

A TEXT ANALYSIS AND BRIEF GRAMMATICAL SKETCH BASED ON
 'TRICKSTER CHALLENGES THE BUFFALO'
 A MANDAN TEXT COLLECTED BY EDWARD KENNARD

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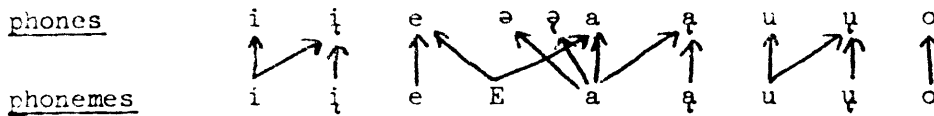
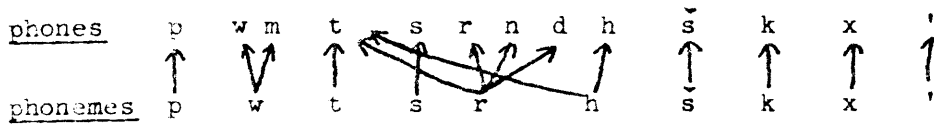
0.0 INTRODUCTION This exercise is comprised of a text analysis and description of the phonology, morphology, and syntax of a Mandan text collected by Edward Kennard, probably in the summer of 1933 or '34. It is entitled [kinumáka ptį:s ú:pa ptéhoš] or 'Trickster Challenges the Buffalo; told by Stephen Bird'. The original text has been edited by Robert Hollow to bring the phonology into conformity with that used and outlined in his dictionary (Hollow n.d.(a)). Hollow's edited version is in my possession. The original Kennard version is available on microfilm from the American Philosophical Society Library (Kennard, n.d.). Both are given in full in the text analysis.

In his excellent - and unfortunately still unpublished - dictionary, Hollow presents a fairly complete grammar of the Mandan phonology. Since Hollow's rules and underlying forms tend to generate his own surface forms in the edited text (but not Kennard's) I have followed Hollow in my analysis, with comments on the differences between the two scholars. Both Hollow and Kennard present fairly thorough descriptions of Mandan morphology, from which the interpretations in this paper could be drawn. Syntax, however, is not really treated by either, and therefore I have hypothesized syntactic categories, on the basis of just one text, that perhaps neither scholar, with his greater immersion in the language, would accept. I hope I have been able to bring out more clearly some

of the unresolved problems in Mandan. Future fieldwork must come soon in this dying language, if they are to be cleared up.

1.0 PHONOLOGY. Hollow and Kennard disagree on the surface phonetics of a great many words, as is shown in the text analysis. Some of the differences are strictly a matter of notation, and I have therefore written the same sounds in the same way in the two transcriptions, so as not to distract attention from the real differences. Thus, Kennard's [c] and Hollow's [sh] are both written [š] throughout this paper, and Hollow's word-initial [r] is written [d]. In general, Hollow's spelling of the same word in different contexts tends to be less variable than Kennard's. Hollow identifies quite a few more nasalized vowels, surface [r]'s, and glottal stops than Kennard, and consequently Hollow's rules #16, 17, 18 (nasal regression) and 13a (glottal stop insertion) generate his surface forms far better than they generate Kennard's. Placement of the main stress also differs on a large number of words, quite aside from the added difference that Kennard records three levels of stress and Hollow only two. The most striking difference is the complete absence, in Hollow's phonology, of the distinctions in vowel length recorded by Kennard. Kennard's spelling of vowel length is variable in nine or ten morphemes, which is a sizeable proportion of the morphemes with long vowels that occur more than once in the text, and this suggests that he may be describing stylistic variation by his informant rather than phonemic variation. Almost all the lengthened vowels either carry main stress or are word-final, which are environments in which you would expect freely-varying stylistic lengthening to occur naturally. Hollow's silence on the subject may therefore reflect a conviction that Kennard's length distinction was really not phonemic.

1.1 Inventory of Phonemes. Hollow identifies 23 surface phones, from which he analyzes 19 underlying systematic phonemes, diagrammed below.



The phone [d] (which occurs only word-initially) is actually prenasalized. Hollow writes it [ⁿd] in rule #21. Kennard says it may also have a lateral quality, especially before a high vowel (K 3, S 4).

According to Kennard, voiceless stops are all slightly aspirated, though less so word-finally and before low vowels (K 2, S 2). The [r] is flapped (K 3, S 4).

1.2 Canonical Form. Hollow posits the following morpheme structure conditions on underlying forms (H 15-18).

Lexical morphemes have the following shape: $(C)_0^2V(C)_0^1$ or $(C)_0^2V(C)_1^2V(C)_0^1$ except that no morpheme contains more than one consonant cluster.

In addition the following conditions apply on consonant clusters:

There are no geminates within morphemes. A cluster contains no more than one fricative. /p/ is never the second element of a cluster. Resonants do not occur before obstruents in a cluster. Only velars occur before /w/ in a cluster. /t/ does not occur before a fricative. /n/ is the second element of a cluster only when preceded by /r/. There is only one nasal in a cluster.

In addition, these other conditions apply to morpheme structure: No morpheme has two contiguous vowels. /' / occurs only between a vowel and a consonant. No morpheme has more than one stressed syllable. /w / is never morpheme-final.

1.3 Phonological Rules. Hollow's dictionary (pp. 35-52) contains 21 phonological rules, not all equally well worked out, as will be seen.

The rules follow:

1. p/k metathesis
 $k + p \rightarrow p + k$
2. i deletion
 $i \rightarrow \emptyset / \text{____} + \text{resonant (h, r, w)}$
 - stress
3. Dental stop dissimilation
 $t \rightarrow s / \text{____} t$
4. Geminate consonant simplification
 $C^1 \rightarrow \emptyset / \text{____} C^1$ where C^1 is a stop or a resonant
5. Final vowel addition
 $\emptyset \rightarrow \{a\} / C \text{____} \#$ (optionally)
6. Glottal stop metathesis
 $'v \rightarrow v ' / C \text{____}$
7. Post-consonantal h deletion
 $h \rightarrow \emptyset / C + (r) \text{_____}$
8. rh realization
 $r + h \rightarrow t$
9. Final resonant deletion
 $\{r\} \rightarrow \emptyset / \text{____} \#$
10. Glottal stop deletion
 $' \rightarrow \emptyset / \text{____} \#$

11. Preconsonantal r deletion

$$r \rightarrow \emptyset / \text{ ______ } C$$
12. Preconsonantal h deletion

$$H \rightarrow \emptyset / \text{ ______ } \{ \overset{WR}{\text{obstruent}} \} \quad (\text{optional before stops})$$

13. When two vowels are contiguous, the commonest rule, according to Hollow, is (a) below. However, (b) and (c) also occur, with certain lexical forms.

$$(a) \emptyset \rightarrow ' / V \text{ ______ } V$$

$$(b) V \rightarrow \emptyset / V \text{ ______ }$$

$$(c) V \rightarrow \emptyset / \text{ ______ } V$$

In addition, Kennard reports an epenthetic [r] between vowels on a morpheme boundary. (K 6, S 17). This is not in Hollow, but it may account for a form in S. 65 of the text:

$$(d) \emptyset \rightarrow r / V + \text{ ______ } V$$
14. Epenthesis

$$\emptyset \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} i \\ e \end{array} \right\} / C \text{ ______ } \{ \overset{W}{r} \} \left[\begin{array}{l} i, i, u, y \\ e, a, \text{ } \text{ } , o \end{array} \right]$$
15. Stress assignment.

If neither of the first two syllables in an underlying structure is stressed, stress is assigned to the first syllable. Epenthetic vowels count optionally as syllables. Epenthetic vowels may be stressed if they are followed immediately by a stressed syllable (underlying, presumably). All other stresses in the word are deleted.

16. Regressive nasal assimilation (iterative)
$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} i, u, a \\ v, n, r \end{array} \right\} \rightarrow + \text{nasal} / \text{ ______ } [+ \text{nasal}]$$

Hollow gives considerable space to justifying this sweeping rule, which allows him to posit no underlying nasal consonants at all, although they are among the commonest consonants on the surface.

The following three rules further specify the surface realizations of several segments transformed by Rule 16.

17. $r \rightarrow n / \underline{\hspace{1cm}} [+nasal]$ 18. $w \rightarrow \pi / \underline{\hspace{1cm}} [+nasal]$ 19. $a \rightarrow \bar{a} / \underline{\hspace{1cm}} [+nasal, +stress]$
20. $a \rightarrow \bar{e} / \underline{\hspace{1cm}} \{\bar{C}C\}$
21. $r \rightarrow [r^h d] / \# \underline{\hspace{1cm}}$

1.4 Reduplication. Mandan has syllable reduplication to indicate distribution, serialization, intensiveness, and characterization. (H 25). Hollow describes reduplication as consisting of the following four ordered processes: (26)

- (a) Root syllable is copied, omitting stress. Copied syllable is placed before the root syllable.
- (b) Post-vocalic consonant of the copied syllable is deleted.
- (c) Vowel of the copied syllable is de-nasalized if immediately preceded by obstruent.
- (d) First consonant of root syllable is dropped if followed by a resonant consonant, (except when function is serialization).

One case of reduplication occurs in the text, in S. 17, where 'this our rock pile', an adverb of place for 'when we get there', is written [nʉtám̄i'nəknək]. I am not sure if the function is intensive (as the translation 'this' suggests) or distributive, since the rock pile is the separate goal of two competitors in a race. In any case, the form is not generated by the reduplication rule given above, which would drop the final /k/ of the copied syllable, giving [nʉtám̄i'nənak].

1.5 Grammatically conditioned phonological variation. Hollow lists a large number of readjustment rules, which, like reduplication, are ordered before his phonological rules. Of these, only the following three sets apply to this text:

A. Ablaut E

- E → a / _____ imperative -ta
 / _____ rɨt
 / _____ rɨ
 / (other environments not relevant to text)
 / in first verb of V_V compounds (except with causative)
- E → a or e unpredictably in deverbal nouns and other compounds
- E → e / elsewhere

B. Surface Forms of Personal Prefixes

- absolutive → wa- / _____ stressed root
 w'- / _____ V (optionally)
 (other not relevant to text)
 wá- / elsewhere
- 1st person poss. → wɨ- / _____ ^{obstruent}_{wr}
 wi- / _____ resonant
 w'- / _____ V
 p- / _____ ta- (alienable possession)
- except /wɨstawi/ 'face' and /wɨsta/ 'eye'
- 2nd person poss. → rɨ- / _____ ^{obstruent}_{wr}
 ri- / _____ resonant
 r'- / _____ V
- except 'face' and 'eye', as above
- 1st person agent → w'- / _____ V (-round)
 w- / _____ rɨ- (2 pers obj)
 (other irrelevant to text)
 wa- / elsewhere
- 2nd person agent → r'- / _____ V (-round)
 rɨ- / wɨ- (1st obj) _____
 (other irrelevant to text)
 ra- / elsewhere
- fourth person ('inclusive person') → rɨki / with reflexive
 r- / _____ V
 ru- / elsewhere

- 1st person object → w^íki- / with reflexive
 w_q- / elsewhere
 (except w_q + i → w'_i-)
- 2nd person object → r^íki- / with reflexive
 r_i- / elsewhere
 (except r_i- + i → r'_i-)

C. Maintenance of CV alternation

	/ V _____	/ C _____
indicative, male addressed	-'š	-o's
interrogative, male add.	-'ša	-o'ša
narrative past	-row _q	-ow _q
past participle	-k	-ak
perfective	-rote	-ote
potential	-kt	-t
dubitative	-ška (after a only)	-aška (and after vowels other than a)
continuative	-w _i (after a only)	-aw _i (and after vowels other than a)

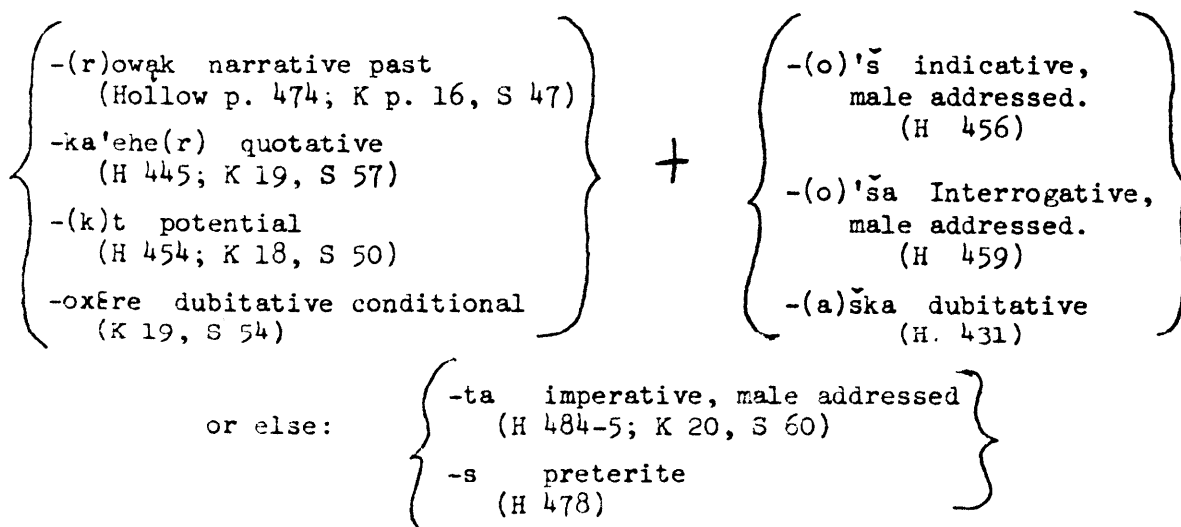
2.0 SENTENCE STRUCTURE. This sketch is based mainly on patterns analyzed in the text, with some help from hints in Kennard and in Hollow, as mentioned below. Kennard and Hollow disagree occasionally on where they divide sentences, probably owing to carelessness on Kennard's part, since his punctuation does not always make sense, while Hollow's follows fairly consistent rules. I have numbered the sentences in the text analysis according to Hollow's division. Questions about Hollow's division are discussed under 2.5.

2.1 Sentence Markers (sm). A Mandan sentence can consist of as little as a single verb (S. 57 in the text, for example). Such a verb would, however, be suffixed for person, case, and number of its topics, as are all main

mood. These seem to be the basic elements that are obligatory in every sentence.

Many sentences in the text contain more than one main (finite) verb, however, and in that case it is the final verb of the sentence which carries the aspect or tense and mood slots which are obligatory in a sentence. Hollow, in fact, labels the most text-frequent mood suffix the 'clause terminal' marker (p. 456), since it is usually - though not always - the last element in a sentence. I would like to alter and expand this usage, and refer to the obligatory aspect, tense, and mood markers which affix to the last verb as 'sentence markers'. These sentence markers probably apply semantically to the entire sentence, rather than only to the verb which carries them. They indicate the sentence boundaries even when they do not lie exactly on them.

