Corrected Draft Baxoje-Jiwere Grammar Sketch

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Prepared for NSF IOWA Dictionary Project,

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**I. Sound System (Phonology)[[1]](#footnote-2) Including An Inventory of Sounds by Characteristics**

**A. Consonants:** In general, a sound is considered to be a consonant if there is some modification of the air by the tongue, lips, teeth, etc., as the air goes out through the mouth.

**1) Stops**. There are three sets of the **stops** in Jiwere-Baxoje. **Stop** is the term for sounds which begin by actually stopping the airflow briefly. They are distinguished by a set of particular sound features:

**a.** **aspiration** (meaning a slight puff of air comes just as the consonant ends) It is represented by a superscript [ h ] after each consonant symbol; note that English speakers also tend to “puff” (aspirate) the initial voiceless consonants. If you were to hold a piece of paper in front of your mouth while pronouncing the word “paper”, the first “p” sound should make the paper move slightly, while the second “p” tends not to have the puff of air, so the paper does not move that time. The first one would thus be written phonetically as an aspirated [ph ] while the second one would not. The Jiwere-Baxoje aspirated stops would be written as \ph, kh, th \.

**b.** **glottalization** (meaning there is a “break” or “closing” in the sound caused by a slight glottal stop immediately after the consonant, which also pushes the preceding sound further back in the mouth to prepare for that swift shift deep down to the epiglottis (see the diagram of the mouth for further clarification.) Glottal stops occur in English sometimes such as the interjection “uh-oh!” where it comes at the beginning of both syllables. The apostrophe symbol represents that abrupt stopping of the air flow as in \p’, k’, t’\.[[2]](#footnote-3)

**c. plain** (neither aspirated nor glottalized). These sounds can be either voiced, or voiceless, but both would have been heard by native speakers as the “same.” This way of categorizing sounds is different than the way English speakers are accustomed to hearing and speaking. English speakers have a problem with hearing and producing the plain voiceless version of consonants at the beginning of the word especially. That is because native English speakers don’t have any plain voiceless stops in that same word position. They automatically create the puff of air after the voiceless stops there, as described in the “**p**aper” example above. Accuracy in pronunciation for English-speaking students of Baxoje-Jiwere can be most easily acquired by using the voiced version of the sounds, since that most closely parallels their existing speech habits, while remaining true to one of the allophones documented in their ancestral speech. Different scholars who have worked on Baxoje-Jiwere have used either or both [p/b, k/g, t/d] for the plain series.

One should be aware that variation exists on the phonetic level for all languages, both for speakers individually, and for however many different dialects might develop of the same language. It may well have existed between the closely related forms such as in voiced vs. plain voiceless stops within the three historic speech communities, within some families, or even in some complex and interesting patterned way within the speech of individual speakers. A few notes by earlier researchers suggest that individuals’ speech did display tendencies toward such variation, but the number of speakers is too small, and the data too limited to do more than speculate on such topics at the present time (Whitman 1947).

**2) Fricatives** are another kind of consonant which take their name from the fact that the air is pushed through the mouth with some interference rather than flowing freely, or coming to a complete stop. This partial blocking of the air produces **fric**tion, which is the basis for the name. The fricatives in Baxoje-Jiwere include the following:

\h\ as in “help, rehearse” \s\ as in English ‘Sue, sin’ \š\ as in the “sh” spelling in English ‘shoe, rush’ \ϴ\ the Greek letter “theta”, found in the voiceless “th” in English ‘thin, length’ \ð\ the voiced version of the English “th” spelling, as in ‘the, then, breathe’ \s’\ as in s’age ‘elder, aged person’; an \s\ sound followed by a brief glottal break \ϴ’ \ as in ϴ‘ida ‘a long time’, with the voiceless “th” plus short glottal “break” \x\ a sound also found in German, as in the composer Bach,; it is called the velar fricative, because it is produced far back in the mouth. (See velum in the vocal apparatus diagram.) \x’\ the glottalized version of the velar fricative.

The glottalized versions of voiceless fricatives and stops don’t ever occur in English at the beginnings of words, making that set of sounds a little challenging to learn to say. In particular, the last sound in the list \x’\ requires a great deal of practice to produce correctly. Speakers often were amused at the researchers’ attempts to repeat it (and the other glottalized consonants) for them.

**3) Affricate** is the term for a sound that begins like a stop, but quickly opens up the airstream to friction, as in the English words “judge” and “church.” The affricates include some of the same sound distinctions as outlined above for the stops. As with the stops, there are three versions that contrast with each other for meaning: plain affricates [č ~ ̌j], aspirated ones [**č**h], and glottalized ones [č’, š’]. Once again, variation between voiced and unvoiced versions of these sounds did exist, and trying to represent that variation is challenging. It tends to confuse English speakers’ ears, as well as make any decisions on orthography more difficult.

Most writing systems represent only the important sound distinctions in the language, in part because the literate people typically learn to read after they already are fluent speakers. In other words, babies learn to talk first, many years before they ever start school![[3]](#footnote-4) In addition, if the writing system were to represent all the phonetic variations of real speech, then every dialect region would potentially have different spellings of the same words. Historically, that possible development has been rejected in the dominant Western societies in favor of the trend toward spelling uniformity and standardization.[[4]](#footnote-5)

**4) Nasals** are so named because there is air vibrating through the nose during the production of these sounds. The four nasal consonants include [m *n ŋ ñ*]. The first two are familiar to English speakers, as in “**m**other, ho**m**e”, and “**n**eck, ru**n**”. The next two do also occur in English, but usually only in the middle or end of words, not the beginning of them. \ŋ \ is the sound that is represented by the “ng” spelling in English, as in “fi**ng**er, pulli**ng**”. Likewise, in Baxoje-Jiwere, it appears within words, or at the end, rather than beginning them. The \ñ\ can be pronounced by starting with the basic \n\ but saying a \y\ immediately afterward. That tongue movement against the roof of the mouth (palate) is called *palatalization*. It is occasionally heard in English, in Spanish loanwords such as “canyon,” or “piñon”.

The latter two nasal consonants \ñ\ and \ŋ\ were especially significant within these two tribes socially. Which version a person said in certain words and suffixes was heard as a sign of one’s particular tribal dialect/ identity. Baxoje speakers favored the palatalized [ñ] in words where Jiwere speakers would more typically have the [*ŋ*]. For example, the Ioway word for horse is [š*uñe*] while the Otoe version is [*suᶇe*]. [[5]](#footnote-6) However, there are clear examples of the palatal nasal \ñ\ in both dialects, most commonly in the indefinite plural [-ñe] but also word initially, as will be discussed shortly hereafter.[[6]](#footnote-7) Therefore, the two sounds still have to be recognized as separate distinctive sounds.

The pattern of nasal consonants in the middle of particular words could be explained as a tendency to have an “extra” (epenthetic) nasal consonant appearing whenever nasal vowels come directly before stops. The “extra” nasal consonant perhaps makes words easier to pronounce, or “smoother” as some elders liked to put it. Since air is already going through the nose because of the nasal vowel, then an “extra” nasal sound would form a sonic “bridge” between that vowel and the following stop, which is NOT nasal. Which particular nasal consonant best fits in each case depends on which stop is there, and where the stop is made in the mouth. For example, [***ŋ***] is the nasal stop made closest to the back (**velar)** stops [*k,g*]. Likewise, [*n*] appears before [*d, t*], the stops pronounced by touching the tongue to the upper (**alveolar**) ridge between the roof and upper incisors.[[7]](#footnote-8) When nasal vowels are followed by the stops [p, b] which are made with both lips (**bilabials**), the pattern continues. Here the nasal consonant “bridge” would be the **bilabial** nasal sound [m], as in nąmpho ‘finger’.[[8]](#footnote-9)

There is also a strong tendency for \*n*\ to become [*ñ*] when it begins a word and is followed by the front high vowels \*i* \ and \*į*\. If that were the only place (sound environment) that [ñ] appeared, then it would be considered a predictable sound alternate (allophone) of \n\ rather than a separate and distinct phoneme. Such a situation may have been the case in the distant past, but since [ñ] also appears in the middle part of words , especially in Baxoje, it needs to be represented with its own symbol. [[9]](#footnote-10)

**5) Liquids**. There has been some difficulty defining and representing the liquid sound found in Baxoje-Jiwere. Phonetically, it has been described as between an unreleased [d] (“flap”) resembling the sound in the word ‘latter’, the plain [r] found in Spanish, and a variation upon the [l] sound (Whitman 1946: ). It has been written with the symbols “l” and “r”. It is not identical to any of the many English sounds represented by these two letters. It is definitely **NOT** like the “r” found in English words like “Pete**r**,” or “fa**r**me**r**!” The tongue should touch lightly somewhere near the back of the top dental ridge. There is anecdotal evidence that bilingual speakers classed both variants as the “same”, suggesting that while they could hear and reproduce both English liquids accurately, there was no such distinction in their native tongue. A Missouri Chiwere Language Project[[10]](#footnote-11) favorite example is from an elicitation session with Truman Dailey correcting the author’s pronunciation : “G*ri gri gri*  - you know, like G**L**ee Club”. For orthographic purposes, the symbol \*r*\ will be used, but as always, it is recommended that learners listen to recordings of elders to hear the sound and try to say it as accurately as possible.

**6) Glide** is the term for speech sounds that are produced by slight changes in position of the parts of the mouth, rather than a single fixed position for pronunciation. Examples include \w\ and \y\.

**B. Vowels** **1) Oral vs. Nasal**. There are both **oral** (through the mouth only) and **nasal** vowels in Baxoje-Jiwere. They include \a i o u e\ and \ą, į, ᶙ\. There is no nasalized version of \e\, and no nasal \o\. Note that phonetically, the nasalized vowel \**ą** \is often pronounced as a nasalized **schwa** sound. **Schwa** is the central relaxed vowel occurring in nearly all unstressed position in modern American English. One example is “**a**byss”, also heard in “**o**f”, “th**e**” as in “top **o**f th**e** line”, “a”, and the pause syllable “**uh**”, or the annoying interjection “D**uh**!” A nasalized English schwa would be said in “apartm**e**nt” and d**u**nce.” The difference between the oral and nasal vowels is phonemic, meaning that it distinguishes between separate words with distinct meanings. EXAMPLE HERE.

**2) Vowel Allophones Unique to Small Subset of Forms**. Phonetic vowel quality sometimes differs significantly in particular words used by female speakers especially; in those contexts, there is also an [E] as in the English “pet” and “sweat”, and sometimes an [æ] as well, as in “apple” or “at”. Since these variations are limited to a particular small domain of the overall vocabulary of the language, they will be discussed primarily in the section on sentence final particles and interjections.

