

Borrowings

Siouan languages are characterized by a strong resistance to lexical and grammatical borrowing from neighboring Indian as well as European languages. The number of lexical borrowings, for example, ranges from a dozen or fewer identifiable forms in Mandan and Sioux to perhaps 20 or somewhat more words in Dhegiha languages. Such borrowings are also generally restricted to a small number of semantic domains—ethnonyms, garden plants, animals, and personal names—in which vocabulary was typically being added in the course of cultural contacts and innovation. In Siouan languages, however, almost all new vocabulary for cultural and other innovations was derived using native linguistic elements to form descriptive designations.

Of the major divisions within Siouan, the Dhegiha group shows evidence of contact with Algonquian speakers. Those older influences, which undoubtedly preceded the late eighteenth century, seem to include two phonological changes and a replacement in the numeral system:

(1) The complex consonant clusters that occur in Sioux and Mandan are reduced in Dhegiha to only the types permitted generically in central Algonquian for fricatives and clusters of *h* followed by a stop (e.g., **pt* and **kt* become *ht* or *tt*, **ks* becomes *ss* or *s*).

(2) In two Dhegiha languages, Omaha-Ponca and Quapaw, the common Siouan five-vowel system has been replaced by a four-vowel system as in Algonquian languages.

(3) In Chiwere, as well as Dhegiha, the Siouan decimal counting system has been replaced with a partial quinary system in which 'seven' and 'eight' are based on 'two' and 'three', respectively, combined with a derivational affix, as in Algonquian.

Identifiable loanwords from Algonquian languages are few and include words for 'bow', 'squash', and 'beans' (Koontz 1986; Rankin 1994a).

Tribal ethnonyms that have a wide geographical distribution and are often of uncertain provenience occur in all the Siouan languages. One commonly borrowed ethnonym is the name for the Cheyenne that occurs as Teton Sioux *šahíyela* (Buechel 1970:460), and Santee-Sisseton Sioux and Assiniboine *šahíyena* (S.R. Riggs 1890:440; Parks and DeMallie 1999); compare Pawnee *sahe*[?] and Arikara *ša-hé*[?] (Parks 1999, 1999c). The term for Cree and Ojibwa is another such borrowing: Assiniboine *šahíya* (Parks and DeMallie 1999), Mandan *šahí* (Hollow 1970:223), Hidatsa *šahí* (A.W. Jones 1979:63); cf. Arikara *šAhí*[?]A (Parks 1999c). So also is the term for Spaniard or Mexican, which derives from French *espagnol* 'Spaniard': Santee-Sisseton *spaníyo wič^háša* (J.P. Williamson 1902:217), Teton *spayóla* (Raymond J. DeMallie, personal communication 1999), Mandan *špari[?]ori* (Hollow 1970:385), and Osage *špaḍo* 'European' (Carolyn Quintero, personal communication

1999), Kansa *éspanone* (Rankin 1987:42), and Quapaw *spái[?]q* (Rankin 1991a:52). A similar borrowing is ultimately from older French (*le*)s *anglois* 'the English': Assiniboine *šakná* 'mixed-blood; Métis' (Parks and DeMallie 1999), Santee-Sisseton *sagdášj* and *sagdáša*, Teton *šagláša* 'Englishman' (S.R. Riggs 1890:430, 440), Omaha *Ságanasch*, Otoe *Sanganasch*, Osage *Sanganásch* 'Englishman' (Maximilian in Thwaites 1904–1907, 24:281, 287, 297); the intermediary was older Ojibwa *Ságanasch* 'Englishman' (Maximilian in Thwaites 1904–1907, 24:277), later *ša-kana-šš* (J.D. Nichols and E. Nyholm 1995:174, retranscribed).

At least two European domestic animal terms that are distributed widely over North America occur in various Siouan languages. One is the term for 'hog' or 'pork', derived from dialectal French *coucouche* (A.R. Taylor 1990), which occurs as Sioux *k^huk^húše* (S.R. Riggs 1890:299; Buechel 1970:319); Assiniboine *kukúša* (Parks and DeMallie 1999); Omaha-Ponca *kkukkusi* (Dorsey 1891a, retranscribed); Kansa-Osage *kkokkósa* (Rankin 1987:82; La Flesche 1932:88, retranscribed); cf. Arikara *kúhkUx* and Pawnee *kuhkus* (Parks 1999, 1999a). Another is the English term *puss* or *pussy* 'domestic cat', which occurs as Assiniboine *púza* (Parks and DeMallie 1999), Teton *pusíla* (Raymond J. DeMallie, personal communication 1999), Mandan *pús* and *pusé* (Hollow 1970:159), Hidatsa *pu-šíhke* (A.W. Jones 1979:17); Cheyenne *póeso* (Glenmore and Leman 1985:4); and Pawnee *pús* (Parks 1999a). Other borrowed animal terms include Osage *hkáwa* and Kansa *kkawáye* 'horse' from Spanish *caballo* (Carolyn Quintero, personal communication 1999; Rankin 1987:78).

Some ethnonyms are loan translations of designations that are common among many tribes and are often reflected in the sign language designation for a group; others are direct or indirect borrowings of a tribe's own name for itself (see the synonymies, this vol.).

Examples of miscellaneous borrowings include Crow *akíssatre* 'soldier' from Sioux *akíc^hita* 'soldier' and *wáre* ([bále-]) 'money' from English (Randolph Graczyk, personal communication 1999). Osage *láḍe* and Kansa *láyé* 'big' come from Spanish *grande* (Carolyn Quintero, personal communication 1999; Rankin 1987:83).

Among the Sioux and Assiniboine in the twentieth century there were occasional local borrowings that were used on a specific reservation or in a specific community. Illustrating those are the English kinship terms *p^hapá* 'papa, daddy' and *mamá* 'mama, mommy' used on the Pine Ridge Reservation (A.R. Taylor and D.S. Rood in University of Colorado Lakota Project 1976, 1:7–33, 7–34). Assiniboine *múniya* 'White man', from Plains Cree *mo-niya-w* 'White person' (Ahenakew 1987a:237), was formerly used only on Carry The Kettle and White Bear reserves (Parks and DeMallie 1999). Other borrowings were restricted to a single dialect, as English *baby*, borrowed as Teton Sioux *bébelá*, with diminutive suffix *-lá*.