

**ELICITATION AND ANALYSIS OF NAKODA TEXTS FROM
SOUTHERN SASKATCHEWAN**

A Thesis

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for the Degree of

Master of Arts

in Linguistics

University of Regina

by

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Synopsis

The main body of this thesis is a collection of six texts elicited from a native Nakoda speaker. This collection includes transcriptions of these texts and literal, or morpheme-by-morpheme, and running translations. Of these texts, one is a myth about 300 words in length and the other five are historical/sociological accounts of the life of the Nakoda people, each between 125 and 150 words in length. This collection is preceded by a grammatical outline of Nakoda and followed by a glossary of the words contained in the texts. This thesis also includes linguistic information elicited from other native speakers to round out its grammar section.

The main consultant for this thesis is Mr. Herb Walker originally from the Carry-the-Kettle Reserve of Saskatchewan, now living in Regina. The texts were prepared and written by Mr. Walker who then read them into a tape recorder. The taped texts were then transcribed by this researcher who returned to Mr. Walker several times over the course of about three months to ask questions about meanings and pronunciation. The transcriptions of the texts as they appear in this thesis, are exact transcriptions from the tapes, unedited by the consultant.

Primary literary sources used for the elaboration of the grammar sketch and the text analysis sections were the "Dakota Grammar" (Boas and Deloria: 1941), "Theoretical Issues in Dakota Phonology and Morphology" (Shaw: 1976), "Dakota-English Dictionary" (Riggs: 1890), "Dakota Grammar, Texts, and Ethnography" (Riggs: 1893), and "Sketch of Lakhota" (Rood and Taylor: 1996). This researcher was also provided with supplementary grammatical information by Leona Kroeskamp of SIFC, herself a native Nakoda speaker. All work on the texts, however, was done with Mr.

Walker following general linguistic fieldwork guidelines of working with the consultant who provided the materials both as a courtesy to him and because he is the one who has the most intimate knowledge of the texts. There are also important differences between a man's language and a woman's language in Nakoda; therefore it is best to use a man to translate and analyze a man's words.

Acknowledgments

Many people have contributed to the development and writing of this thesis. My main consultant was Mr. Herb Walker. The texts contained in this thesis were collected from March to July of 1996 during which time Mr. Walker also devoted many hours of his time to help me with the analysis of them as well as to answering my endless questions about his language. I am also indebted to Leona Kroeskamp, Nakoda instructor at the Saskatchewan Indian Federated College who devoted much time to my learning and understanding of the Nakoda language.

I am especially grateful to my supervisor Dr. Jan P. van Eijk who first introduced me to the Nakoda language. Without his endless patience and advice this thesis would not have been possible. I must also include in my acknowledgments my other professors and academic consultants Dr. Brent Galloway, Prof. Arok Wolvengrey, Prof. Solomon Ratt and Dr. Cameron Louis.

My thanks also go out to the Department of Indian Languages, Literatures and Linguistics at the Saskatchewan Indian Federated College (SIFC) and the Linguistics Students Association who provided funding for my fieldwork and who supported my work with Nakoda without question.

I must also thank John Koontz of Colorado who provided me with the Siouan fonts contained in the body of this thesis.

Thanks, of course, to my parents and family as well as to the many friends who put up with me through my many years of linguistic studies. And finally, thanks to Kevin whose constant support through all my struggles made life so much easier while writing this thesis.

Table of Contents

Synopsis.....	i
Acknowledgments.....	ii
Table of Contents.....	iii
List of Tables.....	viii
List of Figures.....	viii
0. PREFACE.....	1
0.1 Review of available literature on Nakoda.....	1
1. INTRODUCTION.....	3
1.1 Brief history of the Nakoda.....	3
1.2 Position of the "Dakota" group within Siouan.....	4
1.2.1 Position of Nakoda within the "Dakota" group...	6
1.3 Basic phonological and morpho-syntactic information..	7
1.4 Typographic considerations.....	9
2. GRAMMAR SKETCH.....	10
2.1 Phonology.....	10
2.1.1 Consonants.....	11
2.1.1.1 Consonant clusters.....	12
2.1.1.2 Syllabic structure.....	15
2.1.3 Vowels.....	17
2.1.4 Stress.....	18
2.2 Morphophonemics.....	23
2.2.1 Final <i>a</i> drop.....	23
2.2.2 Final consonant devoicing.....	24

2.2.3	Consonant nasalization.....	25
2.2.4	Consonant insertion.....	26
2.2.5	Palatalization.....	27
2.2.6	Ablaut.....	29
2.3	Morphology.....	31
2.3.1	Nominal morphology.....	32
2.3.1.1	Nominal inflection.....	32
2.3.1.1.1	The nominal plural suffix -bi	33
2.3.1.1.2	The diminutive suffix -na	34
2.3.1.1.3	Possessive prefixes.....	34
2.3.1.2	Nominal derivation.....	36
2.3.1.2.1	Compounding.....	36
2.3.1.2.2	Final vowel change.....	38
2.3.2	Verbal morphology.....	38
2.3.2.1	Verbal inflection.....	38
2.3.2.1.1	The plural suffix -bi	39
2.3.2.1.2	The aspectual suffix -kta	40
2.3.2.1.3	The negative suffix -šj	40
2.3.2.1.4	The suffix -č	41
2.3.2.1.5	The reflexive and dative.....	42
2.3.2.1.5.1	The reflexives.....	42
2.3.2.1.5.2	The dative.....	44
2.3.2.1.5.3	The benefactive.....	45
2.3.2.1.6	The causative -ya	45
2.3.2.1.7	The indefinite object wa	48
2.3.2.1.8	Personal pronoun prefixes.....	48

2.3.2.2	Verbal derivation.....	59
2.3.2.2.1	Compounding.....	59
2.3.2.2.2	Instrumental prefixes.....	60
2.3.2.2.3	Locative prefixes.....	61
2.3.2.2.4	The instrumental nominalizer <i>i-</i>	62
2.4	Reduplication.....	63
2.4.1	Nominal reduplication.....	64
2.4.2	Verbal reduplication.....	65
2.5	Numerals.....	66
2.6	Pronouns.....	68
2.6.1	Demonstrative pronouns.....	68
2.6.2	Interrogative and indefinite pronouns.....	71
2.7	Syntax.....	73
2.7.1	Main clause: word order.....	73
2.7.2	Interrogative sentences.....	76
3.	TEXTS.....	79
3.1	Mink and Coyote.....	81
3.1.1	Transcription and literal translation.....	81
3.1.2	Morpheme-by-morpheme analysis.....	91
3.1.3	Running translation into English.....	125
3.1.4	Text as written in Herb Walker's orthography.....	126
3.2	Moccasins.....	127
3.2.1	Transcription and literal translation.....	127
3.2.2	Morpheme-by-morpheme analysis.....	132
3.2.3	Running translation into English.....	149
3.2.4	Text as written in Herb Walker's orthography.....	150

3.3	Selling wood to buy supplies.....	151
3.3.1	Transcription and literal translation.....	151
3.3.2	Morpheme-by-morpheme analysis.....	156
3.3.3	Running translation into English.....	173
3.3.4	Text as written in Herb Walker's orthography.....	174
3.4	Traveling, tourism, socialization.....	175
3.4.1	Transcription and literal translation.....	175
3.4.2	Morpheme-by-morpheme analysis.....	181
3.4.3	Running translation into English.....	196
3.4.4	Text as written in Herb Walker's orthography.....	197
3.5	Agriculture.....	198
3.5.1	Transcription and literal translation.....	198
3.5.2	Morpheme-by-morpheme analysis.....	203
3.5.3	Running translation into English.....	216
3.5.4	Text as written in Herb Walker's orthography.....	217
3.6	Cooking.....	218
3.6.1	Transcription and literal translation.....	218
3.6.2	Morpheme-by-morpheme analysis.....	222
3.6.3	Running translation into English.....	233
3.6.4	Text as written in Herb Walker's orthography.....	234
4.	GLOSSARY.....	235
5.	REFERENCES.....	277
	APPENDIX A: Ethical Approval of Research Procedures.....	279

List of Tables

Table 1:	The Dakota dialect groups.....	5
Table 2:	Table of Nakoda consonants.....	11
Table 3:	Table of Nakoda consonant clusters.....	13
Table 4:	Table of Nakoda vowels.....	17
Table 5:	Table of Nakoda possessive markers.....	34
Table 6:	Table of Nakoda possessive markers on kinship terms.....	35
Table 7:	Table of Active verb subject markers in Nakoda.....	53
Table 8:	Table of Active verb object markers in Nakoda.....	55
Table 9:	Order of pronominal prefixes in Nakoda.....	57
Table 10:	Order of pronominal prefixes in Nakoda (more complete).....	57
Table 11:	Table of Stative verb subject markers in Nakoda.....	58

List of Figures

Figure 1:	The Siouan language family.....	4
Figure 2:	Final consonant devoicing rule.....	24
Figure 3:	Velar palatalization rule.....	28
Figure 4:	Accusative verbal systems.....	49
Figure 5:	Ergative verbal systems.....	50
Figure 6:	Dixon's Split-S verbal system.....	50
Figure 7:	Active/Stative verbal systems.....	51

0. PREFACE

Nakoda, also called Assiniboine, is an endangered dialect of Dakota which is a language of the central branch (sometimes referred to as the Mississippi Valley sub-family) of Siouan. While a great deal of linguistic study has been devoted to the Dakota and Lakhota dialects of Dakota, very little linguistic work has been done on Nakoda, and, in general, the work which has been done on Nakoda is sketchy and incomplete. Therefore, this study is important first because of this lack of scholarly materials on Nakoda, and, second, because Nakoda, as a language and a culture, is in grave danger of becoming extinct. It is therefore imperative that texts be collected and transcribed for future studies to aid in the preservation of the language. This thesis provides materials which could be used in teaching children and adults to help prevent Nakoda from disappearing. This material would also help future researchers to create a reliable grammar of Nakoda.

Ethical approval for the research for this thesis was applied for and recieved from the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research at the University of Regina.

0.1 Review of available literature on Nakoda

As mentioned above, there is very little available literature on Nakoda. The main works consulted for this thesis are actually descriptions of Dakota, rather than Nakoda. The first major work consulted was the Dakota Grammar by Boas and Deloria (1941) which contains a wealth of information on the grammatical structure of the Teton (or Lakhota) dialect of Dakota, most of which holds true for Nakoda. Secondly, Dr. Patricia Shaw's 1976 dissertation on Dakota phonology and

morphology which is a study in morphophonemic alternations in the Dakota dialects was an invaluable resource for examples of morphemes and lexemes. A third major work consulted was Parks and DeMallie's (1992) dialect study of the Dakota language group. Also consulted for this thesis during the final stages of its composition was Rood and Taylor's (1996) sketch of the Lakshota dialect of Dakota.

Specific to Nakoda I was able to utilize various course materials made available to me by SIFC and Leona Kroeskamp. Hollow's 1970 article on Nakoda phonology and Valerie Drummond's MA thesis (1976) which contains an analysis of texts from Carry-the-Kettle Assiniboine were also consulted. Unfortunately Drummond's work, while it is a good reference tool, does not address any grammatical issues. Her phonology also does not match Hollow's phonology of Nakoda or the phonology as found by this researcher. The only reference found addressing Nakoda Grammar is Levin's grammar of Nakoda (1964) which is inaccurate at best with a suspect phonology and verbal classifications which do not fit in with any other description of a Siouan language. This work was, therefore, not relied upon for this thesis.

Some secondary sources consulted included: Hans Wolff's 1950-51 series of articles on Comparative Siouan which clearly illustrates the relationships within the Siouan family; and Rood's 1979 article which briefly explains the relationships among the various Siouan daughter languages and discusses the problems with paucity of resources and the quality of those available.

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Brief history of the Nakoda

Nakoda is spoken in southern Alberta, Saskatchewan and Manitoba and in the central United States. The dialect discussed in this thesis, is that of southeastern Saskatchewan. The word Nakoda is considered to be a self-designation opposing this group to Dakota and Lakota (see section 1.2). The word Nakoda itself will often be seen spelled with a "t" as in "Nakota". The spelling of "Nakoda" (with a "d") is the preferred spelling of the main consultant for this thesis, Mr. Herb Walker, who rightly notes that the voiceless, unaspirated [t] of [dak^hota] has become voiced in his language, thus changing the [t] to [d] as in [nak^hoda]. The word "Nakoda" is also often used interchangeably with "Assiniboine", the name of the dialect group (see section 1.2). This document will, for consistency's sake, use only the word "Nakoda".

The Nakoda people are estimated to have arrived in Saskatchewan in the 1600's, breaking off from the Dakota groups in the Northern United States after an internal dispute. They became a part of the Canadian Plains Indian culture and allied themselves with the Cree speaking groups. Culturally, the Nakoda people were typical of Plains Indians. Buffalo was the staple of their diet and important to their life in general. They lived in tipis and traveled from campsite to campsite, their belongings in travois pulled first by dogs and later by horses. The Nakoda also retained a cultural identity from the days when they lived near their other Siouan relatives. They participated in Sun Dance rituals and placed great reliance on vision quests.

The Nakoda people of modern day Saskatchewan are few in number and most live on reserves or in cities with people of other cultures and languages. There are fewer than 50 speakers of Nakoda in Canada today, most not fluent due to residential education and to the fact that there are no reserve schools which teach Nakoda as a regular part of the curriculum anywhere in Saskatchewan. For further information on the culture of the Nakoda people see Hildebrandt and Hubner 1994 and Long 1942.

1.2 Position of the Dakota dialect group within Siouan

Dakota is a daughter language of the Siouan language family. The following tree shows the general relationships among the Siouan daughter languages:

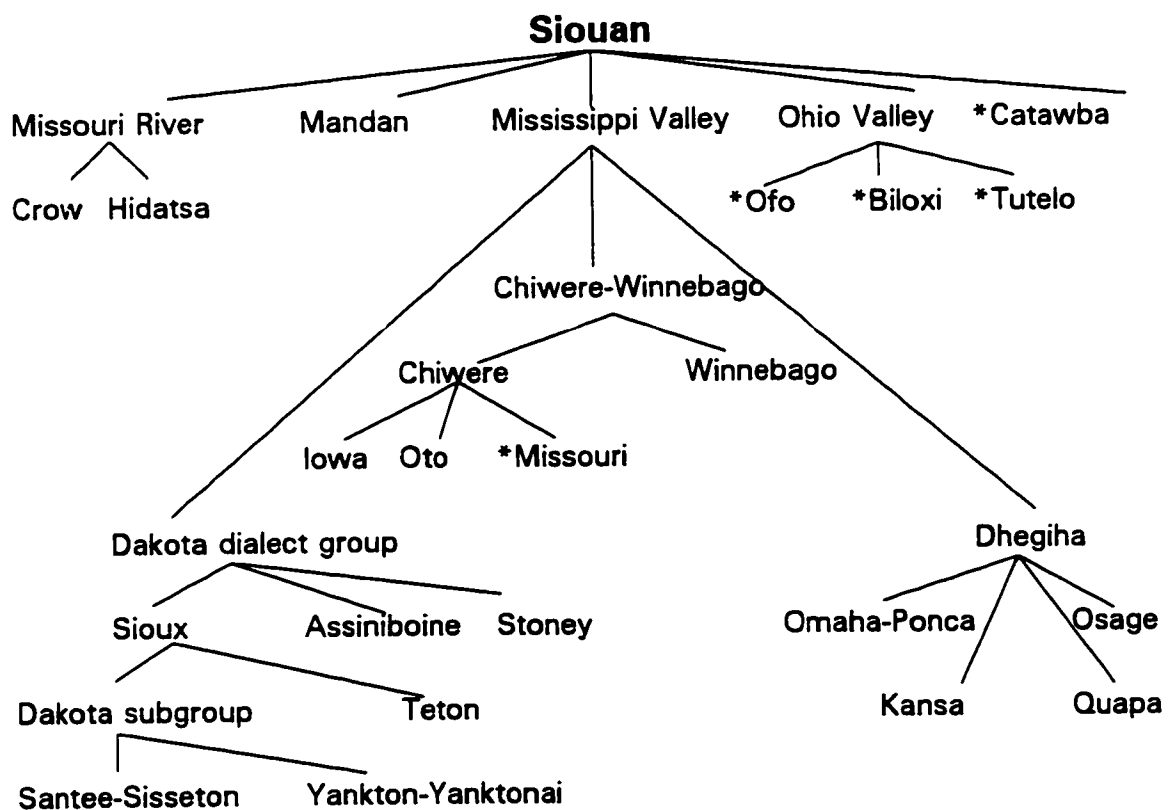


Figure 1: The Siouan language family

As seen above, the Mississippi Valley branch is the largest of the Siouan family. The languages marked with an * (The Ohio Valley branch, Missouri, and Catawba, whose relationship to Siouan is still currently debated) are extinct today. The Dakota dialects and Crow are the Siouan languages which are still spoken widely today, although several other Siouan languages still have many speakers, fluent and partial. According to Rood (1979) there were other Siouan languages spoken in Virginia and the Carolinas, but we know almost nothing about them. The above chart also notes the confusion of the classification of the Dakota dialect group where the term "Dakota" is used to describe the entire dialect continuum as well as to the subgroup which contains the subdialects Santee-Sisseton and Yankton-Yanktonai.

Within the Dakota dialect group, according to the Parks and DeMallie dialect study (completed in 1992), there are five major dialects (two of which have sub-dialects) which are outlined with their self-designations and political designations as follows (Parks and DeMallie 1992:251):

Table 1: The Dakota dialect groups		
Dialect Group	Self-Designation	Political Designation
Santee-Sisseton	Dak ^h óta	Sioux
Yankton-Yanktonai	Dak ^h óta	Sioux
Teton	Lak ^h óta	Sioux
Assiniboine	¹ Nak ^h óta	Assiniboine
Stoney	Nak ^h óta	Stoney

¹ The spelling "Nakoda" has been used throughout in this thesis as noted in section 1.1, but here the spelling used by Parks and DeMallie has been retained from their study.

All of these dialects are spoken in Canada with minor linguistic differences within each dialect group; only Stoney (spoken in southern Alberta) is not spoken in the United States.

1.2.1 The position of Nakoda within the Dakota dialect group

Nakoda is considered to be part of the dialect continuum of the Dakota branch of Siouan. According to the dialect study of Parks and DeMallie (1992), the main difference between Nakoda and closely related dialects is the presence of voiced plosives and affricates. These have replaced the unaspirated unvoiced plosives and affricates which still occur in other dialects except when present as a part of a cluster (see section 2.1.1.1).

Nakoda is also traditionally known as one of the 'n' dialects of Siouan where Dakota is the 'd' dialect and Lakhota is the 'l' dialect. This is taken to mean that where Dakota has *d*, Lakhota has *l* and Nakoda has *n*. This has been shown by Parks and DeMallie in their dialect study to be an over-generalization. So while Lakhota has no *d*-phoneme, it does have a *n*-phoneme as does Dakota. For example, in the word for 'Indian', the "d-n-l" distribution holds true:

Santee-Sisseton	dak ^h ota
Yankton-Yanktonai	dak ^h ota
Teton	lako ^h ta
Assiniboine	nak ^h ota ²
Stoney	nak ^h oda

(Parks and DeMallie 1992:240)

² Note that the word for Indian in the southeastern dialect of Assiniboine is phonetically [nak^hoda] with the unaspirated [t] becoming the voiced equivalent, [d].

But in other words, such as the word for 'very', this distribution is not seen:

Santee-Sisseton	nina
Yankton-Yanktonai	nina
Teton	lila
Assiniboine	nina
Stoney	nina

(Parks and DeMallie 1992:241)

In the above example, Assiniboine and Stoney have the same form as Santee-Sisseton and Yankton-Yanktonai as opposed to Teton. We see a different pattern in the forms of the diminutive suffix where a split occurs within the Santee-Sisseton dialect group itself.

Santee	-da, dą
Sisseton	-na
Yankton-Yanktonai	-na
Teton	-la
Assiniboine	-na
Stoney	-n

(Parks and DeMallie 1992:241)

Therefore, the major phonological difference between Nakoda and the other dialects of Dakota remains the presence of voiced plosives and affricates.

1.3 Basic phonological and morpho-syntactic information on Nakoda

Examples have been drawn from the texts found at the end of this thesis unless otherwise indicated. When examples have been taken from the texts, the text references relate to the thesis sections as follows:

text 1 = section 3.1;	text 2 = section 3.2
text 3 = section 3.3;	text 4 = section 3.4
text 5 = section 3.5;	text 6 = section 3.6

The phonemic system of Nakoda consists of voiced, aspirated voiceless and glottalized plosives and affricates; voiced, voiceless and glottalized fricatives; two nasals; two glides and both oral and nasal vowels. Voiceless vowels also exist, conditionally, at the end of utterances when unstressed (see section 2.1.3). Finally, while the glottal stop (ʔ) exists inter- and pre-vocalically, it is not considered to be phonemic in this study and is written only in conjunction with a plosive to indicate glottalization. For example:

oaška	'recently' (text 4) is, phonetically, [ʔoʔaška]
oʃ	'beads' (text 2) is, phonetically, [ʔoʔʃ]

with the glottal stop appearing both pre- and inter-vocalically.

Morphophonemically, Nakoda, like other Dakota dialects, is complex. Section 2.2 outlines the many morphophonemic alternations which were elicited for this thesis, most notably, ablauting before certain suffixes (see section 2.2.6).

Morphologically, Nakoda has many of the same affixes as the other Dakota dialects. There are many forms, however, which are not present in the texts contained in this thesis. Some of these forms were obtained through separate fieldwork sessions, but many of them could not be elicited. These forms, therefore, either do not exist, either in my consultants' dialects or in Nakoda as spoken today, or remain to be elicited.

All forms which were discovered, either in the texts or by elicitation, are included in section 2.3.

Grammatically, the Dakota dialects are very similar. Nakoda has no case system, but relies on a complex Active/Stative verbal system (see section 2.3.2.1.8). It also does not recognize grammatical gender, but does have both inclusive and exclusive first person plural forms.

Syntactically Nakoda is also very similar to other Dakota dialects. It is basically an SOV language which places several different particles at the end of sentences.

1.4 Typographic considerations

All Nakoda language material in this thesis is written using phonemic transcription except where noted.

The following is a list of symbols which will be used throughout the thesis:

- - = a morpheme boundary
- < > = an infix morpheme
- {} = morphemic ablaut (usually nominalization)
- ?? = translation unknown or tentative

For example, a single, free morpheme will be written without any morpheme boundaries as in:

čą 'wood' (text 3)

Prefix and suffix morpheme boundaries will be marked with a dash (-) and infixed morphemes with < > as in:

wíope<gi-Ø>ya-bi	'they sell for themselves' (text 3)
Ø-	'third person singular subject'
wíopeya	'to sell'
gi	'possessive reflexive' affix
-bi	'plural'

Derivationally ablauted final vowels will be marked with {} and morphemes with unknown meaning will be marked with ?? as in:

wó-yud{e}	'food' (text 3)
wo-	??
yuda	'to eat'
a⇒e	nominalizing ablaut (see section 2.3.1.2.2)

2. GRAMMAR SKETCH

The following sections will include brief descriptions of the phonology, morphology and syntax of Nakoda. Unfortunately the number of issues which may be discussed here is limited; therefore an attempt has been made to cover the most important of them.

2.1 Phonology

The phonology of Nakoda will be discussed in terms of the phonemic consonants and vowels present in the language, its syllabic structure and finally its stress patterns, a matter which is still being studied due to its complex nature.

2.1.1 Consonants

The consonants of Nakoda are divisible into plosives, fricatives, affricates, nasals and glides. There are no liquids in Nakoda nor are there any phonemic voiceless unaspirated plosives. The following chart of Nakoda consonants has been compiled from the texts elicited for this thesis. In the chart, the glottalized fricative šʔ has been included in brackets because while Hollow (1970:296) recognizes it as a phoneme in Nakoda, it has yet to be elicited by this researcher. Also, as mentioned in section 1.3, the glottal stop (ʔ) is not included as a phoneme in this study, but is known to occur predictably, both inter- and pre-vocalically.

Table 2: Table of Nakoda consonants					
	bilabial	alveolar	alveopalatal	velar	glottal
plosives vl	p ³	t		k	
vd	b	d		g	
gl	pʔ	tʔ		kʔ	
affricates vl			č		
vd			ǰ		
gl			čʔ		
fricatives vl		s	š	x	h
vd		z	ž	y	
gl		sʔ	(šʔ)	xʔ	
nasals	m	n			
glides	w		y		

³ Note that the phonemes /p/, /t/, /k/ and /č/ are phonetically [p^h], [t^h], [k^h], and [č^h].

2.1.1.1 Consonant clusters

Clusters in Nakoda may include voiced and voiceless plosives, affricates, and fricatives, and nasals. So far, no clusters have been found which include glottalized plosives (an omission also noted for Teton by Boas and Deloria (1941:5)). Only biconsonantal clusters occur in Nakoda and these may be found medially or initially; there are no final clusters and no clusters consisting of more than two members. This is typical of Dakota dialects as pointed out by Boas and Deloria (1941:5). When a cluster occurs medially, it is most often at a known morpheme boundary. For example, within compounds, a cluster most often results when the first element drops its final vowel:

šúga	'dog'
júkʔa	??
-na	'diminutive'
šúkʔjúkʔana	'coyote' (see section 2.2.2) (text 4)

The following is a chart of consonant clusters found in Nakoda with examples taken from the texts analyzed for this thesis. The question marks indicate clusters which exist in Teton (Boas and Deloria 1941:5) but which have not been found in any fieldwork studies by this researcher at the time of the writing of this thesis.

Table 3: Table of Nakoda consonant clusters												
Final consonant⇒	p	b	t	d	k	g	s	š	j	n	m	y
Initial consonant⇓												
p	--	--	--	pd	--	--	ps	pš	?	--	--	--
t	--	--	--	--	tk	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
k	--	kb	kt	kd	--	--	ks	kš	kj	kn	km	--
s	?	--	st	--	sk	--	--	--	?	sn	?	sy
š	šp	--	št	--	šk	šg	--	--	?	?	šm	--
x	--	xb	--	xd	--	--	--	--	xj	xn	xm	xy
n	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	ny
m	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	mn	--	--

In the above chart, the following observations have been made:

1. In all obstruent-obstruent clusters, the first member is always underlyingly voiceless-aspirated.
2. The second member of obstruent-obstruent clusters may be voiced, as in *kd*, in which case we have one of three pronunciations: a) first member voiceless-aspirated, second member voiced, thus [k^hd], *[p^hd], or b) first member voiced, thus [gd], [bd], or c) first member voiceless-unaspirated, thus *[kd], [pd]. The second member may also be voiceless-unaspirated with the first member being voiceless-aspirated, thus [k^ht], *[p^ht] (combinations marked * were not actually recorded). Since not all these variants were recorded for all of these cluster types, a complete description remains a task for the future. For example, *akdaga* 'to run' may be phonetically realized as [ak^hdaga] or [ak^htaga]. Also, the word for 'cow' has been elicited, phonetically, by this researcher as both [pde] and as [bde]. This phenomenon appears to be common in Nakoda and these

phonetic realizations seem to occur in free variation. These clusters will be represented phonemically in this thesis as voiceless-voiced obstruent clusters.

3. The second member of obstruent-obstruent clusters may be voiceless-aspirated in which case both members of the cluster retain their phonetic characters, for example, the aspectual suffix representing 'an unrealized event' (see section 2.3.2.1.2) *-kta* which is phonetically always [k^ht^ha]. These clusters will be represented phonemically in the texts as voiceless-voiceless obstruent clusters.

Examples of clusters (morpheme boundaries have been noted wherever possible):

pd	pde-pde-yá-na	'slough' (text 1)
ps	tjpsi-na	'turnips' (text 3)
pš	pši	'rice' (not from the texts)
tk	ničuwitku	'your (female) daughter' (not from the texts)
kb	ǰkba	'to be sharp, pointed' (text 6)
kt	-kta	'unrealized' (see section 2.3.2.1.2)
kd	ákdağa	'to run' (text 1)
ks	čą-ğa-ksa-ksa	'chopped wood' (text 6)
kš	aokšą	'around' (text 1)
kj	i-yu-kją	'to think about' (text 1)
kn	o-wo-knage	'story' (text 1)
km	čą-ba-kmi-kma	'wagon' (text 3)
st	gapestobi	'they sharpened' (text 6)
sk	ma-hąska-ska	'very long' (text 1)
sn	yu-snoha	'to pull' (text 3)
sy	bus-ya	'to dry' (text 2)
šp	špaýą-bi	'they cook' (text 3)

št	maštjja	'rabbit' (text 1)
šk	oaška	'recently' (text 4)
šg	ga-šgi-bi	'they crush, crushed' (text 3)
šm	čq-šmu-ya-bi	'sugar' (text 3)
xb	ixbix-ya	'to boil' (text 6)
xd	dohađu-xđiya	'in a given time' (text 1)
xj	xjina	'ragged' (not from texts)
xm	tuxmisu	'rope' (not from the texts)
xn	o-ga-xnix	'understanding' (text 5)
xy	ičax-ya	'to grow' (text 3)
ny	kan-ya	'to heat up' (text 6)
mn	o-mnaye	'flat place' (text 1)

2.1.1.2 Syllabic structure

Roots in Nakoda can consist of one or two syllables. The most normal configuration for a minimal free form is two syllables whereas bound forms usually have only one. For example:

wąži	'one' (text 1)
eya	'to say' (text 1)
-na	'diminutive' suffix
wa-	'indefinite object' prefix

Consonant clusters may also begin Nakoda syllables. For example:

-kta	'unrealized'
pde-pde-ýa-na	'slough' (text 1)
špaýa-bi	'they cook' (text 3)
mni-	'water' (bound morpheme) (text 1)

Therefore, while the syllabic template of Nakoda is (C)(C)V(C), a syllable is usually of the form CV or CCV. There are, however, exceptions to this as in the following examples where the syllables are of the form VC, CVC or CCVC:

jš	'too, also' (text 1)
čen	'because' (text 1)
šten	'when' (text 2)

Closed syllables of this type are generally restricted to word final position except in the cases of compounds where one of the element undergoes the process of final *a*-drop (see section 2.2.1). For example:

búza	'to be dry (as in not wet)'
-ya	'causative'
-bi	'plural'
bus-ya-bi	'they dried' (text 2)

sága	'to be dry (as in hard)'
-ya	'causative'
-bi	'plural'
sak-ya-bi	'they dried' (text 2)

šúga	'dog'
juk?a	??
-na	'diminutive'
šuk-juk?ana	'coyote' (text 1)

In each of the following examples, the initial form drops its final *a* to become a CVC from in the compound.

2.1.3 Vowels

Like other Siouan languages, Nakoda has oral and nasal vowels. The phonemic vowels are shown in the following chart:

Table 4: Table of Nakoda vowels					
i		j		u	ɯ
e					o
		a	ǣ		

This structure fits in nicely with Universal predictions of nasal vowel systems as outlined by Ruhlen (1978) and Crothers (1978). As Ruhlen predicts, Nakoda has fewer nasal vowels than oral vowels. The nasal vowels that are "lost" are the mid nasal vowels, as Ruhlen predicts. However, at the present stage of research, it is not clear if the nasal vowels of Nakoda arose from the loss of nasal consonants.

The vowels *i*, *u* and *e* also appear in allophonic variation with the lower, lax equivalents although the environmental restrictions of this variation have not been determined at this time.

In Nakoda the final vowels of words often become voiceless in slow speech if unstressed. Some examples from the texts are:

dohága ⇒ dohágǣ
 ičítokǣ ⇒ ičítokǣ̥

'how much' (text 6)
 'in comparison' (text 6)

These examples of devoicing of a final vowel are not evident from the texts as spoken at normal speed when they occur in the body of the text. The devoicing becomes evident only when the words are at the end of a phrase, before a pause, or when elicited separately out of a textual context. Mr. Walker seemed to be aware of this phenomenon and pointed it out on several occasions when going over text material.

2.1.4 Stress

The following are the general rules of stress in Nakoda:

- In words of more than one syllable, stress falls regularly on the second syllable. For example:

wązǐ	'one, a' (text 1)
nągáhą	'today' (text 2)
očéti	'stove' (text 6)
špąyąbi	'they are cooking' (text 3)
wašpąyąbi	'they are cooking something' (text 3)

- There is a class of bi-syllabic words which, underlyingly, are consonant final (single-syllable stems) but which add a final vowel on the surface (Shaw 1976:31-33). For these words, when the final vowel is added on the surface, the stress remains on the first, original, syllable (Shaw 1976:32). For example:

búzǎ	'it is dry' (text 2)
kádǎ	'to be hot' (text 6)
wódǎ	'to eat' (text 1)
pédǎ	'flame, fire' (text 6)

As seen in the above examples, these forms undergo the process of final vowel devoicing (see section 2.1.3). If these forms add morphemes, regular stress patterns emerge. For example:

busábi	'they are dry'
kadábi	'they are hot'
wodábi	'they eat' (text 1)

Forms of more than two syllables with final vowel devoicing show regular stress patterns. For example:

dohágâ	'how much' (text 6)
ičítokâ	'in comparison' (text 6)

- Some additional forms seem to have a primary stress normally on their first syllable without the final vowel devoicing. For example:

áya	'to go on carrying' (text 1)
nína	'very' (text 1)
dágu	'what, something' (text 1)

- Certain morphemes do not attract the stress when attached to a form. According to Shaw (1976:39), these include the negative suffix *-šj* (see section 2.3.2.1.3), the aspectual suffix representing 'an unrealized event' *-kta* (see section 2.3.2.1.2), the plural suffix *-bi* (see section 2.3.2.1.1) and certain adverbial forms such as *-čen* 'because' and *-ken* 'accordingly, properly'. For example:

ní-šj	'nothing' (text 1)
ú-bi	'they use' (text 2)

ga-	'that at a distance'
-ken	'accordingly, properly'
gáken	'then' (text 1)

do-	'something, what'
-ken	'accordingly, properly'
dóken	'how' (text 1)

- Finally, certain morphemes appear to attract the stress. For example, the locative prefix *e-* 'at, down' appears to attract the primary stress as in:

é-duwə	'to look' (text 1)
é-knaga	'to put down' (text 1)
é-kne-bi	'they set it' (text 6)

The prefix *o-* also appears to attract primary stress as in:

ógiya	'to help' (text 3)
óziba	'??' (text 4)

There are also two prefixes *wo-* and *wi-(~wiy-)* the exact meanings of which are unclear at this time, which appear to attract the stress in certain forms. For example:

yaga	'to tell, relate'
kn-	'possessive reflexive'
wó-knak	'talking' (text 1)
wóyude	'food' (text 3)

wo-	instrumental??
kšu	'to plant'
-bi	'plural'
wó-kšu-bi	'they plant' (text 5)

wómnu	'to till'
-bi	'plural'
wómnu-bi	'they till' (text 5)

ų-	'to use'
-bi	'plural'
wíy-ų-bi	'they make use of'

wíkni	'grease' (text 3)
wibazoka	'saskatoons' (text 3)

The above examples may be caused by historical vowel coalescence, where *wo* is from *wa+o* and *e* is from *a+i*. Study of this matter must be reserved for a future date.

Finally, the demonstrative *že* attracts the primary stress in most of its compounds (see section 2.6.1). For example:

žėčen	'that's the way' (text 2)
žėči	'this at a point in reference to the speaker' (text 1)

but not in:

žená	'those'
------	---------

where the compound involves a demonstrative pluralizing suffix *-na* (see section 2.6.1) rather than an adverbial or second demonstrative element.

Some unusual cases of stress patterns in Nakoda have been noted in the texts of this thesis. The following example involves a case of reduplication (see section 2.4):

pde	'lake' (reduplicated for plurality)
ya	'it is spread out in all directions'
na	'diminutive'
pde-pde-yá-na	'sloughs; lots of little lakes spread out all over' (text 1)

The stress in this form falls on the third syllable, with a lighter, secondary, stress on the first syllable. This may be due to the reduplication of the nominal root. If so, the form, before reduplication, would be *pdeyána* with the stress falling on the second syllable as it should.

The next example shows a case where an old prefix may affect the stress pattern of the form:

ikusa	'mink'
-na	'diminutive'
ikusá-na	'mink'

The stress of this form falls on the third syllable with a lighter, secondary, stress on the first syllable. The reason for this stress pattern is unknown, but may be connected to the initial *i* which may date back to a prefix form which does not attract the stress. If this is the case, the root would originally have been *kusá* with the stress falling regularly on the second syllable.

For more details on how stress shifts occur in Dakota, see Shaw's discussion (1976:30-55) which includes a discussion of how vowel coalescence and various boundaries (lexical, morphemic, enclitic, etc.) affect stress. For the purposes of this thesis, all irregular stress patterns have been noted in all material taken from the texts but not in material taken from secondary sources and other fieldwork sessions because, unfortunately, stress patterns were not noted in most of them. Regular stress patterns are unmarked.

2.2 Morphophonemics

The number of examples of morphophonemic alternations in Nakoda is limited within the texts contained in this thesis. However, based on available information, the following observations can be made about Nakoda morphophonemics.

2.2.1 Final *a* drop

An unstressed final *a* (see section 2.1.3) may be dropped altogether when there is a lexical derivation boundary following it (Shaw 1976:78) as in the following examples:

búza	'to be dry (as in not wet)'
-ya-	'causative'
-bi	'plural'
bus-ya-bi	'they dried' (text 2)

sága	'to be dry (as in hard)'
-ya-	'causative'
-bi	'plural'
sak-ya-bi	'they dried' (text 2)

This rule is also applicable to Nakoda. For example:

búza	'to be dry (as in not wet)'
-ya-	'causative'
-bi	'plural'
bus-ya-bi	'they dried' (text 2)

It is clear from the data collected for this paper that this rule also becomes applicable to velar plosives in Nakoda (because Dakota does not have voiced velar plosives, this rule cannot be applied to them in that language). For example:

šúga	'dog'
jukʔa	??
-na	'diminutive'
šukjukʔana	'coyote' (text 1)

sága	'to be dry (as in hard)'
-ya-	'causative'
-bi	'plural'
sak-ya-bi	'they dried' (text 2)

2.2.3 Consonant nasalization

While word-final velar plosives are devoiced before a boundary (see section 2.2.2), bilabial and alveolar plosives are nasalized in the same contexts. This process can occur at a morpheme boundary as in:

Ø-	'third person singular subject'	
yučapa	'to trot'	
Ø-yučam-čam	'he trotted a lot'	(reduplication to indicate repetitiveness - see section 2.4.2)

káda	'to be hot'
-ya	'causative'
kan-ya	'to heat up, cause to heat' (text 6)

nakoda	'Nakoda people' (text 3)
mąkoče	'earth'
nakon-mąkoče	'reserves'

or word finally as in:

nųba-num	'two'
dóba-dom	'four'
nakon	'Nakoda language' (from <i>nakoda</i> 'Nakoda people') (text 3)

As with the velar plosive devoicing, this phenomenon is possibly related to the class of bi-syllabic words which are underlyingly consonant final (see section 2.1.4), but it will require further study to formulate an explanation for it.

2.2.4 Consonant insertion

In the first person plural of verbs (formed with the prefix *y-* -see section 2.3.2.1.8), if the verb stem begins with a vowel, an intervocalic *g* will be inserted. For example:

ákdaga	'to run'
a ⇒ i	ablaut (see section 2.2.6)
-kta	'unrealized'
-č	'declarative, assertive'
y _g -akdagj-kta-č	'we will really run' (text 1)

iyuta	'to try'
kn	'possessive reflexive' affix ??
-kta	'unrealized'
-č	'declarative, assertive'
ųg-i < kn > uta-kta-č	'we will really try' (text 1)

2.2.5 Palatalization

In Nakoda, velar plosives are palatalized when they are preceded by a front vowel.