**3) Vowel length.** Nearly identical vowels may once have also existed as separate phonemes, distinguished only by the time spent in “holding” the vowel (either for a short or longer time period). Other Siouan languages such as Omaha-Ponca and Kaw ? do have this meaningful distinction between the long versus short vowels (REF?). Robert Rankin heard it when listening to a short word list recorded by a Jiwere speaker, but this author has not been successful in consistently doing so. Neither have any minimal pairs been found to clearly establish any significance to vowel length for actually distinguishing between words. Therefore, clearly no phonemic distinction in Jiwere-Baxoje vowel length has been documented to date.

However, there are **very** prolonged vowels that occur where two different words and/or prefixes/suffixes have joined together. When the two vowels of separate speech units come into contact with each other, they produce an extra long vowel through that combination, which is considered a process[[11]](#footnote-12) of speech at the level of word-formation (**morphology)**, rather than of the sound system, so it will be covered in more depth in the morphology section.

**C. Stress / Accent**

Stress or accent in a language refers to the patterned and regular use of increased loudness of one syllable versus another to distinguish between words that otherwise sound exactly the same. In addition to the volume difference, there may also be a higher pitch for that syllable, which also attracts the listener’s attention. Unstressed syllables tend to have lower pitch than stressed ones. For example, when the first syllable is stressed in the word XXXX , it means ‘ ‘, but when the last syllable receives the greater stress, then the word means ‘ ‘. That illustration is evidence that stress is a meaningful (phonemic) quality in Baxoje-Jiwere. ?Rawe beaver and count??

When a root word with two syllables has additional prefixes or suffixes attached to it, the basic stress (and pitch) pattern can change. An adequate prediction of stress patterns is beyond the scope of this grammar, and the dictionary should provide an accurate representation of stress so that a learner can produce the correct syllable stress for each word.

**D. Syllable Structure**

There is a strong tendency to end all syllables with a vowel. A single vowel can be a syllable (V), while simple CV (Consonant-Vowel) syllables are very common. Syllables may begin with a consonant cluster (CCV), but examples of CCCV have not been discovered. The following consonant clusters may begin a Baxoje-Jiwere syllable:

The few exceptions to the preference for vowel-final syllables would be represented as a CVC structure. However, such CVC instances only appear in informal speech and seem to be a classic case of contraction. During quick speech, the final unstressed vowel can be dropped, yet speakers could repeat a more “precise” pronunciation of the same word with the final vowel present if asked to repeat it or clarify what was said.

**E. Longer Sound Patterns / Prosody**

The pronunciation of longer speech units has an additional patterning of sound that speakers would traditionally have learned and absorbed even as an infant. Language acquisition studies of humans has taught us that before babies master the intricate muscle control of actual words, they listen for and imitate the melody and cadence of the voices flowing around them. Linguists call those phrasal patterns **suprasegmentals** or a language’s meaningful and generally shared pitch contours. The different dialects of a language can differ in these qualities also, which includes overall volume, speed, tone, and all those subtle variations that help humans use language to convey emotion as well as information. Since the living speech community to hear and mimic is no longer available to language learners, the recorded voices of the elders become an especially treasured resource for that aspect of the language.[[12]](#footnote-13)

**F. How Sounds Change Around /Phonological Processes**

The way that words are pronounced during actual speech may change from the way they sound when spoken alone, in isolation. The words just before and after a particular word can affect its sounds, especially in casual or rapid speech. All languages have similar general processes, but it’s not something predictable. Speakers learn by example how their language worked, and which changes are “okay” and which are not.

**1) Elision**

One of the most common changes is that words may be shortened or “cut off” a little bit. Elision refers to when a sound simply “drops out” of a word during rapid speech, such as XXX

**2) Vowel Harmony**

Sometimes, when two vowel sounds come close to each other, one of the vowels will actually change its normal form to “match” or harmonize with the other vowel sound. A similar but less complete change can take place in which the nasal quality from a nasal vowel “spreads” to nearby vowels. (Hočunk scholars have documented such ‘nasality spread’ not just to directly adjacent vowels, but also across the consonants /h/ and /w/ to the closest non-adjacent vowel (Helmbrecht 200? : ). (Examples)

**3) Vowel Change That Is NOT Matching (Ablaut)**

There is a set of vowel changes that occurs very frequently in similar ways across so many of the Siouan languages that scholars interpret it as having great antiquity within the language family. It involves the /a/ and /e/ vowels, which may alternate with each other in a variety of settings, especially when prefixes appear before particular verbs or certain suffixes in unusual and not entirely predictable ways. Motion verbs are one such set of verbs demonstrating this alternating pattern. (NEED TO ELABORATE HERE/ give examples)

Some verbs ending in –e such as **ugwe** ‘to enter’ and **re** ‘to go’ will “switch” (ablaut) to final –a before -wi ‘definite plural’.

**Example A**

čhúgwá -wi re.

‘House-enter (DEF.PL.) Imperative (male speaker).’ [Marsh ‘Giants’ Bk2 LN49]

[< čh i ‘house’+ ugwe ‘to enter + =wi ‘definite plural’ + re ‘command (by man)’]

‘Come in the house, you-all.’

**Example 2** ...iwálà -wi ho.

...yonder go (DEF.PL) (Injunction). [Marsh The Twins LN65]

‘Let’s go over there!’ [< i-‘there’ + wa-‘directional’ + re ‘to go’ + -wi ‘definite pl.’ + ho ‘let’s/must’ (male speaker)]

# II. Words / Morphology: Parts of Speech & More

**A. Nouns**

The most common nouns fit with the elementary school definition of “a person, place, or thing”. They are often concrete living beings, such as plants and animals that are key to survival, or everyday objects such as tools and raw materials that can be touched, counted, or seen (rock, wood, clay,…). They can also include the names for geographic features, locations, family members, and other social groups. As is true in other languages, many nouns can function fully as verbs, complete with the extensive system of prefixes and suffixes described later in the verbal template. To illustrate the relationship between the two kinds of words, which share aspects of basic meaning, the verb waruǰe ‘to eat (something)’ can also mean ‘table’ or something to eat upon. Actually, scholars consider Siouan languages to be strongly verb oriented, with very few prefixes or suffixes limited only to nouns that would make them clearly different in grammatical form from verbs.[[13]](#footnote-14)

Certain prefixes when added to a verb and will then transform that state or action into something more noun-like, as in the example given above where the verb ‘to eat’ becomes ‘something to eat upon’ through the addition of a simple prefix that provides the object sense, and the locative prefix a- ‘upon’: wáruǰe ‘table’ < wa- ‘indefinite object’ + a-‘upon’ + ruǰe ‘eat’. That instance illustrates how the grammatical transformation takes place. Without the locative a- ‘upon’, it would mean something else, a noun created from an object prefix and a verb, warúǰe ‘something to eat, food.’ Because there is no 3rd person pronoun, the last word is identical to the 3rd person singular sentence ‘He ate (something).’

**1) Possessing: Inalienable vs. Alienable**

Native American languages in general are known for distinguishing between people and things that are extremely close to a person’s identity and self (**inalienable)**, versus whatever can be separated easily from the person (**alienable**). What are those things considered so deeply part of one’s self that they cannot be split apart? They include the kinship terms naming the key social relationships of family and marriage, the parts of one’s own body, and the formal social ties of friendship. These important categories represent the small set of nouns that receive special marking as belonging to a particular person. The prefixes meaning **inalienable possession** are “hooked” to the words themselves, so that one can’t normally speak of just any old arm and a leg, but of ‘my- arm’, or ‘your-leg’, or ‘his- finger’, and so forth: *Hį́ka* ‘my father’, *hįyį́na* ‘my elder brother’... (See dictionary.)

**2) Address Form** ***–o*** ‘speaking to this one’/Address form ***h įthára*** ‘my friend (referential form) > ***hį tháro*** ‘My friend (address form)’

Kin terms and the word given for one’s special friend (formally established as cultural role)[[14]](#footnote-15) would have a different ending when one is talking directly **to** that person, instead of talking about them. The final vowel becomes [o] when the speaker is addressing the person(s). This final vowel change is the same as what happens to words in songs when they come at the end of a line. Perhaps the aesthetic idea that the sound [o] “carries well” had something to do with the origins of this language feature. It is the least obstructed and most central sound in the human vocal system.

**3) Names**

The purpose of a proper name is to uniquely identify someone, for both address and referential purposes. It also may point out key identity features, such as gender, clan membership, personal attributes or characteristics, or significant events relating to that particular human being. The Reverend James Owen Dorsey collected names and their meanings and clan identification during his brief fieldwork with the Otoe-Missouria and Ioway people in the late 19th century. The Smithsonian Institution has the field notes of Rev. Dorsey in their collection, and it would be a rich resource for individuals interested in discovering more about the many names recorded there. Domesticated animals were named also, both horses and dogs. William Whitman collected traditional names for dogs in his work about the Otoe tribe (1936).

Some names could be shared by members of the same clan, but the feminine form was usually created by the addition of the special – ***m***į ‘ suffix. A nickname could be formed on the spot to tease someone, as when one elder spoke to the other that they should call the author ***Toské-m***į ‘Quick Woman /Speedy-Woman’ because I had done something so quickly that it surprised them.

Names for men were not specially marked, but there was a masculine form that occurs in the words for ‘boy’, and for ‘bucks’ and ‘bulls’, to distinguish them from the more numerous females in the herding species of deer, bison, and cattle.

**Gender affixes: -*do* ‘MASC’;  *-mį* ‘FEM’**

**a)** ***ičhidóįñe*** ‘boy-child’< ***i***- ‘at/around’+ **čhi** ‘house’+ *-****do*** ‘male’+ -***įñe*** small/DIM’ [Ioway]

**b) *ičhimįŋ(e)***‘girl-child’< ***i***- ‘at/around’+ **čhi** ‘house’ + ***-mį*** +-***įŋe*** ‘small/DIM’ [Otoe]

**c)** ***tha*** ‘deer > ***thado*** ‘buck, male deer’[[15]](#footnote-16)

**d) *čhé*** ‘buffalo, bison’ > ***čhédo*** ‘bull buffalo’

**Diminutive Suffix** There are also cases from the tales collected in the mid-1930’s by Gordon Marsh in which the **Diminutive Suffix** coming after a verb creates a name relating to the characteristic action of a character in the story, as in[V + DIM > Name]: ***- įŋe*** , -***šį̀ŋe [O-M]; įñe*** ‘small /DIM [Ioway]’.

**a)** ***Bé –ñe - įŋe*** Throw out-INDEF.PL-Little [One]; Literally ‘Little One They Threw Away’ ‘The Outcast’ [Marsh Line 141 ‘The Outcast’]

**b)** ***Hįnų́ -šį̀ŋe číla***  MyFirstSon-small/DIM dear ‘My dear Little-Son’ [Marsh ‘The Wanderer’ Ln. 200]

**4) Number**

Nouns do not have any special or separate plural marker, just as English ‘deer’ and ‘sheep’ can mean either one, two, or fifty, depending on the context. Numerals can follow the noun to make the exact number clear, or the suffixes on the verb may carry the plural information there, instead of attaching to the noun itself. Likewise, nouns do not have any case markers that attach to them to indicate possession or other grammatical features such as nominative and accusative case in Indo-European languages commonly do.