Following is a diagram of the structure of the sentence markers that occur in this text. There are usually two slots. The first is filled by suffixes with more pronounced aspect or tense elements. The second slot is filled with more traditionally modal categories. When imperative mood or preterite aspect are present, no other suffixes co-occur with them.



Comments on Structure of Sentence Markers -- All forms are Hollow's underlying forms except [oxare] which is not in his dictionary. The underlying form might be /oxEre/, since Kennard gives [oxere] (19, S 54).

As indicated above, the imperative suffix stands alone without other tense, aspect, or mood markers. The preterite also seems to do this in its once occurrence in S. 66, unless the sentence is not grammatical. Preterite indicates the action is completed at the time of the utterance (H 478).

Hollow states that /ka'ehe/ is a form used by Kennard's informants in folktales, where his own informants would use the narrative past. In the text it conjugates irregularly like the intransitive verb /é-he(r)/ 'to say' (H 71) and thus I have given the underlying form as /kaehe(r)/. The /ka/ element may be the imperfective aspect (H 444), or a conjunctive element.

Hollow interprets /(k)t/ as an aspect marker showing 'possibility rather than certainty of an intended action' (H 445). Kennard called it the future tense, carrying the same meaning as /ó-/ , the future prefix.

Kennard is not able to find a good English translation for the dubitative conditional. In his examples, it apparently adds or reinforces a negative or interrogative flavor. Hollow's dictionary does not give this form.

Hollow's dubitative mood suffix means 'the speaker does not wish to commit himself to the truth value of his assertion' translated 'I wonder if' or 'maybe' ' (H 431).

'Male addressed' means address to male humans or animals, mixed groups, tobacco plants, rocks, or Deity (H 456).

Kennard does not separate /(o)'š/ and /(o)'ša/ from other suffixes which they follow. He does not analyze out a separate meaning.

2.2 Predicate Clause Markers (pcm). About one-third of the sentences in the text contain more than one verb, and in that case all but the last verb usually carry suffixes which indicate their relationship to other verbs in the sentence, and also incidentally identify them as non-final verbs. These suffixes translate into English as embedded sentence markers or as conjunctions. They are listed below.

The reason I have chosen to call them 'predicate clause markers' rather than 'non-final verb markers' is that occasionally non-final verbs do not carry them, in which case they translate as non-finite, and directly precede a finite verb. Thus these predicate clause markers are affixed only to non-final verbs which are the main verbs of a predicate clause that may also contain non-finite verbs. They may be thought of as marking predicate clause boundaries (even though they do not always lie on the boundaries) in the same way that sentence markers indicate sentence boundaries.

The following five predicate clause markers occur in the text:

/-ha/ temporal subordination. (K 21, S 65). Translated 'while___ing', or by a participial construction, as 'we'll be going' (see S. 17 of text). Not in Hollow.

/-awɨ/ continuative. (H 433). 'continuation of repetition of the act' (Hollow) but in the text, seems to translate as 'while___ing'. Not in Kennard. This form also occurs on verbs ending in sentence markers.

/-(a)k/ past participle (H 430; K 22, S 72). Translates as 'having___ed'. '...apparently used as an embedded subordinate clause' (H 430).

/-ki/ temporal subordination (H 450; K 21, S 66). Translates as 'when' or 'if'. Hollow says '...affixed to main verb of

subordinate clause, indicating action of main clause is contingent on completion of action of subordinate clause.' (450)

/-rɨ/ conjunctive/infinitive (H 471; K 24, S 82). Translates as 'and'. Kennard describes it as a general connective for verbs 'of equal force' (24) or for nouns or adjectives, although it affixes only to verbs in this text. Hollow says it is 'used on each verb of a sequence of independent coordinate clauses except for the final verb in the sequence, which is inflected with aspect, tense and mood.' (471)

2.3 Sentence Launchers. So far, we have discussed two classes of obligatory suffixes on predicate clauses, which mark sentence boundaries or non-final predicate clause boundaries, respectively. On the basis of the data in this text, it is almost a sufficient description of a Mandan sentence to say that it consists of an indefinite number of predicate clauses (each with its optional topics and adverbs). However, there is one more slot to be filled. A majority of the sentences in the text begin with separate words which generally translate as conjunctions or adverbs, and which seem to have the same function as the 'sentence launching words' referred to by Taylor and Rood in their Lakota sketch (n.d.). At least eight separate words play this role in the text. The five conjunctions are listed below:

/kárɨ/ 'and' (H 336). /ka/ may be a conjunctive element, while /rɨ/ is probably the conjunction predicate clause marker morpheme.

/kákɨ/ 'and'; 'and so' (H 102) /ki/ might be the temporal subordination marker, and /ka/ a conjunctive element.

[karótɨki] 'and so'; 'and then' Not in H or K. /(r)ote/ is a per-

fective suffix, and /ki/ indicates temporal subordination. However,

Hollow's rules do not account for the change of an underlying /e/ to surface [i]. Kennard says [-tiki] indicates temporal subordination, the [ti] coming from [te] (perfective) and [ki] (temporal subordination). (21).

[ǎ'skaškanik] 'that's so but' /ǎ'ska/ is an exclamation meaning 'all right' (H 60). [škanik] translates as 'but' and includes the dubitative [-ška] (H 431) and the subordinating element [nik] (K 22, S 70).

[ǎ'skarotiki] 'if that's so'. Consists of exclamation and other elements discussed above. I would classify it syntactically as a conjunction although it translates with the meaning of a subordinate predicate clause. It is not impossible that it is a verb, however. Some sentences begin directly with predicate clauses rather than with sentence launchers. There is no other case of an exclamation serving as a verb root, however, and when 'it is so' is expressed in a verb a presumably related root, /ǎ'ška/, is used. (See 5.1).

The following three adverbs clearly function as sentence launchers, because they occur before nominals of the first predicate clauses in sentences (see 3.0) and therefore cannot be adverbs within those predicate clauses. At least two of the three, however, also occur within predicate clauses in some other sentences. It is difficult to tell, in many cases, whether an adverb is a sentence launcher or part of the first predicate clause, so possibly more adverbs act as sentence launchers in the text than I have recognized.

[ǎ'harani] Hollow translates in the text as 'from there'. Kennard translates 'then'. Not in H or K. Used as a sentence launcher

throughout the text; probably inside a predicate clause in S. 16. /ó/ is probably the locative prefix (K 14, S 37; H 455) or possibly the stative verb 'to be facing' (H 128). /hrE/ is the causative Vt (H 78), and /rĭ/ the familiar conjunctive suffix. [hiré] 'now' Not in H or K. Occurs as a sentence launcher in S. 6, inside a predicate clause in S. 10.

[inək] 'again' Not in H or K. This would probably be underlying /irək/ in Hollow's system. A sentence launcher in S. 47, 49, 63, and probably also in S. 39 and 52.

[ésukanāšak] 'in a little while' Not in H or K. /e/ is a fairly common prefix on verbs which does not seem to have a consistent meaning. /súk/ means 'to exit, leave' (H 219). /raš/ is the typifier 'like' (see 5.4). /ak/ may be the past participle (see 2.2). It is conceivable these meanings could add up to 'in a little while', but it is certainly not immediately obvious how they could to an English speaker.

Exclamations are probably also sentence launchers, but there is not enough data to assign them a sentence slot with certainty. Only one case occurs of an exclamation in a sentence with other parts of speech. This is a quoted sentence within S. 24 which consists of a probable exclamation, followed by a verb: [á'taka'š rusípta] 'All right, close your eyes.' [á'tak'š] is an impersonal verb with highly restricted use (H 61). It does not seem likely that it is functioning as a verb here, because a verb before another verb within a sentence would not carry a sentence marker.

In only three sentences (S. 3, 6, and 49) does the sentence launcher slot probably contain more than one word. On that limited evidence, the

structure of the sentence launcher slot can be said to probably be the 14

$$\left. \begin{array}{l} (\text{conjunction})\} \\ (\text{exclamation})\} \end{array} \right\} (\text{adverb})\} \left. \right\}$$

2.4 Summary of Sentence Structure. On the basis of the data in the text, therefore, we can describe the structure of a Mandan sentence as follows:

$$\left(\begin{array}{l} \text{sentence launcher} \\ \text{slot} \end{array} \right) \left(\begin{array}{l} \text{predicate clause} \\ + \text{ p c m} \\ \text{i.e. predicate} \\ \text{clause markers} \end{array} \right) \begin{array}{l} 4 \\ \\ 0 \end{array} \quad \begin{array}{l} \text{predicate clause} \\ + \text{ s m} \\ \text{i.e. sentence} \\ \text{markers} \end{array}$$

2.5 Problems with this Formulation. Three sentences in the text - as divided by Hollow - violate the description of sentence structure given above. The first, S. 46, may possibly be one of Kennard's errors of sentence division which was missed by Hollow. There seems to be no reason why the verb with sentence markers should come in the middle of the sentence, instead of marking a division between two sentences. In the text analysis I have treated it as two sentences, while keeping the numbering system which makes them both S. 46.

In the other two cases, S. 7 and 27, the text itself forces a choice between ending a sentence with /ri/, a non-final predicate clause marker, or else inserting a sentence launcher conjunction between two predicate clauses in the middle of a sentence. In both cases Hollow has chosen to end the sentence with /ri/, thus contradicting his own comments given above (2.2) on the syntactic function of /ri/ and of tense, aspect, and mood on the final verb. If these sentences are grammatical then my generalizations, made on the basis of the rest of the text and Hollow's comments, are wrong. Instead, the correct formulation should be that there is a strong tendency, not an absolute rule, requiring sentence markers sentence-finally, while there is probably an absolute rule requiring that sentence

launcher conjunctions not occur anywhere except sentence-initially.

Of course it is also possible that Hollow's division was a careless mistake, but the sentences are grammatical, in which case the rule that sentence markers are obligatory would remain, but some 'sentence launchers', at least, would have to be allowed at the beginning of any predicate clause, whether sentence-initial or not. Thus the 'sentence launchers' would be part of the predicate clause structure, with a stylistic constraint that they are generally preferred on the first predicate clause of a sentence.

My formulation assumes that the two sentences are ungrammatical, and that Hollow's syntactic comments in the dictionary rather than his sentence division in the text are to be followed.

2.6 Exclamation Sentences. Three quoted sentences consist simply of exclamations. In two cases, S. 17 and 21, the sentence is ['he!']. The third sentence is ['hâ â'taka's̃'] 'Yes, all right', consisting of two exclamations. Thus an alternative structure to the one offered in 2.4 would be: exclamation₁.

3.0 PREDICATE CLAUSE STRUCTURE. As mentioned above, a predicate clause can consist of no more than a single verb with appropriate predicate clause marker or sentence markers. Approximately half the predicate clauses in the text, in fact, consist of single verbs. Such a predicate statement can be expanded in several ways: a second verb, translated as non-finite, can precede the main verb, or the topics of the verb may be specified as nouns, pronouns, or quoted sentences; or the verb may be modified by adverbial words or phrases. (Adverbials indicate time, place, manner of action or quality of one of the topics. They include words that translate into English as adjectives, but there seems to be no syntactic or morphological basis

3.1 Topics in a Predicate Clause. The number and type of topics in a clause are determined largely by the class to which the verb root inherently belongs. Active transitive verbs (Vt), in this text, invariably have two topics, an agent and an object. The verb /é-he(r)/ 'to say' in two cases also carries an indirect object. Active intransitive (Vi) verbs have only one topic, an agent. Stative verbs (Vs) are also intransitive, carrying one object.

3.2 Word Order. The usual order of the words in a predicate clause seems to be the following:

$$\left(\begin{array}{c} \text{agent} \\ \text{noun} \end{array} \right) \left(\begin{array}{c} \text{object noun} \\ \text{or} \\ \text{sentence} \end{array} \right) \text{(adverbial)} \left(\begin{array}{c} \text{non-finite} \\ \text{verb} \end{array} \right) \text{verb} + \text{marker(s)}$$

However, the following orders, in which one element or another is post-verbal, also occur, in every case in sentence-final position:

(object)	verb + s m	agent	(S. 5, 18)
(agent)	object	verb + s m	indirect object postposition (S. 6, 24) i.e. indir obj marker
agent	object	verb + s m	<u>noun postposition</u> (S. 31) adverbial phrase

Thus, agent or indirect object or adverbial phrase can follow the main verb of the last clause of a sentence. It seems likely, in fact, that with a larger corpus we would see that at least the direct object, and perhaps even a non-finite verb could also follow the verb sentence-finally.

In almost every case of a post-verbal element, the pre-verbal space is complicated by a fairly long quoted sentence, which is a direct object

of the verb. Thus post-verbal placement may be a stylistic choice. The scarcity of equally long indirect objects and adverbials probably explains the absence of post-verbal direct object in the text. However, there is one case - S. 12 - of an unusually long adverbial phrase, of five words, in a sentence-final predicate clause that also contains a direct object noun. In this case, the direct object does not move post-verbally. Instead the adverbial moves to a position before, instead of after, the object. Therefore the following predicate clause structure should be added to the other alternative structures above:

long adverbial phrase	object	verb + s m	(S. 13)
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This is the only case in which an adverbial moves from its usual slot, and it is also the longest adverbial phrase in the text.

3.3 Indirect Object Marker. There is not enough evidence to be sure of the usual placement of the indirect object in the predicate clause, since the only two indirect objects in the text are of the sentence-final type mentioned above. Examples in Kennard's grammar place the indirect object before the verb (25, S. 87). In any case, it is distinguished from the direct object by the addition of the postposition [ŷta] translated 'to', which Kennard calls the 'indirect object marker' (25, S. 87). This same postposition serves to form an adverbial phrase in S. 15, where it modifies a noun standing before an intransitive verb, and therefore cannot possibly be functioning as an indirect object marker. The morpheme is not in Hollow. However, he does give /ŷta/ 'East' (263) which remains one of the homonyms 'ahead' and 'South', and 'behind' and 'North' in Blackfoot (Allan Taylor, personal communication).

3.4 Placement of Pronouns. The five occurrences of independent pronouns in the text are not sufficient to make rules about their word order placement, but it is clear that it is fairly free. In three sentences in which an agent pronoun simply adds emphasis to an agent noun, the pronoun occurs after the adverb (S. 39), after the agent noun (S. 42), and before the agent noun (S. 9). It is possible that in that circumstance it can be placed virtually anywhere before the verb. The two sentences in which the agent is specified only as a pronoun place the pronoun in the usual agent slot.

3.5 Predicate Clauses with Deleted Verbs. In a few predicate clauses containing long quoted sentences that are presumably objects of the verb 'he said', the verb is simply omitted, leaving only the agent and the sentence-object. In other predicate clauses, both agent and verb are left out, so that a sentence may consist of a sentence-launcher followed by a quote. The first pattern is clearly ungrammatical according to the description given above. No meaning would be lost, of course, in a vividly told folktale, because voice quality would make it clear that this was a quote. Perhaps this is a dramatic license allowed in folktales.