For example:

ičʔi	'reflexive'
Ø-	'third person singular subject'
iyaknagahi	'to mix together'
-ya	'causative'
-bi	'plural'
iyakna < ičʔi > ĵahi-Ø-ya-bi	'they mix it together themselves' (text 2)

Where the *g* is palatalized to *ĵ* by the preceding *i*.

že	'the, that (close by)'
-ki	'at a certain place'
žé-či	'that, at a place in reference to the speaker' (text 1)

Where the *k* is palatalized to *č* by the preceding *e*.

že	'the, that (close by)'
-ken	'accordingly, properly'
žé-čen	'the-accordingly'

Where the *k* is palatalized to *č* by the preceding *e*.

This rule, following Shaw (1976:192), can be reformulated here to include the voiced velar of Nakoda:

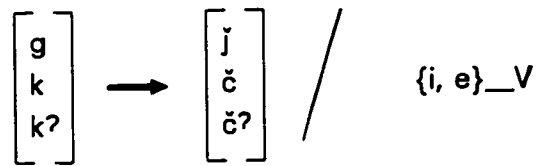


Figure 3: Velar palatalization rule

According to Shaw, this process is restricted in Dakota.

“(Some) active verb stems with an initial velar will undergo palatalization in the appropriate environment, but stative verbs with the same environment will not....In addition to active verb stems, various prefixes, suffixes, and enclitics with an initial velar are subject to palatalization” (Shaw, 1976:192-194).

This restriction also holds true for Nakoda. For example:

káda	‘to be hot’ (text 6)
ni-	‘second person singular subject for stative verbs’
ni-kada	‘you are hot’

The “appropriate environment” as given by Shaw occurs when the velar plosive is preceded by *i* when there is an “intervening morpheme or lexical derivation boundary” (Shaw 1976:198). Palatalization may also be caused by an underlying *e* derived from *a* or *ā* by ablaut (Shaw 1976:201) (see also section 2.2.6). This second type of palatalization will not be discussed further at this time.

2.2.6 Ablaut

Ablaut also occurs regularly in Nakoda. While ablaut traditionally refers to a morphological rather than to a morphophonemic process (Jensen 1990:71-73), this researcher follows Shaw (1976:116-191) in her discussion of ablaut as the process of vowel change caused by the attachment of certain morphemes. The first change which will be discussed is the change of final *a* or *ə* to *e*. Morphemes which cause this change are:

-šǰ	'negative'
-ya	'causative'
-na	'diminutive'
no	'male speaker'

For example:

wa-	'indefinite object'
ičaya	'to grow'
-šǰ	'negative'
waičaye-šǰ	'it doesn't grow' (text 5)
ga-mima	'to be round'
-ya	'causative'
ga-mime-ya	'to make round' (text 6)
kapa	'to pass'
-ya	'causative'
Ø-	'third person singular subject'
kape-Ø-ya	'he passed, sped up to pass' (text 1)

The second change which will be discussed is the change of final *a* or *ə* to *i* or *j*. This is caused, in certain stems, by the suffix *-kta*, the aspectual suffix representing 'an unrealized event'. For example:

akdaga	'to run',
ɥg-	'first person plural subject'
-kta	'unrealized'
-č	'declarative, assertive'
ɥg-akdagj-kta-č	'we will really run' (text 1)

iyaya	'to go'
Ø-	'third person singular subject'
-kta	'unrealized'
Ø-iyayj-kta	'he will go' (text 1)

According to Shaw (1976:116-190), not all stems can undergo ablaut even with an ablauting suffix. For example:

ikusa	??
-na	'diminutive'
ikusá-na	'mink' (text 1)

káda	'to be hot'
Ø-	'third person singular subject'
-kta	'unrealized'
Ø-kada-kta	'it will be hot; it will heat up' (text 6)

The study of this process, however, must be reserved for a future date.

2.3 Morphology

The following sections will deal with nominal and verbal morphology of Nakoda. Each section will discuss derivational and inflectional morphology with examples. The terms inflection and derivation are used here as defined by Bybee (1985) - on a sliding scale rather than as absolutes. According to Bybee, a morpheme is considered to be derivational if: 1) it tends to change the word class of the form to which it attaches; 2) it is relatively close to the root; 3) it causes a semantically relevant change to the root (and therefore can be attached to fewer roots than an inflectional morpheme); and 4) it is not obligatory (that is, it does not need to be present grammatically, but may be replaced with another form). For a more detailed explanation of obligatoriness, see Bybee 1985:81-99). A morpheme is inflectional if it: 1) does not generally change the word class of the forms to which it attaches; 2) tends to be further from the root than derivational morphemes; 3) does not tend to cause a relevant change to the root (and therefore can be more generally affixed to forms in a language); and 4) tends to be obligatory (that is, it must be present in certain grammatical circumstances and cannot be replaced by a simpler form).

The major morphological operations which occur in Nakoda, as in many Siouan languages, involve affixation. Prefixes in Nakoda include such categories as personal pronouns (which may also appear as infixes in some verbs), locative and instrumentals on verbs and possessive adjectives on nouns. Suffixes include such categories as negative markers and the aspectual suffix representing 'an unrealized event' on verb forms, the plural marker on both verb and nominal forms and the diminutive marker on nominals. Affixes are attached to the forms in specific orders according to what semantic function they serve. This will be outlined in the following sections.

Nakoda also makes generous use of reduplication which can occur on both verbal and nominal stems and will, therefore, be discussed in a separate section after the different nominal and verbal operations have been discussed.

Finally, compounding and other operations, such as vowel change, which derive both verbal and nominal forms will be discussed in the appropriate sections.

2.3.1 Nominal morphology

2.3.1.1 Nominal inflection

Nominal inflectional forms in Nakoda include the plural suffix, the possessive prefixes and the diminutive suffix. The plural suffix in Nakoda adheres to all four of the inflectional criteria as outlined above. It does not change the word class of the forms to which it attaches, it is usually the final suffix attached if there is more than one suffix (only the diminutive suffix occurs after the plural), it does not cause relevant change to the root and it is obligatory, although its presence is not required when a nominal is followed by a verb containing a co-referential plural suffix. Specific examples will be outlined in section 2.3.1.2.1.

The diminutive suffix *-na* has also been included in the inflectional category, although it is usually considered to be a derivational morpheme. It is included here as an inflectional morpheme because it does not change the word class of the root to which it attaches, it is always the final suffix (occurring even after the plural suffix) and it may be attached to a great many nominal forms making it quite general in scope.

The possessive prefixes in Nakoda are also considered inflectional morphemes for this study. They adhere clearly to two criteria: they do not change the word class of the root and they do not cause relevant semantic change to the root although the level of semantic change is higher for possessive forms than for the plural suffix. This second criterion causes problems when considering the types of possessive affixes which occur in Nakoda. As will be seen in section 2.3.1.1.3, there are two types of possessive prefixes which occur with different classes of nouns. This limits the generality principle to a certain extent.

2.3.1.1.1 The nominal plural suffix *-bi*

The main way of forming plural nouns in Nakoda is by using the plural suffix *-bi*. The following are some examples of singular nouns in Nakoda with their plural counterparts which use the plural suffix (not from the texts):

wiya	'woman'	wiya-bi	'women'
šúga	'dog'	šúga-bi	'dogs'
búza	'cat'	buza-bi	'cats'

Instead of the regular plural suffix, some nouns form their plural by means of phonemic changes. An example, not taken from the texts, is:

bdewiyena	'cow'	bdewano	'cows'
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Some nouns normally have a zero plural. This is common with animal nouns and body parts. An example, not taken from the texts, is:

išta	'eye, eyes'
------	-------------

2.3.1.1.2 The diminutive suffix *-na*

Nakoda also has a diminutive suffix of the form *-na*. The placement of this suffix after plurals is seen clearly in the following forms (not taken from the texts):

maga	'skunk'	maga-bi-na	'little skunks'
sikbe	'muskrat'	sikbe-bi-na	'little muskrats'
hokši-na	'boy'	hokši-bi-na	'boys'

2.3.1.1.3 Possessive prefixes

Possessive prefixes take several different forms. When possessives are attached to body parts, they take the following forms:

Table 5: Table of Nakoda possessive markers					
Singular			Plural		
ma-	1st person sg	'my'	ȳ- ~ ȳg-	1st person incl	'our'
			ȳ- -bi ~ȳg- -bi	1st person excl	'our'
ni-	2nd person sg	'your'	ni- -bi	2nd person pl	'your'
Ø-	3rd person sg	'his/her/its'	Ø- -bi	3rd person pl	'their'

In the above chart, the suffix form *-bi* simply represents the plural as a specifier of plural possessors (see section 2.3.1.1.1). It is not a possessive marker in itself. Unfortunately no examples of the first person inclusive possessive in Nakoda could be elicited by this researcher from either of her consultants.

An example paradigm (not taken from the texts) follows:

išta 'eye, eyes'

ma-išta	'my eye(s)'	uq-išta-bi	'our eye(s)'
ni-išta	'your eye(s)'	ni-išta-bi	'your (pl) eye(s)'
išta	'his/her eye(s)'	išta-bi	'their eye(s)'

Possessives take different forms when attached to kinship terms. Kinship terms themselves rarely occur without the possessive prefixes, making them inalienable. In addition many kinship terms have irregular forms when the possessive prefixes are attached. The basic possessive markers are as follows:

Table 6: Table of Nakoda possessive markers on kinship terms					
Singular			Plural		
mi-	1st person sg	'my'	u- ~ ugi-	1st person incl	'our'
			u- -bi ~ ugi- -bi	1st person excl	'our'
ni-	2nd person sg	'your'	ni- -bi	2nd person pl	'your'
Ø-	3rd person sg	'his/her'	Ø- -bi	3rd person pl	'their'

Some examples of these are as follows (no examples from texts):

ade 'father'

mi-ade	'my father'
ni-ade	'your father'

ina 'mother'

mi-hu	'my mother'
ni-hu	'your mother'

In the above example, there is a change of root from *ina* 'mother' to *hu*. This marks the word for 'mother' as irregular in all possessive inflections. The word for

'father' on the other hand is irregular only in the third person and first person plural forms as follows (examples not from the texts):

at-gugu	'his/her father'
at-gugu-bi	'their father'
ɥgi-at-gu	'our father'

The form for 'our father' does contain the prefix *ɥgi-* but, like the forms for 'his/her father' and 'their father', also contains the suffix *-gu*, (reduplicated in the third person forms), after the abbreviated root form of *ade* (*at-*). Some kinship terms are further complicated by the different forms which depend on the gender of the speaker, for instance, a female speaker has a different term for 'sister' than does a male speaker. The sibling terms will also differ depending on the relative ages of the speaker and the sibling. For example, there are different terms for 'my older sister' as opposed to 'my younger sister'. This is a complicated semantic issue and will not be discussed any further here.

2.3.1.2 Nominal derivation

The nominal derivational forms in Nakoda which will be discussed in this paper are those formed by compounding and by vowel change. The issue of compounding will also be discussed in section 2.3.2 on verbal morphology.

2.3.1.2.1 Compounding

Nakoda nouns are often formed by compounding. Semantic elements in a compound may include nouns, verbs, and affixes. For example:

Nominal-verbal combinations:

šųga 'dog' (noun)
+ tąga 'to be large' (stative verb)
= šųga-ąga 'horse' (noun) (text 4)

čą 'wood' (noun)
+ yusnoha 'to pull' (active transitive verb)
= čą-yusnoha 'sled' (noun) (text 3)

Verbal-affix derivations:

ti 'to live' (verb)
+ -bi 'plural' (suffix)
= ti-bi 'house' (noun) (not taken from the texts)

nuwą 'to swim' (verb)
+ -bi 'plural' (suffix)
= nuwą-bi 'swimmer' (noun) (text 1)

The above two examples show the rather unusual combination of what is usually an inflectional affix, the plural suffix *-bi*, with a verbal form to derive nominals. Rood and Taylor (1996:455) state that "elements used as (nominalizing - ES) suffixes are usually identical to enclitics" (where the plural suffix is defined by them as an enclitic). Boas and Deloria (1941:66), on the other hand, state that "many nouns are verbal forms with the plural ending *-pi* (*-bi* in Nakoda - ES)." For the purpose of this thesis, either explanation is acceptable.

2.3.1.2.2 Final vowel change

Some nouns are also formed from verbs by means of a simple final vowel change, in the case of the elicited examples, from *a* or *u* to *e*. For example:

owoknaga	'to tell a story' (text 1)
owoknag{e}	'a story'

mayu	'to trace, mark' (text 2)
may{e}	'a mark'

šóda	'to be smokey' (text 2)
šód{e}	'smoke'

o-	locative 'within, into'
mąsʔapa	'to phone??' (text 3)
o-mąsʔap{e}	'telephone'

2.3.2 Verbal morphology

2.3.2.1 Verbal inflection

The verbal inflectional categories in Nakoda which have been elicited at this time, include the personal pronoun prefixes, the plural suffix *-bi*, the aspectual suffix representing 'an unrealized event' *-kta*, the negative suffix *-šj* and the suffix *-č* which appears to be a declarative, assertive suffix. All of these inflectional categories adhere to the criteria of inflection not changing the word class of the root. They are also generally applicable and do not cause a relevant semantic change to the roots to which they attach. The personal pronominal affixes are obligatory as is

the plural suffix *-bi* (which was not obligatory for nouns). All of these forms tend to occur further from the root than the derivational affixes (discussed in section 2.3.2.2), although there are cases of personal pronominal affixes occurring closer to the root than some of the derivational instrumental and locative prefixes.

Tense, traditionally an inflectional operation in languages, does not exist in Nakoda per se. Rather, to indicate the past tense, speakers will use separate lexical items as in the following example the phrase *hekta čʔi hq* 'in the past' will be put at the beginning of a phrase which describes something which took place in the past, not just recently. *aoškan* 'recently' is used to indicate that what is being described took place fairly recently while *naḡahq ne* is used to describe something which is taking place today, or 'these days'.

2.3.2.1.1 The plural suffix *-bi*

The plural suffix *-bi* is similar in form to the nominal plural suffix *-bi*, but is obligatory, that is, when a plural subject occurs, the verbal plural must be used. For example:

<i>gaxʔu-bi</i>	'they scrape' (text 2)
<i>igixa-bi</i>	'they laugh' (text 1)

The plural suffix occurs before other inflectional suffixes such as the aspectual suffix representing 'an unrealized event' *-kta* and the negative *-šj*. For example:

<i>Ø-</i>	'third person singular subject'
<i>gaɣeye</i>	'to sew'
<i>-bi</i>	'plural'
<i>-kta</i>	'unrealized'
<i>Ø-gaɣeye-bi-kta</i>	'they will sew' (text 2)

Ø-	'third person singular subject'
ixbeya	'to throw it away'
-bi	'plural'
-šj	'negative'
i < Ø > xbeya-bi-šj	'They do not throw it away' (text 2)

Note that the suffix *-bi* is ablauted when followed by *-kta* or *-šj*.

2.3.2.1.2 The aspectual suffix *-kta*

The aspectual suffix *-kta* is often translated as a kind of future but really represents an unrealized event and may be translated as 'will' or 'would'. For example:

Ø-	'third person singular subject'
gayeye	'to sew'
-bi	'plural'
-kta	'unrealized'
Ø-gayeye-bi-kta	'they will sew' (text 2)

This suffix also causes ablaut on some stems and suffixes (see section 2.2.6) as in:

n-	'second person singular subject' for <i>y</i> -stem verbs
yuka	'to have'
-bi	'plural' ablauted by <i>-kta</i> (see section 2.2.6)
-kta	'unrealized'
n-uka-bi-kta	'you will have' (text 1)

2.3.2.1.3 The negative suffix *-šj*

Negation is shown with the suffix *-šj*. This suffix also causes ablaut in certain stems (see section 2.2.6). Some examples are:

ixbeya	'to throw away'
Ø-	'third person singular subject'
-bi	'plural'
i < Ø > xbeya-bi-šj	'They do not throw it away' (text 2)

ičaya	'to grow'
Ø-	'third person singular subject'
wa-	'indefinite object'
Ø-waičaye-šj	'it doesn't grow' (text 5)
	(see section 2.2.6 for an explanation of the ablauting of the final vowel of <i>ičaya</i>)

This suffix follows both the plural suffix and the aspectual suffix representing 'an unrealized event'.

2.3.2.1.4 The suffix -č

This suffix is still being studied, but appears to be a declarative or assertive suffix. This definition is born out because the text which contains examples of this suffix is the only narrative in the collection. This suffix will be translated as 'really' in the assertive sense. For example:

yupda	'to plow'
mn-	'first person singular subject' (for <i>y</i> -stem active verbs)
mn-upda	'I plow'
-č	'declarative, assertive'
mn-upda-č	'I really plowed'

yuka	'to catch'
mn-	'first person singular subject' (for <i>y</i> -stem active verbs)
-bi	'plural'
-kta	'unrealized'
-č	'declarative, assertive'
mnukabiktač	'I will really catch'

akdaga	'to run'
ųg-	'first person plural subject'
-kta	'unrealized'
-č	'declarative, assertive'
ųgaktagįktač	'we will really run' (see section 2.2.6 for ablaut) (text 1)

2.3.2.1.5 The reflexive and dative

The reflexive, dative and benefactive affixes rank among the more complicated inflectional morphemes of Nakoda. Each will be described separately so as to avoid the confusion of similar forms. Whenever there is a zero third person affix in a form, it is placed after any reflexive or dative affix unless that form is followed by the causative, in which case the zero always attaches itself to that form (with exceptions noted in section 2.3.2.1.6).

2.3.2.1.5.1 The reflexives

There are three types of reflexives in Nakoda: the normal reflexive in which the subject and object refer to the same person; the reciprocal reflexive which refers to "each other" and the possessive reflexive which refers to the object of the verb being possessed by the subject.

The normal reflexive in Nakoda takes the form of *ičʔi*. It has the meaning of 'doing something to oneself'. This affix will be referred to in this thesis as 'reflexive' and may occur as an infix or as a prefix or sometimes as a suffix. For example:

ičʔi	'reflexive'
Ø-	'third person singular subject'
-č	??
o-	locative 'within a restricted area'
piya	'to be contained'??
o-pi < Ø-ičʔi > ya-č	'the restricted area in which he himself lives' (text 1)

Ø-	'third person singular subject'
iyaknagahi	'to mix together'
ičʔi	'reflexive'
-ya	'causative'
-bi	'plural'
iyakna < ičʔi > ʒahi-Ø-ya-bi	'they mix it together themselves' (text 2)
(see section 2.2.5 for palatalization of <i>gahi</i> to <i>ʒahi</i>)	

The reciprocal reflexive is defined by Boas and Deloria as 'expressing action of two or several without reference to a third' (1941:103). In Nakoda, it takes the form of *giči* and holds the meaning of 'doing something to/for each other'. For example:

wóknak	form of <i>woknaga</i> 'to tell a story, discuss'
giči	'reciprocal reflexive'
giči-wóknak	'talking together' (text 1)

The reflexive possessive affix takes the form of *gi* or sometimes *ki*, and holds the meaning of 'does one's own; does something to one's own'. This form appears in front of the causative when it occurs.

saga	'to be dry'
wa-	'first person singular subject'
-ya	'causative' (see section 2.3.2.2.6)
gi	'dative'
sak-wa-gi-ya	'I dry it for myself' (text 2)

zi-	'to be brown'
-ya	'causative'
gi	'dative'
wa-	'first person singular subject'
zi-wa-gi-ya	'I make it brown for myself' (text 2)

gi-ki is reduced to *k-* before a *y*-stem verb, the *ky-* then becoming *kn* (Rood and Taylor 1996:470). For example:

yapa	'to carry in the mouth'?
Ø-	'third person singular subject'
gi	'reflexive possessive'
	(becomes <i>kn-</i> before a <i>y</i> -stem active verb)
Ø <kn> apa	'to carry in his mouth' (text 1)
yupda	'to plow'
mn-upda	'I plow'
gi	'reflexive possessive'
	(becomes <i>kn-</i> before a <i>y</i> -stem active verb)
wa-kn-upda	'I plow my own...' (text 5)

2.3.2.1.5.2 The dative

The dative in Nakoda also takes the form of *gi-ki*. According to Rood and Taylor, this form can have two meanings:

"the form can mean that the action was done to an object possessed by someone else ('I took his', 'he ate mine') or that it was done to or for someone else by accident or without his knowledge or permission'. (Rood and Taylor 1996:417)

For example:

Ø	'third person singular subject'
žeya	'to say'
gi	'dative'
že < Ø-jī > ya	'to say to each other' (text 1) (see section 2.2.5 for palatalization)

2.3.2.1.5.3 The benefactive

The benefactive forms, according to Rood and Taylor:

'imply that the action was undertaken for someone purposefully and with his knowledge and permission.' (Rood and Taylor 1996:472)

This form consists of the regular dative, *gi-ki*, twice. This form, then, surfaces as *giči* (see section 2.2.5 for an explanation of the palatalization), which is the same surface form as the reciprocal form of the reflexive. This form holds the meaning of 'to do something for someone'. No examples of this form are available from the texts. The entire issue of the dative, reflexive and benefactive forms should be addressed further at a future date.

2.3.2.1.6 The causative -ya

Nakoda also has a causative suffix *-ya* which holds the general meaning of 'something is caused to be done'. Shaw refers to this form as a "dependent verb" *ya* 'to cause to be...' (Shaw 1976:138), but for the purposes of this study, it is termed a suffix. Zero third person affixes immediately precede the causative suffix when present unless it is the causative of a transitive verb (no examples noted here).

This suffix appears to be used most often on Stative verbs making them Active as in the following examples:

saga	'to be dry'
wa-	'first person singular subject'
-ya	'causative'
sak-wa-ya	'I dried it, caused it to be dry' (text 2)

NOTE: The subject pronoun in this form is suffix to the verb and prefix to the causative.

zj	'to be brown' (text 2)
wa-	'first person singular subject'
gi	'reflexive possessive'
zj-wa-gi-ya	'I make it brown for myself'

There is another form of the causative in Nakoda: that of the affix *kiya*. Some examples from the texts are:

wómnu	'to pulverize, to plough'
wiča	'third person plural animate object'
Ø-	'third person singular subject'
kiya	'causative' (used here in the sense of 'to let')
-bi	'plural'
wómnu-wiča-Ø-kiya-bi	'they let them plow (the fields)' (text 5)

koyaka	'to wear, put on'
wiča	'third person plural object'
Ø-	'third person singular subject'
kiya	'causative'
-bi	'plural'
koyak-wiča-Ø-kiya-bi	'they harness them' (text 4)

Boas and Deloria (1941:100) and Rood and Taylor (1996:464) indicate that the main difference between these two forms is the idea of causation with or without sanction. The causative *-ya* appears to have the additional meaning of 'accidental, not caused on purpose'. This can be seen clearly in the two examples of this suffix where something dries (an action which cannot be stopped) or something is browned because it is exposed to smoke. The causative *-kiya*, on the other hand, has the additional meaning of 'on purpose' or 'with the subject's knowledge'. The two examples of this suffix also clearly show this added meaning because a person will harness with the intention to do so or will let someone else plow.

It is important to note here that this causative suffix is not to be confused with another suffix of the form *-ya* which appears to serve a different purpose, that of an adverbializer. For example:

teyi	'to be hard, difficult'
-šj	'negative'
-ya	'adverbializer'
-x	'intensifier'
teyi-šj-ya-x	'it is not very difficult' (text 1)
This form, in context, modifies the verb 'to catch'.	

togahe	'the first'
-ya	'adverbializer'
togahe-ya	'firstly, first of all' (text 1)

iyogibi	'to be pleased'
Ø-	'third person singular subject'
-ya	'adverbializer'
i < Ø > yogibi-ya	'happily'

Further study of this issue must be reserved for a future date.

2.3.2.1.7 The indefinite object *wa-*

The indefinite object prefix occurs on verbs when there is no obvious nominal object attached to the verb. For example:

wa-	'indefinite object'
špaṣa	'to cook'
-bi	'plural'
wa-špaṣa-bi	'they cook it/something is cooked' (text 3)

wa-	'indefinite object'
yahode	'to choke on something' (Boas and Deloria 1941:53)
wa-yahode	'oats' ('something choked on') (text 5)

wa-	'indefinite object'
yupi	'to be good at something'
mn-	'first person singular subject'
-č	'declarative, assertive'
wa-mn-upi-č	'I am really good at it' (text 1)

2.3.2.1.8 Personal pronoun prefixes

Verbs in Nakoda are inflected for first and second person subject and object and are marked separately for the plural (see section 2.3.2.1.1). Third person is zero for both subject and object except for third person plural object. There are three types of first person markers: singular, inclusive (speaker and hearer and others) and exclusive (speaker and others but not the hearer). Rood and Taylor (1996:465) prefer the designation "dual" to "inclusive"; however, the only examples which have been elicited for Nakoda by this researcher involve dialogue situations (see examples

below) where dual and inclusive coincide. The following sections will show the personal pronominal markers for each type of verb and give examples from Nakoda.

Verbs in Nakoda are divided into Active and Stative, and Active verbs are further divisible into Transitive and Intransitive. Generally, the object pronominal markers for the Active-Transitive verbs have the same form as the subject markers for the Stative verbs (except for the third person plural object which takes the form *wiča* for animate objects, rather than \emptyset), while the subject markers for all Active verbs have a different form. For example:

<u>Active Intransitive:</u>	naži	'to stand'
	wa-	'first person singular subject'
	wa-naži	'I stand'
<u>Active Transitive:</u>	wayaga	'to see'
	ma-	'1st person singular object'
	\emptyset -	'third singular subject'
	⁴ wa < ma- \emptyset > yaga	'he/she sees me'
<u>Stative:</u>	yaza	'to be sick'
	ma-	'1st person singular subject'
	ma-yaza	'I am sick'

In an Accusative verbal system, the subject pronominal marker of transitive verbs and the subject pronominal marker of intransitive verbs have the same form. Indo-

⁴ Pronominal prefixes are infixed in some verbs (both Active and Stative) such as *mani* 'to walk' and *wayaga* 'to see'. The term "infix" is here used in its widest sense, that is, for a morpheme which is inserted inside another morpheme or one which occurs between morphemes in an already existing combination (Jensen 1990:24). Some of the verbs which infix the pronominal forms are compounds as in *minit?a* 'to be thirsty' which becomes *minimat?a* 'I am thirsty' where *mini* is 'water' and *t?a* is 'to be dead'. These forms are predictably infixing. Some forms, however, like *mani* 'to walk', which becomes *mawani* 'I walk', are not obvious compounds and therefore must be learned.

European languages are typically Accusative. The following chart shows this relationship.

Intransitive	Transitive	
Subject	Subject	Object

Figure 4: Accusative verbal systems

In an Ergative verbal system, the object pronominal marker of transitive verbs and the subject pronominal marker of intransitive verbs have the same form, while the subject pronominal marker of the transitive verbs have different forms. Languages which are Ergative include Basque and Dyirbal. The following chart shows this relationship.

Transitive	Intransitive
Subject Object	Subject

Figure 5: Ergative verbal systems

Dixon (1994) calls verbal systems like those found in Nakoda and other Siouan languages split-S systems and proposes that there is a division between Intransitive subjects, S_a and S_o , in the following way:

Transitive	Intransitive
Subject	S_a
Object	S_o

Figure 6: Dixon's Split-S verbal system

Therefore, for Dixon, the major division for Nakoda verbs is Transitive and Intransitive. but the Intransitive verbs now have two possible subject markers: one which will be the same as the transitive subject marker and one which will be the same as the transitive object marker.

Shaw (1976), on the other hand, prefers the Active/Stative designation in specific reference to Dakota. In this designation, verbs are first divided into Active and Stative. Active verbs are those which take objects, as in 'to hold' and 'to want' or those which indicate that something active is occurring, as in 'to walk' and 'to stand'. Stative verbs are those which do not require active participation, or are uncontrollable states. In Nakoda, these verbs are often translated with adjectives as in 'to be good' and 'to be red'. Therefore, it may be said that these verbs differ semantically rather than grammatically. Active verbs are divisible into transitive and intransitive while Stative verbs are always intransitive. The Subject pronominal markers for the Stative verbs are the same as the object pronominal markers of the Active Transitive verbs whereas the Subject pronominal markers for the Active Transitive verbs have a different form. The following chart shows this division:

Active		Stative
Intransitive	Transitive	
Subject	Subject	Object
		Subject

Figure 7: Active/Stative verbal systems

Therefore it can be seen that the Active/Stative system differs from Accusative systems in which the subject markers are the same for both intransitive and

transitive verbs and the object markers for the transitive verbs are different. It also differs from the Ergative systems in which the subject markers of intransitive verbs are the same as the object markers for transitive verbs.

The Active/Stative designation seems to be simpler than the designation offered by Dixon. While he does admit to the main difference between classes of verbs being semantic (calling them "active" and "neutral" - Dixon 1994:71) his division is still based on the transitive-intransitive distinction creating a double layer of subject/object cross-over as shown in the first chart of this section. An Active/Stative designation eliminates this double layer and creates a chart which appears more closely related to those describing the Ergative and Accusative systems. In the end, however, both Dixon's and Shaw's designations accurately describe the verbal system in Nakoda, and either would provide a useful basis for describing the Nakoda verbal system.

Active verbs

As we have seen above, active verbs may be Transitive or Intransitive. Subject markers will be shown first, then Subject markers with Object markers. Verbal pronominal affixes may be found as prefixes or as infixes in Nakoda. They occur as infixes in verbs which appear to have an old locative, instrumental or some other prefix which has, over time, become a part of the verb stem. For example:

wayaga	'to see'
wa-	originally possibly related to the 'indefinite object' prefix (see section 2.3.2.1.7)
mn-	'first person singular subject' (form for y-stem verbs)
wa-mn-aga	'I see'

There are two types of first person singular and second person (singular or plural) prefixes for Active verbs. The first person singular prefix *mn-* and the second person prefix *n-* occur on *y*-stem verbs. The *y-* then drops off the verb root when the prefix is attached. Elsewhere, the first person singular prefix is *wa-* and the second person prefix is *ya-*. This analysis follows Shaw (1976:15) who prefers this analysis to that of those researchers who have treated the *mn-* and *n-* morphemes as the morphophonemic outcome of underlying *wa-+y-* and *ya-+y-* sequences. As noted in a footnote below, this analysis does have some problems, but within the parameters of this thesis it would seem to be an acceptable solution.

Table 7: Table of Active verb subject markers in Nakoda					
Singular			Plural		
mn-/ <i>y-</i> wa-/ ⁵ e-w	1st person sg	'I'	<i>y-</i> ~ <i>y-g-</i>	1st person incl	'we'
			<i>y-</i> -bi ~ <i>y-g-</i> -bi	1st person excl	'we'
n-/ <i>y-</i> ya-/e-w	2nd person sg	'you'	n-/ <i>y-</i> , -bi ya-/e-w -bi	2nd person pl	'you'
Ø-	3rd person sg	'he/she/it'	Ø- -bi	3rd person pl	'they'

For example (not from the texts):

gikda 'to get up' (Active Intransitive)

<i>wa-gikda</i>	'I get up'	<i>y-gikda-bi</i>	'we get up'
<i>ya-gikda</i>	'you get up'	<i>ya-gikda-bi</i>	'you (pl) get up'
<i>Ø-gikda</i>	'he/she gets up'	<i>Ø-gikda-bi</i>	'they get up'

máni 'to walk' (Active Intransitive)

<i>ma<wa>ni</i>	'I walk'	<i>ma<y>ni-bi</i>	'we walk'
<i>ma<ya>ni</i>	'you walk'	<i>ma<ya>ni-bi</i>	'you(pl) walk'
<i>ma<Ø>ni</i>	'he/she walks'	<i>ma<Ø>ni-bi</i>	'they walk'

⁵ e-w stands for "elsewhere" in this chart.

čįga	'to want'	(Active Transitive)	
wa-čįga	'I want'	ų-čįga-bi	'we want'
ya-čįga	'you want'	ya-čįga-bi	'you(pl) want'
Ø-čįga	'he/she wants'	Ø-čįga-bi	'they want'
yuha	'to have'	(Active Transitive y-stem)	
mn-uha	'I have'	ų-yuha-bi	'we have'
n-uha	'you have'	n-uha-bi	'you(pl) have'
Ø-yuha	'he/she has'	Ø-yuha-bi	'they have'

The only examples of inclusive forms which have been elicited by this researcher are these two examples from text 1:

iyuta	'to try'
-kta	'unrealized'
-č	'declarative, assertive'
kn-	'dative'
ųg-	'first person inclusive plural'
ųg-i < kn > uta-kta-č	'we (the speaker and the hearer) will really try'

akdaga	'to run'
	(final <i>a</i> ablauted by the suffix <i>-kta</i> -see section 2.2.6)
-kta	'unrealized'
-č	'declarative, assertive'
ųg-	'first person inclusive plural'
ųg-akdagj-kta-č	'we (the speaker and the hearer) will really run'

Both of the above examples occur in a narrative situation making it impossible to determine if this is actually an inclusive or simply a dual pronominal form. It may also be that it is an inclusive dual. More research must be done on this matter to make any definite conclusions.

Table 8: Table of Active verb object markers in Nakoda					
Singular			Plural		
ma-	1st person sg	'me'	ɥ- ~ ɥg-	1st person incl	'us'
			ɥ- -bi ~ ɥg- -bi	1st person excl	'us'
ni-	2nd person sg	'you'	ni- -bi	2nd person pl	'you'
Ø-	3rd person sg	'him/her/it'	⁶ wiča-	3rd person pl	'them'

For example (not from texts):

kʔɥ		'to give'	(Active-Transitive)
či-čʔɥ	'I give it to you'	či-čʔɥ-bi	'I give it to you (pl)'
Ø-wa-kʔɥ	'I give it to him/her'	ɥ-wiča-wa-kʔɥ	'I give it to them'
		(unusual form for which there is no explanation)	
ma-ya-kʔɥ	'you give it to me'	ɥ-ya-kʔɥ-bi	'you give it to us'
Ø-ya-kʔɥ	'you give it to him/her'	wiča-ya-kʔɥ	'you give it to them'
ma-Ø-kʔɥ	'he/she gives it to me'	ɥ-Ø-kʔɥ-bi	'he/she gives it to us'
ni-Ø-kʔɥ	'he/she gives it to you'	ni-Ø-kʔɥ-bi	'he/she gives it to you(pl)'
Ø-Ø-kʔɥ	'he/she gives it to him/her'	'wiča-Ø-kʔɥ-bi	'he/she gives it to them'
ɥ-ni-kʔɥ-bi	'we give it to you'	wiča-ɥ-ni-kʔɥ-bi	'we give it to you(pl)'
		(unusual form for which there is no explanation)	
ɥ-Ø-kʔɥ-bi	'we give it to him/her'	wiča-ɥ-kʔɥ-bi	'we give it to them'
ma-ya-kʔɥ-bi	'you(pl) give it to me'	ɥ-ya-kʔɥ-bi	'you(pl) give it to us'
ya-Ø-kʔɥ-bi	'you(pl) give it to him/her'	wiča-ya-kʔɥ-bi	'you(pl) give it to them'
ma-Ø-kʔɥ-bi	'they give it to me'	ɥ-Ø-kʔɥ-bi	'they give it to us'
ni-Ø-kʔɥ-bi	'they give it to you'	ni-Ø-kʔɥ-bi	'they give it to you(pl)'
Ø-Ø-kʔɥ-bi	'they give it to him/her'	wiča-Ø-kʔɥ-bi	'they give it to them'

⁶ Note that this plural object marker refers only to animate objects.

⁷ The form for first person singular subject with second person singular object in Nakoda, *či*, consisting of the combination of the prefix *wa-* '1st person singular subject' and the prefix *ni-* '2nd person singular object', is an example of feature nesting in Nakoda where two portmanteau morphemes (*wa-* and *ni-*) have combined to form a "double portmanteau" morpheme (Jensen 1990:79). Therefore the form for 'I give it to you' is *čičʔɥ* (see section 2.2.5 for an explanation of the appearance of *čʔ*).

The following is an example of a *y*-stem verb with infixation:

wayaga	'to see'	(Active-Transitive)
wa-či-mn-aga ⁸	'I see you'	wa-ɥ-či-mn-aga 'I see you(pl)'
wa-mn-Ø-aga	'I see him/her'	wa-wiča-mn-aga 'I see them' (note the absence of <i>ɥ</i> in this form)
wa-ma-n-aga	'you(sg) see me'	wa-ɥ-n-aga-bi 'you(sg) see us'
wa-n-Ø-aga	'you(sg) see him/her'	wa-wiča-n-aga 'you(sg) see them' (note the absence of <i>ɥ</i> in this form)
wa-ma-Ø-yaga	'he/she sees me'	wa-ɥ-Ø-yaga-bi 'he/she sees us'
wa-ni-Ø-yaga	'he/she sees you'	wa-ni-Ø-yaga-bi 'he/she sees you(pl)'
wa-Ø-Ø-yaga	'he/she sees him/her'	wa-wiča-Ø-yaga 'he/she sees them'
wa-ɥ-ni-yaga-bi	'we see you'	wa-ɥ-ni-yaga-bi 'we see you(pl)'
wa-Ø-ɥ-yaga-bi	'we see him/her'	wa-wiča-ɥ-yaga-bi 'we see them'
wa-ma-n-aga-bi	'you(pl) see me'	wa-ɥ-n-aga-bi 'you(pl) see us'
wa-n-Ø-aga-bi	'you(pl) see him/her'	wa-wiča-n-aga-bi 'you(pl) see them'
wa-ma-Ø-yaga-bi	'they see me'	wa-ɥ-Ø-yaga-bi 'they see us'
wa-ni-Ø-yaga-bi	'they see you'	wa-ni-Ø-yaga-bi 'they see you(pl)'
wa-Ø-yaga-bi	'they see him/her'	wa-wiča-Ø-yaga-bi 'they see them'

The order of pronominal prefixes on Active-Transitive verbs will not be discussed at length here. Shaw (1976) suggests the following as the order of pronominal prefixes for Active-Transitive verbs:

⁸ In this form, the portmanteau morpheme appears with the first person singular subject marker for *y*-stem verbs (*mn*-). This indicates one of two things: either the concept of separate pronominal forms for *y*-stem verbs as advocated by Shaw needs to be reconsidered (see above) or we have a case where the language's stage of development requires both the portmanteau morpheme and the first person singular subject form in *y*-stem verbs in this conjugation. This matter requires further study.

Table 9: Order of pronominal prefixes in Nakoda				
wiča-(3obj pl)	ų- – ųg-(1objsbj pl)	ni- (2obj pl) či- (1sub2obj sg)	ma- (1obj sg)	ya- (2sbj sg)
			wa- (1sbj sg)	

A more complete outline is as follows:

Table 10: Order of pronominal prefixes in Nakoda (more complete)								
Subject								
		1	2	21	3	1p	2p	3p
O b j e c t	1	--	ma-ya-	--	ma-Ø-	--	ma-ya- -bi	
	2	či-	--	--	ni-Ø-	ų-ni- -bi	--	ni-Ø- -bi
	21	--	--	--	?	--	--	?
	3	Ø-wa-	Ø-ya-	?	Ø-Ø-	ų-Ø- -bi	Ø-ya- -bi	Ø-Ø- -bi
	1p	--	Ø-ya- -bi	--	ų-Ø- -bi	--	--	ų-Ø- -bi
	2p	či- -bi	--	--	ni-Ø- -bi	wiča-ų-ni- -bi	--	ni-Ø- -bi
	3p	ų-wiča-wa-	wiča-ya-		wiča-Ø-	wiča-ų-Ø- -bi	wiča-ya- -bi	wiča-Ø- -bi

In the above chart, all cases with 1p are inclusive, due to lack of fieldwork evidence corroborating the existence of the first person inclusive. Areas marked "--" are excluded combinations because of disjoint reference, "which prevents two noun phrases in the same simplex clause from referring to the same individual, except with explicit reflexives or certain idiomatic expressions" (Jensen 1990:52). Note that in all cases where there are non-zero prefixes, the order is always object-subject, except for 1p(subject)-2(object). Where there is a zero prefix, it has been placed before or after the other prefix depending on whether it acts as a subject or object. This convention will be followed throughout this thesis. One last note is the formal identity of 3-1p ~ 1p-3 ~ 3p-1p all of which are *ų-Ø- -bi* and of 3-2p ~ 3p-2p ~ 3p-2s all of which are *ni-Ø- -bi*.

