Kanza/Kaw *layá* RR

Osage *gthátha, gthathá* , *†laða* ‘unbraid, untie’ LF:53b

Quapaw *kdá, ba-* ‘open (the hand)’ RR , *kdá, bi-* ‘press out, push/blow loose’ RR , *kdá, da-* ‘undo with the mouth, teeth’ RR , *kdá, di-* ‘undo, untie, pull loose’ RR , *kdá, ka-* ‘sway’ RR , *kdá, nąˀ-* ‘loosen, come undone’ RR , *kda, pá-* ‘cut along the edge of sth.’ RR

General comment

Dakota *kča* ‘loose, disentangled, straight’ (B-296b) may be a doublet for this set. Chiwere/Hoocąk/DH would have **kra•*. If this is a separate set, then its reconstruction would be **kya•*. Cf. **wrá* ‘unravel’

upright, insert

physical_contact

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **-srátE*

Proto-Dakota **-srata (+ ablaut ?)*

Lakota *slata, oká-* ‘stick in, as a splinter’ EB:385 , *sláta, pa-* ‘set up a pole in the ground, to drive in as a stake’ EB:433 , *slata, yuwó-* ‘set upright e.g. a flag pole.’ EB:656

Dakota *pasdata* ‘stick into the ground’ WM:227b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *sárac, boo-* ‘be standing erect, as church spire, dog, pyramid’ KM:75 , *boosarac* ‘walk on tiptoe’ KM:2217 , *sárac, nąą-* ‘screw, n.’ KM:3696 , *nąąsarac* , *sarác, wiirú-* , *wiirusarac*

General comment

Cf. the homophone ‘slow’.

upstream, upwind

physical_spatial

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **mą•hą*

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *omáha* ‘Omaha Indian’ EB:394a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **mą•hą*

Chiwere *iromáhą* ‘upstream’ LWR:12 , *umáha* ‘upstream’ JGT:268

Hoocąk *mąąhą́* ‘go against the medium’ KM:1958 , *mąąhą* ‘at the upper part of a river’ KM:1036 , *hiromą́hąįją́* , *hiromąhąija*

Proto-Dhegiha **-mąhą*

Omaha-Ponca *umoⁿhoⁿ* , *†omą́hą* ‘against the current’

Kanza/Kaw *kkímąhą* ‘against the wind or current’

Osage *ḳímoⁿhoⁿ* , *†hkímąhą* ‘face the wind, against the wind’ LF:86b

Quapaw *kímąhą* ‘Quapaw upriver village name’ JOD , *ímaha*

General comment

This term is opposed to *káxpa* ‘south > downstream’, q.v., from which the name of the Quapaws, *okáxpa* is formed. Both terms seem to be restricted to MVS.

up, upwards, upper

physical_spatial

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **wą•-*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **wá•ku*

Crow *báaku* ‘above’ GG:65 , *bá•kuko•n* ‘above’ L:45 , *bá•ko, bá•ku* ‘high, upper; above’ L:44

Hidatsa *má•ku* ‘high’ J , *má•kuka* ‘way up’ J

Pre-Mandan **wake (?)*

Mandan *hiwáke* ‘upper lip’ H:75

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **wą́k-*

Proto-Dakota **wąkhá*

Lakota *wąkáb, wąkapa* , *†wąkhá wąká* ‘above’ EB:788a, EB:546b , *wąkápaya* , *†wąkhá wąká* ‘high up, in a high position’ EB:541 , *wąkátahą* , *†wąkhá wąká* ‘from above’ EB:542 , *wąkátkiya* , *†wąkhá wąká* ‘upward’ EB:542 , *wąkátu* , *†wąkhá wąká* ‘up above, high up’ EB:542 , *wąkátuya* , *†wąkhá wąká* ‘high up’ EB:542

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **wąk-*

Chiwere *mągli* ‘upward’ GM

Hoocąk *wąąg* ‘upper region’ , *wąąk* KM:3600 , *wąąk* , *wąąk* , *-wąk* , *wąąk*

Proto-Dhegiha **mą-*

Kanza/Kaw *mą́le* ‘extending upwards’

Osage *†mą́le* ‘vertical, the beginning’ LF:98a , *†ámąle* ‘plant a pole upright’ LF:13a , *ámoⁿshi* , *†ámąši* ‘up, upstairs’ LF:13a

Quapaw *mąší* ‘upper, upward’ RR

Proto-Southeastern **mą-*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *aⁿtá* , *†ątá* ‘hold the head up’ D&S:178b

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *matóⁿi, matoi, maⁿṭoⁿ´oⁿq* , *†mątǫ́i* ‘sky’ JOD

General comment

Biloxi, Tutelo lack expected reflexes of *-k* and so may not be cognate. DH would lose *-k* normally in a cluster. The presence of Hoocąk *w* rather than *m* preceding a nasal vowel is strange here. For phonological treatment of an apparently parallel form, v. ‘chert, flint’, etc.

urine (1), urinate (1)

physical_somatic_liquid

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **Ré•že*

Proto-Dakota **Reža*

Lakota *léža, ležé* [léža (verb); ležé (noun); + ablaut] RTC

Dakota *déža (verb); dežé (noun)* PAS

Proto-Dhegiha **Réže*

Omaha-Ponca *néže* JOD

Kanza/Kaw *ǰéže* RR

Osage *céženi* ‘urine’ RR

Quapaw *téže, déže* ‘urine’ RR

General comment

We reconstruct length from the *x*-grade set, ‘urine (2), urinate (2)’, q.v.

urine (2), urinate (2)

physical_somatic_liquid

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *-*Ré•xE* , **haré꞉xe* RR

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **e•raxE*

Crow *eeláxi* RG

Hidatsa *é•xE* ‘urine, urinate’ J , *é•xi*

Pre-Mandan **-rexE*

Mandan *órexe* ‘urine’ H:180

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **Ré•ɣe*

Chiwere *ǰé•ɣe* ‘urinate’ RR

Hoocąk *téex* KM:3118 , *teex*

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *dixyí* , *†dixí* ‘urinate’ D&S:183b , *hadíxi* , *†dixí* ‘urine’

General comment

Crow seems to show the older MRS form, with expected *e* > *a* perhaps before *x*. Hidatsa has lost intervocalic *r*. Initial *e•* is perhaps due to the influence of ‘excrete’, q.v. Two Ablaut grades are preserved in what is probably a deverbal noun. Cf. ‘urine (1), urinate (1)’. Biloxi initial *ha-*, if also Proto-Siouan, would provide the **hr* cluster in Proto-MississipiValleyS that would yield **R* from Proto-Siouan **r*.

use, do with

physical_action

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **i-ʔíį́*

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *íį́ška* ‘be along, to be with’ H:262

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **i-ʔíį́*

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *ʔų* ‘by means of, using’

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **i-ʔíį́*

Chiwere *inúį́* GM

Hoocąk *hiʔíį́* ‘do with, by means of, use’ KM:813 , *hi’ų (> hi + ųų)*

Proto-Dhegiha **i-ą́*

Omaha-Ponca *į ~ ą ~ ąą́* ‘use’

Kanza/Kaw *weą́* ‘eat with’ JOD

Quapaw *ią* ‘with, instrumental’

Proto-Southeastern **i-ʔíį•*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *yo*^{n} , *†i-ǫ* ‘by means of, with’ D&S:242b

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *íǫ* ‘use’ JOD

General comment

Where *ʔ* is lost a glide is often inserted in the vowel cluster.

This term is a composite of **ʔų•* ‘do, make’ and **i-* ‘instrumental’ Dakotan has evidently lost the crucial initial element, so ‘use’ is homophonous with ‘do, be’ but the two verbs are conjugated differently. Crow *óolihche* ‘eat along with’ GG-52 and Crow *óoli* ‘foods eaten with meats’ DEC-104, cognate with Hidatsa *ó•ri* ‘be complete’, do not appear to be cognate, but cf. the Kanza/Kaw form.

v

vagina, vulva

physical_somatic_body_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **šą́•-re*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa *-ša ~ -šara* ‘vulva’ J

Pre-Mandan **sa•re (?)*

Mandan *sá ~ sáre* ‘vulva’ H:200

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **šą•*

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *šą* RTC

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *šą́ą* KM:2802 , *šąą*

General comment

Although strong evidence is lacking, this may well be one of the inherently possessed body parts and the reconstruction correspondingly **i-šą́•-re*. This term may have become a victim of homonymic clash in some languages where *šą* means ‘Dakota Sioux’. Cf. ‘anus, buttocks, vagina, passage’.

vermin (1)

animal_insect

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **-puS-*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **wa•púS-*

Crow *baapúxta* ‘insect’ GG:21, RGG:1 , *baapuxčikiipi* ‘ant’ GG:21, RGG:1

Hidatsa *wa•púkša* ‘insect, snake’ J , *ma•púkša* ‘ant’ , *wa•púckakari•ti* , *ma•púckakari•ti*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dhegiha

Osage *zhábiuçka* , *ŧžápüska* ‘ant’ LF:222a

General comment

The first syllable in Osage may be related to *žą* ‘wood’; Gilmore (1919) lists a number of DH terms in which *žą* has apparently denasalized, although RR has not personally encountered them. The various Indo-European terms for ‘ant’ are complex and messy also. As the largest ants of the Osage region are carpenter ants, genus Camponotus, a compound “wood-bug” makes good sense. The first syllable of Proto-Crow-Hidatsa is the absolutive.

Different root extensions appear.

vermin (2)

noun animal_insect

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **wa-krúS-ka*

Pre-Mandan *wá•kruxka*

Mandan *wá•kiruxka?* RTC , *snake, worm, snail*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dhegiha **(wa)krű́ška* RR

Omaha-Ponca *žągðiška* ‘wood bug’ F&LF:106 , *wagðíška* ‘bugs’ F&LF:106 , *wagríška* RR

Kanza/Kaw *walű́ška*

Osage *wagthúshka* , *†walű́ška* ‘bug, worm, insect’ LF:190b

Quapaw *wakdíška* RR

General comment

This root occurs with the absolutive prefix and the qualifier suffix.