3.6 Placement of Adverbials. The placement of a long adverbial phrase before the object in S. 13 has already been mentioned (3.2). There are two other adverbials which may be out of the adverbial slot, though I have interpreted them otherwise. In the first case, Hollow's translation of the adverbial phrase in S. 15 suggests that it modifies a preceding verb with a predicate clause marker: 'Coming back, the buffalo toward, he got there.' In that case, this would be an adverbial phrase occurring after its verb, not sentence-finally. I have chosen instead to follow the clues in Kennard's translation: 'Returning, he arrived back at the buffalo,' and assume that the adverbial modifies the verb that follows it.

In the second case, both Hollow's and Kennard's translations of S. 34 suggest that in [wáwarute ší wáherekto'š] the first word is the verb 'to eat' and the second word the adverb 'well' or 'good'. In that case an adverb would come between a non-finite verb and a main verb. One alternative solution is to regard [ší] as an unmodified verb root - which indeed it is - and the phrase as a string of two non-finite verbs and a main verb. This would be the only example in the text of two non-finite verbs in sequence. However, I have chosen to interpret [wáwarute] as a noun. The argument for interpreting it as a verb would be that [wa] can be an indefinite agent/object, so that the verb might mean 'something eats something'. According to Hollow's phonology [e] is sometimes added gratuitously to the ends of words, so perhaps the final [e] means nothing. The argument for its being a noun is that the indefinite agent/object can also be a nominalizer, or the 1st agent marker, and so the word could mean 'something I eat'. A final [e] could be the indefinite article. Thus in my interpretation the sequence of object noun, non-finite verb, and main verb would translate something like 'I'll make something I eat to be good.'

4.0 ADVERBIAL PHRASE STRUCTURE. There are six predicate clauses in the text in which the adverbial slot contains more than one word, or in other terms contains an adverbial phrase. Two (S. 15, 31) have the following structure:

noun adverb

Both are adverbials of place. Two others (S. 16, 66) have the following structure:

adverb adverb

S. 16 is probably well translated as ... 'we'll jump from here and from there',

and translates: 'we'll jump from here, then'. S. 66 should probably be translated 'I won't see something like that a second time.'

The last two adverbial phrases are extremely complex. Their structures are given below.

S. 13	mā'ak	kawěša	wáko	xtek	rutéta	wáko may be wákE 'to stay'
	land	cut	stays	having	on	+ ó 'to be facing'.
			facing	been	this	
			?	big?	side	xtek may be xtE 'to be big'
	noun	adv	non-	verb	adv	+ (a)k, past participle.
			finite	+		
			verb?	pcm		

S. 28	mā'ak	kawěšta	wáko	xtek
	land	where it	stays	having
		was cut	facing	been
			?	big?
	noun	adv	non-fin.	verb +
			verb?	pcm

[wáko xtek] seems to be an embedded predicate clause. Hollow translates it in the first sentence 'which was very high' and in the second sentence 'where it was real high'. The first case follows the pattern of other adverbial phrases in ending with an adverb. Its structure appears to be as follows:

predicate clause adverb

The second phrase appears to be simply a predicate clause with no adverb. Apparently both structures are permissible.

5.0 MORPHOLOGY OF VERBS.

5.1 Verb Roots. Mandan verb roots fall into three classes, which determine the number and type of topics which they take. Active transitive verb roots (Vt) take an agent and an object. Active intransitive roots (Vi), which are usually verbs of motion, take only an agent. Stative intransitive

roots, (vs), which normally have passive or stative meaning, take only an object. All verb roots which occur in the text are listed below.

Kennard states that any noun can serve as the root of a stative verb. A possible instance of such a nominal root is [máxáratomáko's̃], S. 43, 'he stuck (them) in the ground'. The root may be /wáxra/, the numeral 'one', although in that case the final [t] is unaccounted for. Since the entire sentence is 'And then, he took his arrows, and four times he stuck in the ground,', the verb might literally mean something like 'it became one' i.e., the four arrows were made one. It seems more likely that each was stuck separately in the ground, however, and it seems very likely that this is not the correct verb root.

Several prefixes occur as integral parts of a number of Mandan verb roots which seems to carry no separate meaning, but nevertheless are separated from the root by first and second person markers, ki forms, and instrumental prefixes. These are indicated in the lists of roots below by a dash; thus: /í-ky/. Kennard suggests locative translations for several of these, but Hollow does not even list them as separate morphemes, except for a special directional use of /í-/, in a type of construction that does not occur in the text (H 437).

Possible Impersonal Verb Roots. -- The root /ú's̃ka/ occurs in two verbs, and seems to mean something like 'it is thus' or 'it is so'. S. 19 is 'it will be so'. In S. 55 the verb translates 'he was lying there quietly' (ú's̃ka + typifier + to be lying + nar past + indicative). Probably a more literal translation would be something like 'He was lying there sort of like that.' The root is not in Hollow or Kennard. If the translation is correct, then possibly it is an impersonal verb which does not take first or second person topics.

The stative verb /tu/ 'there are some' also translates like an impersonal verb root, and seems to be used only with third person topics, in Hollow's examples (H 258) as well as the text. /á̄taka/ is also impersonal, 'it is enough, finished.' (see 2.3) (H 61).

List of Transitive Verb Roots in the Text --

- é-reh to want (H 178)
 hÉ to see (H 71)
 hrE causative, to make, do (H 78)
 í-k̄y ? to pretend (H 124: k̄y, to trap ?)
 í-sEk to make, do (H 202)
 í-tar to peek (H 244)
 k̄k to finish (H 108)
 ki'krár to look for (H 109)
 kitár to awaken (H 112)
 kráh to butcher (H 116)
 kr̄r to gamble, bet (H 119)
 órak to set fire to (K 4; not in Hollow)
 ó-r̄ap to find (H 166)
 ó-raxi ? to kick (not in Hollow or Kennard)
 pí ? to eat up (see * below)
 r̄ar̄i to shoot (H 168)
 r̄ókr̄r to roast, cook (H 188)
 r̄úša ? or kr̄úša ? to take (not in Hollow or Kennard)
 r̄út to eat (H 193)
 š̄ān to divide (H 222)
 w̄és to cut (H 284) (ka + w̄és = to pick out, select)

rótki to hit (H 190)

é-he(r) to say (see ** below) (H 71) IRREGULAR: 1. épe's̃ 2. éte's̃
3. éhe(ro)'s̃ 4. réhero's̃ (Hollow's 'fourth person')
(all given with -o's)

*Verbs with this root appear in S. 58 and 59. Kennard gives [piríkererōmakō] 'they ate it up', and [pí:na kúkerōmakōš] 'they ate it up for him'. Breaking these into morphemes seems to leave [pirí] as the root in the first word. The second set of two words is difficult to translate. Perhaps it is a double typing error, for [pí:ha] (while eating) and for [kúkereromako's̃] (they came back, or they came again). Hollow solves the puzzle by rendering the second set as one word, (but that strangely places the root at the beginning of the word) and then simply dropping the [ri] in the first word, thus giving [pí] as the root in both. [pí] might be related to the transitive verb /pÉ/'to grind' (H 140).

**Hollow gives this as Vi, but it seems to function as Vt in the text.

List of Intransitive Verb Roots in the Text --

hí to arrive there (H. 72) IRREG: ki + hí → hín

hrá'r to sleep (H 78)

húr to come (H 353) IRREG: ki + húr → kúh

ptEh to run (H 157)

rEh to go (H 175)

rusíp to blink, close eyes (H 193)

sí to travel (H 205)

sín to be strong (H 206)

skE to jump (H 211)

súk to exit, leave (H 219)

táx to bellow, make a loud noise (H 246)

waxrat? to stick in the ground? Not in Hollow or Kennard, unless see discussion above in 5.1. Semantically it would seem to be a transitive action, but the translation suggests intransitivity (S. 43).

List of Stative Verb Roots in the Text--

kahór to fall down (H 100)

to be narrow, small (H 122)

- ohí(r) to be full (H 128)
- ó-ptik to have fallen down (H 157)
- nerár to be slow (H 144) Classified as a stative verb by Hollow, but probably wrongly classified in this paper, since it takes an agent case-person marker in S. 6.
- ší to be good (H 227)
- skáp to be wet (H 211)
- tér to be dead (H 248)
- trák to be blocked, shut (H 255)
- ratí to be on the right (H 173)
- wákE to stay (H 269)
- xér to be slow, quiet (H 312)
- xtE to be big (H 326)
- xwár to be lost, have disappeared (H 333)
- ó to be facing (H 138)
- ío ? to be finished? This root is not in H or K. It may be in the final verb of the text: [í'ohako's] 'This is the end' or 'The end'. [í-] cannot be the instrumentative nominalizer (H 438) here, since this attaches only to non-finite verbs.

5.2 Compound Verb Roots. According to Kennard, Mandan verbs may have either single or double roots. The double roots may be verb-verb or noun-verb or even noun-noun compounds (K 7-8, S 20). In the original Kennard version of the text there are two noun-verb compound roots, [nišíxtekarani] (S. 7) 'your feet are big' (with 'your feet' and 'to be big' the two roots), and [manakawéhomako's] (S. 35) 'he gathered some wood' (with 'wood' and 'to pick out' the two roots). Hollow separates these into two words each.

There is a special class of verbs identified in Hollow's dictionary as 'post-verbs', which sometimes follow verb roots as second verbs in a compound, but may also stand as the only root of a verb. Two of these occur

in the text, both as single roots and as members of compounds: /wək/ 'to be lying' (H 268) and /hək/ 'to be standing' (H 65). Kennard, who calls these 'positionals' notes that they indicate the form of the object, since tall objects stand, and flat or long object lie (K 30-31, S 114-116). They also seem to imply continuative aspect. In the text, at least, they are always translated as participles (whether they are single roots or in compounds), and Kennard also says that they express continuative action, although only when the suffix [ha] is used with them. (30-31, S 114)

The causative /hrE/ which is not classified as a post-verb by Hollow (p. 78) (but instead as Vt) seems to function as a post-verb in this text. It stands alone in the verb 'I'll do' in S. 34, without even a preceding non-finite verb. Yet there is also a compound root [xawâhereroməko's̃], literally 'he made it be lost', in S. 62. /rEh/ 'to go', which stands alone in many verbs in the text, is a post-verb in the compound /sírEh/ 'to go travelling'. (S. 67)

Another verb which may possibly act as a post-verb is the Vs /ó/ 'to be facing'. It does not occur alone (see 9.0), but it may be the [o] which directly follows a verb root in two verbs in the text. In S. 13 and 28, [wáko] may be a compound of /wákE/ 'to stay' and /ó/ 'to be facing'. (See 4.0 for the translation in context.) In S. 29 [téroməkoməko's̃] may actually be a triple compound of /tér/ 'to be dead', /ó/ 'to be facing', and /wək/ 'to be lying'. Another interpretation might be that [o] in both words is an adverbial suffix, meaning something like 'there' which is not in Hollow or Kennard.

5.3 Verbs Divided into Two Words. Two verbs in the text appear to be divided into two words, the first containing the verb root, and the second containing

the affixes with no root. Kennard's examples show this type of word division only with transitive verbs that are marked for an indirect object (K 24-25, S 84). That is not true of either of these verbs, however, and the one verb which does have a dative marker in the text is not divided in this way.

The first case, in S. 10, is a single verb in Kennard's version, but with the curious organization of the entire root first, followed by all prefixes and suffixes. Hollow separates the root and the following [i] (which he changes to [e], presumably the indefinite article) into a separate word, translated 'a long way'. The remaining fourth person marker, reciprocal marker, and sentence markers are translated as an intransitive verb: 'we'll race'. Thus the first word is apparently an adverb. The entire predicate clause, however, seems to be left without a verb root.

The second case, in S. 23, is given as [dáha nūñiha] by both Hollow and Kennard, and translated 'they were going' (Hollow) or 'going along' (Kennard). The first word contains the root plus the continuative /ha/. But the next word contains only the affixes for fourth person and its pluralizer, and the continuative again. Together they might perhaps mean 'while all of us were going along', which does not fit the context. Perhaps what appear to be fourth person and its pluralizer are something else, such as another verb root (not in Hollow or Kennard) suffixed with the continuative. It might be cognate or a loan to Lakota [nūni] 'to wander' (Buechel 365), and the whole phrase would mean something like 'while going', 'while travelling'. The absence of the plural marker when the agent is animate and plural is apparently permissible in Mandan, as it occurs in two other cases in the text (see 5.6). However, I feel that I am probably missing the correct explanation, and that there may be verb structures in

5.4 Other Elements in the Root. One other element which occurs in a compound root is the typifier suffix /rąš̃/ (H 467). In S. 55, the verb root /ųška/ 'it is thus' is immediately followed by /rąš̃/, which is then followed by the post-verb /wąk/ 'to be lying'. Hollow translates it 'he was lying there quiet'. Perhaps a more literal translation would be 'he was lying there like this'. The typifier, at any rate, can suffix directly to a verb root, carrying the meaning '-like'.

5.5 Other Verbal Suffixes. The order in which **verbal** suffixes seem to stand is as follows:

verb		post	person-number;	sentence markers;
root	typifier	verb	perfective /rote/;	predicate clause markers
			continuative /awį/	

The continuative suffix /awį/ can be used in a sentence-final verb with sentence markers, but it can also stand as a predicate clause marker, best translated as 'while__ing'.

There are no examples in the text where person-number suffixes co-occur with perfective or continuative, so I am not sure about their relative order, but would guess the person-number suffixes come first.

Perfective aspect indicates the action has been completed, or will be completed in a single act (H 474).

5.6 Case-Person Prefixes and Person-Number Suffixes. Every verb, even if it translates into English as non-finite, carries affixes indicating the number, case and person of its topics (except for certain plural forms - see below). The least-marked categories are realized by \emptyset affixes, however, so a fair number of verbs do not actually carry phonological forms for case, person, or number. The affixes are listed below:

Prefixes

/wa/ first person agent (H 488) /wə/ first person object (H 487)
 /ra/ second person agent (H 465) /rɪ/ second person object (H 470)
 ∅ third person agent ∅ third person object
 /rɥ/ Hollow's 'fourth person', agent or object; in singular form,
 'fourth person' means 'we' (speaker and one other person); in plural
 form, it means 'we' (speaker and more than one other person). (H 476)

Suffixes

/rɪt/ pluralizer for fourth person and second person (H 473)
 /krE/ pluralizer for third person (H 453)

Absolutive -- An indefinite agent or object, the /wá/ prefix (H's 'absolutive' 486) may be substituted for agent or object prefixes. On verbs it carries the meaning of 'something' with person and number unspecified. It occurs on deverbal nouns meaning 'something that _____'.

The order in which case-person markers occur is as follows:

wá(abs)	first person	second person
fourth person		

Absolutive and fourth person do not co-occur in the text, so their relative order is not certain.