Stative verbs

The subject pronominal markers of stative verbs have the same forms as the object markers for the Active-Transitive verbs.

Table 11: Table of Stative verb subject markers in Nakoda					
Singular			Plural		
ma- ~ m- ⁹	1st person sg	'I'	ȳ- ~ ȳg-	1st person incl	'we'
			ȳ- -bi ~ ȳg- -bi	1st person excl	'we'
ni- ~ n-	2nd person sg	'you'	ni- -bi ~ n- -bi	2nd person pl	'you'
Ø-	3rd person sg	'he/she/it'	Ø- -bi	3rd person pl	'they'

For example (not from the texts):

yazą 'to be sick'

ma-yazą	'I am sick'	ȳ-yazą-bi	'we are sick'
ni-yazą	'you are sick'	ni-yazą-bi	'you(pl) are sick'
Ø-yazą	'he/she is sick'	Ø-yazą-bi	'they are sick'

saba 'to be black'

ma-saba	'I am black'	ȳ-saba-bi	'we are black'
ni-saba	'you are black'	ni-saba-bi	'you(pl) are black'
Ø-saba	'he/she is black'	Ø-saba-bi	'they are black'

ištima 'to sleep'

m-ištima	'I sleep'	ȳg-ištima-bi	'we sleep'
n-ištima	'you sleep'	n-ištima-bi	'you(pl) sleep'
Ø-ištima	'he/she sleeps'	Ø-ištima-bi	'they sleep'

⁹ This variation occurs before vowels, that is ma- ⇒ m- /_V.

2.3.2.2 Verbal derivation

Very few examples of verbal derivations have been elicited from the texts in this thesis. The main derivational forms which will be discussed are the instrumental and locative prefixes which generally change the word class and the meaning of the root to which they attach, making them clearly derivational. Compounding will also be discussed briefly

2.3.2.2.1 Compounding

Like nouns, verbs can also be formed by compounding. Combinations can involve a verb plus a noun or a verb plus another verb which can form active or stative verbs. For example:

mini	'water' (noun)
tʔa	'to die' (stative verb)
mini-tʔa	'to be thirsty' (stative verb) (text 1)
mąki	'ground' (noun)
yusnoha	'to pull, drag' (active verb)
mąki-yusnoha	'to drag along the ground' (active verb) (text 1)
hi	'to arrive coming' (active verb)
ya	'to be going' (active verb reduplicated in the final form - see section 2.4.2)
hi-ya-ya	'to pass by going' (active verb) (text 1)

Note that in the second example, the verb form is translated with a prepositional phrase in English.

2.3.2.2.2 Instrumental prefixes

According to Boas and Deloria, there are several prefixes which attach themselves to verbs. Many of these fit into the category of instrumental prefixes. The following are some examples from the texts and field work sessions which show instrumental prefixes:

ba-	'to push; by hand'
snoha	'to crawl'
ba-snoha	'to push'
ga-	'striking with something'
ksa	'to cut'
ga-ksa	'to chop' (text 6)
ma-	'with a cutting instrument'
ksa	'to cut'
ma-ksa	'to cut with scissors'
na-	'with the feet'
ksa	'to cut'
na-ksa	'to break with foot'
wo-	'by pounding, shooting'
ksa	'to cut'
wo-ksa	'to break by pounding'
ya-	'with the mouth'
ksa	'to cut'
ya-ksa	'to bite off'

yu-	'to pull; by hand'
snoha	'to crawl'
yu-snoha	'to pull' (text 1)

The instrumental prefixes, as can be seen in the above examples, are added to Active verb stems to specify the way an action takes place and may also be added to intransitive verbs (active or stative) to make them transitive or causative. For example:

yu-	instrumental prefix 'to pull, by hand'
mima	'to be round' (stative verb)
yą	'causative??'
yu-mima-ma-ya	'rolled balls; caused to be round'
ga-	instrumental prefix 'striking with something'
pesto	'to be sharp'
Ø-	'third person singular subject'
-bi	'plural'
Ø-ga-pesto-bi	'they sharpen, make sharp, by striking with something'

Note that, as shown in the above example, the zero third person affixes precede the instrumentals *yu-*, *ya-* and *ga-*, but follow *na-* and *ba-*.

2.3.2.2.3 Locative prefixes

Some other prefixes act as locatives. For example:

a-	'on'
mayąžu	'to rain'
a-mayažu	'to rain on'

e-	'at some place, down'
knaga	'to put'
é-knaga	'to put down' (text 1)

o-	'within something'
ti	'to live'
wa	??
o-wa-ti	'in a house'

These prefixes, like the instrumentals, appear to attach to Active verb stems and serve to add the element of where an action occurs. The zero third person affixes always follow the locative prefixes.

The locative *o-* often changes a verbal form to a nominal form. For example:

o-	'locative'
wašte	'to be good'
o-wašte	'ease'

2.3.2.2.4 The instrumental nominalizer *i-*

There is a prefix *i-* in Nakoda which, when prefixed to active verbs, can form the nouns of the instrument; that is, the noun which is formed is the instrument which performs the action described by the verb. Some examples are:

i-	'instrumental nominalizer'
mąka	'earth'
yupda	'to plow'
i-mąka-yupda	'plow' (text 5)

i-	'instrumental nominalizer'
wa	'indefinite object'
tokšu	'to carry'
i-wa-tokšu	'truck' (text 5)
mąka	'earth'
o-	locative 'within something'
i-	'instrumental nominalizer'
yuk?eya	'to scratch, scrape'
mąk-o-i-yuk?eya	'cultivator' (text 5)

Note that in the above example, the instrumental nominalizer *i-* is attached after the nominal and before the verbal form.

2.4 Reduplication

Reduplication may be applied to nominal or verbal roots; therefore it has been presented in a separate section in this thesis. Nominal reduplication usually expresses some sort of plurality, including an actual increase in number or the idea of a collection of many things. Similarly, verbal reduplication generally marks intensification or repetitiveness of an action or it marks a distributive action. The process of reduplication in Nakoda generally involves the replication of the final syllable of a form (but not necessarily the final syllable, as in a compound) and all its elements including consonant clusters if one is present (see section 2.1.1.2 for syllable structure).

2.4.1 Nominal reduplication

The following are examples of reduplication as applied to nominal roots:

čapa	'cherries'
-su	'seeds' reduplicated to susu 'lots of seeds'
-na	'diminutive'
čapa-su-su-na	'pepper' ('lots of little cherry seeds') (text 3)
waxbe	'leaves, tea'
waxbe-xbe	'lots of leaves' (text 3)
pde	'lake'
ya	'it is spread out in all directions'
na	'diminutive'
pde-pde-ya-na	'sloughs; lots of little lakes spread out all over' (text 1)
toka	'another'
toka-ka	'lots of different things' (text 3)
yu-	instrumental prefix 'by hand'
mima	'to be round'
-ya	(causative??)
yu-mima-ma-ya	'rolled balls (round things rolled by hand)' (text 3)
tjpsi	'turnips'
ša	'to be red'
tjpsi-ša-ša	'beets' (text 3)

The un-reduplicated form *tjpsi-ša* was not elicited, so this may be an example of lexical use of reduplication. This matter must be studied further.

čą	'wood'
ga-	instrumental 'to strike something'
ksa	'to cut'
čą-ga-ksa-ksa	'chopped wood' (text 6)

This form is similar to the form *ga-ksa-ksa* discussed in section 2.4.2. In this case, however, it appears to be nominal reduplication because the whole form is semantically, a plural nominal. The example in section 2.4.2, on the other hand, shows intensification of an action first.

2.4.2 Verbal reduplication

The following are examples of reduplication as applied to verbal roots:

As intensification or repetitiveness:

ma-ḥaska-ska	'I have very long (legs)' ḥaska 'to be long' (text 1) ma- 'first person singular subject' (reduplication of <i>-ska</i> indicating the extreme length of the legs)
Ø- yučapa Ø-yučam-čam	'third person singular subject' 'to trot' 'he trotted a lot' (text 1) (nasalization of the final consonant - see section 2.2.3)
Ø- hi ya Ø-hi-ya-ya	'third person singular subject' 'to arrive coming' 'to be going' 'he went (quickly)' (text 1)

teha	'to be long, far-unrealized, past'
ši	'negative'
teha-ši-ši	'really not very long' (text 4)
tehan	'to be far, long-unrealized, future'
tehan-han	'very far' (text 4)
pde	'to be short'
pde-pde	'to be very short'
	From text 4 as part of the nominal compound
	<i>pde-pde-žena</i> 'those short things'
	<i>že-</i> demonstrative 'the, that'
	<i>-na</i> demonstrative 'plural' - see section 2.6.
ga-	instrumental 'striking with something'
ksa	'to cut'
ga-ksa-ksa	'to cut by striking over and over'
	This form is from text 5 as part of the nominal compound <i>i-maka-ga-ksa-ksa</i> 'cutting disk' (<i>i-</i> 'nominalizing prefix' <i>maka</i> 'earth'). Unlike the example <i>ča-ga-ksa-ksa</i> presented in section 2.4.1, this form appears, based on the meaning of the nominal to first reduplicate the verb before being nominalized.

2.5 Numerals

Shaw treats numerals in Dakota as Stative verbs (see section 2.3.2.1.8). One numeral acts as a demonstrative and that is the form *wąži* 'one, a' which is an alternate form of the Stative *wąča* 'to be one'. Because they are verbs, numerals appear at the end of a phrase as part of the SOV order of Nakoda sentences (see section 2.7). For example:

šúga núba 'two dogs'

If there is an active verb in the same phrase with the numeral, the numeral appears after the noun it modifies. For example:

taspa zaptą wamnaga 'I see five apples'

Some examples of numerals used in the texts are:

šųgatąga ne dom	'these four horses' (text 5)
ome nųba	'two different kinds' (text 2)
čą nų	'two (pieces of) wood' (text 4)

The following is a list of numerals in Nakoda:

wąča/wąži	'one'
nųba-num- nų	'two' (see section 2.2.3 for nasalization)
yamni	'three'
doba-dom	'four' (see section 2.2.3 for nasalization)
zaptą	'five'
šakpe	'six'
šagowi	'seven'
šaknoxa	'eight'
napčiwąka	'nine'
wikčemna	'ten'
akewaži	'eleven'
akenųba	'twelve'
etc.	
wikčemnanųba	'twenty'
wikčemnanųba sam wąži	'twenty-one'
etc.	
wikčemnayamni	'thirty'
etc.	
obąwiye	'one hundred'
obąwiyenųba	'two hundred'
etc.	

2.6 Pronouns and adverbials

The two classes of pronouns which will be discussed in this thesis are the demonstrative pronouns and the indefinite/interrogative pronouns. These are closely related to adverbial forms because pronouns may be changed to adverbials by certain suffixes which will be discussed in this section.

2.6.1 Demonstrative pronouns

The main demonstrative pronouns (called demonstratives in this thesis) are listed below:

že	'the, that (close by)'
ne	'this'
wąži	'one/a'
	(defined as a determiner by Rood and Taylor 1996:455)
ga	'that (there; further away)'

There are also a number of suffixes which may be attached to these demonstrative pronouns which generally serve to change the pronouns into adverbials.

The suffix *-na* is added to demonstratives in order to pluralize them (Boas and Deloria 1941:120, Rood and Taylor 1996:456). For example:

že-na	'those near me'
ne-na	'these at a distance'

Demonstratives may also be combined with referential markers such as *-ki* 'at a certain place' (Boas and Deloria, 1941:124), and *-n* 'at, always a place nearby, not requiring the covering of a distance to be reached' (Boas and Deloria, 1941:119) both of which place the thing being referred to in a general location with reference to the speaker. For example:

žé-či	'that, at a place in reference to the speaker' (text 1) (palatalized form of <i>-ki</i> 'at a certain place' - see section 2.2.5)
gá-ki	'that there, at a place in reference to the speaker' (text 1)
že-n	'that one near me' (<i>-n</i> 'at, always at a place nearby')
ne-n	'this one near me' (<i>-n</i> 'at, always at a place nearby')

They may also be combined with the suffix *-ken* which is most probably a suffix meaning 'accordingly, properly' (Boas and Deloria 1941:122) which combines regularly with demonstratives and indefinite pronouns. This form is palatalized to *-čēn* when it follows an *i* or *e* (see section 2.2.5). For example:

žé-čen	'the-accordingly' (defined by Mr. Walker as 'the, and so')
gá-ken	'that-accordingly' (also defined by Mr. Walker as 'and so')

The suffix *-ča*, when affixed to the demonstratives, seems to denote a certain quality (Boas and Deloria 1941:121). For example:

že-ča	'that kind, the kind like that one'
né-ča	'this kind, the kind like this one' (text 2)

The form *hə* may follow demonstratives to form adverbs expressing continued time (Boas and Deloria 1941:60), or perhaps in reference to a realized event (Rood and Taylor 1996:451). For example:

že	'that, the'
hą	'continued time'
žehą	'that in time, then (realized, past)' defined by Mr. Walker as 'in those times'

which may be, in turn, combined with the suffix *-n* 'at, always a place nearby, not requiring the covering of a distance to be reached', which gives it the meaning of 'continued time at, when/then' or perhaps 'in reference to an unrealized event' (Rood and Taylor 1996:451), as follows:

že	'that, the'
hą	'continued time'
-n	'at, always a place nearby'
žehąn	'then, (unrealized, future)'

This form may also occur in conjunction with the adverbial suffix *dą* 'from, out of (without emphasis on motion)' (Boas and Deloria 1941:119)

že	'that, the'
hą	'continued time'
dą	'from, out of'
žedąhą	'from out of those times, from then on'

A final suffix which must be discussed is the suffix *-x*. This suffix appears to be related to the Stoney intensifying suffix *-x* which may, in some cases, be translated as 'much, many'. For the purposes of this thesis, it will simply be called the 'intensifying' suffix. This suffix may be attached to pronominal and adverbial forms. For example:

wąži	'one'
-x	'intensifying' suffix
wąži-x	'one of them' (text 1)

do	'something, what'
na	'plural'
-x	'intensifying' suffix
dó-na-x	'several times' (text 1)

dagu	'what'
-x	'intensifying' suffix
dagu-x	'whatever; what more' (text 2)

nína	'very'
-x	'intensifying' suffix
nína-x	'very much' (text 2)

This suffix may also appear on verbal roots as in the following example:

teyi	'to be difficult'
-šj	'negative'
-x	'intensifying' suffix
teyi-šj-ya-x	'it is not very difficult'

2.6.2 Interrogative and indefinite pronouns

The interrogative/indefinite pronouns:

do	'what'
duwe	'who'
dágu	'what'
dukde	'which one'

may also be combined with the suffixes listed in section 2.6.1. For example:

do	'something, what'
-ken	'accordingly, properly'
dóken	'how' (text 1)

do	'something, what'
-ki	'at a certain place in reference to the speaker'
dóki	'something at some place' (text 1)

do	'something, what'
-na	'plural'
dóna	'how many' (text 1)

do	'something, what'
hə	'continued time'
dohə	'what in time, when (in reference to a realized event??)'

do	'something, what'
hə	'continued time'
-n	'at, always a place nearby'
dohən	'when (in reference to an unrealized event??)'

dukde	'which one'
-n	'at, always a place nearby'
dukden	'where'

Also, the form *-ke* 'thus, therefore' (Boas and Deloria 1941:122) may be attached to pronouns although no examples of this combining with demonstratives have been noted from the texts. For example:

do	'something, what'
-ke	'thus'
doke	'what-thus, therefore' (text 1)

Finally, there is a form which uses the word *čen* 'because' as a suffix:

dagu	'what'
čen	'because'
dagučen	'why'

2.7 Syntax

Nakoda syntax will not be discussed at length here except with reference to general word order of different types of sentences and clauses.

2.7.1 Main clause: word order

Word order in Nakoda is SOV. This differs from the pronominal order within verb forms, that order being generally OSV (see section 2.3.2.1.8). For example:

sukjuk?ana	'coyote'
kapa iyayj-hta	'went to pass'
ikusána	'mink'
ne	'this'

sukjuk?ana ne ikusána kapa iyayj-hta
'The coyote passed the mink' (text 1)

The interjections 'yes' (*hą*) and 'no' (*hiya*) will occur at the beginning of any statement to which they refer, as in:

hą	'yes'
nažibi	'they are standing'

hą, nažibi
'Yes they are standing.' (not from the texts)

If there is a nominal modifier, for example, a partitive, an article or a numeral, it occurs immediately after the noun as in:

asąbi	'milk'
etaha	'some'
makʔu	'give me'

asąbi etaha makʔu
'Give me some milk' (not from the texts)

The following two examples are more complicated sentences taken from the texts. In the first example the first word is what might be referred to as the central noun, the travois, which is followed by a demonstrative. The second noun is the direct object of the verb which is modified by a numeral. The third noun is the object of the form which follows it. The verb appears at the end of the sentence and contains the pronominal subject (which is here the zero third person singular subject with the plural suffix).

čuwičʔiba	'travois'
ne	'this'
čą	'wood'
nų	'two'
šųgatąga	'horse'
ne	'this'
anųk	'on each side'
paxdabi	'they tied' (text 4)

čuwičʔiba ne čą nų šųgatąga ne anųk paxdabi
'They tied two poles on each side of the horse for the travois.'

The following sentence shows how a stative verb is used as a modifier. The time frame, 'in the summer', is given first followed by the only noun in the sentence which is modified by a stative verb. It is followed by an adverbial expression of time which modifies the stative verb and then by an adverbial of place which modifies the main verb following it. The main verb is again at the end of the sentence.

mnogedu	'summer'
ti	'house'
okada	'it is hot'
h̄ada	'when'
tagan	'outside'
waspaṃabi	'they cook' (text 6)

mnogedu ti okada h̄ada tagan waspaṃabi
 'In the summer, when the house is hot, they cook outside.'

As seen in the above example, subordinate conjunctions in Nakoda end their clauses (here, *mnogedu ti okada h̄ada* 'in the summer, when the house is hot' where *h̄ada* 'when' is the subordinating conjunction ending the subordinate clause). This means that the main clause of a complex sentence is the last clause of the sentence (here, *tagan waspaṃabi* 'they cook outside'). This is typical of verb-final languages.

Finally, sentences in which coordinated clauses are linked by correlatives, the first of which begins the first clause, the second the second, are very common in verb-final languages. For example:

dohān	'become' (unrealized)
texbi	'leather'
šten	'when'
žedāhā	from then on'
wiyūbi	'they make use of'

dohān texbi šten žedāhā wiyūbi

'When it becomes/turns into leather, from then on they will make use of it'

where *dohān* 'become' is the first correlative beginning the first clause (combining with *šten* 'when' to become 'when (in the future) it becomes....') and *žedāhā* 'from then on' is the second correlative beginning the second clause.

2.7.2 Interrogative sentences

There are two main types of interrogative sentences in Nakoda: those which contain with a question word and those which rely on intonation. In the texts within this paper there are limited examples of intonation-based interrogative sentences so examples have been drawn from other fieldwork sessions.

Question-word sentences in Nakoda often place the question word at the beginning of the sentence. For example:

dona	'how many'
wanaga	'you see'

dona wanaga

'How many do you see?' (not from the texts)

The next example shows the use of the question particle *he* which appears in formal speech and always as the final element in an interrogative sentence.

dóken	'how'
ne	'this'
nuza	'you catch'
he	question particle

dóken ne nuza he?
'How did you catch it?' (text 1)


dágučen	'why'
ne	'this'
nína	'very'
iyaxa	'you laugh'
he	question particle

dágučen ne nína iyaxa he
'Why are you laughing (about it) so hard?' (text 1)

In all of the above examples, the questions words shown come first in the sentence due to principles of topicalization (that is, each question word relates directly to the subject). Until examples of question words relating to objects are gathered, the topic of word order in interrogative sentences must remain open for further research.

Interrogative sentences without question words generally rely on intonation being raised on the last two syllables. For example:


A statement is made with falling intonation as in:

 naži bi 'they are standing'

ni ku ši 'your grandmother'

ga ya 'she made, makes'

wa x be 'tea'


ni ku ši wa x be ga ya
'Your grandmother made/makes tea.'

Whereas a question is made with rising intonation as in:

 naži bi 'Are they standing?' (not from the texts)

ni ku ši 'your grandmother'

ga ya 'she made, makes'

wa x be 'tea'


ni ku ši wa x be ga ya
'Did your grandmother make tea?' (not from the texts)

3. TEXTS

The following six texts were elicited from Mr. Herb Walker between the months of April and July of 1996. All six texts are presented in a line-by-line analysis with a literal translation, a running translation into English and in Nakoda using Mr. Walker's orthography. The first two texts, "Mink and Coyote" and "Moccasins" are also presented with a morpheme-by-morpheme analysis with notes on each form.

The following is a list of abbreviations and boundary indicators used in the text analyses:

- 1 = First Person
- 2 = Second Person
- 3 = Third Person
- BEN = Benefactive
- CAUS = Causative Suffix
- DAT = Dative
- DECL = Declarative/Assertive Suffix
- DEM = Demonstrative
- IN = Instrumental Prefix
- INOM = Instrumental Nominalizing Prefix
- INTEN = Intensifying Suffix
- IO = Indefinite Object Prefix
- LOC = Locative Prefix
- NEG = Negative Suffix
- NOM = Nominalizer (usually ablaut)
- O = Object
- PART = Particle
- pl = Plural
- POSSREFL = Possessive reflexive
- PRE = Prefix (unknown)
- RECIPREFL = Reciprocal reflexive
- REDUP = Reduplication
- REFL = Reflexive
- s = Singular

S=Subject

UN='Unrealized'

-=a morpheme boundary

< > =an infixed morpheme

()=translation of the whole form if not equal to the sum of the parts

{ }=morphemic ablaut (usually nominalization)

??=translation unknown or tentative

Primary stress is noted (by a ' mark) only when irregular (see section 2.1.4). Secondary stress is explained in the morpheme-by-morpheme analyses when applicable. When a verb form contains a known prefix (locative, instrumental or indefinite object) this is noted with a morpheme break symbol (-). When the exact nature of the prefix is not known, the verb form is taken as including the prefix and the infixed morpheme symbols (< >) are used.

3.1 Mink and Coyote

This text is a traditional Plains Indian story about the characters of Mink and Coyote.

3.1.1 Transcription and literal translation

In this section, forms which are easily broken down into their morphemes are broken up with dashes and other forms are simply given a translation. Section 3.1.2 provides a more detailed analysis of each word. Note that because the third person singular morpheme (subject or object) is a zero form (see section 2.3.2.1.8) it is difficult to determine exactly where it is placed in a verb form if the verb is not known to be a separable prefix verb. This issue will need to be studied further at a future date.

- (1) o-wo <kn> ag{e} wąži
LOC-to tell a story <POSSREFL??>{NOM} one, a (DEM)

že-Ø-ya-bi no.
the, that-3sS-to say-pl PART

- (2) ikusá-na ne pde-pde-yá-na
mink-DIM this lake-REDUP-to be spread out-DIM

do-na en
something, what-pl in, around

o- pi <Ø-ič?i> ya-č.
LOC-to be contained <3sS-REFL>-??

- (3) ąb-edu wąži
to dawn-in, around(day) one, a (DEM)

en
in, around

Ø-Ø-akipa.
3sO-3sS-to meet

- | | |
|-------------|--------|
| ha | koná |
| greetings?? | friend |

wąži
one, a (DEM)

Ø-kn-apa-ya-ŷ.
3sS-POSSREFL-to carry-2sS??-??

- no.
PART

- ne n-uzā he.
this 2sS-to catch PART

- že-Ø-ya.
the, that-3sS-to say

- čen
because

e<Ø-wa>kneya.
to catch up to<3sO-1sS>

- | | |
|----------|------|
| ikusá-na | ne |
| mink-DIM | this |

že-Ø-ya.
the, that-3sS-to say

- (10) m-iš iknuḥḥana wāži-x Ø-mn-ukabi-ḱta-č.
me-also sometime one-INTEN 3sO-1sS-to have-UN-DECL

- (11) gá-ken šúk-jukʔa-na
that there-accordingly (and so) dog-??-DIM (coyote)

i < Ø > xa-bi noḥs ko a < Ø > pḍayḍ.
to laugh < 3sS > -pl so much and, too?? to fall/roll over < 3sS >

- (12) ikusá-na ne šúk-jukʔa-na ne
mink-DIM this dog-??-DIM (coyote) this

že i < Ø > yḥya.
the, that 3sS-to ask

- (13) dágu-čen ne nína i < ya > xa he.
what-because?? this very to laugh < 2sS > PART

- (14) šúk-jukʔa-na ne že-Ø-ya.
dog-??-DIM (coyote) this the, that-3sS-to say

ne ni-ye mḱki-Ø-yu-snoha-ya-ḥ.
this your-belly ground-3sS-IN-to drag-2sS-??

- (15) dó-ken wāži-x
something, what-accordingly (how) one-INTEN

n-uka-bi-ḱta he.
2sS-to catch-pl-UN PART

- (16) gá-ken ikusá-na ne
that there-accordingly (and so) mink-DIM this
- šyk-jukʔa-na ne že < Ø-Ø-jī > ya.
dog-??-DIM (coyote) this the, that < 3sO-3sS-DAT > to say
- (17) že-ne wiĵa < ya > ka-č Ø-ákɖaga-bi
the, that-this (it is) to tell the truth < 2sS > -DECL 3sS-to run-pl
- nína ni-nuzahą.
very 2sS-to be fast
- (18) m-iš ne mini en Ø-nuwaḡ-bi
me-also this water in 3sS-to swim-pl
- wa-mn-upi-č Ø-eya.
IO-1sS-to be good at-DECL 3sS-to say
- (19) ne dágu wāži i < mn > ukjă.
this what one, a (DEM) to think < 1sS >
- (20) ne pde-pde-yá-na ne a-okšă
this lake-REDUP-to be spread out-DIM this LOC??-around
- úg-akdagj-kta-č.
1pS-to run-UN-DECL
- (21) duwe togahe-ya ne-n
who first-?? this-at, always a place nearby (here)
- Ø-kni šten maštĵja-tăga ne
3sS-to come back when rabbit-large (jackrabbit) this

é < Ø-Ø-i > knaga-hta-č.
to be the taker of < 3sO-3sS-?? > -UN-DECL

(22) gá-ken šųk-júkʔa-na
that there-accordingly (and so) dog-??-DIM (coyote)

(23) že ĩš idux ohi <Ø-wa> i-kt-a-č
 the, that also no doubt, anyway to win <3sO-1sS> -UN-DECL

(24) gá-ken ikusá-na ne že-Ø-ya
that there-accordingly (and so) mink-DIM this the, that-3sS-to say

ɥg-i <kn> uta-hta-č	Ø-eya.
1pS-to try <REFL> -UN-DECL	3sS-to say

hon 0-eya.
ok 3sS-to say

85

- | | | | | | | | |
|------|---|---|----------------------------------|---------------|----------|------------------------|----------|
| | a-okša
LOC??-around | | Ø-ákdaga
3sS-to run | | | | |
| (28) | ikusá-na
mink-DIM | ne
this | jš
also | mini
water | en
in | mini
water | en
in |
| | | | | | | Ø-nuwa.
3sS-to swim | |
| (29) | šuk-juk?a-na
dog-??-DIM (coyote) | ne
this | Ø-yučam-čam
3sS-to trot-REDUP | | | | |
| | du-gen
temporal/spatial-accordingly (kind of) | | Ø-ákdaga.
3sS-to run | | | | |
| (30) | gá-ken
that there-accordingly (and so) | | | | | | |
| | do-hą-du-xdjya
something, what-continued time-temporal/spatial-more (after a certain time) | | | | | | |
| | gayeja
?? | | | | | | |
| | togadam
up ahead (in front) | é-Ø-duwa
LOC-3sS-to look | gayeja
?? | | | | |
| (31) | gá-ki
that at a distance-at a certain place (there) | togadam
up ahead | ikusá-na
mink-DIM | | | | |
| | wana
already, now, next | Ø-hi-ya-ya.
3sS-to arrive coming-to be going-REDUP | | | | | |
| (32) | gá-ken
that there-accordingly (and so) | šuk-juk?a-na
dog-??-DIM (coyote) | ne
this | | | | |

ikusá-na Ø-kapa Ø-i-ya-yj-hta
 mink-DIM 3sS-to pass 3sS-to arrive going-to go-REDUP-UN

čen
 because

- (33) kape-Ø-ya Ø-ákdaga.
 to speed up-3sS-CAUS 3sS-to run

- (34) dó-na-x žéč-Ø-ų. duka
 something, what-pl-INTEN (several times) the, that-3sS-to do but

ikusá-na ne idux togadam wa < Ø-Ø > yaga.
 mink-DIM this always in front to see < 3sO-3sS >

- (35) ahagix é-Ø-dųwų ga ikusá-na ahekdapana
 once more LOC-3sS-to look that there mink-DIM behind

Ø-ų.
 3sS-to be

- (36) gá-ken šųk-ųuk?a-na ne hakešų
 that there-accordingly (and so) dog-??-DIM (coyote) this again

o-Ø-wašte-nagen Ø-ákdaga.
 LOC-3sS-to be good-kind of like that 3sS-to run

- (37) maštųja-tųga že
 rabbit-large (jackrabbit) the, that

awačųj-Ø-Ø-ya-gen.
 to think about-3sO-3sS-CAUS-??

- (44) du-gen wo < Ø > da-bi.
temporal/spatial-accordingly (leisurely) to eat < 3sS > -pl
- (45) gá-ken šųk-júk?a-na ne
that there-accordingly (and so) dog-??-DIM (coyote) this
- že-Ø-ya ha kona m-iš edahą
the, that-3sS-to say and, too, also friend me-also some
- ma-kʔų-bo Ø-eya.
2sO-to give-?? 3sS-to say
- (46) gá-ken ikusá-na ne
that there-accordingly (and so) mink-DIM this
- wana í-Ø-pi-čen
already, now, next to be full < 3sS > -because
- (47) woyapde že-na kun
what was left the, that-pl (those near me) down
- Ø-Ø-yušna.
3sS-3sO-to drop
- (48) gá-ken šųk-júk?a-na ne jš
that there-accordingly (and so) dog-??-DIM (coyote) this also
- i-Ø-yogibi-ya wó < Ø > da.
to be happy-3sS-?? to eat < 3sS >
- (49) žéc-Ø-ų hjk iyuhana nína
the, that-3sS-to do then all of them very

i<Ø-gi> xa-bi

to laugh <3sS-??> -pl

no.

PART

3.1.2 Morpheme-by-morpheme analysis

- (1a) *o-wo<kn>ag{e}* 'story': Compound noun. From *woknaga* 'to tell a story', *o-* is a locative prefix (see section 2.3.2.2.3) which does not have a specific meaning in this instance but serves to change a verb to a noun. The ablauting of the final *-a* to *-e* which occurs when a verb becomes a noun (see section 2.3.1.2.2) is also seen here. The verb *woknaga* itself may be broken down into separate elements. According to Shaw (1976:307), the root verb *isyaga* (*yaka* in Dakota) which normally takes the locative prefix *o-* to become *o-yaga* 'to tell, relate'. Here, the prefix *wo-* has a meaning undetermined at this time. It is also possible that this form also has the 'possessive reflexive' affix, which here takes the form *kn* with a *y*-stem verb (see section 2.3.2.1.5.1). The meanings of all the individual elements is not, however, clear at this time.
- (1b) *wąži* 'one, a': Demonstrative. This is an alternate form of the number 'one' (*wąča* -see section 2.5) which has a meaning similar to the English indefinite article when placed next to a noun (Boas and Deloria 1941:113).
- (1c) *že-Ø-ya-bi* 'they say': Active Transitive verb *žeya* with the third person singular subject marker (Ø) and the plural suffix *-bi*. There are many forms of the verb 'to say' (Boas and Deloria 1941:101). The basic form is *eya* 'to say'. Here it is preceded by an abbreviated form of the demonstrative *že* 'the, that' creating the more specific meaning of 'to say that' (Shaw 1976:235).
- (1d) *no*: A particle used at the end of a declarative sentence by male speakers (Boas and Deloria 1941:110).

- (2a) *ikusá-na* 'mink': Noun. This noun appears to contain the diminutive marker *-na*, and *ikusa*, 'mink'. The stress appears to fall on the third syllable with a lighter, secondary, stress on the first syllable. The reason for this stress pattern is unknown, but may be connected to the initial *i* which may date back to a prefix form which does not attract the stress. If this is the case, the root would have originally been of the form *kusá* with the stress falling regularly on the second syllable.
- (2b) *ne* 'this': Demonstrative. This form is more specific than the demonstrative *wąži* (see (1b)).
- (2c) *pde-pde-yá-na* 'slough': A possible breakdown is as follows: a noun showing reduplication (see section 2.4.1) with the word *pde* which is probably cognate with Lakota and Dakota *ble* 'lake', the verb *ya* (Boas and Deloria 1941:66) 'it is spread out in all directions' and the diminutive *na*. The reduplication may indicate plurality, although the next word *dona* already indicates this through its meaning of 'several'. It may also mean 'distributed' in the sense of 'all over'. The word as a whole, then, may be seen as *pde-pde-yá-na* which comes to mean 'little lakes spread out in all directions all over'. The stress in this form falls on the third syllable, with a lighter, secondary, stress on the first syllable. This may be due to the reduplication of the nominal root. If so, the form, before reduplication, would be *pdeyána* with the stress falling on the second syllable as it should.
- (2d) *dona* 'several': An adverb compound made up of the indefinite pronoun *do* and the plural suffix *-na* (see section 2.6.2).

(2e) *en* 'in, around': Postposition. This form is a shortened form of the suffix *-edu* (see (3a)).

(2f) *o-pi<∅-ičʔi>ya-č* 'he is contained within a restricted area': This form may be translated as a noun but is from a verb form and is broken up as follows: *ičʔi* is the reflexive affix (see section 2.3.2.1.5.1) which is here infix, the suffix *-č* may be from the suffix *-ča* as discussed by Boas and Deloria (1941:54), which has no clear meaning. It does not appear to be the declarative/assertive suffix (see section 2.3.2.1.4) in this case, although its meaning could have been lost. *o-∅-piya* contains the locative *o-* (see section 2.3.2.2.3) which means 'within a restricted area, in' which in this case changes a verb into a noun, the verb *piya* 'to be contained' and the third person singular subject (*∅*). Thus we have a general meaning of 'his own container, restricted area' which is translated by Mr. Walker as 'his habitat' or 'the area in which he lives'.

(3a) *āb-edu* 'day': Noun. From the verb *āba* 'to dawn' with the suffix *-edu* 'in, around' (see (2e)).

(3b) *wąži*: See (1b).

(3c) *o-mnay{e}* 'flat place': Noun where *o-* is the locative prefix which means 'within a restricted area, in' which is attached to a verb *mnaya* 'to be level' (final *-a* ablauting to *-e* when it is nominalized -see section 2.3.1.2.2). *o-mnaye* is 'a plain'.

(3d) *en*: See (2e).

(3e) *šuk-jukʔa-na* 'coyote': Compound noun made up of *šuga* 'dog', an element *jukʔa* which has an unclear meaning at this time, and the diminutive suffix *-na*. The form *jukʔana* itself may mean 'small, midget'. The noun *šuga* loses its final vowel when compounded and the voiced plosive becomes voiceless (see section 2.2.2).

(3f) *wəži*: See (1b).

(3g) *Ø-Ø-akipa* 'he met him': Active Transitive Verb *akipa* 'to meet' with the third person singular subject and object (Ø). Boas and Deloria (1941:40) state that *akipa* may or may not contain the locative prefix *a-* ('on, added, more'). They call the prefix, if it is present in this case, idiomatic.

(4a) *ikusá-na*: See (2a).

(4b) *ne*: See (2b).

(4c) *žə-Ø-ya*: See (1c).

(4d) *ha* 'greetings??': Declarative particle probably related to Lakhota *hau*. Used by men as in the expression *ha kona* 'greetings, friend'.

(4e) *koná* 'friend': Noun. Male friend of a man.

(4f) *ne*: See (2b).

(4g) *maštjja-tąga* 'jackrabbit': Compound noun from the noun *maštjja* 'rabbit' and the stative verb *tação* 'to be large' (see section 2.3.1.2.1).

(4h) *wąži*: See (1b).

(4i) *Ø-kn-apa-ya-ų* 'you are carrying in your mouth': Active Transitive verb *yapa* 'to carry, hold in the mouth'. This verb contains the 'possessive reflexive' which is *kn* in front of a *y*-stem verb (see section 2.3.2.1.5.1). Therefore, the root verb would be *yapa* with a reflexive *kn* creating the meaning 'he carried in his mouth for himself'. The *ya-ų* part of this form possibly expresses 'an activity that is continued persistently while one is occupied with other things' (Boas and Deloria 1941:104). The prefix *ya-* either indicates the second person singular subject or the instrumental prefix 'with the mouth'. This form requires further study.

(5a) *maštjja-tąga*: See (4g).

(5b) *ne*: See (2b).

(5c) *nína* 'very': Adverbial form (Boas and Deloria 1941:146). The stress on this word always falls on the first syllable, probably due to the type of root that it is (see section 2.1.4).

- (5d) *Ø-nuzahá-bi* 'they are fast': Stative verb *nuzahá* 'to be fast' with 3rd person singular subject (*Ø*) and the plural suffix *-bi*. The stress of this form falls on its third syllable with a lighter, secondary, stress falling on the first syllable.
- (5e) *no*: See (1d).
- (6a) *dó-ken* 'how': Interrogative. A compound of the indefinite pronoun *do* 'something; what?' with the suffix *-ken* 'accordingly, properly' (see section 2.6.1). Since the stress is on the first syllable of this form, this is probably a case where the second element, *-ken*, does not attract the stress.
- (6b) *ne*: See (2b).
- (6c) *n-uza* 'you catch': Active Transitive verb 'to catch' *yuza* with the second person singular subject *n-* which occurs with *y*-stem Active verbs (see section 2.3.2.1.8).
- (6d) *he*: Question particle (Boas and Deloria 1941:111) which occurs at the end of a sentence to indicate a question is being asked. It is used by both sexes in formal speech.
- (7a) *šyk-júk?a-na*: See (3e).
- (7b) *ne*: See (2b).
- (7c) *že-Ø-ya*: See (1c).

(8a) *ne*: See (2b).

(8b) *čeja* 'leg': Body-part noun. This form has no possessive marker, but was translated by Mr. Walker as 'my legs' possible because the Stative verb *mahaskaska* (see 8c) contains the first person singular subject.

(8c) *ma-haska-ska* 'I have long (legs)': From *haska* which is a Stative verb meaning 'to be long'. This form has the first person singular subject *ma-* and the reduplication of *-ska* which, following the noun *čeja* 'leg', may indicate the extreme length of the legs (reduplication as an intensifier, see section 2.4.2).

(8d) *čen* 'because': Conjunction or particle. At this time, there is no indication of exactly how this form functions in Nakoda. Shaw (1976:184) translates it as 'and then' which doesn't always suit the sense of the phrase it is in. Mr. Walker usually translates it as 'because'. This form may be found as a separate lexeme as it is here or affixed to certain demonstratives (see section 2.6.1).