**5) Numerals**

a. Ordinal Numbers

To show the order of events in a story, or results of a race, languages often modify the basic sound/shape of the plain number in some way, as in the English suffix-d/th, as in second, third, fourth, etc. Baxoje-Jiwere can use either a prefix **i-** or a suffix –**yą** for expressing that ordering principle, as in the examples below from Marsh n.d. ‘The Giant’ Book 2.

**(i) i- ‘ordinal marker’:**

LN 25 **walúxawe iϴáthᶐ daháʔe** [< i- ‘ordinal marker’+ϴathᶐ ‘five’]

‘Bundle fifth it is standing-that one’

LN 30 **walúxawe išágwe dahá ʔe** [< i- ‘ordinal marker’+ šágwe ‘six’]

‘Bundle sixth it is standing-that one’

LN 34 **walúxawe išáhmᶐ daháʔe** [<i- ‘ordinal marker’ + s’ahmᶐ ‘seven’]

‘Bundle seventh it is standing-that one’

**(ii) i- ‘ordinal marker’ + =ya~ ‘indefinite article?**

Q Or is it an infixed numeral in ‘one, a’ iyą ? LOOK AT HOCANK & OP, etc.

Marsh ‘The Wanderer’

LN 34 **dáñį́yᶐ uthᶐʔįwagi aškᶙ**

‘A third time he make them appear to him, it seems.’

LN 35 **hetále idóyᶐtahági síge alé gᶙ́ʔwaškᶙ < [i=do{we}=yᶐ ≠ dahági]**  ‘Then it is the fourth time-it is again it is this-he do it-it seems.’

**6) Compound Nouns[[16]](#footnote-17)**

Jiwere-Baxoje allows additional words to attach to a simple noun to form a new word. The type of word that attaches can vary from another noun to a verb. Sometimes the modifying word precedes the base noun, while other times it follows it.

a) ***čhina***  ‘village’ < ***čhi*** ‘house’ + ***-na***

**b) *čhina wanaxi*** ‘cemetery’ < ***čhina*** ‘village’ + ***wanaxi*** ‘spirit, ghost’

**c) *walúšge čhinᶐ*** ‘giant(s) village’ [Marsh n.d. ‘The Wanderer’ Ln 100]

**d) *hį́dų́ŋe-nᶐ̀wᶙʔšᶙ ‘***mouse-paths indeed’ [Marsh n.d.‘The Wanderer’ Ln 67] **e) *wanaxi waxo̴̴̴̴̴̴̴̴̴ñithᶐ*** ‘spirit/ghost + be holy/sacred’ [Davidson 1997]

**f)** ***mᾴyᶐ uhᶐ̀we***  ‘heaven’ < ‘land-(in) be bright [Davidson 1997; Good Tracks n.d.]

**g)** ***mᾴyᶐ wàtahe*** ‘Wanderer’ < ***mᾴyᶐ*** ‘land’+***wa-*** ‘directional’+ ***dahe*** ‘be standing’

**h)** ***wᶐ́ŋegíhi*** ‘Chief/Headman’< ***wᶐŋe*** ‘man’ + ***gi***-‘benefactive/Dat’ +-***hi*** ‘CAUS.’  **i)** ***wᶐʔkwás’ose*** ‘warrior/veteran/soldier’< ***wᶐŋe*** ‘man’+***was’ose*** ‘brave’[[17]](#footnote-18)

**j)** ***wᶐʔšige*** ‘person’ < ***wᶐŋe*** ‘man’ +? ***šige*** ‘again’+/or –***ge*** ‘EMPH’

**k)** ***wᶐʔší k’uč’e*** ‘man-hunter’ < wᶐʔšige ‘person’ + ***k’uč’e*** ‘to kill’ **l)** ***thà waϴlᶙ*** ‘deer-to roast’ [Marsh n.d. ‘The Wanderer’ Ln. 175] **m) *iśtᶐ čhi*** ‘(menstrual) period’ ***istᶐ*** + ***čhi*** < ‘be alone-house’

These words can include names also, as in ma¸kha ruǰe ‘medicine eaters’ for those who participate in the different traditions associated with partaking of the sacrament peyote.

**7) Culture Contact and Forming New Words**

As elements of Euro-American culture made their way into people’s lives, there was always a choice of borrowing the existing “foreign” name along with the new object, or looking in the vocabulary of one’s own language. Since there was strong resistance to borrowing words from the languages of Europeans throughout the Plains tribes in general, it is not surprising that Jiwere-Baxoje speakers also preferred to form new words, or extend the meaning of existing words for new situations. For example, the Ioways chose the part of a bird that enables its motion for the name of a new object, the wheel: ahu ‘wing’ > wheel of a wagon, then later a car.[[18]](#footnote-19)

**a.** Wagon = **ná**mąñį < **na** ‘wood’ + mąñį ‘moving/walking’

**b.** Train = **ná**mąñį dàk’o < **ná**mąñį ‘wagon’ + dak’o ‘thunder/fire’

**c.** Photographs/pictures = **įǰe wagaxe** < į**ǰe** ‘face’ + **wagaxe** ‘writing’

**d.** Saturday = **hą́we ukhiϴre** ‘day – half’ < **hą́we** ‘day’ + **ukhiϴre** ‘half, be split into two’ [*because the Tribal Agency was open from morning to noon on Saturdays*]  **e.** Piano = **nayᶐwe** ‘wood sings’ < **na** ‘wood’ **+ yᶐwe** ‘to sing’

The existing native word for ‘metal’ ma¸ðe would have originally referred to copper, which was available from the Great Lakes region in particular, and is found archeologically throughout the late Woodland on through the Adena-Hopewell and Mississippian periods in the Mississippi River valley and far up its tributaries. Silver and gold coins from the Europeans were named as “white/light” or “shiny” metal, mąðé ϴka, and so eventually that compound word became associated with coins in general. Finally, there were different kinds and colors of coins, and thus, the unique descriptive word for ‘penny’ was formed from ‘red + white/shiny-metal’, mąðé ϴka šùǰe. One can tell that this form is truly a compound noun by seeing it in a phrase, such as the following:

mąðé ϴka šùǰe iyą ‘a penny, one penny’

**8) Nouns Attached as Part of Verbs**

The information in Table X illustrates the different ways that these compound

verbs may be conjugated. Linguists call these particular structures “incorporated nouns”, meaning that over the years, a noun becomes closely attached to the verb in the minds of the speakers who are saying the two words together over and over, time and again. Eventually the noun may become fused to the verb, both in meaning and in pronunciation, as in the English verb ‘to babysit’. This process is slow, and can be broken down into recognizable stages.

In the early stage, the personal pronoun prefixes may still be attached directly to the verb, as in the left column labeled [Noun [PRONOUN PREFIX+ VERB]]. In other cases, a speaker may choose an auxiliary verb to follow the compound instead, to carry the pronominal inflections on it rather than the main verb, as shown in the center column called ‘MIXED’. Finally, a fully fused or incorporated noun will appear with the pronominal prefixes attaching to it directly, as in the far right-hand column [PRO + [NOUN +VERB]]. The table also shows that some variation and speaker preference may be involved about which “sounds” better for each particular word. Clearly the forms relating to ***ho*** ‘voice’ (11-13) tended to be more fully fused than some of the other nouns were.

Other examples of nouns that become so often associated with a certain verb include the following instance. The only example of this particular verb discovered in texts so far is in the 3rd person, so its conjugation pattern is not known.

**Example:**

*thá č̀’èhi mąñà* ‘he went deer-hunting’ [Marsh ‘The Wanderer’ Ln.47]

**TABLE :** **Conjugating Different Verbs with Nouns Attached**

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| *Jiwére* Gloss | [N[+ PRO-V]] | MIXED  [N+V]PRO-AUX | PRO-[N+V] |
| 1) *hóϴige*  ‘to fish’ | *ho****-he****ϴige*  ‘**I** am fishing’ | - - | - - |
| 2) *nᶐsǰe phiskᶙñi*  ‘be unkind’ | *nᶐsǰe****-hį-****phiskᶙñi*  ‘**I** am unkind’ | - - | - - |
| 3) *nᶐsǰe phi ‘be kind’* | *nᶐsǰe ri-phi* ‘**You** are kind’ |  |  |
| 4*) nᶐt’ᶙdᶐ* ‘to pity’ | ***nᶐt’ᶙ -he****-****dᶐ*** ‘**I** pity him’ | - - | - - |
| 5) *irodaxa*  ‘have a fever’ | ***Iro-hį-daxa***  ‘**I** have a fever’  ***Iro-ri-daxa*** ‘**you** have a fever’ | ***irodaxa hįñįwi*** ‘**We** have a fever’ [añį ‘have] | - - |
| \*6) *iroruϴ’a*  ‘be shaken up  /excited’ | Wawaroruϴ’ ‘**we**’re shook up’ (1st response) | *iroruϴ’a hįñiwi*  ‘we’re shook up’  (2nd response)  *roruϴ’ani*  ‘I am shook up’ | - - |
| 7*)**iroϴeth****ᶐ***  ‘to abuse’ | - - | - - | i**ri**roϴethą  ‘**you** were abused’ (1PSg & PL also) |
| 8) *irokhuphi*  ‘be handsome’ | -- | *irokhuphi* ***hįñ****iwi*  ‘**we**  look good’  [ <añi ‘to have] | *i-****ri-****roskhuphi*  ‘**you** are handsome’  (1PSg also) |
| 9) *rosje*  ‘to sweat’ | - - | *Rosje-****ri-****ñe*  =sweat.**2P**.Indef.Pl.  ‘they made **you** sweat’ [CAUS.] | ***Wawa-****rosje****wi*** ‘**we’re** sweating’  (1PSg. also) |
| 10) *dąwe*  ‘to awaken, open eyes’ | -- | -- | ***Ha-****dᶐwe*  ‘I awakened’ |
| 11)*hohga* ‘to belch’ | -- | -- | *Ra-hohga*  ‘you belched (1PSg&Pl also) |
| 12) ***hoxu*** ‘to cough’ | -- | -- | ***Ha-****hoxu*  ‘I coughed.’ |
| 13) ***hoxga*** ‘to hiccup’ | -- | -- | ***Ha****-hoxga mᶐñi*  ‘I am hiccupping’ |

**9) Nominalizing Prefixes**

Certain prefixes commonly attach to verb stems to form nominals, complex words that can serve as nouns. This is a very productive process in Baxoje-Jiwere. To illustrate, the following three prefixes all incorporate the basic **wa**- ‘indefinite object Indef. OBJ’ to action word(s).