The plural suffix is omitted on two verbs in the text, although a plural (animate) agent is probably intended. In S. 28, both Hollow and Kennard translate [ptáiniŋ] as 'they ran and'. By Kennard's sentence division, which I followed in this case, it is the only verb in S. 28 with a plural topic, since the rest of the sentence specifies 'the buffalo' as topic. By Hollow's sentence division, however, it is the last word in S. 27 (in contradiction to Hollow's own comments about the functions of

The other case, [rušan̄i] in S. 58, is translated 'took and' rather than 'they took and' by Hollow, in recognition of the absence of a plural marker. Kennard translates it freely as part of a larger sentence. It is clear from context that the agent that would be meant, if any were intended, would be plural. In this case, the following verb in S. 58 carries the plural marker and refers to the same agent as the verb in which it is omitted.

Thus possibly the plural is optional in situations where other verbs which carry it in the same sentence refer to the same topic. That may be why Hollow divides S. 27 in the strange way he does. However, there is not enough data to be sure.

5.7 Suus Prefixes. Variants of the pan-Siouan /ki/ complex are placed directly after the case-person prefixes, although they do not blend with them as in many Siouan languages. Three ki-words occur in the text.

An interesting form (neither Hollow nor Kennard mention it or its functions) is /ka'/ in S. 59, translated 'for him' in 'They ate it up for him'. This seems to be a Mandan version of what Boas and Deloria call the 'first dative' in Lakota, which might also be called 'negative benefactive' or 'ironic benefactive'. It means that action is done to a possession of the object, or done to or for the object, without his sanction. Taylor and Foad (n.d.) suggest it can be translated by the colloquial American 'on' dative: 'They ran out on him.' 'They ate it up on him.'

Two other ki-forms which occur in the text are /ki/ (Hollow's 'vertitive' p. 446) translated 'back' (S. 10, 14, 15), and /kiki/, the reciprocal morpheme (Kennard 11, S. 28; Hollow gives /iki/ instead), translated 'each other' (S. 10).

5.8 Instrumental Prefixes. Between the suus prefix slot and the verb root stand the instrumental prefixes, indicating means by which the action is done. Kennard states that instrumental prefixation is no longer a productive process in Mandan, the prefix having become an integral part of the stem in most cases (12, S 32). However, Hollow gives quite a few verbs which vary in meaning with different instrumental prefixes. Of the seven Mandan instrumental prefixes, only three occur in the text: /pa/ 'by pushing' (H 116); /ra/ 'by mouth' (H 465); and /ka/ 'by striking' (H 442).

5.9 Other Verbal Prefixes. The order in which prefixes seem to occur in verbs is as follows:

fourth person	future ó	1st pers	2nd pers	ki kiki ku'	instr prefixes	verb root
wá (abs)						
	ro (adverb)					
	ka (inceptive)					

/ro/ and /ka/ occur before instrumental prefixes, but there is not enough data in the text to be sure where they are placed with relation to the other prefixes. /ka/ is translated 'start to' and is in Kennard (11, S31) but not in Hollow. /ro/ is translated 'here' (H 184).

/wá/ occurs before 1st person, but its precise placement is also not clear.

6.0 MORPHOLOGY OF ADVERBS. Adverbs directly precede verbs in the predicate clause, and specify time, place, or manner of action, or number or quality of topics. Thus a number of semantic functions are lumped together in this one category. The morphology of adverbs is also diverse, and it is possible that more data would have led to more correlation between semantics and morphology than is evident here. Morphologically, the adverbs in this text are either unanalyzable single words; or verb roots with a variety of affixes ([-ha], [-a], [-hə], [-na], or locatives); or numerals with [-ha] ('times'); or variants of /-(V)ška/; or morphological nouns functioning as adverbs.

6.1 Unanalyzable Words. In addition to the sentence launching words discussed under 2.3 ([ó'haraŋ], [hiré], [inák], [ésukanašak]) one unanalyzable word adverb occurs in the text:

/áwe/ 'all' (H 62)

6.2 Verb Roots Suffixed with [-ha]. Kennard gives /-ha/ as the adverbial suffix, translated '-ly' (K 29, S 105), but does not identify the type of stem to which it is affixed. /-ha/ occurs in Hollow's dictionary only as meaning 'time(s)' when affixed to ordinal or cardinal numerals (435). In this usage, the [-ha] suffix is discussed under 6.6. In the text, [-ha] or [-a] occur more generally on verb roots, which are usually but not always stative roots describing qualities, to give them adverbial meaning. In the four adverbs below, the underlying suffix is presumably /-ha/, but the [h] drops after a consonant and a morpheme boundary, in accord with Hollow's rule #7.

[síha]	'strong'	from /sín/	Vi	'to be strong'
[xéra]	'slowly'	from /xér/	Vs	'to be slow, quiet'

- [kawéšā] 'cut' from /ka/ instr. prefix 'by striking' and
/wés/ Vt 'to cut'
- [síhaka] 'fast(er) lit. stronger' /síh/ Vi 'to be strong' and
/hək/ 'to be standing' (together: 'being strong')

6.3 Verb Roots(?) with Locative /-ta/. Several adverbs carry /-ta/, the locative suffix (H 483). Four which carry only [-ta] are listed below:

- [mā'usta] 'right away' I am not able to identify the apparent root,
/wā'us/ or /wā'ut/.
- [kawéšta] 'where it was cut' see kawéša above.
- [rutéta] 'on this side' Root not in Hollow or Kennard, apparently.
- [úta] 'to; toward' Root unknown. See 3.3 and 9.0.

One with both [-ta] and [-ha] is:

- [útaha] 'that way' based on /úta/

6.4 Verb Roots Suffixed with [-hə]. Four versions of words meaning 'left side' or 'right side' occur in the text. Most of them contain either [-ta] or [-hə] or both. The roots are a stative verb root for 'right side', and a noun, (according to Hollow) for 'left side'. Kennard, however, states that nouns can be roots for stative verb-like constructions, though he calls them 'predicate nouns', which carry the meaning 'to be _____' (K 7, S 19). In addition to the above morphology, all four words carry one or more nominalizing affixes, which would seem to turn the denominal verb back into a noun again, in a rather unnecessarily elaborate construction. Therefore I am not sure the structure of these words is interpreted correctly.

- [konásustahə] 'on the left side' from /ko/ nominalizer (H 451) 'with
stative verbs forms nouns which are characterized by the property
named by the verb' and /rasús/ 'left hand'. /hə/ is not in Hollow

[koná̄suska] 'left (side)' with /ka/ nominal suffix (H 443) 'suffixed to verb stems to form nouns which have as a characteristic feature the state or action named by the verb'.

[kóratitahā] 'the right side' with /rāti/ Vs 'to be on the right' (H 173).

[korá̄tita] 'right side'

6.5 A Verb Root with [-nā]. The adverb xténā in S. 4, is translated by Hollow as 'big-a'. The root is Vs /xtE/ 'to be big'. The suffix may be Kennard's participle [-nā], translated '___ing' (K 22, S 71), in which case perhaps it should be considered a separate predicate clause along with the preceding word 'bull'. Or it might be Kennard's emphatic [-nā] (K 26, S 97), which he describes as a nominal suffix. Hollow's translation suggests that the [a] is grammatically meaningless, and the [n] perhaps epenthetic. Kennard does mention an epenthetic [r] which rises between two vowels on a morpheme boundary (K 6, S 16). An [r] in this position would not change to [n] in Kennard's phonology, but an underlying /r/ (which would not, of course, be epenthetic) would change to [n] in Hollow's.

6.6 Numerals with /ha/ 'times'. Two adverbs are formed with this morpheme:

[ínupha] 'a second time' with /í/ ordinal prefix (H 439) and /rúp/ 'two' (H192).

[tópaha] 'four times' with /tóp(a)/ 'four'

6.7 A Verb Root with Locative /ó-/. The prefix /ó/ is a nominalizer of verbs, and with verbs of motion is both nominalizer and locative, translated as 'a place for ...' (H 455) or 'where ...' (K 14, S 39). In S. 30 it is prefixed to /s̄í/ Vs 'to be good', and the entire word is translated 'where it was good.'

Another adverbial /ó/, possibly related, occurs as a postposition forming an adverbial phrase in S. 31, and is translated 'there' by Hollow. It is discussed further under 9.0.

The /o/ morpheme which occurs in two verbs, apparently as a post-verb, (discussed in 5.2) might also be translated 'there'. Because of its placement within the verb root, however, it seems likely that it is the stative verb /ó/ 'to be facing', and is not either of the above adverbial morphemes.

6.8 -ero and -iro. The suffix /-ero/ is a general locative (H 433). In S. 16 it is suffixed to [hiré] 'now' to produce [hiréro] 'from here'. Another adverb, in S. 2, [péxtiro] may perhaps contain a variant of /ero/ suffixed to an equally unknown root (related to /páxu/ 'nose'?). The whole word is translated 'in front'.

6.9 Adverbs in /((V)ška/ or /((V)ska/. Three adverbs are formed with morphemes that may be related either to the exclamation /â'ska/ 'that's right' (H 60) and/or to the verb root which occurs several times in the text, /û'ska/ 'it is thus' (or Kennard's [-éška] 'as if' (23, S 77)). The third may be related to the dubitative suffix /(a)ška/.

[réška] 'this way' from /ré/ 'this' dem. (H 175).

[û'skanaš] 'like that' with /raš/ typifier '-like'

[hiré'oška] 'even now' with /hiré/ 'now'

6.10 Morphological Nouns Functioning as Adverbs. A number of adverbs are composed simply of noun roots with article or demonstrative suffixes. Some examples are below.

[mī'naks] 'the rock pile' adverb of place with intransitive verb, S. 23.

[mī'nakqat] 'that rock pile' adverb of place with intransitive verb, S. 21.

[nʉtámí'náknák] 'this our rock pile' adverb of place w. Vi, S. 17.

An adverb made from a deverbal noun is the following:

[íšáhe] 'half' ('his face half he closed') from /í-šáh/ 'to divide' and indefinite article.

Another case is Hollow's division of Kennard's long verb in S. 10.

The first word Hollow divides out is [ptíhe] 'a long way', which modifies a verb (with no root) translated 'we'll race'. If the unknown root of 'we'll race' is understood to be a Vi, as seems likely, then 'a long way' would certainly be an adverb, and the indefinite article suffix suggests that it is a noun, perhaps a deverbal noun from /ptéh/ 'to run'. Doubts about the whole construction and its translation are discussed in 5.3.

Another probably deverbal noun functioning as an adverb is the first word in the phrase [óraptehe tú'oxare'šal] in S. 9, which Hollow translates 'you will run - will there be some?'; he admits in his cover letter that the translation is a guess. Since the first word seems to end in the indefinite article, perhaps it is a noun meaning something like 'your running' or 'that you will run'. If /tu/ is an impersonal verb (see 5.1), then [óraptehe] must be an adverb. (Of course if /tu/ is a Vs, then [óraptehe] would be an object noun.)

7.0 MORPHOLOGY OF NOUNS. Nouns name the topics of verbs and frequently carry nominal affixes. Since topics need not be specified except by the markers on verbs, nouns are much less frequent than verbs in the text.

7.1 Noun Roots. All the roots of nouns in the text except one proper name and a few deverbal nouns functioning as adverbs (see 6.10) are inherently nominal. The proper name, 'Trickster' or 'the Old Man Coyote', appears to be a noun-verb compound. As a proper name, of course, [kinúmaqšis]

may not be completely translatable. However, /rúwák/ is 'man' (though the surface nasalization of [ɥ] is not explained with this underlying form). /-s/ is the definite article. /ki-/ would be veritative or iterative with an active intransitive verb, and middle voice with a stative verb. Thus, if [ši] is the stative verb /ší/ 'to be good', middle voice would make the word 'the man who becomes good'. On the other hand, if [ši] is the Vi verb /sí/ (as seems less likely) the word might mean 'the man who travelled back; or 'the man who travelled home,' or 'the man who habitually travels'.

The following inherently nominal roots occur in the text:

įstá face (H 93)

istáwi eye (H 93)

óxa fox (H 133)

páxu nose (H 140)

ptítkus buffalo Not in Hollow; sometimes ptítkus. Hollow does give /ptír/ 'buffalo cow' (157). /kú's/ is a 'stative verb meaning 'to be within' (H 125). Possibly, therefore, the entire word could mean 'one who is within a buffalo cow', i.e. 'son of a buffalo cow' although that is probably a bit far-fetched.

ráku road (H 166)

rok leg (H 185)

ruwák man (H 195)

ši foot (H 227)

úk hand (H 260)

wá'ák land (H 266)

wáh arrow (H 266)

wáhi knife (H 267)

waxra Num. one (H 282)

wí'r stone (H 289)

wrar fire (H 299)
 wrok bull (H 306)

7.2 Person-Number Possessor Prefixes and Suffixes on Nouns. Mandan has a set of person-possessor prefixes and inalienably-possessed nouns (such as kinsmen or body parts):

/wɨ-/ 'my'
 /rɨ-/ 'your'
 Ø- 'his'
 /rɨ-/ 'ours' (Hollow's fourth person)

These may co-occur with the following plural suffixes:

/-rɨt/ pluralizes second person or fourth person
 /-krɨ/ pluralizes third person

It is interesting that /krɨ/, the pluralizer of the third person possessive, may also ambiguously pluralize the noun itself. Thus [korɨkeres] means 'his sons' and also 'their sons' (H 453). The noun plural does not occur in the text, although two body part nouns are glossed as plurals (S. 7 and 42). Either the plural morpheme is optional, or else these nouns are not used as plurals in situations in which they would be pluralized in English.

When a noun is alienably possessed, such as 'knife' in S. 32 and 'arrow' in S. 43, the prefix [-ta] follows the person-possessor prefix (H 482).

7.3 Suffixes on Nouns. The following suffixes also occur on nouns. A noun may take both a possessor prefix and an article suffix, or may take no affixes at all.

[-e] indefinite article (K 26, S 96)

/-s/ definite article (H 478)

[-enə] emphatic (K 27, S 97). Kennard analyzes this as indefinite article followed by emphatic. However, several words in the text have both the definite article and the emphatic, which suggests it does not necessarily imply the indefinite article. Kennard makes this word a separate enclitic with its own word stress, but Hollow treats it as a suffix.

/-at/ demonstrative (H 417)

/-aki/ collective (H 430)

8.0 PRONOUNS. Independent word pronouns can be formed by prefixing case-person prefixes to any one of several pronoun roots. These pronouns seem to serve the function of emphasis, since of course they do not add any information to the case-person specification already included in the verb. In fact, the only differentiation made between pronouns seems to be of person. All the pronouns in the text (and also the few examples in Hollow) are prefixed with object case-person markers, even though a majority of them are agent pronouns. No plural suffixes seem to be used with the pronouns either, and it is not clear whether they can ever be used with plural meaning.