(8e) *teyi-šj-ya-x* 'it is not very difficult': Stative verb *teyi* 'to be difficult' with the negative suffix *-šj* (see section 2.3.2.1.3), a suffix *-ya* (see section 2.3.2.1.6) which, here, appears to adverbialize *teyi* (the general meaning of the phrase being 'to catch them is not difficult'), and the 'intensifying' suffix *-x* (see section 2.6.1).

- (8f) *e-∅-wa>kneya* 'I overtake, catch up to': Active Transitive verb *ekneya* 'to catch up to' with the first person singular subject *wa-* and the third person singular object (\emptyset). This form possibly contains the locative prefix *e-* 'at some place; down', but the meaning of the form *kneya* is as yet undetermined.
- (9a) *žé-čen* 'then, and so': Adverbial compound of the demonstrative *že* 'the, that' and the adverbial suffix *-ken* 'accordingly, properly' (see section 2.6.1) which is palatalized by the preceding *e* (see section 2.2.5). The stress in this form remains on the first syllable because the form *-ken* does not attract stress.
- (9b) *ikusá-na*: See (2a).
- (9c) *ne*: See (2b).
- (9d) *že-∅-ya*: See (1c).
- (10a) *m-iš*: 'me too, also'. This form comes from *jš* 'also' with the personal pronoun for 1st person, *m-*, added. The nasalization in *jš* appears to be neutralized by the nasal phoneme *m*.
- (10b) *iknuhāna* 'sometime': Adverbial form. This form possibly contains the continued time marker *hā* (see section 2.6.1) which would make this form a compound of this plus the elements *iknu*, and *-na* the exact meanings of which are unknown at this time.

- (10c) *wąži-x* 'one of them': Partitive form which appears to come from *wąži* 'one' possibly with the intensifying suffix *-x* (see section 2.6.1). This word could also be translated as 'at least one of them' or 'at least once (in my life)'.
- (10d) *∅-mn-ukabi-hta-č* 'I will catch': Active Transitive verb *yuka* 'to catch, have' with the third person singular object (*∅*), the first person singular subject *mn-*, the plural suffix *-bi* which refers to the object ('them'), the aspectual suffix representing 'an unrealized event' *-hta* (see section 2.3.2.1.2) and the declarative/assertive suffix *-č* (see section 2.3.2.1.4).
- (11a) *gá-ken* 'and so, then': Adverb. Compound of the adverbial forms *ga-* 'that at a distance, but visible and pointed out' and *-ken* (see section 2.6.1). Like the form *dóken* (see (6a)), this form also has its stress on the first syllable, probably due to the element *-ken* which apparently never attracts stress.
- (11b) *šuk-júkʔa-na*: See (3e).
- (11c) *i<∅>xa-bi* 'they laugh': Active Intransitive verb. *ixa* 'to laugh' with the 3rd person singular subject (*∅*) and the plural suffix *-bi*. The reason the plural is used here is unclear at this time. The *i* at the beginning of the verb may have once been a prefix form of the noun *i* 'mouth'. The verb *-xa* would then have a meaning unknown at this time, but it is possible that it shows the use of onomatopoeia.

(11d) *noys*: 'so much': Adverbial. It is unclear at this time if this form consists of one or two morphemes. The final syllable may be related to the form *ys* 'with'.

(11e) *ko* 'and, too?': Conjunction??. This form could be related to the form *ko* 'and, also, too' and here would probably serve to link 'he laughed' and 'he fell over' (see (11f)). Its literal translation in this context could be 'the coyote laughed so much he also fell over'.

(11f) *a<∅>pdəyq* 'he fell/rolled over': Active Intransitive verb *apdəyq* 'to roll over' with the third person singular subject (\emptyset).

(12a) *ikusá-na*: See (2a).

(12b) *ne*: See (2b).

(12c) *šyk-jukʔa-na*: See (3e).

(12d) *ne*: See (2b).

(12e) *že* 'the, that': Demonstrative (see also (9a)). In this context, it is the object of the verb *iyuŋa*.

(12f) *i<∅>yuŋa* 'to ask about something': Active verb *iyuŋa* 'to ask' with the third person singular subject (\emptyset).

(13a) *dágu-čen* 'why': Interrogative. This could be a compound form consisting of *dágu* 'what, something', and *čen* 'because'. The form *dágu* always has its primary stress on the first syllable for reasons unknown at this time, and the form *čen* never attracts the stress, therefore it remains on the first syllable in this compound form.

(13b) *ne*: See (2b).

(13c) *nína*: See (5c).

(13d) *i<ya>xa*: The verb *ixa* (see (11c)) with the second person singular subject pronoun *ya*-.

(13e) *he*: See (6d).

(14a) *šuk-jukʔa-na*: See (3e).

(14b) *ne*: See (2b).

(14c) *že-Ø-ya*: See (1c).

(14d) *ne*: See (2b).

(14e) *ni-ye* 'your belly': A body part noun with inalienable possession. The *ni*- is the second person singular possessive (Boas and Deloria 1941:128).

(14f) *mąki-Ø-yu-snoha-ya-ų* 'it drags on the ground': From the Active Transitive verb *yusnoha* 'to drag' with the third person singular subject (Ø). This is a compound verb and is used to describe a characteristic of the mink. The noun *mąka*, 'ground, earth', is here combined with the verb *yu-snoha* which means 'to pull', and undergoes a final vowel change for reasons unknown at this time. This may, however, be due to a combining of the noun *mąka* with the instrumental nominalizer *i-* (see section 2.3.2.2.4). The verb is itself made up of the instrumental prefix *yu-* (see section 2.3.2.2.2) and the verb, *snoha*, which means 'to crawl'. The last part of the form is probably related to the *ya-ų* of (4i) which indicates a continued activity or, in this case, an attribute. This phrase, underlyingly *mąka-i-yusnoha ya-ų*, would probably mean, literally, 'you go around dragging the ground with your belly'.

(15a) *dó-ken* 'how': See (6a).

(15b) *wąži-x*: See (10c).

(15c) *n-uka-bi-hta* 'you will catch'. (see also 10d): Active Transitive verb *yuka* 'to catch' with the second person singular subject (*n-* in front of *y-* stem active verbs (see section 2.3.2.1.8) with the plural marker *-bi* and the aspectual suffix representing 'an unrealized event' *-hta* (see section 2.3.2.1.2). The plural marker is used here because the coyote is either referring to all minks who, characteristically, drag themselves on the ground or to the number of jackrabbits which they may be able to catch someday.

(15d) *hə*: See (6d).

(16a) *gá-ken*: See (11a).

(16b) *ikusá-na*: See (2a).

(16c) *ne*: See (2b).

(16d) *šuk-júkʔa-na*: See (3e).

(16e) *ne*: See (2b).

(16f) *že<Ø-Ø-jĩ>ya* 'he said (directly to another)': Active Transitive verb *žeya* (see (1c)) with the third person singular subject and object (Ø) and the 'dative' affix *gi* (see section 2.3.2.1.5.2). See section 2.2.5 for an explanation of the palatalization.

(17a) *že ne* 'that nearby': A combination of forms is used here. *ne* 'this' (see (2b)), and *že* which is either the demonstrative meaning 'the, that' or an abbreviated form of the verb *žeya* 'to say'. There is no noticeable primary stress on either form here.

(17b) *wijā<ya>ka-č* 'you speak the truth': From the Active Transitive verb *wijaka* 'to tell the truth' with the second person singular prefix *ya-* and the declarative/assertive suffix *-č* (see section 2.3.2.1.4).

(17c) *Ø-ákdaga-bi* 'they run', here 'runner': A nominal formed from the Active Intransitive verb *akdaga* 'to run' with the third person singular subject (*Ø*) and the plural suffix *-bi*. In this form, the primary stress is on the first syllable for reasons unknown at this time. There also appears to be a lighter, secondary, stress on the third syllable.

(17d) *nína*: See (5c).

(17e) *ni-nuzahq* 'you are fast': Stative verb (see 5d), with the second person singular subject *ni-*.

(18a) *m-iš*: See (10a).

(18b) *ne*: See (2b).

(18c) *mini* 'water': Noun.

(18d) *en*: See (2e).

(18e) *Ø-nuwq-bi* 'they swim', here means 'swimmer': A nominal formed from the Active Intransitive verb *nuwq* 'to swim' with the third person singular subject (*Ø*) and the plural suffix *-bi* (for the nominalizing function of *-bi*, see section 2.3.1.2.1)

(18f) *wa-mn-upi-č* 'I am good at it': Active Transitive verb *yupi* 'to be good at something' (Boas and Deloria 1941:54) with the indefinite object prefix *wa*, the

first person singular subject *mn-* and the declarative/assertive suffix *-č* (see section 2.3.2.1.4). The indefinite object *wa-* is here used to create the meaning of 'being good at something'.

(18g) *Ø-eya* 'he said': Active verb 'to say' with the third person singular subject (*Ø*) (see also (1c) for an explanation of the alternate form of 'to say' *žeya*).

(19a) *ne*: See (2b).

(19b) *dágu* 'what, something': Interrogative. See (13a) for an explanation of the stress pattern of this form.

(19c) *wąži*: See (1b).

(19d) *i<mn>ukjā* 'I think': Active verb *iyukjā* 'to think; understand' with the first person singular subject *mn-*.

(20a) *ne*: See (2b).

(20b) *pde-pde-ya-na*: See (2c).

(20c) *ne*: See (2b).

(20d) *a-okšā* 'around': Prepositional form. From *okšā* 'around' possibly with the locative prefix *a-* 'on'.

(20e) *úg-akdagj-cta-č* 'We will run': See also (17c). Here the subject pronoun is the first person plural, but in the inclusive form (see section 2.3.2.1.8), so there is no plural suffix. It also contains the aspectual suffix representing 'an unrealized event' *-cta* (see section 2.3.2.1.2) which ablauts the final vowel of the verb *akdaga* from *a* to *j* (see section 2.2.6) and the declarative/assertive suffix *-č* (see section 2.3.2.1.4). In this form, the stress, seen on the first syllable of *ákdagabi* (see (17c)) has moved forward to the first syllable. This is an unusual stress shift in Nakoda as the pronominal prefix *ú-* ~ *úg-* does not normally attract the stress. This matter will need to be studied further at a later date.

(21a) *duwe* 'who, someone': Interrogative used here as an indefinite pronoun.

(21b) *togahe-ya* 'first, firstly': *togahe* itself means 'the first' (Boas and Deloria 1941:113). The suffix *-ya* here acts as an adverbializer (see section 2.3.2.1.6) as in the meaning 'firstly, first of all'.

(21c) *ne-n* 'this here': Compound of the demonstrative *ne* (see (2b)) and the adverbial of place *-n* meaning 'at, always a place nearby, not requiring the covering of a distance to be reached' (see section 2.6.1).

(21d) *Ø-kni* 'to come back': Teton *g.li* 'to arrive coming back to where one belongs' (Boas and Deloria 1941:92) would correspond to the Nakoda form of the Active Intransitive verb *kni*. This form also contains the third person singular subject (*Ø*). The meaning of the entire sentence is 'whoever is the first to come back here...'

(21e) *šten* 'when': Adverbial.

(21f) *maštjja-taga*: See (4g).

(21g) *ne*: See (2b).

(21h) *é<∅-∅-i>knaga-hta-č* 'he will be the taker of it': Active Transitive verb here meaning *eknaga* 'to take away' (see (38c) where this means 'to put down') with the third person singular object (∅), a third person subject (∅) and the aspectual suffix representing 'an unrealized event' *-hta* (see section 2.3.2.1.2) which, on this verb, does not cause ablaut (see section 2.2.6), and the declarative/assertive suffix *-č* (see section 2.3.2.1.4).. This form also has an infix *i* the meaning of which is uncertain. The stress on this form falls on the first syllable because the prefix *e-*, which is probably the locative prefix *e-* 'at some place, down', appears to normally attract the stress (see section 2.1.4).

(22a) *gá-ken*: See (11a).

(22b) *šuk-juk?a-na*: See (3e).

(22c) *ne*: See (2b).

(22d) *že-∅-ya*: See (1c).

(23a) *že*: See (12e).

(23b) *jš* 'also': See (10a).

(23c) *idux* 'no doubt, anyway': Adverbial.

(23d) *ohi<Ø-wa>i-hta-č* 'I will win': Active Transitive verb from *ohii* 'to win something' with the first person singular subject *wa-*, the third person singular object (*Ø*), the aspectual suffix representing 'an unrealized event' *-hta* (see section 2.3.2.1.2) and the declarative/assertive suffix *-č* (see section 2.3.2.1.4).

(23e) *Ø-eya*: See (18g).

(24a) *gá-ken*: See (11a).

(24b) *ikusá-na*: See (2a).

(24c) *ne*: See (2b).

(24d) *že-Ø-ya*: See (1c).

(25a) *do-ke-du-čen* 'no matter what': Compound adverbial from the indefinite pronoun *do* 'something, what', the adverbial suffix *-ke* which has a meaning 'thus, therefore', the temporal concept marker *du-* and what may be the conjunction *čen* 'because' which means, literally 'what then because (happens) thus'.

(25b) *eyaš* 'anyway': An adverbial expression made up of *e-* 'instead: idiomatic' and *-ya(š)*. Together they mean 'sufficient' or 'that is enough' if accented (*eyáš*) or 'as you know' if unaccented (*eyaš*) which seems to be the meaning here (Boas and Deloria 1941:116-117).

(25c) *ɣg-i<kn>uta-hta-č* 'we will try': Active verb *iyuta* 'to try' with what appears to be the 'possessive reflexive' (see section 2.3.2.1.5.1) which takes the form *kn* in front of a *y*-stem verb. The meaning that this possessive reflexive adds to this form is unknown at this time. This form also contains the first person inclusive prefix *ɣ-* with its morphophonemic alternation occurring before a vowel (see section 2.3.2.1.8), the aspectual suffix representing 'an unrealized event' *-hta* (see section 2.3.2.1.2), and the declarative/assertive suffix *-č* (see section 2.3.2.1.4).

(25d) *Ø-eya*: See (18g).

(26a) *hon* 'ok': Discourse particle. May be related to Teton *hó* (Boas and Deloria 1941:151) which means 'ready now'.

(26b) *šɣk-júkʔa-na*: See (3e).

(26c) *ne*: See (2b).

(26d) *že-Ø-ya*: See (1c).

(26e) *hon*: See (26a).

(26f) *Ø-eya*: See (18g).

(27a) *gá-ken*: See (11a).

(27b) *šyk-jukʔa-na*: See (3e).

(27c) *ne*: See (2b).

(27d) *mini*: See (18c).

(27e) *a-okšą*: See (20d).

(27f) *Ø-ákdaga*: See (17c).

(28a) *ikusá-na*: See (2a).

(28b) *ne*: See (2b).

(28c) *jš*: See (23b).

(28d) *mini*: See (18c).

(28e) *en*: See (2e).

(28f) *mini*: See (18c).

(28g) *en*: See (2e).

(28h) *Ø-nuwą*: See (18e).

(29a) *šyk-júkʔa-na*: See (3e).

(29b) *ne*: See (2b).

(29c) *Ø-yučam-čam* 'he trotted': From the Active Intransitive verb *yučaba* 'to trot' with the third person singular subject (*Ø*). This form drops the final *a* and nasalizes the *b* when the reduplicated suffix is attached (see section 2.2.3). The reduplication appears to indicate the repetitiveness of the action (see section 2.4.2).

(29d) *du-gen* 'kind of': Compound of the form expressing temporal/spatial concepts *du-* and the adverbial suffix *-ken* 'accordingly, properly' (see section 2.6.1).

(29e) *Ø-ákdaga*: See (17c).

(30a) *gá-ken*: See (11a).

(30b) *do-hą-du-xdįya* 'after a certain time': Compound of *do-* 'something; what?' and the form *hą* denoting 'continued time' (see section 2.6.1). *du-* expresses spatial and temporal concepts on verbs (Boas and Deloria 1941:58) and *-xdįya* is a suffix meaning roughly 'much, many, more' (according to consultants).

Thus the whole word may have a meaning of 'something happening more over a certain amount of time'.

(30c) *gayejã*: This word appears to be a discourse particle which Mr. Walker was unable to translate into English.

(30d) *togadam* 'up ahead (in front)': *toga* is 'first' (Boas and Deloria 1941:113).

(30e) *é-Ø-duwã* 'he looked': Active Intransitive verb *duwã* 'to look' with the third person singular subject (Ø) and the locative prefix *e-* 'at some place'. Like the form in (21h), this prefix *e-* appears to attract the stress.

(30f) *gayejã*: See (30c).

(31a) *gá-ki* 'there': A compound form consisting of the demonstrative *ga-* 'that at a distance, but visible and pointed out' (Boas and Deloria 1941:114) and the adverbial *-ki* 'at a certain place' (Boas and Deloria 1941:124). Like the form *gáken* (see (11a)), this form also has the stress on the first syllable, *ga-*, probably because the element *-ki* does not attract the stress (see also (43a)).

(31b) *togadam*: See (30d).

(31c) *ikusá-na*: See (2a).

(31d) *wana* 'already, now, next': Adverbial.

(31e) *Ø-hi-ya-ya* 'he went': Active Intransitive verb of going with the third person singular subject (*Ø*). This verb actually means 'he passed by going' (Boas and Deloria 1941:92). It is a compound of *hi* 'to arrive coming' and *ya* 'to be going' which here is reduplicated (see section 2.4.2).

(32a) *gá-ken*: See (11a).

(32b) *šuk-júkʔa-na*: See (3e).

(32c) *ne*: See (2b).

(32d) *ikusá-na*: See (2a).

(32e) *Ø-kapa* 'he passed': Active Transitive verb *kapa* 'to pass' with the third person singular subject (*Ø*).

(32f) *Ø-i-ya-yi-hta* 'he will go': Active Intransitive verb *iyaya* with the third person singular subject (*Ø*) and the aspectual suffix representing 'an unrealized event' *-hta*. This verb is a compound made up of *i-* 'to arrive going' and *-ya* 'to be going' (which here is reduplicated as in (31e) (Boas and Deloria 1941:92) and means 'to start going'.

(32g) *čen*: See (8d).

(33a) *kape-Ø-ya* 'he sped up': Active Intransitive verb *kapa* 'to pass' (see (32e)) with the third person singular subject (*Ø*) and the causative suffix *-ya* (which ablauts

the final vowel of the verb -see section 2.3.2.1.6) creating a meaning of 'to cause to get faster'.

(33b) *Ø-ákdaga*: See (17c).

(34a) *dó-na-x* 'several times': Adverbial. *donax* is made up of the demonstrative *do* 'something, what', its plural marker *-na* (see section 2.6.1) and the intensifying suffix *-x* (see section 2.6.1). The primary stress of the form *dóna* always falls on the first syllable.

(34b) *žěč-Ø-ų* 'he does': Active Transitive verb with the third person singular subject (*Ø*). The verb *ečų* 'to do' comes from the root *ų* 'to do' and like *eya* 'to say' which is also seen as *žeya* (see (1c)), this verb is seen here with an initial *žə-* (see (1c)). It is therefore possible that the third person pronoun is infixes between the two forms. The primary stress of this form falls on the first syllable for reasons unknown at this time.

(34c) *duka* 'but': Conjunction.

(34d) *ikusá-na*: See (2a).

(34e) *nə*: See (2b).

(34f) *idux*: See (23c).

(34g) *togadam*: See (30d).

(34h) *wa<∅-∅>yaga* 'he saw': Active Transitive verb *wayaga* 'to see' with the third person singular object (∅) and the third person singular subject (∅). This verb has a *wa-* prefix permanently attached to it which could be an old indefinite object prefix, but the actual meaning has been lost with time.

(35a) *ahagix* 'once more': Adverbial. The final *-x* may be the 'intensifying' suffix *-x* (see section 2.6.1).

(35b) *é-∅-dɣwə*: See (30e).

(35c) *ga* 'that there': A demonstrative meaning 'that at a distance, but visible and pointed out' (see section 2.6.1).

(35d) *ikusá-na*: See (2a).

(35e) *ahekdapana* 'behind': A prepositional form possibly consisting of *hekta* 'behind' and other elements which are unanalyzed at this time.

(35f) *∅-ɣ*: 'he is': The verb *ɣ* 'to exist' (Boas and Deloria 1941:98) with the third person singular subject (∅).

(36a) *gá-ken*: See (11a).

(36b) *šɣk-ʃukʔa-na*: See (3e).

(36c) *ne*: See (2b).

(36d) *hakešj* 'again': Adverbial.

(36e) *o-Ø-wašte-nagen* 'ease': A compound noun formed from the Stative verb *wašte* 'to be good', the third person singular subject (Ø), the locative prefix *o-* 'within something' (see section 2.3.2.2.3) and a suffix *-nagen* which is probably related to Lakhota's *-yakel* (*-yagen* in Nakoda) 'kind of like that'. These elements combine to create an adverb meaning 'easily' or 'contentedly'. In the context of this sentence, this could make the phrase mean 'And so the coyote once again ran contentedly/easily'.

(36f) *Ø-akdaga*: See (17c).

(37a) *maštija-tāga*: See (4g).

(37b) *že*: See (12e).

(37c) *a<Ø-Ø>wačj-ya-gen* 'he thought about it': Active Intransitive verb *awačj* 'to think about something' which itself consists of the indefinite object *wa-* (see section 2.3.2.1.7) and the locative prefix *a-* 'on, about' (see section 2.3.2.2.3). The final form then contains the third person subject (Ø) and the third person singular object (Ø). See (36e) for the suffix *-yagen*. This would give the entire form the meaning of 'he kind of thought about it'.

(38a) *ga-hā-du-xdīya* 'in a given time' (as translated by Mr. Walker): Compound of *gahādu* 'it is right there (pointed out)' (Boas and Deloria 1941:119), which is made up of the demonstrative *ga* 'that there', the form which denotes continued time *hā* (see section 2.6.1) and the temporal/spatial marker *-du*, and the suffix *-xdīya* 'much, many, more'.

(38b) *gayejā*: See (30c).

(38c) *dukde-n* 'where': *dukde* is an interrogative meaning 'which one?' and *-n* means 'at, always a place nearby, not requiring the covering of a distance to be reached' (see section 2.6.1). This shows the meaning given by the consultant clearly.

(38d) *maštjā-tāga*: See (4g).

(38e) *é-∅-knaga-bi* 'they put down their own': Active Transitive verb *knaga* 'to put' with the third person singular subject (\emptyset), the locative prefix *e-* 'at some place, down' (see section 2.3.2.2.3) and the plural suffix *-bi*. Like the forms in (21h) and (30e), this form also shows the prefix *e-* attracting the primary stress.

(38f) *žē-n*: See also (12e). Compound of the demonstrative *žē* 'the, that' and the suffix *-n* 'at, always at a place nearby, not requiring the covering of a distance to be reached' (see section 2.6.1).

(39a) *dāgu-ní-šj* 'there was nothing': See also (19b) for *dāgu*. An unusual form because of the presence of two negatives: the suffix *-ni*, which appears to

negate the demonstrative *dágu*, and the negative suffix *-šj*. As noted in section 2.1.4, the negative suffix *-šj* does not attract the stress, therefore the primary stress of this form is found on the first syllable.

(40a) *gá-ken*: See (11a).

(40b) *šyk-júkʔa-na*: See (3e).

(40c) *ne*: See (2b).

(40d) *mini-Ø-tʔa* 'he was thirsty': Stative verb, compound, with the third person singular subject (Ø). The noun *mini* is 'water' and the verb *tʔa* is 'to die'. In Teton this combination means 'to die by drowning' (Boas and Deloria 1941:70), however it has been confirmed by multiple consultants that in Nakoda this combination means 'to be thirsty'.

(40e) *Ø-áya* 'to become': Active verb *aya* 'to go taking something there' which is here used as an inceptive having the meaning of 'to become', with the third person singular subject (Ø). This stem appears to carry the primary stress normally on its first syllable (see section 2.1.4).

(40f) *čen*: See (8d).

(41a) *mini*: See (18c).

(41b) *en*: See (2e).

(41c) *i-Ø-naži* 'he stood': Active Intransitive verb with the third person singular subject (Ø). The verb root is *naži* which means 'to stand' (Boas and Deloria 1941:101). *i-naži* means 'to stop, to stand against, to go to stand' (Boas and Deloria 1941:43) with the prefix *i-* which converts some verbs of location into verbs of moving into position.

(41d) *gayejă*: See (30c).

(41e) *dágu*: See (19b).

(41f) *wa<Ø-Ø>yaga*: See (34h).

(42a) *gá-ki* 'up there': See (31a).

(42b) *wagam* 'on top??': See also (43b). From the word *agān* 'up' with a suffix *-m* which serves to mark location (as in 'up there'). The initial *wa-* serves a purpose unknown at this time. This, with *gaki*, seems to refer to the coyote seeing 'something up there'.

(42c) *é-Ø-duwə*: See (30e).

(42d) *gayejă*: See (30c).

(43a) *žé-či*: Compound similar to (31a) with the demonstrative *že* 'the, that' (see (12e)) and the adverbial suffix *-ki* 'at a point, but in reference to the speaker'

(see section 2.6.1). The difference would probably be that with *gáki*, the coyote hasn't yet found the reference point, but here, the reference is the tree. As with *gáki*, the primary stress of this form falls on the first syllable again showing that the element *-ki* does not attract the stress.

(43b) *čq-agam* 'up in a tree': (see also (42b)). Here, the prefix is the noun *cq* 'wood', making the meaning clear.

(43c) *ikusá-na*: See (2a).

(43d) *ne*: See (2b).

(43e) *ána* 'crow': Noun. The stress of this form appears to fall on the first syllable for reasons unknown at this time. This form is possibly borrowed, in part, from the Cree form *āhāsiw* 'crow' which contains an onomatopoeic element plus a diminutive suffix. This Nakoda form may be formed from *āhā* with the Nakoda diminutive suffix, *-na*, attached. This matter should be studied further at a later date. This borrowing would also explain the stress placement because *āhāsiw* has the stress on the first syllable.

(43f) *wąži*: See (1b).

(43g) *giči-wó-kn-ak* 'talking together': The reciprocal reflexive affix form *giči* (see section 2.3.2.1.5.1) with the Active Transitive verb *yaga* 'to tell, to discuss' (see (1a)) with a prefix *wo-* which has a meaning undetermined at this time and the 'possessive reflexive' which take the form of *kn* in front of a *y*-stem

active verb (see section 2.3.2.1.5.1). This word has been translated as a 'continuous tense', but it is unknown at this time if this is why the final vowel has been dropped in this form, although it would appear to be this action which devoices the final consonant. Another explanation is that the loss of the final vowel here permits this verb and the one in (44b) to express simultaneous actions as in '(leisurely) eating while talking together'. In this form, the stress falls on the prefix *wo-* which appears to attract the stress in many instances (see section 2.1.4).

(44a) *du-gen*: See (29d).

(44b) *wo* < \emptyset > *da-bi* 'they ate': Active Intransitive verb with the third person singular subject (\emptyset) and the plural suffix *-bi*. There are two verbs in Nakoda which mean 'to eat'. They are *yuda* and *woda*. *yuda*, a transitive verb, has a meaning more closely related to 'chewing'. *woda* is an intransitive verb from *wa-yuda* (*wa-* being the indefinite object -see section 2.3.2.1.7) with the *wa-yu* contracting to *wo* (and holding the stress), and keeps the general meaning of 'eating'.

(45a) *gá-ken*: See (11a).

(45b) *šuk-júkʔa-na*: See (3e).

(45c) *nə*: See (2b).

(45d) *žə- \emptyset -ya*: See (1c).

(45e) *ha*: See (4d)

(45f) *kona*: See (4e).

(45g) *m-iš*: See (10a).

(45h) *edahq* 'some': Partitive.

(45i) *ma-kʔy-bo* 'give me': Active Transitive verb *kʔy* 'to give' with the second person singular object prefix *ma-*, and a suffix *-bo* which is probably a compound of the plural suffix *-bi* and a suffix *-y(o)* 'imperative, male speaking'.

(45j) *Ø-eya*: See (18g).

(46a) *gá-ken*: See (11a).

(46b) *ikusá-na*: See (2a).

(46c) *ne*: See (2b).

(46d) *wana* 'already, now, next': Adverbial.

(46e) *i-Ø-pi-čen* 'because he was full': Active verb *ipi* 'to be satisfied with food' possibly itself a compound of the noun *i* 'mouth' and the stative verb *pi* 'to be happy' with the third person singular subject (Ø). This is then followed by

čen 'because' which appears to be, in this case, attached to the verb. This form appears to have the primary stress habitually on the first syllable.

(47a) *woyapde* 'what was left, leavings, fragments of food': Noun possibly containing the elements *ya-* 'with the mouth' (instrumental prefix -see section 2.3.2.2.2) and an element *pde* which has a meaning unknown at this time, but which may be a nominalized (through ablaut - see section 2.3.1.2.2) form of a verbal stem *pda* which may have a connection to 'remainders, things left over'.

(47b) *že-na* 'those near me': Demonstrative *že* 'the, that' with the pluralizing element *-na* (see section 2.6.1).

(47c) *kun* 'down': Prepositional form.

(47d) *Ø-Ø-yušna* 'he dropped': Active Transitive verb *yušna* 'to drop' with the third person singular subject and object (Ø).

(48a) *gá-ken*: See (11a).

(48b) *šuk-juk?a-na*: See (3e).

(48c) *ne*: See (2b).

(48d) *jš*: See (23b).

(48e) *i<∅>yogibi-ya* 'happily: Stative verb *iyogibi* 'to be pleased' with the third person singular subject (*∅*) and the plural *-bi*. This form also contains a *-ya* which appears to adverbialize the verb (see section 2.3.2.1.6), so that it becomes 'he happily ate'.

(48f) *wó<∅>da*: See (44b). Here, in the third person singular form, the stress appears on the first syllable due to contraction.

(49a) *žěč-∅-y*: See (34b).

(49b) *hjk* 'then': Adverbial.

(49c) *iyuhana* 'all of them': Noun.

(49d) *nína*: See (5c).

(49e) *i<∅-gi>xa-bi*: See (11c). Here the verb *ixa* 'to laugh' has an affix *gi* which may be either the 'possessive reflexive' or the 'dative' (see section 2.3.2.1.5).

(49f) *no*: See (1d).

3.1.3 Running translation into English

(1)I am going to tell a story. (2)A mink once lived around several sloughs. (3)One day he met a coyote on a flat place. (4)The mink said "My brother, you are carrying a jackrabbit in your mouth. (5)Jackrabbits are very fast. (6)How did you catch one?" (7)The coyote said, (8)"It was not hard to catch him because my legs are very long." (9)The mink then said, (10)"I will also catch one of them sometime." (11)Then the coyote laughed so hard he fell over. (12)The mink asked the coyote, (13)"Why are you laughing so hard?" (14)The coyote said, "Your belly drags so close to the ground, (15)how could you catch one of them?" (16)So then the mink said to the coyote, (17)"It is true, you are a very fast runner. (18)But I am a good swimmer" he said. (19)"I just thought of something. (20)We will race around this lake. (21)Whoever gets back first will take the jackrabbit". (22)Then the coyote said (23)"I'll win it anyway" he said. (24)And the mink said (25)"No matter what, we will try it anyway" he said. (26)"OK" said the coyote, "OK" he said. (27)So then the coyote ran around the lake. (28)The mink also started to swim in the water. (29)The coyote lazily trotted. (30)After a time, he looked up. (31)The mink was already further ahead in front of him. (32)So the coyote sped up (33)to pass the mink. (34)Several times he did this, but every time he looked up, he saw the mink still in front of him. (35)Finally he looked once more and the mink was behind him. (36)The coyote then slowed down again. (37)He thought about the jackrabbit. (38)After a time, he came to where they had left the jackrabbit, (39)but there was nothing there. (40)The coyote was thirsty (41) so he went and stood in the water and then he saw something. (42)He looked up (43)and in a tree was the mink and a crow talking together (44)and eating leisurely. (45)The coyote said "Brothers, give me some." (46)The mink was already full (47)so he threw down what was left. (48)Then the coyote happily ate. (49)And so they all laughed a lot.

3.1.4 Text as written in Herb Walker's orthography

(1)Owoknage waži žeyabi no. (2)ikusaña ne pteptegana donna en opi ič'iya. (3)Añmbedo waži omnaye en shuñkjuk'ana waži akipa. (4)ikusaña ne jeya Ha kona ne maštiñja toñga waži knapa ya uñ. (5)Maštiñja toñga ne nina nuzahañbi no. (6)Doken ne nuza he. (7)Shuñkjuk'ana ne jeya. (8)Ne čēja mañhanskaska čen tegišiñyah iwakneğa. (9)Je čen ikusaña ne jeya. (10)Miš iknu hanañ wajiñ mnukabiñktač. (11)Gakin shuñkjuk'ana iñabi no uñs ko a ptañyañ. (12)ikusaña ne shuñkjuk'ana je iyuñğa. (13)Dagu čen ne nina iyaña he. (14)Shuñkjuk'ana ne jeya. Ne niğe mañki yosnohañ ya uñ. (15)Doken waziñ nukabiñkta he. (16)Gaken ikusana ne shuñkjuk'ana ne je ġiya. (17)Je ne wijayakač, aktagabi nina ne ninuzahañ. (18)Miš ne mini en nuwañmbi wamnupeč iya. (19)Ne dagu waži imnukčañč. (20)Ne ptegana ne a'oksañ uñgakta ġiñktač. (21)Dowe toga heya nen kni šten Maštiñja toñga ne e iknaguktač. (22)Gaken shuñkjuk'ana ne jeya, (23)je iñš iduñ ohiwayiñktač iya. (24)Gaken ikusana ne jeya (25)Dokedo čen, iyaš uñgiknuktač iya. (26)Hon, shuñkjuk'ana ne, Hon iya. (27)Gaken shuñkjuk'ana ne mini a oksañ aktaga (28)ikusana ne iñš mini en nuwañ. (29)Shuñkjuk'ana ne ucamčam dogan aktaga. (30)Gaken dohañ dohtiñya ga ye ja, togadam iduñwan ga ye ja, (31)gaki togadam, ikusana wanna hiyaya. (32)Gaken shuñkjuk'ana ne ikusana kapa iyayiñkta čen (33)kapiya aktaga. (34)Do naññ je čuñ. Doka ikusana ne idoh togadam wayaga. (35)Ahageñ iduñwan ga ikusana ahektapana uñ. (36)Gaken shuñkjuk'ana ne hake šiñ owašte na gen aktaga. (37)Maštiñja toñga je awaciñyañgen. (38)Ga hañdohtiñya ga yeja dokten maštiñja toñga iknagabi jen (39)dagu ni šiñ. (40)Gaken shuñkjuk'ana ne mini it'a aya čen, (41)mni en inañji ga yeja dagu wayaga. (42)Gake wagam iduwañ gayeja, (43)jeci čañ a gam ikusana ne ahahna waži ġiçe woknak (44)dogen wodabi. (45)Gaken shuñkjuk'ana ne jeya, Ha kona miš edahañmañk'ubo. (46)Gaken ikusana ne wanna ipičen, (47)wo yapte žena kun yuśna. (48)Gaken shuñkjuk'ana ne iñš iyogipeya woda. (49)Je juñ hiñke iyuhana nina igiñabi no.

3.2 Moccasins

This text tells how Nakoda people used to make moccasins.

3.2.1 Transcription and literal translation

For the morpheme analysis applied to this text, see section 3.1.1.

- (1) hékta-čʔihą texbi ne dágu
 behind-when (in the past) leather this what

Ø-óda en Ø-ų-bi no.
3sS-to be many in 3sS-to use-pl PART

- (2) ito ne texbi hąba ne en
 first this leather shoes this in

nína Ø-wíyų-bi no.
very 3sS-make use of something-pl PART

- (3) ito togahe-ya wa-ha ne sak-Ø-ya-bi
 for example first-?? IO-hide this to dry-3sS-CAUS-pl

- (4) hįk Ø-sága-šten
 then 3sS-dry-when

že-hą-n
the, that-continued time-at, always a place nearby(then)

hį že-na Ø-ga-xʔu-bi
hair, fur the, that-pl (those near me) 3sS-IN-to scrape-pl

- [illegible]

ta-ha	ne	anux-Ø-yu-dihjga-bi.
ruminant-skin	this	PRE-3sS-IN-to pull to stretch it??-pl

- (11) do-hą-n
something, what-continued time-at, always a place nearby (become)

texbi	šten
leather	when

že-dą-hą
the, that-from, out of-continued time (from then on)

Ø-wiyų-bi	no.
3sS-to make use of-pl	PART

- (12) texbi ne aba šód{e} ųs
leather this some to be smokey{NOM} with

zj-gi-Ø-ya-bi.
to be brown-POSSREFL-3sS-CAUS-pl

- (13) texbi hąba ne Ø-gayeye-bi-hta
leather shoes this 3sS-to sew-pl-UN

hą-da
continued time-?? (already, then)

žiha	ne	texbi	en	a-okša
feet	this	leather	in	LOC??-around

Ø-mayu-bi	hjk
3sS-to trace, mark-pl	then

- (14) **že-hą-n**
the, that-continued time-at, always a place nearby (then)
- o-may{e} iyopdaye Ø-yu-ksa-bi,
LOC-to trace, mark{NOM} along 3sS-IN-to cut-pl
- (15) **hékta-č?ihą** pa-hj hj ʏs
behind-when (in the past) head-fur, quills (porcupine) fur, quills with
- wa-a-Ø-yaza-bi
IO-LOC-3sS-to bead, decorate-pl
- (16) **nağahą** ne-n oj nína
today this-at, always a place nearby beads very
- Ø-wíyʏ-bi no.
3sS-to make use of-pl PART
- (17) **texbi** hába ne ome núba no.
leather shoes this different kinds two PART
- (18) **ito** wąži ne ʏs Ø-wači-bi-кта
first one this with 3sS-to dance-pl-UN
- hą-da že
continued time-?? (when) the, that
- a-Ø-gi-yaza-bi.
LOC-3sS-POSSREFL-to bead, decorate-pl
- (19) **oma** jš ečagen ađe as?ą Ø-ý-bi
the other one also all times day every 3sS-to use-pl
- (20) **že-na** že-nagaš
the, that-pl (those near me) the, that-pl-?? (those ones)

- nína-x a-Ø-yaza-bi-šj.
very-INTEN LOC-3sS-to bead, decorate-pl-NEG
- (21) wana Ø-gayeye-bi-hta šten
already, now, next 3sS-to sew-pl-UN when
- hékta-č?ihā takā ūs Ø-gayeye-bi.
behind-when (in the past) sinew with 3sS-to sew-pl
- (22) tahšpa ūs Ø-ba-xnoga-bi
awl (sharp pointed object) with 3sS-IN-to drill (with holes)-pl
- (23) hjk takā že-na ūs
then sinew the, that-pl (those near me) with
- o-Ø-soso-bi
LOC-3sS-to pass it through (the holes)-pl
- (24) žé-čen Ø-gayeye-bi no.
the, that-accordingly (and so) 3sS-to sew-pl PART
- (25) do-hā-ni wa-ha ne-na
something, what-continued time-?? (never) IO-hides this-pl
- i < Ø > xbeya-bi-sj
to throw away < 3sS > -pl-NEG
- (26) ečagen dagu-x en Ø-wíyū-bi.
always what-INTEN (whatever) in 3sS-to make use of-pl

3.2.2 Morpheme-by-morpheme analysis

- (1a) *hékta-čʔihə* 'in the past': Adverbial expression. From *hekta* 'behind' and *čʔihə* 'when' meaning 'a time behind the present' which appears to contain the form indicating continued time *hə* (see section 2.6.1). The primary stress of this form occurs on the first syllable with a lighter, secondary, stress on the third syllable. The reasons for this are unknown at this time.
- (1b) *texbi* 'leather': Noun. Here, the *-bi* appears similar to the plural suffix which may also act as a nominalizer (see section 2.3.1.2.1), it is not known at this time if *tex-* is a verb stem.
- (1c) *ne*: See section 3.1.2 (2b).
- (1d) *dágu*: See section 3.1.2 (19b).
- (1e) *Ø-óda* 'lot of, be many': Stative verb meaning 'to be many' (Boas and Deloria 1941:30 and Shaw 1976:72) with the third person singular subject (*Ø*). The primary stress of this form is on the first syllable for reasons unknown at this time.
- (1f) *en*: See section 3.1.2 (2e).
- (1g) *Ø-ú-bi* 'they use': Active Transitive verb *ú* 'to use' with the third person singular subject (*Ø*) and the plural suffix *-bi*.
- (1h) *no*: See section 3.1.2 (1d).