The Dakotan form Lakota *wablúška* ‘insect’ (C), Dakota *wamdúška* ‘snake’ (R) appears to be a blend with ‘vermin (1)’: **-pus-* > **-prus-* **-krus-*

vermin (3)

noun animal_insect

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **-kreSka*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **(hta)-kréSka*

Proto-Dakota **-kreska*

Lakota *thathíǧleska* ‘intestinal worms’ EB:484a , *aglégška* ‘lizard; alligator’

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *tagréske* , *†thagréske* ‘flea’ LWR:52

Proto-Dhegiha **htakréSka* RR

Osage *ṭagðéshka* , *†htalégška* ‘(deer) tick’ LF:137a

Quapaw *ttakdéska* ‘flea’ RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **reska*

Biloxi *kûděskᵠ, kûtská* , *†kudeská* ‘flea’ D&S:217a

Ofo *tĕ́fka* , *†téfka* ‘flea’ D&S:330b

General comment

La Flesche notes that the Osage word refers to ‘deer tick’ and to ‘grubs that burrow beneath the skin’, presumably the larvae of bot-flies. The Lakota gloss may simply extend this to ‘internal parasite’. MVS always compounds with *hta-* ‘ruminant’.

vermin (4)

noun animal_insect

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **karą́škV*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **(wa)-krą́ška*

Proto-Dakota **knąška*

Lakota *gnašká* RTC

Dakota *hnašká, našká* ‘frog’ SRR

Sioux Valley *hnašká* PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **wa•krą́ške*

Chiwere *wa•grą́ske* ‘frog’ RR

Hoocąk *wakąną́šge* ‘frog’ KM:3344 , *wakąnąšge*

Proto-Dhegiha

Quapaw *waxnóška* ‘frog’ JOD , *wanąska* RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *kanatckí* , *†kanačkí* ‘wood tick’ D&S:204b

General comment

This set is quite irregular; each subfamily suggests a different Proto-Siouan form: Mandan **krV?aši•t*; Proto-Mississipi-Valley **krąš-*. Biloxi ‘wood tick’ comes from **krąš-*, thus looking like Proto-Mississipi-Valley.

vermin (5)

noun animal_insect

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **wakrí•*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **wakrí*

Proto-Dakota **wakrú-*

Lakota *waglúla* ‘worms, maggots’ RTC

Dakota *wamdúdą* ‘maggots’ SRR

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **wakrí*

Chiwere *waglí* ‘insect, worm ?’ GM

Hoocąk *wikirí* ‘insect, worm’ KM:3725 , *wikiri; wakiri*

Proto-Dhegiha

Quapaw *wakdí* ‘worm, maggot’ RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **a•kri*

Biloxi *akidí, akĭdi* , *†akidi* ‘insects’ D&S:171a

Ofo *ā́kti* , *†á•kti* ‘bug, insect’ D&S:320a, JSS

General comment

The root vowel in Dakotan is irregular, as is the *k* > *p* in the Riggs form (but cf. ‘vermin (2)’ for a similar change). The final syllable in Dakotan is the diminutive. This set, like several of the ‘vermin’ sets, contains several minor irregularities that call the reconstruction somewhat into question.

vermin (6)

animal_insect

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *kátcĭdīktĕ́, kasdīktĕ́* , *†káčidikte* ‘ant’ D&S:204b

Ofo *nactítka* , *†naštítka* ‘ant’ D&S:326b

General comment

This set is quite irregular; each subfamily suggests a different Proto-Siouan form. Mandan **krV?ašiˑt*; Proto-Mississipi-Valley **krąš*; Proto-Southeastern **kašrit* with a metathesis between Mandan and Proto-Southeastern. Biloxi ‘wood tick’ comes from **krąš*, thus looking like Proto-Mississipi-Valley. Ofo ‘ant’ comes from **rąšrit*, while ‘wood tick’ comes from **krąCšit*, rather like Mandan.

vine

plant

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **-tuhu*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa *túa* ‘ripe, as grass; green’ J

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *saŋ̇tuhu* , *†sątuhu* ‘species of red grass’ EB:452

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *tóhu* , *†tóhu* ‘rattan vine’ D&S:258b , *ṭóhu sû́pka* , *†tóhu* ‘black rattan vine’ D&S:258b , *ma^{n}túhu* , *†mątúhu* ‘leather vine’ D&S:229b , *tohudi* , *†tohudi* ‘rattan vine’

Ofo *ānthūt́hi, a^{n}tóhi* , *†ąˑthúˑhi* ‘vines, creepers’ D&S:321a, JSS

General comment

The second *u* may represent an assimilation product since final *u* is relatively rare, cf. ‘tree, bone, leg, stalk, stem, trunk’. If this is the case, the reconstruction may be **tuhe*. If Lakota is correct, this form did not have Proto-Siouan aspiration. Ofo aspiration then would have to be due to the synchronically active Ofo second syllable aspiration rule. Moreover, Biloxi initial *m-* is irregular as initial labial resonants are lost in both Biloxi and Ofo. Hidatsa *tua* may also reflect ‘blue, green’, q.v.

visible

perceptual_visual

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **ahtá•ʔį(-he)*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **atáʔihe*

Crow *asíia* ‘appear’ GG:13, RGG:94

Hidatsa *atÉʔ* ‘appear, come out, manifest self’ J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *tį̨hoʔš* ‘it shows, sticks out’ H:251

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **htá•ʔį*

Proto-Dakota **thąį*

Lakota *thąį́* ‘show’ RTC

Dakota *taŋiŋ* , *†thąį* WM:255a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **thá•ʔį*

Chiwere *tháʔį* ~ *tháį́* GM

Hoocąk *čąątʔį́* KM:177 , *cąąt’į* KM:176 , *čąąkʔį́* , *cąąk’į*

Proto-Dhegiha **htáį́*

Kanza/Kaw *ttį́* ‘visible’ RR

Osage *ṭóⁿiⁿ (pronounced ṭiⁿ)* , *†htąį* ‘visible’ LF:155b

Quapaw *ttąį* ‘visible’ JOD

General comment

The unexpected *t~k* in the Hoocąk forms is from the epenthetic glide *-r-* that develops between the vowels in parts of the paradigm of this verb; it is extended analogically to those forms which already had a glottal stop, thus *rʔ* often > *tʔ* in Chiwere/Hoocąk. For other Chiwere/Hoocąk forms with *ʔ ~ tʔ ~ (kʔ)* cf. ‘fly (1)’, ‘jump’, ‘lay’. Crow *s* corresponding to Hidatsa *t* shows that Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **t* was followed by **a*. Crow *-iia* reflects the loss of intervocalic **h*. Hidatsa has assimilated **-iE* to **E*. Cf. ‘thunder (2)’. The Kanza/Kaw/Osage cognates show the relative chronology of the vowel cluster collapse and the dental assibilation/palatalization rule. The sequence of a dental stop and a front vowel is not normally possible in Kanza/Kaw or Osage.

voice (1)

perceptual_auditory

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **hó•(-he)*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **huhe, *wahu*

Crow *huá* ‘cough’ GG:48 , *bahú* ‘howl, bark’ GG:25

Hidatsa *huá* ‘cough’ J , *wahú* ‘bark’ J , *mahú*

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *hó?* ‘voice’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **hó*

Proto-Dakota **hó*

Lakota *hó* RTC

Sioux Valley *hó* PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **hó•*

Chiwere *ho* ‘voice’ GM

Hoocąk *hóo* ‘voice’ KM:1428 , *hoo*

Proto-Dhegiha **hó*

Omaha-Ponca *ho* ‘voice’ RR

Kanza/Kaw *ho* ‘voice’ RR

Osage *ho* ‘voice’ RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **ho•he*

Biloxi *hohé* , *†hohé* ‘bellow, as a bull does’ D&S:198a

Ofo *hǒhě* , *†hó•he* ‘bellow, howl’ D&S:323b

General comment

Biloxi/Ofo normally lose *#h-*, so either there was an initial syllable which protected the initial consonant or sound symbolism reinforced the original form here. Ordinarily both inalienable **i-* and absolutive **wa-* have overt reflexes in OVS, so the former explanation is lame.

Crow/Hidatsa show the absolutive prefix. Cf. ‘howl’. Hidatsa *irú* ‘his voice’ does not seem to be cognate.

voice (2), bellow, howl

perceptual_auditory

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **hohtų*

Proto-Dakota **hothúį*

Lakota *hot'óŋ* , *†hothúį* 'cry out' EB:185b

Dakota *hotoŋ-* , *†hothų* WM:42b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *hóthų* 'shout' GM

Proto-Dhegiha **hóhtą*

Kanza/Kaw *hóttą* 'howl' RR

Osage *hóṭo^{n}* , *†hóhtą* 'cry of animals or birds' LF:67a

Quapaw *hóttą* 'cry out, roar' JOD

General comment

Cf. Dakota *hotaŋke* 'Ho-Chunk, Winnebago', which contrasts *ą/ų*, so *thų* would not seem to be related to 'big', although it appears to have been reanalyzed as 'big' in DH. Unless *†htų* becomes analyzable, this term may break down historically as either **ho* 'voice' + *htų* or as **hoh* 'voice' + *tų*, since 'voice', q.v., preserves evidence for a root extension *-he* in OVS and Hidatsa, and **hC* > *Ch* in Lakota and Chiwere/Hoocąk is a synchronic rule.

vomit

physical_somatic_function

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *karé•* , **karé•(-pE)*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **karé•*

Crow *kalée* 'vomit' GG:50, RGG:34

Hidatsa *karé•* 'vomit' J

Pre-Mandan **ke?wį?- (?)*

Mandan *ké?wį?ro?š* 'he threw up' RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **kré•pE*

Proto-Dakota **krépA*

Lakota *glépa* RTC

Dakota *hdépa* SRR:131

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *gré•we* RR

Proto-Dhegiha **kré•pe*

Omaha *gðébe* 'vomit' RTC

Ponca *gðé•be* 'vomit' RR

Kanza/Kaw *lébe* 'vomit' RR

Osage *gthébe* , *†lépe* 'vomit, retch, spew' LF:53b

Quapaw *kdéwe* 'vomit' RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *iñknĕ́, iñknédi* , *†įkné* D&S:210a

General comment

The Mandan form is not clearly cognate, but cf. Yuchi *k?wɑ* (LB) for an interesting look-alike.

w

wait for

verb physical_action

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **a(-ki-)phe*

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *pé, hagi-* ‘wait for someone’ KM:559 , *hagipe (ha<gi>pe)*

Proto-Dhegiha

Quapaw *phe, idá-* ‘wait for someone not in sight’ RR

walk (1)

physical_motion

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **rį•(-re)*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **rí•re*

Crow *dúli* GG:44, RGG:31

Hidatsa *rí•re* J , *ní•ri*

Pre-Mandan **rį•-*

Mandan *rį•ro?š* 'he's walking' RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **mą́•-_rį*

Proto-Dakota **má_nį*

Lakota *má_ni* 'walk' RTC

Dakota *má_ni* PAS

Stoney *má_ni* PAS

Sioux Valley *má_ni* PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **mą́•nį*

Chiwere *mą́•ñį* 'walk' RR

Hoocąk *mąąnį́* KM:1991 , *mąąnį*

Proto-Dhegiha **mą_rį́*

Omaha-Ponca *mọ_ðį́* 'walk' RTC

Kanza/Kaw *mą_yį́* ~ *mọyį́* 'walk' RR

Osage *mą_ðí* 'walk' RR

Quapaw *mą_nį́* ~ *monį́* 'walk' RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **nį́*

Biloxi *niẋ* , *†nih* 'walk' D&S:236a , *nini* , *†nih* 'walk, frequentative'

Ofo *ní^{n}kna* , *†nį́knạ* D&S:327a

General comment

cf. ‘run (2)’, ‘walk (2)’.

walk (2)

physical_motion

Proto-Siouan-Catawba **awą́•*

Proto-Siouan **wą́•*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **mą́•_rį*

Proto-Dakota **mą́_nį*

Lakota *má_ni* RTC

Dakota *má_ni* PAS

Stoney *má_ni* PAS

Sioux Valley *má_ni* PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **mą́•nį*

Chiwere *mą́•ñį* ‘walk’ RR

Hoocąk *mąąnį́* KM:1991 , *mąąnį*

Proto-Dhegiha **mąrį̂*

Omaha-Ponca *mǫ́ðį̂* ‘walk’ RTC

Kanza/Kaw *mąyį̂* ~ *mǫyį̂* ‘walk’ RR

Osage *mąðí* ‘walk’ RR

Quapaw *mąnį̂* ~ *monį̂* ‘walk’ RR

Proto-Catawba

Catawba *ʔawą•* ‘walk’ [ɔ both accented and nasalized; first ə] KS, MAS , *ʔawɔ́́•səʔərÉ́* D&S:1236a

General comment

cf. ‘walk (1)’. If the Catawba form cited meant ‘walk’ primarily, the term found in many Siouan languages is indeed an old compound, but the initial element is not the *awą-* ‘ground’ root that some Siouanists had thought.