The three pronoun roots which occur in the text follow:

/iʃak/ (H 94)

/i'orak/ (H 88)

/i'ora/ (H 88)

The text translations do not justify any distinction in meaning between the three.

9.0 POSTPOSITIONS. Two postpositions occur in the text. /ʃta/, discussed earlier in 3.3 and 6.3, marks the indirect object in S. 6 and forms an adverbial phrase in S. 15.

[ʃ] occurs in the following sentence-final clause in S. 31:

verb + sm	noun	ó
'he got there'	'the buffalo'	'there'

Possibly it is - or is related to - the locative prefix that translates 'where___' (see 6.7) and nominalizes verbs, although of course it does not attach to a verb here. Or possibly it is an adverbial postposition which does not occur in Hollow or Kennard. A less likely idea is that it is the Vs 'to be facing' in non-finite form, preceded by its own object noun, and this is still another case of transposition of items from the final predicate clause after the verb with the sentence markers (see 3.2).

10.0 TEXT ANALYSIS. A morpheme-by-morpheme analysis of the text follows, showing how the rules presented earlier are worked out in the data. The analysis is on ten levels:

1. Kennard's translation of the entire sentence. This is a loose, somewhat flowing translation, often taking into one English sentence several Mandan sentences (according to the sentence division implied in Hollow's punctuation). When this happens, Hollow's individual sentences are indicated by the numbering.
2. My translation of each predicate clause. Since I have suggested breaking sentences into these units, this line shows where the predicate clause boundaries would come in my analysis.
3. Kennard's transcription of each word.
4. Hollow's transcription of each word. The differences in surface form can be seen.
5. Syntactic function of each word.
6. Hollow' translation of each word. In order to help with this exercise, Hollow provided a strongly literal word-by-word translation.

7. Hollow's underlying form for each morpheme (or if it is not in his dictionary, Kennard's surface form, or my guess).
8. Hollow's (or Kennard's, or my) part-of-speech classification for each morpheme.
9. Hollow's (or Kennard's, or my) gloss of each morpheme.
10. Phonological rules which generate Hollow's surface form from Hollow's underlying morphemes, for each word. Phonological rules are indicated by number. Grammatically conditioned patterns are indicated by letter: A. B. C. Hollow's Rule 19, though listed under 'Phonology', is not represented here, since Hollow's transcription does not give outputs from that rule, and I did not notice in time to narrow his transcription to match Kennard's in this respect.

1. S.1. Trickster was moving.
2. Coyote was moving (along) it is said.
3. kĭnumąksĭs xkĕhamika'ehe
4. kinĭmąksĭs xkĕhamika'ehero's
5. noun(agent) verb + sm
6. The Old Man Coyote was moving along, it is said.
7. ki? ruwĕk? ŝĭ? s? xkĕh awĭ ka'ehe(r)
8. see 7.1 noun see 7.1 def art Vi continuative quotative
9. see 7.1 man see 7.1 the move (away) -ing it is said
10. 15 generates Kennard's stress, 16, 18, 15

1. S. 2. As he went on, some buffalo went in front of him.
2. While he was moving along, some buffalo went in front...
3. xkĕhami: ptĭ:tkuŝĕna
4. xkĕhamĭ ptĭtkuŝĕnĕ
5. verb + pom noun (agent)
6. Moving along, (some) buffalo
7. (o)'ŝ xkĕh awĭ ptĭr? kŭ's? e? nĕ?
8. indi- Vi continuative, noun Vs indef emphatic
cative pred. clause art
marker
9. move (away) while__ing buffalo see 7.1 a, some
cow
10. 16, 18, 15 ? 16, 17, 15

- 1.
2. of him, it is said.
3. pĕxtiru: dĕnkereka'ehe.
4. pĕxtiro dĕnkereka'ehero's
5. adverb verb + sm
6. in front (of him) they went, it is said.
7. pĕxt? ero? rĕh krĕ ka'ehe(r) (o)'ŝ
8. locative Vi 3rd plural quotative, indicative;
sent marker sentence marker
9. see 6.8 go it is said
10. ? 14, 15, 21, A, C

1. S.3. And then he too went.

2. So he also went.

3.	káki	ó:harani	išák	déhomakoš
4.	káki	ó'harani	išák	déhomako's
5.	conj sentence launcher	adverb sent. launcher	pronoun	verb + sm
6.	And so	from there	he	he went,
7.	See 2.3	see 2.3	íšák	rEh (r)owak (o)'š
8.			pronoun	Vi narrative indicative past. sent sent marker marker
9.				go
10.	?	?	stress unexplained	16, 18, 21, A, C 15

1. S. 4. He went along and there was a large buffalo bull sleeping.

2. As he was going along, a big bull was sleeping.

3.	dá:hami	wéroke	xtena	hánahòmakos.
4.	dáhami	wéroke	xténa	hána'romako's
5.	verb + pcm	noun (object)	adverb see 6.5	verb + sm
6.	Going along,	bull	big-a	it was sleeping,
7.	rEh awi	wrok e	xtE ra?	hrá'r
8.	Vi continuative pred cl marker	noun indef art	Vs	see 6.5 Vi
9.	go while__ing	bull a	be big -ing?	sleep
10.	16, 18, 21, A, 15	14, 15	16, 15, A	14, 16, 18, C, 15

1.

2.

3.

4.

5.

6.

7. (r)owak (o)'š

8. narrative indicative
past, sent marker

9.

- | | | | |
|-----|---|-------------------------------------|--|
| | (6) | | (7) |
| 1. | S. 5, 6, and 7. | And Trickster came to him and said, | "Now you lying here, you'r |
| 2. | And then Coyote got there. | | |
| 3. | karótiki | | híromakoš |
| 4. | karótiki | | híromako's |
| 5. | conjunction,
sent launcher | | verb + sm |
| 6. | And then | | he got there |
| 7. | kari?? rote? ki?
ka? | | hí (r)owak (o)'š |
| 8. | conj? perfective? temporal
subordination? | Vi | narrative indicative
past, sent marker
sent marker |
| 9. | and see 2.3 | | arrive there |
| 10. | te → ti not in Hollow's rules
ri → ∅ not accounted for either. | | 16, 18, C, 15 |
-
- | | | | |
|-----|--|----------------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. | ...slow with your big feet. | | |
| 2. | | And now, "Lying there like that, | |
| 3. | kínunakšis | kaní | híre |
| 4. | kinúnakšis | káni | hiré |
| 5. | noun (agent) | conjunction,
sent launcher | adverb,
sent launcher |
| 6. | the Old Man
Coyote. | And | now, |
| 7. | ki? ruwák? ší? s? | ka?? | ri? |
| 8. | see 7.1 noun see 7.1 def
art | (kári) | conj? |
| 9. | see 7.1 man see 7.1 the | (Hollow) | and?
see 2.3 |
| 10. | 15 generates Kennard's stress,
16, 18 | | ? ? |
-
- | | | | |
|-----|---|----------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 1. | | | |
| 2. | | | you're slow," he said to the buffalo. |
| 3. | "námakak | | napenároš" |
| 4. | namákak | | dapénaro's |
| 5. | verb + pcm | | verb + sm |
| 6. | "You lying
there | | you're slow |
| 7. | ra wák (a)k | ra | pérar (o)'š |
| 8. | 2nd person post-
agent verb past. part.,
pr cl marker | 2nd person
agent? | Vs?
see 5.1
sent marker |
| 9. | be lying having__ed | | be slow |
| 10. | 16, 18, B
Nasalization and stress unexplained | | 21, C, 15, E |

- 1.
- 2.
3. éheròmakoš pt̥t̥:tkuš ŷta
4. éheromako's̥ pt̥t̥tkuš ŷta
5. verb + sm noun (indir obj) postpos. indir obj marker.
6. he said buffalo to.
7. é-he(r) (r)owak (o)'š see 7.1
8. Vt narrative indicative, see 5.1 past; sent marker sent marker
9. say
10. 16, 18, C irregular inflection ?
15

- 1.
2. And then, "Your feet are big and..." (see 2.4)
3. karótiki. "nišíxtekànani"
4. karótiki n̥ší xtekaráni
5. conjunction, noun (obj) verb + pcm sent launcher
6. And then, "Your feet are big and..."
7. see 2.3 r̥t̥ ší xtE krE r̥t̥
8. 2nd sg noun Vs 3rd conj possessor plural pr cl marker
9. foot be big and
10. te → ti ??? 16, 17, 15, B 14, 16, 17, A Stress unexplained

1. S. 8. And the buffalo said, "Even so, I'll beat you in a race.
2. And so the buffalo (embedded sentence) said. "It's so but I'll beat? you."
3. karótiki pt̥t̥:tkus éna "áskaskànik
4. karótiki pt̥t̥tkušena á'skaskanik
5. conjunction, noun (agent) disjunction? sent launcher sent launcher
6. And so buffalo "It's so but
7. See 2.3 see 7.1 e? r̥q? á'ska ška rik(?) see 2.3
8. indef emphatic exclamation disj. temporal art (a) all right but subordination (that's so?)

1.								
2.								(end earlier pred clause)
3.	ó:minikirĩroš							éneròmakoš
4.	óminĩkiri 'ro'š							éheromąko'š
5.	verb + sm							verb + sm
6.	I'll beat you"							he said.
7.	ó	wa	ri	kri'r??	(o)'š	é-he(r)	(r)owąk	(o)'š
8.	future	1st pers agent	2nd pers object	Vt	indi-cative, sent marker	Vt	narrative past, sent marker	indicati- sent marker
9.	I	you	gamble, bet			say		
10.	14, 16, 17, 18, B, C, 15							16, 18, C, 15

1.	S. 9. You, yourself, have a pointed nose. And you can't run."							
2.	And "Your own nose is kind of narrow and							
3.	kanĩ	nĩonak		nipáxu				kšúkanąšini
4.	kání	nĩ'órak		nipáxu				kšukanąšini
5.	conjunction, sent launcher	pronoun object		noun object				verb + pcm
6.	And	you,		your nose				is kind of narrow and
7.	kání	ri	ĩ'orak	ri	páxu	kšuk	raš	ri
8.	conj	2nd pers object	pronoun	2nd pers poss	noun	Vs	typifier	conj, pr cl marker
9.	and			nose	be	-like	and	narrow
10.	16, 17 15	16, 17, 6, B Stress unexplained		16, 18, 15				Stress unexplained 14, 16, 17

1.								
2.	will you have any kind of race?" (would there be likely to be any of your running?)							
3.	orąptehe							túoxàreša."
4.	óraptehe							tú'oxare'ša
5.	adverb? noun obj?							verb + sm
	see 5.3, 7.1 and 6.10							
6.	you will run							will there be some?"
7.	ó	ra	ptEh	e	tu	oxare		(o)'ša
8.	future	2nd pers agent	Vi	indef art?	Vs	dubitative conditional, sent marker		interrogative, sent marker
9.		run	any	there are some				
10.	A, 15, B			C, 13a, 15				

1. S. 10. And then Trickster said, "If that's the case, I'll go right now, and
2. And then Coyote... (Incomplete predicate clause with embedded object sentence but no verb after it.)
3. karótiki k'ínunáksis éna
4. karótiki kin'únáksisená
5. conjunction noun agent
sent launcher
6. And then the Old Man Coyote,
7. see 2.3 ki? ruwák? sí? s? erá?
8. see 7.1 noun see 7.1 def emphatic
art see 7.3
9. man the
10. te → ti ?? 16, 17, 18

1. make a stone pile, and when I come back, we'll run a race."
2. "If that's so, now I'm going and
3. "áskarótiki híre
4. á'skarotiki hiré
5. conjunction? adverb,
see 2.3 sent launcher
6. "If that's so, now
7. á'ska rote? ki
8. exclam. perfective temporal
subordination
9. that's right
(it's so)
10. te → ti ??

- 1.
2. I'll make a stone mound and
3. waráhini m'ínake
4. waráhini m'í'nák
5. verb + pcm noun
object
6. I go and a stone
mound
7. wa rEh rí wír aki
8. 1st pers Vi conj. pr noun collective
agent cl marker.
9. go and stone mass, bunch
10. 14, 16, 17, A, B 15, 16, 17, 18 (Hollow's rules don't generate -ná-
from his underlying forms, nor do they explain
the loss of -i.)

- 1.
2. when I come back,
3. íwasekini wakúhki
4. íwasekini wakúnki
5. verb + pcm verb + pcm
6. I make and when I come back
7. wa í-sEk ri wa ki húr ki
8. 1st pers Vt conj. pr 1st pers vertitive Vi temporal
agent cl marker agent subordination
9. make and back come when
10. 16, 17, A, 15, B vertitive + húr → kúh see 5.1 15

- 1.
2. we'll race each other!"(?)
3. ptiní:nukikiktoš."
4. ptíhe núkikikto's
5. adverb? verb? + sm
see 6.10 see 5.3
6. a long way we'll race."
7. ptíh? e? ru kiki (k)t (o)'s
8. noun? indef 4th reciprocal potential, indicative,
art pers sent marker sent marker
9. long way? a
10. 16, 17 C C 15 B
15

1. S. 11. And then the Trickster went.
2. And so Coyote went.
3. korótiki kínumaks̄sis déhomakoš.
4. karótiki kinúmaks̄sis déhomako's
5. conjunction, noun agent verb + sm
sent launcher
6. And then the Old Man he went.
Coyote
7. see 2.3 see 7.1 rEh (r)owak (o)'s
8. Vi narrative past, indicative,
sent marker sent marker
9. go
10. te → ti ? 16, 18, 21 A C 15

1. S. 12. He went to make a stone pile.
2. He went to make a stone pile.
3. mĩnake ísek déhomakoš
4. mĩ'nake ísek déhomako's
5. noun object verb, (non finite) verb + sm
6. A rock pile to make he went.
7. wĩ'r aki e í-sEk rEh (r)owak (o)'š
8. noun collective indef art Vt Vi narrative past, indicative, sent marker sent marker
9. rock mass, bunch a make go
10. 16, 17, 18, [na] not [ra]. Unexplained. A 15 16, 18, 21 A C Stress unexplained.
13, 15

1. S. 13-14. He went to a very high cliff, and made a stone pile just on this side,.
2. He went and he made a rock pile on this side of a cliff which...
(adv phrase contains embedded predicate clause)
3. dá:hini má'ak kawěša
4. dáhini mā'ak kawěša
5. verb + pcm noun in adv in
adv phrase adv phrase
6. He was going and land cut
7. rEh rĩ wā'ak ka wěš ha
see 6.2
8. Vi conj., noun instr Vt
pcm prefix suffix
9. go and land by cut
striking
10. 14, 16, 17, 21, A 16, 18 Stress unexplained 15

1. ... (14) then he went back,

2. ... was very high.