- (2a) *ito* 'first, for example': Probably from *to-* which is connected to the ordinal numeral 'first' *togahe* (Boas and Deloria 1941:113).
- (2b) *ne*: See (1c).
- (2c) *texbi*: See (1b).
- (2d) *hąba* 'shoes': Noun. This form contains an element *hą* which is also found in the word *žiha* 'feet' (see (13f)). Whether this indicates a link between these two forms is unknown at this time, but it warrants future study. This form has its primary stress on the first syllable. This may be due to this form being a root which is underlyingly of the form CVC (see section 2.1.4).
- (2e) *ne*: See (1c).
- (2f) *en*: See (1f).
- (2g) *nína*: See section 3.1.2 (5c).
- (2h) *Ø-wiy-ı-bi* 'they make use of it': Active Transitive verb *wiyı* 'to make use of' with the third person singular subject (*Ø*) and the plural suffix *-bi*. This verb is related to the verb *ı* 'to use' but the element *wiy-* is unanalyzable at this time. This element may also be analyzable as *wi-* with a glide epenthesis between the vowels, but for the purposes of this thesis will be written as *wiy-*

throughout. The primary stress of this form falls on the first syllable for reasons unknown at this time (see section 2.1.4).

(2i) *no*: See (1h).

(3a) *ito*: See (2a).

(3b) *togahe-ya*: See 3.1.2 (21b).

(3c) *wa-ha* 'hide': Compound noun. A nominal prefix *wa-* plus the noun *ha* 'hide'. Boas and Deloria (1941:72) note that the word *waha* in Teton (same compound) means specifically 'bear skin' whereas in Nakoda it means the skin of any animal.

(3d) *ne*: See (1c).

(3e) *sak-Ø-ya-bi* 'they dry': Stative verb *saga* (final consonant devoiced after the final vowel drop as per section 2.2.2) with the third person singular subject (Ø), the causative suffix *-ya* (see section 2.3.2.1.6) and the plural suffix *-bi*.

(4a) *hjk*: See section 3.1.2 (49b).

(4b) *Ø-sága-šten* 'when it is dry': Stative verb *saga* 'to be dry' with the third person singular subject (Ø) compounded with Adverbial *šten* 'when'. This may not be an actual compound, but it has been transcribed as one. The primary stress

of this form falls on the first syllable because *sága* is underlyingly a CVC root (see section 2.1.4).

(4c) *že-hq-n* 'then': Adverbial compound of the demonstrative *že* 'the, that', the form denoting continued time *hq* and the suffix *-n* 'at, always a place nearby' (see section 2.6.1).

(4d) *hj* 'hair, fur': Noun.

(4e) *že-na*: See section 3.1.2 (47b).

(4f) *Ø-ga-xʔu-bi* 'they scrape': Active Transitive verb *xʔu* 'to scrape' with the third person singular subject (*Ø*) and the plural suffix *-bi*. This verb also appears to have the instrumental prefix *ga-* 'to strike' (see section 2.3.2.2.2).

(5a) *wa-hj-ba-xba* 'hair-scraper': Compound noun consisting of *wa-* 'indefinite object', *hj* 'hair', the instrumental *ba-* 'by hand' (see section 2.3.2.2.2) and the Active Transitive verb *xba* 'to separate' thus creating the literal meaning of 'he separates the hair (off it) by hand'.

(5b) *ʏs* 'with': Preposition.

(5c) *Ø-ga-xʔu-bi*: See (4f).

(5d) *no*: See (1h).

(6a) *žə-hə-n*: See (4c).

(6b) *wikni* 'grease': Noun. The element *wi-wiy* seems to attract the stress in certain forms (see also (2h)). Here, this would mean that this word consists of two morphemes, *wi-* and *-kni*, neither of which can be clearly defined at this time.

(6c) *dágu*: See (1d).

(6d) *nasu* 'brains': Noun.

(6e) *wašj* 'fat': Noun.

(6f) *iyakna* <*ičʔi*> *ǰahi-Ø-ya-bi* 'they mix it together themselves': Active Transitive *iyaknagahi* 'to mix' with the *g* being palatalized by the preceding *i* of the reflexive (see section 2.2.5). This form contains the third person singular subject (Ø), the causative suffix *-ya* (see section 2.3.2.1.6) and the plural suffix *-bi*. It also contains the 'reflexive' affix (here prefixed) *ičʔi* (see section 2.3.2.1.5.1).

(7a) *hjk*: See (4a).

(7b) *ta-ha-saga* 'dried hide': Compound noun made up of *taha* 'animal skin' (*ta* is a 'ruminant', *ha* is 'skin' in general) and the Stative verb *saga* 'to be dry'.

(7c) *en*: See (1f).

- (7d) *i<∅>ɥ-bi* 'they smear, rub': Active Transitive verb *iɥ* 'to apply, to use against' (possibly related to *ɥ* 'to use' - see (1g) - with an old locative *i-* which may have meant 'on, onto') with the third person singular subject (*∅*) and the plural suffix *-bi*.
- (7e) *no*: See (1h).
- (8a) *že-dq-hq* 'from then on': A compound form from the demonstrative *že* and the form *dq* 'from, out of' and the form denoting continued time *hq* (see section 2.6.1).
- (8b) *ta-ha* 'hide': Compound noun. From the nouns *ta* 'ruminant' and *ha* 'skin'. See also (7b).
- (8c) *že*: See section 3.1.2 (12e).
- (8d) *mini-∅-ičʔi-j̃-ya* 'soak': Compound form made up of the noun *mini* 'water' and an Active Transitive verb possibly of the form *-j̃* or *-gi* where the velar stop has been palatalized (see section 2.2.5). While the exact form of the verb stem has not yet been determined, along with the noun *mini*, it would seem to have the general meaning of 'to soak'. This form contains the third person singular subject (*∅*) and a suffix *-ya* which here serves to make the verb a complement as in 'the soaked hide'. It also contains the 'reflexive' affix *ičʔi* (see section 2.3.2.1.5.1).

- (8e) *Ø-kbayā-bi* 'to work it/stretch it': Active Transitive verb 'to stretch' probably of the form *kbayā* with the third person singular subject (Ø) and the plural suffix *-bi*.
- (9a) *čā-waki* 'barrel': Compound noun from *čā* 'wood' and *waki* which has a meaning unknown at this time.
- (9b) *māza* 'iron, metal': Noun. This form has its primary stress on the first syllable probably due to the form being underlyingly CVC (see section 2.1.4).
- (9c) *né-ča* 'this kind': Compound made up of the demonstrative pronoun *ne* 'this' and the suffix *ča* which serves to denote a quality (as in 'this kind'). Many demonstratives like this one have their primary stress on the first syllable because the second element simply does not attract the stress.
- (9d) *Ø-yuwjš* 'to bend': Active Transitive verb with the third person singular subject (Ø). Possibly related to the active transitive verb *wiza* 'to bend'.
- (10a) *dagu-x* 'whatever': Demonstrative pronoun *dagu* 'what' with the 'intensifying' suffix *-x* (see section 2.6.1).
- (10b) *en*: See (1f).
- (10c) *pa<Ø>xda-bi* 'the other side': This word was translated as 'the other side', but its actual semantic breakdown is not clear. It is possibly related to *paxda*, an active transitive verb meaning 'to tie'. This form would have a third

person singular subject (\emptyset) and the plural suffix *-bi* which is perhaps, here, acting as a nominalizer.

(10d) *hjk*: See (4a).

(10e) *ta-ha*: See (8b).

(10f) *ne*: See (1c).

(10g) *anux- \emptyset -yu-djhiga-bi* 'they stretch it by pulling': Active Transitive verb containing the following elements: *anux* 'on each side', *yu-* instrumental 'by pulling' (see section 2.3.2.2.2), third person singular subject (\emptyset), *djhiga* which must mean 'to stretch', but this is unclear at this time, and the plural suffix *-bi*. The element *-ga* may be a habitual suffix (Shaw 1976:179) indicating that this is done all the time.

(11a) *do-ha-n* 'become': Compound made up of the indefinite pronoun *do* 'something, what', the form denoting continued time *ha* and the suffix *-n* 'at, always a place nearby' (see section 2.6.2). This form marks an unrealized event which, in conjunction with *texbi* (11b) and *šten* (11c) creates the meaning of 'when (in the future) it is leather...'.

(11b) *texbi*: See (1b).

(11c) *šten*: See section 3.1.2 (21e).

(11d) *žə-də-hə*: See (8a).

(11e) *Ø-wiyɥ-bi*: See (2h).

(11f) *no*: See (1h).

(12a) *texbi* 'leather': See (1b).

(12b) *ne*: See (1c).

(12c) *aba* 'some': Partitive adverb.

(12d) *šód{e}* 'smoke': Noun formed from the Stative verb *šoda* 'to be smokey' with the ablauting of the final vowel to form the nominal (see section 2.3.1.2.2). The primary stress of this form is found on the first syllable probably due to the root of this form (*šóda*) being underlyingly CVC (see section 2.1.4).

(12e) *ɥs*: See (5b).

(12f) *zj-gi-Ø-ya-bi* 'they cause it to be brown, they tan': The Stative verb *zj* 'to be brown' with the third person singular subject (*Ø*), the plural suffix *-bi*, the 'possessive reflexive' affix *gi* (see section 2.3.2.1.5.1) and the causative suffix *-ya* (see section 2.3.2.1.6).

(13a) *texbi*: See (1b).

(13b) *hāba*: See (2d).

(13c) *ne*: See (1c).

(13d) *Ø-gayeye-bi-cta* 'they will sew': Active Transitive verb *gayeye* 'to sew' with the third person singular subject (*Ø*), the plural suffix *-bi* and the aspectual suffix representing 'an unrealized event' *-cta* (see section 2.3.2.1.2). This verb form is possibly a reduplicated form of *gāya* 'to make', but this is unknown at this time.

(13e) *hā-da* 'already, then': Adverbial apparently containing the form denoting continued time *hā* and another form *-da* the meaning of which is unknown at this time. This form appears to have its primary stress on the first syllable for reasons unknown at this time.

(13f) *žihā* 'feet': Body-part noun. See also (2d).

(13g) *ne*: See (1c).

(13h) *texbi*: See (1b).

(13i) *en*: See (1f).

(13j) *a-okšā*: See section 3.1.2 (20d).

(13k) *Ø-mayu-bi* 'They trace, mark': Active Transitive verb *mayu* 'to trace, mark' with the third person singular subject (*Ø*) and the plural suffix *-bi*.

(13l) *hjk*: See (4a).

(14a) *žə-hə-n*: See (4c).

(14b) *o-may{e}* 'mark': Noun from the Active Transitive verb *mayu* 'to trace, mark' with the locative prefix *o-* 'within something' (see section 2.3.2.2.3) and final vowel change to form a noun (see section 2.3.1.2.2).

(14c) *iyopdaye* 'along': Adverbial or prepositional form the morphemic breakdown of which is unknown at this time.

(14d) *Ø-yu-ksa-bi* 'they cut': Active Transitive verb *ksa* 'to cut' with the third person singular subject (*Ø*), the instrumental prefix *yu-* 'to pull, by hand' (see section 2.3.2.2.2) and the plural suffix *-bi*.

(15a) *hékta-čʔihə*: See (1a).

(15b) *pa-hj* 'porcupine': Compound noun made up of the nouns *hj* 'fur, quills' and *pa* 'head'.

(15c) *hj*: See (4d).

(15d) *ʏs*: See (5b).

(15e) *wa-a-Ø-yaza-bi* 'they make decorations': Active Transitive verb *yaza* 'to bead, decorate' with the third person singular subject (\emptyset), the indefinite object prefix *wa-* (see section 2.3.2.1.7), the locative prefix *a-* 'on' (see section 2.3.2.2.3) and the plural suffix *-bi*.

(16a) *nəgahə* 'today': Noun/adverb. This form may contain the form denoting continued time *hə*.

(16b) *nə-n*: See section 3.1.2 (21c).

(16c) *oŋ* 'beads': Noun.

(16d) *nína*: See (2g).

(16e) *Ø-wíyɔ-bi*: See (2h).

(16f) *nɔ*: See (1h).

(17a) *texbi*: See (1b).

(17b) *həba*: See (2d).

(17c) *nə*: See (1c).

(17d) *ome* 'different kinds': From the final vowel form, this appears to be a nominalized form of *oma* (see (19a)) which means 'to be different, the other'.

(17e) *núba* 'two': Numeral. This form has its primary stress on the first syllable probably due to it being, underlyingly, a CVC root (see section 2.1.4).

(17f) *no*: See (1h).

(18a) *ito*: See (3a).

(18b) *wąži*: See section 3.1.2 (1b).

(18c) *ne*: See (1c).

(18d) *ys*: See (5b).

(18e) *∅-wači-bi-cta* 'they will dance': Active Intransitive verb *wači* 'to dance' with the third person singular subject (*∅*), the plural suffix *-bi* and the aspectual suffix representing 'an unrealized event' *-cta* (see section 2.3.2.1.2). This whole clause, ((18c)-(18g)) is a relative clause meaning '(those) which they will dance with'.

(18f) *hą-da*: See (13e)

(18g) *že*: See (8c).

- (18h) *a-Ø-gi-yaza-bi* 'they decorated/beaded theirs': Active Transitive verb *yaza* 'to bead, decorate' with the third person singular subject (Ø), the locative prefix *a-* (see section 2.3.2.2.3) the 'possessive reflexive' affix *gi* (see section 2.3.2.1.5.1) and the plural suffix *-bi*.
- (19a) *oma* 'the one of two, the other one': See also (17d). An impersonal Stative verb which often acts as a quantifier.
- (19b) *jš*: See section 3.1.2 (23b).
- (19c) *ečagen* 'all times': Adverbial.
- (19d) *qbe*: See section 3.1.2 (3a).
- (19e) *asʔq* 'every': Quantifier.
- (19f) *Ø-ú-bi*: See (1g).
- (20a) *že-na*: See (4e).
- (20b) *že-na-gaš* 'those ones': Demonstrative. A compound of the demonstrative *že* 'the, that' with the plural suffix *-na* (see section 2.6.1) and a final element *-gaš* which has an undetermined meaning.
- (20c) *nína-x* 'very much': Adverb *nína* 'very' with the 'intensifying' suffix *-x* (see section 2.6.1).

(20d) *a-Ø-yaza-bi-šj* 'they don't bead, decorate': Active Transitive verb *yaza* 'to bead, decorate' with the locative prefix *a-* 'on' (see section 2.3.2.2.3), the third person singular marker (*Ø*), the plural suffix *-bi* and the negative suffix *-šj* (see section 2.3.2.1.3).

(21a) *wana*: See section 3.1.2 (31d).

(21b) *Ø-gayeye-bi-hta*: See (13d).

(21c) *šten*: See (11c).

(21d) *hékta-čʔihq*: See (1a).

(21e) *takq* 'sinew': Noun.

(21f) *qs*: See (5b).

(21g) *Ø-gayeye-bi* 'they sew': See (13d).

(22a) *tahjšpa* 'awl (sharp pointed object)': Noun, probably a compound the morphemic breakdown of which is undetermined at this time, but possibly containing the noun *hš* 'fur, quill' (see 15c).

(22b) *qs*: See (5b).

(22c) *Ø-ba-xnoga-bi* 'they drill (with holes): Active Transitive verb *xnoga* 'to make a hole (in a skin)' (Boas and Deloria 1941:46) with the third person singular subject (*Ø*), the instrumental prefix *ba-* 'push, by hand' (see section 2.3.2.2.2) and the plural suffix *-bi*.

(23a) *hjk*: See (21e).

(23b) *takq*: See (22b).

(23c) *že-na*: See (4e).

(23d) *ys*: See (5b).

(23e) *o-Ø-soso-bi* 'they pass it through (the holes)': Active Transitive verb possibly with the locative prefix *o-* 'within something' (see section 2.3.2.2.3). This word has an uncertain relationship to the verb *soso* which, according to sources, means 'to cut into strips'.

(24a) *žé-čen*: See section 3.1.2 (9a).

(24b) *Ø-gayeye-bi*: See (13d).

(24c) *no*: See (1h).

- (25a) *do-hə-ni* 'never': Adverbial compound containing the indefinite pronoun *do* 'something, what', the form denoting continued time *hə* and a suffix *-ni* which negates indefinite pronouns.
- (25b) *wa-ha* 'hides': See (3c).
- (25c) *ne-na* 'those': Demonstrative made up of the demonstrative *ne* 'this' and the plural suffix *-na* (see section 2.6.1).
- (25d) *i<∅>xbeya-bi-sj* 'they do not throw away': Active Transitive verb *ixbeya* 'to throw away' with the third person singular subject (\emptyset), the plural suffix *-bi* and the negative suffix *-sj* (see section 2.3.2.1.3).
- (26a) *ečagen*: See (19c).
- (26b) *dagu-x*: See (10a).
- (26c) *en*: See (1f).
- (26d) \emptyset -*wíy-bi*: See (2h).

3.2.3 Running translation into English

(1)In the past, leather was used in many different ways. (2)For example, it was used a lot for moccasins. (3)First of all, they dried the hide. (4)Then, when it was dry, they scraped the hair off. (5)They scraped it off with a hair scraper. (6)Then they mixed a mixture of grease, animal brains and fat together. (7)Then they rubbed it into the dried hide. (8)Then they soaked the hide in water to soften it. (9)They then took the iron hoop from a barrel and bent it. (10)They pulled the hide onto it and used it to stretch the hide. (11)The hide then became leather and from then on they could make use of it. (12)They made it brown with smoke. (13)Whenever they were going to make moccasins with the leather, they traced around their feet onto the leather. (14)Then they cut along the mark. (15)In the past, they made designs with porcupine quills. (16)Today beads are used a lot. (17)There are two kinds of moccasins. (18)The first one is used for dancing. That one is heavily decorated. (19)The second one is for everyday use. (20)It is not decorated much. (21)Whenever they sewed in the past, they used sinew. (22)With an awl, they punched holes in the leather. (23)Then they passed the sinew through. (24)That's the way they sewed. (25)They never threw away those hides. (26)They always used all of it.

3.2.4 Text as written in Herb Walker's orthography

(1)Hekta ć'e hañ teħpe ne dago oda en oñbi no. (2)lto ne teħpe hañmba ne en nina wiyuñmbi no. (3)lto togaheya wa ha ne sakyabi (4)hiñk sagašten je han hiñ jena gañ'ubi, (5)wa hiñbaħpa uñs gañ'ubi no. (6)Je hañn wikne dago nañsu wañiñ iyakna ićijaħiyabi (7)hiñk taha saga en i'uñbi no. (8)Je dahañ ta ha je mni ićigia kpañyañmbi no. (9)ćañwak'iñ mañza necha yuwiñs, (10)daguħ en paħtabi hiñk, taha ne anuk yudin hiñgabi. (11)Dohañn teħpe šten, je dahañ wiyuñmbi no. (12)Teħpe ne aba šode uñs ziñgiyabi. (13)Teħpe hañmba ne gağabikta hañda, siha ne teħpe en a'oksañ mağobi hiñk (14)jehan omağo iyopteya yuksabi, (15)hekta ć'e hañ paħiñ hiñ uñs wa ayazabi, (16)nañgahañ nen o'iñ nina wiyuñmbi no. (17)Teħpe hañmba ne ome numba no. (18)lto wazi ne uñs waćibikta hañda je agiyazabi. (19)Oma iñs ećagen añbeyañs'añ uñbi (20)jena gaś ninañ ayazabiñiñ. (21)Wana gağegebikta šten hekta ć'ehañ takañ uñs gağegebi. (22)ta hiñšpa uñs bañnogabi (23)hiñk, takañ jeca uñs ososobi, (24)jećen gağegebi. (25)Dohañi waha nena iħpeyabsiñ, (26)e ćagen daguħ en wiyuñmbi.

3.3 Selling wood to buy supplies

This is a text which tells how Nakoda people used to go to town to sell wood so that they could buy supplies. It also explains what kind of supplies they bought and what was done with them.

3.3.1 Transcription and literal translation

For the morphemic analysis applied to this text, see section 3.1.1.

- (1) nakoda ne nakon-mąkoče
 Nakoda people this nakoda-land (reserves)
- itimahen Ø-ų-bi č?ihą,
 into 3sS-to be-pl when
- čą-ba-kmikma okna otųwe en
 wood-IN-to go round (wagon) with town to, into
- čą wíope-Ø-ya-bi no.
 wood to sell-3sS-CAUS-pl PART
- (2) wani-edu hą-da jš
 ??-in, around (winter) continued time-?? (when) also
- čą-yu-snoha okna čą wíope-Ø-ya-bi.
 wood-IN-to drag (sleigh) with wood to sell-3sS-CAUS-pl
- (3) čą wíope <gi> Ø-ya-bi
 wood to sell <POSSREFL> -3sS-CAUS-pl

hă-da
continued time-?? (when)

že-hă-n
the, that-continued time-at, always a place nearby (then)

wó-yud{e}
PRE-to eat{NOM} (food)

ope < Ø-ičʔi > tų-bi:	tano	waxbe
to buy < 3sS-REFL > -pl	meat	tea, leaves

a-yu-ya-bi-nuyaki
LOC??-to be burnt-CAUS-pl-raw, powdered (flour)

čă-šmu-ya-bi
wood-to drop-CAUS-pl (sugar)

štuštena	čăpa-su-su-na,
salt	cherries-seed-REDUP-DIM (pepper)

(4)	dágu	jš	tokă-kă	wa-Ø-čiyă-bi
	whatever	also	another-REDUP	IO-3sS-to need-pl

že-na	jš
the, that-pl (those near me)	also

i-Ø-yukjă-ya	ope < Ø > tų-bi	no.
to think, understand < 3sS > -?? (budget)	to buy < 3sS > -pl	PART

(5)	wa-špă-Ø-yă-bi	hă-da	en
	IO-to cook-3sS-CAUS-pl	continued time-?? (when)	in, around

jš	tano	ʏs	wa-hąbi	Ø-gáya-bi
also	meat	with	PRE-broth	3sS-to make-pl

hjk	payi	iyakna	Ø-kn-uda-bi.
then	potatoes	with	3sS-POSSREFL-they eat-pl

- (6) dągu skú-Ø-ya jš
 something sweet-3sS-CAUS also

ahage <ki> ya-bi,
 to end-DAT-CAUS-pl (after the meal)

- (7) ne wibazoka čą-šmu-ya-bi
 this saskatoons wood-to drop-CAUS-pl (sugar)

ič?i-jahi-Ø-ya-bi
 REFL-to mix-3sS-CAUS-pl

- | | | | | |
|-----|------|-----------------------------------|-----|---------|
| (8) | hjk | a-yu-ya-bi | nų | čogan |
| | then | LOC??-to be burnt-CAUS-pl (bread) | two | beneath |

špą-Ø-yą-bi,
 to cook-3sS-CAUS-pl

- | | | | |
|-----|-----------|-----------------------------------|-----------------------|
| (9) | že | okna-to-čo-ųbabi | Ø-eya-bi |
| | the, that | between-??-core-to lay down (pie) | 3sS-to say/call it-pl |

no.
 PART

- | | | | |
|------|------------------------|-----|--------------------------------------|
| (10) | mno(g)-edu | yak | wa-skuy{e}-ja |
| | ??-in, around (summer) | all | IO-to be sweet{NOM}-?? (all berries) |

Ø-yu-špi-bi
3sS-IN-to pick-pl

- (11) hĭk wíbazoka né-ča sak-Ø-ya-bi čapa
then saskatoons this-a quality to dry-3sS-CAUS-pl cherries

ĩš Ø-ga-šgi-bi
also 3sS-IN-to crush-pl

- (12) hĭk yu-mima-ma-ya bus-Ø-ya-bi.
then IN-round-REDUP-?? (rolled balls) to be dry-3sS-CAUS-pl

- (13) wa-skuy{e}-ja toką-ką ne ĩš
IO-sweet-NOM-?? (all berries) another-REDUP this also

a-onatak špa-Ø-ya-bi.
LOC-sealed to cook-3sS-CAUS-pl

- (14) wašĭ ne ĩš nína Ø-wíyų-bi,
fat this also very 3sS-to make use of-pl

- (15) wašĭ ųs wíkni Ø-óda Ø-gáya-bi
fat with grease 3sS-to be many 3sS-to make-pl

že-na wani-edu awačĭ-ya
the, that-pl (those near me) ??-in, around (winter) to think-CAUS

že-na e-Ø-gi-knaga-bi.
the, that-pl (those near me) LOC-3sS-POSSREFL-to put away-pl

- (16) makoče Ø-yupda-bi hĭk
earth 3sS-to plow-pl then

že-n	wó-Ø-kšu-bi
the, that-at, always a place nearby (there)	PRE-3sS-to plant-pl

payi	wa-kmu-ha-za
potatoes	PRE-to be enclosed-hide-?? (corn)

típsi-na	típsj-ša-ša,
turnips-DIM	turnips-red-REDUP (beets)

(17)	dágu	jš	waxbe-xbe	žé-ča
	what	also	leaves-REDUP	the, that-a certain quality

dágu	ošpu-na
what	things??-DIM

že-na	jš	ičax-Ø-ya-bi.
the, that-pl (those near me)	also	to grow-3sS-CAUS-pl

(18)	že-na	žé-čen
	the, that-pl (those near me)	the, that-accordingly (and so)

wó-yud{e}	ičax-Ø-ya-bi	no.
PRE-to eat{NOM} (food)	to grow-3sS-CAUS-pl	PART

(19)	že-hą	wówaši	ųs
	the, that-continued time (in those times)	work	with

ikno<Ø>ya-bi	ó<Ø-giči>ya	ko
to make a living??<3sS>-pl	to help<3sS-RECIPREFL>	also

Ø-šką-bi	no.
3sS-to do-pl	PART

3.3.2 Morpheme-by-morpheme analysis

- (1a) *nakoda* 'Nakoda people': Collective noun.
- (1b) *ne*: See section 3.1.2 (2b).
- (1c) *nakon-mąkoče* 'reserves (nakoda-land)': Compound noun. From *nakoda* (see (1a)) and *mąkoče* 'earth'. The final *a* of *nakoda* drops off and the *d* becomes the corresponding nasal when the compound is formed (see section 2.2.3).
- (1d) *itimahen* 'into': Preposition. Possibly from a suffix *-mahen* 'inside' with the verb *ti* 'to dwell' and a prefix *i-* which has a meaning unknown at this time. Thus the whole form would have a meaning like 'settled in'.
- (1e) *Ø-ų-bi* 'they are': Active Intransitive verb *ų* 'to be' with the third person singular subject (*Ø*) and the plural suffix *-bi*. Note that this verb has the same form as the verb 'to use' (see section 3.2.2 (1g)). The primary stress of this form is on the first syllable because the plural suffix *-bi* does not attract the stress (see section 2.1.4).
- (1f) *čʔihą* : See section 3.2.2 (1a).
- (1g) *čą-ba-kmikma* 'wagon': Compound noun. From noun *čą* 'wood' plus the instrumental prefix *ba-* 'to push' and the active intransitive verb *kmikma* 'to go round'. This verb may also be a reduplicated form, but the root is unknown.

- (1h) *okna* 'with': Conjunction. This form seems to imply the presence of a plural object as its equivalent does in Lakhota.
- (1i) *otywe* 'town': Noun.
- (1j) *en*: See section 3.1.2 (2e).
- (1k) *čq̣* 'wood': Noun.
- (1l) *wíope-Ø-ya-bi* 'they sell': Active Transitive verb *wiopeya* 'to sell', which may contain the causative suffix *-ya*, with the third person singular subject and the plural suffix *-bi*. The primary stress of this form is on the first syllable probably due to the fact that the underlying form of this word is *wa-iope-ya*, with the *wa-i* becoming *wi* and keeping the stress.
- (1m) *no*: See section 3.1.2 (1d).
- (2a) *wani-edu* 'winter': Noun. Compound with the suffix *-edu* 'in, around' (see section 3.1.2 (2e) and (3a)) and the form *wani-* which contains the noun *wa* 'snow'.
- (2b) *hḡ-da*: See section 3.2.2 (13e).
- (2c) *jṣ̌*: See section 3.1.2 (23b).

- (2d) *čā-yu-snoha* 'sleigh': Compound noun. From the noun *čā* 'wood', and the verb *yu-snoha* 'to pull' (see section 3.1.2 (14f)).
- (2e) *okna*: See (1h).
- (2f) *čā*: See (1k).
- (2g) *wiope-Ø-ya-bi*: See (1l).
- (3a) *čā*: See (1k).
- (3b) *wiope<Ø-gi>ya-bi* 'they sell theirs': See (1l). This form also contains the 'possessive reflexive' affix *gi* (see section 2.3.2.1.5.1).
- (3c) *hā-da*: See (2b).
- (3d) *že-hā-n*: See section 3.2.2 (4c).
- (3e) *wó-yud{e}* 'food': Compound noun. From the active transitive verb *yuda* 'to eat' which ablauts the final vowel to become a nominal (see section 2.3.1.2.2) with the noun (called a prefix by Shaw - 1976:90) *wo* 'food' which appears to attract the primary stress to the first syllable. This nominal prefix is archaic and is not usually recognized as a separate morpheme by native speakers.

- (3f) *ope* <Ø-*ičʔi*> *tu-bi* 'they themselves buy': Active Transitive verb *opetu* 'to buy' with the third person singular subject (Ø), the reflexive affix *ičʔi* (see section 2.3.2.1.5.1) and the plural suffix *-bi*.
- (3g) *tano* 'meat': Noun.
- (3h) *waxbe* 'tea (leaves)': Noun.
- (3i) *a-yu-ya-bi-nuyaki* 'flour': Compound noun. From the noun *ayuyabi* 'bread' and an element *nuyaki* which was translated by Mr. Walker as 'raw, powdered', making it a stative verb. *ayuyabi* itself is a compound noun containing the noun *ayuya* 'to cause to burn' (containing the verb *yu* 'to be burnt, scorched', a prefix *a-* which is perhaps the locative 'on', and the causative suffix *-ya* (see section 2.3.2.1.6) and the plural suffix *-bi* which nominalizes the verb (see section 2.3.1.2.1).
- (3j) *čə-šmu-ya-bi* 'sugar': Compound noun. From the noun *čə* 'wood' the intransitive verb *šmu* 'to drop', the causative suffix *-ya* (see section 2.3.2.1.6) and the plural suffix *-bi* which nominalizes the verb (see section 2.3.1.2.1). Mr. Walker points out that this noun was named for the sap which drops out of trees and is made into maple syrup.
- (3k) *štuštena* 'salt': Noun. Possibly a compound noun consisting of the stative verb *štena* 'to be many' and an element *štu* the meaning of which is unknown at this time.

- (3l) *čapa-su-su-na* 'pepper': Compound noun. From the noun *čapa* 'cherries', the noun *su* 'seed' (reduplicated for plurality - see section 2.4.1) and the diminutive suffix *-na* (see section 2.3.1.1.2). So the literal meaning is 'lots of little cherry seeds'.
- (4a) *dāgu*: See section 3.1.2 (19b).
- (4b) *jš*: See (2c).
- (4c) *toka-kā* 'lots of different things': Noun. This form here shows reduplication. The root, *toka* means 'another', but since the context is plural ('whatever different things they need') the reduplication probably serves to pluralize the root (see section 2.4.1).
- (4d) *wa-Ø-čiyā-bi* 'they want, need': Active Transitive verb *čiyā* 'to want, need' with the third person singular subject (Ø), the plural suffix *-bi* and the indefinite object prefix *wa-* (see section 2.3.2.1.7).
- (4e) *že-na*: See section 3.1.2 (47b).
- (4f) *jš*: See (2c).
- (4g) *i-Ø-yukjā-ya* 'thoughtfully (budget)': (see also section 3.1.2 (19d)). Active Transitive verb *iyukjā* 'to think, understand' with the third person singular subject (Ø) and the suffix *-ya* which adverbializes the verb so that it means

'thoughtfully, after careful consideration' (see section 2.3.2.1.6). Mr. Walker translated this form as a noun meaning 'budget'.

(4h) *ope<∅>ty-bi* 'they buy': Active Transitive verb *opetɥ* 'to buy' with the third person singular subject (\emptyset) and the plural suffix *-bi*. This verb may contain a prefix *o-*, but it seems to have become an inseparable part of the root.

(4i) *no*: See (1m).

(5a) *wa-špə-∅-yə-bi* 'they cook': Active Transitive verb *špəyə* with the third person singular subject (\emptyset), the plural suffix *-bi* and the indefinite object prefix *wa-*. The verb *špəyə* itself is composed of *špə*, an active transitive verb which means 'to burn', and the suffix *-yə* which may be an alternate form of the causative suffix (Riggs 1890:610) caused by nasal spread.

(5b) *hə-da*: See (3c).

(5c) *en* 'upon': See also (1j). This form governs the clause *wašpəyəbi həda* creating a meaning of 'upon cooking...'

(5d) *jš*: See (2c).

(5e) *tano*: See (3g).

(5f) *ɥs*: See section 3.2.2 (5b).

- (5g) *wa-hābi* 'broth': Compound noun. From the noun *hābi* 'broth' with a prefix *wa-* which does not seem to add any meaning. The verbal root of this form is *hā* 'to cook by boiling' which adds the suffix *-bi* to nominalize the verb (see section 2.3.1.2.1).
- (5h) *Ø-gāya-bi* 'they make': Active Transitive verb *gāya* 'to make' with the third person singular subject (*Ø*) and the plural suffix *-bi*. This form has its primary stress on the first syllable because it is underlyingly a CVC root (see section 2.1.4).
- (5i) *hjk*: See section 3.1.2 (49b).
- (5j) *payi* 'potatoes': Noun.
- (5k) *iyakna* 'with': Conjunction.
- (5l) *Ø-kn-uda-bi* 'they eat theirs': Active Transitive verb *yuda* 'to eat' with the third person singular subject (*Ø*), the plural suffix *-bi* and the 'possessive reflexive' affix (*kn* with *y*-stem verbs -see section 2.3.2.1.5.1).
- (6a) *dāgu*: See (4a).
- (6b) *skú-Ø-ya* 'it is sweet': Stative verb *skuya* with the third person singular subject (*Ø*). This verb possibly contains the causative suffix *-ya* (see section 2.3.2.1.6). This form has its primary stress on the first syllable possibly due to it being, underlyingly, a CVC root (see section 2.1.4).

(6c) *jš*: See (2c).

(6d) *ahage* <*ki*> *ya-bi* 'they make it end for themselves': Compound form from the verb *ahage* 'to end' with the 'dative' affix *ki* (see section 2.3.2.1.5.2) which here is formed with an aspirated plosive, the causative suffix *-ya* (see section 2.3.2.1.6) and the plural suffix *-bi*.

(7a) *ne*: See section 3.1.2 (2b).

(7b) *wibazoka* 'saskatoons': Noun. This may be a compound noun, but the morphemic breakdown is undetermined at this time. The first element *wi-* probably attracts the primary stress in this form (see section 2.1.4 and (1l) above).

(7c) *čə-šmu-ya-bi*: See (3j).

(7d) *ičʔi-jahi-Ø-ya-bi*: See section 3.2.2 (6f).

(8a) *hik*: See (5i).

(8b) *a-yu-ya-bi* 'bread': Compound noun. See (3i).

(8c) *ny* 'two': Numeral (see section 2.5).

(8d) *čogan* 'beneath': Preposition.

- (8e) *špā-Ø-yā-bi* 'they cook': See (5a). This form does not contain the indefinite object prefix because the object is specified in the context.
- (9a) *že*: See section 3.1.2 (12e).
- (9b) *okna-to-čo-ȳbabi* 'pie': Compound noun. Probably from *okna* 'between', the element *to*, the meaning of which is unclear at this time, *čo* 'core', and *ȳbabi* 'to lay down'. The whole then would mean, literally, 'to lay down between (in a core)'.
- (9c) *Ø-eya-bi*: See section 3.1.2 (18g). This form also has the plural suffix *-bi*.
- (9d) *no*: See (1m).
- (10a) *mnog-edu* 'summer': Noun. Compound form containing the suffix *-edu* 'in, around' (see section 3.1.2 (3e) and (3a)) with an element *mnog-* the meaning of which is unknown at this time.
- (10b) *yak* 'all': Adverb.
- (10c) *wa-skuy{e}-ja* 'berries': Compound noun. From the stative verb *skuya* 'to be sweet', possibly the indefinite object prefix *wa-* and a suffix *-ja* (perhaps *-ga* palatalized by the preceding *e*) which remains undefined at this time. The final *a* of the verb is ablauted when the noun is formed (see section 2.3.1.2.2).

- (10d) *Ø-yu-špi-bi* 'they pick': Active Transitive verb *špi* 'to pick' with the third person singular subject (*Ø*), the instrumental prefix *yu-* 'to pull, by hand' (see section 2.3.2.2.2) and the plural suffix *-bi*.
- (11a) *hjk*: See (5i).
- (11b) *wibazoka*: See (7b).
- (11c) *né-ča*: See section 3.2.2 (9c).
- (11d) *sak-Ø-ya-bi* 'they dry': See section 3.2.2 (3e).
- (11e) *čapa* 'cherries': Noun.
- (11f) *jš*: See (2c).
- (11g) *Ø-ga-šgi-bi* 'they crush': Active Transitive verb *šgi* 'to crush' with the third person singular subject (*Ø*), the instrumental prefix *ga-* 'striking with something' (see section 2.3.2.2.2) and the plural suffix *-bi*.
- (12a) *hjk*: See (5i).
- (12b) *yu-mima-ma-yə* 'rolled balls': Compound noun. From the stative verb *mima* 'to be round', reduplicated to pluralize (see section 2.4.1), the instrumental prefix *yu-* 'to pull, by hand' (see section 2.3.2.2.2), and a suffix *-yə* (*-ya* plus

nasal spread from the *m*) which changes the verb form 'to roll, make round' to 'rolled' (see section 2.3.2.1.6). According to Riggs (1890:632) the verb *yumima* itself is an active transitive verb meaning 'to make round'.

(12c) *bus-Ø-ya-bi* 'they dry': Active Transitive verb *busya* 'to make, cause to be, dry' which is itself composed of *buza* 'to be dry' (see section 2.2.2 for an explanation of the final consonant devoicing after the final vowel drop) and the causative suffix *-ya*, with the third person singular subject (Ø) and the plural suffix *-bi*. The difference between the two stative verbs meaning 'to be dry', *buza* and *saga* (see section 3.2.2 (3e)), is that *buza* is 'to be not wet' and *saga* is 'to be dry, hard'.

(13a) *wa-skuy{e}-ja*: See (10c).

(13b) *toka-kā*: See (4c).

(13c) *ne*: See (7a).

(13d) *jš*: See (2c).

(13e) *a-onatak* 'to seal, fasten': Active Transitive verb *onataka* 'to seal (in), fasten' possibly with the locative prefix *a-* 'on'. The final vowel of the verb has been dropped in this form for reasons unknown at this time.

(13f) *špa-Ø-ya-bi*: See (8e).

(14a) *wašj*: See section 3.2.2 (6e).

(14b) *ne*: See (7a).

(14c) *jš*: See (2c).

(14d) *nína*: See section 3.1.2 (5c).

(14e) *Ø-wíyq-bi*: See section 3.2.2 (2h).

(15a) *wašj*: See (14a).

(15b) *qs*: See (5f).