The Catawba form also clarifies vowel length and accent in some of the languages, e.g., Hoocąk and Chiwere, in that reconstruction of the initial syllable regularizes placement of the suprasegmentals. It is not clear why **r* is not nasalized completely in DH.

walnut

plant_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **htá•ke*

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **thá•ke*

Chiwere *thá•ge* RR

Hoocąk *caak* , *†čá•k* ‘black walnut (dye)’ , *chak* , *†čá•k* KM:162 , *čaazúke* , *†čá•k* , *caazuke; caazike* , *†čá•k*

Proto-Dhegiha **htáke*

Omaha-Ponca *tágе hi* , *†ttágе* ‘walnut’ MAS:184

Kanza/Kaw *ttágü* ‘black walnut’ RR , *ttágühü* ‘walnut tree’

Osage *ṭáge hiu* , *†htáke hü* ‘black walnut’ LF:137a

Quapaw *ttáke* ‘walnut’ RR , *ttaké* ‘walnut’ JOD

General comment

For a possible areal term cf. Proto-Muskogean **okcaki* ‘hickory’; (*ok-* probably ‘water’).

want (1)

psychic_volition

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **ʔi•he*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa *waʔi•he* ‘want’ J , *maʔi•he*

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *é_reho?š* ‘he wants it’ RTC

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *oyixí; náwiyihí* , *†ná_ihí* ‘to want’ [naûñḳihí 'I want'] D&S:292b

want (2)

psychic_volition

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **kų́•he*

Pre-Mandan **-ːkųh-*

Mandan *óʔ_kųhoʔš* ‘he wanted it, chose it’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **kų́•*

Proto-Dakota **kų*

Lakota *kų* ‘want’ RTC

Dakota *koŋ* , *†kų* ‘covet’ WM:41a , *wakoŋs’a* , *†kų* ‘covetous’ WM:41a , *wakoŋpi* , *†kų* ‘covetousness’ WM:41a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *roogų́* KM:2634 , *roogų*

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *ko^{n}-* ‘cause, influence’ [also (?) ko^{n}ta (?)]

want (3)

psychic_volition

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **kų́•-ra*

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *kų́la* ‘desire; covet’ EB:315b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *gų́la* GM , *gų́•ną* RR

Proto-Dhegiha **_kǫ́-_ra*

Omaha-Ponca *gą́ða* ‘want’ RR

Kanza/Kaw *gǫ́ya* ‘want’ RR

Osage *kǫ́ða* ‘want’ RR

Quapaw *kǫ́da* ‘want’ RR

General comment

This is a compound verb. In DH, but not Lakota/Dakota, both parts not only require actor pronominal prefixes, but have preserved synchronically irregular, fossilized allomorphs of these prefixes. Proto-Dhegiha 1Act **k-kǫ-b-ra*, 2Act *š-kǫ́•-š-ra*. Lakota *kų́la* B-315b analysed as dim. ‘desire; covet’; 1Act *wakų́la*. Lakota *-la* is not a match for the second root in DH. The Lakota from does not palatalize (PAssiniboine 1980:94).

warm (1)

perceptual

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **štákE*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Crow *óoštači* ‘sticking to; crowding around’ GG:52

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **štá•kE*

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *štáka* ‘soft, as ice, mushy’ EB:467b , *štagyá* ‘mash up, make preserves’ EB:467b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *šjáak* ‘warm, e.g. water’ KM:2968 , *šjaak*

Proto-Dhegiha **štáke*

Osage *shtáge* , *†štáke* ‘tepid, slightly warm, stagnant’ LF:134b

Quapaw *štáke* ‘warm, as weather’

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Ofo *ā´tątcha, atątchá* , *†á•təčha* ‘warm, hot’ D&S:322a

General comment

We cannot relate the Ofo term at present. So many stative verbs in MVS have initial syllable accent and vowel length that, although the accentual pattern may have spread analogically in this category, Accent may best be explained by the regular presence of a prefix. Ordinary person/number prefixes should not have produced this pattern, as the patient prefixes used with stative verbs have been shown to have been clitics rather than affixes.

Cf. ‘stick (1)’.

warm (2)

perceptual

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **štútE*

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *štúta* ‘thawed, warmed’ EB:468a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **štúte*

Chiwere *stuje* ‘warm and well fed’ LWR:28 , *štúštuje* ‘smooth’ GM

Hoocąk *taaščúč* ‘warm, warm up’ KM:2926 , *šjuuc, taašjuc*

Proto-Dhegiha **štúte*

Omaha-Ponca *shtide* , *†štide* MAS:184

Kanza/Kaw *ščúje* ‘comfortable’ JOD

Osage *shtíde* , *†ščúce* ‘warm in the hands’ [stative] LF:134b

Quapaw *štítte* ‘warm, comfortably’ JOD

General comment

Osage should have *-ds-*; *-d-* is presumably La Flesche’s native Ponca interfering. Cf. Dakota *ṡtunya, stuta* ‘thaw out the frost’ (Wm 243-a) which shows variant derivations and are related indirectly. Biloxi *itcĭ´tcokí* ‘a comforter’ (DS-200b) is not clearly relatable at present.

war, warpath

social_war

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **(wa-)Ró•ta*

Pre-Mandan **rót-*

Mandan *rótki?š* 'he hits it' H:190 , *wą?irotki* 'war club' H:190

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **wRo•ta*

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *bloíá huŋka* 'leader of a war party' EB:111b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **Ró•-_thą*

Chiwere *tóthą* 'manhunt, be on warpath' GM , *tothúíhų* 'be leading' GM

Hoocąk *toočą́* 'war party' [1sg. tooąaąčą] KM:3129 , *toocą*

Proto-Dhegiha **Rotą́*

Omaha-Ponca *nudó^{n}* , *†nodą́* 'war' MAS:185

Kanza/Kaw *dodą́* RR

Osage *dodó^{n}* , *†totą́* 'go to war' LF:37b

Quapaw *totą́* 'war' JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *érutáo^{n}e* 'warrior' [ǫ do, make] JOD , *ērutāoñe* , *†e•ruta•ǫe* 'warrior' H

General comment

This is an interesting stem. It looks as if it might incorporate 'male' in MVS, but OVS and MRS suggest that this may be an MVS reanalysis. We believe that nasality of the final syllable in MVS comes from compounding with the verb **?ų* 'do, make', as clarified by the Tutelo entry. Chiwere, Hoocąk aspiration may be by analogy with 'to lead', but we cannot consider it explained at present. Cf. 'male'. With regard to MVS, note Hidatsa *mace•ri•ri* 'warpath, warparty', which is transparently compounded of 'man' (rather than 'male') and 'walk'. The MVS might be compared with 'run (2)' -- except that aspiration is lacking here. Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere seems to have made the link, however.

wash

physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **rušá•(-re)*

Pre-Mandan **-rusaʔ-*

Mandan *kirúsaʔroʔš* ‘he washed it’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **ružá*

Proto-Dakota **yužá-*

Lakota *yužá* ‘stir’ RTC , *yužáža* ‘wash’ RTC , *žáža, ka-* ‘wash away, as a bridge by a flood; to wash away by pulling back and forth’ EB:278 , *žaža, waká-* ‘wash by drawing back and forth in the water; to see well’ EB:525 , *žaža, waná-* ‘wash by boiling, as clothing’ EB:537 , *žáža, pa-* ‘wash e.g. a floor, to mop’ EB:427 , *žáža, na-* ‘wash out with the feet, trample out; R. gives To wash out by bo iling, which is a bit doubtful’ EB:346 , *žáža, wo-* ‘wash, as rain does the road. also, a wash-tub,n.’ EB:601 , *žáža, ya-* ‘lick or wash with the mouth, as does a cat’ EB:621 , *žáža, yu-* ‘wash e.g. clothes’ EB:640 , *wóžaža, wa-* ‘wash out by punching’ EB:560

Dakota *-žaža* PAS

Stoney *-žaža* PAS

Sioux Valley *-žaža* PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **-rúža*

Chiwere *wa•rú•ya* ‘wash sth.’ RR , *ruya* ‘wash’ JDH

Hoocąk *žá, ru-* ‘wash, v.tr.’ KM:2773 , *ruža* ‘wipe up’ KM:3540 , *žá, wa-* ‘washtub’ KM:3818 , *waža* , *woorúža* , *wooruža (> wa-ho-ruža)*

Proto-Dhegiha **rüžá*

Omaha-Ponca *ðižá* ‘wash’ RR

Kanza/Kaw *yüžá* ‘wash’ RR

Osage *ðüžá* ‘wash’ LF:155a , *thuzhá*

Quapaw *dižá* ‘wash’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **ru•čhá(-ri)*

Biloxi *dutcá, dutcadí* , *†dučá(-di)* D&S:260a

Ofo *tū́tcha* , *†tú•čha* D&S:331b, JSS

General comment

The Ofo aspirate shows two things: (a) stress was formerly on the second syllable, and (b) Ofo had its own, broader and more recent aspiration rule, since OVS **č* from **š* would not receive aspiration from the common Siouan rule. There is evidence from Sapir's transcriptions that Tutelo too had the extended aspiration rule which affected affricates secondarily derived from fricatives (v. his transcription of 'dog'). The source of Mandan *ʔ* is unexplained at present.

water

physical_substance

Proto-Siouan-Catawba **yą*

Proto-Siouan **yo*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **yo-*

Proto-Dakota **čho-*

Lakota *copá* , *†čho_phá* 'wade, go in the water' EB:133b

Dakota *ćo_pá* 'wade, go in the water' SRR:103b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **yo•-*

Chiwere *yówe* 'wade' GM

Hoocąk *nįoowé* < *nįį howe* JWE , *nįįowe* < *nįį howe*

Proto-Dhegiha **žo-*

Omaha-Ponca *juhe* , *†žohé* 'ford' JOD

Kanza/Kaw *žophé* 'ford' RR

Osage *zhú••he, zhú••pshe* , *†žó_he* ~ *†žó_phe* 'ford, wade a stream' LF:228b , *opshé* , *†ophé* 'a ford' LF:123a

Quapaw *†ánižóhe* JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *yohi, ayohi, ąyohí, hayóha, ayo, ayox* , *†ayohi* 'lake, pond' D&S:295a

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *yetáñi, yetāi* , *†ye-* 'sea' H

Proto-Catawba

Catawba *yą, yąhiye•* 'water' KS

Woccon *yup•se* 'rum' [< water + bitter (?)] JL

General comment

Tutelo *ṫtą́-i* ‘big’. Cf. ‘ford, wade’, ‘enter (1)’.

water, liquid

physical_substance

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **wa-rį́•*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **wirí*

Crow *bilí* ‘water’ GG:31, RGG:65

Hidatsa *wirí, wíri* ‘water’ J

Pre-Mandan **wrį*

Mandan *wįrį́?* ‘water’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **mnį́*