***a. wa*- *wagáxe*** ‘paper’ < wa=Indef.OBJ +gaxe ‘to scratch, write’

***waruwaha*** ‘bundle’< wa=Indef.OBJ +ruwaha ‘to show with hands’

***b. wi- wí:ᶙ***‘tool’ < wa=Indef.OBJ+i-‘at,to’+ʔ*ᶙ* ‘to do,make,create’

***wí:ró:ha***‘kettle’

***wí khᶐhį*** ‘bridle’ [Marsh ‘The Outsider’ Ln. 65]

***c. wo wočhexi*** ‘difficult times, trials’**<** ‘INDEF OBJ–in-be.cruel/stingy’

***wóyawe*** ‘festivity’ ***< wa=***‘Indef.OBJ **+*u-‘in’* [**Marsh ‘The Outcast’ Ln 160]

**B. The Verb and Its Many Parts**

**1) The Verb Template** In Siouan languages, the most complex type of word is the verb, which may include the basic verb stem, plus up to 10 “slots” or positions for a number of possible prefixes, as well as four positions for potential suffixes. Linguists create a map or template to show where each one may occur in actual speech. In this map, the anchor or center point is the most basic verb form (stem) which carries the core meaning or action/feeling/, etc. Like the “zero” in a mathematical number line, positions to the left of the verb stem receive a negative value (traditionally called prefixes), while those following the verb stem receive a positive value (suffixes).

**Figure 1** below is the representation of all 14 potential positions and which prefix/suffix can appear in each of those places.

**VERB TEMPLATE**: PREFIX SLOTS IN ORDER= VERB=SUFFIX SLOTS

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| (-10) | **(-9) INDEF** | **(-8) LOC** | **(-7)**  **PAT/**  **OBJ** | **(-6)**  **AGT/ Actor** | **(-5)**  **REFLEX** | **(-4)**  **POSS** | **(-3)**  **Dative/ Benefact.** | **(-2)**  **Instrumental** | **(-1)**  **Archaic 2nd p.** | **(0)**  **VERB**  **STEM** | **(+1)**  **Causative** | **(+2)**  **Plural 1** | **(+3)**  **Plural 2** | **(+4)**  **Aspect/**  **Mood** |
| *hį-*  1 Dual AGT | ***wa-2a*** | ***a-***  ***i-***  ***u-*** | ***wa-1b*** | ***ha***-, *he*- ‘1p.SG’ | ***khi-***  ‘self’ | ***gra-***  ‘one’s own’ | ***gi-***  ‘for, to’ | ***ba***-  ‘by cutting’ | ***s-*** |  | ***hi -***‘make, cause’  [+person affixes] | =***ñe***  ‘General’  [Whitman’s indefinite] | =***wi***  ‘Definite’ | ***Hna-,***  ***Hñe***  ‘FUT,  Incompletive |
| *wa-1a*  *1p.*  *PAT* |  |  | ***mį-1stp. SG*** | ***ra-,***  ***re-***  ‘2p.SG’ | ***khi***2-  ‘each other’ |  |  | ***bo*-**  **‘with a blow’** |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| we-1a *1p.*  *PAT* |  |  | ***hį-***  ***1stp. SG*** | ***a-***  3rd p. PL MOT. Verbs |  |  |  | ***da-***  **‘by heat or cold’** |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  | ***ri-***  2nd p. SG |  |  |  |  | ***gi1-***  **‘with object away from one’s body, pushing with something’** |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | **ru-**  ‘with hand, toward one’s body, pulling’ |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | ***li-***  **‘with object moving toward one’s body, pulling with something** |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | ***ra*-**  **‘by mouth / teeth’** |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | ***na*-**  **‘with foot/feet’** |  |  |  |  |  |  |

**FIGURE 1: BAXOJE-JIWERE VERB TEMPLATE (Adapted from Whitman 1947, Furbee & Hopkins n.d.)**

Described in more detail, beginning at the front or left-most position of an inflected verb, the prefixes that may occur are as follows (Whitman 1946:246, Marsh n.d., also Hopkins and Furbee n.d.).

**(-10)** 1st person Patient pronouns: *hi¸* =singular ‘me’ *wa1* = dual ‘us 2’

**(-9)** The second *wa-* pair (completely distinct from the dual mentioned above!):

*wa2a-* ‘them, something’ Indefinitely extended object

*wa2b-* ‘toward, directional’ [precedes all person prefixes except *hi¸-* 1st p. patient ‘me’]

Whitman considered the second member (the directional wa-) to be parallel in some functions to both *gra*- and *gi*- of template positions -3 and -4 discussed later. [[19]](#footnote-20) The following words are offered here as illustration of the first meaning ***wa***-2a ‘indefinitely extended object/them’:

***Waiakida*** ‘tribal police’ [Skinner 19??] Possible derivation from *wa*- + *i*- ‘locative’ *a*- [*khi*- reflexive] *da* ‘to see’, which could mean something like ‘those who look out / watch,’ as in ‘guards’ or literally ‘watch-er(s)’.

***Wanaxi*** ‘spirit, ghost’ < ***wa***2a- ‘indefinite object’ + ***naxi*** ‘breath, life’

**Hinage** **wa**tha naha waye:re na ? Woman **them** I see-those ones who are they Q? ‘Who are the **women** that I saw?’

For the second meaning, the directional *wa*2b -, the following is only one of many such examples in prayer songs collected by the author.

**Example:**

*hi¸yi¸no* ***wa****- hi¸ -na -wi* ‘Our Elder Brother **DIR**-1p.Pl.Agt-Go -definite plural ‘We’re going toward Our Elder Brother (Jesus).’ (Davidson 1997)

**(-8)** **Locatives**: *a-* ‘on, upon, over’, *u-* ‘in, within, into’, *i-* ‘at, to, by’ (Whitman 1946:241)

The locatives combine with the prefix *wa2a*- (indefinitely extended object) to make a “heavy” syllable; it has a longer vowel, and usually attracts stress also. Examples of this process were discussed earlier in the section on nominal prefixes. w*a:* < *wa1*- + *a-* ‘on’ *wo:* < *wa1*- + *u-* ‘in’ *wi:* < *wa1*- + *i-* ‘at, to, by’

**(-7)** **Object/Patient** Pronouns *wa-1b* ‘us (speaker and another, usually listener)’ *ri-*  ‘thee (2nd person singular)’ *mį -*  ‘me (1st person singular)’

This set of prefixes identify which person in a conversation is experiencing or undergoing the action of the verb, whether both participants, only you, or only me.

**(-6)** **Agent** Pronouns (1st and 2nd person) *ha-, he-* ‘I’ / 1st p. singular Agent *ra-, re-* ‘thou’ / 2nd p. singular Agent *a-, e-* ‘3rd p. plural Agent with motion verbs only[[20]](#footnote-21)

The agent form is the person performing the action, in this case either ‘I’ or ‘you,’ or for motion verbs, ‘they’.

**(-5)** **Reflexive** *khi*- ‘(to) one’s self’

This prefix means that the event or state described by the verb is related back to the person, which usually gets translated as ‘one’s) self.’ If *khi* is “doubled” (reduplicated)into  *khi khi* , then it gives the sense of the action being reciprocal ‘(to/with) each other’.

**(-4) Possessive** *gra*- ‘one’s own’ The possessive prefix gives additional information about social relations between persons and things mentioned in the verb complex.

**Excerpt** from the Otoe-Missouria Flag Song: **e-gra-ña-gri-ñe** < e- gra- añi + a- gri =ñe

3rdp. Obj.[Ablaut] –possessive-to have 3rd p.PL- came back (home)-PL(INDEF)

‘They brought it (the flag) back home.’ (Greer 2008)

**(-3) Benefactive /Dative** *gi1*- ‘for, to’

**(-2) Instrumentals** (describing how an action was completed):

*ba-* ‘by cutting’ *bo-* ‘with a blow’

*da-* ‘by heat or cold’

*gi-2* ‘with object away from the body, by pushing or striking with an object’ *na¸-* with foot/feet’

*ra-2* ‘by mouth, teeth’

*ri-* ‘with held object, toward the body, pulling with an object/tool’

*ru-* ‘with hand, toward oneself, by pulling with the hand‘

*wa-3* ‘with hand > away, by pushing with the hand’

According to Whitman (1947:246), these nine prefixes can transform a passive verb into an active one. The most distinctive part is their compactness in encoding meaning; they make very specific distinctions in the concrete world of human activity. ‘Long horizontal object being cut in two’ -*gruje* is an interesting yet abstract verbal root; in reality, someone or something must do the cutting, and the various ways in which that action is accomplished can be encoded very precisely (and concisely) with these prefixes. For instance, one can combine *wa3*- ‘with hand away (from agent’s body)’ + -*gruje* = *wagruje* ‘to saw’.

**(-1)** **2nd person s-**

Archaic form that stands for ‘you’ (2nd person) on a small number of specific verb stems. Siouan scholars have found similar forms in many of the related languages which support the idea that it is of ancient origins. Over time, it was probably replaced in the less common verbs by the regular 2nd person forms ra-, ri-, but it became “frozen” in the most common verbs which tend to resist change more than less frequently occurring ones do.

**Excerpt**: (also from the Otoe-Missouria Flag Song) Arastawi khe ‘You (all) see it.’ <

**a**-‘on’+ **ra**-‘you(Agt)’+**s** ‘archaic 2nd p.’=**da**‘see’=**wi** ‘plural(definite)’+ khe ‘masculine declarative marker’ \_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

**(0)** **Verb Root /Stem**

This position is for the basic smallest unit of meaning, which could be a simple verb, as in ***ʔᶙ***‘to make, do, create’. It could be a compound verb with a new or extended meaning, as in *uparehi* ‘to understand, to investigate, to notice.’

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

**(+1)** **Post-positioned Prefixes and Causative Suffix -*hi ‘to make something happen, to cause something’***

One very productive way to form an active verb from a stative one is by adding the causative suffix *–hi*, which gives the meaning “to make or cause to X”, as in *č’e’* to die’ becomes *č’e+hi* ‘to kill ‘to cause to die’.

Of special interest is the fact that when the causative *–hi* occurs after the verb stem, it also results in the personal pronoun prefixes coming **after** the verb, and immediately before the -*hi*, rather than in their usual pre-verbal positions. Sometimes the –*hi itself* is omitted, but the pronominals’ position after the verb and the meaning ‘to cause (something)’are still present.[[21]](#footnote-22) The word *nayįhi* expressing ‘to heal, cure’ literally means ‘to cause one to stand up, to stand X up.’

**Example**: The following sentence is the chorus from a NAC song by Edward Small (Ioway) (Davidson 1997 #16). It is just such a case where the –*hi* does not overtly appear. Still, the translation and the fact that the verbal prefixes for the pronouns come after the verb stem *nayi****¸*** ‘to stand’both give evidence of the causative -*hi*’s underlying presence.

*Hįyį́no | Wakhą́da- yįᶇe | mąya čegi wahire\* nayį****-wa-ra*** *na* /

‘Our elder Brother | Son of God | this land the sick\* you make them stand up.’

\*Some versions give *wą́ʔšige* ‘person, people’ alternately instead of ‘the sick’. The rhythm and general meaning are not changed, and the forms do rhyme with each other.