(15c) *wíkni*: See section 3.2.2 (6b).

(15d) *Ø-óda*: See section 3.2.2 (1e).

(15e) *Ø-gáya-bi*: See (5h).

(15f) *že-na*: See (4e).

(15g) *wani-edu*: See (2a).

(15h) *awačjyq* 'to think on': Active Transitive verb *awačj* 'to think' (see section 3.1.2 (37c)) with the suffix *-yq* which may be an alternate form of the

causative suffix (see (5a)). In this context, this phrase appears to mean 'the winter thought about, anticipated' meaning that the Nakoda people are thinking ahead to prepare for the winter.

(15i) *že-na*: See (4e).

(15j) *e-Ø-gi-knaga-bi* 'they prepare/put away their own': (see also section 3.1.2 (8f)). Active Transitive verb *knaga* 'to put away' with the third person singular subject (Ø), the 'possessive reflexive' affix *gi* (see section 2.3.2.1.5.1), the plural suffix *-bi* and the prefix *e-* which may be the locative prefix 'at some place, down' (see section 2.3.2.2.3).

(16a) *makoče* 'earth': See (1c).

(16b) *Ø-yupda-bi* 'they plow': Active Transitive verb *yupda* 'to plow' with the third person singular subject (Ø) and the plural suffix *-bi*. This verb possibly contains the instrumental prefix *yu-* 'to pull, by hand' (see section 2.3.2.2.2).

(16c) *hjk*: See (5i).

(16d) *že-n*: See section 3.1.2 (38f).

(16e) *wó-Ø-kšu-bi* 'they plant': Active Transitive verb *kšu* 'to plant' with the third person singular subject (Ø), the plural suffix *-bi* and a prefix *wo-* attracts the primary stress because it is a compound of *wa-o*, the indefinite object *wa-*

(see section 2.3.2.1.7) and the locative *o-* 'within something' (see section 2.3.2.2.3) thus 'the stuff they stick into something (here, the ground)'.

(16f) *payi*: See (5j).

(16g) *wa-kmu-ha-za* 'corn': Compound noun. Appear to be from the noun *kma* (or *wakma*) 'walnut', although Mr. Walker states that *wakmu* (or *kmu*) is a stative verb meaning 'to be enclosed', the noun *ha* 'hide' and a form *za* which has a meaning undetermined at this time, but which may be a verbal root.

(16h) *tjpsi-na* 'turnips': Noun which may contain the diminutive suffix *-na*. *tjpsi* is the root of the form discussed in (16i), but here the nasalization of the final *i* appears to be neutralized by the following nasal consonant. The primary stress of this form appears on the first syllable for reasons unknown at this time.

(16i) *tjpsj-ša-ša* 'beets': Compound noun. From *tjpsina* 'turnips' (see (16h)) with the stative verb *ša* 'to be red' which is here reduplicated (see section 2.4.1).

(17a) *dágu*: See (4a).

(17b) *jš*: See (2c).

(17c) *waxbe-xbe*: See (3h) for *waxbe*. This form contains reduplication which indicates plurality (see section 2.4.1).

- (17d) *žé-ča*: Demonstrative compound of *že* 'the, that' and the suffix *-ča* which seems to denote a certain quality (see section 2.6.1). The primary stress is on the first syllable, probably because the first element *že*, attracts the stress.
- (17e) *dágu*: See (4a).
- (17f) *ošpu-na* 'little things': Noun. This nominal form may be from the verb *špu* 'to pick' which, after being nominalized by the locative prefix *o-* (see section 2.3.2.2.3) and adding the diminutive suffix *-na* comes to mean 'little things which are picked by hand'. Note that (10d) has *špi* as 'to pick' as well.
- (17g) *že-na*: See (4e).
- (17h) *jš*: See (2c).
- (17i) *ičax-Ø-ya-bi*: Active Intransitive verb *ičaya* 'to grow' with the third person singular subject (Ø), the plural suffix *-bi* and the causative suffix *-ya* (see section 2.3.2.1.6).
- (18a) *že-na*: See (4e).
- (18b) *žé-čen*: See section 3.2.2 (24a).
- (18c) *wó-yud{e}*: See (3e).

(18d) *ičax-Ø-ya-bi*: See (17i)

(18e) *no*: See (1m).

(19a) *že-hə* 'in those times': Adverb compound made up of the demonstrative *že* 'the, that' and the continued time form *hə* (see section 2.61).

(19b) *wówaši* 'work': Noun with the element *wo-* attracting the primary stress.

(19c) *ʏs*: See (5f).

(19d) *i<Ø>knoya-bi* 'they take themselves to a place': Active Intransitive verb *iknoya* 'to take oneself to a place'. Mr. Walker actually translated this verb as 'they make a living'.

(19e) *ó<Ø-giči>ya* 'to help each other': Active Transitive verb *ogiya* 'to help' with the third person singular subject (Ø) and the 'reciprocal reflexive' *giči* (see section 2.3.2.1.5.1). In this form, the *-gi-* of the verb *ogiya* is dropped off when the reciprocal reflexive is attached (Rood and Taylor 1996:469). Here the primary stress appears on the first syllable for reasons unknown at this time.

(19f) *ko*: See 3.1.2 (11e).

(19g) *Ø-škə-bi* 'they do, act': Active Transitive verb *škə* 'to do, act' with the third person singular subject (Ø) and the plural suffix *-bi*. This verb appears to "go

with" other verbs. The primary stress is found on the first syllable of this form because the plural suffix *-bi* does not attract stress (see section 2.1.4). This form, with the preceding verb, comes to mean 'they always act to help each other'.

(19h) *no*: See (1m).

3.3.3 Running translation into English

(1)When the Nakoda were put on reserves, they went to town in wagons to sell wood. (2)When it was winter, they went to sell wood in sleighs. (3)When they sold their wood they bought themselves food: meat, tea, flour, sugar, salt and pepper. (4)Whatever different things they needed they budgeted to buy. (5)When they cooked the meat they made soup and ate their potatoes with it. (6)There was also something sweet after the meal. (7)They mixed saskatoons and sugar. (8)They cooked the mixture beneath 2 slices of bread dough. (9)They called this "pie". (10)All summer they picked all kinds of berries. (11)They crushed dried saskatoons with chokecherries. (12)They rolled them in a ball and dried them. (13)They cooked all different berries and put them in sealers. (14)They also used fat a lot. (15)They made all kinds of their things with fat and lots of grease for the winter. (16)They plowed the earth and planted potatoes, corn, turnips, beets, (17)They grew all kinds of greens and other little things. (18)This way they grew their own food. (19)In those times, they helped each other with work as a community.

3.3.4 Text as written in Herb Walker's orthography

(1) Nakoda ne nakon mañkoce itimahen uñbi č'e hañ, čañbakmikma okna otuñwe en čañ wiyopeyabi no. (2) Waniyedo hañda iñš čañ usnohañ okna čañ wiyopeyabi. (3) Čañ wiyopegiyabi hañda jehan woyude ope-ič'ituñbi: tano, wahpe, aguyabe nuyake čañšmoyabi, štuštena, čañpasusuna, (4) dagu iñš tokankan waciñyañbi jena iñš iyukčañyañ opetuñbi no. (5) Wašpañyañbi hañda iñš en tanouñs wahañbi gağabi hiñk, paği iyakna knudabi. (6) dagu skuya iñš ahagekiyabi, (7) ne wibazookaň čañšmoyabi icijahiyabi (8) hiñk aguyabi num čogan spañyañbi, (9) je oñnate čo-umbabi iyabi no. (10) Mnogedu yak waskuyeja ušpebi (11) hiñk, wibazookan neča sakyabi, čañpa iñš gaškibi (12) hiñk umimamayan busyabi, (13) waskuyeja tokañkaň ne iñš a-onatak špañyañbi. (14) Wašiň ne iñš nina wiyumbi, (15) wašiň uñš wikni oda gağabi, jena waniyedu awaciñya jena egiknagabi. (16) Mañkoce uptabi hiñk jen woksubi, paği, wakmuhaza, tiñpsina, tiñpsiñsasa, (17) dagu iñš wahpehpe ječa, dagu ošpuna jena iñš ičañyabi. (18) Jena ječen woude ičañgiyabi no. (19) Jahaň wowaši uñš iknoyabi. Ogičiya ko škañbi.

3.4 Traveling, tourism, socialization

This text tells how the Nakoda people travel today and how they traveled long ago.

3.4.1 Transcription and literal translation

For the morphemic analysis applied to this text, see section 3.1.1.

- | | | | | |
|-----|--|-------------------------------------|---|--|
| (1) | nəgahə
today | ne
this | nakoda
Nakoda | |
| | o-ma<Ø>ni-bi
LOC-to walk <3sS>-pl (to travel) | | | hə-da
continued time-?? (when) |
| | iyechga-mani
by itself-to walk (car) | okna
with | o-ma<Ø>ni-bi.
LOC-to walk <3sS>-pl (to travel) | |
| (2) | očagu
road | jš
also | nəgahə
today | ne-n
this-at, always a place nearby |
| | očagu
road | wašte
good | | |
| | že-na
the, that-pl (those near me) | okna
with, on | o-ma<Ø>ni-bi.
LOC-to walk <3sS>-pl (to travel) | |
| (3) | dó-ki
something, what-at a certain place (wherever) | Ø-wači-bi-hta
3sS-to dance-pl-UN | | |
| | hə-da
continued time-?? (when) | tehə-ši
long time-NEG | ko
and, too, also | |

ihā-Ø-i-bi.

to remain-3sS-to get there-pl

- (4) wani-edu ko wa očāgu
??-in, around (winter) and, too, also snow road

ne Ø-yušpa-kni-bi.

this 3sS-to separate-to arrive-pl (they are kept open)

- (5) o-mās?ap{e} jš Ø-yuha-bi
LOC-to phone??{NOM} (telephone) also 3sS-to have-pl

čen,

because

- (6) dó-ki Ø-yá-bi-hta
something, what-at a certain place (wherever) 3sS-to go-pl-UN

hā-da gah-itogam Ø-mās?apa-bi.
continued time-?? (when) ??-before, first 3sS-to phone-pl

- (7) nakon-iya-he
nakoda-to speak a language-?? (in their language)

wó < Ø-giči-kn > aga-bi.

to tell < 3sS-RECIPREFL-POSSREFL?? > -pl

- (8) mās?ap{e} okna nakon
to phone??{NOM} (telephone) with nakoda language

wó < Ø-giči-kn > aga-bi

to tell < 3sS-RECIPREFL-POSSREFL?? > -pl

hə-da Ø-dəya
continued time-?? (when) 3sS-to be well

na < Ø-giči > xʔɥ-bi.
to hear < 3sS-POSSREFL > -pl

- (9) gɣyɔ-kiya-bi jš okna o-ma < Ø > ni-bi.
to fly-CAUS-pl (airplanes) also with LOC-to travel < 3sS > -pl

- (10) teha-šj-šj tehan-han Ø-í-bi no.
long time-NEG-REDUP far-REDUP 3sS-to go-pl PART

- (11) hake piya-hə-šj
again ??-continued time-NEG (very little time)

ko Ø-kni-bi.
also 3sS-to come back home-pl

- (12) žé-čen nəgahə ne nakoda
the, that-accordingly (and so) today this the Nakoda

o-ma < Ø > ni-bi
LOC-to walk < 3sS > -pl (to travel)

- (13) že-na ɥs Ø-dəya
the, that-pl (those near me) with 3sS-to be well

wa < Ø-giči-kn > aga-bi
to see < -3sS-RECIPREFL-POSSREFL?? > -pl

- (14) hɣk jš ó < Ø-giči > ya
then also to help < 3sS-RECIPREFL >

ko Ø-škǫ-bi.
and, too, also 3sS-to do, act-pl

- (15) oaška ne nakon-makoče itimahen Ø-ý-bi
recently this Nakoda-land (reserves) within 3sS-to be-pl

čʔihǫ čǫ-ba-kmikma okna
when wood-IN-to go round (wagon) with

o-ma < Ø > ni-bi.
LOC-to walk < 3sS > -pl (to travel)

- (16) šǫga-tǫga ne čǫ-ba-kmikma en
dog-large (horse) this wood-IN-to be round (wagon) in

koyak-wiča-Ø-ya-bi
to wear-3plO-3sS-CAUS-pl

- (17) hǫk že-hǫ-n
then the, that-continued time-at, always a place nearby (then)

dó-ki
something, what-at a certain place (where)

Ø-yá-bi-hta há-da
3sS-to go-pl-UN continued time-?? (when)

že-hǫ-n
the, that-continued time-at, always a place nearby (then)

Ø-i-ya-ya-bi.
3sS-to arrive going-to be going-REDUP-pl

- (18) wani-edu hǎ-da
 ??-in, around (winter) continued time-?? (when)
- čǎ-yu-snoha okna o-ma < Ø > ni-bi.
 wood-IN-to drag (sleigh) with LOC-to walk < 3sS > -pl (to travel)
- (19) hékta-čʔihǎ šǔga-tǎga ne čuwi-čʔiba
 behind-when (in the past) dog-large (horse) this sides-?? (travois)
- né-ča šǔga-tǎga awiča-pa < Ø > xda-bi.
 this-a certain quality dog-large (horse) on-to tie < 3sS > -pl
- (20) čuwi-čʔiba ne čǎ nǔ šǔga-tǎga ne
 sides-?? (travois) this wood two dog-large (horse) this
- anǔk pa < Ø > xda-bi.
 on each side to tie < 3sS > -pl
- (21) čǎ-jkba žé-či
 wood-the end the, that-at a certain place (there)
- pa < Ø > xda-bi. čǎ že šǔga-tǎga ne
 to tie < 3sS > -pl wood the, that dog-large (horse) this
- iyakam hǎska-ska.
 beyond to be long-REDUP
- (22) žé-čen šǔga-tǎga ixeyam
 the, that-accordingly (and so) dog-large (horse) behind
- čǎ nǔ pde-pde že-na
 wood two short-REDUP the, that-pl

žé-ča	a-pa < Ø > xda-bi.
the, that-a certain quality	LOC-to tie < 3sS > -pl

že-n	wi
the, that-at, always a place nearby (there)	tent

wóyude	že-na	en
food	the, that-pl (those near me)	in, on

o-pa < Ø-gi > xda-bi.
LOC-to tie in < 3sS-POSSREFL > -pl

- | | | | | |
|------|--------------------------------|-------------|---------|---------------------------------|
| (23) | mayazu | koš | wi | ó < Ø-gi > ziba-bi |
| | rain | even though | tent | to pitch?? < 3sS-POSSREFL > -pl |
| | | | | |
| (24) | žé-čen | | timahen | bus-Ø-ya-hjga-bi |
| | the, that-accordingly (and so) | | inside | to be dry-3sS-CAUS-??-pl |

3.4.2 Morpheme-by-morpheme analysis

- (1a) *nəgahə* 'today': See section 3.2.2 (16a).
- (1b) *ne*: See section 3.1.2 (2b).
- (1c) *nakoda*: See section 3.3.2 (1a).
- (1d) *o-ma-Ø-ni-bi* 'to travel': Active Intransitive *o-mani* 'to travel' with the third person singular subject (Ø) and the plural suffix *-bi*. The root of this verb is *mani* 'to walk' which takes the locative prefix *o-* 'within something' (see section 2.3.2.2.3) to create a meaning of 'walking within an area'.
- (1e) *hə-da*: See section 3.2.2 (13e).
- (1f) *iyečjga-mani* 'car': Compound noun. From the verb *mani* 'to walk' and the reflexive pronominal form *iyečjga* 'by itself, by one's own accord' creating the meaning of 'it walks (or moves) by its own accord'.
- (1g) *okna* 'with': See section 3.3.2 (1h).
- (1h) *o-ma-Ø-ni-bi*: See (1d).
- (2a) *očəgu* 'road': Noun.
- (2b) *jš*: See section 3.1.2 (23b).

(2c) *nəgahə*: See (1a).

(2d) *ne-n*: See section 3.1.2 (21c).

(2e) *očəgu*: See (2a).

(2f) *wašte*: See section 3.1.2 (36e).

(2g) *žə-na*: See section 3.1.2 (47b).

(2h) *okna*: See (1g).

(2i) *o-ma-Ø-ni-bi*: See (1d).

(3a) *dó-ki* 'wherever': Adverb compound made up of the indefinite pronoun *do* and the adverbial suffix *-ki* 'at a certain place' (see section 2.6.1). This form also has the stress on the first syllable, *do-*, probably because the element *-ki* does not attract the stress (see section 3.1.2 (43a)).

(3b) *Ø-wači-bi-cta*: See section 3.2.2 (18e).

(3c) *hə-da*: See (1e).

(3d) *tehə-šj* 'little time': Compound adverbial form. From the form *tehə* 'realized, past' which may contain the form denoting continued time *hə* (see section 2.6.1) and the negative suffix *šj* (see section 2.3.2.1.3). While this was

translated by Mr. Walker as 'little time' its literal meaning would be 'not long, quickly' meaning, in the context, that, with a car, it does not take long to get to wherever there is a pow-wow.

(3e) *ko*: See section 3.1.2 (11e).

(3f) *ihə-Ø-i-bi* 'they get there': Active Intransitive verb *i* 'to arrive going' with the third person singular subject (Ø) and the plural suffix. This form also contains another active intransitive verb form *ihə* which means 'to remain, to stand at'.

(4a) *wani-edu*: See section 3.3.2 (2a).

(4b) *ko*: See section 3.1.2 (11e).

(4c) *wa* 'snow': Noun.

(4d) *očəgu*: See (2a).

(4e) *ne*: See (1b).

(4f) *Ø-yu-špa-kni-bi* 'they are kept open': Active Transitive verb with the third person singular subject (Ø) and the plural suffix *-bi*. The active transitive verb *yušpa* normally means 'to separate', which may contain the instrumental prefix *yu-* 'to pull, by hand' (see section 2.3.2.2.2), and the active intransitive verb *kni* which means 'to arrive coming back to where one belongs'. In this case, the form appears to mean 'they separate to come back home' or

perhaps, 'they (the roads) are freed (from snow) so that people can return home'.

- (5a) *o-məsʔap(e)* 'telephone': (see also (5e)). Compound noun. From a verb form *məsʔapa* the meaning of which is undetermined at this time (translated by Mr. Walker as 'to phone') and the locative prefix *o-* 'within, into' (see section 2.3.2.2.3) with the final vowel ablauting when the noun is formed - see section 2.3.1.2.2). This verb is itself made up of the noun *maza* 'metal' and the verb *apa* 'to hit' becoming, literally, 'they hit metal inside of it (i.e. the bell rings)'.
- (5b) *jš:* See (2b).
- (5c) *Ø-yuha-bi* 'they have': Active Transitive verb *yuha* 'to have' with the third person singular subject (*Ø*) and the plural suffix *-bi*.
- (5d) *čen:* See section 3.1.2 (8d).
- (6a) *dó-ki:* See (3a).
- (6b) *Ø-yá-bi-cta* 'they will go': Active Intransitive verb *ya* 'to be going' with the third person singular subject (*Ø*), the plural suffix *-bi* and the aspectual suffix representing 'an unrealized event' *-cta* (see section 2.3.2.1.2). This form has its primary stress on the first syllable because neither *-bi* nor *-cta* attract stress (see section 2.1.4).

- (6c) *hǣ-da*: See (1e).
- (6d) *gahitogam* 'before, first, in advance': Adverb related to the adverb *itogam* 'before' with a prefix *ga-* which may be an object of the following verb (*∅-mǣsʔapa-bi*) as in 'they call it first'.
- (6e) *∅-mǣsʔapa-bi* 'they phone': See also (5a). The verb *mǣsʔapa* here also contains the third person singular subject (*∅*) and the plural suffix *-bi*.
- (7a) *nakon-iya-he* 'in the nakoda language (in their language)': Compound form. From the noun *nakoda* 'the Nakoda people' and the verb *iya* 'to speak a language'. The element *-he* has a meaning unknown at this time. See section 2.2.3 for a description of consonant nasalization.
- (7b) *wó<∅-giči-kn>aga-bi* 'they speak to each other': Active Transitive verb *woyaga* 'to tell, relate' with the third person singular subject (*∅*), the plural suffix *-bi*, the 'reciprocal reflexive' affix *giči* and the 'possessive reflexive' (here infixes along with the reciprocal and the third person pronominal marker) which takes the form *kn* in front of a *y*-stem (see section 2.3.2.1.5.1). The exact meaning which the possessive reflexive adds to the form is unknown at this time. *wo-* seems to attract the primary stress in this form.
- (8a) *mǣsʔap{e}*: See (5a).
- (8b) *okna*: See (1g).

- (8c) *nakon*: See (7a).
- (8d) *wó<Ø-giči-kn>aga-bi*: See (7b).
- (8e) *hą-da*: See (1e).
- (8f) *Ø-dąya* 'to be well': Stative verb *dąya* 'to be well' with the third person singular subject (Ø).
- (8g) *na<Ø-giči>xʔų-bi* 'they hear': Active Transitive verb probably of the form *naxʔų* 'to hear' with the third person singular subject (Ø), the reflexive 'reciprocal' affix *giči* (see section 2.3.2.1.5.1) and the plural suffix *-bi*.
- (9a) *giyą-kiya-bi* 'airplanes': Compound noun. From the active intransitive verb *giyą* 'to fly' with the causative in the intentional form of *-kiya* (see section 2.3.2.1.6) and the plural suffix *-bi* which would nominalize the verb (see section 2.3.1.2.1).
- (9b) *jš*: See (2b).
- (9c) *okna*: See (1g).
- (9d) *o-ma-Ø-ni-bi*: See (1d).

- (10a) *tehaš-šj-šj* 'little time': See also (3d). This is the same form, *tehaš* 'long time' with the negative suffix *-šj* reduplicated for intensification (see section 2.4.2).
- (10b) *tehan-han* 'far': See (3d) and (10a). The form *tehan* 'to be far, long' is 'unrealized' or 'future' and is related to the form of *tehaš* 'to be far, long' 'realized, past' (see (3d)). This form is reduplicated for intensification (see section 2.4.2).
- (10c) *Ø-í-bi* 'they arrive': See (3f). The primary stress of this form is on the first syllable because the plural suffix *-bi* does not attract the stress.
- (10d) *no*: See section 3.1.2 (1d).
- (11a) *hake* 'again': Adverb.
- (11b) *piya-haš-šj* 'very little time': Adverbial form which appears to contain several morphemes possibly of the forms *piya* (meaning unknown), the form denoting continued time *haš* and the negative suffix *-šj* (see section 2.3.2.1.3).
- (11c) *ko*: See (3e)
- (11d) *Ø-kni-bi* 'they come back home': See also section 3.1.2 (21d). Active Intransitive verb *kni* 'to arrive coming back to where one belongs' with the third person singular subject (*Ø*), the plural suffix *-bi*.
- (12a) *žé-čen*: See section 3.2.2 (24a).

(12b) *nəgahə*: See (1a).

(12c) *ne*: See (1b).

(12d) *nakoda*: See (1c).

(12e) *o-ma-Ø-ni-bi*: See (1d).

(13a) *že-na*: See (2g).

(13b) *ʏs*: See section 3.2.2 (5b).

(13c) *Ø-dəya*: See (8f).

(13d) *wa<Ø-giči-kn>aga-bi* 'they see each other': Active Transitive verb *wayaga* 'to see' with the third person singular subject (Ø), the plural suffix *-bi*, the 'reciprocal reflexive' affix *giči* and the 'possessive reflexive' *kn* (here infixes along with the reciprocal and the third person pronominal marker) which takes the form in front of a *y*-stem (see section 2.3.2.1.5.1). The exact meaning which the possessive reflexive adds to this form is unknown at this time.

(14a) *hjk*: See section 3.1.2 (49b).

(14b) *jš*: See (2b).

(14c) *ó<Ø-giči>ya*: See section 3.2.2 (19e).

(14d) *ko*: See (3e).

(14e) *Ø-škā-bi*: See section 3.3.2 (19g).

(15a) *oaška* 'recently, short (as in time)': Adverb.

(15b) *ne*: See (1b).

(15c) *nakon-makoče*: See section 3.3.2 (1c).

(15d) *itimahen*: See section 3.3.2 (1d).

(15e) *Ø-ú-bi*: See section 3.3.2 (1e).

(15f) *čʔihq*: See section 3.3.2 (1f).

(15g) *čā-ba-kmikma*: See section 3.3.2 (1g).

(15h) *okna*: See (1g).

(15i) *o-ma-Ø-ni-bi*: See (1d).

- (16a) *šúga-tąga* 'horse': Compound noun. From the noun *šúga* 'dog' and the stative verb *ąga* 'to be large'. This form has its primary stress on the first syllable because it is underlyingly a CVC stem (see section 2.1.4).
- (16b) *ne*: See (1b).
- (16c) *čą-ba-kmikma*: See (15g).
- (16d) *en*: See section 3.1.2 (2e).
- (16e) *koyak-wiča-∅-ya-bi* 'they harness them, put on them': Active Transitive verb *koyaka* 'to wear, put on' (see section 2.2.2 for an explanation of the final consonant devoicing after the final vowel drop) with the third person singular subject (\emptyset), the third person plural object *wiča* (which refers only to animate object, here, the horses), the causative suffix *-ya* (see section 2.3.2.1.6), and the plural suffix *-bi*.
- (17a) *hík*: See (14a).
- (17b) *že-hą-n*: See section 3.2.2 (4c).
- (17c) *dó-ki*: See (3a).
- (17d) *∅-yá-bi-кта*: See (6b).
- (17e) *hą-da*: See (1e).

- (17f) *že-hą-n*: See (17b). This form is correlative with (17b) creating the meaning of 'whenever they go somewhere, they get there'.
- (17g) *Ø-i-ya-ya-bi* 'they go': Active Intransitive verb *iyaya* 'to start going' (itself a compound of the verbs *i* 'to arrive going' and *ya* 'to be going' which is here reduplicated -see section 2.4.2) with the third person singular subject (*Ø*) and the plural suffix *-bi*. This verb may be doubly inflected as its equivalent is in Lakota. This will have to be investigated further.
- (18a) *wani-edu*: See (4a).
- (18b) *hą-da*: See (1e).
- (18c) *čą-yu-snoha*: See section 3.3.2 (2d).
- (18d) *okna*: See (1g).
- (18e) *o-ma-Ø-ni-bi*: See (1d).
- (19a) *hékta-č?ihą*: See section 3.2.2 (1a).
- (19b) *šúga-tąga*: See (16a).
- (19c) *ne*: See (1b).

- (19d) *čuwi-čʔiba* 'travois': Compound noun. From *čuwi* 'sides' and an element the meaning of which is unknown at this time.
- (19e) *né-ča*: See section 3.2.2 (9c).
- (19f) *šúga-tąga*: See (16a).
- (19g) *awiča-pa<∅>xda-bi* 'they tie them on them': Compound of the form *awiča* 'on' and the Active Transitive verb *paxda* 'to tie' with the third person singular subject (∅) and the plural suffix *-bi*.
- (20a) *čuwi-čʔiba*: See (19d).
- (20b) *ne* : See (1b).
- (20c) *čə*: See section 3.3.2 (1k).
- (20d) *nɥ*: See section 3.3.2 (8c).
- (20e) *šúga-tąga*: See (16a).
- (20f) *ne*: See (1b).
- (20g) *anɥk* 'on each side': Preposition. See also section 3.2.2 (10g).
- (20h) *pa<∅>xda-bi*: See (19g).

- (21a) *čā-jkba* 'wood-tops': Compound noun. From the noun *čā* 'wood' and the noun *jkba* 'the end (of anything)'.
- (21b) *žé-čī*: See section 3.1.2 (43a).
- (21c) *pa<∅>xda-bi*: See (19g).
- (21d) *čā*: See (20c).
- (21e) *žē*: See section 3.1.2 (12e).
- (21f) *šúga-tāga*: See (16a).
- (21g) *ne*: See (1b).
- (21h) *iyagam* 'beyond': Prepositional form.
- (21i) *haska-ska*: See 3.1.2 (8c).
- (22a) *žé-čen*: See (12a).
- (22b) *šúga-tāga*: See (16a).
- (22c) *ixeyam* 'behind': Preposition.

(22d) *čā*: See (20c).

(22e) *ny*: See (20d).

(22f) *pde-pde* 'very short': Stative verb *pde* 'to be short' which is reduplicated for intensification (see section 2.4.2).

(22g) *že-na*: See section 3.1.2 (47b).

(22h) *žé-ča*: See section 3.3.2 (17d).

(22i) *a-pa<Ø>xda-bi*: See also (19g).

(22j) *že-n*: See section 3.3.2 (16d).

(22k) *wi* 'tent': Noun.

(22l) *wóyude*: See section 3.3.2 (3e).

(22m) *že-na*: See (2g).

(22n) *en*: See (16d). Here, this form means 'on it'.

(22o) *o-pa<Ø-gi>xda-bi* 'they tie theirs in': See also (19g). Active Transitive verb *paxda* 'to tie' with the third person singular subject (Ø), the plural suffix *-bi*,

the 'possessive reflexive' affix *gi* (see section 2.3.2.1.5.1) and the locative prefix *o-* 'in, within' (see section 2.3.2.2.3).

(23a) *mayazu* 'to rain': Stative verb with no complements here.

(23b) *koš* 'even though': Adverb.

(23c) *wi*: See (22k).

(23d) *ó<∅-gi>ziba-bi* 'they pitch their own': Active Transitive verb possibly of the form *oziba* with the third person singular subject (\emptyset), the plural suffix *-bi* and the 'possessive reflexive' affix *gi* (see section 2.3.2.1.5.1). This is a form which has the initial syllable attracting the primary stress as does the form in (14c).

(24a) *žé-čen*: See (12a).

(24b) *timahen* 'inside': See also section 3.3.2 (1d).

(24c) *bus-∅-ya-hjga-bi* 'they dry': See also section 3.3.2 (12c) (see section 2.2.2 for an explanation of the final consonant devoicing after the final vowel drop). *hjga* has a meaning of 'to remain, to stay' giving the sentence the meaning of 'inside, they stay dry'.

3.4.3 Running translation into English

(1)These days when the Nakoda people travel they travel in a car. (2)Today's roads are good, those they travel on. (3)Whenever there is a powwow, they get there in little time. (4)In the winter the roads are kept open. (5)They also have the telephone. (6)When they will go somewhere, they phone first. (7)They speak to each other on the phone in their own language. (8)When they speak on the phone in Nakoda, they understand each other very well. (9)They also travel in airplanes. (10)It doesn't take very long however far they go. (11)Again, they can come back in very little time. (12)Then it is that Nakoda people travel today. (13)They see each other easily. (14)They help each other. (15)Recently, when they were on reserves, they traveled in wagons. (16)They harnessed the horse to the wagons. (17)Then, wherever they wanted to go, they went. (18)In the winter they traveled in sleighs. (19)As for horses, in the past, they tied their travois to the horses. (20)They tied two poles to either side of the horse for the travois. (21)The ends of the poles that were tied that way extended beyond the horse. (22)Directly behind the horse they tied two short poles and they tied in their tent and food. (23)Even when it rained they pitched their tents. (24)Inside they were dry.

3.4.4 Text as written in Herb Walker's orthography

(1)Naŋgahañ ne Nakoda omanibi hañda iyećiŋga mani okna omanibi. (2)Oćaŋgu iñš naŋgahañ nen oćaŋgu wašte jena okna omanibi. (3)Doki waćibikta hañda tehañšiñ ko ihañibi. (4)Waniyedo ko wa oćaŋgu ne yuśpa knebi. (5)Omañs'ape iñš yuhabi ćen, (6)doki yabikta hañda ga iñtogam mañs'apabi. (7)Nakon iya he wogićiknagabi. (8)mañs'ape okna nakon wogi ćiknagabi hañda dañyañ naŋgićih'uñbi. (9)Giñyañkiyabi iñš okna omanibi. (10)Tehañšiñšiñ tehanhan i-bi no. (11)Hake piyahañšiñ ko knibi. (12)Jećen naŋgahañ ne nakoda omanibi (13)jena uñsdañyañ wagićiknagabi (14)hiñk iñš ogićiyako škañbi. (15)O-aśkan ne nakon mañkoće i-timañhen uñbić'e hañ ćañbakmikma okna o-manibi. (16)Shuñga-toŋga ne ćañbakmikma en koyak wićayabi (17)hiñk jehan doki yabikta hañda jehan i-yayabi. (18)Waniyedo hañda ćañ-u-snohañ okna omanibi. (19)Hektać'i hañ shuñga-toŋga ne ću-i-ć'iba neća shuñga-toŋga awića pahtabi. (20)ću-i-ć'iba ne ćañ num shuñga-toŋga ne anuk pahtabi. (21)ćañ iñkpa jeći pahtabi. ćañ je shuñga-toŋga ne iyakam hañskaska. (22)Jećen shuñga-toŋga iheyam ćañ num pteptejena jeća apahtabi. Jen wi, woude jena en opagihtabi. (23)Mañgaju koś wi ogizibabi, (24)jećen timahen busya hiŋgabi.

3.5 Agriculture

This text tells how the Nakoda people farmed - what they grew, and what they used it for.

3.5.1 Transcription and literal translation

For the morphemic analysis applied to this text, see section 3.1.1.

- | | | | | |
|-----|------------------------|----------|---------------------|-------|
| (1) | nakon-makoče | itimahen | Ø-ú-bi | čʔihą |
| | Nakoda-land (reserves) | within | 3sS-to be(there)-pl | when |

wómnu-wiča-Ø-kiya-bi.
to plow-3plO-3sS-CAUS-pl

- | | | | | | |
|-----|-------------------|------|------|--------------------|--------|
| (2) | šúga-tąga | ne | dom | i-mąka-yupda | en |
| | dog-large (horse) | this | four | INOM-earth-to plow | in, to |

koyak-wiča-Ø-kiya-bi
to wear-3plO-3sS-CAUS-pl

- | | | | |
|-----|----------|-------|----------------|
| (3) | hįk | mąka | Ø-yupda-bi. |
| | and then | earth | 3sS-to plow-pl |

- | | | |
|-----|---|------|
| (4) | že-hą-n | įš |
| | the, that-continued time-at, always a place nearby (next) | also |

i-mąka-ga-ksa-ksa	ųs
INOM-earth-IN-to cut-REDUP (cutting disk)	with

Ø-ga-mnu-bi.
3sS-IN-to break up-pl

(13) *hékta-čʔihə* *šúga-təga* *ys*
 behind-when (in the past) dog-large (horse) with

okna a-yu-ya-bi-su
with LOC-to be burnt-CAUS-pl-seed (wheat)

(14) n̥aɣaɣa ne i-wa-tokʂu ʏs
 today this INOM-IO-to haul (truck) with

to < Ø-gi > kšu-bi.
to haul < 3sS-POSSREFL > -pl

(15) a-yu-ya-bi-su mnu-Ø-ya-bi
LOC-to be burnt-CAUS-pl-seed (wheat) to be powdered-3sS-CAUS-pl

hă-da	ʊs	a-yu-ya-bi
continued time-?? (when)	with	LOC-to be burnt-CAUS-pl (bread)

201

- (16) wa-yahode ne ĵš hāyakena yuža-bi
 IO-to choke (oats) this also morning to mash-pl (porridge)

Ø-yúda-bi,
 3sS-to eat-pl

- (17) ába ne-hā-n
 day this-continued time-at, always a place nearby (at this time)

wó-Ø-ksa-bi i-čiyedā-ha
 PRE-3sS-to be wise/learn-pl (farming) ??-near to-??

Ø-wómnu-bi ne
 3sS-to plough-pl (farming, tilling) this

ųspe-ič?i-č?i-Ø-ya-bi,
 to learn-REFL-REDUP-3sS-CAUS-pl (agricultural schools)

- (18) že-hā-n
 the, that-continued time-at, always a place nearby (then)

wó-Ø-ksa-bi že-na
 PRE-3sS-to be wise-pl (education) the, that-pl (those near me)

Ø-wómnu-bi že-na Ø-dāya
 3sS-to plough-pl the, that-pl (those near me) 3sS-to be well

o-Ø-gaxnix Ø-škā-bi.
 LOC-3sS-to choose (understand) 3sS-to do, act-pl

3.5.2 Morpheme-by-morpheme analysis

- (1a) *nakon-makoče*: See section 3.3.2 (1c).
- (1b) *itimahen*: See section 3.3.2 (1d).
- (1c) *Ø-ŭ-bi*: See section 3.3.2 (1e).
- (1d) *čʔihq*: See section 3.3.2 (1f).
- (1e) *wómnu-wiča-Ø-kiya-bi* ‘they were allowed plow’: Active Transitive verb *womnu* ‘to pulverize, to plough’ with the third person singular subject (Ø), a third person plural object *wiča* refers back to the people, creating the meaning of ‘they (someone else, perhaps the government) let them (the people) plow’, the intentional form of the causative *-kiya* (see section 2.3.2.1.6) which here may be translated as ‘let’, and the plural suffix *-bi*. The primary stress of this form is on the first syllable probably because the element *wo-* (which may be an old prefix) attracts the stress as it does in section 3.4.2 (7b).
- (2a) *šúga-tąga*: See section 3.4.2 (16a).
- (2b) *ne*: See section 3.1.2 (2b).
- (2c) *dom* ‘four’: Numeral.

- (2d) *i-mąka-yupda* 'plow': Compound noun. From the active transitive verb *yupda* 'to plow' (see section 3.3.2 (16b)), the noun *mąka* 'earth' and the instrumental nominalizer *i-* (see section 2.3.2.2.4).
- (2e) *en*: See section 3.1.2 (2e).
- (2f) *koyak-wiča-Ø-kiya-bi*: See section 3.4.2 (16e).
- (3a) *hjk*: See section 3.1.2 (49b).
- (3b) *mąka* 'earth': Noun. See also section 3.1.2 (14f).
- (3c) *Ø-yupda-bi*: See (2d).
- (4a) *že-hą-n*: See section 3.2.2 (4c).
- (4b) *jš*: See section 3.1.2 (23b).
- (4c) *i-mąka-ga-ksa-ksa* 'cutting disk': Compound noun. From the verb *ksa* 'to cut' which is reduplicated for intensification or for plural action (see section 2.4.2), the instrumental prefix *ga-* 'striking with something', the noun *mąka* 'earth' and the instrumental nominalizer *i-* (see section 2.3.2.2.4).
- (4d) *ys*: See section 3.2.2 (5b).

- (4e) *Ø-ga-mnu-bi* 'they break up': Stative verb *mnu* 'to be powdered, pulverized' with the instrumental prefix *ga-* 'striking with something' (see section 2.3.2.2.2), the third person singular subject (*Ø*) and the plural suffix *-bi*.
- (5a) *že-ha-n*: See (4a).
- (5b) *že-n*: See section 3.3.2 (16d).
- (5c) *wó-Ø-kšu-bi*: see section 3.3.2 (16e).
- (5d) *a-yu-ya-bi-su* 'wheat': Compound noun. From the noun *ayuyabi* 'bread' (see section 3.3.2 (3i)) and the noun *su* 'seed'.
- (5e) *wa-yahode* 'oats': Compound noun from the verb *yahode* 'to choke' and the indefinite object *wa-* (see section 2.3.2.1.7).
- (5f) *guguša-yud{e}* 'barley': Compound noun. From *guguša* 'pig' and *yude* 'food which is the nominalized (see section 2.3.1.2.2) form of *yuda* 'to eat' (see section 3.3.2 (3e)).
- (5g) *že-na*: See section 3.1.2 (47b).
- (5h) *ičax-Ø-ya-bi*: See section 3.3.2 (17i).
- (6a) *naḡahā*: See section 3.2.2 (16a).

(6b) *ne*: See (2b).

(6c) *wádapa* 'tractor': Noun. The primary stress of this form is on the first syllable for reasons unknown at this time.

(6d) *ʏs*: See (4d).