Proto-Dakota **mnį́*

Lakota *mní* RTC, PAS

Stoney *mní* PAS

Sioux Valley *mní* PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **nį́•*

Chiwere *ñį* ‘water’ RTC , *ñį•* RR

Hoocąk *nį́į* ‘water’ KM:2309 , *nįį*

Proto-Dhegiha **nį́*

Omaha-Ponca *ni* ‘water’ RTC

Kanza/Kaw *nį* ‘water’ RR

Osage *nį* ‘water’ RR

Quapaw *nį* ‘water’ RR

Proto-Southeastern **mąnį́•*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *ane?, a•ne?* ‘water’ MRH , *?ane?, ?ani?* ‘water’ MS , *aní, áni, ni* ‘water’ D&S:173a

Ofo *ā´ni, aní* ‘water’ D&S:321a, JSS

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *manī* , *†mąnį•* ‘water’ H , *mĭnĭ´* , *†mąnį•* HW

Saponi *money* ~ *moni* ‘water’ Byrd

General comment

Possibly some sort of vowel harmony operated on the initial syllable vowel. Cf. ‘deer, ruminant’. Alternatively there may have been prefixes **wa-* ‘absolutive’ and **wi-* ‘animate absolutive’, which also marked certain nominals. Vowel length is not well represented here and may not be reconstructible.

weak

evaluative

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **xpe*

Proto-Dakota **xpe*

Lakota *xpéla* ‘weak’ EB:195a

Dakota *ḣpéća* , *†xpéča* ‘faint, exhausted’ SRR:167a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **xwé*

Chiwere *xwége* ‘weak, feeble’ LWR:38

Hoocąk *taaxéwe* ‘all in from heat’ KM:3096 , *taaxewe*

Proto-Dhegiha **xpéka*

Kanza/Kaw *xpéga* ‘weak’ RR

Osage *xpega* , *†xpeka* ‘languid, drooping’ LF:219b

wear about the shoulders

physical_artefact_dress

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **ʔį•he*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **ía* < **íhe*

Crow *ía* 'put over shoulders' GG:71

Hidatsa *ía* 'put on or over like a blanket' J

Pre-Mandan **įhe*

Mandan *wį́ʔhe* 'blanket' RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **ʔį•*

Proto-Dakota **ʔį́*

Lakota *ʔį́* 'wear around the shoulders' RTC

Sioux Valley *į́* PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **ʔį́•*

Chiwere *kʔį́* RR

Hoocąk *ʔį́;* [1sg. haʔį́] KM:1655 , *įį́*

Proto-Dhegiha **ʔį́•*

Omaha-Ponca *į́* JOD

Kanza/Kaw *į́•* 'wear about the shoulders' RR , *gi ʔį́* 'wear for another' JOD

Osage *i*^{n} , *†ʔį́* 'wear, as a robe or a blanket' LF:74b

General comment

The Chiwere term may mean 'wear one's own about the shoulders' or it may represent the 'carry on the back' set. Cf. 'wear around the neck', 'necklace' for compounds with *ʔį́*. The Mandan form is < *wa-* + *įh* 'Abs. + wear' Lakota 1pl. *ʔuŋkʔį́pi* confirms the presence of root-initial *ʔ*.

wear around the neck

physical_artefact_dress

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **(-r-)ą́•pe-ʔį*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **á•peʔi*

Crow *áapii* 'necklace' GG:2

Hidatsa *á•peʔ* 'her necklace' J

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **nąʷpʔį*

Proto-Dakota **nąpʔį́*

Lakota *nąpʔį́* 'wear around the neck' RTC

Dakota *wanápiŋ* 'a medal; a necklace of beads; a handkerchief; anything worn around the neck' SRR:523a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **nąʷ́•pʔį*

Chiwere *nąpʔį́* 'wear around the neck' RR

Hoocąk *nąąpʔį́* 'wear around the neck' KM:2204 , *nąąpʾį*

Proto-Dhegiha **nąʷ́pʔį*

Kanza/Kaw *wanáp-ʔį* 'necklace' RR

Osage *nóⁿpʔiⁿ* , *†nápʔį* 'wear around the neck'

Quapaw *nąʷ́ʔį́* 'wear around the neck' JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *aⁿpnį́* , *†ąpənį́* 'necklace' D&S:178a , *aⁿpŭnį́* , *†ąpənį́* 'something worn around the neck' D&S:176b

General comment

Quapaw **pʔ* > *ʔ* regularly. Presumably the *r* is an inserted glide in initial position in these terms, perhaps a backformation from 'necklace', q.v. Similarly it must be an inserted glide in Biloxi between *p* and *į*, implying a stem-final vowel that has been lost. Cf. 'necklace', 'wear about the shoulders'.

wear on the feet

physical_artefact_dress

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **o-r-hą́*

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *ohą* ‘put on socks, wear’ EB:388a

Dakota *oháŋ* , *†ohą́* ‘stand in; put on socks or moccasins, wear’ SRR:350a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *hoǰą́* ‘wear on foot or feet’ KM:1353 , *hojąc*

Proto-Dhegiha **othą́*

Omaha-Ponca *othą* JOD

Osage *uto^{n}* , *†othą* ‘put on moccasins’ LF:65a

Quapaw *othą́* ~ *othǫ́*

Proto-Southeastern **hų (?)*

General comment

Cf. ‘wear pants, wear on legs’. These two terms, **o-thą* ‘wear pants, wear on legs’; **o-rhą* ‘wear on the feet’ are one of the few scraps of evidence for a Proto-Mississipi-Valley **th/*rh* opposition. Both are suspect of being late compounds. Cf. Kanza/Kaw *obáhą* ‘wear (generally)’. The root, *hą*, may be ‘stand’, q.v.

wear pants, wear on legs

physical_artefact_dress

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **o-thą́ ~ o-thį́*

Proto-Dakota **o-thų*

Lakota *othų* ‘put on and wear, leggings, pantaloons’ EB:409b

Dakota *otóŋ* , *†othų* ‘put on and wear, as leggings or pantaloons’ SRR:389b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **o-thą*

Chiwere *agúthą* ‘leggings’ JGT, JEK

Hoocąk *hočą́* ‘wear on legs’ KM:1178 , *hocą*

Proto-Dhegiha **o-thą́*

Omaha-Ponca *utó" to"ga* ‘leggings’ MAS:112

Osage *óthą* ‘leggings’ JEK, MW

Quapaw *othą́ ~ othǫ́* ‘leggings’

General comment

Certainly looks derived from ‘stand inside’ except for the aspirates in Chiwere/Hoocąk and Dakota. Cf. Kanza/Kaw *onąžį*. Cf. also Kanza/Kaw *obáhą* ‘wear (generally)’, which may contain the root that is seen here in compound and ‘wear on the feet’ (which has **rh* as opposed to **th* here).

weave (1)

physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **-sų́-tE*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **-cutE*

Crow *chúshi, dat-* 'whip' RG

Hidatsa *cutE, pá-* 'sew' J , *cutE, nak-* 'whip, braid' J

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **-zų́-tE*

Proto-Dakota **-zų́tA*

Lakota *zų́ta, pa-* 'sew or run up at the sides some distance from the edge e.g. of leggings, to lace' EB:438 , *zų́ta, yu-* 'make honest; to make them better men.' EB:657 , *zųta, ayá-* 'connect or weave together, as in talking' EB:103 , *zųta, wakáˀ-* 'weave' EB:528

Dakota *kazóŋta* , *†kazúta* 'weave, twist in as in making baskets or snowshoes' SRR:274a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *wa•ðų́jže* 'sew' RR

Proto-Dhegiha **-zą́te*

Omaha-Ponca *†gazą́de* 'plait'

Kanza/Kaw *zaje, íba-* 'lace up with, fasten shut' RR , *zą́je, ínų-* 'shelter in, take refuge in, flee to' RR

Osage *gaçóⁿdse* , *†kazą́ce* 'braid, weave, plait' LF:43b

Quapaw *zą́tte, ka-* 'weave, braid' RR , *zǫ́tte, íba-* 'lace up, as a pack' RR

General comment

The root **sų* occurs in MVS with both voiceless and voiced fricatives, cf. Chiwere *wa•θų́jže* 'sew' RR, †mą́θųje , *máthunje* 'weave a web' JGT92-277.

Chiwere *wanąθuje* 'weave' JDH/RR.

weave (2)

noun physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **sų ~ *šų*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **sų́*

Proto-Dakota **sų*

Lakota *sų* ‘plait, braid’ EB:458a , *wasų* ‘braid in strings, as corn or hair’ EB:550a , *onázų ~ onásų* ‘braid together, sew or weave’ EB:820

Dakota *soŋ* ‘plait or braid, as hair or corn’ SRR:438a , *wasóŋ* , *†wasų* ‘braid in strings, as corn or hair’ SRR:535b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *wé•θą* ‘weaving’ JDH

Hoocąk *hakisų́* ‘braid’ KM:609 , *hakisų*

Proto-Dhegiha **są*

Omaha-Ponca *ákhibésą* ‘fold’

Kanza/Kaw *są* ‘plaited’

Osage *Hoçoⁿ* , *†hosą* ‘Braided-fish’ [personal name]

Quapaw *nąxʔésą* ‘scalp lock plaited’

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *tcoⁿ, natcóⁿ* , *†nąčǫ́* ‘plait’ D&S:265b

General comment

Note the rare occurrence of doublets distinguished only by fricative voicing in MVS. **sų* and **zų* have nearly identical meanings and must have developed in different phonological contexts. This constitutes important evidence that there really was a voicing rule and that Proto-Siouan only had voiceless fricatives. The Biloxi form shows a reflex of the **š* grade.

weigh

physical_action

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **(ka-)ʔų́* or: **(ka-)ʔą́*

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *kaúkaka* ‘be jolted or bounced up and down’ EB:295

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **ruʔą́*

Chiwere *†ʔą, ru-* ‘lift together and weigh; to heft’ LWR:25

Hoocąk *ʔą́, hawa-* ‘put on one’s shoulder’ KM:711 , *hawa’ą* ‘weigh out a portion, v.tr.; weigh a certain amount, v.intr.’ KM:2112 , *ʔą́, nąą-* ‘carry; lift up; hold’ KM:2649 , *nąą’ą* ‘bounce up, bounce up and down’ KM:316 , *ʔą́, ru-* , *ru’ą* , *ʔą́, gi-, giʔąʔą́* , *gi’ą, gi’ą’ą*

General comment

The Lakota form may be related, at least in part, to the Chiwere/Hoocąk forms, but much of the term is non-cognate.

what size

particle physical_spatial

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **(r)ą*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dhegiha **-(r)ą-*

Kanza/Kaw *-yą-* in: *yéyąska* ‘size, this size, this large’ RR , *-yą-* in: *gašéyąska* ‘of a certain size, it’s that big’ RR , *-yǫ-* in: *háyǫska* ‘how big, what size?’ RR , *-yǫ-* in: *góze éyǫska* ‘equal in size, as large as, same size’ JOD, RR , *-yǫ-* in: *šéyǫska* ‘that size; it was that big’ RR

Osage *-ðą-* in: *á-thoⁿ-çka a (?)* , *†-ðą-* ‘of what size is it? how large?’ LF:16b , *-ðą-* in: *thé-thoⁿ-çka* , *†-ðą-* ‘this size’ LF:144a

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *-ną-* in: *ténaska* , *†-ną-* ‘this large’ D&S:273a