Not only do the pronominal prefixes come after the main verb root in the causal verb “make X, allow to X,” but other verbal prefixes can appear AFTER the verb when it occurs with the causative form, too. Examples from old sources include the possessive, the dative/benefactive gi-, and also the wa- that means either a plural 3rd person, or an indefinitely extended object, as in the following example from the missionary scholars William Hamilton and Samuel Irvin (1848:43, #53):

***č’e – wa - hi khe***.

Kill-3rd person PL /indefinitely extended object-[03rdp.]+ causative + declarative ‘He killed them’. marker (Male SPKR)

**(+2)** **General Plural suffix** –*ñe* ‘they/them’;Usually limited to 3rd persons, Whitman (1947) called it an indefinite form.

**(+3) Definite Plural**

–*wi* definite pl.; Usually ‘we’ or ‘you-all’, it may occur with any grammatical person, including 3rd. (wa-wa…-wi, hį-…-wi, ra-…-wi, ri-…-wi, …-wi)

The two potential plurals differ by whether the people or things being referenced are known and already mentioned in the context somehow (given information), or whether they are relatively new, meaning they were not mentioned recently and so they are being introduced.[[22]](#footnote-23) The suffixes can pluralize any personal pronoun, no matter if that pronoun is in the role of an actor, patient or object (direct or indirect). They only tell the listener about the number involved, and if that set of people or things is already known to the listener (definite), as in ‘the warriors’, or that the information is new to the listener, as in ‘some warriors’. Specifically, it says there are more than 1 for 2nd and 3rd person forms, and 3 or more for the 1st person inclusive form. (Remember that the 1st person inclusive prefix already means the pair of us, ‘you and I’, so adding a plural marker increases the meaning to ‘greater than 2’.)

The two plural forms are not totally interchangeable. They show how much the speaker knows about the group, for example, how specific the group membership is, whether the people’s identity is known, if they have already been mentioned in a story before this point or not, and so on. It makes sense that the definite plural always appears with the 1st person plural, for practical reasons. It is difficult to imagine a situation in which “we” might mean a group with unknown or uncertain membership. Second person plurals usually take the definite plural, for the same reason, although some rare exception might occur. On the other hand, it is very possible to imagine situations involving 3rd persons to be either definite (“the gourd dancers from Red Rock, Oklahoma”) or indefinite in nature (“all the people in this world who knew my uncle”). Just as one might expect, verbs with no pronominal prefixes (0 = 3rd person) have also been shown to occur with either plural, depending on the meaning intended.

(+3) **Mood/Aspect** –*hñe, -hna* ‘will, shall’

The modal suffix seems at first to be similar to a future tense, but probably is more accurately expressed as ‘an action that is not yet completed’. Rankin 2009 suggests that the older translations which simply labeled examples such as these as ‘tense’ are misleading.

The ***e****-* itself ablauts to ***a****-* with verbs of motion (come here, come home here, arrive here, arrive home here, go there, go home there, arrive there, arrive home there).[[23]](#footnote-24) **Ablaut** simply refers to a vowel change between related forms. It can be a process that makes a difference between meanings, as when an English speaker uses patterned vowel changes to mark the singular vs. plural forms in certain irregular roots. Instead of the plural {-s} being added to the identical root {car + -s = cars}, there is an internal sound change in the root, as in goose >geese, mouse>mice, foot>feet. Comparatively speaking, there has yet to be an elegant historical explanation of the different ablaut found in the various members of the Siouan language family (Rankin p.c.)

**C. Auxiliary Verbs**

Additional verbs that give information about the main verb are known as auxiliary verbs. They typically can also appear alone, inflected with the variety of verbal prefixes, which shows their “verbiness” (Ross, Helmbrect 2002: ). But when they are not the main verb, they follow the verb (and any verbal suffixes attached to it). In that case, there is usually no inflection on the auxiliary (AUX). This is the same pattern found in most SOV languages, and parallels the patterns of modifying words following their head in noun phrases also (Rankin n.d Quapaw Sketch p.27).

**1) Positionals**

After the main verb, there is often a second verb which signals the activity or position of who or what is being talked about, or a distinct clause describing the activity /position of the speaker (see unit 18 of Cedar and Tobacco). For example, if one witnessed something, then a thorough description would include whether someone was sitting, lying, standing, or moving around while it occurred. Davidson 1997 included a discussion of the aspect these auxiliary verbs played in creating vivid images in the Native American Church songs composed by Otoe-Missouria and Ioway speakers.[[24]](#footnote-25) Beyond describing the bodily orientation of the person or thing being described, there is also part of the meaning that represents continuity in what is happening, as if it is continuing over an extended time frame, rather than occurring at a single point in time or a limited duration.

**Examples:**

***mą́ñį*** ‘going around, moving (in the characteristic way for that creature)’

***mį́na***  ‘sitting /dwelling’

***ną́ŋe*** ‘be in a sitting position’ (??)

***hą́ŋe*** ‘be in a lying or reclining position’

***dáhe*** ‘be in a standing /upright position’

***ną́yį*** ‘to stand something/someone up’

**2) Modals**

Modal auxiliaries are those important verbs that indicate something about the verb’s action, such as whether or not it has been completed. (Think of the English use of the past tense of the verb ‘to do’; “done” can act as a completive auxiliary verb in certain varieties of non-standard English, such as “I **done** finished my homework.”) Modals can also make the listener aware that an action is ongoing (continuative), or is so frequent that it is seen as a habit, or “always” happens (habitual).

?Examples?

**D. PRONOUNS: Identifying Persons As They Speak To Each Other**

Baxoje-Jiwere identifies the people talking to each other (1st and 2nd person), as well as how many there are: one (singular), we two (dual inclusive), or more (distinguished by the plural suffixes discussed earlier in section B). It also tells the how that person relates to the action, as in which person(s) is the agent (one doing the action) vs. the patient (one being acted upon, or experiencing a particular physical or emotional state without control or volition). The 1st person dual agent ‘we two’ and patient forms ‘us two’ single out the speaker and the listener as a unit.

There is one case of overlap between categories, however, which can be a little confusing. One alternate of the 1st p. singular Patient form \hį -, mį-\ ‘me’ is identical to the 1st person dual Agent form \hį-\ ‘we two’.[[25]](#footnote-26) The 1st person plural must be expressed by the addition of the definite plural suffix -wi (see above), which stands for the speaker, hearer, and 1 or more additional people as either agents hį- ...wi , or patients wa-wa- ...wi.

‘You’ is composed of 2nd person singular agent \ra2-\ and patient \ri2-\, and also 2nd person plural agent and patient forms. See the following paradigm in Table 1 to clarify personal pronoun prefixes.

**Table 1: Personal Pronominal Prefixes**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | 1st person Singular ‘I/me’ | 1st person Dual ‘we/us two’ | 1st person Pl. ‘we/us all’ | 2nd Person Singular ‘thou/thee’ | 2nd person plural ‘You’ |
| Agent | ***ha-, he-\**** | ***hi¸-*** | ***hi¸- [+ -wi]*** | ***ra-, re-\**** | ***ra-, [+ -wi]***  ***re-\* [+ -wi]*** |
| Patient | ***mi¸-, hi¸-*** | ***wa-wa-*** | ***wa-wa-***  ***[+ -wi]*** | ***ri-*** | ***ri- [+ -wi]*** |

\*The final vowel difference here demonstrates that pronominal prefixes can also change form (“ablaut”). The agentive forms ha- ‘I’, ra- ‘Thou’ will become he- , re- in complex verbs such as *nąt’udą* ‘to pity (someone/something)’. [[26]](#footnote-27)A potential origin for this word is a compound formed from *nᶐhje* ‘heart’ + *u-gi-dą* ‘be depressed toward’ (Whitman 1946:243). If this is correct, the **benefactive** prefix gi- ‘for’ might partially explain the reason for the vowel ablaut in this particular case. Another example is gi-t’a¸‘(it) flies’,although the gi- prefix itself only is fully apparent in the plain 3rd person form, as well as gra-hi ‘to love, have pity on someone’ (Whitman 1946:242).

Third person singular is most often unmarked, although there is an ***e-*** prefix which occurs especially with the possessor prefix ‘one’s own’ and with the independent possessive 3rd person form*, ethawe* ‘his/hers’ (singular) or *ethewi* ‘theirs’. See also the demonstrative form – ˀe which combine with many prefixes including the 3rd p. e- to give eˀe ‘it is that one.’ Motion verbs provide the only known exception to that rule, with an \a-\ prefix appearing in plural contexts. Once again, the [*a/e]* alternation could be another example of ablaut. CHECK

Independent pronouns can occur for emphasis or clarity, but are not required grammatically for a sentence to be complete, provided that the verb has the proper inflections on it.

**Table 2: Personal Pronouns (Hamilton and Irvin 1848, Marsh n.d.)**

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| Person | Independent Possessive | |
| 1st p. Singular | *mįre* | *mįthawe* |
| 1st p. Dual | *hįre* | *hįthawe* |
| 1st p. Inclusive PL | *----* | *hįthewi* |
| 2nd p. Singular | *rire* | *rithawe* |
| 2nd p. Plural | *----* | *rithewi* |
| 3rd p. Singular | *eʔe* | *ethawe* |
| 3rd p. Plural | *Are* | *ethewi* |

**E. Conjugating Verbs 1) Regular Verbs** A verb stem is considered “regular” or typical if it follows the verbal template of prefixes in its ordering, and the sounds of the stem itself do not change regardless of any change in person or number.

Example:

**2) Irregular Verbs**

**Stems in *D-, R-, W-:***  According to Whitman (1946:243), all the irregular verb stems begin with either *d-, r-,* or *w-* sounds. Note that it is the stem which is irregular; that does not mean that there are no prefixes which are also a permanent part of the verb stem. But when any of those prefixes come before the personal pronoun, they don’t influence each other. It is the starting sound of the verb stem itself that determines this class. Another interesting thing about these stems is that in the 2nd person agent forms, in addition to the expected *ra-*, there is also an \*s*\ that appears (Slot -1 on Verbal Template). Because there are similar irregular verbs in other Siouan languages with the same \*s*\ appearing, historical linguists consider it to be a remnant of a former, very old 2nd person marker that has been “frozen” in these particular conjugations (REFERENCE?).

Examples of these compound stems include:

**D- Stems**

*a-da* ‘to see’ > a**t**a ‘I see’ ara**s**da ‘You (sg.) see’ wawada ‘We two see’ ada ‘he sees’

**R- Stems**

I-rosige ‘ ihadosige ‘I …’

**3) Other Special Conjugation Patterns: Motion Verbs** The words that tell about moving around or travelling are called motion verbs. They distinguish between the different stages of a trip, whether one has just begun the trip (depart), is in the process of traveling between locations (go/come), or has completed the journey (arrive). Like all other Siouan languages, the system of coming (toward the location of speaker and hearer, or “here”) versus going (away from the location of speaker and hearer, or “there”) is more complicated and precise than the current English system. The unique dimension is that of whether a location is one’s home (or prior location), or not. The “belonging” dimension is called the vertitive in grammatical terms, and makes a very interesting, brief, and powerful way of expressing the notion of leaving home or predicting a safe **homecoming**[[27]](#footnote-28). Some of the Otoe-Missouria Patriotic songs have this highly emotionally charged motion verb in them, which highlights the fears and joys involved when soldiers go off to fight, and return safely to their families. [[28]](#footnote-29)

## F. Adverbials

Words that relate to the important elements of time, space, perception, and qualities of motion (slow vs. quick, etc.) play an important role in language. There are basic forms that may combine with each other to express a wide range of meanings relative to these components. There are parallels with the personal pronouns (both independent and prefix) in recognizing not only a distinct 1st and 2nd persons (I vs. You), but also the combination of the two involved in the conversation ‘we two (you and I)’ **dual inclusive**.