(6e) *māka*: See (3b).

(6f) *Ø-yupda-bi*: See (2d).

(7a) *māk-o-i-yukʔeɣa* 'cultivator' ('they scratch on the ground with it'): Compound noun. From the noun *māka* 'earth', the instrumental nominalizer *i-* (see section 2.3.2.2.4), and the active transitive verb *yukʔeɣa* 'to scratch, scrape'. This form also contains the locative prefix *o-* 'within something' (see section 2.3.2.2.3) which combines with the final *a* of *māka* to a single *o*.

(7b) *ʏs*: See (4d).

(7c) *māka-Ø-yu-mnu-bi* 'it plows the earth': See also (3b) and (4e). Stative verb *mnu* 'to be powdered, pulverized' with the noun *māka* 'earth', the instrumental prefix *yu-* 'to pull, by hand' (see section 2.3.2.2.2), the third person singular subject (Ø) and the plural suffix *-bi*.

(8a) *təhə-šj*: See section 3.4.2. (3d).

- (8b) *ko*: See section 3.4.2. (3e).
- (8c) *wó-Ø-kšu-bi*: See (5c).
- (8d) *ne*: See (2b).
- (8e) *Ø-kn-ustā-bi* 'they finish their own': Active Transitive verb *yustā* 'to finish' with the third person singular subject (Ø), the 'possessive reflexive' affix which takes the form *kn-* in front of *y-*stem verbs (see section 2.3.2.1.5.1), and the plural suffix *-bi*.
- (9a) *mnog-edu*: See section 3.3.2 (10a).
- (9b) *Ø-wašte*: See section 3.1.2 (36e).
- (9c) *hjk*: See (3a).
- (9d) *jš*: See (4b).
- (9e) *mayāžu*: See section 3.4.2 (23a).
- (9f) *hā-da*: See section 3.2.2 (13e).
- (9g) *Ø-dāya*: See section 3.4.2 (13c).

- (9h) *wa-i<Ø>čaya* 'it grows': Active verb from the active transitive verb *ičaya* 'to grow' with the indefinite object prefix *wa-* (see section 2.3.2.1.7) and possibly a third person singular subject (Ø). The verb then has more of the "passive" meaning of 'it is grown'
- (10a) *mayažu-šj* 'it does not rain': See also (9e). This form includes the negative suffix *-šj* (see section 2.3.2.1.3).
- (10b) *hə-da*: See (9f).
- (10c) *jš*: See (4b).
- (10d) *Ø-daya*: See (9g).
- (10e) *wa-i<Ø>čaye-šj* 'it does not grow': See (9h). This form also contains the negative suffix *-šj* (see section 2.3.2.1.3) which ablauts the final *a* of *ičaya* to *e*.
- (11a) *wó-Ø-kšu-bi*: See (5c). In this context this word was translated by Mr. Walker as a noun meaning 'the seeded area'.
- (11b) *že*: See section 3.1.2 (12e).
- (11c) *wana*: See section 3.1.2 (31d).

- (11d) *Ø-kā* 'it is ripe': Stative verb *kā* 'to be ripe, aged' with the third person singular subject (*Ø*).
- (11e) *šten*: See section 3.1.2 (21e).
- (11f) *i-wa-nakā-yā* 'threshing machine': Compound noun. From the active transitive verb *nakā* 'to pound' with an indefinite object prefix *wa-* (see section 2.3.2.1.7), the instrumental nominalizer *i-* (see section 2.3.2.2.4), and a suffix *-yā* which may be an alternate form of the causative suffix *-ya* (see section 2.3.2.1.6) caused by nasal spread.
- (11g) *ys*: See (4d).
- (11h) *a-yu-ya-bi-su*: See (5d).
- (11i) *wa-yahode*: See (5e).
- (11j) *guguša-yud{e}*: See (5f).
- (11k) *že-na*: See (5g).
- (11l) *nakā-Ø-yā-bi* 'they thresh': Active Transitive verb *nakā* 'to pound' with the third person singular subject (*Ø*), the plural suffix *-bi* and a suffix *-yā* which may be an alternate form of the causative suffix *-ya* (see section 2.3.2.1.6) caused by nasal spread.

(11m) *žē*: See (11b).

(11n) *wa-∅-yu-šnoga-eya-bi* 'they thresh': Active Transitive verb *yušnoga* 'to pull off', probably containing the instrumental prefix *yu-* 'to pull, by hand' (see section 2.3.2.2.2), with the indefinite object prefix *wa-* (see section 2.3.2.1.7), the third person singular subject (*∅*) and the plural suffix *-bi*. This form also contains an element *-eya-* which may here mean 'to begin', but whose exact meaning is unknown at this time.

(12a) *žé-čen*: See section 3.2.2 (24a).

(12b) *pda-edu* 'fall': Noun. This noun contains the same suffix, *-edu* 'in, around' (see section 3.1.2 (2e) and (3a)), as *wani-edu* 'winter' and *mnogedu* 'summer' (see section 3.3.2 (2a) and (10a)). It also contains a form, *pda*, the meaning of which is unknown at this time.

(12c) *hā-da*: See (9f).

(12d) *wa-∅-yu-šnoga-bi*: See (11n). This form does not contain the element *eya*.

(13a) *hékta-čʔihə*: See section 3.2.2 (1a).

(13b) *šúga-təga*: See (2a).

(13c) *ʏs*: See (4d).

- (13d) *čā-ba-kmikma*: See section 3.3.2 (1g).
- (13e) *okna*: See section 3.3.2 (1h).
- (13f) *a-yu-ya-bi-su*: See (5d).
- (13g) *to<∅-gi>kšu-bi* 'they haul their own': Active Transitive verb *tokšu* 'to haul, carry' with the third person singular subject (∅), the 'possessive reflexive' affix *gi* (see section 2.3.2.1.5.1) and the plural suffix *-bi*. It is unknown at this time if this form is in any way related to the form *kšu* 'to plant' of (5c).
- (14a) *nāgahā*: See (6a).
- (14b) *ne*: See (2b).
- (14c) *i-wa-tokšu* 'truck': Compound noun. From the active transitive verb *tokšu* 'to haul, carry' with the indefinite object prefix *wa-* (see section 2.3.2.1.7) and the instrumental nominalizer *i-* (see section 2.3.2.2.4).
- (14d) *ys*: See (4d).
- (14e) *a-yu-ya-bi-su*: See (5d).
- (14f) *to<∅-gi>kšu-bi*: See (13g).
- (15a) *a-yu-ya-bi-su*: See (5d).

- (15b) *mnu-Ø-ya-bi* 'they mill': Stative verb *mnu* 'to be powdered, pulverized' with the third person singular subject (Ø) and the causative suffix *-ya* (see section 2.3.2.1.6).
- (15c) *hə-da*: See (9f).
- (15d) *ʏs*: See (4d).
- (15e) *a-yu-ya-bi*: See (5d).
- (15f) *Ø-gáya-bi*: See section 3.3.2 (5h).
- (16a) *wa-yahode*: See (5e).
- (16b) *ne*: See (2b).
- (16c) *jš*: See (4b).
- (16d) *həyakəna* 'morning': Noun. This form may contain the continued time form *hə*.
- (16e) *yuža-bi* 'porridge': Compound noun. From the active transitive verb *yuža* 'to mash' with the plural suffix *-bi* which here nominalizes the verb (see section 2.3.1.2.1).

- (16f) *Ø-yúda-bi* 'they eat': Active Transitive verb *yuda* 'to eat' with the third person singular subject (*Ø*) and the plural suffix *-bi*. This form has its primary stress on the first syllable because it is a root which is underlyingly CVC (see section 2.1.4) and the plural suffix *-bi* does not attract the stress.
- (17a) *ába*: See section 3.1.2 (3a). The primary stress on this form is on its first syllable possibly because the root is underlyingly VC (see section 2.1.4).
- (17b) *ne-hā-n* 'at this time, here, today, now': Adverb compound made up of the demonstrative *ne* 'this', the form denoting 'continued time' *hā* and the suffix *-n* 'at, always a place nearby' (see section 2.6.1).
- (17c) *wo-Ø-ksa-bi*: 'education': Compound noun. From *ksa* 'to be wise ??' with a prefix *wo-* which here appears to nominalize the verb (Riggs 1890:584) as well as the plural suffix *-bi*.
- (17d) *i-čiyedā-ha* 'near to': From the adverb *kiyedā* 'near, near to', the *k-* is palatalized (see section 2.2.5) by the prefix *i-* which has a meaning undetermined at this time, but which may be related to a locative adverbial prefix *i-* meaning 'very close'. The suffix *-ha* also has a meaning unknown at this time. This whole form appears to relate the ideas of farming and learning.
- (17e) *Ø-wómnu-bi* 'they farm, till, plough': Active Transitive verb *womnu* 'to plough, pulverize' (see 1e) with the third person singular subject (*Ø*) and the

plural suffix *-bi*. Like the forms in (11a) and (1e), the initial *wo-* attracts the primary stress.

(17f) *ne*: See (2b).

(17g) *ʏspe-ičʔi-čʔi-∅-ya-bi* 'they learn': Active Intransitive verb *ʏspe* 'to learn' with the third person singular subject (\emptyset), the reflexive *ičʔi* (which appears to be reduplicated here -see section 2.3.2.1.5.1), the causative suffix *-ya* (see section 2.3.2.1.6) and the plural suffix *-bi*. This form requires further study.

(18a) *že-hə-n*: See (4a).

(18b) *wó-ksa-bi*: See (17c).

(18c) *že-na*: See (5g).

(18d) *∅-wómnu-bi*: See (17e).

(18e) *že-na*: See (5g).

(18f) *∅-dəya*: See (9g).

(18g) *o-∅-gaxnix* 'they understand': From the active transitive verb *gaxniya* 'to choose, appoint'. In this form the final vowel is lost and the final consonant is devoiced. Perhaps in context, this expression has the sense of 'choosing well' with farming and education.

(18h) *Ø-škǵ-bi*: See section 3.3.2 (19g).

3.5.3 Running translation into English

(1)When the Nakoda people were on the reserves, they plowed the soil. (2)They hooked up four horses to the plow. (3)They plowed the earth. (4)They broke up the soil with a disk. (5)Then they planted -- they grew wheat, oats and barley - those things they grew. (6)Today, a tractor is used to plow. (7)A cultivator powders up the earth. (8)It doesn't take long to finish seeding. (9)If the summer is good and there is rain, it grows well. (10)If there is no rain, it does not grow well. (11)When the seeded area is ripe, they thresh the wheat, oats and barley with a threshing machine. They thresh in the fall. (13)In the past, they hauled wheat with a horse and wagon. (14)Today they haul wheat with trucks. (15)They make bread with the milled wheat. (16)They eat the oats as morning porridge. (17)These days they can learn farming at agricultural schools. (18)Then from these farming methods, they understand better how to farm.

3.5.4 Text as written in Herb Walker's orthography

(1) Nakon makoče i-timahen uñbič'e hañ, womno wičakiyabi. (2) Shuñga-toñga ne dom i-mañkayupta en koyak wičakiyabi (3) hiñk mañka yuptabi. (4) Jehan iñš i-makagaksaksa uñš gamnubi. (5) Jehan jen woksubi, aguyabi su, wayahode, gugusa yude, jena ičahiyabi. (6) Nañgahañ ne wada pa uñš mañka yuptabi. (7) Mañko iyuk'eğa uñš mañka gamnubi. (8) Tehañši ko woksubi ne knoštañbi. (9) Mnogedo wašte hiñk iñš mañgazu hañda dañyañ wa-ičaga. (10) Mañgazusiñ hañda iñš dañyañ wa-ičagesiñ. (11) Woksubi je wana kañ šten, i-wanakañyañ uñš aguyabi su, wayahode, gugusa yude jena nañkañ yañmbi, je wayuśnoga i-yabi. (12) Ječen ptañyedo hañda wayuśnogabi. (13) Hekta č'i hañ shuñga-toñga uñš cañbakmikma okna aguyabi su togiksubi. (14) Nañgahan ne i-watoksu uñš aguyabi-su togiksubi. (15) Aguyabi su mnuyabi hañda uñš aguyabi gağabi, (16) wayahode ne iñš hañyakena yuśabi yudabi, (17) amba nehan woksubi ičiyedahañ womnobi ne uñspe-i-ič'ic'iyabi, (18) jehan wokśabi jena womnobi jena dañyañ ogañniñ škañbi.

3.6 Cooking

This text tells a little about how the Nakoda people used to cook and how they cook today.

3.6.1 Transcription and literal translation

For the morphemic analysis applied to this text, see section 3.1.1.

- (1) *nəgahə* *ne* *wa-ʃpa-Ø-ya-bi* *hə-da*
 today this IO-to cook-3s-CAUS-pl continued time-?? (when)

- (2) o-četi ne
LOC-to build a fire (stove) this

do-hą-ga	Ø-kada-tka
something, what-continued time- ??(how high)	3sS-to be hot-??

žə-hą-n
the, that-continued time-at, always a place nearby (then)

é-Ø-kne-bi	iyechiga	Ø-nq-kada.
LOC-3sS-to put, place-pl	by itself	3sS-??-to be hot

- (3) dāgu špa-Ø-ya-bi že
 whatever to cook-3sS-CAUS-pl the, that

həwi-gaya-bi	Ø-wíyü-bi
moon-to make-pl (clock, timer)	3sS-to make use of-pl

žé-čen	iyec̣jga	i-Ø-nāži.
the, that-accordingly (and so)	by itself	PRE-3sS-to stand (to stop)

- (4) oaška-n ĵš ne čą ŷs
recently-at, always a place nearby also this this wood with
- o-četi kan-gi-Ø-ya-bi.
LOC-to build a fire (stove) to be hot-POSSREFL-3sS-CAUS-pl
- (5) o-četi-máza káda šten čéya
LOC-to build a fire-metal (metal stove) to be hot when pot
- okna mini ibix-Ø-ya-bi,
inside water to boil-3sS-CAUS- pl
- (6) hĳk waxbe Ø-gáya-bi.
then leaves, tea 3sS-to make-pl
- (7) péda ne sni Ø-áyā há-da čą
fire this cool 3sS-to become continued time?? (when) wood
- ao < Ø > peya-bi.
to add < 3sS > -pl
- (8) hake péda ne nă-Ø-ĳkdŷ.
again fire this PRE-3sS-to gather, rekindle, flame up
- (9) žé-ča ŷs čą-ga-ksa-ksa
the, that-a certain quality with wood-IN-to cut-REDUP
- Ø-óda timahen Ø-gi-knaga-bi.
3sS-to be many inside 3sS-POSSREFL-to lay-pl
- (10) mnog-edu ti o-Ø-kada
??-in, around (summer) house LOC-3sS-to be hot

hą-da	tagan	wa-špą-Ø-yą-bi.
continued time-?? (when)	outside	IO-to cook-3sS-CAUS-pl

- (11) čą ųs wa-špą-Ø-yą-bi ne
 wood with IO-to cook-3sS-CAUS-pl this

jš	nağahą	máza	kan-Ø-ya-bi
also	today	metal	to be hot-3sS-CAUS-pl

ųs	wa-špą-Ø-yą-bi	ne
with	IO-to cook-3sS-CAUS-pl	this

íči-toką.
 together-another (in comparison)

- (12) čą ųs wa-špą-Ø-yą-bi ne
 wood with IO-to cook-3sS-CAUS-pl this

že	nína	Ø-wašte.
the, that	very	3sS-to be good

- (13) hékta-č?ihą įyą né-ča
 behind-when (in the past) rocks this-a quality

gamime-ya	é-Ø-kni-bi.
to make round-CAUS (circle)	LOC-3sS-to put-pl

- (14) že čą ųs wa-špą-Ø-yą-bi.
 the, that wood with IO-to cook-3sS-CAUS-pl

- (15) čą-Ø-įkba né-ča Ø-ga-pesto-bi
 wood-3sS-to be sharp this-a quality 3sS-IN-to be sharp-pl

- (16) hĭk tano Ø-ičapa-bi
 then meat 3sS-to pierce-pl
- (17) hĭk péda iyagam yus tano
 then flame over held meat
- že špa-Ø-yā-bi.
 the, that to cook-3sS-CAUS-pl

3.6.2 Morpheme-by-morpheme analysis

- (1a) *nəgahə*: See section 3.2.2 (16a).
- (1b) *ne*: See section 3.1.2 (2b).
- (1c) *wa-špə-Ø-yə-bi*: See section 3.3.2 (5a).
- (2a) *hədə*: See section 3.2.2 (13e).
- (2b) *o-četi* 'stove': Noun. From the active transitive verb *četi* 'to build a fire' with the locative prefix *o-* 'within something' which nominalizes the verb (see section 2.3.2.2.3).
- (2c) *ne*: See (1b).
- (2d) *do-hə-ga* 'how high': Compound made up of the indefinite pronoun *do* 'something, what', the form denoting continued time *hə* (see section 2.6.1) and a suffix *-ga* the meaning of which remains undetermined at this time.
- (2e) *Ø-kada-tka* 'it will heat up': Stative verb *kada* 'to be hot' with the third person singular subject (*Ø*) and a suffix *-tkā* which is probably related to the Lakota enclitic *-tkā* which is primarily used in conditional sentences. This creates the meaning of 'they set the stove as hot as it should get'.
- (2f) *že-hə-n*: See section 3.2.2 (4c).

- (2g) *é-Ø-kne-bi* 'they set it': Active Transitive verb *kne* 'to put, place' with the third person singular subject (*Ø*), the plural suffix *-bi* and the locative prefix *e-* 'at some place, down' (see section 2.3.2.2.3). In this context, the placement is not of setting something down, but of setting the dials on the stove, perhaps indicating that loan translation from English has taken place. The prefix *e-* attracts the primary stress in this form.
- (2h) *iyecjga*: see section 3.4.2 (1f).
- (2i) *Ø-nq-kada* 'it heats up': Stative verb *kada* 'to be hot' with the third person singular subject (*Ø*) and another element *nq* which may be related to an old instrumental prefix *na-* meaning 'by heat' or 'spontaneously'.
- (3a) *dágu*: See section 3.1.2 (19b).
- (3b) *špā-Ø-yq-bi*: See (1c).
- (3c) *že*: See section 3.1.2 (12e).
- (3d) *hāwi-gaya-bi* 'clock, timer': Compound noun. From the noun *hāwi* 'moon' (which may contain the form denoting continued time *hā*) and the active transitive verb *gaya* 'to make' (here with the plural suffix *-bi* which nominalizes the verb - see section 2.3.1.2.1).
- (3e) *Ø-wiyu-bi*: See section 3.2.2 (2h).

- (3f) *žé-čen*: See section 3.2.2 (24a).
- (3g) *iyečjga*: See (2h).
- (3h) *i-Ø-nəži*: See section 3.1.2 (41c).
- (4a) *oaška-n*: See section 3.4.2 (15a). This form also appears to have the suffix *-n* 'at, always a place nearby' (see section 2.6.1).
- (4b) *jš*: See section 3.1.2 (23b).
- (4c) *ne*: See (1b).
- (4d) *čə*: See section 3.3.2 (1k).
- (4e) *ʉs*: See section 3.2.2 (5b).
- (4f) *o-četi*: See (2b).
- (4g) *kan-gi-Ø-ya-bi* 'they heat theirs up': Active Transitive verb *kanya* 'to heat' (which contains the stative verb *kada* 'to be hot' (see section 2.2.3 for an explanation of the final consonant nasalization) and the causative suffix *-ya* (see section 2.3.2.1.6) with the third person singular subject (Ø), the 'possessive reflexive' affix *gi* (see section 2.3.2.1.5.1) and the plural suffix *-bi*.

- (5a) *o-četi-maza*: See also (2b). Compound noun made up of *o-četi* 'stove' and *maza* 'metal' (see section 3.2.2 (9b)).
- (5b) *káda*: See (2e). The primary stress of this form is on the first syllable because it is underlyingly a CVC root (see section 2.1.4).
- (5c) *šten*: See section 3.1.2 (21e).
- (5d) *čéya* 'pot': Noun. The primary stress of this form is on the first syllable because it is underlyingly a CVC root (see section 2.1.4).
- (5e) *okna*: See section 3.3.2 (1h).
- (5f) *mini*: See section 3.1.2 (18c).
- (5g) *ibix-Ø-ya-bi* 'to boil': Active Transitive verb *ibiya* 'to boil' (see section 2.2.2 for an explanation of the final consonant devoicing after the final vowel drop) with the third person singular subject (Ø), the causative suffix *-ya* (see section 2.3.2.1.6) and the plural suffix *-bi*.
- (6a) *hjk*: See section 3.1.2 (49b).
- (6b) *waxbe*: See section 3.3.2 (3h).
- (6c) *Ø-gáya-bi*: See section 3.3.2 (5h).

- (7a) *péda* 'fire': Noun. The primary stress of this form is on the first syllable because it is underlyingly a CVC root (see section 2.1.4).
- (7b) *ne*: See (1b).
- (7c) *sni* 'to be cool': Stative verb *sni* 'to be cool'. It is here in its infinitive form to accompany the verb *aya* (see (7d)).
- (7d) *Ø-áya* 'to become': Active verb *aya* 'to become' with the third person singular subject (Ø). This form appears to carry its primary stress normally on the first syllable (See section 2.1.4).
- (7e) *hă-da*: See section 3.2.2 (13e).
- (7f) *čă*: See (4d).
- (7g) *ao<Ø>peya-bi* 'they add': Active Transitive verb *aopeya* 'to add' with the third person singular subject (Ø) and the plural suffix *-bi*. This form also possibly contains the locative prefix *a-* 'on' (see section 2.3.2.2.3).
- (8a) *hake*: See section 3.1.2 (36d).
- (8b) *péda*: See (7a).
- (8c) *ne*: See (1b).

- (8d) *nā-∅-jkdɥ* 'it rekindles': Stative verb *jkdɥ* 'to flame up' with the third person singular subject (\emptyset) and a prefix *nā-* the meaning of which is unknown at this time.
- (9a) *žé-ča*: See section 3.2.2 (24c).
- (9b) *ɥs*: See section 3.2.2 (5d).
- (9c) *čā-ga-ksa-ksa* 'cut, chopped wood': Compound noun. From the noun *čā* 'wood' with the active transitive verb *ksa* 'to cut' reduplicated here to pluralize the noun (see section 2.4.1), and the instrumental prefix *ga-* 'striking with something' (see section 2.3.2.2.2).
- (9d) *∅-óda*: See section 3.2.2 (1d).
- (9e) *timahen*: See section 3.3.2 (1e).
- (9f) *∅-gi-knaga-bi* 'they lay theirs': Active Transitive verb *knaga* 'to lay' with the third person singular subject (\emptyset), the 'possessive reflexive' affix *gi* (see section 2.3.2.1.5.1) and the plural suffix *-bi*.
- (10a) *mnog-edu*: See section 3.3.2 (10a).
- (10b) *ti* 'house': Noun.

- (10c) *o-Ø-kada* 'to be hot inside': Stative verb *kada* 'to be hot' with the third person singular subject (Ø) and the locative prefix *o-* 'within something'.
- (10d) *hā-da*: See (2a).
- (10e) *tagan* 'outside': Preposition.
- (10f) *wa-špā-Ø-yā-bi*: See section 3.3.2 (5a).
- (11a) *čā*: See (4d).
- (11b) *ʏs*: See (9b).
- (11c) *wa-špā-Ø-yā-bi*: See (10f).
- (11d) *ne*: See (1b).
- (11e) *jš*: See (4b).
- (11f) *nāgahā*: See (1a).
- (11g) *māza*: See (5a).
- (11h) *kan-Ø-ya-bi*: See (2e). See section 2.2.4 for consonant nasalization.
- (11i) *ʏs*: See (9b).

(11j) *wa-špə-Ø-yə-bi*: See (10f).

(11k) *ne*: See (1b).

(11l) *iči-tokə* 'different kind (in comparison)': From the nominal *tokə* 'another' with a prefix *iči* which, according to Riggs (1890:176) means 'together'. The primary stress of this form is on the first syllable for reasons unknown at this time.

(12a) *čə*: See (4d).

(12b) *ʏs*: See (9b).

(12c) *wa-špə-Ø-yə-bi*: See (10f).

(12d) *ne*: See (1b).

(12e) *žə*: See (3c).

(12f) *nína*: See section 3.1.2 (5c).

(12g) *Ø-wašte*: See section 3.1.2 (36e).

(13a) *hékta-čʔihə*: See section 3.2.2 (1a).

- (13b) *ǰyǰ* 'rocks': Noun. The primary stress of this form is on the first syllable possibly because it may be underlyingly a VC root (see section 2.1.4).
- (13c) *né-ča*: See section 3.2.2 (9c).
- (13d) *gamime-ya* 'to be round': Active Transitive verb *gamima* 'to make round' (probably from the stative verb *mima* 'to be round' with the instrumental prefix *ga-* 'by striking' (see section 2.3.2.2.2) with the causative suffix *-ya* (see section 2.3.2.1.6) which ablauts the final *a* of the verb (see section 2.2.6).
- (13e) *é-∅-kni-bi* 'to put, place': Active Transitive verb *kni-kne* 'to place, put' with the third person singular subject (\emptyset) and the plural suffix *-bi* as well as the locative prefix *e-* 'at some place, down' (see section 2.3.2.2.3). Like the form in (2g), the prefix *e-* appears to attract the primary stress of this form.
- (14a) *že*: See (3c).
- (14b) *čǰ*: See (4d).
- (14c) *ys*: See (9b).
- (14d) *wa-špǰ-∅-yǰ-bi*: See (10f).
- (15a) *čǰ-∅-jkba* 'sharp sticks, a sharp piece of wood': Compound made up of the stative verb *jkba* 'to be sharp' with p 6 the third person singular subject (\emptyset) and the noun *čǰ* 'wood'.

(15b) *né-ča*: See (13c).

(15c) *Ø-ga-pesto-bi* 'they sharpen': From the stative verb *pesto* 'to be sharp' (the exact semantic difference between *jkba* (see (15a)) and *pesto* is unknown at this time) with the third person singular subject (*Ø*), the instrumental prefix *ga-* 'by striking' (see section 2.3.2.2.2) and the plural suffix *-bi*.

(16a) *hjk*: See (6a).

(16b) *tano*: See section 3.3.2 (3g).

(16c) *Ø-i-ča-pa-bi* 'they pierce': Active Transitive verb *ičapa* 'to stick into, pierce' with the third person singular subject (*Ø*) and the plural suffix *-bi*.

(17a) *hjk*: See (6a).

(17b) *péda*: See (7a).

(17c) *iyagam*: See section 3.4.2 (21h).

(17d) *yus* 'holding': Active Transitive verb *yuza* 'to hold' which here has had its final *a* deleted resulting in the devoicing of the final consonant *z* to form the participle (see also section 3.1.2 (43g)).

(17e) *tano*: See (16b).

(17f) *že*: See (3c).

(17g) *špa-Ø-ya-bi*: See (10f).

3.6.3 Running translation into English

(1)Today when they cook (2)the stove heats up by itself as hot as they set it. (3)Whatever they cook, they rely on the clock to stop it. (4)Recently they also used wood stoves to cook. (5)When the metal stove got hot, they boiled water in a pot. (6)They made tea. (7)When the fire cooled off, they added wood. (8)The fire would rekindle. (9)For that reason they had lots of chopped wood inside. (10)In the summer when the house got hot inside, they cooked outside. (11)The way they cook today with iron is different from cooking with wood. (12)Cooking with wood is very good. (13)In the past, they put stones in a circle. (14)They put wood in and cooked there. (15)They sharpened sticks. (16)They pierced the meat. (17)Holding it over the flames, they cooked the meat.

3.6.4 Text as written in Herb Walker's orthography

(1)Nañgahan ne wašpañyañmbi (2)handa oçeti ne dohañga kadatka jehan eknebi
iyeciñga nañkada. (3)dagu špañyañmbi je hañwigagabi wiyumbi ječen iyeciñga inañži.
(4)O-aškan iñš ne čaň uñš o-çeti kan giyabi. (5)Oçeti mañza kada šten, čega okna
mni ibiñyabi, (6)hiñk wañpe gagabi. (7)peda ne sni aya hañda čaň a-opeyabi.
(8)Hake peda ne nañiñktuñ. (9)Ječa uñš čaňgaksaksa oda timahen giknagabi.
(10)Mnogedo ti okada handa, tagan wašpañyañmbi. (11)čaň uñš wašpañyañmbi ne
iñš nañgahañ mañza kanyabi uñš wašpañyañmbi ne ičitokañ. (12)čaň uñš
wašpañyañmbi ne je nina wašte. (13)Hekta č'ehañ iñyañ necha gamimeya eknebi.
(14)Jen čaň uñš wašpañyañmbi. (15)čaň iñkpa necha gapestobi (16)hiñk tano ičapabi
(17)hiñk peda i-agam use tano je špañyañmbi.

4. GLOSSARY

The following is a glossary of the Nakoda roots and derived forms contained in the texts analyzed in this thesis. The list is in alphabetical order and shows the phonemic transcription, the morphemic analysis and the English translation.

4.1 Nakoda-English Glossary with notes

This glossary is organized according to the first letter of each Nakoda word. It shows the English translation and notes where appropriate. The alphabetical order used for this glossary is as follows: *Ø, a, ȁ, b, č, čʔ, d, e, g, ɣ, h, i, j, ĵ, k, kʔ, m, n, o, p, (pʔ - no examples word initially in the texts), s (sʔ -no examples word initially in the texts), š, (šʔ -no examples word initially in the texts), t, tʔ, (u -no examples word initially in the texts), ȳ, w, x, y, z, ž*. Prefixes are listed before suffixes which are listed before free forms. Morpheme boundaries have not been noted for compound forms. All forms are referenced to the first text in which they are found, or to the grammar section which introduces them.

Nakoda-English		Notes and Text Reference
Ø	'third person singular subject'	Pronominal affix for stative and active verbs. See section 2.3.2.1.8.
Ø	'third person singular object'	Pronominal affix for active transitive verbs. See section 2.3.2.1.8.
a-	'on'	Locative prefix. See section

		2.3.2.2.3.
áana	'crow'	Noun possibly containing the diminutive suffix <i>-na</i> . See section 3.1.2 (43e).
aba	'some'	Partitive adverb. See section 3.2.2 (12c).
agam	'on top'	Preposition. Possibly a mispronunciation or dialect variant of <i>agān</i> 'up'. See section 3.1.2 (43b).
ayuyabi	'bread, dough'	Compound noun made up of a prefix <i>a-</i> (possibly the locative) the verb <i>yu</i> , the causative suffix <i>-ya</i> and the plural suffix <i>-bi</i> which serves as a nominalizer. See section 3.3.2 (3i).
ayuyabisu	'wheat'	Compound noun made up of the nouns <i>ayuyabi</i> and <i>su</i> . See section 3.5.2 (5d).
ayuyabinuyaki	'flour'	Compound noun made up of the noun <i>ayuyabi</i> and the verb <i>nuyaki</i> . See section 3.3.2 (3i).
ahage	'to end'	Active Transitive verb. See section 3.3.2 (6d).
ahagix	'once more'	Adverb perhaps containing the suffix <i>-x</i> which denotes intensity.

	See section 3.1.2 (35a).
ahekdapana 'behind'	Prepositional form the morphemic breakdown of which is unknown at this time. See section 3.1.2 (35e).
ákdaga 'to run'	Active Intransitive verb. See section 3.1.2 (17c).
akipa 'to meet'	Active Transitive verb possibly containing the locative prefix <i>a-</i> . See section 3.1.2 (3g).
anúk~anux 'on each side'	Preposition. See section 3.2.2 (10g).
anuxyudjhíga 'to stretch by pulling'	Compound Active Transitive verb made up of the preposition <i>anux</i> , the instrumental prefix <i>yu-</i> , and the element <i>djhíga</i> which may mean 'to stretch' which appears to contain the element <i>ga-</i> which may indicate a habitual action. See section 3.2.2 (10g).
aopeya 'to add'	Active Transitive verb which possibly contains the locative prefix <i>a-</i> . See section 3.6.2 (7g).
apdayá 'to fall over'	Active Intransitive verb. See section 3.1.2 (11f).
asʔá 'every'	Quantifier. See section 3.2.2

		(19e).
awači	'to think about something'	Active Transitive verb which contains the indefinite object prefix <i>wa-</i> and the locative prefix <i>a-</i> ('to think on something'). See section 3.1.2 (37c).
áya	'to become'	Active (Transitive) verb. See section 3.6.2 (7d).
áya	'to go carrying'	Active (Transitive) verb. See section 3.1.2 (40e).
ąba	'to dawn'	Stative?? verb. See section 3.1.2 (3a).
ąbedu	'daytime'	Compound noun made up of the stative verb <i>ąba</i> and the suffix <i>-edu</i> . See section 3.1.2 (3a).
ba-	'to push'	Instrumental prefix. See section 2.3.2.2.2.
-bi	'plural'	Nominal plural suffix. See section 2.3.1.1.1.
-bi	'plural'	Verbal plural suffix, sometimes used to nominalize a verb. See section 2.3.2.1.1.
busya	'to dry'	Active Transitive verb created from the stative verb <i>buza</i> and the causative suffix <i>-ya</i> . See section 3.3.1 (12c).

buza	'to be dry'	Stative verb. See section 3.3.2 (12c).
-č	'declarative, assertive'	Verbal suffix (see section 2.3.2.1.4).
-ča	'quality'	Demonstrative pronoun suffix. See section 2.6.1.
čą	'wood'	Noun. See section 3.1.2 (43b) and section 3.3.2 (11c).
čąbakmikma	'wagon'	Compound noun made up of the noun <i>čą</i> , possibly the instrumental prefix <i>ba-</i> and the active intransitive verb <i>kmikma</i> . See section 3.3.2 (1g).
čągaksaksa	'cut wood'	Compound noun made up of the noun <i>čą</i> , the instrumental prefix <i>ga-</i> and the active transitive verb <i>ksa</i> . See section 3.6.2 (9c).
čąpa	'cherries'	Noun. See section 3.3.2 (3l).
čąpasusuna	'pepper'	Compound noun made up of the nouns <i>čąpa</i> and <i>su</i> and the diminutive suffix <i>-na</i> . See section 3.3.2 (3l).
čąšmuyabi	'sugar'	Compound noun made up of the noun <i>čą</i> , the verb <i>šmu</i> , the causative suffix <i>-ya</i> and the plural suffix <i>-bi</i> which serves to

		nominalize the. See section 3.3.2 (3j).
čəwaki	'barrel'	Compound noun made up of the noun <i>čə</i> and the element <i>waki</i> which has a meaning undetermined at this time. See section 3.2.2 (9a).
čəyusnoha	'sleigh'	Compound noun made up of the noun <i>čə</i> , the instrumental prefix <i>yu-</i> and the active transitive verb <i>snoha</i> . See section 3.3.2 (2d).
čéya	'pot, kettle'	Noun. See section 3.6.2 (5d).
čeja	'legs'	Noun. See section 3.1.2 (8b).
čen	'because'	Conjunction. See section 3.1.2 (8d).
četi	'to build a fire'	Active Transitive verb. See section 3.6.2 (2b).
čiyə	'to need'	Active Transitive verb. See section 3.3.2 (4d).
čogan	'beneath'	Preposition. See section 3.3.2 (8d).
čuwi	'sides'	Noun. See section 3.4.2 (19d).
čuwičʔiba	'travois'	Compound noun made up of the noun <i>čuwi</i> and an element the meaning of which is undetermined at this time. See

		section 3.4.2 (19d).
č?ihą	'when'	Adverbial expression. See section 3.2.2 (1a).
dągu	'something, what'	Interrogative. See section 3.1.2 (13a) and (19b).
dągučen	'why'	Interrogative possibly a compound of the interrogative <i>dągu</i> and the conjunction <i>čen</i> . See section 3.1.2 (13a).
dą	'from, out of'	Prepositional??. See section 3.2.2 (8a).
dąhą	'from then on'	Adverb containing the form <i>dą</i> and the form denoting continued time <i>hą</i> . See section 3.2.2 (8a).
dąya	'to be well'	Stative verb. See section 3.4.2 (8f).
do	'something, what'	Indefinite pronoun. See section 2.6.1.
doba-dom	'four'	Numeral (stative verb form. See section 2.5 and section 3.5.2 (2c).
dohą	'how far, to what place'	Adverb compound made up of the indefinite pronoun <i>do</i> and the form denoting continued time <i>hą</i> . See section 3.1.2 (30b).
dohąduxdjya	'after a time'	Adverbial expression made up of the compound demonstrative

		<i>dohā</i> , the temporal/spatial suffix <i>-du</i> and the suffix <i>-xdjya</i> . See section 3.1.2 (30b).
dohān	'become, it is at that time'	Demonstrative made up of the indefinite pronoun <i>do</i> , the form denoting continued time <i>hā</i> and the adverbial suffix of place <i>-n</i> . See section 3.2.2 (11a).
dohāni	'never'	Adverb from <i>dohā</i> (see above) and the pronominal suffix <i>-ni</i> . See section 3.2.2 (25a).
doke	'something, what'	Compound demonstrative possibly made up of the demonstrative <i>do</i> and the element <i>ke</i> . See section 3.1.2 (25a).
dokedučen	'no matter what'	Adverbial expression consisting of the demonstrative, the temporal/spatial suffix <i>-du</i> and the conjunction <i>čen</i> . See section 3.1.2 (25a).
dó-ken	'how'	Interrogative, a compound of an indefinite pronoun <i>do</i> 'something, what' and the adverbial suffix <i>-ken</i> 'accordingly, properly'.
dóki	'wherever'	Adverb compound made up of

		the indefinite pronoun <i>do</i> and the adverbial suffix <i>-ki</i> . See section 3.4.2 (3a)..
dóna	'how many, several'	Adverb compound made up of the indefinite pronoun <i>do</i> and the demonstrative plural suffix <i>-na</i> . See section 3.1.2 (2d).
-du	locative for 'space' or 'time'	Adverbial affix denoting temporal or spatial concepts. See following items.
dugen	'kind of'	Adverbial compound containing the temporal/spatial affix <i>-du</i> and the adverbial suffix <i>-gen</i> . See section 3.1.2 (29d).
duka	'but'	Conjunction. See section 3.1.2 (34c).
dukde	'which one'	Interrogative pronoun. See section 3.1.2 (38c).
dukde-n	'where'	Interrogative consisting of the interrogative <i>dukde</i> and the adverbial suffix of place <i>-n</i> . See section 3.1.2 (38c).
duwā	'to look'	Active Transitive verb. See section 3.1.2 (30e).
duwe	'who, whoever'	Interrogative. See section 3.1.2 (21a).

e-	'at some place, down'	Locative prefix. See section 2.3.2.2.3.
ečagen	'all times, always'	Adverb. See section 3.2.2 (19c).
ečų	'to do'	Active Transitive verb. See section 3.1.2 (34b).
edahą	'some; already'	Adverb. See section
-edu	'in, around'	Suffix meaning 'in, around'. See also <i>en</i> . See section 3.1.2 (2e) and (3a).
éknaga	'to put down'	Active Transitive verb containing the locative prefix <i>e-</i> . See section 3.1.2 (38c).
ekneya	'to catch up to'	Active Transitive verb possibly containing the locative prefix <i>e-</i> . See section 3.1.2 (8f).
en	'in, around'	Prepositional form, see see also <i>-edu</i> .
eya	'to say'	Active (Intransitive) verb. See section 3.1.2 (18g).
eyaš	'anyway'	Compound adverbial form made up of a prefix <i>e-</i> which seems to mean 'instead (idiomatic)' and an element <i>ya(š)</i> which has a meaning undetermined at this time. See section 3.1.2 (25b).
ga-	'striking with something'	Instrumental prefix. See section

		2.3.2.2.2.
ga	'that, at a distance but visible and pointed out'	Demonstrative. See section 2.6.1 and section 3.1.2 (35c).
gáya	'to make'	Active Transitive verb. See section 3.3.2 (5h).
gayeye	'to sew'	Active Transitive verb possibly a reduplicated form of the active transitive verb <i>gaya</i> . See section 3.2.2 (13d).
gahādu	'it is right there (pointed out)'	Compound of the demonstrative <i>ga</i> , the form which denotes continued time <i>hā</i> and the temporal/spatial marker <i>-du</i> , and the suffix <i>-xdjya</i> . See section 3.1.2 (38a).
gahāduxdjya	'in a certain given amount of time, later'	Adverbial expression containing the demonstrative element <i>gahādu</i> and the suffix <i>-xdjya</i> . See section 3.1.2 (38a).
gáken	'and so, then'	Adverb compound made up of the demonstrative <i>ga</i> and the suffix <i>-ken</i> . See section 3.1.2 (11a).
gáki	'that there'	Compound demonstrative made up of the demonstrative <i>ga</i> and the adverbial form <i>ki</i> . See section

		3.1.2 (31a).
gayeja	??	Discourse particle which has a meaning unknown at this time. See section 3.1.2 (30c).
gen	'manner'	Adverbial suffix. See section 2.6.1.
gi	'dative'	Verbal affix containing the meaning of 'doing something to an object possessed by someone else by accident or without his knowledge'. See section 2.3.2.1.5.2.
gi	'possessive reflexive'	Verbal affix containing the meaning of 'doing something to an object possessed by the subject; does one's own'. See section 2.3.2.1.5.1.
giči	'reciprocal reflexive'	Verbal reciprocal affix meaning 'to do something to/for each other'. See section 2.3.2.1.5.1.
giya	'to fly'	Active Intransitive verb. See section 3.4.2 (9a).
giya ^q kiyabi	'airplane'	Compound noun. From the active intransitive verb <i>giya</i> with the causative in the form of <i>-kiya</i> and the plural suffix <i>-bi</i> . See

		section 3.4.2 (9a).
guguša	'pig'	Noun. See section 3.5.2 (5f).
gugušayude	'barley'	Compound noun made up of the noun <i>guguša</i> and the verb <i>yuda</i> which is here nominalized by means of ablauting the final vowel. See section 3.5.2 (5f).
ya	'be spread out in all directions'	Active Transitive verb. See section 3.1.2 (2c).
ha	'greetings??'	Discourse particle used by male speakers. See section 3.1.2 (4d).
ha	'hide'	Noun. See section 3.2.2 (3c).
hake	'again'	Adverb. See section 3.4.2 (11a).
hāba	'shoes'	Noun
hā-da	'already, then'	Adverb compound made up of the form denoting continued time <i>hā</i> and an element <i>-da</i> the meaning of which is unknown at this time.
hā	'continued time'	Adverbial affix. See section 2.6.1.
hā	'to cook by boiling'	Active Transitive?? verb. See section 3.3.2 (5g).
hāba	'shoes'	Noun. See section 3.2.2 (2d).
hābi	'broth'	Compound noun made up of the verb <i>hā</i> and the plural suffix <i>-bi</i> which here nominalizes the verb.