General comment

Cf. ‘quantifier (1)’. Resonant behavior in Kanza/Kaw and Osage is different from that reflected in ‘quantifier (1)’, suggesting that the resonant is/was an intrusive glide. If organic, the resonant should be *n*.

when

pronoun time

General comment

Hidatsa *tua* is from earlier **tuha*, presumably reflecting inherited ***tohą* with regular raising of *o* and reduction of *uha* to *ua*.

whip

physical_contact_impact

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **psítE*

Proto-Dakota **psítA*

Lakota *psíte, šųkíča-* ‘a horse whip’ EB:469 , *psíp̨sita, yu-* ‘whip’ EB:648 , *psíta, ka-* ‘whip, flog; to correct, as a child by whipping’ EB:287

Dakota *ićápsiŋte* ‘something to whip with, a whip’ SRR:174b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *psíc, gi-* ‘whip, v.; spank, v.’ KM:373 , *gip̨sic*

whistle (1), chirp

perceptual_auditory

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **so•*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **có•pE*

Crow *čóopi* 'chirp' GG:39, RGG:93

Hidatsa *có•pE* 'chirp' J

Pre-Mandan **šop-*

Mandan *šopká?* 'prairie dog, groundhog, gopher' RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dhegiha **sóte*

Omaha-Ponca *zude* , *†zode* MAS:187

Kanza/Kaw *mąsóje* 'flute' RR

Osage *thaçúçue* , *†ðasósoe* LF:140a , *Mo^{n}ço´tse gaxa* , *†mąsóce* 'Whistle Creek' LF:97b

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **soti (?)*

Biloxi *sâde, sâdědí, sâdedí* , *†soti* 'whistle as a man or boy' D&S:250b , *sĭsotí* , *†soti* 'type of cricket (green, long-legged)' D&S:251a

Ofo *fą́tfąte* , *†fətfəte* 'to whistle' D&S:323b

General comment

Omaha-Ponca and Kanza/Kaw disagree on fricative voicing. Osage voicing is unmarked in LaFlesche. Different subgroups show different extensions.

whistle (2)

perceptual_auditory

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **šo•*

Pre-Mandan **sop-*

Mandan *sópo?š* 'it squeaks, chirps, whistles' H:214 , *sópsope* 'sparrow, cricket' H:214

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **žo(-te)*

Proto-Dakota **žo*

Lakota *žo* 'whistle as a man does' EB:267b

Dakota *†žo* 'whistle as a man does' SRR:652b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **-žóte*

Chiwere *iyóje* LWR:76

Hoocąk *wiižóžoč* KM:3718 , *wiižožoc*

Proto-Dhegiha **žote*

Osage *zhodsé* , *†žocé* 'whistle' LF:224b

Quapaw *dážotté* 'whistle shrilly' JOD

General comment

Proto-Siouan vowel length is reconstructed on the basis of the more widely attested *s* grade.

whistle (3)

perceptual_auditory

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **só•-pE*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **co•pE*

Crow *čóopi* 'squeak' RG

Hidatsa *có•pE* 'chirp' J

Pre-Mandan **Sop-*

Mandan *šopká?* 'prairie dog, groundhog, gopher' RTC , *sópo?š* 'it squeaks, chirps, whistles' H:214 , *sópsope* 'sparrow, cricket' H:214

General comment

The accentual pattern and vowel length here are unexplained and would normally imply an old initial syllable.

white (1)

perceptual_visual_color

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **asą́•(-hą)*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Crow *táachii* ‘clear, bright’ GG:57

Hidatsa *átakE* ‘white, pale, bleached, clear’ J , *átaki*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **są́•(-hą)*

Proto-Dakota **są*

Lakota *są* ‘whitish’ RTC

Dakota *są* ‘whitish’ PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **są́•*

Chiwere *θą* ‘bright, clear’ GM

Hoocąk *są́ą* ‘white, pale’ KM:2801 , *sąą*

Proto-Dhegiha **są́(-hą)*

Omaha-Ponca *są* ‘whitish’ RTC

Kanza/Kaw *są́* ‘distant white’ RR

Osage *çó^{n}ho^{n}* , *†są́hą* ‘whitened animal skins, resembling white’ LF:32a

Quapaw *są́* ~ *są́hą* ‘white in the distance’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern **asą́*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **asą́*

Biloxi *asą?* MRH, MS , *sá^{n}, asá^{n}* D&S:251a

Ofo *afhá^{n}* , *†afhą́* D&S:319a

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *asùñi; asañi, asai, asei, asáñi, asāi, aséi* , *†asą́i* N, H

General comment

Cf. ‘shine (2)’, ‘shine (4)’ **šą•, *xą•*. Mandan *šąšï* ‘smooth’ may ultimately be related to this set. If Crow fits here (Proto-Siouan **s* > Crow *t* /_*a*), then Hidatsa must be a borrowing from Crow. Proto-Siouan **s* appears as Hidatsa *c*. The borrowing, if it occurred, happened prior to the change *k* > *č* in Crow.

white (2)

perceptual_visual_color

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *[old reconstruction only]*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **ská*

Proto-Dakota **ská*

Lakota *ská* ‘bleach by striking or dragging; to become clear, to clear off, as clouds, smoke etc.’ RTC , *ská, ka-* ‘bleach, get white’ EB:288 , *ská, na-* ‘bleach; to rub and make white’ EB:356 , *ská, pa-* ‘wash off, as rain does whitewash’ EB:433 , *ská, wo-* ‘make clean with the mouth’ EB:607 , *ská, ya-* ‘whiten, cleanse, to gather with the fingers.’ EB:626 , *ská, yu-* EB:649

Stoney *θká* PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **ská•*

Chiwere *θká•* ‘white’ [IO and OT] RR

Hoocąk *sgáa* ‘white’ KM:2818 , *sgaa* ‘light (in color)’ KM:2529 , *sgá, raa-* , *rasga*

Proto-Dhegiha **ská*

Omaha-Ponca *ská* ‘white’ RTC, RR

Kanza/Kaw *ská* ‘white’ RR

Osage *ská* ‘white’ RR

Quapaw *ská* ‘white’ RR

General comment

This seems to be the newer of the terms for ‘white’, partially replacing **asą•* in MVS, where, for example, in Kanza/Kaw *ská* is translated ‘white’, while *są(hą)* is translated ‘distant white, whitish, hazy white’.

white man

person

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dakota **wašíču*

Lakota *wašíču* ‘white man’

Dakota *wašíču* ‘white man’

General comment

This is presumably a diffused form, found only in the north country, origin uncertain.

who

pronoun n/a

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **pe•*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Crow *-pée* in: *sapée* 'who' GG:66

Hidatsa *-pé•-* in: *ta•pé•ʔ* 'who is it?' [? question marker] J , *-pé•-* in: *ta•pé•ri ni•ki•wéʔ* 'who told you?' [? question marker] J , *-pé•-* in: *tapé•wa* 'who could it be?' J

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **pe•*

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *pee-* in: *peežé* 'who' KM:2472 , *pee-* in: *peeže*

Proto-Dhegiha **pe*

Omaha-Ponca *-be* in: *ébe* ~ *ebé* 'who' JEK

Kanza/Kaw *bé-* in: *béeški* , *†be* ~ *†bé•ʔe* 'who' RR

Osage *be* , *†pe* 'whoever' LF:26b , *pé-* in: *bé-thi^{n}-ge* , *†pé-* 'nobody' LF:26b , *-pé-* in: *e-béa* , *†-pé-* 'who is it?' LF:40a

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *-pé-* in: *káwa tŭpéta* , *†-pé-* 'whose?' D&S:204a, D&S:282a

Ofo *béko^{n}* , *†péką* 'who is it? who?' D&S:323a

Proto-Catawba

Catawba *-pé* in: *düpä´* , *†-pé* 'person' KS:172 , *-pé* in: *nepä´* , *†-pé* 'somebody, someone, something' KS:171 , *-pé-* in: *depéra* , *†-pé* 'other, another' KS:173 , *-pé-* in: *nəpéra* , *†-pé* 'one and (the) other' KS:172 , *-pé-* , *†-pé* 'one and the other' KS:173 , *-pé-* in: *nəpérakí•ye* , *†-pé* 'other, another' KS:173 , *-pé-* in: *nepéra* , *†-pé* 'some (plural)' KS:207 , *-pé* , *†-pé* , *yén depé-agré* , *†-pé*

General comment

The Catawba forms may be spurious; they are muddled by "something" forms, see *†Ropa*. Crow and Hidatsa have reinforced **pe* by suffixing it to the indefinite/interrogative stem *†ta•*, q.v.. Omaha-Ponca and Osage have done likewise, using the demonstrative stem *e*. Cf. 'interrogative (4)'.

whoop

perceptual_auditory

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **x?á*

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *x?ayéla* ‘making a noise as hail’ EB:197a , *x?áhąska* ‘long-winded’ EB:197a , *x?áhąska hoxpapi* ‘whooping cough’ EB:197a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *ugráx?a* ‘yell’ JGT:286

Proto-Dhegiha **okráx?ax?a*

Omaha-Ponca *oðágða?á?a* ‘give the scalp yell’

Kanza/Kaw *iolák?ak?á* ‘whoop, war, or scalp yell’

Quapaw *x?a, okdá-* ‘whoop vi’ RR , *x?ax?á, okdá-* ‘whoop, give the scalp yell’ RR

General comment

Hoocąk *hookárahohóp* ‘make warwhoop’ (KM-1440) is parallel in construction but not precisely in form. Cf. ‘hiss (1)’.

wife

social_kin

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **ųhe*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **uá*

Crow *uá* ‘wife’ GG:58, RGG:23

Hidatsa *ua* ‘wife’ J

Pre-Mandan **ųhe*

Mandan *kúʔhe* ‘his wife’ RTC

General comment

Mandan < *ko-ųhe*.

wild cat (1)

noun animal_mammal

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **itapu• (?)*

Crow *iishpíiwishka* ‘cat’ GG

Hidatsa *ítupa•* ‘wild cat, tiger, lion’ J

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dakota **ikmúƞ*

Lakota *igmúƞ* ‘cat’ EB:215a , *igmú* ‘cat’ EJ

Dakota *ínmu* ‘cat, generic’ [inmú- in compounds] SRR:200b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **-twą*

Chiwere *udwą́* GM

Hoocąk *wiič́ąwą* KM:3648 , *wiicąwą*

Proto-Dhegiha **įkrǫ́*

Omaha-Ponca *i^{n}gthú^{n}* , *†įgðǫ́* F&LF:103

Kanza/Kaw *ilǫ́ga* ‘bobcat’ RR , *ilǫ́žiga* ‘domestic cat’

Osage *i^{n}gthó^{n}ga* , *†ilǫ́ka* ‘puma’ LF:75b

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *tmotcká, tûmótcka, tûmotck* , *†tmǫ́•-* ‘wildcat’ D&S:277a , *tmõtc kdĕxí* , *†tmǫ́•-* ‘spotted wildcat’

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *dalúsgik’* , *†talúskik* ‘cat’ ES

General comment

Technically it might be possible to reconstruct a Proto-Siouan term for ‘bobcat’ from this set. In fact, this is almost certainly a diffused form and a widely diffused one at that. Given the ‘squash, pumpkin’ set, q.v., which certainly appears to contain a borrowing from an Algonquian sequence something like *-kwa•n-*, this set might potentially be reconstructed approximately **kwų́•* with the usual dissimilation of the unacceptable **wų* cluster. In this instance however, the apparent *tyų* of Yuchi *šatyone* ‘fox’ or *šat?anę* ~ *šatyą́ne* ‘wildcat’ (LB) and the Iroquoian forms cited below cause us to favor a prototype (i.e., not a reconstruction) with a dental rather than a velar stop. Thus the form that has diffused in Siouan would have likely been something like *†twų́•*. Cf. also Iroquoian: Moh.

atì:ru; Oneida *atì:lu*; H. *tiron*; Wy. *atí:ro*ⁿ; Tusc. *né?rv?*.