**1) Spatial Elements** Baxoje-Jiwere could distinguish between the location of the speaker ‘my spot here’ *ǰe*-, the location of the listener ‘your spot’ *se*-[[29]](#footnote-30),and the general area of both persons conversing together ‘our here’ *i*- (location of both you and me). Beyond the immediate area of the conversation or speech, people could describe a distant but not out of sight location, ‘there’ *ga*-, versus a place beyond their sight (usually far away) which would be *hari*- (somewhat like the archaic English ‘yonder’). These spatial elements can combine with other words that distinguish between a fixed spot close at hand ( -*gi*), and a stationary spot slightly further off ‘at there’ (-*da*). One can also speak of movement through space, which can include the motion toward a location ‘to’ –*gu*. Also the directional sense of the prefix wa- ‘motion toward’ can combine as a suffix here with the 1st or 2nd person forms. (See Appendix for a diagram representing the spatial aspects of these elements.)

**2) Negatives**

Two basic forms can “cancel” or negate the action of the main verb. These are skᶙñį ‘not’ and ñįᶇe ‘(be/have) nothing’. So, while the stative verb phi ‘be good’ expresses a positive attribute, the opposite meaning is created when the word skᶙñį ‘not’ is attached: phiskᶙñį literally ‘good-not’; ‘no good, bad, ornery’.

At the level of the clause or sentence, there can be additional ways to make it clear that something is in fact false. (For examples, see the section on syntax later in this work.)

**3) Time Elements**

While some Baxoje-Jiwere words for geographic place can also be extended metaphorically for time (similar to the English expression that the time is “near”, or has “come”), there are also words with specific temporal meanings. These time words may appear at the beginning of the sentence, as in the following verse from a Native American Church prayer-song composed by the late George Washington Dailey (Otoe-Missouria) (Davidson 1997):

Go:čhi Hįyįno hį ha wi -yi-yi

Now Our Elder Brother (male speaker) we 2 Agt. Say-plural(definite)-Chant

‘Oh, My Lord, we’re calling upon Your name, now.’

**G. Other Morphological Processes**

**1) Sound Symbolism**

This interesting case is a kind of word-mimicking or an imitation of the sounds made by a real object or animal, as in onomatopoetic words in English such as “Crash!”, “Bang!” or “Meow”. In Jiwere-Baxoje, there are two characteristics of such words that attempt to recreate certain sounds or material aspects of the real world: (a) usually these words will have consonants that produce friction in the mouth (fricatives) in them; (b) these sound-symbol words also tend to be verbs, especially ones related to qualities of color shade, intensity of hue, or other changes in sense perception (visual, touch, sound…) as in volume of noise, or roughness of texture.

This phenomenon is common in all the Siouan languages, and can create interesting word sets which differ only by the one consonant sound (Rankin 1998:12). The “lighter/less intense” word is usually associated with the sound made closer to the front of the mouth, while the greatest intensity of meaning is found with the “deepest” sound in the back of the mouth/throat. It has been documented for Hoҫank and Dakota in particular. Baxoje-Jiwere examples are as follows: (Dorsey 18 ).

**2) Reduplication**  a. Adult / Standard Reduplication Verbs follow the general Siouan pattern of “doubling” part (or all) of the verb stem as a way to make a new word. There is a kind of sound symbolism to this process also. The repetition of the recognizable and meaningful sounds of a particular word makes an audio pattern of something that is repeated or “spread out”. When this process applies to a stative verb such as a color, then it would mean that the color is scattered here and there (as in patches, spots, stripes), rather than having a continuous or “solid” distribution. Another case of expressing the repeated action of a verb is found when the word *gis’é* ‘drip’ becomes *gis’és’e* ‘drip several drops’. For less concrete activity, the reduplication can convey the meaning that the verb’s action is somehow partial or incomplete. For example, the form *uphapharehi* ‘understanding only bits and pieces, imperfectly comprehending’ < *upharehi* ‘to understand, notice, investigate,…’ The latter example came from the late Rev. Arthur Lightfoot and the late Dr. Truman W. Dailey conversing about white missionaries’ partial understanding of Indian beliefs (MCLP July 1992).

In Jiwere-Baxoje reduplication seems to have been a **productive process**, meaning it was available as a linguistic resource for speakers to actively use as the need arises. A speaker can spontaneously create a partial (or complete) repetition of a verb if he or she wants to express one of these specific meanings about the action. If others also begin to use that “doubled” form, and it gets passed on to another generation with the same meaning intact, then one could say a new word has been “born. [[30]](#footnote-31)

b. Reduplication in Baby Talk

In addition to the complex reduplication process just described for adult speech, there is also a very simple kind of copying sounds involved in “baby talk” or caretaker speech. While the length and sound pattern of the word for adults could be a complicated matter, that was not true in the special words for talking to babies and small children. There would usually be a simple one syllable word which was repeated exactly in the same form, such as CV-CV. They are so simple, in fact, that it’s not always clear which ordinary word the simplified “baby” form came from! The most important difference, however, is in the meaning. Instead of having the idea of something being scattered or repeated, as the adult reduplicated word represented, the caretaker speech mainly made it easier for little ones to understand and learn to speak. Perhaps it is an adult imitation of the cute way very young children pronounce things themselves, to allow communication to begin in the child’s style.

**Examples**:  ***dáda*** ‘something to eat’  ***ǰíǰi*** ‘hot (to touch)’  ***ną́ną*** ‘something forbidden because of potential danger or pain’

Other examples include the repeated form + the normal adult diminutive suffix ***-iñe*** ‘little one’: ***mamáįñe*** ‘baby’ (Ioway), ***haháįñe*** ‘baby colt, horsey’. (Note the English diminutive suffix [–y] can work in a similar way for baby talk: dog + -y = doggy.)

**III. Word Order / Syntax**

The traditional way to approach sentence structure is to look first at the basic order of the primary elements. Baxoje-Jiwere is classified as an SOV language, which stands for Subject Object Verb. However, for 3rd person forms, it is possible to have a “plain” (uninflected) verb as a grammatical sentence all alone.[[31]](#footnote-32) The reason for this possibility is that the independent pronouns are optional, and there are no singular pronominal prefixes corresponding to ‘he, she, it.’

**A. Noun Phrases**

Since nouns were defined in the section on parts of speech earlier, they will not be defined again here. They may occur alone, or have additional information immediately afterward as a unit which acts as a team, in a structured manner.

**1) Describing Words** The head noun should come first in a sentence, followed by everything that describes it in any way. Those modifying items should start first with the words showing shape, color or size (large, round, yellow…). Such describing words can also occur alone with patient pronominal prefixes, acting as stative verbs in other contexts, which true adjectives cannot do. Therefore, they are not grammatically “the same” as adjectives, in spite of their English translations.

**2) Determiners, Demonstratives, Definite Articles, & Focus Markers** People use language to tell stories, have conversations, pray, and give speeches. In these longer units of speech, it is helpful to keep track of things already mentioned, or to draw attention to something new. There are many special words that help to keep things clear for the listener, and point out the importance of key characters or topics as the speaker goes along. In English, this boy/ that boy, these horses/ those horses, etc. are such pointing words. The following Baxoje-Jiwere words have similar functions, and some also indicate a certain tone or prepare the listener for an entire list of items to come.

-*yą ‘a*, one’ An indefinite article, it is derived from the word for ‘one’ iyą́khi .

-*ge* ‘topic/focus marker’ Example: Gilbert-*ge daniᶇe* … ‘Gilbert was drunk (again)!’

-*sᶙ* ‘indeed’

MANY MORE HERE…(draw from Discourse markers paper especially)

**Determiners** serve to identify which person or thing is being discussed, if it is a specific individual(s) or no one in particular (a generic case), how many there are, and so forth. These include the quantifiers, demonstratives, and the indefinite article, all of which follow their “head”. For example, the English phrase ‘a white horse’ would be reversed to proper Baxoje-Jiwere order: ‘horse white a’ *šᶙñe ska* *iyą* Ioway / *suᶇe ϴka iyą* Otoe-Missouria. The SOV order applies also within sub-units other than the main clause. That makes the language consistent internally, which probably made it easier for listeners to process meaning.

**B. Subordinate Clauses**

Main clauses would normally come last in a sentence. Special forms called subordinators make the first clause(s) into a supporting or modifying one. Their particular meaning is the most important factor when choosing from among the different subordinators. They can signal how long something lasted, what was the exact sequence of events, if the events were actual or potential, and so forth. These particles include: -*sge* ‘if’, -*da* ‘when’, -sji ‘but, although’.

**Example**: An Ioway man named Edward Small composed a Native American Church song after being healed in a NAC service. The verse is a complex sentence which begins with a kin tem addressed to Jesus, then a subordinate clause before the main one indicated by the temporal subordinator -***da*** ‘when’ (Davidson 1997:p. Song #16).

*Hįyįno| wo-waxoñitą* *rithawe urakhiñe* ***da*** *|*  ‘Brother| **when** they tell about this beautiful ceremony|

*waʔᶙ waruphi | Rire añe na* the wonderful work it does| they say it’s You.’

**1) Relative Clauses**

A relative clause is a common type of subordinate clause that gives additional information about the subject, the object, or the indirect object. An English example appears underlined in the sentence “They listened to the elders who led the ceremonies.” At some deeper level of meaning, it is clear that there are two distinct main clauses represented here, (i) they listened to the elders, and (ii) the elders led the ceremonies. Once combined into the more complex sentence, the later sentence gets changed around, and stays separate from the larger overall sentence, but dependent on it for clarity. Often a demonstrative helps clearly set the embedded sentence apart from the main clause it modifies.

The Baxoje-Jiwere language is SOV at this level also, meaning speakers put the subject (head noun) first in the relative clauses also. At the end of the relative clause, there is an optional special marker –*naha* ‘**the one(s) that** X’ that immediately follows the clause it acts upon. Within the smaller unit of meaning, it is Subject first, then Object, then the Verb, as in the relative clause hinage atha naha ‘woman I saw (her) –that one’. In English it would translate as ‘the woman that I saw’. More examples of relative clauses follow below:

**a. Relative Clause in a question:** **Hinage atha naha** waye:re ? Woman I saw (her) –that one, who is she? ‘Who is the woman that I saw?