	See section 3.3.2 (5g).
hāda 'already, then'	Adverbial compound made up of the suffix denoting continued time <i>hā</i> and an element <i>-da</i> the meaning of which is unknown at this time. See section 3.2.2 (13e).
haska 'to be long'	Stative verb. See section 3.1.2 (8c).
hawi 'moon'	Noun perhaps containing the form denoting continued time <i>hā</i> . See section 3.6.2 (3d).
hawigayabi 'clock??'	Compound noun made up of the noun <i>hawi</i> the verb <i>gaya</i> and the plural suffix <i>-bi</i> . See section 3.6.2 (3d).
hayakena 'morning'	Noun perhaps containing the form denoting continued time <i>hā</i> . See section 3.5.2 (16d).
he marks a question	Interrogative particle appearing at the end of phrases to indicate that a question is being asked. See section 3.1.2 (6d).
hekta 'behind'	Preposition. See section 3.1.2 (35e).
héktač'ihā 'in the past'	This form is used to introduce a passage which talks about

		something that happened a long time ago. It contains the prepositional form <i>hekta</i> and the element <i>čʔihə</i> . See section 3.2.2 (1a).
hi	'to arrive coming'	Active Intransitive verb. See section 3.1.2 (31e).
hɟ	'hair, fur'	Noun. See section 3.2.2 (4d).
hɟk	'then'	Adverb. See section 3.1.2 (49b).
hon	'ok'	Discourse particle. See section 3.1.2 (26a).
i-	'instrumental nominalizer'	Verbal prefix which serves to form a noun representing the instrument which performs the action defined by the verb it attached to. See section 2.3.2.2.4.
i	'mouth'	Noun. See section 3.1.2 (46e).
i	'to arrive going'	Active Intransitive verb. See section 3.1.2 (32f).
ibiya	'to boil'	Active Transitive verb. See section 3.6.2 (5g).
ičaya	'to grow'	Active Transitive verb. See section 3.3.2 (17i).
ičapa	'to pierce'	Active Transitive verb. See section 3.6.2 (16c).

ič?i	'reflexive'	The "normal" reflexive in Nakoda meaning 'to so something to oneself'. See section 2.3.2.1.5.1.
idux	'no doubt/anyway'	Adverb. See section 3.1.2 (23c).
ihą	'to remain, to stand at'	Active Intransitive verb. See section 3.4.2 (3f).
iknoya	'to take oneself to a place'	Active Intransitive verb. See section 3.3.2 (19d).
iknuhana	'sometime'	Adverb. See section 3.1.2 (10b).
ikusána	'mink'	Noun which perhaps contains the diminutive suffix <i>-na</i> . See section 3.1.2 (2a).
imaḡagaksaksa	'cutting disk'	Compound noun made up of the noun <i>mąka</i> , the instrumental prefix <i>ga-</i> , the verb <i>ksa</i> and the instrumental nominalizer <i>i-</i> . See section 3.5.2 (4c).
imaḡayupda	'plow'	Compound noun made up of the noun <i>mąka</i> , the verb <i>yupda</i> and the instrumental nominalizer <i>i-</i> . See section 3.5.2 (2d).
inaḡi	'to stand against, stop'	Active Intransitive verb containing the active intransitive verb <i>naḡi</i> and a prefix <i>i-</i> which converts some verbs of location into verbs of moving into position. See

		section 3.1.2 (41c).
ípi	'to be satisfied with food'	Active Transitive verb. See section 3.1.2 (46e).
jš	'also'	Adverb. See section 3.1.2 (10a) and (23b).
itimahen	'into'	Preposition possibly containing a suffix <i>-mahen</i> 'inside' and the active intransitive verb <i>ti</i> 'to dwell'. See section 3.3.2 (1d).
ito	'first, for example'	Adverb, possibly related to the ordinal numeral <i>togahe</i> . See section 3.2.2 (2a).
ių	'to apply'	Active Transitive verb possibly related to the active transitive verb <i>ų</i> . See section 3.2.2 (7d).
iwanakąą	'thresher'	Compound noun. From the active transitive verb <i>naką</i> 'to pound' with an indefinite object prefix <i>wa-</i> , the instrumental nominalizer <i>i-</i> , and a suffix <i>-ąą</i> which may be an alternate form of the causative suffix <i>-ya</i> . See section 3.5.2 (11f).
iwatokšu	'truck'	Compound noun made up of the verb <i>tokšu</i> , the indefinite object prefix <i>wa-</i> and the instrumental nominalizer <i>i-</i> . See section 3.5.2

		(14c).
ixa	'to laugh'	Active Intransitive verb. See section 3.1.2 (11c).
ixeyam	'behind'	Preposition. See section 3.4.2 (22c).
ixbeya	'to throw away'	Active Transitive verb. See section 3.2.2 (25d).
iya	'to speak a language'	Active Intransitive verb. See section 3.4.2 (7a).
iyagam	'over, beyond'	Preposition. See section 3.4.2 (21h).
iyakna	'with'	Preposition. See section 3.3.2 (5k).
iyaknagahi	'to mix with'	Active Transitive verb made up of the prepositional form <i>iyakna</i> and a form <i>gahi</i> which may be a verb meaning 'to mix'. See section 3.2.2 (6f).
iyečjga	'by itself'	Reflexive pronoun. See section 3.4.2 (1f).
iyečjgamani	'car'	Compound noun made up of the reflexive pronoun <i>iyečjga</i> and the active intransitive verb <i>mani</i> . See section 3.4.2 (1f).
iyogibi	'to be pleased'	Stative verb. See section 3.1.2 (48e).

iyopdaye	'along'	Adverb or preposition the morphemic breakdown of which is unknown at this time. See section 3.2.2 (14c).
iyuṽya	'to ask'	Active Transitive verb. See section 3.1.2 (12f).
iyuhana	'all of them'	Noun. See section 3.1 2 (49c).
iyukjā	'to think, understand'	Active (Transitive) verb. See section 3.1.2 (19d).
iyuta	'to try'	Active (Transitive) verb. See section 3.1.2 (25c).
jkba	'to be sharp'	Stative verb. See section 3.4.2 (21a).
jkdu	'to rekindle, light, flame up'	Active Transitive verb. See section 3.6.2 (8d).
jyā	'rocks'	Noun. See section 3.6.2 (13b).
kāda	'to be hot'	Stative verb. See section 3.6.2 (2e).
kanya	'to heat up'	Active Transitive verbs formed from the stative verb <i>kada</i> and the causative <i>-ya</i> . See section 3.6.2 (4g).
kapa	'to pass'	Active Transitive verb. See section 3.1.2 (32e).
kā	'to be ripe'	Stative verb. See section 3.5.2 (11d).

kbaya	'to stretch'	Active Transitive verb. See section 3.2.2 (8e).
-ke	'thus, therefore'	Adverbial suffix. See section 3.1.2 (25a).
-ken	'accordingly, properly'	Adverbial suffix. See section 2.6.1.
-ki	'at a certain place'	Adverbial suffix. See section 2.6.1.
-kiya	'causative'	Verbal affix; the intentional form of the causative suffix -ya. See section 2.3.2.1.6.
kiyedə	'near, near to'	Adverb. See section 3.5.2 (17d).
kmikma	'to go round'	Active Intransitive verb. See section 3.3.2 (1g).
knaga	'to put away, to lay'	Active Transitive verb. See section 3.1.2 (21h).
kne	'to put, place'	Active Transitive verb. See section 3.6.2 (2g).
kni	'to arrive coming back'	Active Intransitive verb. See section 3.1.2 (21d).
ko	'and, too, also'	Conjunction?? See section 3.1.2 (11e).
kona	'male friend of a man'	Noun. See section 3.1.2 (4e).
koš	'even though'	Adverbial. See section 3.4.2 (23b).
koyaka	'to wear, put on'	Active Transitive verb. See

	section 3.4.2 (16e).
kpayə 'to stretch'	Active Transitive verb. See section 3.2.2 (8e).
ksa 'to cut'	Active Transitive verb. See section 3.2.2 (14d).
kšu 'to plant'	Active Transitive verb. See section 3.3.2 (16e).
-kta 'unrealized'	Aspectual suffix representing 'an unrealized event' (see section 2.3.2.1.2).
kun 'down'	Preposition. See section 3.1.2 (47c).
kʔy 'to give'	Active Transitive verb. See section 3.1.2 (45h).
ma- 'I'	First person singular subject form for stative verbs. See section 2.3.2.1.8.
mayəzu 'to rain'	Stative verb. See section 3.4.2 (23a).
mayu 'to trace, mark'	Active Transitive verb. See section 3.2.2 (13k).
məka 'earth'	Noun. See section 3.1.2 (14f).
məkoče 'earth'	Noun. See section 3.3.2 (1c).
məkoiyukʔəya 'cultivator'	Compound noun made up of the noun <i>məka</i> , the locative prefix <i>o-</i> , the verb <i>yukʔəya</i> and the

		instrumental nominalizer <i>i-</i> . See section 3.5.2 (7a).
mani	'to walk'	Active Intransitive verb. See section 3.4.2 (1d).
mąs'apa	'to phone'	Active Transitive verb. See section 3.4.2 (5a).
maštjja	'rabbit'	Noun. See section 3.1.2 (4g).
maštjjaŋaga	'jackrabbit'	Compound noun made up of the noun <i>maštjja</i> and the stative verb <i>ŋaga</i> . See section 3.1.2 (4g).
máza	'iron, metal'	Noun. See section 3.2.2 (9b).
mima	'to be round'	Stative verb. See section 3.3.2 (12b).
mini-mni	'water'	Noun. See section 3.1.2 (18c).
minit'a	'to be thirsty'	Stative verb made up of the noun <i>mini</i> and the verb <i>t'a</i> . See section 3.1.2 (40d).
mn-	'I'	First person singular subject prefix for Active y-stem verbs. See section 2.3.2.1.8.
mnaya	'to be level'	Stative verb. See section 3.1.2 (3c).
mnogedu	'summer'	Noun possibly made up of two elements: <i>mno</i> and the suffix <i>-edu</i> . See section 3.3.2 (10a).
mnu	'to be powdered, pulverized'	Active Transitive verb. See

		section 3.5.2 (4e).
n-	'you (sg)'	Second person singular subject prefix for Active y-stem verbs. See section 2.3.2.1.8.
-n	'at, always a place nearby, not requiring the covering of a distance to be reached'	Adverbial suffix of place. See section 2.6.1.
na-	'with the feet'	Instrumental prefix. See section 2.3.2.2.2.
-na	'plural'	Plural suffix for demonstrative and indefinite pronominals. See section 2.6.1.
-na	'diminutive'	Nominal inflectional suffix. See section 2.3.1.1.2.
nakoda	'Nakoda people'	Noun. See section 3.3.2 (1a).
nakonmąkoče	'reserves'	Compound noun made up of the noun <i>nakoda</i> and the noun <i>mąkoče</i> . See section 3.3.2 (1c).
nasu	'brains'	Noun. See section 3.2.2 (6d).
naxʔų	'to hear'	Active Transitive verb. See section 3.4.2 (8g).
naži	'to stand'	Active Intransitive verb. See section 3.1.2 (41c).
nągahą	'today'	Noun which may contain the from denoting continued time <i>hą</i> . See section 3.2.2 (16a).

nəqə	'to pound'	Active Transitive verb. See section 3.5.2 (11l).
ne	'this'	Demonstrative. See section 3.1.2 (2b).
néča	'this kind'	Compound demonstrative made up of the demonstrative <i>ne</i> and the demonstrative suffix <i>ča</i> . See section 3.2.2 (9c).
nehən	'at this time, here, today, now'	Adverb compound containing the demonstrative <i>ne</i> , the form denoting continued time <i>hə</i> and the adverbial suffix of place <i>-n</i> . See section 3.5.2 (17b).
nen	'this here'	Compound form made up of the demonstrative <i>ne</i> and the adverbial suffix of place <i>-n</i> . See section 3.1.2 (21c).
nenə	'these'	Demonstrative compound with the demonstrative <i>ne</i> and its plural suffix <i>-nə</i> . See section 3.2.2 (25c).
ni-	'your'	Inseparable possessive second person prefix. See section 2.3.1.1.3.
ni-	'you'	Second person singular subject pronominal prefix for stative

		verbs. See section 2.3.2.1.8.
-ni	'negative'	Pronominal suffix which negates indefinite pronouns. See section 3.2.2 (25a).
niye	'belly'	Body part noun with the inseparable possessive second person prefix <i>ni-</i> . See section 3.1.2 (14e).
nína	'very'	Adverb. See section 3.1.2 (5c).
no	male speaker	Declarative sentence ending particle used by male speakers in discourse. See section 3.1.2 (1d).
noʏs	'so much??'	Adverb the morphemic breakdown of which is unknown at this time. See section 3.1.2 (11d).
nuwə	'to swim'	Active Intransitive verb. See section 3.1.2 (18e).
núzahə	'to be fast'	Stative verb. See section 3.1.2 (5d).
núba-nʏ-num	'two'	Numeral (stative verb form, see section 2.5). See section 3.2.2 (17e).
o-	'within something'	Locative prefix (see section 2.3.2.2.3)
oaška	'recently'	Adverb. See section 3.4.2 (15a).

oĭ	'beads'	Noun. See section 3.2.2 (16c).
očagu	'road'	Noun. See section 3.4.2 (2a).
očeti	'stove'	Compound noun made up of the verb <i>četi</i> and the locative prefix <i>o-</i> (which here nominalizes the verb). See section 3.6.2 (2b).
óda	'to be many'	Stative verb. See section 3.2.2 (1e).
ogiya	'to help'	Active Transitive verb. See section 3.3.2 (19e).
ohii	'to win something'	Active Transitive verb. See section 3.1.2 (23d).
okna	'with, between'	Preposition. See section 3.3.2 (1h).
oknatočouybabí	'pie?'	Compound noun made up of the preposition <i>okna</i> , an element, <i>to</i> which has an meaning unknown at this time, the noun <i>čo</i> and the verb <i>ybabí</i> . See section 3.3.2 (9b).
okša	'around'	Preposition. See section 3.1.2 (20d).
oma	'to be different'	Stative verb. See section 3.2.2 (19a).
omaye	'mark'	Noun formed from the active transitive verb <i>mayu</i> and the

	locative prefix <i>o-</i> . See section 3.2.2 (14b).
omani 'to travel'	Compound active intransitive verb with the locative prefix <i>o-</i> and the verb <i>mani</i> . See section 3.4.2 (1d).
omaşʔape 'telephone'	Noun made up of a verb <i>maşʔapa</i> and the locative prefix <i>o-</i> . See section 3.4.2 (5a).
ome 'different kinds'	Noun possibly a nominalized form (ablauted final vowel - see section 2.3.1.2.2) of the stative verb <i>oma</i> . See section 3.2.2 (17d).
omnaye 'flat place'	Compound noun made up of the locative <i>o-</i> , and the verb <i>mnaya</i> . See section 3.1.2 (17d).
onataka 'to be seal (in), fasten'	Active Transitive verb. See section 3.3.2 (13e).
opetɿ 'to buy'	Active Transitive verb. See section 3.3.2 (3f).
ososo 'to pass through'	Active Transitive verb. See section 3.2.2 (23e).
ošpu 'things'	Noun. See section 3.3.2 (17f).
otɿwe 'town'	Noun, possibly a compound of the locative prefix <i>o-</i> and a verbal form <i>tɿwa</i> (the final vowel of which has been ablauted to

		nominalize the verb - see section 2.3.1.2.2) which has a meaning undetermined at this time. See section 3.3.2 (1i).
owoknage	'story'	Compound noun made up of the locative <i>o-</i> , the verb <i>yaga</i> and an unknown prefix <i>wo-</i> as well as the ablauting of the final vowel to create a noun (see section 2.3.1.2.2). See section 3.1.2 (1a).
pa	'head'	Noun. See section 3.2.2 (15b).
payi	'potatoes'	Noun. See section 3.3.2 (5j).
pahj	'porcupine'	Compound noun made up of the nouns <i>pa</i> and <i>hj</i> . See section 3.2.2 (15b).
paxda	'to tie'	Active Transitive verb. See section 3.2.2 (10c).
pdaedu	'fall'	Noun possibly made up of two elements, <i>pda-</i> and the suffix <i>-edu</i> . See section 3.5.2 (12b).
pde	'to be short'	Stative verb. See section 3.4.2 (22f).
pde	'lake'	Noun. See section 3.1.2 (2c).
pdepdeyána	'little sloughs'	A compound noun made up of <i>pde</i> (reduplicated see section 2.4), the verb <i>ya</i> , and the

		diminutive <i>-na</i> . See section 3.1.2 (2c).
péda	'fire'	Noun. See section 3.6.2 (7a).
pesto	'to sharpen'	Active Transitive verb. See section 3.6.2 (15c).
pi	'to be happy'	Stative verb. See section 3.1.2 (46e).
piya	'contained, to contain'	Active Transitive verb. See section 3.1.2 (2f).
piyahąšj	'very little time'	Adverb which possibly contains the form denoting continued time <i>hą</i> and the negative suffix <i>-šj</i> . See section 3.4.2 (11b).
sága	'to be dry'	Stative verb. See section 3.2.2 (4b).
sakiya	'to dry'	Active Transitive verb created from the stative verb <i>saga</i> and the causative <i>-ya</i> . See section 3.2.2 (3e).
skúya	'to be sweet'	Stative verb. See section 3.3.2 (6b).
sni	'to be cool'	Stative verb. See section 3.6.2 (7c).
snoha	'to crawl'	Active Intransitive verb. See section 3.1.2 (14f).
su	'seed'	Noun. See section 3.3.2 (3l).

ša	'to be red'	Stative verb. See section 3.3.2 (16i).
šgi	'to crush'	Active Transitive verb. See section 3.3.2 (11g).
-šj	'negative'	Verbal suffix indicating negation. See section 2.3.2.1.3.
šką	'to do, act'	Active Transitive verb which often combines with another verb form. See section 3.3.2 (19g).
šmu	'to drop'	Active Intransitive verb. See section 3.3.2 (3j).
šóda	'to be smokey'	Stative verb. See section 3.2.2 (12d).
šóde	'smoke'	Noun formed from the stative verb <i>šoda</i> by ablauting the final vowel (see section 2.3.1.2.2). See section 3.2.2 (12d).
špąyą	'to cook'	Active Transitive verb. See section 3.3.2 (5a).
špi	'to pick'	Active Transitive verb. See section 3.3.2 (10d).
šten	'when'	Adverb. See section 3.1.2 (21e).
štuštena	'salt'	Noun, possibly a compound the morphemic breakdown of which remains undetermined at this time. This word possibly comes

		from a stative verb meaning 'to be salty' with the diminutive suffix <i>-na</i> . See section 3.3.2 (3k).
šúga	'dog'	Noun. See section 3.1.2 (3e).
šúgataga	'horse'	Compound noun made up of the noun <i>šúga</i> and the stative verb <i>taga</i> . See section 3.4.2 (16a).
šukjukʔa _{11a}	'coyote'	Compound noun made up of the noun <i>šúga</i> , and and element <i>jukʔana</i> meaning 'small' (containing the diminutive suffix <i>-na</i>). See section 3.1.2 (3e).
ta	'ruminant'	Noun. See section 3.2.2 (7b).
taha	'animal skin'	Compound noun made up of the nouns <i>ta</i> and <i>ha</i> . See section 3.2.2 (7b).
tahjsa	'awl, needle'	Noun, probably a compound the morphemic breakdown of which is undetermined at this time. See section 3.2.2 (22a).
takə	'sinew'	Noun, possibly a compound containing the noun <i>ta</i> and an element <i>kə</i> the meaning of which is unknown at this time. See section 3.2.2 (21e).
tano	'meat'	Noun. See section 3.3.2 (3g).

tąga	'to be large'	Stative verb. See section 3.4.2 (16a).
teyi	'to be difficult'	Stative verb. See section 3.1.2 (8c).
téha	'realized, past'	Adverbial perhaps containing the form denoting continued time <i>ha</i> . See section 3.4.2 (3d).
téhan	'unrealized, future'	Adverbial. See section 3.4.2 (10b).
texbi	'leather'	Noun. See section 3.2.2 (1b).
ti	'house'	Noun. See section 3.3.2 (1d).
timahen	'inside'	Preposition. See section 3.4.2 (24b).
tįpsina	'turnips'	Noun which may contain the diminutive suffix <i>-na</i> . See section 3.3.2 (16h).
tįpsįšaša	'beets'	Compound noun containing the reduplicated stative verb <i>ša</i> and the noun <i>tįpsi</i> 'turnips'. See section 3.3.2 (16i).
toga	'first'	Ordinal numeral. See section 3.1.2 (21b).
togadam	'ahead, in front'	Preposition. See section 3.1.2 (30d).
togahe	'the first'	Another form of <i>toga</i> . See section 3.1.2 (21b).

tokšu	'to haul'	Active Transitive verb. See section 3.5.2 (13g).
toką	'another, different'	Noun. See section 3.3.2 (4c).
tʔa	'to be dead'	Stative verb. See section 3.1.2 (40d).
ʏ- ~ ʏg-	'we'	First person plural subject pronominal prefix for active and stative verbs. See section 2.3.2.1.8.
ʏ- ~ ʏg-	'us'	First person plural object pronominal prefix for active and stative verbs. See section 2.3.2.1.8.
ʏ	'to be'	Active Intransitive verb. See section 3.1.2 (35f).
ʏ	'to use'	Active Transitive verb. See section 3.2.2 (1g).
ʏbabi	'to lay down'	Active Transitive verb. See section 3.3.2 (9b).
ʏs	'with'	Preposition. See section 3.2.2 (5b).
ʏspe	'to learn'	Active Transitive verb. See section 3.5.2 (17g).
wa-	'indefinite object'	Verbal prefix denoting an indefinite object. See section 2.3.2.1.7.

wa-	'I'	First person singular subject pronominal prefix for Active, non-y-stem verbs. See section 2.3.2.1.8.
wa	'snow'	Noun. See section 3.4.2 (4c).
wači	'to dance'	Active Intransitive verb. See section 3.2.2 (18e).
wádapa	'tractor'	Noun. See section 3.5.2 (6c).
wagam	'on top of something'??	Prepositional form possibly consisting of the prepositional form <i>agān</i> and the indefinite object <i>wa-</i> . See section 3.1.2 (42b).
waha	'hide'	Compound noun made up of the noun <i>ha</i> plus the indefinite object <i>wa-</i> . See section 3.2.2 (3c).
wahābi	'soup, broth'	Noun. See section 3.3.2 (9g).
wahj̄baxba	'hair scraper'	Compound noun made up of the indefinite object <i>wa-</i> , the noun <i>h̄j̄</i> , the instrumental prefix <i>ba-</i> and the active transitive verb <i>xba</i> . See section 3.2.2 (5a).
wakmuhaza	'corn'	Compound noun made up of the indefinite object <i>wa-</i> , the verb <i>kmu</i> , the noun <i>ha</i> and the element <i>-za</i> the meaning of which

		is undetermined at this time. See section 3.3.2 (16g).
wana	'already, now, next'	Adverb. See section 3.1.2 (46d).
waniedu	'winter'	Noun possibly made up of two elements: <i>wani</i> and the suffix <i>-edu</i> 'in, around'. See section 3.3.2 (2a).
wašj	'fat'	Noun. See section 3.2.2 (46d).
waskuyeja	'all berries'	Compound noun made up of the indefinite object <i>wa-</i> and the stative verb <i>skuya</i> (ablauting of the final vowel to nominalize - see section 2.3.1.2.2) with a final element <i>ja</i> the meaning of which is unknown at this time. See section 3.3.2 (10c).
wašte	'to be good'	Stative verb. See section 3.1.2 (36c).
waxbe	'tea, leaves'	Noun. See section 3.3.2 (3h).
wayaga	'to see'	Active Transitive verb. See section 3.1.2 (34h).
wayahode	'oats'	Compound noun made up of the verb <i>yahode</i> and the indefinite object <i>wa-</i> . See section 3.5.2 (5e).
waži	'one, a'	Demonstrative form of the

		numeral <i>wāča</i> . See section 2.6.
wi	'tent'	Noun. See section 3.4.2 (22k).
wibazoka	'saskatoons'	Noun. See section 3.3.2 (7b).
wiča	'them'	Third person plural animate object pronominal affix. See section 2.3.2.1.8.
wijaka	'to tell the truth'	Active Transitive verb. See section 3.1.2 (17b).
wikni	'grease'	Noun. See section 3.2.2 (6b).
wiopeya	'to sell'	Active Transitive verb which may be a compound form. See section 3.3.2 (1l).
wiyu	'to make use of'	Active Transitive verb; probably a compound of the active transitive verb <i>y</i> , and an element <i>wiy-</i> which remains unanalyzed at this time. See section 3.2.2 (2h).
wiza	'to bend'	Active Transitive verb. See section 3.2.2 (9d).
wóda	'to eat'	Active Transitive verb. See section 3.1.2 (44b).
woknaga	'to tell a story'	Active Transitive verb from the verb <i>yaga</i> 'to tell, relate'. See section 3.1.2 (1a).
wóksabi	'education'	Compound noun made up of the noun <i>ksapa</i> , the prefix <i>wo-</i> (which

		hear nominalizes the verb) and the plural suffix <i>-bi</i> . See section 3.5.2 (17c).
wómnu	'to pulverize, plough'	Active Transitive verb. See section 3.5.2 (1e).
wówaši	'work'	Noun. See section 3.3.2 (19b).
woyapde	'what was left'	Compound noun made up of the nominal prefix <i>wo-</i> and a verb <i>yapde</i> which has a meaning undetermined at this time. See section 3.1.2 (47a).
wóyude	'food'	Compound noun made up of the verb <i>yuda</i> and a prefix <i>wo-</i> with final vowel ablaut to nominalize (see section 2.3.1.2.2). See section 3.3.2 (3e).
-x	'intensifying'	Suffix found on demonstratives and verbs. See section 2.6.1.
xba	'to separate'	Active Transitive verb. See section 3.2.2 (5a).
-xdjya	'more'	Adverbial suffix. See section 3.1.2 (30b).
xnoga	'to make a hole (in a skin)'	Active Transitive verb. See section 3.2.2 (22c).
xʔu	'to scrape'	Active Transitive verb. See section 3.2.2 (4f).

-ya-yą	'causative'	Verbal suffix indicating the causative. See section 2.3.2.1.6.
-ya	'adverbializer'	Verbal suffix. See section 2.3.2.1.6.
ya-	'with the mouth'	Instrumental prefix. See section 2.3.2.2.2.
ya-	'you'	Second person singular subject pronominal prefix for active non-y-stem verbs. See section 2.3.2.1.8.
ya	'to be going'	Active Intransitive verb. See section 3.1.2 (31e).
yaga	'to tell, relate'	Active Transitive verb. See section 3.1.2 (1a).
-yagen	'kind of like that'	Adverbial suffix. See section 3.1.2 (36e).
yahode	'to choke'	Active Transitive verb. See section 3.5.2 (5e).
yak	'all'	Adverb. See section 3.3.2 (10b).
yapa	'to carry (in mouth)'	Active Transitive verb. See section 3.1.2 (4i).
yaza	'to bead, design'	Active Transitive verb. See section 3.2.2 (15e).
yu-	'to pull, by hand'	Instrumental prefix. See section 2.3.2.2.2.
yučaba	'to trot'	Active Intransitive verb the

		morphemic breakdown of which is unknown at this time. See section 3.1.2 (29c).
yúda	'to eat'	Active Transitive verb. See section 3.3.2 (5l).
yuha	'to have'	Active Transitive verb. See section 3.4.2 (5c).
yuka	'to catch, have'	Active Transitive verb. See section 3.1.2 (10d).
yukʔəya	'to scratch, scrape'	Active Transitive verb. See section 3.5.2 (7a).
yumimamayə	'rolled balls'	Compound noun made up of the instrumental prefix <i>yu-</i> , the stative verb <i>mima</i> (reduplicated) and a final element <i>yə</i> which may be the causative suffix <i>-ya</i> . See section 3.3.2 (12b).
yupda	'to plow'	Active Transitive verb which is contains the instrumental prefix <i>yu-</i> and a verb <i>pda</i> the meaning of which remains undetermined at this time. See section 3.3.2 (16b).
yupi	'to be good at something'	Active Transitive verb. See section 3.1.2 (18f).
yustə	'to finish'	Active Transitive verb. See section

yušna	'to drop'	Active Transitive verb, possibly with the instrumental <i>yu-</i> . See section 3.1.2 (47d).
yušnoga	'to pull off'	Active Transitive verb containing the instrumental prefix <i>yu-</i> . See section 3.5.2 (11n).
yušpa	'to separate'	Active Transitive verb containing the instrumental prefix <i>yu-</i> . See section 3.4.2 (4f).
yuštą	'to finish'	Active Transitive verb. See section 3.5.2 (8e).
yuwjš	'to bend'	Active Transitive verb possibly related to the active transitive verb <i>wiza</i> with the instrumental prefix <i>yu-</i> . See section 3.2.2 (9d).
yúza	'to catch'	Active Transitive verb. See section 3.1.2 (6c).
yuža	'to mash'	Active Transitive verb. See section 3.5.2 (16e).
yuža-bi	'porridge'	Compound noun made up of the verb <i>yuža</i> and the plural suffix <i>-bi</i> . See section 3.5.2 (16e).
zj	'to be brown'	Stative verb. See section 3.2.2 (12f).
zjya	'to make it brown, to tan'	Active Transitive verb created from the stative verb <i>zj</i> and the

		causative <i>-ya</i> . See section 3.2.2 (12f).
<i>že</i>	'the, that'	Demonstrative. See section 3.1.2 (9a).l
<i>žěča</i>	'that?'	Demonstrative compound of the demonstrative <i>že</i> and the suffix <i>-ča</i> . See section 3.3.2 (17d).
<i>žěčen</i>	'then, and so'	Conjunction, a compound of the demonstrative <i>že</i> and the adverbial suffix <i>-ken</i> . See section 3.1.2 (9a).
<i>žěči</i>	'that at a point, but in reference to the speaker'	Compound demonstrative made up of the demonstrative <i>že</i> and the suffix <i>-ki</i> . See section 3.1.2 (43a).
<i>žedahą</i>	'from then on, that already done'	Adverb; possibly a compound made up of the demonstrative <i>že</i> and the adverb <i>dahą</i> which contains the form denoting continued time <i>hą</i> . See section 3.2.2 (8a).
<i>žehą</i>	'then'	Adverbial compound made up of the demonstrative <i>že</i> and the form denoting continued time <i>hą</i> . See section 3.3.2 (19a).
<i>žehąn</i>	'then'	Adverbial compound made up of

		the demonstrative <i>že</i> , the form denoting continued time <i>hą</i> and the adverbial suffix of place <i>-n</i> . See section 3.2.2 (4c).
<i>žen</i>	'this one nearby'	Demonstrative made up of <i>že</i> and the adverbial suffix of place <i>-n</i> . See section 3.1.2 (38f).
<i>žena</i>	'those near me'	Demonstrative made up of the demonstrative <i>že</i> and the plural suffix <i>-na</i> . See section 3.1.2 (47b).
<i>ženagaš</i>	'those ones'	Demonstrative, made up of the demonstrative <i>že</i> and the plural suffix <i>-na</i> and an unknown element <i>gaš</i> . See section 3.2.2 (20b).
<i>žene</i>	'it is so'	Demonstrative compound which contains the demonstratives <i>že</i> and <i>ne</i> . See section 3.1.2 (17a).
<i>žiḡ</i>	'feet'	Noun (body part). See section 3.2.2 (13f).

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UNIVERSITY OF REGINA

OFFICE OF ASSOCIATE VICE-PRESIDENT AND DEAN
FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

DATE: May 20, 1996

TO: Emily Schudel
Saskatchewan Indian Federated College, Department of Linguistics

FROM: G.W. Maslany, Chair
Research Ethics Review Committee

Re: **Elicitation and Analysis of Assiniboine Texts from Southern Saskatchewan**

Please be advised that the committee has considered this proposal and has agreed that it is:

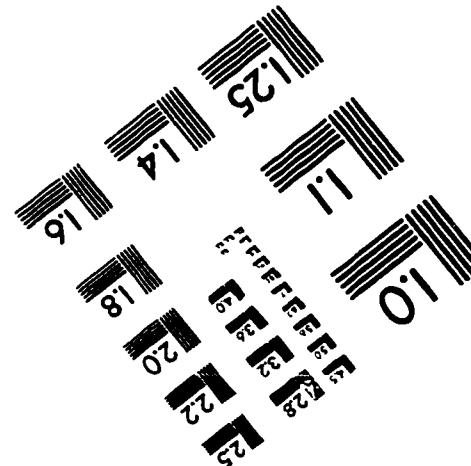
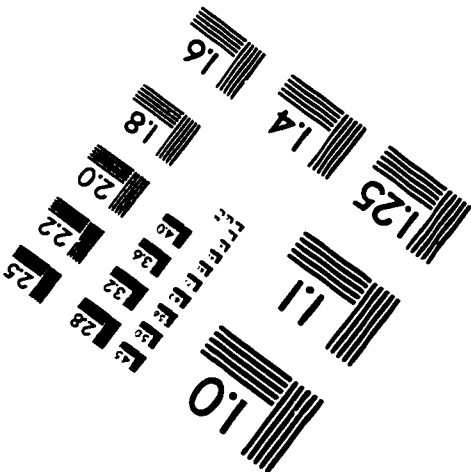
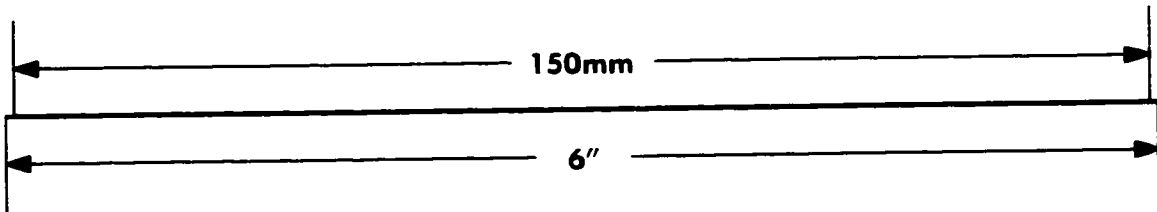
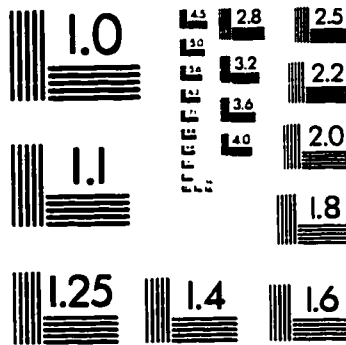
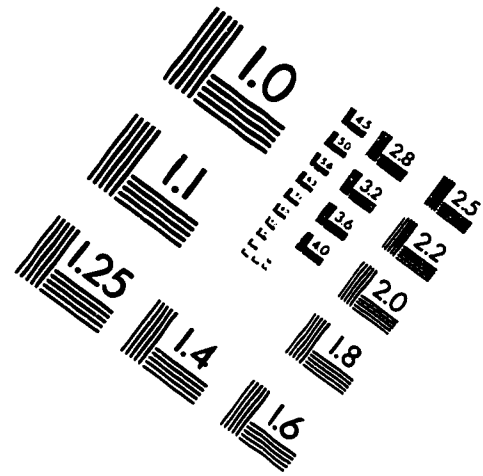
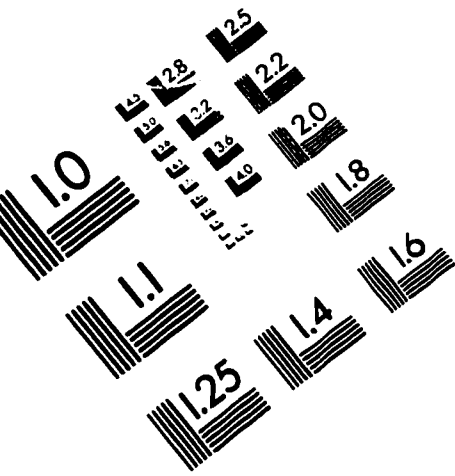
- ✓
_____ 1. Acceptable as submitted.
(Note: Only those applications designated in this way have ethical approval for the research on which they are based to proceed.)
- _____ 2. Acceptable subject to the following changes and precautions (see attached):
Note: These changes must be resubmitted to the Committee and deemed acceptable by it prior to the initiation of the research. Once the changes are regarded as acceptable a new approval form will be sent out indicating it is acceptable as submitted.
Please address the concerns raised by the reviewer(s) by means of a supplementary memo.
- _____ 3. Unacceptable to the Committee as submitted. Please contact the Chair for advise on whether or how the project proposal might be revised to become acceptable (ext. 4161/5186.)

/mm

cc: Dr. Jan P. van Eijk, supervisor

(Ethics2.doc)

IMAGE EVALUATION TEST TARGET (QA-3)



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