(Mithun, Extending the Rafters, p.265). V. also ‘raccoon’ (p. 266, same entries). Also cf. Hoocąk *-kųnų́k* ‘bobbed, cut off clean’ KM-1922. If Hidatsa belongs in this set at all, it suggests rightward vowel exchange from an earlier *†itapu•*, where length is a syllable feature, not a vowel feature.

This in turn may correspond to our proposed diffused form. The Crow form, if it is cognate with the Hidatsa, might reflect loss of *a* and assimilation of *u•* to the following *i* of the compound. Tutelo has reflexes of *t*, *r* and *u*, but little else can be said about it. The prefix *i-* suggests that this may be a term that was once marked with a reflex of the the Proto-Siouan animate classifier, **wi-* in some of the languages, but this is uncertain.

wild cat (2)

noun animal_mammal

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **(a)thą́tǫ*

Biloxi *taⁿtoⁿ (archaic); taⁿta* , *†tątǫ* ‘panther’ D&S:272b , *taⁿtoⁿná* , *†tątǫ* ‘Ancient of Panthers’ D&S:272b

Ofo *at‹ą́nta* , *†athą́ta* ‘wildcat’ D&S:322a , *tąⁿtcĭ˝ñki* , *†tą-čį̃ki* ‘little cat’

General comment

Quapaw may represent a borrowing from Biloxi or Ofo. Phonologically Dakota *ptą* ‘otter’ matches this set, v. ‘otter’. Michael Nichols (personal communication) finds resemblant forms elsewhere in North America, so this is most likely a widely diffused form and a borrowing in most or all of the languages included here.

willow, Salix sp.

plant

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **ayú•xi ~ *arú•xi (?)*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **rú•ɣi*

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *rú•ɣi*

Chiwere *luxí* GM , *rúxi* JGT:281

Otoe *lu•xwé•* RR

Hoocąk *ruuɣí* ‘willow’ KM:2746 , *ruuğí*

Proto-Dhegiha **rú•ɣe*

Omaha-Ponca *thíxe* , *†ðíɣe* ‘Salix sp.’

Kanza/Kaw *yű•ɣe, yű•ɣe ziga* ‘willow, hard willow’ RR

Osage *thiúxe* , *†ðűɣe* ‘willow tree’ LF:150b

Quapaw *díɣe* ‘willow’

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *ayuxú, áyuxudí* , *†ayux-* ‘sweet gum tree’ D&S:296a

General comment

There may be two sets here, ‘pith’, with **o* (Lakota *čhoɣí* ‘pith’ C Lakota *čhoxwą́žiča* ‘willow’ Otoe *lo•xwé•*), and ‘willow’, with **u*. Dakota suggests this. Biloxi, with a different meaning, has a reflex of Proto-Siouan **y* while most MVS languages have reflexes of **r*. Biloxi compounds with *-hu* ‘tree’.

This term may have diffused like many tree terms. There are Iroquoian and Tunica look-alikes. Cf. ‘sycamore ? (birch, maple)’

will, purpose

psychic_volition

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **wayaʔį*

Proto-Dakota **wačhąʔį*

Lakota *wačhį* ‘think, purpose’ EB:512b

Dakota *waćíŋ* , *†wačhį* ‘think, purpose’ SRR:495a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **wažąį*

Chiwere *wayį* ‘to command’

Hoocąk *wažą* ‘purposeful, be important’ MM:408 , *wažą*

Proto-Dhegiha **wažąį*

Omaha-Ponca *waʒhiⁿ* , *†waží* ‘will’ MAS:188

Kanza/Kaw *waží* ‘will’ RR

Osage *waʒhíⁿ* , *†waží* ‘own will, volition’ LF:210b

Quapaw *waží* ~ *wážǫį* ‘will, patience’ JOD

General comment

Cf. ‘think (3)’. The Lakota form as a verb 1sg. is *wačhąmį*. This term probably arises in Proto-Mississipi-Valley. Proto-Siouan **wa-* would have lost its vowel and collapsed with the following syllable.

wilt

physical_condition_change

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **t?é•ka*

Proto-Dakota **t?éka*

Lakota *t?eča* ‘tepid, lukewarm’ EB:504a

Dakota *it’éća* , *†it?éča* ‘slightly warm, lukewarm, tepid’ SRR:212b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **t?é•ke*

Chiwere *č?ége* ‘lazy’ JGT:9

Hoocąk *t?eek* ‘be rotten’ KM:3030 , *t’eek* ‘wilt’ KM:3034 , *taat?ék* ‘be bruised’ KM:416 , *taat’ek* ‘wilt’ KM:3089 , *t?ék, gi-* , *git’ek* , *t?ék, taa-* , *taat’ek*

Proto-Dhegiha **t?éka*

Omaha-Ponca *t?éga* ‘lazy’

Kanza/Kaw *c?éga* ‘lazy’ RR , *c?éga, ba-* ‘wither, cause by rooting up’ RR , *c?ega, bá-* ‘wither, to cause by cutting’ RR , *c?éga, bü-* ‘numb, make by sitting on’ RR , *c?ega, dá-* ‘withered, killed, injured by heat’ RR , *dac?ega, bá-* ‘wilt, cut and cause to’ RR , *dác?ega, ba-* ‘wilt, cause by rooting up’ RR , *dac?ega, dá-* ‘spoil, as hot weather does meat’ JOD, RR , *dác?ega, ga-* ‘dry a little by blowing on’ RR , *c?éga, ya-* ‘wither from being gnawed on, as a plant’ RR , *c?éga, yü-* ‘make lazy’ RR

Osage *dáṭs?ega* , *†tác?eka* ‘wilted, withered’ LF:36a

Quapaw *t?éka, di-* ‘weaken an animal or infant’ RR , *t?éka, nq-* ‘injure by kicking or trampling’ RR

General comment

Cf. ‘die’. Note compounded instrumental prefixes in Kanza/Kaw.

win

social_game

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **o-hí*

Proto-Dakota **ohí-ya*

Lakota *ohí* ‘win’ [+ causative]

Dakota *ohíya* ‘get the better of, overcome, gain, win, acquire in a game’ SRR:352a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **ohí*

Chiwere *wóhi* ‘win something’ JGT:281 , *uhí* ‘win’ JGT:281

Hoocąk *hohí* ‘win; cheat’ KM:1196 , *hohi*

Proto-Dhegiha **ohi*

Omaha-Ponca *uhi* , *†ohi* MAS:188

Kanza/Kaw *ó•hi* ‘win a game or prize’ RR

Osage *uhi* , *†ohi* ‘win, defeat, overcome, prevail’ LF:170b

General comment

‘win’ is not conjugated as an H-stem.

wind (1)

noun natural_force_weather

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *[old reconstruction only]*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **htá•te*

Proto-Dakota **thaté*

Lakota *thaté* ‘wind’ RTC

Dakota *taté* , *ṫthaté* ‘wind’ SRR:462b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **thá•te*

Chiwere *tháǰe* ‘wind’ RTC , *thá•ǰe* ‘wind’ RR

Hoocąk *mą́įtaǰéhi* ‘wind, storm, air’ KM:2076 , *mąįtajewehi* ~ *mąįtajeehi* ‘air’ KM:118 , *čaač* , *caac*

Proto-Dhegiha **htate*

Omaha-Ponca *tadé* MAS:118

Kanza/Kaw *ttaǰé* ‘wind’ RR

Osage *ṭadsé* , *ṫhtacé* ‘winds, air’ LF:136b

Quapaw *ttáttiọhé* JOD

General comment

Cf. ‘wind (2)’. The accent shift in Dakota is regular; the DH accent shift is problematic but may be tied to the loss of vowel length in some DH dialects.

wind (2)

noun natural_force_weather

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **se* ~ **xe*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **huci*

Crow *hučí* 'wind' GG:48, RGG:6

Hidatsa *húci* 'wind' J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *šéʔ* 'wind' RTC

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **axu•xe*

Biloxi *xûxwĕ́, xûxwĕ́di, xuxé* , *†xuxé* 'wind' D&S:225a

Ofo *ashū́se* , *†ashú•se* 'wind' D&S:321b, JSS , *áshusĕ* , *†ashú•se* 'it blows' D&S:321b

General comment

Crow, Hidatsa, Mandan match for **se*; OVS shows **-xe*. The constructions are probably sound-symbolically related. On MRS *hu-*, compare Hidatsa *hú•he* 'blizzard' and *-hu•re* 'move air' in *náhu•re* 'inhale', *nakahu•re* 'to fan', Crow *awatá•hua* 'blizzard'. Cf. 'wind (3)'

wind (3)

natural_force_weather

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **xųwe*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa *xaxo•ri* ‘sickly, coughing, breathing noisily’ J

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dakota **-xwe*

Lakota *itáglaxwe* ‘with the wind, the wind in the back’ EB:237

Dakota *ítahdaȟbe* ‘with the wind’ SRR:211a

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *xyuⁿwe, ixyúⁿwě* , *†(i-)xyųwe* ‘roar or whistle, as the wind does’ D&S:226a , *cúⁿwe* , *†šųwe* ‘whistle, as the wind does’ D&S:226a

General comment

For other instances of Lakota *xw* < *xVw*, cf. ‘rattle (1c)’ and ‘stink (2)’. Hidatsa may have dissimilated *w* > *r* after *u*, if it is cognate.

wing (1)

physical_somatic_body_part_animal

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **xuṗa* ~ **xuṗa*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **ixpá*

Crow *iaxpá* ‘wing’ GG:71, RGG:3

Hidatsa *ixpá* ‘wing’ J

Pre-Mandan **ą•xpa*

Mandan *ą́•pxa* ‘wing’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dakota **xuṗá-*

Lakota *xuṗáhu* ‘wing’ RTC

Dakota *ḣuṗáhu* , *†xuṗáhu* ‘arm; wing’ SRR:168b

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Ofo *tcĭshó^{m}pka* ‘wing’ D&S:329a , *só^{m}pka* , *†są́pka* ‘fish fin’ D&S:329a , *nąsó^{m}pka* , *†nəsą́pka* [unglossed] JSS

General comment

Cf. ‘five (1)’, ‘plum’, ‘ball’ Ofo is internally reconstructible to **-xąp-* or **-xǫp-*, so major subgroups disagree on which vowel(s) was/were nasal in Proto-Siouan. The *-a-* in Crow is from “breaking” of *i* before *x*; Hidatsa shows the Proto-Crow-Hidatsa state.

wing (2)

physical_somatic_body_part_animal

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **á•hu*

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **á•hu*

Chiwere *á•hu* ‘wing’ RR

Missouria *aho* ‘wing’

Hoocąk *aahú* KM:7 , *aahu*

Proto-Dhegiha **á•hü*

Omaha-Ponca *á•hi* ‘wing’

Kanza/Kaw *áhü, áhü hį* ‘wing’