**b. Relative Clause as the object of the sentence:** John **hinage atha naha** ukhič’e khe John woman I saw (her) that one he spoke with (each other) male decl. ‘John spoke with the woman that I saw.’[[32]](#footnote-33)

**c. Relative Clause as the subject of the sentence.**

**Hinage atha naha** John ukhič’e khe .

Woman I saw-that one John (she) spoke with (him) Masc. Decl.

‘The woman that I saw spoke with John.’

**d. Relative Clause as the direct object of the verb phrase.** Sam **wawagaxe hapagaxe** **naha** araje khe. Sam book I wrote it – that one (he) read it Masc. Decl. ‘Sam read the book that I wrote.’

Because it is not grammatically required to have the relative clause marker present, plus the fact that 3rd person forms on the verb aren’t inflected, it can be difficult to decide exactly how to translate some sentences, even though the general meaning is clear.

**C. Conjoined Clauses**

Conjunctions may join more than one independent clause together, including what might seem from listening alone to be two separate sentences. These useful words do not identify one as the main clause and the other as “under” or subordinate to it, but rather allow them to be linked together. In this case, the conjunction *heda* ‘and’ may occur at the beginning of the second sentence. Within more rapid speech sequences, it is common to have the particle –*na* ‘and’ occur at the end of the first main clause, separating it from the one to come.

*Aré* ‘it is’ is a compound word that may “point” back at something previously mentioned. It has been noted as a very frequent word in the texts collected by Gordon Marsh (Hopkins and Furbee n.d.)

**D. Beyond the Statement: How to Make Other Kinds of Sentences**

The sentences described so far have been based on basic transmission of information through types of the declarative sentence. Of course, there are other sentence types, including especially directives/requests/commands, and questions.

**1) Directives/requests/commands** While all societies have need of coordinating actions, from the household level on up, the verbal structures and the social rules vary tremendously for who may say what to whom and when. In particular, these ways to “boss” others around are linguistically different because many languages leave out both the 1st person and the verb that would clearly spell out that I am telling you to do something. In fact, many times, even the 2nd person form is omitted. This pattern happens so frequently in languages around the world, because the forms with both I and You in them are considered too direct, and thus rude. So it becomes “Wash the dishes”, not “(I command that) You wash the dishes” with an understood subject (you), and an underlying authority statement. This politeness pattern holds true with Baxoje-Jiwere directives also. One speaks to children in a more direct manner than adults, since no one questions the authority of parents and elders to tell their kids what to do.

If speaking to an adult, it would usually be more polite to use a different form, *ne/nε*, as in . However, note that in the prayer-songs, it is not uncommon to have a plea expressed with the stronger command particle *re,* as in

*Hįyįno wa-a-wa - da- wi re* Our/my Elder Brother 1pPATIENT-look at-DefPL[command /Male Speaker] ‘Elder Brother, Look at us!’(Davidson 1997)

Finally, one can make a very polite invitation or request by using the dual or 1st person inclusive plural form with a particular sentence final particle, saying ‘Let us all call on the Creator’s name’, or ‘Let’s go to the handgame!’

**2) Questions**

There are at least three ways to correctly form questions in Baxoje-Jiwere: i. Make a basic sentence, but at the end, choose a special sentence-final particle which means specifically that you are **asking**, not **telling** something: *ǰe*  ‘Q marker (male speaker)’ ~ *ǰa* ‘Q marker (female speaker).

*ii*. By using certain words or phrases that have an element of uncertainty as their meaning, such as *wayére* ‘who (is it)?’ or *dagúre* what (is it)?’ (especially with the special question sentence contour, lengthening the stressed vowel greatly, and making its pitch higher, plus the final syllable’s pitch even lower than normal).

*iii*. Finally, one can ask a question by using the normal word order of a statement, but omitting ALL S-final particles, and changing the intonation pattern. In Ioway/Otoe-Missouria speech, the question pattern is made with a much longer (and higher pitched) vowel in the **next-to-last** syllable of the final word, and a drop to a lower pitch in the last syllable. Of course, the lack of any sentence-final marker at all is another big clue for the listener that the speaker is **asking** something rather than telling something. In most cases, the final word would be the main verb. Likewise, English speakers use a distinct melody and cadence for questions versus statments. “You already ate” can be either a statement, or a question, depending on whether the final syllable’s pitch is falling, or rising.

**Example Questions** (?find elicitation /text examples, or check with Jimm!)

*Wabúϴga ra- gústa ǰà* ? Bread 2ndpSG-want(it) (Question marker)? ‘Do you want any bread?’

*Wabúϴga ra- gú:sta* ? Bread 2ndpSG-want(it)? ‘You want some bread?’

*Ra- gusta dagure?* 2ndpSG-want(it) what(is it)? ‘What do you want?’ Or ‘You want what?’

## E. Variation in Speech By Social Group

**1) Tribal Identity & Language Use** Most aspects of the language were the same for Baxoje and Jiwere speakers, and the two (once three) historically distinct tribes could understand each other. But there were a few patterned sound differences, and a few vocabulary differences that were recognized, and it is those differences that helped separate each group’s unique way of speaking. **Dialect** is the term for these mutually intelligible but distinct forms of a language, whose speakers may be part of separate political and/or geographic units, such as was the case for the Otoe-Missouria and Ioway Nations. Since the Missouria tribe joined with the Otoes for safety from intertribal warfare during the late 18th century, there has been no real way to address what possible unique features might have belonged to their dialect, and so the discussion will focus on the two that have been documented.

At the level of the sounds, these different tendencies have been noted. It is not so simple as to always substitute one sound in dialect A for another in dialect B. Rather, it is a general tendency, or even only a few examples. Yet speakers would certainly notice the distinction. [[33]](#footnote-34)

Another thing to remember is that individual speakers of ALL languages may have features in their speech style and pronunciation that make them unique. When the number of documented speakers is so small in endangered and “sleeping” nguages, the possible effects of that individual variation should not be ignored either.

## Table C. DIALECT DIFFERENCES

|  |
| --- |
| 1. **Sounds That May Vary In The Same Words Baxoje Jiwere**   **A. Difference in Fricatives:**  1. Word initially: š s  ‘horse **š**úñe **s**úŋe  2. In consonant clusters   1. before [g] **s**g~**h**g **ϴ**k ~**ϴ**g   ‘dish/plate’ wa**h**ke wa**ϴ**ke  ‘What is it? da**h**ga da**ϴ**ka  ‘to be white’ **h**ga **ϴ**ga  b) before [ǰ] ʔǰ~**h**ǰ **s**ǰ  ‘heart’ ną**ˀ** je, ną**h**je ną**s**je  **B.**  **Difference in Nasal Consonants:** 1.Inside words, especially \_ < final –e ñ ŋ ‘little boy’ čhidóiñe čhidóiŋe   1. **Vocabulary Differences** 2. **Nouns:**  ‘wheel’ ahu   ‘little baby’ mamáiñe šúwe ‘fox’ (Hamilton & Irwin 1848)   1. **Interjections:** ‘Incredible!!’ sik’ da¸rah [tan-rah in Marsh?] |

**2) Gender Marked Speech**

Baxoje-Jiwere features three very rich sets of words which signal the gender of the speaker.

**a. Kinship**. The first is the set of kin terms, which is discussed in the dictionary. Gender is distinguished not only of the person bearing the term (mother vs. father) but certain terms also vary by the sex of the speaker as well, especially relevant to siblings’ words for each other and f or one’s in-laws. Birth order, which establishes seniority and thereby determines the respect relationships, is also reflected in the words denoting sons, daughters, and siblings.

b. Sentence Final Particles. The second set of terms that change according to the gender of the speaker occur in nearly every sentence. Choosing an appropriate one and using it correctly is required to make a grammatical statement, request, or command, or to accurately quote another person’s speech. These small but important words come at the end of a sentence, and tell the listener key information about how to understand the entire segment of speech, and therefore, how they in turn may need to respond to it. (See Table D.) They may occur in combination with each other, especially those that express an extra emphasis on what has been said, as khe hᶙˀ ‘Indeed!’( This I declare, male speaker).

#### TABLE D: Sentence Final Particles Showing Mood/Source of Info & Gender

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| |  |  |  | | --- | --- | --- | | S-Final Particle Type | Male Speaker | Female Speaker | | Declarative | khe | khi | | Command | re | rɛ as in “wet, wretched” or  ræ as in “rash, apple” | | Polite Command | ne | na? | | Inclusive Request[[34]](#footnote-35)  ‘Let us…’, ‘Would that…’ | tho , dáhò, hdaʔo | tha | | Question Marker (Opt.) | ǰe | ǰa? | | Narrative Marker  ‘It seems’ | asgᶙ |  | | ?Quotative | ʔe |  | | Emphatic | hᶙʔ | ӕ, ʔa | |

c. Interjections The other set which marks the speaker’s sex is usually found at the complete opposite end of the sentence, the beginning. Interjections can stand alone as an emotional expression or response to an event or statement, or they may begin a longer speech, and set the tone for the message to come. (See Table E.) It is sometimes only a subtle difference, such as a final vowel that changes, while other times there is no apparent relationship between the two forms at all.

#### TABLE E: Interjections Showing Mood and Gender

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| Interjection Gloss | Male Speaker | Female Speaker |
| ‘Oh, my!’ (Pity, love, sympathy, compassion) | ***hé:hą*** | ***ˊɛˀ inà:, hina:*** |
| ‘Say! Hey! (Change subject) | ***kàró*** | **??** |
| Joy, Happiness  (while singing or talking) | ***íyà*** | ***íyà***  \*Not traditionally said by women but some do now. |
| Greeting/Acknowledgement, Thank you, Approval/ Sanction | ***Ahó, hó*** | ***ahá, há*** |
| ‘Hmph! Aw, Heck! ‘(critical/doubtful; prior speaker isn’t telling it right) | ***dɛˀ***  (Both male & female forms =short vowel [E] as in ‘wet’) | ***hɛˀ*** |
| ‘Well! (GT) Whew! (Almost; something nearly happened, but didn’t, either good or bad) | ***gwí, kwí*** | ***hí*** |
| ‘Well, well [Whitman]; Oh, my!’ (negative response, as in niece/nephew teasing uncle too harshly; surprised in a bad way) | ***hé:hą*** | ***háraˀ***  [also glossed as doubting truth] |
| ‘My goodness! Surely not! No way! (Negative response; surprise, shock!) | ***báʔ*** | ***dóʔ, dóʔò***  (greater emphasis) |
| ‘Yes’ (Affirmative) | ***Hᶙ́ǰè*** | ***Hᶙ́ǰὲ*** (as in‘pet’) |
| ‘No’ (Negative) | ***hiñégo*** | ***hiñéga*** |

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**APPENDIX A**

**Diagram of Spatial Distinctions (Hopkins 1988 and/or 1992?)**

**APPENDIX B**

**Cedar and Tobacco: A Brief Teaching about an Ancient Tradition**

**By the late Dr. Truman W. Dailey**

**APPENDIX C**

**A Prayer for the Night:**

**A Gift from the late Rev. Arthur Lightfoot to his Ioway People**

1. For an introduction to phonetics and the wonderful world of human speech sounds, see Peter Ladefoged A Course in Phonetics, 5th edition, Boston: Thomson Learning 2005. Online visit University of California Phonetics Lab: [www.humnet.ucla.edu/humnet/](http://www.humnet.ucla.edu/humnet/)linguistics/facility/uclaplab.html.