3. wakó:xtek nutá: mĩnake
4. wáko xtek rutéta mĩ'nake
5. non-finite verb + pcm adverb noun obj.
verb?
6. which was very high on this side a rock pile
7. wáke ó xtE (a)k ruté? ta wĩ'r aki e?
see 6.3
8. Vs Vs Vs past part, loc noun collective indef
pr cl marker suffix stone mass, bunch art
9. stay be be big facing
10. 13c A 13 A C ? 13c, 16, 17 nasalized [e]

- | | | | | | |
|-----|--|--|--|--|--|
| 1. | | | | | |
| 2. | | | | Then he came back. | |
| 3. | ísekòmakoš. | | | ó:harani | |
| 4. | ísekomąko's̃ | | | ó'harani | |
| 5. | verb + sm | | | adverb, sent
launcher | |
| 6. | he made. | | | From there | |
| 7. | í-sEk (r)owąk (o)'s̃ | | | ó hrE? ri | |
| 8. | Vt narrative indicative,
past, sent sent marker | | | see causative conj
2.3 | |
| 9. | make | | | make, do and | |
| 10. | 16, 18 A C 15 | | | 13 if [h] functions as a vowel in the rule.
14, 16, 17 A 15 | |
-
- | | | | | |
|-----|---|--|--|--|
| 1. | | | | S. 15. Returning, he arrived back at |
| 2. | | | | Coming back, |
| 3. | kúhomakoš. | | | kúhami |
| 4. | kuhómąko's̃ | | | kuhámı |
| 5. | verb + sm | | | verb + pcm |
| 6. | he came back. | | | Coming back |
| 7. | ki húr (r)owąk (o)'s̃ | | | ki húr awı |
| 8. | vertitive Vi narrative indicative,
past, sent sentence | | | vertitive Vi continuative, pred
cl marker |
| 9. | back come marker | | | back come -ing |
| 10. | irreg inflection 5.1 C
Stress unexplained. | | | irreg inflection 5.1 16, 18
Stress unexplained. |
-
- | | | | | |
|-----|-----------------------------|--------------------------------|--|---|
| 1. | ...the buffalo. | | | |
| 2. | he got back to the buffalo. | | | |
| 3. | ptı:tkus | úte | | kınomakoš. |
| 4. | ptıtkus | úta | | kınomąko's̃ |
| 5. | noun in
adv phrase | post position
in adv phrase | | verb + sm |
| 6. | the buffalo | | | he got there. |
| 7. | ptır? kú's̃?? | úta? | | ki hí (r)owąk (o)'s̃ |
| 8. | noun Vs | postpos. | | verti- Vi narrative past, indicative
tive arrive sent marker sent marker |
| 9. | see 7.1 | to | | back arrive
there |
| 10. | ? | ? | | irreg inflection not same as Hollow dict.
see 5.1
16, 18 C 15 |

1. S. 16. Then "And we will jump from here and we'll go.
2. And from here we'll jump and
3. "kaní híre do: ohánani
4. kánį hiréro ó'harani
5. conjunction, adverb adverb
sent launcher see 6.8, 2.3 see 2.3
6. "And from here from there
7. kari hiré? ero ó hrE? ri
8. conj adverb? locative see causative conj
2.3
9. and now make, do and
10. 16, 17 13a, if[h] functions as a vowel. 14, 16,
15 17, A, 15

1. S. 17-18. Going along to...
2. (and) go. While we're going
3. nuskáni nurétoš nunáha
4. nųskani nųréhto's nųráha
5. verb verb verb
6. we jump and we'll go. We'll be going
7. rų skE ri rų rEh (o)'š rų rEh ha
8. 4th Vi conj, pr 4th Vi indicative, 4th Vi temporal
pers cl marker pers sent marker pers subordination,
pr cl marker
9. we jump and we go we go while ___ing
10. 16, 17 A B 16, 17, A C B 16, 17, A B
Stress unexplained. Stress unexplained. Stress unexplained.

(S. 18)

1. ...our stone pile,when we get there,we'll close our eyes,and will go faster."
2. when we get to our rock pile
3. nútaminaknàke
4. nųtami'naknak
5. adverb (see 6.10)
6. this our rock pile
7. rų ta wí'r aki redup
8. 4th pers alienable noun collective intensive?
possessive possession (distributive?)
9. our rock bunch, mass
10. An exception to Hollow's redup rules. 16, 17, 18 Redup doesn't work. B
Stress unexplained.

- 1.
2. 'Hey!' we'll say."
(sentence object)
3. nuhírotiki he: déhektos."
4. nūhirotiki he déheкто's
5. verb + pcm excl verb
6. when we get there, 'Hey!' we'll say"
7. rų hí rote ki rEh kt (o)'š
8. 4th Vi perfective temporal ; Vi potential indicative,
pers subordination, sent marker
9. we arrive there go
10. 15, 16, 17 e → i unexplained. B 14, 15, 21 A C

- 1.
2. he said. (entire previous Then "We'll close our eyes and
quoted sentence is topic.)
3. éheromakoš. karótiki "durúsipini
4. éheromako's karótiki nunúsipini
5. verb conjunction verb
6. he said. sent launcher And then, "we'll close our eyes and
7. é-he(r) (r)owak (o)'š see 2.3 rų rusíp ri
8. Vt narrative indicative, 4th Vi conj, pr
past sent marker pers cl marker
9. say we close and
eyes
10. 15, 16, 18 C irreg inflection B, 14, 15, 16, 17 second
nasalization unaccounted for.

- 1.
2. we'll go faster,"
3. sí:haka nunétoš"
4. síhaka nųréhto's
5. adverb verb
6. fast(er) we'll go,"
7. síh hak ha rų rEh (k)t (o)'š
8. adv post-adv 4th Vi potential, indicative,
verb suffix pers sentence sentence
marker marker
9. strong be standing we so
10. 13, if [h] is a vowel. 15, 7 15, 16, 17 A C B
b or c

- 1.
2. Coyote said (previous sentence is topic)
3. éheròmakoš kínunakšis éna
4. éheromako's kinúnakšiseną
5. verb + sm agent noun
6. he said, the Old Man Coyote.
7. é-he(r) (r)owak (o)'š see 7.1 erą
8. Vt narrative indicative, past, sent marker sent marker emphatic
9. say
10. 15, 16, 18 C irreg inflection

1. S. 19. And then the buffalo said, "That will be all right."
2. And then the buffalo (embedded sentence) said "It will be so."
3. karótiki ptį:tkus éna 'ųšaktoš."
4. karótiki ptįtkušeną ų'skakto's
5. conjunction, noun agent verb + sm
sent launcher
6. And then the buffalo, "It will be so,"
7. see 2.3 see 7.1 erą ų'ska (k)t (o)'š
8. emphatic V potential, indicative
impers? sent sentence
see 5.1 marker marker
9. it is so?
10. e → i? 15 C

1. S. 20. "Yes, that's the way.
2. "Yes, that's right!" he said.
3. éheròmakoš "ny: ątakoš" éheròmakoš.
4. éheromako's hą ą'taka's éheromako's
5. verb + sm excl. excl. verb + sm
6. he said. "Yes", (see 2.3) he said.
7. é-he(r) (r)owak (o)'š é-her (r)owak (o)'š
8. Vt narrative indicative, past, sent marker sent marker Vt nar past, indicative, s marker s marker
9. say say
10. 15, 16, 18 C irreg inflection 15, 16, 18 C irreg inflection

1. S. 21. When we arrive at that stone pile, I'll be the one and I'll say, 'he', "...
2. "And then when we get to that rock pile,
3. "karótiki mínak̄at nuhírotiki
4. karótiki m̄i'n̄ak̄at nuhírotiki
5. conjunction, adverb (see 6.10) verb
sent launcher
6. And then, "That rock pile when we get there
7. see 2.3 w̄i'r aki ̄at r̄u hí rote ki
8. noun collective dem. 4th Vi perfective temporal
pers subord, pr cl
marker
9. rock bunch, mass that we arrive
there when
10. e → i? 15, 16, 17, 18 15, 16, 17 e → i? B

1. ... said the Trickster.
2. I'll say 'Hey!'"
3. m̄íona 'he:' épektoš'
4. m̄í'on̄a he épekto's̄
5. pronoun agent excl verb + sm
6. me, 'hey,' I'll say,"
7. w̄a í'on̄a é-he(r) (k)t (o)'š̄
8. 1st emphatic Vt potential indicative,
object pronoun? sent marker
9. I say
10. H's system doesn't allow Irreg conjugation, see 5.1
underlying /m/. 15 C
13, 16, 17, 15, 6 B

- 1.
2. (sentence object) said Coyote.
3. éheròmakoš̄. kínum̄ak̄s̄ína
4. éherom̄ako's̄ kin̄um̄ak̄s̄in̄a
5. verb + sm noun agent
6. he said, Old Man Coyote.
7. é-he(r) (r)ow̄ak̄ (o)'š̄ see 7.1 r̄a
8. Vt narrative indicative, emphatic
past, sent sent
marker marker
9. say
10. Irreg. conjugation. 15, 16, 18 C

1. S. 22. Then they ran at once.
2. Then, right away, they ran.
3. ó:harani má'usta ptékereròmakos̃.
4. ó'harani má'usta ptéhkereromako's̃
5. adverb, sentence adverb verb + sm
launcher
6. From there right away they ran.
7. ó hrE? ri wá'usta? ta? ptEh krE (r)owak (o)'s̃
8. see causative conj see 6.3 locative Vi 3rd nar past, indicative,
2.3 plural sent sent
marker marker
9. make, do and run
10. 14, 15, 16, 17 A 16, 18 3?? 15, 14, 16, 18 A C
13a? (if [h] vowel.)

(24)

1. S. 23-24. And going along they got to the stone pile, and the the Trickster said,
2. And then, going along, they got to the rock pile.
3. karótiki ná:ha mínaks
4. karótiki dáha nún̄iha m̄i'naks
5. conjunction, verb + pcm? verb + pcm? adverb (see 6.10)
sent
launcher
6. And then they were going (gloss the rock pile
both words together)
7. see 2.3 rEh ha? see 5.3 w̄i'r aki s
a?
8. Vi pr cl marker? noun collective def art
adverb marker?
9. go ___ing? stone mass, bunch the
10. e + i? 15 na, and loss of i, unexplained.
16, 17, 18, 15

1. "All right, close your eyes."

(S. 24)

2. And so Coyote said to the buffalo (emb.
sent
object)
3. níkereròmakos̃. karótiki
4. níkereromako's̃ karótiki
5. verb + sm conjunction, sent launcher
6. they got there. And so
7. hí krE (r)owak (o)'s̃ see 2.3
8. Vi 3rd nar past, indicative,
plural sent sent marker
9. arrive marker
10. 14 A B 15 e + i?

1.								
2.			(emb. sent: "All right, close your eyes.")					
3.	kínúmakšsis éna	"átakaš	nusípta	éheròmakoš				
4.	kinúmakšsisena	á'taka's	dusípta	éheromako's				
5.	noun agent	exclam., sentence launcher	verb + sm	verb + sm				
6.	the Old Man Coyote,	"All right, close your eyes,"		he said				
7.	see 7.1	ena	see 2.3	rusíp ta	é-he(r) (r)owak	(o)'š		
8.		emphatic		Vi	imperative, sentence marker	Vt	nar past, sent marker	indic, sent, marker
9.				blink, close eyes		say		
10.				21; 15		15, 16, 18 C		irreg conjugation

1.		S. 25. And then he shut his eyes.						
2.		And then he shut his eyes.						
3.	ptí:tkus	úta.	karótiki	nusípomakoš.				
4.	ptítkus	úta	karótiki	dusípomako's				
5.	indir obj noun	indir obj marker	conjunc., sentence launcher	verb + sm				
6.	the buffalo	to.	And so	he closed his eyes.				
7.	see 7.1		see 2.3	rusíp (r)owak	(o)'š			
8.				Vi	nar past, sentence marker	indicative, sentence marker		
9.				blink, close eyes				
10.		e → i?		21	C	15		

1.	S. 26. And the Trickster shut his eye on one side.							
2.	And so Coyote shut his eye on one side.							
3.	káki	kínúmakšsis	istá	isáh	nusípomakoš.			
4.	And so	kinúmakšsis	istá	isáhe	dusípomako's			
5.	Conj., sentence launcher	noun agent	noun object	adverb	verb + sm			
6.	And so	the Old Man Coyote	his face	half	he closed.			
7.	káki	see 7.1	istá	i-sáh (see 6.8)	rusíp (r)owak	(o)'š		
8.	conj		noun	v indef art	Vi	nar past sent marker	indicative, sent marker	
9.	and		face	divide	blink, close eyes			
10.	15		15	15		15, 21, C		

(N.B.: Hollow's strange division of S. 27-28)

1. S. 27. They went faster. They ran and
2. They went fast. They ran and . . .
3. sî:ha: déhkererômakoš ptâhini
4. sîha déhkereromako's ptâhini
5. adverb verb + sm verb + pcm
6. Strong they went. They ran and.
7. sîh ha rEh krE (r)owak (o)'š ptEh ri
8. Vi adverb Vi 3rd nar past, indicative, Vi conjunction,
suffix plural sentence sentence pred cl marker
marker marker
9. be strong go run and
10. 15, 7 14, 16, 18, 21 A C 14, 16, 17. A 15
15

1. S. 28 then the buffalo fell from that big cliff.
2. Then the buffalo fell off where the land was cut and very high.
3. ó:harani ptî:tkus má'ak kawéšta
4. ó'harani ptîtkus má'ak kawéšta
5. adverb, noun object noun in adverb in
sentence noun in adv phrase adv phrase
launcher
6. From there the buffalo land where it was cut
7. see 2.3 see 7.1 wá'ak ka wéš ta
8. noun instr Vt adverb
prefix suffix
locative
9. land by striking cut
10. 16, 18 15
15

- 1.
- 2.
3. makóxtek ó:ptikômakoš
4. wáko xtek óptikomako's
5. adverb verb+pcm verb + sm
in adv phrase
6. where it was real high he fell off.
7. wáke? ó? xtE (a)k? ó-ptik (r)owak (o)'š
8. Vs Vs Vs past part Vs nar past, indicative,
+ pcm sentence sentence
marker marker
9. stay be facing be having be fallen
big down
16, 18, 19, 20, 21 A C 16

1. S. 29. And then the buffalo lay dead.
2. And then the buffalo was lying there dead.
3. kani ptí:tkus téromakòmakoš
4. kani ptítkus téromakomako's
5. conj., noun obj verb + sm
sent
launcher
6. And the buffalo was lying there dead.
7. ka? ri see 7.1 tér ó? wək (r)owək (o)'š
8. see conj Vs postverb? post- nar past, indicative,
2.3 see 5.2 verb sentence sent marker
9. and be be be
dead facing? lying
10. 16, 17 ? 16, 18 C
15 15

1. S. 30. And then the Trickster looked for a good road.
2. And then Coyote looked for a path where it was good.
3. karótiki kinumakšis išák ná:ku oší
4. karótiki kinumakšis išák naku oši
5. conjunction, noun agent pronoun object adverb
sentence launcher noun
6. And so the Old Man himself road where it
Coyote was good
7. see 2.3 see 7.1 išák ráku ó ší
8. pronoun noun locative Vs
9. road be good
10. e → i 16, 17
15

- 1.
- 2.
3. kitáromakoš.
4. kitáromako's
5. verb + sm
6. he looked for.
7. ki'krár? (r)owək (o)'š
8. Vt nar past, indicative,
sentence sentence
marker marker
9. look for
10. Hollow's verb doesn't generate surface verb.
16, 18, C 15
see 5.1 - kitár

1. S. 31. He found one and went down that way and got to the buffalo.
2. He found one and he went down that way and
3. onápiní útaha: noskâni
4. onápinî útaha doskânî
5. verb + pcm adverb verb + pcm
6. He found it and that way went down
and
7. ó-rəp rî úta ha ro skE? rî
8. Vt conj, post adverb adverb Vi conj
pcm position suffix prefix
9. find and to, toward here jump and
10. 14, 16, 17 15 16, 17, 21 Stress unexplained.
Stress unexplained.