Osage *áhi*^{n} , *†áhü-hį* ‘wings’ LF:10b

Quapaw *áhi* ‘wing’ JOD

General comment

Cf. ‘arm’, ‘bone’, ‘wing (1)’. This appears to be a lower MVS replacement term for ‘wing (1)’, which is reconstructible to Proto-Siouan. *hį* refers to feathers.

winter

time_phase

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **wá•rą•*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **wá•ra•*

Crow *báalaa* ‘winter’ GG:20, RGG:37

Hidatsa *wá•ra•* ‘winter’ J

Pre-Mandan **wa•rą*

Mandan *wą́•rą?* ‘winter’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **má•rį̣h ~ *má•-į̣h*

Proto-Dakota **waníyetu*

Lakota *waníyetu* ‘year; winter’ RTC

Dakota *waníyetu* ‘winter, a winter; year’ SRR:524b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **má•nį*

Chiwere *bá•ñį, báñį•* ‘year, winter’ RR

Hoocąk *mąąnį̂* KM:1992 , *mąąnį*

Proto-Dhegiha **omą́į̣hka*

Omaha-Ponca *omą́į̣kka* ‘year’ JEK

Kanza/Kaw *omą́yį̣kka* ‘year’ RR

Osage *ʊmoⁿiⁿ̨ka* , *†omąį̣hka* ‘year’ LF:173b

Quapaw *ománikka* ‘year’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern **wa•ną́•*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *aná^{n}, ana^{n}ką́^{n}* , *†aną́* [*-ką^{n}* ‘when’] D&S:173a

Ofo *ānó* , *†a•ną́* D&S:321a, JSS

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *wāneñi, wānēi* , *†wa•ną•i*

Proto-Catawba

Catawba *wéra* FGS:8 , *wáya* FGS:105 , *wayą, we’ra, we’ru* SS

General comment

Cf. ‘snow (1)’. Dakotan *waníyetu* has perhaps been influenced by ‘snow (1)’ and thus is not the expected *mą-*. The Chiwere form also incorporates ‘snow (1)’, as may Tutelo. The several attested Catawba forms only sometimes show the requisite nasalization. All may be related derivationally or they may be doublets from different dialects. Cognacy of the Catawba term(s) is uncertain.

wipe, rub, scour

physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **-kha*

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **-khá*

Chiwere *khála* ‘solid, hard’ [cf. *dákhala* ‘freeze’ (?)]

Hoocąk *waká* ‘scour, shine’ KM:3335 , *waka*

Proto-Dhegiha **pü-khá*

Omaha-Ponca *bíka* , *†bíkha* MAS:189

Kanza/Kaw *bükhábe* [B-stem]

Osage *biká* , *†pükhá* ‘efface, erase, obliterate, wipe out’ LF:27a

Quapaw *bikhá* ‘rub smooth’ JOD

wipe > rub, sweep

verb physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **kįSE*

Pre-Mandan **-kiš-*

Mandan *-kíšo?š, pa-* ‘he wiped it off’ RTC , *-kíšo?š, ka-* ‘she swept it’ RTC , *-kíšo?š, ra-* ‘he brushes it with foot’ H:112 , *-kíšo?š, ru-* ‘he rubs it’ H:112 , *íkakiška* ‘broom’ H:112

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *-kįžA, įpá-* ‘rub, as one’s eyes with the hands’ EB:230

General comment

The roots have a surface similarity, but note that Mandan and Lakota disagree for the fricative grade and nasalization.

wise, smart, mature

psychic_cognition

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **ksá•-pE*

Pre-Mandan **kšąt-*

Mandan *kšą́to?š* 'he's alert, smart' H:121 , *wakšą́to?š* 'Watch out!' H:121

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **ksápE*

Proto-Dakota **ksápA*

Lakota *ksápa* 'wise, prudent' EB:318a

Dakota *ksápa* 'wise, prudent' SRR:298a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **ksape*

Chiwere *θabéda* 'smart, wise' LWR:30

Hoocąk *booksáp* 'sober up, come to' KM:1891 , *booksap*

Proto-Dhegiha **sape*

Omaha-Ponca *çábe* , *†sábe* 'be careful' MAS:34

Kanza/Kaw *sabáži* 'suddenly' JOD

Osage *çabé* , *†sapé* 'be cautious' LF:29a

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **ksa•-*

Biloxi *aksûpi, aksûpta* , *†aksapi* 'look sharp!' D&S:172a , *ksapí* , *†aksapi* 'grow (a human being)' D&S:213a

Ofo *kfā˞hi* , *†kfá•hi* 'old' D&S:325, JSS

General comment

Vowel length is obscured by the transcriptions available for consultation here, but Ofo indicates its presence. Kanza/Kaw *-ąži* is 'negative'.

within, inside

physical_spatial

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **mąrhe*

Proto-Dakota **mąhé*

Lakota *mahé* ‘within, in, into’ EB:327b , *mahétu* ‘within, inward; deep’ EB:328

Dakota *ma-hén* ‘within, into, in’ SRR:304b

Proto-Dhegiha **mąthe*

Omaha-Ponca *moⁿte* , *†mąthe* ‘in, inside’ MAS:101

Kanza/Kaw *mą́če* ‘under’ RR , *mąčhétta* ‘under, within’ JOD

Osage *moⁿ´tse, moⁿtsé* , *†mą́che* LF:103a

Quapaw *†mą́the* ‘inside, under’ JOD , *†mąthá́ha* ‘down into’ JOD

General comment

As is the case in other **rh* clusters, this term is probably bimorphemic with a division between the *r* and the *h*.

with, instrument

n/a

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **í-*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **i-*

Crow *íí-* RG

Hidatsa *i-*

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *í-* ‘instrumentive’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **í-*

Proto-Dakota **i-*

Lakota *i-* ‘instrumental’

Dakota *i-* ‘instrumental’

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **í-*

Chiwere *i-* ‘instrumental’

Hoocąk *hi-* ‘instrumental’ , *hi-*

Proto-Dhegiha **í-*

Omaha-Ponca *í-* ‘instrumental’

Kanza/Kaw *í-* ‘instrumental’

Osage *í-* ‘instrumental’

Quapaw *í-* ‘instrumental’

Proto-Southeastern **í-*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **í-* ~ **į-*

Biloxi *į* ~ *i* ‘instrumental’

Ofo *į* ~ *i* ‘instrumental’

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *í-* ‘instrumental’

woodpecker

animal_bird

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **htó•ska*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa *tó•ška* ‘woodpecker’ J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *tóška* ‘woodpecker’ H:255

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **htó•ska*

Proto-Dakota **thoskála*

Lakota *thoskála* ‘downy Woodpecker, red spot on head’ EB:500b

Dakota *†toskádą* ‘the common woodpecker’ SRR:478b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **thó•ske*

Chiwere *thóhglégleðe* ‘blue-speckled all over’ GM , *čhóhglégleðe* GM

Hoocąk *čoosgé* ‘blue jay, tattletail’ KM:265 , *coosge* ‘red headed woodpecker’ KM:266 , *čoosge pasúč* , *coosge paašuc* ~ *coosgepašuc*

Proto-Dhegiha **htóska*

Omaha-Ponca *†ttóska* F&LF:105

Osage *ṭúçka* , *†htóska* ‘woodpecker, sapsucker’ LF:165b

General comment

The Kanza/Kaw form, *ttoíska(higa)* ‘type of sparrow’, has been reanalysed or is simply not cognate. The Dorsey entry reads “of the woodpecker family”.

The Hidatsa form has *š* where a reflex of **s* would have been expected. We propose that Hidatsa has borrowed from Mandan, hence the reconstruction with **s*.

worm

noun animal_worm

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **htáwą*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **htamą*

Proto-Dakota **thama-*

Lakota *támaka* , *†thámaka* ‘poor, lean’ EB:477a , *thamáheča* , *†thámaka* ‘poor, lean’ EB:477a

Dakota *támaka* ‘poor, lean’ SRR:456a , *támaheća, tamáheća* ‘poor, lean’ SRR:456a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **thámąkhazí*

Chiwere *thámą khaðí* ‘nape of the neck’ GM

Hoocąk *camą́kazí* ‘back of the neck’ , *camąkazi*

Proto-Dhegiha **htamą*

Omaha-Ponca *tamoⁿ* , *†ttamą* MAS:70

Osage *ṭamoⁿ´* , *†htamą́* ‘angleworm, earthworm’ LF:138a

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *tamokí* ‘worm, worms’ D&S:269b

General comment

These forms appear consistently to contain ‘deer, ruminant, bison’, etc., and may refer to parasites that lay their eggs beneath the skin at the nape of the neck, e.g. the bot fly. **ihtáwą* if based on Proto-Siouan ‘neck’; **wa-htáwą* if based on ‘deer’. Crow *bisheechí* ‘worm’ (GG-33, DEC-2) and Hidatsa *witéʔki* , *mitéʔki* ‘worm, maggot’ are based on ‘bison’, q.v., and are structurally parallel but not cognate.

wound

verb transitive physical_somatic_disease

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **(ó-)ʔo*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **úʔ*

Crow *uú* ‘hit target’ GG:58

Hidatsa *úʔ* ‘shoot and wound’ J , *úʔu*

Pre-Mandan **:u-*

Mandan *úʔš* ‘he wounded it’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **ʔo•*

Proto-Dakota **ʔo*

Lakota *ʔó* ‘wound sth.’ RTC

Dakota *ʔó* ‘shoot and hit’ SRR:344a

Sioux Valley *o* ‘shoot’ PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **ʔo* RR

Chiwere *ó* ‘wound’ JGT:285

Hoocąk *óo* ‘hit the mark’ KM:2405 , *oo* ‘hit the mark’ KM:2404 , *hiʔó* ‘?’ MM , *hi’o* , *ʔo* , *oo*

Proto-Dhegiha **ʔo•*

Omaha-Ponca *oo* , *†ʔo•* ‘shoot, wound’

Kanza/Kaw *ó* ~ *ó•* ‘shoot, wound’ RR

Osage *u* , *†ʔo* ‘wound, hurt’ LF:165a

Quapaw *íyo* , *†í-o* ‘shoot, wound’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *ódi* , *†ódi* ‘shoot’ D&S:239b , *kiyó* , *†ódi* ‘shoot for one [benefactive]’ D&S:239b

General comment

Glottalization of the inclusive prefix in Dakotan argues for the initial laryngeal. The accentual pattern in Osage suggests the former presence of a segment before the laryngeal, possibly the locative prefix **o-*. Thus, perhaps, from ‘shoot into’ > ‘wound’.

wrap

physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **-šį*

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *šį, haru-* ‘put in a bag or sack’ KM:684 , *harušį* ‘bow tie, n. (as in shoestring)’ KM:850 , *šį, higi-* , *higišį*

Proto-Dhegiha **-šį*

Kanza/Kaw *šį, oyú-* ‘bundle something up, cover by surrounding’ RR

Osage *béshi*^{n} , *†péšį* ‘flared’ LF:26b , *beṭó*^{n} , *†pethą́* ‘fold goods’ LF:26b

Quapaw *šį, odí-* ‘wrap, fold in a bundle’ RR

General comment

Probably the final element of *bešį* ‘bend’; cf. ‘twist > wrap, fold’.

wrinkle (1), ruffle

physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **xi*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *paɣíŋį* ‘make wrinkles by rubbing’ EB:423a