   <http://faculty.washington.edu/dillon/PhonResources.html> also includes a pronunciation program to demonstrate all the phones. [↑](#footnote-ref-2)
2. It is possible for the glottal stop alone to be a separate meaningful sound (phoneme) in human languages. While some words such as the verb ʔᶙ ‘to make, do, use’ are very consistent in having that sound before the vowel, there don’t seem to be any words that contrast only with that sound. If there were a word ᶙ that meant something different from ʔᶙ ‘to do, make, use’, then that would be strong evidence for a distinct and always meaningful sound \ʔ\. \ʔ \ works to identify boundaries between morphemes, and other processes related to preserving word meaning rather than at the level of the basic inventory and system of sounds (phonology). For the example verb ʔᶙ ‘to make, do’ which otherwise is only a single vowel sound, the glottal stop may insure that the vowel is protected from any changes during fast speech that might obscure its meaning. [↑](#footnote-ref-3)
3. Note the current trend in many Native language renewal programs (where fluent speakers are still available as teachers) is to fully immerse students in living speech, and acquire it orally, intentionally delaying literacy. Not only is that more “natural” for first language learning, it also helps prevent interference between existing reading and writing skills and the ones in the target language people are trying to learn. [↑](#footnote-ref-4)
4. Famous exceptions occur in fiction, when authors attempt to represent particular regional forms of speech, as in Mark Twain’s characters Huckleberry Finn, Tom Sawyer, the slave “N\*&!r Jim,” and the Native American called “I\*!#n Joe”. [↑](#footnote-ref-5)
5. That example also illustrates the other common pronunciation difference between the two distinct versions of this language, namely the plain [*s*] at the beginning of words for Otoe, where Ioway produces [*š*] instead. [↑](#footnote-ref-6)
6. Linguists often consider such surface level rules of pronunciation to lie outside the bounds of phonemic (hence written) representation, and therefore limit it to a single line in a pronunciation guide. As long as there is a living speech community, with children actively acquiring language before they learn a set of spelling conventions which attempt to represent their speech, such an approach does not pose a problem. Children learn to “match” the spelling with the words they have been saying correctly for years. However, when that situation is not present, then accurately representing the pronunciation of the language appears to be equally important as maintaining phonemic purity in representation. In addition, it can promote accurate pronunciation from language learners who lack a speech community to correct their efforts. [↑](#footnote-ref-7)
7. Linguists usually use the different kinds of brackets to mean specific things. **\ \** is phonemic (phonemes are the basic building blocks of meaningful sound distinctions in the language); **[ ]** is phonetic (symbols representing speech as it actually is pronounced). [↑](#footnote-ref-8)
8. Amelia Susman’s 1945 work on Hochunk (Winnebago) mentioned the same tendency in that very closely related Siouan language. [↑](#footnote-ref-9)
9. GoodTracks n.d. cites two forms from James Owen Dorsey with a plain \n\ preceding an \i\, which could represent evidence for that idea, since Dorsey was listening to speech in the late 1800’s. They are *Huni* ‘mortar’ and *hunipa* ‘pestle, grinder, grindstone’ (p. 28). [↑](#footnote-ref-10)
10. The Missouri Chiwere Language Project (1988-1996) was directed by Professor N. Louanna Furbee, from the Anthropology Department of the University of Missouri. It was funded by MU Faculty Research Development Grant, as well as by the National Science Foundation, and the American Philosophical Society. The team included native language consultants, and graduate students. [↑](#footnote-ref-11)
11. The 19th century linguist James Owen Dorsey has also been criticized for his failure to accurately record the vowel length feature in his research. Miner 199?, as well as Helmbrecht & Lehmann 2010 recorded differences in vowel length for Hochunk (Winnebago) (REF). Perhaps future study of existing recordings will reveal true phonemic vowel length, but it seems better to err on the side of omitting a potential distinction rather than to attempt to consistently and accurately represent a phonetic detail not reliably or consistently detected by the researcher. [↑](#footnote-ref-12)
12. Amelia Susman used a system of lines and symbols under the words to attempt to represent the intonation contours of Hochunk (Winnebago). [↑](#footnote-ref-13)
13. Helmbrecht 2002 gives an extended discussion of ways to distinguish between nouns and verbs in Hocank (Winnebago). [↑](#footnote-ref-14)
14. The friendship would have been initiated by the parents of two children, formalized with a ceremonial feast, and thereafter a lifelong bond of reciprocity and obligation existed between the two, to be recognized by the word ‘friend’. The ultimate duty came at the death of one friend, when the other would sit with the deceased’s body for the duration of the wake, traditionally 4 days before burial would take place (Whitman 1936, Davidson 1997). [↑](#footnote-ref-15)
15. With white-tailed deer, a buck would indeed be the “marked form” if the visible feature of antlers were the primary basis for assigning group membership. [↑](#footnote-ref-16)
16. In other Siouan languages such as Lakota and Crow, there can be a greater degree of “fusing” of the parts inside the complex combinations of nouns with other words. Linguists describe the process as **noun incorporation**. Since that technicality is more on the level of linguistic theory rather than describing the language for a general audience, I will not address that issue here. See De Ruese? , Gracyzk … [↑](#footnote-ref-17)
17. Whitman 1947 noted glottal stop marking morpheme juncture. It seems to me to be especially prevalent when the deleted sounds/syllable involves /ŋ / as in the examples given here. [↑](#footnote-ref-18)
18. Keith Basso described the Western Apache (Athabaskan) words for automobiles in similar ways, including the wing = wheel metaphor (19??: ) . [↑](#footnote-ref-19)
19. Please refer to Boyle 2009 for a comparative discussion of the *wa-* prefixes across the Siouan languages. Boyle quoted a discussion from the late Carolyn Quintero on Osage *wa-* that seems especially interesting (REF). Based on these analyses, it might be more elegant to conclude that in Baxoje-Jiwere there is only one *wa-* which does a wide variety of things to the verb, including all of the various functions within the different glosses given above. At present, it does not seem crucial to determine whether they may best be described as two distinct morphemes ***wa****-*, or as a single *wa-* which is quite flexible in meaning. In the future, as more work on comparative Siouan *wa-* emerges, perhaps this issue can be addressed again. [↑](#footnote-ref-20)
20. Whitman did not include the e-/ a- prefixes within the overall ordering of preverbal elements, probably because they are both limited to motion verbs in their occurrence. However, since motion verbs do occur frequently, it seems preferable to include them here as possibly archaic forms . The two also are preserved in the 3rd person possessive pronoun *ethawe* ‘his (singular)’, *ethewi* ‘theirs (definite pl.)’, and *aré* ‘it is’ (independent pronoun that primarily serves as a demonstrative now, loosely ‘that’). [↑](#footnote-ref-21)
21. One possibility for the origins of this unusual case of the pronouns shifting to the end is that *hi* was once truly an independent verb, and over time, as the forms became heard by speakers later as single unified “words”, then the initial verb of the compound was no longer conjugated. In that light, it is interesting to note that there is another \*hi* \ which is the motion verb meaning ‘arrive?’ (Taylor 1976, Hopkins 1987). [↑](#footnote-ref-22)
22. Think of the parallel indefinite article being used in the formula which begins many English fairy tales, ‘Once upon A time, there was A princess...’ [↑](#footnote-ref-23)
23. See Taylor 1976 for a general discussion of these widespread forms in the different Siouan languages; see Cumberland 2003 for their function in narrative in ?Assiniboine, and ??John’s student? for potentially similar use in Biloxi texts recorded by J.O. Dorsey. [↑](#footnote-ref-24)
24. See Rankin ?? for discussion of how these positional verbs moved from an auxiliary function to eventually become classificatory articles attached to nouns in some Siouan languages…. [↑](#footnote-ref-25)
25. Perhaps a practical connection between these two that might help learners remember; “**I**” can only truly control my own actions when I’m acting alone. In that sense, there is an element of subordinating myself when acting as a pair -“you and **me**”. [↑](#footnote-ref-26)
26. Whitman 1947 has the plain [u] here while Davidson 1997 heard it as a nasal [ᶙ], perhaps just from the surrounding environment. [↑](#footnote-ref-27)
27. While English lacks the motion verb equivalent to the vertitive, the compound noun ‘homecoming’ is perhaps the closest in meaning and emotional power. [↑](#footnote-ref-28)
28. Scholars of related Siouan languages such as Assiniboine and Biloxi have also analyzed these verbs in terms of how they appear in traditional narratives, where the notion of “belonging”/ home location also can be used to mean the place where a person or animal was located at the beginning of the story (by the river/point A), versus where they ended up later on (inside a cave/point B) (Cumberland 2006?). [↑](#footnote-ref-29)
29. This form \se-\ that has an initial [s] representing the 2nd person is very likely related to the archaic 2nd person \s\ found in some irregular verbs as discussed in section on verb conjugation. It is another reminder of how languages can preserve little pieces of the past in them! [↑](#footnote-ref-30)
30. English speakers do things that are a little similar, and also play symbolically with the basic sounds of words, such as stretch vowels out for emphasis, as in ‘He was s-o-o-o-o mad at me. ’ Or they can use simple repetition, as in ‘She was very, very, VERY surprised!’ [↑](#footnote-ref-31)
31. 28There also needs to be a final word-bit (particle) that tells the gender of the speaker, as well as how certain the speaker is of the information being given, and the way the listener is supposed to respond (by listening and talking, by obeying what was said, by joining in with the speaker,...). These S-final particles are discussed in a later part of the grammar. [↑](#footnote-ref-32)
32. Linguists sometimes use brackets of different colors to show how the different parts of the sentence are structured. The English sentence “I saw the horse.” [NP I [VPsaw [NPthe horse]]]. Example b above would be represented as follows: [NPSUBJJohn [VP{[NPOBJ hinage atha] naha}RC [V+ENCL ukhič’e khe]]] [↑](#footnote-ref-33)
33. There has been intermarriage for a very long time, and so there probably would not be 100% dialect consistency for a speaker all the time, regardless of tribal membership. Dialects often are a matter of tendencies, rather than “always”or “never”. Family members might exhibit different speech within a household, such as Marsh’s speakers Mr. and Mrs. Small, who were Ioway and Otoe respectively. The couple understood each other but didn’t speak exactly the same. [↑](#footnote-ref-34)
34. Earlier scholars have often called this case the **hortative** marker, related to the rather old-fashioned word to “exhort” someone to do something. [↑](#footnote-ref-35)