- 1.
2. he got to the buffalo.
3. híromakoš. ptî:tkus o:
4. híromako's ptîtkus ó
5. verb + sm noun in post pos. in
adv phrase adv phrase
6. he got there the buffalo there.
7. hí (r)owək (o)'š see 7.1 see 9.0
8. Vi nar past, indicative,
sent sent
marker marker
9. arrive
there
10. 15, 16, 18 C

1. S. 32. And then he took out his knife and butchered him.
2. And he took his knife and he butchered it.
3. kani tamá:hi kirúšani
4. kânî tamâhi kirúšanî pakánaḥomâko's
5. conjunction, noun object verb + pcm verb + sm
sent
launcher
6. And his knife he took and he butchered it.
7. see 2.3 ta wâni krúša?? rî pa krâh (r)owək (o)'š
8. alienable noun conj, inst Vt nar pst, ind,
possession pcm pref, sm sm
9. his knife and by butcher
pressure
- 16, 18, 15 14, 15, 16, 17 14, 16, 17, 18, 15 C

(34)

1.	S. 33.	He finished butchering and he thought,	"I go on this way, and I shall
2.	While he was butchering,		he finished it.
3.	pa ^h anāhamāka		kīkomakoš.
4.	pa ^h anāhamāka ^h		kīkomako's
5.	verb + pcm		verb + sm
6.	While he was there butchering		he finished it.
7.	pa krāh wāk ha		kīk (r)owāk (o)'š
8.	instr Vt post temporal		Vt nar past, indicative,
	prefix verb subordination		sent sent
			marker marker
9.	by butcher be while ___ing		finish
	pressure lying		
10.	14, 16, 17, 18, 15		C 15

1.	certainly eat well."				
2.	"I act like this and			I'll make something good to eat!"	
3.	"dēska	ma ^h ānani		wāwarūte	
4.	dēska	wāharanī		wāwarute	
5.	adverb	verb + pcm		noun object	
				(see 3.6)	
6.	"This way	I ('ll) do and		to eat	
7.	rē ā'ska?	wa hrE rī	wā	wa rut e	
	(see 6.9)				
8.	dem exclam	1st causative, conj	indef 1st Vt indef	obj, agent art	
		agent Vt	nominalizer,		
9.	this that's	I do and	something, I eat		
	right				
10.	13b? 21 15	14, 16, 17 A B	15 B		

15

1.				
2.				
3.	šiwāheretōš."			
4.	šī	wānerekto's		
5.	non-finite	verb + sm		
	verb? see 3.6			
6.	good	I'll do."		
7.	šī	wa hrE (k)t (o)'š		
8.	Vs	1st Vt potential	indicative,	
		agent causative sent	sent	
			marker	
9.	be good	I make, do		
10.		A C 15 B		

(36)

1. S. 35-36. Then he picked up some wood and started a fire.
2. Then he gathered wood.
3. ó:harani mánakawéhomakoš.
4. ó'harani māṅ kawéhomako's
5. adverb, noun verb + sm
sent launcher object
6. From there wood he picked.
7. see 2.3 wrā(h) ka wés? (see 5.1) (r)owāk (o)'š
8. noun instr Vt nar past, indicative,
prefix Sent sent
marker marker
9. wood by pick
striking out.
10. 14, 16, 18 15, 16, 18 C š → h?

15

- 1.
2. He made a fire.
3. kaní wára orákomakoš.
4. káni wára orákomako's
5. conjunction, object verb + sm
sent launcher noun
6. And fire he made.
7. kári wrar órak (r)owāk (o)'š
8. conj. noun Vt nar past, indicative,
sent sent
marker marker
9. and fire set fire to
10. 16, 17 14 16, 18, C Stress unexplained.
15 15

1. S. 37. "In doing this I have become sleepy, and so I'll take a nap," said the
2. "I act like this and I'll take a nap" Trickster.
3. déška waharani wahánanítektoš"
4. déška wáharani wahánanítekto's
5. adverb verb + pcm verb + sm
6. "This way I do and I'll take a quick sleep,"
7. ré (á'ska? (see 6.9)) wa hrĒ ri wa hrā'r (r)ite?? (k)t (o)'š
8. dem exclam 1st causative conj 1st Vi Not in potent, indic,
agent Vt agent Hollow sm sm
or KenNard
9. this that's I do and I sleep
10. right

1.			3. 38-39. And then he said, "When
2.	(sentence) said Coyote.		And "When I'm sleeping,
3.	éneròmakoš.	kínúmąks̄is. kaní	
4.	éneromąko's̄	kinúmąks̄is kání	
5.	verb + sm	noun agent	conjunction, sentence launcher
6.	he said	the Old Man Coyote.	And,
7.	é-he(r) (r)owąk (o)'š	see 7.1	kári
8.	Vt nar past, indicative, sent marker		conj.
9.	say		and
10.	15, 16, 17 C Irreg verb		16, 17, 15

1.	...I am sleeping, if anyone comes, my left hand, you strike and make a fist at them.					
2.		if someone comes,		my left hand you'll pretend to hit		
3.	"mahána:ki	wahú:ki		mųk		
4.	wahána:ki	wáhuki		mų'k		
5.	verb + pcm	verb + pcm		agent noun		
6.	"When I'm sleeping	if someone comes		my hand		
7.	wa hrą'r ki	wá húr ki		wı ŷk		
8.	1st Vi temp. subord. pcm. agent	indef Vi temp. subord. pcm. agent		1st temp. subord. pcm. possessor	noun	
9.	sleep when	come when		my hand		
10.	11, 14, 16, 17, B why lost gl. stop? 15	11, 15, B		13c, 16, 18, 15		

1.	...(39) and if anyone comes, my right hand, you, too, make a fist at them.					
2.						
3.	konasųska			darótki		
4.	konąsuska			darótki		
5.	adverb			non-finite verb.		
6.	left (side)			you hit		
7.	ko	rasųs	ka	ra	rótki	
8.	nominalizer? (see 6.4)	Vs? noun? (see 6.4)	nominalizer?	2nd agent	Vt	
9.		left hand? to be left?			hit	
10.	16, 17 Stress unexplained.			21, 15		

- 1.
2. (sentence) he said.
3. inakú:toš N.B.: not in Kennard original!
4. írakukto's éheromako's
5. verb + sm verb + sm
6. you'll pretend," he said.
7. ra í-ku? (k)t (o)'š é-he(r) (r)owak (o)'š
(see 5.1)
8. 2nd Vt? potential, indicative, Vt nar past, indic.,
agent sm sm sm sm
9. you pretend say
10. C, 16, 17, 15, B 15, 16, 17 C irreg verb

- 1.
2. "Again, if someone comes, my right hand, you pretend to hit,"
3. inak wa:húki muk
4. inák wáhuki mu'k
5. adverb, verb + pcm noun
sentence agent
launcher.
6. "Again if someone comes my hand
7. see 2.3 wá húr ki wí uk
8. indef Vi temp. 1st possessor noun
agent subord. pcm
9. someone come my hand
10. 11, 15 Stress should 16, 18, 15, B
be on stressed root--D.

- 1.
2. (handwritten n?)
3. korátitit míšak? darótki
4. korátita níšak darótki
5. adverb agent non-finite
pronoun, verb,
you you hit
6. right (side)
7. ko rątí ta ni? íšak ra rótki
(see 6.4) (see 8.0)
8. nominalizer Vs locative 2nd pronoun 2nd Vt
pronoun? agent
9. be to the right hit

- 1.
2. (sentence) he said.
3. inakútkoš'' éheròmakoš'.
4. írakúkto's éheromako's
5. verb + sm verb + sm
6. you'll pretend," he said.
7. ra í-kų? (k)t (o)'š é-he(r) (r)owak (o)'š
8. 2nd Vt? potent., indic., Vt nar past, indicative,
agent (See 5.1) sm sm sm sm
9. you pretend say
10. 15 C, B Irreg verb 16, 18 C 15

1. S. 40. And my left leg, you make a motion as if to kick him.
2. "Then, my left leg, you pretend to kick.
3. ó:harani miróke konasúkstaha:
4. ó'harani wiróke konásustaha
5. adverb, noun adverb
sentence agent
launcher
6. "From there my leg on the left side
7. see 2.3 wı rok e ko rásús ta ha
(see 6.4)
8. 1st noun indef nominalizer noun? loc. adv
pos art Vs? suffix
9. my leg be to left?
left hand?
10. B 16, 17. Stress unexplained.
Stress unexplained.

- 1.
- 2.
3. oráxi írakútoš'.
4. óraraxi írakúkto's
5. non-finite verb verb + sm
6. you kick you'll pretend.
7. ra ó-raxi? ra í-kų? (k)t (o)'š
8. 2nd Vt? 2nd Vt? pot., indic.,
agent, (see 5.1) agent, (see 5.1) sm sm
9. you kick you pretend
10. 15, B C 15, B

1. S. 41. And my right, you will motion as if to kick him.
2. And, my right leg, you'll pretend to kick.
3. kaní miróke kóratitítaha:
4. kanį wiróke kóratitaha
5. conj., agent adverb
sent
launcher noun
6. And my leg the right side
7. kári wį rok e ko rątí ta ha
8. conj. 1st noun indef nom. Vs loc adv
pos art suffix
9. and my leg be to the
right
10. stress left B
off by care- Stress unexplained. Loss of nasalization is unexplained.
lessness,
probably
16, 17

- 1.
- 2.
3. oraráxi írakûtoš.
4. óraraxi írakukto's
5. non-finite verb + sm
verb
6. you kick you'll pretend.
7. ra ó-raxi? ra í-ku? (k)t (o)'š
8. 2nd Vt? 2nd Vt? pot., indic.,
agent (see 5.1) agent (see 5.1) sm sm
9. you kick you pretend
10. 15, B B, C see stress placement in S. 50, same word.

1. S. 42. And my eyes, you will look at him," said the Trickster.
2. And my eyes, you be looking at him,"
3. kaní místami níšak há:makta"
4. káni mį'stami níšak hámakta
5. conj., agent pronoun verb + sm
sent noun agent
launch
6. And my eyes you be looking at him,"
7. kári wį istáwį rį íšak hÉ wąk ta
8. conj 1st noun 2nd pronoun Vt post- imper.,
pos object, verb sm
9. and my eye you see be lying

1.				S. 43. And then he took his ...
2.	(sentence) said Coyote.			And then he took his arrows and
3.	éherōmakōš	kínunakāšis éna	ó:harani	tamān
4.	éheromako's	kinúnakāšisenā	ó:harani	tamāne
5.	verb + sm	agent noun	adverb, sentence launcher.	object noun
6.	he said,	the Old Man Coyote.	From there	his arrow(s)
7.	é-he(r) (r)owak (o)'š	see 7.1 enā	see 2.3	ta wāh e
8.	Vt nar past, indic, sm sm	emphatic		alien. noun inde ^r pos. art
9.	say			arrow
10.	16, 18 C irreg verb 15			16, 18, 15

1.	...arrows and stuck four of them in the ground.			
2.		four times	he stuck (one?) in the ground.	
3.	kinuša:ni	tó:paha	maxarátomakoš.	
4.	kirūšani	tópaha	maxáratomako's	
5.	verb + pcm	adverb	verb + sm	
6.	he took and	four times	he stuck in the ground.	
7.	krūša? rī (see 5.1)	tóp(a) ha	waxrát? (r)owak (o)'š	
8.	Vt? conj, pcm	Num	adv Vi? suffix (see 5.1)	nar past, indic, sm sm
9.	take and	four	times stick?	
10.	15, 14, 16, 17	15	14, 16, 18 C	15

1.	S. 44. Then "If anyone comes, fall over and strike me," he said.			
2.	"If anyone comes		fall and	
3.	wahú:ki		kanó:nihārani	
4.	wāhuki		kahóniharani	
5.	verb + pcm		verb + pcm	
6.	"If someone comes		you fall and	
7.	wā hūr ki		kanór rī hrE rī	
8.	indef Vi agent	temp. subord., pcm,	Vs 2nd object	causative conj pcm
9.	someone come	if	fall you down (be fallen down?)	and
10.	10, 11, 16			14, 16, 17, 19

1.							
2.	I'll hit you (?)"				(sentence) he said.		
3.	mānanōtkisotš"				éherōmakōš.		
4.	mānarotkikto's				éherōmakōš.		
5.	verb + sm				verb + sm		
6.	you should hit me,"				he said.		
7.	wą? ra rōtki (k)t (o)'š				é-he(r) (r)owāk (o)'š		
8.	1st 2nd Vt pot., indic,				Vt nar past, indic,		
	object agent sm sm				sm sm		
9.	I you hit				say		
10.	16, 17, 18 C, B				irreg verb 16, 18 C		
	15 why wā + na?				15		

1.	S. 45. And then he slept.				S. 46. While he was sleeping, the fox...		
2.	Then he slept.				While he was sleeping(?)		
3.	ó:harani hānanōmakōš.				hānanamāka		
4.	ó'harani hānaromako's				hānanamāka		
5.	adverb, sentence launcher	verb + sm			verb + pcm		
6.	From there he went to sleep.				He was sleeping		
7.	see 2.3 hrā'r (r)owāk (o)'š				hrā'r wāk ha		
8.		Vi nar past, indic, sm sm			Vi post temp subord, verb pcm,		
9.		sleep			sleep be while ___ing lying		
10.		14, 16, 17, 18 C			14, 16, 17, 18, 7, C		
		Where's the gl. stop?			What happens to '?		
		15			Why does h in /ha/ drop?		
					Why third [a] not nasalized? (or rather, since it's epenthetic, why isn't preceding cons. an [r]?)		
1.	...appeared, and when he (T) was about to hit him, he ran away.						
2.	the fox appeared.						
3.	ó:taxas kasūkomakoš.						
4.	ó:taxas kasūkomako's						
5.	noun agent	verb + sm					
6.	the fox	appeared,					
7.	ó:taxa s	ki?	á???		sūk (r)owāk (o)'š		
8.	noun def. art.	vertitive	transitivizer	Vi nar past, indic, sm sm			
9.	fox	'back' or opp. direction	with		exit, leave		
10.	15	13e, 16, 18 C					
		Stress unexplained if /á/					

1.					S. 47-48. And then another...
2.	He hit it and	when he wanted,	he ran.		And then again one appeared.
3.	dótkini	érehki	pté:homakoš		ó:harani
4.	dótkini	érehki	ptéhomako's		ó'harani
5.	verb + pcm	verb + pcm	verb + sm		adverb, sentence launcher,
6.	to hit	when he wanted	he (the fox) ran.		From there
7.	rótki	rí	é-reh ki	ptEh (r)owak (o)'š	see 2.3
8.	Vt	conj., pcm	Vt temp. subord., pcm	Vi nar past, sm	indic., sm
9.	hit	and	wnat	when	run
10.	16, 17, 21	15		15, 16, 18	A C
	15				

(48)

1.	...appeared and again he hit at him and he ran away.				
2.					
3.	inák	máxana		kasúkomakoš	
4.	inák	Hollow miscopied		the rest of this sentence from another line ...	
5.	adverb sentence launcher	noun agent?		verb + sm	
6.	again				
7.	see 2.3	waxra?	ki?	a??	súk (r)owak (o)'š
8.		Num	vert.	trans-itivizer	Vi nar past, sm indic., sm
9.		one			exit, leave
10.		14, 16, 17, 18 Hollow's form would probably be [máxana]. 15	13c, 16, 18	C	Hollow's form would nasalize the second a (in nar past form). Stress unexplained if /á/.