Dakota *paȟíya* , *†paxíya* ‘roughly, not smooth’ SRR:406a

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *xixiką́* , *†xixiką́* ‘ruffle up the feathers as birds’ D&S:221a

General comment

Cf. ‘wrinkle (2)’, ‘bend > fold, curl’, also Biloxi *sĭsí* ‘wrinkled’ DS-256a

wrinkle (2)

physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **xʔį (?)*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **xʔį̨ (?)*

Proto-Dakota **yuxʔí*

Lakota *xʔi, oyú-* ‘a pimple, a rough place, pimples’ EB:419

Dakota *yuȟí* , *†yuxʔí* ‘pimpled, rough’ SRR:626b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **xʔį̨*

Chiwere *xʔį̨xʔį* ‘wrinkled’ GM

Hoocąk *ruxʔį̨* ‘wrinkle, e.g., one’s nose’ KM:2763 , *ruxʾį* ‘mess up (e.g., bed)’ KM:3517 , *waxʔįxʔį̨ híi* ‘be wrinkled’ KM:3848 , *waxʾįxʾį hii* , *hoįxʔí* , *hoįxʾį*

Proto-Dhegiha **sʔįra*

Kanza/Kaw *cʔį̨ya* ‘wrinkle’ MR

Osage *ṭsʔiʰthá* , *†cʔįðá* ‘wrinkeled, wrinkles’ LF:163a

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *xixiká* , *†xixiká* ‘ruffle up the feathers, as birds do’ D&S:221a

General comment

Osage *cʔ* can be a reflex of **sʔ* or **šʔ*, so two fricative ablaut grades help fill out the set. Cf. ‘wrinkle (1), ruffle’. Glottalization of fricatives is lost in Biloxi, and OVS generally, so the above form may be cognate with either the glottalized or non-glottalized set, q.v.

wrinkle (3)

physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **xí•pE*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **xí•pE*

Crow *xíipi* 'wrinkled' GG:62

Hidatsa *xí•pE* 'wrinkled' J , *xí•pi*

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *xí•po?š* 'it's wrinkled' RTC

General comment

Cf. 'wrinkle (1), ruffle', 'wrinkle (2)' for unextended forms.

wrist (1)

physical_somatic_body_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **okšúɣkšų*

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *u?šúɣ?šų* GM

Proto-Dhegiha **ošǫšǫ*

Omaha-Ponca *usho^{n}sho^{n}* MAS:190

Kanza/Kaw *áošǫ́šo* RR, JOD

Osage *aushoⁿsho^{n}* , *†aošǫšǫ* LF:358b, LF:17a

Quapaw *áošǫšǫ* JOD

General comment

Chiwere *?S* < **kS*. Cf. **ši-šE* and Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **ke(•)či* 'bend', which suggest that all of the Siouan terms for 'bend, crooked', etc. with root-initial *kš* probably possessed the Proto-Siouan initial CVC sequence **keš-*. This would account for the accentual pattern in the daughter languages also.

wrist (2)

physical_somatic_body_part

General comment

Seemingly another example of rightward vowel exchange in Hidatsa, if Mandan has the inherited form. Alternatively, Mandan may have subjected the form to folk etymology, as the current structure is a compound of 'hand (2)' plus some unknown element. Body parts are frequently inherently possessed and marked with inalienable **i-*, so there may be more than meets the eye to the vowel exchange here.

y

yawn

physical_somatic_function

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **ʔí•- -ra•*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa *í•ra•* 'yawn' J

Pre-Mandan **í•he + wre•-*

Mandan *í•hwere•roʔš* 'he yawned' RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **i-(loc.)-ra*

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *iyóya* 'yawn' [1s iyo-wa-ya] RTC

Dakota *iyówa* 'yawn' [1s iyo-wa-wa] SRR:237

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *iˆára* 'yawn' JGT:29

Hoocąk *ʔiyaára* JWE , *iiyaara*

Proto-Dhegiha

Quapaw *iáda* [1sg. iábda] JOD

General comment

Cf. 'mouth'.

yellow

verb perceptual_visual_color

Proto-Siouan-Catawba **sí•ri (?)*

Proto-Siouan **sí•(-re)*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa *cí•ri* ~ *cíʔiri* 'yellow' J

Pre-Mandan **si•re*

Mandan *ší•re* 'tawny colored, light brown' RTC , *sí•re* 'yellow' RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **zí•*

Proto-Dakota **zi*

Lakota *zi* 'yellow, pale' RTC

Dakota *zi* 'yellow' SRR:649b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **zí•*

Chiwere *ði•* 'yellow' RTC, RR

Hoocąk *zii* 'yellow' KM:3975 , *zii*

Proto-Dhegiha **zí*

Omaha-Ponca *zi* 'yellow' RTC, RR

Kanza/Kaw *zíhi* 'yellow' RR

Osage *zí* 'yellow' RR

Quapaw *zí* 'yellow' RR

Proto-Southeastern *(wa•-)sí•*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo **sí*

Biloxi *sí; sidí, sídi; sihiyĕ´* , *†sí* 'make yellow' D&S:254a

Ofo *fhí* , *†fhí•* 'yellow' D&S:323b , *†əkfú• fhi•* 'yellow bead' D&S:319, JSS

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *sii* 'yellow' H , *wāsi* 'yellow' H

Proto-Catawba

Catawba *siri* 'clear (as water)' KS, MAS

General comment

Cf. ‘yellow > brown’. The aspiration in Ofo may be due to vowel syncope **sihi* > **fihi* > *fhi*. Several languages seem to have reflexes of **síhi*. An analogous augment is found with some other color terms, *są* ~ *sąhą* ‘white (1)’, *to* ~ *tóho* ‘blue, green’. Normally the extension is formed with *-hV* where the V copies the preceding one. This sort of partial reduplication appears to be unique to color terms. It may be derived from an intensifier, *-hi*, found in some languages, e.g. Quapaw. The same augment may explain the Hidatsa doublet with and without glottalization.

yellow > brown

verb perceptual_visual_color

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **xí•(-re)*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **xí•re*

Crow *xí•li* ‘gray’ GG:62, RGG:85

Hidatsa *xí•re* ‘faded yellow or brown’ J

Pre-Mandan **xi•re*

Mandan *xíre* , *†xí•re* ‘brown’ H:316

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **ɣí•*

Proto-Dakota **ɣí*

Lakota *ɣí* ‘rusty, brown’ RTC

Sioux Valley *ɣí* PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *ɣíi* ‘light brown’ KM:489 , *ğii*

Proto-Dhegiha **ɣi*

Omaha-Ponca *mąčhó-ɣi* ‘prob. brown bear, personal name’

Kanza/Kaw *mąɣíga* ‘colored ɣi from the earth’ JOD

yellow > tawny

verb perceptual_visual_color

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **šíˑ(-re)*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **šíˑre*

Crow *šíˑli* ‘yellow’

Hidatsa *šíˑre ~ šíʔre* ‘brown, tan, tawny’ J , *šíˑri ~ šíʔiri*

Pre-Mandan **siˑre*

Mandan *síˑre* ‘yellow’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **žíˑ*

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *ží* ‘golden, rusty’ RTC

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **žíˑ*

Chiwere *yi* RR

Hoocąk *žíi* ‘brown’ KM:4015 , *zii*

Proto-Dhegiha **ží ~ *žíhi*

Omaha-Ponca *ží* ‘pink’ MAS:137

Kanza/Kaw *ží, žíhi* RR

Osage *zhúhi* , *ŧžíhi* ‘reddish, pink’ LF:222b

Quapaw *žihí* ‘reddish yellow’ [ži] JOD

General comment

Proto-Siouan had fricative ablaut: cf. ‘yellow’ and ‘yellow > brown’. The Mandan form given here corresponds regularly, but the semantics assigns the meaning ‘yellow’ and *šír* is assigned ‘tawny’. Fricative symbolism for this set of roots evidently does not occur in OVS. This fact plus the Catawba form may imply that **siˑ* was original and the others derived.

yes (1), to be so

particle social_communication

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **ahą́•*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa *ho* ‘yes’ J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *hų́•* ‘yes’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **(a)hą•*

Proto-Dakota **(o)há*

Lakota *há, ohá* ‘yes’ RTC

Dakota *ha, ho*

Sioux Valley *ha* PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *hų́če* [no aspiration] GM

Hoocąk *há, háą* ‘female exclamation’ KM:776 , *ha, haą* ‘male exclamation’ B&S:935 , *éhą* , *ehą ?* , *áhą* , *ahą ?*

Proto-Dhegiha **ąhą*

Omaha-Ponca *ą́hą* ‘yes’ JOD

Kanza/Kaw *hą* ‘yes, female speech’ RR , *ąhá* RR

Osage *o^{n}* , *†ą* LF:121b

Quapaw *hǫ* , *†hą* [Cf. *hą́ži* ‘no, not so’ where *-ži* is ‘negative’] JOD, RR

Proto-Southeastern **ahą́*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *a^{n}* , *†ą* [female speaker] , *a^{n}há^{n}* , *†ąhą́* [male speaker] D&S:177a

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *ahá, aháñ* , *†ahą́* H

Proto-Catawba

Catawba *hįbá?* KS, MAS

General comment

These terms are interestingly similar, but it is hard to be sure what part of them is cognate and what part involves phonosymbolism. There seems to have been a Proto-Siouan male/female speech distinction that needs to be clarified and considered both here and among the postverbal modal particles.

yes (2)

particle social_communication

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **é•*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **é•*

Crow *ée* RG

Hidatsa *ée* ‘yes’ J

Proto-Mississipi-Valley **é•*

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *éhą* ‘female exclamation’ B&S:935 , *ehą ?*

Proto-Dhegiha

Kanza/Kaw *howé* ‘female speech’ RR

Osage *howé* , *†howé* LF:67b

Quapaw *ée* ‘yes, used by children’ JOD , *hawé* ‘hello, greeting’

yesterday (1)

adverb time_phase

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan **sitó• (?)*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *θ?ída* ‘long ago’ JGT:69

Proto-Dhegiha **sitóti*

Omaha-Ponca *çidadi* , *†sidadi* ‘yesterday’ MAS:192

Kanza/Kaw *?sídoǰi* ~ *sidóǰi* ‘yesterday’ RR

Osage *çidódsi* , *†sitóci* ‘yesterday’ LF:30a

Quapaw *siótti* ‘yesterday’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *setoŋle* , *†sitǫ́•le* ‘yesterday’ , *sitō* , *†sito•* ‘yesterday’ H:1883a , *šitóre* , *†sito•* JOD:1882 , *citóre* , *†sito•*

Proto-Catawba

Catawba *sụdá•* KS, G

General comment

This is quite evidently a morphemically complex form; a string of deictic particles that includes a temporal plus one or more locatives. If there was a Proto-Siouan **sitó* it should have received aspiration by rule, but it did not. The Chiwere form might help explain the strange *?* in Kanza/Kaw, but glottalization is irregular here in any event. All in all this is not a very satisfying analysis or reconstruction. Cf. ‘time reference’.

yesterday (2)

adverb time_phase

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa **hú•ri-*

Crow *húuli-* ‘yesterday’ RGG:38

Hidatsa *hú•riširu* ‘yesterday’ J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *hóraʔke* ‘yesterday’ RTC

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Ofo *†ó•wati* ‘yesterday’ D&S:328, JSS

General comment

Cf. ‘yesterday (1)’.