1.					
2.	Again he hit it and		he wanted it. (???)		And then he ran.
3.	inák	dótkini	érehomakoš		karótiki
4.	(Hollow miscopied)	dótkini	érehomako's		karótiki
5.	adverb sentence launcher,	verb + pcm	verb + sm		conjunction, sentence launcher,
6.		to hit	he wanted.		And then
7.	see 2.3	rótki	rí	é-reh (r)owak (o)'š	see 2.3
8.		Vt	conj	Vt nar past, sm	indic., sm
		hit	and	want	
10.		21, 16, 17		16, 18	C
					e → i?

1.			S. 49. And after a while the fox came back again.
2.			And again in a little while the fox came back.
3.	ptéhomakoš.	kaní	ésu kánašak
4.	ptéhomako's	káni	ésukanāšak
5.	verb + sm	conj, sent launcher,	adverb, sent launcher.
6.	he ran.	And	in a little while
7.	ptEh (r)owak (o)'š	kári	é súk? raš? (a)k (see 2.3)
8.	Vi nar past, indic, sm sm	conj	verbal Vi? typifier past prefix? part,
9.	run	and	exit, -like leave having _____ed
10.	16, 18, A C 15	16, 17 15	16, 17, 14 15?

1.			
2.			
3.	inák ó:xas	kasú:komakoš	
4.	inák óxas	kasúkomako's	
5.	adverb, noun sent agent launcher,	verb + sm	
6.	again the fox	appeared.	
7.	see 2.3 óxa s	ki? á?	súk (r)owak (o)'š
8.	noun def art fox the	vert (or /ka/ inceptive?)	Vi nar past, indic, sm sm
9.			exit, leave
10.	15	13c, 16, 18	C stress unexplained if /á/

(51)

1.	S. 50-51. And then he made motions as if to kick him and he ran away.	
2.	And then he pretended to kick him.	
3.	karótiki oráxi ikúromakoš	
4.	karótiki óraxi ikúromako's	
5.	conjunction, non-finite sent verb launcher,	
6.	And then to kick he pretended.	
7.	see 2.3 ó-raxi? i-xá? (r)owak (o)'š (see 5.1)	
8.	Vt? (see 5.1)	Vt? nar past, indic, sm sm
9.	kick pretend	
10.	15? 16, 18 C See stress placement in S. 41, same word, and in earlier occurrences.	

- | | | | | | |
|-----|--------------------|---------------------|--|--------------------|--|
| 1. | | | | | S. 52-54. And then, lying there, he... |
| 2. | And so he ran off. | | | | Again he was lying there and |
| 3. | karótiki | ptéhomakoš. | | inák | mákini |
| 4. | karótiki | ptéhomako's | | inák | mákini |
| 5. | conjunction, | verb + sm | | adverb, | verb + pcm |
| | sent | | | sent | |
| | launcher | | | launch. | |
| 6. | And so | he ran off. | | Again | he was lying |
| | | | | (it came) | there and |
| 7. | see 2.3 | ptEh (r)owak (o)'š | | see 2.3 | wak ri |
| 8. | | Vi nar past, indic, | | post conj, | |
| | | sm sm | | verb pcm | |
| | | | | Vs? | |
| 9. | | run | | be and | |
| | | | | lying | |
| 10. | | 16, 18 A C | | 14, 16, 17, 18, 15 | |
| | | 15 | | | |
-
- | | | | | | |
|-----|--|---------------------|--|--------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. | slowly peeped at him, and he ran away. | | | | |
| 2. | he peeked out slowly. | | | | Then he was looking at him. |
| 3. | xé:na | ítaròmakoš. | | karótiki | hámakòmakoš. |
| 4. | xéra | ítaromako's | | karótiki | hámakòmako's |
| 5. | adverb | verb + sm | | conj, sent | verb + sm |
| | | | | launch. | |
| 6. | slowly | he peeked. | | And then | he was looking at him. |
| 7. | xér ha | í-tar (r)owak (o)'š | | see 2.3 | hÉ wak (r)owak (o)'š |
| 8. | Vs adv | Vt nar past, indic, | | Vt post nar past, indic, | |
| | suffix | sm sm | | verb sm sm | |
| 9. | be | peek | | see be | |
| | slow, | | | lying | |
| | quiet | | | | |
| 10. | 15, 7 | 15, 16, 18 C | | 15, 16, 18 A C | |
-
- | | | | | | |
|-----|------------------|---------------------|--|-------------|--|
| 1. | | | | | S. 55. And that was all. |
| 2. | And then he ran. | | | | And that's how it was(?? see also 5.1) |
| 3. | karótiki | ptéhomakoš. | | karótiki | |
| 4. | karótiki | ptéhomako's | | karótiki | |
| 5. | conj, sent | verb + sm | | conj, sent. | launcher |
| | launch. | | | | |
| 6. | And so | he ran. | | And then | |
| 7. | see 2.3 | ptEh (r)owak (o)'š | | see 2.3 | |
| 8. | | Vi nar past, indic, | | | |
| | | sm sm | | | |
| 9. | | run | | | |
| 10. | | 16, 18, A C | | | |
| | | 15 | | | |

1.					S. 56. And then the fox said,...
2.					And then, "Everybody come!"
3.	ú:kanāšamakōmakōš.				karótiki "á:we
4.	úškanųšamakomąko's				karótiki áwe
5.	verb + sm				conj, sent launcher adverb
6.	he was lying there still (i.e. quiet).				And then, "All
7.	ú'ska? raš? wąk (r)owąk (o)'š			see 2.3	áwe
8.	impers V? typifier post nar past, indic, (see 5.1)				adv
9.	it is thus? -like	be			all
		lying			
10.	16, 17, 18, 14 A 15				15

1.	..."Everybody come."				
2.		(sentence) said the fox.			
3.	hú:nista"	éherōmakōš		ó:xas	ena.
4.	húnįsta	éheromąko's		óxaseną	
5.	verb + sm	verb + sm		agent noun	
6.	come,"	he said,		the fox.	
7.	húr rįt ta	é-he(r) (r)owąk (o)'š		óxa s erą	
8.	Vi 4th pluralizer	imper, sm	Vt nar past, sm	indic, sm	noun def emphatic art
9.	come	say		fox	
10.	3, 11, 16, 17, 15	irreg verb	16, 18, 15	C	16, 17, 15

(58)

1.	S. 57-58. They went and took that roast and ate it up.				
2.	They went.	(They?) took the cooked stuff			
3.	dénkererōmakōš.	warókris			
4.	dénkereromąko's	warókiris			
5.	verb + sm	noun object			
6.	They went.	Something cooked			
7.	rEh krE (r)owąk (o)'š	wá rókrįr s			
8.	Vi 3rd plural	nar past, sm	indic, sm	absolutive Vt	def art
9.	ro	something	roast,		
		_____ed	cook		
10.	21, 14, 16, 18, A 15	B, 11, 14	loss of nasalization		unexplained.

- 1.
2. they ate it up.
3. dušá:ni píríkereròmakoš.
4. dušáni píkereromako's
5. verb + pcm verb + sm
6. took and they ate it up.
7. rúša? rí (pí? 5.1) krE (r)owak (o)'š
(see 5.1)
8. Vt? conj Vt? 3rd nar past, indic,
pcm. plural sm sm
9. take and eat up
10. 21, 16, 17 14, 16, 18 C 15
15

1. S. 59-60. They ate up all his meat for him, and then they all ran away.
2. Then they ate up all his meat (wet stuff?) for (on) him.
3. ó:harani tamáskaps a:we
4. ó'harani támąskaps áwe
5. adverb, sent object noun
launcher
6. From there his meat all
7. see 2.3 ta wá? skáp? s áwe
8. al abso- Vs def adv
pos. lutive art
9. his be wet all
10. 16, 18 Stress
unexplained.
Nasalization unexplained.

- 1.
- 2.
3. pi:na kúkeròmakoš.
4. píra ku'kereromako's
5. verb + sm
6. they ate it up for him.
7. (pí? 5.1) ra ku'? krE (r)owak (o)'š
(see 5.1)
8. Vt? instr 'on' 3rd nar past, indic,
prefix dative? plural sm sm
(see 5.7)
9. eat up by mouth
10. 15, 14, 16, 18

1.					3. 61-63. And then Trickster woke up,...
2.	And they all ran.				Then Coyote woke up.
3.	kānī á:we ptékererōmakōš.				ó:harani kīnumākšis
4.	kānī áwe ptéhkereromāko's				ó'haranī kinūmakšis
5.	conj, adv verb + sm sent launcher.				adverb, sent launcher noun agent
6.	And all they ran away.				From there the Old Man Coyote
7.	kāri áwe ptEh krE (r)owāk (o)'š			see 2.3	see 7.1
8.	conj adv Vi 3rd nar past, indic, plural sm sm				
9.	and all run				
10.	16,17 15 14, 16, 18, 15 A C 15				

1.	...and his roast was lost, and all his meat was lost.				
2.					He lost his roast.
3.	kitāromakoš.	kānī warókris			xawá:hererōmakōš
4.	kitāromāko's	kānī wārokiris			xawáhereromāko's
5.	verb + sm	conj noun object sent launcher			verb + sm
6.	woke up.	And what he cooked			he lost it.
7.	kitār (r)owāk (o)'š	kāri wá rōkrīr s			xwār hrE (r)owāk (o)'š
8.	Vt nar past, indic, sm sm	conj abso- Vt def Vs caus nar pst, ind, lutive art sm sm			
9.	awaken	and something roast, _____ed cook			be lost
10.	16, 18, 15 C	16,17 15, 11, 14, B 15			15, 14, 16, 18 A C

1.					
2.	All his meat was lost.				
3.	inak tamāskaps	á:we xawá:hererōmakōš.			
4.	ināk tamāskaps	áwe xawáhereromāko's			
5.	adverb, noun object sent launcher	adv verb + sm			
6.	Again his meat	all was lost.			
7.	see 2.3 ta wá? skāp? s	áwe xwār hrE (r)owāk (o)'š			
8.	al abso- Vs def adv Vs caus nar past, indic, pos lutive art sm sm				
9.	his be all te wet lost				
10.	3 15, 16, 18 Why nasalized? 15 Why stress not on stressed root?				14, 16, 18, 15, A C

1. S. 64. And then he broke out crying.
2. Then he started to cry.
3. ó:harani kenátaxòmakoš.
4. ó'harani karátaxomako's̃
5. adverb, sent verb + sm
launcher
6. From there he started to cry.
7. see 2.3 ka ra táx (r)owak (o)'s̃
8. incep- instr Vi nar past, indic,
tive prefix sm sm
9. started by bawl
to mouth
10. 16, 18 C exception to 15

1. S. 65. "It was a great thing I saw.
2. Then "Something good has come out of this - e!" (??)
3. ó:harani "wašire wahés
4. ó'harani wásire wahés
5. adverb, sent noun object verb + sm
launcher
6. From there, "Something I saw,"
good
7. wá ší e? wa hÉ s
8. abso- Vs indef 1st Vt preterite
lutive. art agent sm
9. some- be see
thing, good
10. 13d? 15 Why stress A 15 B
not on stressed root?
B

1. S.66. I'll never see that sort of thing a second
time".
2. (sentence) he said. "I won't see something like that a second time".
3. éheròmakoš. 'inúpa 'úškanāš
4. éheromako's̃ inupha ú'skanāš
5. verb + sm adverb adverb
6. he said. "A second time like that
7. é-he(r) (r)owak (o)'s̃ í rūp na ú'ska rāš
8. Vt nar past, indic, ordinal Num adv impers typifier
sm sm prefix suffix V?
(see 5.1)
9. say two time it is thus -like
10. irreg verb 16, 18, B, 15 15, 16, 17 15, 16, 17

- 1.
2. (sentence) said Coyote.
3. wawahéoxàraška. " éheròmakoš.
4. wáwahe'oxaraška éheromako's
5. verb + sm verb + sm
6. it won't be like that," he said,
7. wá wa hÉ oxÉre? (a)ška é-he(r) (r)owak (o)'s
(see 2.1)
8. abso- ist Vt dubitative dubitative, Vt nar past, indic,
lutive agent conditional, sm sm sm
9. some- I see say
thing
10. 15,13a,13c E → a, unknown conditions? B irreg verb. 16, 18, 15 C

1. S. 67. Then he went travelling. S.68. Even now he may be...
2. Then he started to travel. Even now he may be
3. kínumakšis éna. ó:harani kasírehòmakoš. híreóška travelling.
4. kínumakšisenə ó'harani kasírehomako's hiré'oška
5. noun agent adverb, sent verb + sm adverb
launcher
6. the Old Man Coyote. From there he started to travel. Even now
7. see 7.1 era? see 2.3 ka sí rEh see 6.9
(see 7.3)
8. incep- Vi Vi
9. tive, start travel go
10. 16, 18, 15 A C

1. ...travelling, S. 69. This is the end.
2. It stands full???
3. kasí:mitoš. ío hákoš.
4. kasímikto's í'ohako's.
5. verb + sm verb + sm
6. he'll be travelling. The end.
7. ka sí awi? (k)t (o)'s see 5.1
8. incep- Vi contin- pot. ind.,
tive? uative sm sm
9. start? travel ing
10. 13b, 15 C

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